COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION: THE INFLUENCE ON HAITIAN CREOLE ORTHOGRAPHY

By

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To my mother, who has taught me that you never know how something will help you in life until you obtain it
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As computer-mediated communication becomes progressively more widespread in today’s society, the impact that the Internet has on language is becoming increasingly prevalent. This thesis is an overview of how Internet communication is affecting Haitian Creole orthography. I am proposing that the variations in spelling are a result of an Internet orthography and are not unconscious or careless. Through the examination of three different types of communication (Internet relay chat, discussion forums and blog sites), the social variations reveal a register that is employed consciously by the user to express individuality or to save time. The orthographic variations are most commonly a result of diglossia, reveal differences in language ability among the user, and/or are an expression of personality. This thesis will support the hypothesis that the changes that are occurring are not a danger to standard written language, but reveal each user’s individual employment of his/her language.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Language usage is constantly evolving; being a linguist is comparable to describing the location of a moving train. In the age of the computer, we have access to information quickly and in large volume, and this form of communication is open to individuals of all classes and social levels. The exchange of information that is available as a result of computer systems is changing language due to the speed, the availability and universality of the Internet.

The Internet has brought forth a new generation of language use. Language is employed in a manner that is informal, like that of spoken speech, yet it is expressed in written form. This phenomenon has changed the way the orthography and syntax are manifested. This thesis is a study of this phenomenon, of an informal speech on paper.

In addition to the element of the computer being a catalyst in language evolution, the variable of language contact is the second main factor that will be discussed. The language that will be studied is that of Haiti, Haitian Creole, a language formed through language contact. A factor unique to Haitian Creole is its stigmatization as an unwritten vernacular language. This factor may reveal the attitudes behind variations from the standard written form. This makes Haitian Creole an exceptional case to be investigated in terms of language variation.

Collective interaction with the Internet is in the process of giving Creole an extensive written corpus. The advancements that have taken place over the past two decades, in terms of published works and resources, have taken a giant leap forward. The issues that will be addressed in this thesis are three-fold: determining if computer-mediated communication (CMC) is causing variation in written Haitian Creole, and if so,
what variations are prevalent and the degree to which these variations on the Internet are positive and evolutionary, as opposed to creating a disaccord in standardization and credibility.
CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Language Situation in Haiti

Two languages are currently spoken in Haiti: French and Creole. While in 1983 French was the privileged official language; French and Creole were recognized as national tongues. In 1987 co-official status with French was extended to Creole (Library of Congress, 2010). On paper, these two languages are equivalent. Within the constraints of the Haitian society, French and Creole are far from equal. These two languages have been clashing politically and socially over status and domain throughout Haitian history.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, France began its colonization of Haiti, otherwise known as Saint-Domingue during this epoch. The Creole language emerged from this social construction, the French colonizers and the slaves they brought with them. In 1789, slaves outnumbered their white colonial masters 11:1 (12:1 if emancipated slaves are included in this number) (Léger, 1907). Due to this construction language was altered. The two different social casts had to form a new language of communication. Taking the vocabulary base of French, and the grammar structure of various dialects spoken by the slaves, Haitian Creole has its genesis (Lefebvre, 1998).

It is now Creole which is spoken by the majority of the population. Article 5, Constitution of 1987, states (in French) that, “All Haitians are united by a common language, Creole. . . Creole and French are the official languages of the republic”. This first sentence identifies the unifying language: Creole. Creole remains the vernacular language, spoken by 100 percent of the population, compared to the estimated 7 percent of Haitians who are fluent in both French and Creole (Schieffelin and Doucet,
Despite Creole’s official status and the lack of bilingualism in the country, the stigma surrounding Haitian Creole is still prevalent in today’s society.

This social stigma reveals itself in the language situation. There is a phrase in Creole, « tiliti bouch pwenti », literally translated as, 'pointed mouth', that is used within the context of speaking French too often, and associated with the words stuck-up and hypocritical (Joseph, 2009: 47). The prestige that is attributed to French and the stereotypes that burden Creole are still prevalent in today’s society, which has an affect on which language is employed at different times.

If one is bilingual, and has the ability to choose between the two languages, certain environments will promote the usage of the dominant language (French) over that of the vernacular (Creole). This issue is important and will be brought forth into further light during the discussion section.

**Written Communication of Creole and Standardization**

One of the main arguments against Creole in the domain of education is its written history, or lack thereof. The first written accounts of Creole appear in the late 18th century in official documents. After this time period, written Creole was used exclusively for personal purposes, many of them being folktales and other oral traditions, until reinvigorated in the mid 20th century (Doucet & Schieffelin, 1994). The 1960s was an important decade for Creole literature. Many classics, essays and other works were written and translated into this written tongue. The question that comes up when discussing written works is the level of standardization that was in place at this time period.

The phases of Creole orthography standardization are divided into five distinct periods (Doucet and Schieffelin, 1994). The first attempt at an official orthography was
with Doret and Beaulieu in the early twentieth century (1924-1939). They were un unsuccessfully recognized for their efforts, but they opened the doorway for successors to follow with more attempts at an official orthography (McConnell-Laubach and Pressoir).

McConnell was the first to formulate a standardized orthography in 1940. This system was later qualified by Laubach (ôtograf Laubach), which was similar to McConnell’s efforts. Both systems were phonemic.

Pressoir had the most influence and success with systemization with his 30-symbol alphabet as opposed to the 33 of Laubach. Pressoir and the ONAAC (Office National d’Alphabétisation et d’Action Communautaire); was recognized and employed by the Haitian government until 1980. The use of Creole in the domain of education motivated the officials to agree upon an official orthography. Pushed towards unification, the “ôtograf IPN” (Institut Pédagogique National) was instated on January 30, 1980 (Doucet, Schieffelin, 1994).

The implementation of Creole in the school system created the need for unification. The Education Reform of 1979 (the Bernard reform), instated by the National Department of Education, recommended that the first 4 levels of primary school were to be taught in Creole (Luzincourt & Gulbrandson, 2010). This was a huge success for Creole language advocates, but progress was also inhibited by the fact that all literature was still in French (school books).

Inspite of being introduced into the primary school system, many schools did not abide by this new law. Most teachers had the habit of teaching in a French-Creole code-switching mixture. This mixture helped to reinforce the lack of unity in Creole, and
inhibited Haitians’ ability to achieve success in either language, whether it is French or Creole. Plus, since French would ultimately replace Creole after four years, few teachers were willing to cede any time to Creole.

Another inhibition towards the implementation of Creole was the Haitian elite who were intensely opposed to la Reforme Bernard (Bernard Reform). This reluctance towards the Creole language shows the stratification that occurs as a result of diglossia. When two languages are in contact with each other, one tends to be viewed as having a ‘high prestige form’ while the other has a 'low prestige form' (Doucet & Schiffelin, 1994:3). The low prestige form is Creole. French was used (and remains today) as the language of the elite, the educated, and the government.

All of these inhibit the implementation and the usage of Creole create an inequality of language use. Linguist Michel-Rolph Trouillot expresses the fact that “…most linguists have stopped calling Haiti bilingual…” (Cited in Doucet & Schiffelin, 1994:3). Fleishmann (1984) presents a ‘fantasme diglossique’, or a diglossia fantasy; which explains the lack of equality between French and Creole in Haiti.

This inferiority of Creole creates an attitude of shame or lack of esteem towards Creole, even for native speakers (Valdman, 1978). Valdman (1978) proposes that to combat these inequalities, we must first establish that Creole native speakers view their language worthy of being written.

The journey towards standardization has been arduous for Haitian Creole and Haiti still has many challenges in language development. Even though it is instated as an official language, and has an official orthography, there rest many barriers, reinforced by stereotyping and ignorance.
CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

Computer-Mediated Communication

Using computers as a method of communication began to take hold in the late twentieth century, as devices became readily available to the public and the public became exposed to and comfortable with computers and their ability to facilitate communication more rapidly. As computers took hold of society, another science was born, known as computational linguistics, of which we are to concentrate on the branch of “computer-mediated discourse”. CMD is the term used to describe the interaction between people through the medium of computers (Herring, 2001). World Internet Statistics shows that on December 21\textsuperscript{st}, 2009, 76.2 percent of the population in North American used the Internet. This statistic is the highest percentage, contrasted with the 26.6 percent using the internet across the globe.

The impact of computertalk on language became a subject of interest in the 1990’s. The online journal, \textit{Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication} was created as a result of CMC’s popularity. Herring (2007:1) describes CMC as ‘a predominately text-based human-human interaction mediated by networked computers or mobile telephony’. CMC differs from CMD by working directly with language use and not discourse analysis (DA) (2001).

CMC includes, but is not limited to, private email, email mailing lists (listserv), cyberchat (real time: Instant Messenger (IM), Skype, Hotmail IM, Yahoo! Messenger, Facebook chat, etc. or Internet relay chat (IRC): forums, discussion groups, etc.), and blogs. Not all of these domains are limited to written discourse. For example, Skype, a form of IRC (internet relay chat), can be text messaging or voice-to-voice telephone
contact. CMC has opened up an entirely new domain of linguistic phenomena and a new corpus of data.

**Linguistic Rapport of Computer-Mediated Communication**

The popularity of CMC has skyrocketed since the beginning of the 21st century. Jupiter (2001) notes that Instant Messenger had a total of 67 million users, blogs have more than 4 million in 2003 (worldwide), while SMS (Short Messaging System or text messaging) leads CMC with a reported 16 billion messages sent in North America alone in 2001 (cited in Herring 2004:30). This new form of communication (CMC) not only affects the medium of communication but also the form.

The first debate is deciding what type of communication CMC is: written, speech, or an intermediary: ‘netspeak’ (Herring, 2007). Maynor (1994) argues that e-mail communication is just as short lasting as oral speech. This is seen through the emphases placed on punctuation and shorthand that mimics direct speech style. A study on the ‘neographical transformations’, otherwise known as a new system of writing language through the medium of SMS, shows three major changes that are occurring: ‘phonetic reductions,’ ‘syllabograms’ and ‘logograms’ (Anis, 2007: 97). Most researchers would agree that CMC is a form between writing and speaking, and that it constitutes a unique manner of communication. This hypothesis is reinforced in the analysis of my data. The next issue, after recognizing this new form, is determining the motivation behind the change.

Baron (1984) and Herring (1998), along with other contributors, investigate the motivation of language transformation. Many, when they think of CMC, presume that the language used is informal and ridden with mistakes. Baron (1984: 131) shows that Internet usage includes ‘fewer subordinate clauses and a narrower range of vocabulary’
(cited in Herring et al. 2001:5). This narrower syntactic and lexical bank is instigated by the fact that written language on the internet, mimicking spoken language, gives the writer no time to edit production. This phenomenon is explained by Chafe and Danielewicz, “…they hardly have time to sift through all of the possible choices they might make, and may typically settle on the first words that occur to them” (1987: 88). In addition to simplification of lexical terms, this e-style is known for its reduction of capitalization, simplified spelling, vowel clipping and usage of icons (Maynor, 1994). Herring (1998a cited in Herring 2001:621) actually goes to contradict the idea that these findings are a result of a lack of attention or knowledge, but they are employed in order to save time, express creativity, and mimic the features of spoken language, such as laughter.

One must also make the distinction between interactive written speech and time-delayed discourse. Blogging, discussion forums, e-mail, articles, etc. are all examples of time-delayed interaction. Real-time chat, such as IM (instant messaging), chat rooms, IRC (Internet relay chat), replicates much more closely spoken speech, due to the lack of a time-lapse. Time-delayed mediums give the user more freedom and ability to think through their expression.

Cross-Cultural CMC

Computer-Mediated Communication is readily available to billions of people across multiple language fields. The multilingual Internet is another contributor to political, social and linguistic issues. The idea of a lingua franca is a source of much debate. Dor (2004) mentions the “language zone” of Internet use; that is to say that all users surround themselves with the language they are most tied with socially and culturally. This diversity has its limitations. The ASCII (American Standard Code for Information
Interchange), is the character-encoding scheme used in computer machines. It is based off the English alphabet and numerical system. It has henceforth been expanded, but still favors the English language (Jenson 1995:838). This encoding is one example of many programs and servers that are based off of the English language, therefore making English the dominant CMC language as of our day.

A source of variation is also the ability to create accents on different computers or different keyboards. Some computers do not allow you to change the language of the system (for lack of programs or because of system settings, i.e. Internet cafes). The lack of accent markers, and foreign symbols, gives rise to an increase in misspellings due to accent markers (Dor, 2004: 114; Roxan, Mikami, 2007: 131). In September of 2009, English held ground with having the most internet users in the world, 430.8 million (29.4 percent) (Internet World Stats, IWS). Although one must keep in mind that this number does not distinguish between dialects of English: British, Canadian, American, New Zealand, or Australian. The percentage of internet user growth, by language, between the years 2000 and 2008 was 203.5 for English, while Chinese was 755.1 (IWS). English has been and remains the driving force in Internet use.

Although this English domination has had many negative effects on local languages, internet globalization is nevertheless painted in a positive light by Warchauer et al (2002:1), “On the other hand, the same dynamics that gave rise to globalization, and global English, also give rise to a backlash against both, and this is expressed, in one form, through a strengthened attachment to local dialects and languages”. This quote is explaining that due to written English domination on the
Internet, nationalism towards written Haitian Creole is strengthened. This would be a good topic for further investigation.

This section has shown the politics of multilingualism behind language use on the Internet. The impact of English, computer programming and resources (keyboard) on misspellings and language frequency and use will be discussed under sociolinguistics.

**Internet Accessibility in Haiti**

Considering population of internet users, Haiti is ranked number 87, with 1,000,000 users or 11.1 percent of the population having access (Internet World Stats, 2009). Despite being difficult and expensive to attain, Internet has been publicly available in Haiti for the past sixteen years. In 1995 there were 4 providers, three of which are public. Hintelfocus, Alpha Communications Network (ACN), Companet and Globelsud (Peha, 1999:2-3). Due to the lack of telephone lines within rural and urban Haiti, satellite communication is the only practical way to connect, via International Satellite Providers or ISPs (Grant, France, Hsu, 2010). In regards to telephone communication, Haiti’s government holds a monopoly on landlines through Telecommunications d’Haiti (Téléco). There are 0.9 lines per 100 people. Peha (1999:2) puts this into perspective with the following statistic: this percentage of landlines in Haiti is half the current average in Africa. Haiti’s economic status makes the future of Internet a valuable instrument in development.

Today access to public internet in Haiti is difficult, but providers have expanded: Hainet, Access Haiti and Multilink are new company providers of Internet, not all being satellite. Hainet, at 100 dollars a month, is not yet affordable for people located in this country. Hainet is also quoted as being “unreliable” and “slow” as a dial-up network (Fouye). Internet growth will have an important impact on Creole’s evolution. While
research on Haiti and CMC is limited, the next 10 years will be vital to Haitian internet use and linguistic research.

**Sociolinguistics of Haitian Creole and CMC**

After examining CMC and its relation to Creole: what does this mean for the language from a linguistic standpoint? Yoon (Cited in Herring 2001:625) conducted a study on Internet usage among the young in Korea. It was noted that they accepted the dominance and importance of English on the internet. According to Herring (2010), it is presumed that non-dominant languages (such as HC), will thrive better in situations of network domination, that is to say to have IN [Internet networks] wholly in the target language, in addition to a keyboard that matches the alphabet and a location that has no colonial legacy of English.

Programming drives all computer systems. Most computers are run by English programs: computer protocols, operating systems, network technology, browser commands and all of these contribute to the success of English. Will English deter Haitians from pursuing computer use? English’s impact on Creole is equally apparent in the data discussion. The extent to which English will take over French’s role, or simply contribute to Creole’s language development, is the question that still remains. By French’s role, this refers to the language that is the vehicular language, the language of the government, of politics, of education and of the elite. This is in reference to the topic of diglossia which is discussed previously in Section 3 under ‘Written Communication of Creole and Standardization’.

One impact that CMC has had on Creole, separate from language domination by either English or French, is orthography.
Standardization of the written language is the easiest to demonstrate with reference to orthography: spelling is the most uniform level of language use, and contrasts in this respect with the variability of its counterpart in speech-pronunciation. . . the idea of an absolutely fixed spelling system is recent; particular spellings of words are now regarded as uniquely acceptable, other possible spellings being rejected as “errors”. (1991:67)¹

Milroy and Milroy (1991) bring up the important point of variation versus error in this quotation. When we are discussing the variations of orthography that we find in the data, are we finding a variation or an error? The stance that this thesis is taking is that the variations viewed are not an error but rather a different style of orthography, an Internet orthography.

One fact that is often overlooked is that English had the same orthographic issues in the beginning of its development (Milroy and Milroy, 1991). Prescriptive grammar raises several problems in regards to a learner’s language development. What is correct and what is incorrect? Many prescriptive grammarians will say that a certain sentence is incorrect, while descriptive grammar will allow such instances. Take for example, a southern dialect of English; (1) I ain’t goin’ to the store; as opposed to, (2) I am not going to the store. Prescriptive grammar, deeming sentence (1) ungrammatical, undervalues the language variety of an entire population of speakers. Therefore should we analyze sentence number (1) as being a variation or as being an error? In the methodology section, I will take these instances into account, and instead of choosing one type of grammar over another type, I will simply point out the contrasting view points held among linguists.

The difficult issue when dealing with a CMC corpus is that one does not know if the error or variation is due to a lack of knowledge or if the speaker is just trying to

¹ Written in reference to the English language
emulate spoken language. Chat-mode (IRC, forums, etc.) is typically seen by users as a mode to emulate spoken form (Bradner et al, 1999). This spoken form, or ‘e-style’, is separate from both spoken and written language; hence the reason for shortening words, changing spelling forms, and abbreviations, etc. There are three motivations, brought to our attention by Herring (2001:617), which explain spelling ‘errors’: word economization, emulation of spoken form, and creative expression. Creativity is important to individuals. The way one speaks has forever been manipulated to reflect one’s identity. Written language as well can be individualized- although far less commonly changed- when compared with oral production. The same individualization is true for an ‘e-style’. Cummings et al. (2002:1) shows us that an online community works in the same manner as a face-to-face societal interaction (although research points to the fact that it is not as effective as face-to-face interaction). Humans are social creatures and seek to be apart of community, internet communities accomplish this goal, helping users to feel a sense of belonging. The factors involved in face-to-face interaction, reveal themselves during CMC, creativity being one of those factors.

Spelling errors among Internet users are the most common mistakes that one sees, and they are possibly more common than correct spellings (Proctor, 2002). Deciphering the reason behind the error is left up to reader. Internet makes research difficult from the fact that the user profile (socioeconomic background, geographical position, language situation, personal motivations, etc.) is unknown. The many factors playing into ‘variant misspellings, deliberately inventive spellings and typographical errors’ are still there, but from a research standpoint, they are hidden among the many wires and network systems.
CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an overview of the influence that CMC may or may not have on Creole as a written language on the Internet. The first question that must be considered is if orthography on the Internet is actually different than other written corpora. If this is in fact true (as research has shown for other languages), what is the degree of variation among CMC for Haitian Creole? Where do we find variations? Are the variations in the data isolated cases, or do they appear among every lexical item? Do the variations occur in solely one user or from every user in the data?

Once the question of where the variation is occurring is answered, I will then propose reasons behind the variations. What are the motivations behind the Creole that is employed? The possible reasons for variation in the data are (1) lack of knowledge, (2) typing errors, (3) phonological spellings, (4) French influenced spellings (5) saving time and/ or (6) expressing individuality. The discussion section will rule out certain motivations and discuss why.

Lastly, I will discuss whether CMC is inhibiting standard Creole orthography, whether it is contributing to the standardization and global acceptance of a written Haitian Creole orthography, or whether it is neutral to the regard of standardization. The stance that this thesis takes is that the standard written form is not being manipulated, but rather an Internet orthography is emerging.

The following discussion reviews Internet sites according to the following subcategories of Internet sites: government, news, and entertainment sites (blogs, IRC).

The first two classifications (government and news portals) will be reviewed from a global perspective: what are the political implications of using the language(s) for these
specific sites? What does this mean for the evolution of Creole, as compared to French and English as languages communication? The later category (entertainment) is reviewed from a linguistic standpoint.

The reason for these two subcategorizations is due to the fact that the language registers between the news/government sites differ greatly from those of entertainment sites (i.e. networking and chat sites). The entertainment domain produces a more informal language; a language that diverges from the standard form, while the news/government sites use a language that is very standard and systemized.

Within the entertainment domain, we will discuss what Creole orthographic system(s) is/are used. What spelling variations/ errors are produced? The orthographic analysis will consist of discussion on the following categories: (1) vowel/consonant alterations (2) accent variations (3) vowel clippings and (4) Internet stenography.

After discussing these four orthographic domains, we will discuss the mechanics of orthography. The mechanics is build of (1) punctuation and (2) upper case written symbols.

Data was collected during May and July of 2010. The government and news sites selected where those that were build directly for Haitian communities (whether in Haiti or abroad). All sites are not solely generated out of Haiti.

A sampling of 10 government sites and 7 news sites were taken. The news sites come from three separate categories (1) foreign, (2) national, and (3) local. The description of and categorization of these sites are found in Table 4-1.
The entertainment (or social networking, leisure) data comes from three different Internet sites: (1) Potomitan (discussion forum), (2) Twitter (blog), and (3) BelPawol (IRC).

A discussion forum allows the user to either post a question and/or respond to a question. Discussion forums are also a form of time-delayed chat (the implications of time-delayed chat versus real-time chat will be discussed in the following chapter). In the data for Potomitan PP2= Potomitan Participant 2. The posts chosen were those which contained Creole (some posts are written entirely in French and/or English). Post dates vary from January of 2007 to May of 2010.

Twitter is a type of blog that allows a user to post a ‘tweet’ of no more than 140 characters. In the data TP4= Twitter Participant 4. All tweet posts are taken from 15 different users (chosen at random). The first day of collection is May 25th, 2010. Twitter stores data from each user for a certain amount of tweets, which leads some of the data to date back only to May 2nd, 2006 while another user has data from February 22nd, 2010.

The internet-relay chat, or real-time chat, source is BelPawol. BelPawol contains a Creole-based chat section where any user can input a pseudonym (all pseudnym have been changed to keep anonymity) and enter into discussion with other individuals. In the data 11BP3= Line 22, BelPawol, Participant 3. The IRC data was taken in 15 minutes intervals over a period of a single day. On July 31st, 2010, the data collection start times are: 11h25, 12h19, 21h38, and 21h 48.

All three of these sites are open networks. There is no way of determining what location the posts are being published from, or who is posting them. This creates a
limitation in the analysis. Another limitation is the lack of unity between the dates of production. Due to the variability in nature between the three different sources, it was not conceivable to have data from the same week or month.
Table 4-1. Percentage of Websites in Creole (and French) (Complete Table: See Appendix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Foreign (F)</th>
<th>National (N)</th>
<th>No Creole Title Only</th>
<th>&lt;50% Complete Creole</th>
<th>&gt;50% Complete Creole</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL(%)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Not all websites have been searched in this research. The lack of comprehensive research could lead to misinterpretation of attitudes towards Creole and French. It would be advisable to do an inclusive study of all websites that are based from a domain in Haiti, and accurately depict the correct percentage of language employment. In addition, the 50 percent category is rather broad. This is a category that could be specified in the future.
The language register employed for an Internet Site depends on the type of website. The range of language, such as formal (does not vary from standard orthography, uses lexical items that are neutral and/or prestigious), common (vernacular speech of the people) and vulgar (employment of lexical items that contain negative connotations) will be shown in varying degrees on a site depending on whether it is a government site, a public media site, or public domain (open to any user). My hypothesis is that the sites, which are maintained by the government, or by someone working in politics, will have a higher rate of formal language and less language variation. Those sites which are open to the public, such as blogs and chat sites, will have an increase in common and vulgar registers and an increase in orthographic variation.

The data analysis that follows will show that this hypothesis is valid and that there is a lack of language variation in the political and news domains. We see an absence of code-switching and borrowing (with the exception of certain political terms that are difficult to translate). The 10 governmental websites (listed in the Appendix) and the 7 news sites all show a formal register, with the standard (IPN) spellings. The reason for this is due to the formality of the writing and the audience who is to receive the material. Political parties want to appear professional, and there is a social standard that is applied to language. In this case, a lack of variation is viewed as being more professional and it exudes a higher-educational level and social status for not only of
the author, but also of the reader. For this reason, the majority of the following data observed in the ‘Linguistic Factors’ subsection will be chat sites and discussion forums.

The following excerpts show the type of Creole that is present on one news site and one government site:

“Kòm si Pòtoprens pa t gen ase tèt chaje, ensekirite, moun te panse yo te koumanse kwape depi kèk mwa, retounen pou met apse sou klou (Alterpress)”. English Translation “As if Port au Prince did not have enough trouble, in security, people thought they started kwape since several months, return for placing apse sou klou”.

“Ayisyen kandida pwezidansyèl ak ansyen lady premye Mirlande Manigat te nan Sid Florid pandan fen semèn nan pou yon ranmasaj lajan ak pale nan Little Ayiti Miami an (Bel Politik).

English Translation “Haitian Presidential candidate with former first lady Mirlande Manigat was in South Florida during the end of the week for a meeting with the people with a speech in Miami’s Little Haiti”.

Both of these sites, Alterpress and Bel Politik, contain databases of articles that are similar in register to these two citations. The form is consistent and the orthography does not deviate from the standard norm.

In addition to type of register, there is also a difference in choice of language for all of the sites included. Table 4-1 shows the percentage of websites in either Creole or French among governmental and news sites. A sampling of 10 governmental sites and 7 Haitian News sites (foreign/national/local) reveals that a vast majority (76 percent) of
the sites have complete\textsuperscript{3} French texts; while the number of complete Creole translations rests at 20 percent. The percentage of material that is written in French is higher than that of Creole in new and government issued sites.

The following subsection on orthography shows in detail the informal language that chatting has brought into the Internet world. While the governmental and news sites' orthography stay true to the IPN system, blogging, discussion forums and Internet-relay chat bring in a thoroughly divergent style of written communication.

**Orthographic Variations**

**Alterations**

**Vowel alterations**

The following data comes from Twitter and Potomitan exerts. The data has not been quantitatively assessed (i.e. percentages of variations) but rather provides a brief overview of variations produced by different users.

Table 5.1 (below) displays several linguistic vowel variations, the first alteration being of $e \rightarrow i$. This orthographic change from $e$ to $i$ (most often when the $e$ is nasalized by the subsequent $n$), is seen multiple times in the data, five users out of 15 Twitter users are recorded using this variation no less than one time. Other vowel changes occurring are the ‘a’ changing to $e$ ($santralize \rightarrow sentralizé$) and the ‘y’ changing to ‘i’ ($rejyon \rightarrow rejion$).

We have seen the different types of variations that occur among users, so the next question is what are the motivations behind these variations? There are several possible reasons for spelling variants: 1) lack of knowledge, (2) typing errors, (3)

\textsuperscript{3} Two complete translations would mean that all material on the network is available in both languages: complete equality.
phonological spellings, (4) French influenced spellings (5) saving time and/ or (6) expressing individuality. In some cases the cause can be determined using deduction; although in most of the data, there are too many variables, which in turn causes the source difficult to determine. The reasons for this ambiguity, and the problems that occur as a result, will be looked at in further detail at in this section.

Why are we seeing users that employ vowel variations? The repetition among users (specifically with the e → i change) supports the theory that vowel variation is neither a lack of knowledge, nor a typing error.

Another indication that this variation is not caused by a lack of knowledge, in addition to its widespread use, is the usage of mwin employed by one user (TP4), “Mwen o chomaj banm djob sa non… mwin telman fatige la se yon moun ki pou ta fe tout bagay pou mwin” (5.3.10). Employing both spelling forms of this word, lack of knowledge is ruled out of the picture entirely, as well as typing error, as origin for the variation. In fact if we look into this spelling, we find that it is actually “an outdated spelling that was common in the past. The 1985 version of Bib la wrote ‘mouin’ so ‘mwin’ is a kind of hybrid of old and new” (Bib La)

The variant reasoning for e to i change is contrasted with two other vowel variants (a → e and y → i). The single a → e adjustment (santralize → sentralizè) is highly suspect to be caused by lack of knowledge, or typing fault, and not only because it is a solitary source of variation.

The reason behind these vowel variations are found looking at the French spelling of these words. The last column in Table 5-1 shows the French spelling. The French word ‘centraliser’ employs the usage of the ‘e’ and not the ‘a’ (as in the Creole
santralize) thus the user employing sentralizè is being influenced by his/her knowledge of the French language.

The same phenomenon is seen with the 'y' to 'i' change. The French spelling of region is influencing the rejyon to rejion orthography change, whereas the French word chemin is affecting the 'e' to 'i' change in chemin to chimin. Similar to the vowel changes, we also are seeing consonant alterations in the data.

**Consonant alternations**

Looking into the consonant alterations will give more insight into whether the French spelling theory is correct or not. There main phenomena will reveal the answer to this question, the 'ks' deletion, the usage of 'r', the 's' to 'c' change and the 'z' to 's' change.

The French word 'expliquer' is influencing TP6 to write the standard Creole form of 'eksplike' as 'explike'. PP1 is writing the twò as 'tro' which mimics the spelling of 'trop' in French. This change of the 'r' is seen repeated three times by PP1 and one time by TP8 (N'importe (French)-ne(n)pòt (Standard Creole) → Nimport). All of these findings support the theory that French is the main factor influencing vowel and consonant orthographic alterations.

One other reason orthographic changes could be phonological reasons. Perhaps the user is not only spelling as a result of French influence, but is also pronouncing as a result of French-influenced phonology. One orthographic change that is a result of a pronunciation change is that of guarding the /rl/ from French. Creole, as a rule, rarely keeps the /rl/, specifically when found syllable-final. The following examples from different users, tro, nimport, ortorgrapfie, garde, are most definitely overextensions of the French language, Table 5-3 (below) shows support for this interpretation. We must
keep in mind that we are unable to determine whether the users making ‘r’ changes (PP1 and TP8) are also changing their phonology. This is a topic that would require further research to determine.

This data shows the impact and influence that French has on Creole, from consonant changes to vowel variations. The overgeneralization is not beneficial for the development of Creole as an independent system. A positive result of this data is the knowledge that people are continuing to practice and write in Creole. Language, in practical application, undergoes many variations according to the individual, and some degree of variation will continue to be seen at every point in a language’s development. No language is exempt from this reality.

**Accent Variation**

For the most part, users tend to overgeneralize and overuse accent markers (according to this data). Table 5-2 shows the number of overused accents. These cases are all in Potomitan, the discussion forum. A reason for the lack of accents in the Twitter data is due to the fact that Twitter is a brief form of communication. One ‘tweet’, or post, is limited to 140 characters (an average of 25 words)⁴. Of all the twitter posts included in this data, merely 9 posts actually employ any accent marker (see posts: TP2:5.25.10, TP2:5.24.20, TP7:5.25.20, TP7:5.20.10). The posts are short, the vowels (location of the accents) are clipped, and slang does not call for the employment of accent markers. We must also take into consideration that the keyboard has an effect on the users’ omission, such as availability to change the keyboard from United States English, or

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⁴ This is also a reason that many do not take Twitter seriously; it is a place of extreme linguistic variation and informal speech. Yet this supports the hypothesis that ‘ethnography’ is a real phenomenon.
French, to Creole. Through this data we are not able to know what type of media the user has access to, or if they know how to use the media they are in contact with.

Concentrating on the accent additions, for reasons mentioned above, we will begin with the case of *gadé* and *divizé*. One can make the assumption that this user (PP2) speaks French and is overgeneralizing the grammar rules to Creole. This may be because he/she is not aware that this accent is specific to French, or that he/she is stronger in French and so he/she overgeneralizes French rules to aide in his/her written Creole.

To test this interpretation, we can take a look at the complete posts by PP2. We can see that, unless he/she is using outside help to write, there is definite knowledge of the French language. PP2’s November 4th, 2008 post was posted not only in Creole, but also a separate and complete translation in French. The September 25th, 2007 post starts and ends in Creole, with a portion in French. This excerpt of the passage shows this phenomenon, “. . . Lakarayib, poutjipa lézòt péyi kréyòl kontèl: Laréyinyon, Moris, Séchèl. . . Création d’un groupe pour apprendre à orthographier le créole sans faute. Sans esprit de supériorité, dans l’amour. . . Es tu d’accord. . . Réponn vit pou nou sa mèt nou an travay ». Yet how are we to know that this is a text from Haitian Creole? Many Creoles have similar orthographies, and this may be a Guadeloupan, or Martiniquan, written corpus. The website, Potomitan, is a Haitian Creole site, but the internet is available to all, and we can not make assumptions in our research. Twitter is also an open network and even if someone identifies themselves as being Haitian, there is no way of determining what location the posts are being published from.

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5 This is another limitation in research; the user may, or may not be, using an online translator, a dictionary, or a friend as a source of information (open book).
This is one limitation of this data, not knowing the origin of the Creole employed. Take for example the word *ka*, which is a correct orthography in Haitian, Martiniquan, Mauritian, Guadeloupeian and St. Lucian Creoles, yet has different syntactic meaning in different Eastern Caribbean Creoles. Other words may be standard in another Creole (*Amérikèn* for example), while it is not standard Haitian Creole orthography (Confiant, 2007; Mondesir & Carrington, 1992; Tourneux, 1990; Valdman, 2007).

Accent variation is revealing of the reasons behind spelling variations. According to differences in accents, the variations are due to geographical location and knowledge of different tongues (i.e. French, Martinique Creole). Language contact, bilingualism in a society and an individual, and diglossia are all reasons for the variations found in our written corpus of Haitian Creole.

**Vowel Clippings**

Vowel clipping in ‘netspeak’ is a common trait found across all languages, as discussed in the literature review (Baron, 1984). This shows an individual’s personal style, and helps to consolidate messages because of time and/or space.

Table 5-2, shows several examples of vowel clipping in Creole. *Kman* (PP7) and *Yn* (TP2) are the only instances of Creole that can be definitively ruled out as a result of a lack of knowledge. The reasoning behind this statement is the fact that they have not been written phonetically, *yn*, pronounced, has no phonological form in Creole and conveys no meaning to the reader. The other cases, *kreol* and *nu*, can be confused with *kreyòl* and *nou*, as they would have the same pronunciation⁶. The data below shows the production of three different users; these cases of vowel clipping include both French

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⁶ This list is not exhaustive.
and Creole. In addition to vowel clipping, every user, with the exception of TP7, shows code-switching from French to Creole or visa versa, no less than one time.

**Examples of Vowel Clipping.**

(Examples in Bold)

TP2:5.24.10: **Mw** nan klas. A tard. Moun q ekrim yo pita... **Jvs** aime ts... Skem mèt kontinyel ou bay vag ? Bn8... Keski c'etait paC entre toi et ts **ptit** copain ? Parle **ns** un peu d ts qualités et d ts défauts ? Qu'est c ki c'etait paC entre **ns** ?... A l'occasion d **vtre** présence **jvs** 2mand d'applaudir **vtre** akeuze...

**Standard Translation**

[ Mwen nan klas. A plus tard. Moun ki ekirm you pita... Je vous aime tous... [Sa ki m mèt kontinyel ou _____ ?] Bon nuit... Qu'est-ce qui c'était passé entre toi et ton petit copain ? Parle-nous un peu de tes qualités et de tes défauts ? Qu'est-ce qui c'était passé entre nous ?... À l'occasion de votre présence je vous demande d'applaudir votre excuse...]

**English Translation:**

[ I am in class. I'll talk to you later. People who are writing me until later... I love you all... [???] Good night... What had happened between you and your boyfriend ? Tell us a few of his your qualities and defects ? What happened between us ?... In the light of your presence I ask you to applause your excuse... ]

TP2:5.25.10 : Preparez **vs** ds peu d tems c sera... **Avc vtre** seconde... Map fè **yn** 2vwa la,aprè⁸ map rive sou nou pou A CŒUR OUVERT la. **Tt** moun meten prè. Nou k jus fè **tt** bagay an od.Lè gen **yn** komiT solid la sal la ap pi byen mache,e ap gen dè pwogram an plus.MpanC **yn** komite solid la **bn**.

**Standard Translation :** [Préparez vous de peu de temps ça sera... Avec votre seconde... Map fè yon devwa la, aprè map rive sou nou pou A cœur Ouvert la. Tout moun meten prè. Nou ki jus fè tout bagay an ---. Lè gen yon komite solid la sal la ap pi byen mache,e ap gen dè pwogram an plus. M panse yon komite solid la bon]

**English Translation :**

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7 Indeterminable: *bonne nuit* (fr) versus *bon nwi* (kr)

8 *Apré* could be *aprè* (fr) or *apre* (cr) (Consider this word is preceded and succeeded by Creole words).
[Prepare yourself – little amount of time this would be --- With your second… I am in the process of doing a homework assignement, after I will go to us under the A CŒUR OUVERT. Everybody come close. Us who just did everything--. When one has a solid committee the room can can work better, and can have two programs in addition. I think a solid committe is good.]

**TP3 :5.25.10 :** Mwen dako avec nu sou on ls poin la… Wow je s8 2ja fano de 7 emission… Envoie moi tn #. . .

Standard Translation :

[ Mwen dako avec nou sou on les points la… Wow je suis deja fano de cette emission… Envoie-moi ton numéro…]

English Translation :

[I am in agreance with us on these points… wow i am already ---- of this emission… send me your number ]

**TP7 :5.25.10 :** bank lan sakap fêt tu ns lag ?maleu m jouke 2ja wi bne nuit a vs les twiters. Slt petitchef cmt tu vas?bne a tous et a toutes paske m 2chargé.a 2men SDV… se sa yo di certus.fac wap sib.

Standard Translation:

[ ban ke lan sakap fêt tu nou lage ? ----- m pseudonom --- déjà oui bon nuit a vous les twiters. Salut petitchef comment tu vas ?(bon nuit/bon nwi) à tous et à toutes paske m dechargé. a demain ---… se sa yo di ----- ]

English Translation :

[-------- ? --------- already yes good night to you the twitters. Salut petitchef how are you doing ? good night to everyone (m) and everyone (f) because I am tired. See you tomorrow ----... it’s this they say ------ ]

The instances of vowel clipping that have been bolded in the above data shows the 'e-style' that Maynor has examined (1994). The reason for this style maybe the cause of an error, or a lack of knowledge, or it may be a new style, a new set of orthography, an ‘e-orthography’ that allows one to express individuality, save time and/or mimic spoken speech (Herring, 1998a).
Internet Stenography

The vowel clipping data can be reviewed further in reference to a different linguistic occurrence. Stenography, which comes from the Greek stenos (narrow) and graphie (writing), is a form of abbreviated writing. Stenography is based on orthography, phonetics and on arbitrary symbols (‘Shorthand’, Encyclopaedia Britannica) Internet shorthand is categorized into four distinct categories: single digits replacing words (1), single digits replacing a syllable (2), single letters replacing a word (3), or single letters replacing a syllable (4).

**Internet shorthand examples** *(data extracted from Twitter):*

Single Digits Replacing Words: Preparez vs ds peu d temps c sera = de, ça 

7= cette

Single Digits Replacing a Syllable: 2men = demain

2chargé = dechargé

s8= suis

2ja= déjà

2vwa= devwa

Single Letters Replacing a Word: Qu’est c ki = ce

Single Letters Replacing a Syllable: c’était paC = ssé

These single digit and single letter replacements for syllables and words show the effects that internet communication is having on written speech; here we see the middle ground between spoken and written language. This type of written orthography is not unique to Internet CMC, but is also transferred outside of the internet domain into text messaging. This phenomenon is changing communication as we know it. An interesting study to be conducted would be the effects that Internet abbreviation is having on
literacy levels in the United States and abroad. This would help answer the question of whether or not, this ‘e-style’, is negatively affecting language acquisition.

Mechanics

In addition to lexical variation, the mechanics of a written language are also variable when it comes to CMC. Internet writing has a peculiar sentence structure, containing fragmented sentences. One of the first signs of this fragmentation is a lack of punctuation and capitalization. These traits are viewed as unnecessary (to the Internet user) for debatable reasons. The most supported theory is that one discards one of these ‘unnecessary’ writing traits in order to save time, express individuality and convey spoken language (Herring, 1998a), just as we have seen in the previous section on orthography. Maynor and Herring’s predictions are confirmed in the following sections on punctuation and upper case written symbols.

Punctuation

The purpose of punctuation is to disambiguate the meaning of sentences but also to ‘encode and facilitate… discourse relational links between text units in text sentences’ (Briscoe, Year?:1). The issue of interest is the important role that punctuation is playing in personal expression, especially in examination of Twitter.

As stated, one of the first signs of shorthand writing is a lack of punctuation. In the three tweets below, we see missing periods at the end of sentences, missing apostrophes and spacing variations, all of which reveal deviations from the standard norm.

1. I’m fine u know . map gade si map fini ak school sa in August (TP5:5.22.10)
2. @anonymous muhhhh I work earlyyyy I’m dying for le lambi!!!! Mwen sanleu quit, its interrupting my eating planssssss :/ (TP6:5.24.10)
3. I mezanmi epa blag et mwen la map manje salad ak jenny craig… fuk this shit loool sudoku!!!!! (TP6:2.22.10)

Tweet one is lacking a period at the end. This is an example of punctuation omission. The reason for the missing punctuation may be a desire to appear informal, indicate a lack of time or be an expression of individuality; unawareness is ruled out in this case.

The second and third examples reveal the overuse of punctuation. We have four exclamation points in example two and six exclamation points in sentence three (TP6 is also overextending his vowels and consonants: muhhhh, earlyyyy, planssssss, loool).

Why does user TP6 decide to overuse not only his punctuation but also his vowels and consonants? The writer is mimicking spoken speech through orthography, and at the same time portraying an individual expression that is creative and gives the user a distinct personality that is normally lost in written corpora.

In addition, the register of written language can be manipulated by the author through the use of punctuation and phrasing. The second half of the phrase of sentence five (fuk this shit loool sudoku!!!!!!!) has a shortened orthography (fuk), a common or vulgar register (fuk, shit), expanded acronyms (loooool), and also mimics speech (the ooo extension, muhhhhhh), and excessive punctuation (!!!!!!). Along with the absence of punctuation, the overuse of it is another variant (most common in the use of the exclamation point in our sentence samples).

Our third and last variant is the unconventional use of punctuation in the form of ‘emoticons’. An emoticon is the expression of an emotion, usually facial expression, via artistically placed punctuation marks (i.e. :/ , Example 2). These markers provide an informal tone, and help to convey the mood of the author through visual expression.
**Uppercase written symbols**

There are a couple other phenomena that have an effect on the tone of the passage, and how it is perceived via the reader. One of these is the lack of capitalization. TP5 decides to abstain from capitalizing the first words in his/her second sentence (example 1); TP6 and TP5 excludes capitalization, whether proper nouns (jenny craig, 3) or the first word in a sentence (map, 1). The lack of upper case written symbols may be a sign of a lack of time and/or an expression of informality. The motivations behind the capitalization would be a good topic for an attitudinal study.

**Language Choice**

In the subcategory of language register, an aspect of sociolinguistics was brought into light; when languages are in contact with each other, the interaction creates phenomena such as spelling errors. As we have seen in our orthography section, French has greatly influenced the spelling of Haitian Creole; this is a good example of the effects of diglossia, spelling errors.

Another factor that is closely linked with this thesis is language choice. In addition to being a way to show individuality, changing one’s language can be a way to show hierarchy, to emphasize a point, to exclude a group of speakers, or reversely, to include a different group of speakers. The next section discusses this phenomenon by looking at the discourse markers (English, French and Haitian Creole), and code switching in the data. The following sections are brief overviews of these two topics that are important to this subject; the data is not inclusive. The goal of this brief introduction is to show how different linguistic phenomena are tied together, and the importance of language choice, specifically in countries with a high-level of language contact, or in situations of diglossia.
Discourse Markers

Any user can log into a real-time chat website, enter a pseudonym and enter into written discourse with other users. The chatroom of BelPawol is specifically meant for Creole discourse, but it is an open and free network, therefore one is not limited to this language.

Looking at the first user BP1 (Belchat Person #1), the impact that IRC has on the level of code switching is evident. In nature, chat rooms do not have a beginning or an end, BP1 had already entered the chat room at the time that this conversation excerpt was taken. BP1 appears to be a trilingual speaker of Creole, French and English, although this fact cannot be confirmed.

Table A-3 lists the markers employed by BP1 during one chat room excerpt. Figure 5-1 breaks up the language usage into percentage pies. English is the preferred tongue however, outside of discourse markers. BP1 does switch rather frequently between languages.

The reason why the above information is relevant is in determining the reason for French words found in the dialogue (and French influenced spelling). Is BP1 (1) code switching, (2) spelling Creole words incorrectly without conscious knowledge of this fact, or lastly, (3) choosing to be influenced by French orthographic knowledge, but not necessarily code switching.

If instance number two is correct, this would hint to the reality of CMC as an inhibitor of Creole standard orthography. Based on the code switching that we can be sure of, BP1 shows signs of being conscious of his/her language choices; therefore this fact has yet to be determined Further research would need to be conducted into this topic in order to reinforce this idea.
Code Switching

BP1 (line: sentence) (full data see Appendix B: IRC DATA)

1 are you planning to come again soon

15 parfois techno ak hip hop

21 anyway m renmen tout musik sauf reggeton ak salsa ak zouk

102 m pa menm kwe l fini high school

Trying to determine this user’s L1, one could make the assumption that because the majority of language used is Creole, and BP1 responds to English comments in Creole, that the L1 is also Creole. Perhaps the user is only doing this because he/she is in a Creole chat room and trying to practice his/her weakest language.

This analysis of BP1 is a great illustration of just how difficult it is to analyze data that is unclassifiable. It makes definite statements difficult to make, for there is always one or more variables that are hidden beneath anonymity. It would be advantageous to create a chat room that asks for sociolinguistic statistics, in addition to being aware of the language background. This knowledge would shed more light into French influenced spellings; for in this thesis, our discussion stops at the fact that orthography on the internet is influenced by French.

Time-Delay Chat versus Internet Relay Chat

As presented in the theoretical frameworks, computer-mediated communication, includes two differing sub-categories: time-delayed interaction (discussion groups and forums, blogging, electronic mail) and real-time interaction (Instant Messaging, chat
rooms, IRC). Twitter (blogging) and Potomitan (discussion forum) are the main sources of time-delayed interaction\(^9\).

Real time chat is where the most concentrated forms of variation are found. The rapid WPM (typing speed, words per minute) augments the percentage of errors quicker than with time-delay chat where the user has ample time to think over what they are writing. Comparing BelPawol with Potomitan or Twitter, vowel clippings are more widespread and code switching rises. Looking at the first user BP1 (Belchat\(^10\) Participant #1), the impact that IRC has on the level of code switching is evident. In nature, chat rooms do not have a beginning or an end; BP1 had already entered the chat room at the time that this conversation excerpt was taken (see data in Code Switching subsection).

Surprisingly, the orthography within this IRC data is less variable than the time-delayed chat room. Is this because the topic of conversation is about politics (12h19 7.31.2010)? Does this imply that the education level for these users is higher? Can we make any such conclusions? Unfortunately we cannot make any conclusions along these lines. As researchers, we can only make some comparisons between the styles of the two types of information.

Just as Baron (1984: PAGE) concluded, this speech uses ‘fewer subordinate clauses and a narrower range of vocabulary’; it also tries to mimic spoken speech, which was also the case in time-delayed CMC. This chat room data is more expressive.

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\(^9\) Although neither of these sources were founded from a Haitian network (developed from a computer within Haiti itself), they are open networks, meaning they are available to any public user (including outside Haitian communities).

\(^10\) The room is specifically meant for Creole discourse, but it is an open and free network, therefore one is not limited to this language.
than the forum discussion data, while the twitter posts were in between the two databases.

In sum, the key points to take into consideration when analyzing IRC and time-delay chat data, is that during Internet Relay Chat, the user is in a situation similar to spoken speech, therefore IRC data will mimic spoken speech more closely than time-delay data. The nature of IRC puts the user in a situation that is conducive to errors. Discussion forums and email, as forms of communication, give the writer more time to develop thoughts and are more similar to a written corpus than an oral one.
Table 5-1. Orthographic Variations in the Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic Phenomenon</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Standard Form</th>
<th>Standard French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vowel Alterations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ → /i/</td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Mwin</td>
<td>mwen</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>gen</td>
<td>avoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Minm</td>
<td>menm</td>
<td>moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Konnin</td>
<td>Konnen</td>
<td>Connaître</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Rinmin</td>
<td>renmen</td>
<td>aimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Jounin</td>
<td>joune</td>
<td>journée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP1</td>
<td>Jwin</td>
<td>jwen</td>
<td>joindre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP2</td>
<td>Minm</td>
<td>mwen¹¹</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP5</td>
<td>Matin</td>
<td>maten¹²</td>
<td>matin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP8</td>
<td>Nimport</td>
<td>Nenpòt/nepòt</td>
<td>N’importe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>Chimin</td>
<td>chimen</td>
<td>chemin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>Bizwen</td>
<td>bezwen</td>
<td>besoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ → /e/</td>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>Sentralizè</td>
<td>santralize</td>
<td>centraliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ → /i/</td>
<td>PP7</td>
<td>Direksion</td>
<td>direksyon</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Fonksionne</td>
<td>Fonksyon(è)</td>
<td>fonction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Rejon</td>
<td>Rejyon</td>
<td>region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP2</td>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>Nous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP4</td>
<td>Mèci</td>
<td>mesi</td>
<td>merci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ → /c/</td>
<td>PP4</td>
<td>Mèci</td>
<td>mesi</td>
<td>mesur/merci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altering sonority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹ TP2 has two instances of both cases: mwen and mwin

¹² One could argue that instead of changing the orthography, TP5 is code switching from French. This is a possibility as he has employed some French words in previous cases, although the majority of TP5’s code switching is between Creole and English.
Table 5-2. Accent Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accent Additions</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Standard Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Amérikèn</td>
<td>ameriken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>kréyòl</td>
<td>kreyòl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Gadé</td>
<td>gade^{13}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>divizé</td>
<td>divize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Ék</td>
<td>ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>Éché</td>
<td>echwe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accent Deletions</td>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Kreol</td>
<td>kreyòl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Tro</td>
<td>twô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Mezi</td>
<td>mèsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-3. Usage of /r/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>User</th>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>User spelling</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Twô</td>
<td>Tro</td>
<td>Trop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP8</td>
<td>Nenpôt/nepôt</td>
<td>Nimport</td>
<td>N’importe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Ötograf</td>
<td>ortorgraphie</td>
<td>Orthographie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Gade</td>
<td>garde</td>
<td>Garder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^{13} A possible overextension of French grammar

^{14} Twitter deletions are not included in this table, as the number of deletions is assigned more to the absence of any accents, rather than just choosing to not assign an accent to one specific word. The deletions in Potomitan were among user posts that were, most often than not, employing all necessary accent markers.
Figure 5-1. BP1 Discourse Marker Language Breakdown\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15} French/Creole category includes markers that are undeterminable i.e. bon.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate if computer-mediated communication is affecting the Haitian Creole language, specifically in the context of orthography. This thesis has provided an overview of the linguistic variation that is occurring as a result of CMC; from a wide range of orthographic and lexical variants to the mechanic changes, the Internet is changing the way that people communicate, and henceforth the language itself.

The mode of communication and the register vary the degree of changes in the written language form. A more formal register (political debate), in a time-delayed manner (discussion forum, e-mail), minimizes the level of variation; whereas an informal topic combined with a mode of communication that mimics spoken speech (IRC), the level of lexical variation increases.

The next question investigated was the motivations and/or reasons behind these variations. The main reason for vowel and consonant alterations are French-influenced spellings, whereas the motivations behind Internet stenography and mechanics are expressing individuality, being creative and/or saving time.

Lastly, does the academic world view these variations as a step backwards from the standardization of Haitian Creole? This debate between descriptivists and prescriptivists is not new to the linguistic domain. Stephen Wheeler has commented on the impact that CMC orthography is having on the linguistic world, "vernacular spelling used in netlinguistics… [is] disrupting and reconfiguring the cultural flows feeding into spelling choices and making spelling less of a prescriptivist expectation" (241).
The research in this thesis shows another dimension to this argument perhaps the language variation seen on the Internet is not entirely a change from the standard, but rather a different register that is employed consciously according to specific constraints (i.e. reader, topic of conversation, type of chat, etc.). Rather than the standard language form being altered, there is an Internet orthography that has emerged.

To study this topic in more depth, a longitudinal attitudinal study would be beneficial. It would be advantageous to conduct an attitude study on how Internet users view Creole; the attitude towards the standard form and variant forms. A like study would determine whether the status of, or attitude towards, Creole changes from the perspective of different users (academic and political world, and the general public). This is the next step for research on the topic of Creole language change as a result of Internet usage.

All in all, the variations seen in the data are not harmful to standard Creole. The language variations are a means of personal expression and do not reflect a lack of knowledge, or a depreciation of standard Creole. CMC is becoming the main mode of communication in this day and age, and this is affecting the evolution of language, as we have seen with the effects on Haitian Creole.
### APPENDIX A
### TABLES AND FIGURES

#### Table A-1. Percentages of Internet Sites in Creole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Foreign (F)</th>
<th>National (N)</th>
<th>No Creyol</th>
<th>Title Only</th>
<th>&lt;50%</th>
<th>&gt;50%</th>
<th>Complete Creole</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOVERNMENTAL</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Embassy PAP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haitian Consulate- Chicago</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian Consulate- New York</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian Embassy- Paris</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian Embassy- Montréal</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Alcee L. Hastings website</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel Politik</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preval Haiti</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NYC Department of Education</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Department of Justice</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alterpress-PAP</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Haitian News Network</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti en Marche</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 US Congressman
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Foreign (F)</th>
<th>No Creole</th>
<th>Title Only</th>
<th>&lt;50%</th>
<th>&gt;50%</th>
<th>Complete Creole</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le Matin</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'Agence Haitienne de Presse</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Sub Total</td>
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<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.18</td>
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### Table A-2 Accent Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accent Additions</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Standard Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Amérikèn</td>
<td>Ameriken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>kréyôl</td>
<td>kreyôl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Gadé</td>
<td>gade$^{17}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>divizé</td>
<td>divize</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Ék</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>Èché</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>dakô</td>
<td>dakô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Accent Deletions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accent Deletions</th>
<th>PP1</th>
<th>Kreol</th>
<th>kreyôl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>Tro</td>
<td>twò</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table A-3 BP1 Discourse Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Anyways</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Oh</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>bon</td>
<td>Fr/Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Eh bien</td>
<td>Fr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>bon</td>
<td>Fr/Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>En</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>antouka</td>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^{17}$ Possibly an overextension of French
APPENDIX B
DATA

Discussion Forum Data: Code Switching

KEY:

Creole to French

Creole to English

(SourceParticipantNumber:Month.Day.Year)
Example:

(TP1: 6.02.10) = (TwitterParticipant1: May 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2010)

T= Twitter

P= Potomitan

TP1: 5.25.10

Cheri ou mortel, ou irezistib mwin anviw ak tout kom an tou ka tatie na pale pita \textit{bon journee}\textsuperscript{18} gin de bagay on moun di ou pa bezwin reponn paskew konn tout bagay si lal nan yon lôt se paskel se yon puercou

Bon tati pou kisa ou oblije ap reflechi ak bagay sa yo paskew konnin se ouk pi bon

TP1: 5.23.10

mwin pa desann nan hotel mwin lakay mwin Tatie mwin pa wew minm

Apam pa li rapadous ditou li vin sale kounie a?

tégin yon tranbleman ki te pase sou ou payto?

Mwin kontan ke neg la pat bliyem ye si pou ta kite sr lik pou ta kitem pasem paka bal anyin

TP1: 5.20.10

\textit{Dans un monde} nou an mwin pap ladanl paske mwin pwal pran yon ti biny nan peyim mwin pap ka tweet kek jou

Bon le nou kinbe tout pawol yo pou nou an mwin minm sa map jwin poum di?

Nan kisaw pran rez la georges?

Bonjou tout moun map swete nou yon bôn jounin nan de pla min papa bondieu

TP1: 5.19.10

Cheri manviw fri dob ou nan lwil mwin

Lanmou ka fe dlo glase sot nan chodie lanf

TP1: 5.12.10

\textsuperscript{18} This could also be a misspelling of joune
bon ban mal bwe grinn poum ka domi paske map fou aswe a kanminm
se nan poud damou an mwin te tonbe si nou we neg la nap rinminl
manvi we neg mwin rinmin an li pa reponn appel mwin tatie edem souple

TP1:5.11.10
bonne nuit tout moun e pa bliye di granmet la mesi
rinmin yon moun pa vle di anyin se siw pa di moun lan sa epi bagay la ap
manjew se le sal grac

TP2:5.25.10
Anpil nan nou aji tankou bb. Franchman! Preparez vs ds peu d temps c sera A
COEUR OUVERT. Avc vtre seconde animatrice WIDOU
Map fè yn 2vwa la,aprè map rive sou nou pou A COEUR OUVERT la. Tt moun
meten prè. Shebania ak jouf mgen news pou nou.
Nou k jus fè tt bagay an od.Lè gen yn komiT solid la sal la ap pi byen mache,e ap
gen dè pwogram an plus.MpanC yn komite solid la bn.

TP2:5.24.10
Mgentan sot lekøl,mw nan machin. Nica mpa konprann msg la? Trans reponn
mw.
Mw nan klas. A tard. Moun q ekrim yo pita. Trans pita map rive sou ou. Jvs
aime ts. A plus.
kendia87: AMEN!widou di transformer16,biguy,mcvag,djigolo on mw mbezwen
yo ok jun07 ou te byen domi bonne joune
C'etait vtre seconde animatrice WIDOU accompagné de JUNO. Merci ms
amours. Excellente nuit.

TP3:5.25.10
Hey jess ti rasta sa wap chante konsa?..ou pale ak Nahomie?..Shanou se pa m
pa

Hey jess ti rasta sa wap chante konsa?..ou pale ak Nahomie?..Shanou se pa m
pa

Hey jess ti rasta sa wap chante konsa?..ou pale ak Nahomie?..Shanou se pa m
pa
TP4:5.25.10
Si ou pa gen Jesus nan life sa-a, ou tankou yon car san light, wap kouri sou High way ou pa konn kote ou ap Go..
MC ale anfas yo sou turgeau a wa we RT @mrgeorges15: Voila resi fe yon bel kou vre sou tet digicel bo altagras la gen 2 gwo bilboard Voila.

TP4:5.4.10
Okeu pito sa, paske m pa anvi pran sa mwen vip hier a
Sa se nan lespri’w li ye RT @Louis_Robert: Eske gen moun la ki fek santi aftershock la???
M pap ba ou menti si mwen te yon mainsour m ret lakay mwen R
Yo di travay se la liberte, poutan mwen lib rete lakay mwen, depi li jou fok mwen ale

TP4:5.3.10
Mwen o chomaj banm djob sa non chris RT @chritellepm: mwin telman fatige la se yon moun ki pou ta fe tout bagay pou mwin

TP4:5.2.10
Ou konn se assistance technique mwen bay, mwen jwenn yon solution pou o

TP5:5.25.10
Yo retire’m sou PAUSE la lol
Oh well... ma pran Orlando lakay li. Epi se sal map sal yo. Good morning guys

TP5:5.22.10
I'm fine u know . map gade si map fini ak school sa in August
Good morning ladies and gentlemen. Kisa mwen gen poum fe matin an la? I have no idea.

TP5:5.21.10
Regle #1 : pa janm ba fi a twop impotanse. Si non lap fe makak.
@anonymous vagabon 4 life brother pa gen manti nan sa vre lol
@anonymous7 months brother. U know what lanmou se yon kk li ye. fanm ingrat brother. Mwen pap jwe non man

TP5:5.19.10
Heading back home lol pa gen anyen serieux nan lekol la. Pa gen student, gen teacher enfin. . .

TP5:5.17.10
@anonymous wap di moune yo bonsoir pou mwen. Have a nice trip.

TP5:5.15.10
I guess mwen pap bwe aswe a lol. Map relax mwen ak ti TAMPICO’m
Kom si yo dim aswe se vodca nou bral bwe. Sam te pran hier soir pa suffi pou mwen.

TP5:5.14.10
@anonymous yeah ti manman mwen pran feeling twitter a sutou mwen metel sou cellphone mwen.
@anonymous ti gason ou pa janm palem de projet @anonymous yo non? map tann call ou br send me a direct message on twitter
TP6:5.24.10

@anonymous muhhh I work earrryyyyy I'm dying for le lambi!!!! Mwen sanleu quit, its interrupting my eating planssss :/
TP6:5.12.10

Mwen gen sweet tooth!! Ki program???
TP6:4.22.10

Why have I been out of the loop with www.www?!?! Ke yon moun explikem vitt cuz I don't like feeling left out wallah
TP6:2.27.10

Lool map vini wi mwen kay jeh fom al beyen first. . . bagay saa son cinema RT
@anonymous: @anonymous come watch it here with us, map tann ou
TP6:2.22.10

I mezanmi epa blag et mwen la map manje salad ak jenny craig. . . fuk this shit loool sudoku!!!!!!!!!!

TP7:5.25.10

bank lan sakap fèt tu ns lag?maleu m jouke 2ja wi bne nuit a vs les twiters. Slt petitchef cmt tu vas? bne a tous et a toutes paske m 2chargé.a 2men SDV.kiss kiss muah muah. . .
ou konnen strik nou poze.2pi maten map man2 pou ou wi.jouf entre l'abre et l'ecosse il ne faut pas y mettre ton droigt.gad ale mwen ak s . yow sista chargeur papam nan menw.nou pran yon ti break ou byen.aljy gen yon kouran malè la piti.
mèwi pitt m kouche map tweet.saw te konpran.sheba,mcvag kote nou.nou sevrem?
se sa yo di certus.fac wap sib.aljy voye bagay la poum.strik sa wap regle la?
TP7:5.24.10

bon kounya nou pa wont gad etan lèn pa pale t1t1 nou pa jwenn anyen serye nou te ka di?
TP7:5.20.10

kman mta fè lage m nan menw lan certus pa kite strik tan2 w.ou gen lè fèk atake.
mba yo vag wi strik favè m tap fè yo paske m pi pretencieuse pase yo tout ou wè se ko yo yap bat.si sete nou sèlman li tap pi bon toujou.
TP8:5.20.10
crazy slang and slurs
mwen prepare un pe mat la
TP8:5.19.10
saw te konpran Taly mpa nimport kel chô payi
TP8:5.18.10
lunion. . . fait la not 2main sera le meyeur jr pr fair valoir ce slogan.ki me suport?
Sujet du message: Wikipedia Haitien dwe servi ak yon kreol kreolize unifie
Mon kontan travay wikipedia Haitien la k'ap fet sou web la, e mon kompwann ke sa se pa redi chèz amba tab. Mon kontan tou vwè ke bann moun k'ap travay sou li realize ke yo dwe distenge kreol roto ek kreol ròk , me tou ale sou yon version kreol Haitien k'a permet ratachman ba tout lot kreolofôn.

Sujet du message: Re: es zòt lé fè an krey
Mwen, mon kwè ke yon krey ki te ava ka permit ke kreol la ka finalman ortorgrafie an on yonn jan te ké ka yon bel bagay ba wou kon ba mwen kon ba mezi moun ki swete vwè bon jan travay ap boule roule doubout douvan pou toudbon.

Sujet du message: Ès ke Haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
Lè nou fin garde ki jan 12 janvie 2010 demoutre nou ke san port-au-prince se konm si pa te gen piès Haiti. Nou dwe mande nou si haiti pa fin yon jan tro santralize.Istorikman Haiti te yon peyi kot provens istorik nor, sud, sant te konn fonksionne yonn san lot, duran 19 em siek la. Yon bagay ki ben paret totalman emposib alerkile, lé nou malerezman konstate ke piès lot rejion pa te sa’ porte sekou ba Port-au-prince, o jou malè 'a te fin frape 'a.

Sujet du message: Re: Ès ke haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
Honeur ek bienvenu ba wou (P3)
Mon ka idantifie kreol a w' kon ta a moun Guadeloupe. Santralize , nan okurans lasa lienne epi situasion gouvernans a peyi Haiti ola ke tout buten kazi rasamble nan yonn vil e rès peyi la ka depann kazi totalman ova kote ki se potomitan la. Ou ké di mwen si ou kompwann kreol Haiti on bren!
Respek!

Sujet du message: es zòt lé fè an krey
s zòt lé fè an krèy pou aprann maké kréyòl-la byen.
Pou nou endé nou ansanm pou sa matjé kréyòl-la an mannyè obidjoul ?
Yonn ka endé lòt san wont, san kòlè, san konplèks.
An djoubak nan gran lanmou.
Kréyòl ayisyen, gwada, madinina, giyàn . . . . Lakarayib, poutjipa lézòt péyi kréyòl kontél: Laréyinyon, Moris, Séchêl. . . .
Création d'un groupe pour apprendre à orthographier le créole sans faute. Sans esprit de supériorité, dans l'amour
Es tu d'accord
Réponn vit pou nou sa mèt nou an travay

Sujet du message: Ki koulè Barack Obama ?
Kréyòl: (same message posted first in french)
Man jennen lè man ka wè ki frè antiyè ka gadé léléksyon prézidan Lézétazini Obama Barak konta an kandida NWÈ.
Pouki i nwè alòs papa’y wè jou Kénya èk maman’y amérikèn?
Ban mwen i pa pli nwè ki blan, ni pli blan ki nwè. Pouki i pa kandida blan an?
An ti gout san nwè nan venn ou sifizan pou fouté’w nan ras anba-anba?
Yo ka mèt an métis-milat nan ras machapya nonpa nan ta gran mapipi ras blan an?
Sé an kouyonnad lè ou ka pran ba’w léléksyon an présidan nèg kon ta’w.
Adan Obama ou pa pou wè an ras, men ou pou wè an chaltounen pou tout minorité,
menn ta blan an, ki lé rélé-kriyé. Pou’y i sé an Amériken non an ti pal nan gran
tyòkanblòk ras divizé èk fèmen.
Anou voyé kreyòl douvan douvan

PP3: 4.16.10
yo... (P1)
mwen nouvo asi poto
é mwen ka éché moun ki vlé lyennné si ou dakô mwen dakô
mwen sé nèg karikéra
ka sa vlé di lè ou ka di sentralizè
PP3: 4.19.10
Sujet du message: Re: Ès ke Haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
oui... mwen konpwén sa ou ka di minm si mwen pa maké’y ni palé’y
sé vré mwen pa ka konpwé nèg haiti
pétèt kè sa ou ka di la pa lwen réalité a sa mwen ka ten’n é sa en vwè
fô haitien vényé sa ki ka pasé sa bien dè suivi sa ki ka pasé en pay’aw
Haiti ni on chens dè rèkonstwi’y pa kité sinj pwen zòt pou makac
Rasenblé é réfléchi si ki jen zòt vlé vwè Haiti dèmin
Pani si lonten ki sa On Vayen Nonm fè nou vwè ki jen pou nou travaye lè nou bizwen fé
lidé en nou pasé jen nou ka vwè dèmin
en ka pensé y lésé on tras on chimin kòsiè kon nou ké di Karikéra mé si nou mété’y on
mennié Karaib’la nou ké di chimin kann
In bin... bien mèsi pou répons'aw

Sujet du message:
PP4: 1.16.07
Mèci bokou !!!!
G cherchai justement une traduction de la bible en kreyol & grace à vous maintenan c
choz faite!
Discussion Forum Data

BOLD: Orthographic Variations

(SourceParticipantNumber:Month.Day.Year)

Example:

(TP1: 6.02.10) = (TwitterParticipant1: May 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2010)

T= Twitter

P= Potomitan

TP1:5.25.10
Cheri ou mortel, ou irezistib mwin anviw ak tout kom
an tou ka tatie na pale pita \textit{bon journee}
\textit{gin} de bagay on moun di ou pa bezwin reponn \textit{paskew} konn tout bagay si lal
nan\textit{ yon lot se paskel se yon puerco}
Bon tati pou kisa ou oblije ap reflechi ak bagay sa yo paskew \textit{konin} se ouk pi
bon

TP1:5.23.10
mwin pa desann nan hotel mwin lakay mwin
Tatie mwin pa \textit{wew minm}
Apam pa li rapados ditou li vin sale \textit{kounie a}?
te \textit{gin} yon tranbleman ki te pase sou ou \textit{payto}?
Mwin kontan \textit{ke} neg la pat bliyem ye si pou ta kite sr lik pou ta kitem pasem paka
bal anyin

TP1:5.20.10
\textbf{Dans un monde} nou an mwin pap \textit{ladanl} paske mwin pwal pran yon ti \textit{biny} nan
peyim mwin pap ka \textit{tweet} kek jou
Bon le nou \textit{kinbe} tout pawol yo pou nou an \textit{mwin minm} sa map jwin poum di?
Nan kisaw pran \textit{rez la georges}?
Bonjou tout moun map swete nou yon \textit{bon jounin} nan de pla \textit{min} papa bondieu

TP1:5.19.10
Cheri \textit{manviw fri dob} ou nan \textit{lwil mwin}
Lanmou ka fe dlo glase sot nan \textit{chodie} lanf

TP1:5.12.10
bon ban mal bwe \textit{grinn} poum ka domi paske map fou aswe a \textit{kanminm}
se nan poud damou an \textit{mwin} te tonbe si nou we neg la nap \textit{rinminl}
manvi we neg \textit{mwin rinmin} an li pa reponn \textit{appel mwin} tatie edem couple

TP1:5.11.10
\textit{bonne nuit tout} moun e pa bliye di granmet la mesi
rinmin yon moun pa vle di anyin se siw pa di moun lan sa epi bagay la ap
manjew se le sal grac
TP2:5.25.10
Anpil nan nou aji tankou bb. Franchman! Preparez vs ds peu d temps c sera A
COEUR OUVERT. Avc vtre seconde animatrice WIDOU
Map fè yn 2vwa la,aprè map rive sou nou pou A COEUR OUVERT la. Tt moun
meten prè. Shebania ak jouf mgen news pou nou.
Nou k jus fè tt bagay an od.Lè gen yn kômiT solid la sal la ap pi byen mache,e
ap gen dè pwogram an plus.MpanC yn komite solid la bn.
TP2:5.24.10
Mgentan sot lekòl,mw nan machin. Nica mpa konprann msg la? Trans reponn
mw.
Mw nan klas. A tard. Moun q ekrim yo pita. Trans pita map rive sou ou. Jvs
aime ts. A plus.
kendia87: AMEN! widou di transformer16,biguy,mcvag,djigolo on mw mbezwè
yo ok jun07 ou te byen domi bonne joune
Nou pa dim san panse d emisyon an? Skem mét kontinyel ou bay vag? Bn8.
C'étais vtre seconde animatrice WIDOU accompagné de JUNO. Merci ms
amours. Excellente nuit.
Vs pouvez poser n'importe kel kesyon. Allez y
Merci Jouf. Ms chers amis a latak. Kesyon à vs ms chers.
Ben! En un peu explike ns ts ecchets et ts reussites ds la vie?
Keski c'étais paC entre toi et ts ptit copain?
Parle ns un peu d ts qualités et d ts défauts? Qu'est c ki c'étais paC entre ns?
Pa ekri souple lüt moun yo. Merci
A l'occasion d vtre présence jvs 2mand d'applaudir vtre akuze JOUF. Plapla
plapla.
TP3:5.25.10
Hey jess ti rasta sa wap chante konsa?..ou pale ak Nahomie?..Shanou se pa m
pa janm tandew menm,
Mwen ta renmen nou fe moun sa yo follow higue,aljy,guely..m
Mwen dako avc nu sou on sl poïn la..si ou moun debode nu ka chwazi off li ok
apre m pa anyen kap bon la epi tout moun pa konekte ok
Bon nou vin fe twitter a vin on clan..poutan se on page sociale li ye tankou
facebook,hi5,myspace..ou gen dwa gen zanmi tout kote ou vle
Wow je s8 2ja fano de 7 emission,alors Jouf t'aime ls positions?si oui
lesquelles?Jess tu sais bien ke t'es my best friend
Envoie moi tn # sur le 3799 5342 ok..banm di nou tout moun ki fe ON fe
follow pito poun ajoute on moun..ok
Key vraiment j'habite tout pret de caradeux..tout pret du terrain de foot...Jouf
mwen we sel ou ki akeyim la..
TP4:5.25.10
Si ou pa gen Jesus nan life sa-a, ou tankou yon car san light, wap kouri sou
High way ou pa konn kote ou ap Go..
MC ale anfas yo sou turgeau a wa we RT @mrgeorges15: Voila resi fe yon
bel kou vre sou tet digicel bo altagras la gen 2 gwo billboard Voila.
Okeu pito sa, paske m pa anvi pran sa mwen vip hier a
Sa se nan lespri'w li ye RT @Louis_Robert: Eske gen moun la ki fek santi aftershock la???
M pap ba ou menti si mwen te yon mainsour m ret lakay mwen R
Yo di travay se la liberte, poutan mwen lib rete lakay mwen, depi li jou fok mwen ale

Mwen o chomaj banm djob sa non chris RT @chritellepm: mwin telman fatige la se yon moun ki pou ta fe tout bagay pou mwin

Ou konn se assistance technique mwen bay, mwen jwenn yon solution pou o

Yo retire'm sou PAUSE la lol
Oh well. . . ma pran Orlando lakay li. Epi se sal map sal yo. Good morning guys

I'm fine u know . map gade si map fini ak school sa in August
Good morning ladies and gentlemen. Kisa mwen gen poum fe matin an la? I have no idea.

Regle #1 : pa janm ba fi a twop impotanse. Si non lap fe makak.
@anonymous vagabon 4 life brother pa gen manti nan sa vre lol
@anonymous7 months brother. U know what lanmou se yon kk li ye.
fanm ingrat brother. Mwen pap jwe non man

Heading back home lol pa gen anyen serieux nan lekol la. Pa gen student, gen teacher enfin. . .

@anonymous wap di moune yo bonsoir pou mwen. Have a nice trip.

I guess mwen pap bwe aswe a lol. Map relax mwen ak ti TAMPICO'm
Kom si yo dim aswe se vodca nou bral bwe. Sam te pran hier soir pa suffi pou mwen.

@anonymous yeah ti manman mwen pran feeling twitter a sutou mwen metel sou cellphone mwen.
@anonymous ti gason ou pa janm palem de projet @anonymous yo non? map tann call ou or send me a direct message on twitter

@anonymous muhhh I work earthyyyy I'm dying for le lambi!!!! Mwen sanleu quit, its interrupting my eating plansssss :/
Mwen gen sweet tooth!! Ki program??
TP6:4.22.10
Why have I been out of the loop with www.www?!?! Ke yon moun explikem vitt
cuz I don't like feeling left out wallah
TP6:2.27.10
Lool map vini wi mwen kay jeh fom al beyen first. . . bagay saa son cinema
RT @anonymous: @anonymous come watch it here with us, map tann ou
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I mezanmi epa blag et mwen la map manje salad ak jenny craig. . . fuk this shit loool
dsudoku!!!!!!!!!
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bank lan sakap fèt tu ns lag?maleu m jouke 2ja vi bne nuit a vs les twiters.
Slit petitchef cmt tu vas?bne a tous et a toutes paske m 2chargé.a 2men SDV.kiss
kiss muah muah. . .
ou konnen strik nou poze.2pi maten map man2 pou ou wi jouf entre l'abre et
l'ecosse il ne faut pas y mettre ton droigt.gad ale mwen ak s .
yow sista chargeur papam nan menw.nou pran yon ti break ou byen.aljy gen
youn kouran malè la piti.
mèwi ptit m kouche map tweet.saw te konpran.sheba,mcvag kote nou.nou
sevrem?
se sa yo di certus.fac wap sib.aljy voye bagay la poum.strik sa wap regle la?
TP7:5.24.10
bon kounya nou pa wont gad etan lèn pa pale t1t1 nou pa jwenn anyen serye
nou te ka dì?
TP7:5.20.10
kman mta fè lage m nan menw lan certus pa kite strik tan2 w.ou gen lè fèk
atake.
mba yo vag wi strik favè m tap fè yo paske m pi pretencieuze pase yo tout ou wè se ko
yo yap bat.si sete nou sèlman li tap pi bon toujou.
TP8:5.20.10
crazy slang and slurs
mwen prepare un pe mat la
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TP8:5.18.10
lunion. . . fait la not 2main sera le meyeur jr pr fair valoir ce slogan.ki me
suport?
Potomitan

PP1: 5.23.10
Sujet du message: Wikipedia Haitien dwe servi ak yon kreol kreeolize unifie
Mon kontan travay wikipedia haitien la k'ap fet sou web la, e mon kompwann ke sa se
pa redi chèz amba tab. Mon kontan tou vvè ke bann moun k'ap travay sou li realize ke
yo dwe distenge kreol rorot ek kreol rèk, me tou ale sou yon version kreol Haitien k’a permet ratachman ba tout lot kreolofòn.

PP1:5.23.10

**Sujet du message:** Re: es zòt lé fè an krey
Mwen, mon kwè ke yon krey ke ti ava ka permet ke kreol la ka finalman ortorgrafie an on yonn jan te ké ka yon bel bagay ba wou kon ba mwen kon ba mezi moun ki swete vwè bon jan travay ap boule roule doubtout douvan pou toudbon.

PP1: 4.12.10

**Sujet du message:** Ès ke Haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
Lè nou fin garde ki jan 12 janvie 2010 demoutre nou ke san port-au-prince se konm si pa te gen piès Haiti. Nou dwe mande nou si haiti pa fin yon jan tro santralize.Istorikman Haiti te yon peyi kot provens istorik nor, sud, sant te konn fonksionne yonn san lot, duran 19 em siek la. Yon bagay ki ben paret totalman emposib alerkile, lè nou malerezman konstate ke piès lot rejion pa te sa' porte sekou ba Port-au-prince, o jou malè 'a te fin frape 'a.

PP1: 4.20.10

**Sujet du message:** Re: Ès ke haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
Honeur ek bienvou ba wou (P3)
Mon ka idantifie kreol a w’ kon ta a moun Guadeloupe. Santralize , nan okurans lasa lienne epi situasion gouvernans a peyi Haiti ola ke tout buten kazi rasamble nan yonn vil e rès peyi la ka depann kazi totalman ova kote ki se potomitan la. Ou ké di mwen si ou kompwann kreol Haiti on bren!
Respek!

PP2:9.25.07

**Sujet du message:** es zòt lé fè an krey
s zòt lé fè an krèy pou aprann maké kréyòl-la byen.
Pou nou endé nou ansanm pou sa matjé kréyòl-la an mannyè obidjoul ?
Yonn ka endé lòt san wont, san kòlè, san konplèks.
An djoubak nan gran lannou.

Kréyòl ayisyen, gwada, madinina, giyàn. . . .. Lakarayib, poutjipa lézòt péyi kréyòl kontél: Laréyinyon, Moris, Séchèl. . . ..

Création d’un groupe pour apprendre à orthographier le créole sans faute. Sans esprit de supériorité, dans l’amour

**Es tu d’accord**
Réponn vit pou nou sa mèt nou an travay

PP2: 11.4.08

**Sujet du message:** Ki koulè Barack Obama ?
Kréyòl: (same message posted first in french)
Man jennen lè man ka wè ki frè antiyè ka gadé léléksyon prezidan Lézétazini Obama Barak konta an kandida NWÈ.

Pouki i nwè alos papa'y wè jou Kénya èk maman’y améríkan?
Ban mwen i pa pli nwè ki blan, ni pli blan ki nwè. Pouki i pa kandida blan an?
An ti gout san nwè nan venn ou sifizan pou fouté’w nan ras anba-anba?
Yo ka mèt an métis-milat nan ras machapya nonpa nan ta gran mapipi ras blan an?
Sé an kouyonnad lè ou ka pran ba’w léléksyon an présidan nèg kon ta’w.
Adan Obama ou pa pou wè an ras, men ou pou wè an chattounen pou tout minorité, menn ta blan an, ki lé relé-kiyé. Pou'y i sé an Amériken non an ti pal nan gran tyókanblòk ras divizé èk fèmen.
Annou voyé kreyòl douvan douvan

PP3: 4.16.10
yo... (P1)
mwen nouvo asi poto
é mwen ka éché moun ki vlé lyennné si ou dakò mwen dakò
mwen sé nèg karikéra
ka sa vlé di lè ou ka di sentralizè
PP3: 4.19.10
Sujet du message: Re: Ès ke Haiti se yon peyi ki tro santralize ?
oui... mwen konpwen sa ou ka di minm si mwen pa maké'y ni palé'y
sé vré mwen pa ka konpwen gouvènens haïti
pétèt kè sa ou ka di la pa lwen réalité a sa mwen ka ten'n é sa en vvè
fò haïtien vényè sa ki ka pasé sa bien dè suiv sa ki ka pasé en pay'aw
Haiti ni on chens dè rèkonstwi'y pa kité sinj pwèn zòt pou makac
Rasenblé é réfléchi si ki jen zòt vlé vvè Haitì dèmin
Pani si lonten ki sa On Vayen Nom fè nou vvè ki jen pou nou travaye lè nou bizwen
fè lidé en nou pasé jen nou ka vvè dèmin
en ka pensè y lésè on tras on chimin kòsiè kon nou ké di Karikéra mé si nou mété'y
on menniè Karaïb'la nou ké di chimin kann
In bin... bien mèsi pou répons'aw

Sujet du message:
PP4: 1.16.07
Mèci bokou !!!
G cherchai justement une traduction de la bible en kreyol & grace à vous maintenant c
choz faite!

DIALOGUE:
Sujet du message: Traduire un proverbe francais en Créole / URGENT
PP5: 9.1.06
" Il n'y a que les montagnes qui ne se rencontrent pas "
D'avance merci à celui ou celle qui m'aidera

PP6: 4.9.07
"Enki monn ki pé pa joinn"
PP2:9.24.07
"Enki mòn ki pé pa jwenn" est la graphie la plus juste

PP7: 6.27.07
anonymous a écrit:
bonjou zandoli,
mwen ka panse fok koute epi pale an lo an lo ou pa ka janme fini komprann pèp la mwen byen vwè se koute ou ka koute pou tann se bon direksion ou pran tchembe rèd

IRC Data

11h25 7.31.2010
- BP1 = Pelparole Person 1
- Italics have been added
- Entrances/Exits by non-talking members have been deleted for space reasons

[Vous avez rejoint la salle: Belpawol_Chat
Welcome To Bél Pawol Chat, The Hottest, #1 Haiti Online Chat]

1BP1: are u planning to come again soon
2BP1: BP2
3BP2: mwen pas si sur
4BP3 sort.
5BP3 est parti sur le salon: Belpawol_Chat_#01
6BP1: ok
7BP2: parce ke mwen fet gen ou lot travay
8BP2: mwen poko ap gen vacances
9BP1: that s good
10BP3 entre.
11BP2: BP5 ak Gog, ki type de musik nou renmen tande
12BP5: RACINE
13BP1: mwen menm se konpa direk ,rasin ,rnb.
14BP5: LATIN MUSIC
15BP1: parfois techno ak hip hop
16BP7: Si nenpòt moun deside vinn vizite teleboston, mwen ankouraje nou vini dimanch 17vè senkè paske gen yon pwogram trè enteresan kote ou kapab patisipe pa teléfònn ou 18nan "chat room" lan avèk kesyon.
19BP5: I AM TOO OLD FOR HI HOP
20BP5: HIP HOP
21BP1: anyway ,m renmen tout musik sauf reggeton ak salsa ak zouk
22BP3: LLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLLL
23BP1: how old r u BP4
24BP1: sa depan de ki style hip hop
25BP5: OLD ENOUGH TO BE YOUR MOTHER
26BP1: mwen m tande Nas ,Rakim
27BP1: oh
28BP1: bon w pa menm konn laj mwen
29BP5: LOL
30BP1: so ,u must be in the 60s
31BP1: lol
32BP7: lol
33BP3: O
34BP5: NOT YET

12h19 7.31.2010

35TAMARA CLEF PA PRAN KOKAIN PA LE SA W KONNEN
36BP1: nou just la ap ide negatif
37BP3: KI YES SA BP8?
38BP8: pa li min zanmi li yo
39BP1: nou met preval pou 10 ans
40BP4: LES SE CLINTON AK OBAMA SE WEED
41BP4: MEWI
42BP4: Mwen we kote nou vle reive ya
43BP8: al gade neg sas m wel deja li tre fort
44BP1: eh bien peyi a se moun sot ki ladan
45BP8: se oun bon travayer
46BP1: pou se wycleff moun ap pale
47BP1: monche m pale n nou menm BP10
48BP1: nou gen nan ko n
49BP4: AHAHAHAHAH
50BP8: www.haitiforward.com li di ke li pa gen ambition politique li vle fe afel pou
51moun li ka fe
52BP4: ANMWEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEEE
53BP4: VIV CLEFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFFF
54BP1: m ale
55BP8: tripper lew fin gade wa chanje lide
56BP4: NOU EGRI MWEN WE PROBLEM NOU
57BP1: nou menm pep emotionnel sa
58BP8: BP4
59BP3: KI MOU SA BP8?
60BP4: SE PA EMOTIOIN SE CHWA KI PA GENYEN
61BP8: wycleff se muzisien
62BP1: le preval te monte ,se sa n te di wi
63BP1: ok ,mwen egri
64BP3: CEDRAS?
65BP4: KIYES KI LA APRES KLEFFFFFFFFFFFF
66BP1: map we nou
67BP3: MICHEL FRANCOIS?
68BP4: SE MEME ANSYEN MOUN YO WI
69BP3: GUY PHILLIPE
70BP4: SE YON EKIP NEG KI GEN PASE POLITK VOLER VISYE DEJA
71BP8: al gadel non tripper neg ki ka fe plis bagay ke wycleff la li lan
72www.haitiforward.com
73BP4: SO MWEN AP ESSEYE YON NOUVO
74BP4: SE SAK KI POLITIK LA
75BP4: WI
76BP1: mwen menm m pap janm compare politisyen BP10 ak Mme Manigat par ex
77BP8: BP4 neg sa pa vle fe politik
78BP3: BP8 JIS BAY NON MOUN NAN
79BP6 entre.
80BP8: se moun ki pou mandel al fe candida
81BP1: pierre paul charles ki mouri
82BP3: KI NNAN AL GADE SA
83BP4: AHAHAHAHA AA OU SON PPATIZAN AHAHAHAHA
84BP8: se oun neg ki kon vin la
85BP4: SE SEL BONDYE WI KI KA FE BOSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSS
86BP1: m pa patizan non
87BP3: KI MOUN BP8?
88BP4: KIJAN NEG SA REL LA MEN M ??
89BP6: BP4 MY NIGGA
90BP3: NON AN PA KA SOTI?
91BP1: m just we moun ki gen competence pou dirije yon peyi
92BP1: ou fe choix cleff ou ,bonne chance
93BP4: SAK GEN LA TRIIPPPP
94BP8: BP4www.haitiforward.com
95BP4: DI NON L
96BP1: bon m ta pito vote micky
97BP4: NAP SUIV
98BP1: neg la pa menm konn pale kreyol
99BP8: non pa micky se betiz li di
100BP8: that s what he does
101BP1: m pa menm kwe l fini high school
102BP4: AHAHAHAHA MICKY BON NEG MEN LI GEN YON VYE PASE KI AP
103SWIV LI SELMAN
104BP1: koman neg sa pral reflechi sou yon peyi la
105BP8: god bless al gade www.haitiforward.com
106BP1: ki vye pase
107BP4: NON TAMARA OU AP DI KIYES LA
108BP1: sak gen lan haiti forward
109BP4: DI BETIZZZZZZZZZZZ
110BP8: al gade wa we kiyes
111BP3: TOUT MOUN AP CHACHE CHEMIN POU YO VOLE NAN PEYI SA
112BP1: se wyclef ki pou bay regleman lajan yele haiti a li manje ak maitresse li a
113BP8: aaa se de sweet micky m te pale la
114BP4: LI KRAZE REPUTATION PRESIDENTIEL LA ANTOUKA
115BP1: poukisa w pa di sa
116BP3: A LA DE TINTIN MOUN TONBE
117BP8: se li ki di betiz
118BP1: mwen memn si m te haiti sel Mme Manigat m tap vote
119BP3: SWEET MICKY?
120BP4: YO GOO DD SE PA DI MWEN DI CLEFFFFFFFF BON NON TANDE
121BP8: non s epa li
122BP3: SA KI TE DI'VIV CEDRAS LA"
m diw al gade
paske se yon moun m gen anpil respe pou li
1 LI GEN KOB DEJA LI GEN MOYEN POU L FE KOB LI
OU FOU WI BP8
LI PAP AL NAN VOLE FASIL
www.haitiforward.com wa dim apre
2 LI RECONNU
aa ki kob
3 LI FE DEJA
le moun gene kob yo vle plis toujou
HAITIEN AP VOTE WYCLEFF JEAN NOU VLE'L OU PA
reconnu???
4 LI GEN KONTAK POU ANPIL BAGAY CHANGE
sak rele konsa
SE LI KI VREMAN WE PEP LA
kontak poukisa
3 million$ se üa kob pou moun hollywood non
SE SA KI FE MWEN PANCHE SOU LI WI MWEN
ou panse blan ba w regle yon bagay pou li
m diw ke bag beyonce te koute jay z 3 million$
sa k rele we pep la
se poko kob la sa
nou toujou renmen populisme
TAMARA MICKY LI MEN M LI PAP SOUSE PEYI YA
SE TOUT WI KI AP SOUSE L
MEN GEN YON KI AP MODERE
pa gen pyes peyi au monde kote populisme menenen l yon kote ok
ki tout kap souse peyi a
abed se normal paske se li yo te we ki tap pote dlo ,min sa yo pa konin se ke
wycleff te gen bagay sa lan tet li se pat pou granmesi li te pote dlo annon
m kwe se lavalas ak tout neg sot ki konn ave l yo
SE PA VRE OBAMA T POPULAIR MONCHERRRRRRRRRRRRRRRR
ki pil moun sa yo
METE CLINTON PREMIER MINISTRE
se eexpre li te fe pou pep la ka konin li
EPI TOUT BAGAY FINI
fok ou fe difference entre populaire
et populiste
ok
TAMARA OU PA KONNN SA WAP DI TANDE MAP PE
sort.
SE MWEN WE KI "CARE" DE PEYI YA WI
se pa dutout menm bagay
aristide se yon populist
LES DESATRE GONAIVES LA OU TE LA ????
just like wyclef
169BP1: neg la san programme san anyen lan men l
170BP4: NON ARISTIDE SE T YON MANIPULATEUR
171BP3: KISA OU VLE MINM GOD?
172BP1: epi l vle president
173BP3: DICTATEUR?
174BP1: ou pat we programm obama tipap
175BP4: PA GEN MOUN KI KO DIVULGE PROGRAME YO OU AP BAY MANTI
176BP1: pa gen comparaison possible non man
177BP3: GOD KI SA OU TA REMEN POU HAITI LA MINM?
178BP4: LI TE PUBLIE L LE POU L T PUBLYE L LA
179BP1: antouka ,tripper
180chercheur: hola
181BP1: bonne chans
182BP1: nap rantre nan yon abime pi red

21h38-48 7.31.2010
183BP4 sort.
184BP9: OO. APA NOU FREEZE
185BP10: yap domi yap bave
186BP9: PA GEN ANYEN NON ASWER A.
187BP14: MWEN TOUNNEN
188BP9: SAL LA DEAD
189BP15: byeeeeeeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseeseesee
AH MALE
eben k BP10 fel bel
MAL FE ROUT MWEN
sort.
on sel moun paka fel bel non
entre.
E DAT MAP PALE LA.
DWET MWEN FINN KALE NAN ESYE CHOFE SAL LA.
PA GEN FANM LA.
CASSAN PLZ FE YON TI RETE AVEC NOU PLZ MAP CRIYE WI
sel ou menm
NEG YO SE SOU YON SEL BAGAY YO KONSANTRE. "
WOUCHHHHHHHH BOUZIN YAN DI M L PA GEN KOBTAXI NONNN
si malere se chyen ebyen se chien ou ye
KYETTTTTTTTTT MESSYE
SOU KISA NEG YO KONSANTRE CASSAN
LOL POLLO. AH MWEN MELEREZ SE VRE, MEN MWEN PA CHIEN,
MWE PA VLE MEN MWEN PRAL KOT VWAZIN LAN WI LA
OU BESOIN KONNEN MALERE?

21h48-58 7.31.2010

BANM AL METE KANEL LA BOUYI TALER
CASOU SI OU T VWAZIN MWEN MTAPBON LA WI
non BP9 se pat ave wwen t pale
OK CASSAN
toujours les memes insigniants sur les chat haitiens
se ave malere wwen te pale
BP10 OU LAVE BOUDA W DEJA SALOP
FOK OU BWE DLO WA APRE WI
ou nichel ase, li pwop tripper
OK
MESYE PLUS KONSANTRE NAN " ASL"
NON SE MANMAN W MWEN SOT RELE LA LI DI M
malere saw vinn fe la tout moun ki la gen nan men wi
LI PA GEN KOB TAXI POUL VIN PRAN ZOZO
ale mande non
MWEN AP FELL VINI MWEN AP TAYE CHOFER YA AP TAYER L TOU
RETE
OU KWE MANMAN TOJOU DOUS PASKE MWEN TAYEL AK FO
ZOZO
mwen konnen se chichiman ou ye tripper
AYSYENOU AL CHACHEL POU MWEN
MWEN BAW SAL LA TRIPPER
PIKA P BEK OU WI
sort.
255BP9 est parti sur le salon: Belpawol_Chat_#01
256BP4: MERCI CASOU
257BP11: SAK GEN LA TRIPPER
258BP4: POZE WI CHAHCAR
259BP4: LOL
260BP4: BP10 KI AP FE RA6 POU MANMAN L
261BP12: tripper gen le se sel bagay sal ou konnen
262BP4: WIIIIIIIIII
263BP10: WAP SWIV PICA
264BP11: MANMAN YO TOU GEN SIDA'
265BP12: ou pat janm al lekol
266BP4: MWEN FE ETUDE TOU WI SE POU PAPA M AK MANMANM KI TE BA 267M PANIK
268BP4: MWEN FEL
269BP10: MOUN SA YO TE MET AL LEKOL, SE K PEDI YO YE
270BP4: MERCI BP10
271BP4: OU MEN M OU PA KA NON
272BP11: GET MANMAN W AYISTEN
273BP4: OU SON LORBEYYYYYYY
274BP12: mwen pwal alfabetizew tripper paske ou tro granmoun
275BP12: ou pap ka al lekol
276BP10: BP11 AK NON OU PRAN LA, MPA SEZI POU SAW DI A
277BP11: BP10 PA JANM SEZI LOL
278BP4: PIKA PA PALE KAKA MWEN T LEKOL ROGER ANGLADE DE
279PRIMAIRE A LA PHILO OK APRES MWEN AL ST DOMING MWEN AL NAN
280SCES INF OK
281BP4: MWEN GEN PAPYE MOK
282BP4: APRE MWEN VIN CANADA MWEN AL NAN PROGRAMATION OK
283BP4: KK
284BP10: POU MOUN LAKAY OU PRAN LA PENN FEW APRANN EKRI 285SELMAN,
EPI SE SAW KA EKRI
286BP4: Nn get manman wBP10vin arrete m kalanberrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr
LIST OF REFERENCES


Web. 3 June 2010.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amanda Dascomb received her B.A. degree in French from the University of Florida and has studied French Language Institute at the University of Grenoble in France. She has been teaching first-year French for the past two years at the University of Florida. She received her M.A. in French and Francophone Studies at the University of Florida in the spring of 2011.