

LINGUISTIC APARTHEID

By

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To my family and my country

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LINGUISTIC APARTHEID

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This research is designed to shed light on the linguistic apartheid that exists in Haiti today. Although 95% of Haitians are monolingual in *Kreyòl Ayisyen*, or Haitian Creole, there is a dominance of the French language in almost every political, academic and professional institution. The underrepresentation of Haitian Creole in the official sectors of Haitian society creates the notion of French as a privilege and a social marker. The 5% of Haitians who are bilingual are positioned advantageously over their non-French speaking counterparts. The result is a form of linguistic apartheid.

The goal of this study is to examine the differences between perceptions of the French language among French speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. Specifically, it aims to show that the perceived cultural value, instrumental value and life value of the French language vary depending on whether a person speaks French or not. As a result, this investigation will expose attitudes that perpetuate or oppose linguistic apartheid in Haiti. It will show that bilingual French & Creole speakers and monolingual Creole speakers have fundamentally different relationships to power, privilege and class mobility in Haitian society. This phenomenon is manifested in the way that they assess its cultural and historic significance and in the way they value

French with respect to social, economic and political advancements. In order to insure thorough research, Haitians were also interviewed about their perceptions of Haitian Creole. Whether and to what degree people value French is only in contraposition to their assessment of Creole. Therefore, understanding a Haitians' view of Haitian Creole will aid in better understanding their views of French. Findings expose much about the nature of the linguistic apartheid among French-speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. And finally, research will also show the correlation between language use and class. Because acquisition of the French language is a social marker, class stratification is inevitably intertwined with linguistic apartheid. In short, this research will lead to a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistics of Haiti and its people.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Creoles have been ranked with baby talk, child language, foreigner talk, and with other instances of non-natural language that do not serve normal societal communicative needs nor the full cognitive needs of the human species.

—Marvyn Alleyne
Language and the Social Construction of Identity in Creole

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The Purpose

The Republic of Haiti stands as a historical beacon to the world. Established on January 1, 1804, Haitians won the world's most successful slave revolt. As a result she became the first free black republic and the second nation in the western hemisphere. Ira Lowenthal observed, "more than even the first black republic of the modern world, Haiti was the first free nation of free men to arise within, and in resistance to, the emerging constellation of Western European empire" (Chomsky 1994: 5). Haiti's triumphant independence, however, has always been a relative condition. Even before the US occupation (1915-1934), colonizing forces successfully penetrated the core existence of Haitian society. Since her independence, Haiti embraced the language of her colonizers, French, while disregarding the language of the masses, Haitian Creole. Flore Zéphir notes, "Since colonial times, there has always existed a dichotomy between French and Creole. Generally speaking French was the high language...they thought that only through the French Language could Haiti rise to the rank of a civilized country worthy of external recognition" (Zéphir 1990:16). Perhaps this is why the Founding Fathers wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Haitian Constitution in French, a language foreign to most Haitians. This dichotomy furthered the social

stratification created by the French, which excluded the masses and advantageously positioned a demographic and sociolinguistic minority.

Today, 95% of Haitians are monolingual in *Kreyòl Ayisyen*, while a 5% elite are bilingual in Haitian Creole and French (Hebblethwaite 2012: 256). Although Haitian Creole is the only language that is shared by the entire nation, negative sentiments towards this language are evident. Most official documents, academic curricula, politics, and governmental affairs are carried out in French. Michel Degraff states that even “the Haitian birth certificate, the very first official document that every newborn Haitian citizen is, in principle, assigned by the state, exists in French only” (Degraff 2003: 101). The exclusion and subjugation of the majority leave Haiti in a state of “linguistic apartheid.” Haitians who only speak Haitian Creole are subject to discrimination and exclusion from almost all official matters. The purpose of this study is to investigate the differences between perceptions towards the French language among French speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. As a result, this investigation will expose attitudes that perpetuate and/or oppose linguistic apartheid in Haiti. This leads to a deeper understanding of the nature of linguistic apartheid.

Academics such as Benjamin Hebblethwaite (2012), Michael Degraff (2005) and Albert Valdman (2009) have produced compelling works that have detailed the effects of Haiti’s linguistic apartheid. However this study is the first to examine, in an empirical manner, Haitian attitudes and perceptions towards French and Haitian Creole along with a comprehensive interpretation of the nature of the linguistic apartheid that prevails throughout Haitian society. With the exception of Zéphir Flore (1990) and Yves Dejean (2006), there has been little development on the perception and uses of language in

Haiti. Focusing on this angle will offer a fresh outlook and practical ways to dismantle the powers that plague millions of Haitians today. Hopefully, this research, once made public in publication and policy applications, will encourage Haitians to find effective ways to resist the powers that entangle them.

To set this study in its proper framework it is necessary first to define linguistic apartheid operationally. In Chapter 1, this research addresses apartheid in the South African context. A parallel between the South African case provides an operational definition for its linguistic counterpart and demonstrates the severity of the Haitian situation. Next, it is crucial to set forth a historical background on the development of languages in Haiti. In Chapter 2 this research traces the power of language in Haiti from pre-colonial times to modern times. The latter part of this section provides a brief literature review of the prominent works on linguistic apartheid in Haiti in order to situate this research further. Chapter 3 offers a brief overview of the uses of language in Haiti, as seen through the government and the school system. These two sectors are the main focus because they are the most prominent expressions of linguistic seclusion in the Haitian society. The sum of these chapters creates a solid foundation for understanding the research presented in Chapter 4. The research methodology, data and interpretations are provided in this section. Finally, section V provides a conclusion to the study and suggestions guiding principles for a bilingual and united Haiti.

The Scope

This research will focus on sociolinguistic issues specifically. It will examine perceptions and attitudes and not structural aspects of linguistics, such as phonology, semantics, or morphology. Rather than focusing on a structural perspective, as much research has, this research focuses on the functional perspective of language. Also, the

objective of this research is not to select a random sample of the population but, rather, to select key informants who are strategically positioned within different sectors of the country's educational, political and economic organization. This use of a purposive sample will give the research a more holistic view of linguistic apartheid. Interpretations within this research are, therefore, limited to the information received from 23 informants. Finally, this research is limited to Haitians in Cap-Haitien, Haiti. For logistical reasons, this city was chosen; however, it is also a strategic city. As the first capital city of Haiti, it continues to be a beacon for immigration, intellectual progress and historical pride.

Apartheid Defined

South African Apartheid

The title and theme of this research, Linguistic Apartheid, borrows heavily from the case of extreme structural and experiential disparities in South Africa during the de jure apartheid era. In order to understand the implications and interpretations of the research presented in Chapter 4, it is imperative to understand the events of the South African Apartheid. This section provides a brief overview, which leads to a parallel analysis between Haiti and South Africa in the latter part of Chapter 1.

Rooted in Afrikaans, the concept of apartheid means "a state of apartness." Faye Harrison defines apartheid as "a policy of enforced separation between races" (Harrison 2008: 221). From 1948 to 1994 this was seen through the political and social system that legally segregated South Africans by their race. During this time of severe segregation, South Africans were classified into three categories: bantu (blacks), coloured (mixed races) and white. Throughout the 1950s strict regulations created a severe stratification that separated residency areas, job categories, public facilities,

transportation, education, health systems and social contact regulations based on race (Stanford 2001:1). Rooted in ideals of white supremacy, each group had their respective regulations; however, the whites were advantageously positioned.

As a result, individuals such as Steve Biko rose as leaders in resistance to the discrimination. In his speech about Bantustans, which were supposedly independent or autonomous African “homelands” that left the 80% black majority with only 13% of the land in South Africa, Biko called for blacks to stand for their rights. He states, “No, black people must learn to refuse to be pawns in a white man’s game...above all, we black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa is our country and that all of it belongs to us” (Talk 1996: 86). Although Biko’s life ended with his brutal murder by white policemen, he left a strong legacy that continues to exist. Many of his writings and speeches led South Africans to have non-violent resistance to apartheid. This resistance was however, often times, met by government brutality and in extreme cases massacre.

One of the most notable resistances during the time of apartheid was the Soweto uprising. This uprising is particularly important due to its nature and its relevance for the Haiti’s linguistic apartheid. Under the Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974, black students were forced to use Afrikaans and English as languages of instruction. This was particularly alarming for the black students because they were not familiar with Afrikaans, as it was not their native tongue, nor was it even a global language like English (Ndlovu 2005: 342). Furthermore, the meanings attributed to Afrikaans were especially negative because of the repressive role that Afrikaners played in establishing and administering the apartheid regime. Afrikaans was perceived to be a parochial

language, that of the minority. Black students were being forced to use the language of their oppressors to learn mathematics, arithmetic and social studies from the American equivalence of 7th grade until graduation. Their native tongues would only be used for instruction in religion, music and physical culture (Ndlovu 2005: 350). As a result, on June 16, 1976, 10,000-20,000 black students joined together for a rally to protest against the new regulations. Armed policemen and dogs met the protestors on streets and an exchange of bottles for bullets began. An estimated 176-700 students lost their lives due to this uprising (Ndlovu 2005: 350). It was a bloody representation of the black struggle for equality during the apartheid and its links to an imposed language were central to the protest.

Global Apartheid

In her compelling book on decolonizing anthropology for studying problems of the global era, Faye Harrison (2008) addresses the notion of global apartheid. Using the South African situation as a familiar paradigm for understanding the disparities and separations that happen on a global scale, she argues, “In its global, de facto form, apartheid is even more severe than its South African exemplar. The disparities in wealth, power, military control, health, and life expectancy that characterize the world system or global macro society are extremely wide and growing” (Harrison 2008: 220). By alluding to the inhumane segregation that occurred in South Africa, Dr. Harrison is able to brilliantly bridge a link from South African apartheid to similar forms of structural violence that create apartheid-like inequalities and power dynamics throughout the world. She argues that in the case of Southern Appalachia, urban and global apartheid separate the poor white majority from the public eye, “whose greater visibility threatens to destabilize hegemonic constructions of whiteness as a normative site of privilege and

power” (Harrison 2008: 222). South Africa, therefore, becomes a symbolic representation of institutionalized divisions on the macro level. Furthermore, the fact that racial separation and gross disparities still exist in post-apartheid South Africa, even though the legal policies have been removed, demonstrates that apartheid—both nationally and globally- can exist in subtle and concealed ways even if there are no official regulations promoting it. This is supported by the latter definition of apartheid given by Harrison which states that apartheid is “any invidious structure and practice of racial inequality--intended or unintended” (Harrison 2008: 221).

In the same manner, this thesis argues that the severity of a linguistic apartheid exists in countries such as Haiti. Linguistic apartheid is situated within the realms of organized segregation as seen throughout the globe. In the context of Haiti, it can be seen as the policy of enforced separation and disparities between French speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. Degraff (2011) noted that Haitians are raised up in communities that only expose them to *Kreyòl Ayisyen*, but, at the same time, they are forced to learn in a language that is foreign to them. As a result, the majority of students who are not privileged do not succeed in school. The students fail to learn and the schools miseducate them. The Soweto conflict of 1976 was, among other things, a glimpse into the kind of linguistic predicament that characterizes the experience of the majority of Haitians. This research, therefore, is titled Linguistic Apartheid in order to link the severe conditions of South African apartheid to the Haitian linguistic situation and to explore questions about linguistic human rights. To refer to the Haitian linguistic situation as solely diglossic would not be as accurate as calling it a linguistic apartheid.

Linguistic Apartheid

Language as a Social Marker

Language is a necessity in every society. Through it individuals are able to know the world and convey meaning in their everyday lives. In Haiti, the necessity of language has evolved into a vehicle for suppression and underdevelopment. Michael Degraff (2011) and Benjamin Hebblethwaite (2012) argue that the minority's dominance by means of the French language is one of Haiti's fundamental problems. The underrepresentation of Haitian Creole creates the notion of French as a privilege and a social marker while excluding the majority of Haitians from development. In preparing the data interpretation presented in section IV, this section explores the notion of French as a social marker in Haiti.

At the beginning stages of Haiti's independence, Jean Jacques Dessalines was proclaimed Governor General for life. Lyonel Paquin notes that one of the four political commandments given from Dessalines to his people was that "all Haitians were to be known as Blacks, whatever their color" (Paquin 1983: 27). In forming the new Haitian flag, Dessalines used the French tri-color as a base but tore off the white section in representation of the mulattos and blacks joining forces. Dessalines declared that all Haitians were to be classified as black under their generic denomination even though some were lighter than others. This concept of racial unity began to blur and distort the popular notion of color being the main social marker. As a result, groups of black elites began to rise to positions of power. This was seen through the black generals and presidents such as Henry Christophe that rose to power throughout Haiti's history and men like Toussaint Louverture who helped eliminate color prejudice. (Paquin 1938: 29).

The blurring of intraracial divisions continued until the 21st century (see section II for further description on this development).

Although racial lines began to blur after 1804, there were many nuances within the racial dynamics of Haiti after the revolution. David Nichols (1979) notes that among those who survived the Haitian Revolution there arose two distinct racial groups. There was a small but powerful minority, who were mainly mulattoes. These mulattoes were offspring of French men who had relations with black or mulatto women. Many of these mulattoes became free because of their fathers and started owning slaves of their own. Mulattoes owned one third of the slaves in Saint Domingue, which allowed them to have wealth even after the revolution. The second group to arise was the black ex-slaves, the majority of the population. They bore a deep-rooted hatred towards the plantation system and hoped to farm their own lands.

The ideals that were carried by these two racial groups were vastly different from one another. Culturally, the mulattoes became the staunch bastion of Francophone culture in Haiti. Because they had French ancestry, spoke French, and were in closer proximity to the French culturally, they continued to carry the culture and language over the generations Haiti. The different ideologies of these groups was further manifested through the secession of the mulatto minority that dominated the south (Arthur 1999:45). In 1807 Haiti split into two separate entities, the Kingdom of Haiti and the Republic of Haiti. Henri Christophe, the black elite leader, became the king of the North and created a black nobility to rule with him. In the South, the mulattoes established a Republic under Alexandre Pétion, the mulatto leader.

The governments of these two entities operated differently. Henri Christophe used military force in an attempt to revive the plantation system and boost the export economy. He installed a militarized agricultural system but his forced labor policy was widely unpopular. In the South, Pétion distributed state owned land in efforts to gain political favor and acceptance (Arthur 1999: 46). During his presidency over 150,000 hectares were distributed or sold to more than 10,000 individuals. Nicholls notes, “although the best lands were granted to members of the mostly mulatto elite, each member of the mainly black army was also allocated a six-hectare plot” (cited in Arthur 1999: 46). The two government embodied two ideals that clashed against each other.

Following the death of Henri Christophe, Petion’s successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, reunited the country once more. Although Boyer’s government collapsed in 1843, his reunification of Haiti represented an intricate dynamic to race in Haiti. Paquin (1983: 27) notes, “The Haitians soon learned it was indispensable to have a working relationship between Black and Mulatto for the survival of the nation...There are bonds between Black and Mulatto far stronger than among people of the same family. They are each other’s protection. And they have proven their loyalty in case of great political peril. Thus, while they were Mulattoes in Christophe’s government, there were Blacks in Petion’s government. In both States there was token representation of each group” (Paquin 1983: 34). Although there existed a racial divide between the elite mulatto minority and the black majority, it was not exclusively rooted in race. There were exceptions to the racial divide and social class was more of a determinate of power than race.

Today the dominant classes are not made up of exclusively light-skinned individuals. Discrimination and racial conflict on the basis of skin color is not as pertinent as it is in many other countries. Michel-Rolph Trouillot notes, “ There are no bomb threats for moving into the “wrong” neighborhood, no graffiti slurs on school walls, no lynchings, no street wards. Haiti never had a “color riot” let alone a “race riot.” The “color complex” can be relevant when speaking about aesthetics or beauty (Trouillot 1990: 112); however, it is not relevant when speaking about class. In fact, if a light-skinned individual desired to claim the right to govern through race, it would be because of his or her blackness that is shared amongst all Haitians (Trouillot 1990: 118).

The particular racial dynamics of Haiti have been translated into an intricate linguistic dynamic. If a person who is dark skinned speaks French fluently, they have seemingly internationalized themselves because of the social status associated with French. Race is almost irrelevant, in that a black man can become functionally “white” through his social class. This can be seen through the old Haitian proverb, “Nèg rich se milat; milat pòv se nèg,” meaning “the rich black is a mulatto; the poor mulatto is a black” (Trouillot 1990:120). In short, the French language is associated with a higher class (money), and a higher class (money) whitens.

Linguistic Apartheid and Race Further Examined

As seen in the South African example, apartheid was rooted in racist ideology. Steve Biko commented on the severity of the policies and argued that they were evil because they “prepared the black man for the subservient role in this country” (Biko 1979:28). The underlying message of the apartheid policy was that the black language, culture, history and people were inferior to their white counterparts and deserved to be treated as such. Biko further argued that it created a system that, “white-washed them

and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other” (Biko 1979:30). The South African apartheid policy functioned by forcing blacks to believe that they were not on the same level as their white counterparts.

Contrary to the South African apartheid policy, Haiti’s language policy is rooted in a social class divide. As stated in the previous section, the role of race is not as pertinent in the functions of the linguistic apartheid. The similarities between the two apartheid policies are found in the fact that they both show the masses that their language is inferior to that of the minority. Although the majority of Haitians are monolingual, they are predestined for the subservient roles in society because they do not speak French. Because French is the language of pedagogy in schools, politics in government and all official matters, 95% of Haitians have become the object of discrimination. Trouillot (1977) points out that the French/Creole relationship is one of Haiti’s fundamental contradictions. Just as the Vodou/Catholic and export crops (plantations)/food crops (gardens), and Black/Mulatto, the French/Creole language situation displays a contradiction which is that the language used in schools and government, French, is unknown to the majority of Haitians.

CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community.

—Joshua A. Fishman

Freedom From Discrimination in Choice of Language and International Human Rights

Historical Background

Language throughout Haitian History

Several academics such as Degraff (2011) and Hebblethwaite (2012) argue that the future development of Haiti depends on a change in its linguistic situation. In the thesis to his article, “French and underdevelopment, Haitian Creole and development,” Hebblethwaite argues that the main impediment to the development of Haiti is excluding the masses through a French-based society (Hebblethwaite 2012:256). This research reaffirms that argument and builds on that idea by providing information on attitudes towards the linguistic apartheid. In order to understand and further interpret the nature of apartheid, this chapter will provide a brief historical background of the power of languages throughout the history of Haiti.

Pre-colonial Haiti

On the afternoon of Wednesday, December 5, 1492, Christopher Columbus landed on what he called “a very great island” (Heinl, 2000:11). On his initial arrival, Columbus did not encounter inhabitants, but rather he found fine beaches and lush lands. The native Taino Indians were nowhere to be found because they took to the hills at the sight of the European ships (Heinl 2000:11). Although this encounter introduced a new world to Christopher Columbus and his entourage, this land was far from being

new. For over 2,000 years this island was home to hundreds of thousands of Arawak, an indigenous people who migrated from South America (Arthur, 1999:17).

Before the arrival of the Spanish the people whom the Europeans labeled “Indians” (later categorized as Amerindians) lived undisturbed lives in their tight knit communities. They lived by fishing and growing maize, yam and sweet potato on land that was owned and worked communally (Arthur 1999:17). They were described as “loveable, tractable, peaceable and gentle people” (Arthur, 1999:17). The Taino people called their island “Quisqueya” (mother of all lands) and “Ayiti” (land of high mountains). These names were a reflection of their perception of the land and their language. Their government was divided into five different kingdoms. The kingdoms were as follows: Marien, Magua, Maguana, Jaragua and Higüey (Accilien 1999:1). Although different monarchs ruled these kingdoms, they were united by one common culture and language, Arawak.

Colonial Haiti

The Spanish conquistadors would soon disturb the unity within the island. The tensions began with Columbus’s renaming of Ayiti. In honor of his Spanish patrons, Columbus named the island “Isla Española” or “Hispaniola” (Girard 2010:19). The renaming of the land to a Spanish word was a significant indicator of the dominant culture. Although the Taino Indians rightfully owned the land, they became subject to the powerful colonizing force from the Spanish. As a result, their culture and language began to diminish.

The indigenous people were soon put to work as slaves, cultivating crops and extracting gold from rivers, streams and mines (Arthur 1999:17). The Spanish justified their cruel actions by stating that it was their imperative to convert the natives to

Christianity and save their souls. The culture and language of the Arawak people were crushed under the weight of European greed and ambition. As a result of being overworked, attacked by diseases, executed for revolting, and genocidal epidemics, the Arawaks began to die off quickly. Laurent Dubois states, "By 1514 of a population that was estimated to be between 500,000 and 750,000 in 1492, only 29,000 were left. By the mid-sixteenth century the indigenous population of the island had all but vanished" (Dubois 2012:14). At that point, Spanish became the main language of the island while the Arawaks became a distant memory.

Although the enslaved workforce was dying off, the need for labor steadily increased. As a result, the Spanish began to import captives from Africa to replenish the enslaved labor supply. The first enslaved Africans were imported in 1501, but the need for more quickly spread throughout the colony. The initial gold findings were being exhausted so the slaves were being used on plantations to grow sugar cane. The concentration of enslaved labor was on the eastern side of the island. Arthur Dash states "the Spanish were increasingly shifting their attention to the gold and silver-rich colonies of Mexico and Peru, so much so that by the end of the sixteenth century large tracts of land in the western part of the island had been abandoned" (Arthur 1999:17). This left room for bands of European adventurers to settle and cultivate the vacant lands. This was the beginning of the French occupation of Hispaniola.

By the mid-1600s there were significant numbers of French buccaneers on the western one-third of the island. They had begun to grow provisions and tobacco on Tortuga and the mainland. Although the Spanish repeatedly tried to dislodge the settlers, they continued to grow in number and force. As these European buccaneers

continued to settle the land, they changed the name of the former Spanish capital, “Santo Domingo” to their newly formed French colony, “Saint-Domingue” (Dubois 2012:16). The French made certain that their presence was well known on the island. They engaged in various battles and attacks against the Spanish in order to demonstrate their force. The defeat of the Spanish port of Cartagena contributed to the decision to cede the western portion of the colony to the French with the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick (Dubois 2012:17).

Having gained official status as a French colony, Saint-Domingue began to grow incredibly quickly. Crops such as tobacco and indigo sustained its growth. However, sugar was the crop that truly propelled their economy onto the global stage. Dubois states “sugar was the economic miracle of the eighteenth century” (Dubois 2012:18). Because Saint-Domingue was able to produce high quantities of sugar and generate unfathomable wealth, it became known as the “Pearl of the Antilles.” The increase in sugar, however, called for an extreme increase in labor supply. Slavery was deemed essential to the production of this profitable crop. Plantations often had hundreds of slaves harvesting sugar cane and smaller groups of slaves transforming it into sugar. The number of Africans on the island vastly increased under the French rule.

At first, white indentured laborers and African slaves worked together on plantations. In 1687 the whites outnumbered the slaves, 4,411 to 3,358. But by 1700, the enslaved population had grown to 9,082 while the population of whites had decreased by several hundred (Dubois 2012:19). As sugar plantations flourished over the next few decades, the number of enslaved Africans increased exponentially. By the mid-century, there were 150,000 slaves and fewer than 14,000 whites. Finally by 1791,

90 percent of the colony's population was enslaved (Dubois 2012:19). Although the massive numbers of slaves enabled Saint-Domingue to produce 40 percent of all the sugar and 60 percent of all the coffee consumed in Europe, it also set the stage for the Haitian Revolution.

The brutality the enslaved Africans faced was inhumane. Pompee Valentin Vastey, a former slave, wrote about their conditions stating, "Haven't they committed unheard-of-cruelties, crimes until then unknown to humankind? Haven't they burnt, roasted, grilled and impaled alive the unfortunate slaves? Haven't they sawn off the limbs, torn out the tongues and teeth, torn off the ears, and cut off the lips of their blacks? Haven't they hung men upside down, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, and crushed them on mortars?" (Arthur 1999: 29). These slaves became more resentful, more intractable and more ready for a rebellion against their merciless masters. As a result, a slave uprising began in 1791, leading to a bloody 13-year revolt against France.

The French occupation of the western part of the island is significant on various levels. It is important to note that with the official status of a French colony, Saint-Domingue adopted the French language as the official language of the land. This is reflected in the changing of former Spanish name of the colony from Santo Domingo to its French name, Saint Domingue (Arthur 1999:17). French became the governing language, replacing Arawak and Spanish. It became the thread by which religion and culture were woven in the history of the island. It is also crucial to note that Saint-Domingue's increased need for enslaved labor introduced the island to vast numbers of Africans and African languages. Because of the miserable status of enslavement, and

the complex and incomprehensible diversity of African languages in the colony, they were spurned and treated like inferior languages. For these African slaves, Haitian Creole became the unifying language of communication in the colony. Linguistic stratification could also be seen through the fact that domestic slaves who understood French were typically higher ranked slaves who interacted with their masters more than field slaves. This era marked the beginning of French becoming the language of power and high status.

Post-colonial Haiti

On New Year's Day 1804, thousands of self-emancipated Africans and African descendants stood victoriously as a newly formed republic. They shattered Euro-centric history as they became the first free black republic in the world and the second nation in the western hemisphere. One of the first actions taken by this republic was the renaming of the land. Led by General Jean Jacques Dessalines, these former slaves renamed their country "*Ayiti*" or Haiti (Arthur 1999:45). Philippe Girard notes that, "So strong was the hatred of everything French that the country's name, Saint-Domingue, was abandoned and replaced with its pre-colonial, Taino forebear: Haiti" (Girard 2010: 59). In fact, the country's new flag consisted of a French tricolor whose central white strip had been torn out. This was symbolic for the eradication of the French and the unity between blacks, honorary blacks and mulattos. The French became the object of loathing and pure hatred for these former slaves.

Hatred and distain for French colonizers were physically manifested. Haitians engaged in the mass slaughtering of French men, women, and children. Plantations, fields, and buildings were also burned down because they stood as a constant reminder of the horrors that Haitians faced under French rule (Girard 2010:60). The primary

objective of the Haitian government was to establish their dominance and eliminate any trace of French rule. In a moving speech to his comrades, Jean Jacques Dessalines declared, “Let us frighten all those who would dare to steal our freedom; let us start with the French! May they shudder when they approach our coastline, either because they remember all the exactions they committed, or because of our horrifying pledge to kill every Frenchman who soils the land of freedom with his sacrilegious presence” (Girard 2010:60). The French were the primary target and enemy of the Haitian people.

Although Haitians actively fought against the presence of the French, they willingly embraced their enemy’s native tongue. On January 1, 1804, the founding fathers wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Haitian Constitution in French. This decision was not based on their lack of a native language. By this time, Haitian Creole had been formed for over 100 years. The dilemma that they faced was that they viewed their native language as inferior to that of their former colonizers. They believed that only through the French language could Haiti rise to the rank of a civilized country worthy of external recognition (Zéphir 1990:16). For that reason, French was adopted as the administrative, conferring it with great prestige language of Haiti. Every vital document of this newly formed nation was recorded in French. Even the national motto was (and still is) expressed in French: “*Liberté-égalité-fraternité*” (Zéphir 1990:16).

Contrary to the Taino, Spanish and French reign, the Haitian government did not install its people’s own language as the language of power. While the majority of Haitians spoke Haitian Creole, the language of the elite minority became the dominating force in the land. This led to a critical shift in post-colonial Haiti. Whereas race and skin color indicated class and socio-economic status in colonial Haiti, language became the

indicator of class and socio-economic status in post-colonial Haiti. As “Governor General for Life,” Jean Jacques Dessalines established that “all Haitians were to be known as Blacks, whatever their color” (Paquin 1983: 27). However, the mulattos and domestic Creoles (Africans born in Saint-Domingue as opposed to those born in Africa) acquired language skills that the masses did not. Their interaction with the French colonizers was significantly greater than that of other blacks. Therefore, the French language was passed on to the more privileged, while the less-privileged majority elaborated a communicative expression of their own language.

This set the stage for language to become a vehicle of segregation and class distance in post-colonial Haiti. The power held by the French was transferred to those who spoke and understood the language of the colonizers before their departure. The elite minority then established all of the official and legal documents of the nation in their language, which excluded the masses. The mantle of power and suppression was passed to those who had acquired the language of the colonizers; thus, linguistic apartheid amongst Haitians began.

Education in Haiti

From 1625 to 1803 there were very few opportunities for educational growth in the colony. During those times, there were limited amounts of educational institutions in existence, because the focus was agriculture and crop exports, there were very few educational institutions on the island. In order for wealthy families to give their children a good educational foundation, they sent their children to France to study. Education among the slaves were transferred through religion, art, trade and entertainment (Hebblewaithe 2012: 258). Although the slaves were not allowed to receive a formal

education they were able to pass knowledge throughout the generations in the form of proverbs. Hebblewaithe notes, “Traditions of knowledge amongst the slaves were mediated through oral traditions such as proverbs, *timtim bwa chèch* ‘riddles’ and *kont* ‘story telling’, general wisdom, languages, and knowledge about the tropical environment to name a few” (Hebblethwaite 2012: 258). Knowledge was highly valued amongst the slaves and was therefore transferred from generation to generation through oral proverbs, for this reason Haiti is known for its oral culture (Arthur 1999: 284).

One of the greatest sources of wisdom and education that was transferred throughout generations of slaves was religion. Although the religion of their French colonizers was Catholicism, Vodou was the religion of their homeland and they held onto it (Arthur 1999: 255). Hebblewaite (2012) mentions that through Vodou the revolutionary leaders and soldiers were able to reinforce their oral anti-colonial education. He continues by arguing that during colonial Haiti there was an invisible battle between the written transmission of knowledge in French and the oral transmission of knowledge through Haitian Creole. These two ideas had deep rooted histories and conflicting interests, which added to their invisible tensions.

Upon gaining independence, the Haitian leaders held onto French in part because of a desire to maintain their relations with the outside world (Zéphir 1990: 16). Although they had a native language, the leaders of the revolution clung onto the French language. Because Creole was seen as an inferior language, French became the language of pedagogy in schools. The revolutionary leaders found no value in transferring formal education in the language that was most known. Furthermore,

Haitian Creole was associated with slavery and inferiority, which led further to the belittling of the language.

Although there were initiatives to further the legitimacy and use of Haitian Creole in academia, the U.S occupation of Haiti from 1915-1934 set the stage for one of the first significant pushes for expanding resources about and in Haitian Creole. From that point intellectuals began to reject US imperialism and clung onto Haitian Nationalism and Haitian Creole. Intellectuals such as Price-Mars (1928), Roumain (1943) and Rigoad (1953) began to publish works entirely in Haitian Creole. The production of these works spoke to the fact that Haitian Creole can be used on academic levels. These intellectuals furthered the fight for Haitian Creole in education by demonstrating the value and use of Haitian Creole. From this point, Haitian Creole began to be used as an instrument for research and academic study of Haiti.

As mentioned in the previous section, the current Haitian Constitution states that Haitian Creole is the language that unites all Haitians and is a tool for instruction in the classrooms. The latter part of this statement has yet to be fully realized within classrooms in Haiti. In 1978 the Haitian government passed the Bernard Reform. This reform was an attempt to modernize the Haitian Education system and make it more effective. It introduced vocational training programs, restructured secondary school programs and most importantly, introduced Haitian Creole to the classrooms as a language of instruction. This reform broke against the French based systems that were already in place. During years 1-4 Haitian Creole was the language used to teach students but French was dominant by the 5th year, French was supposed to be used throughout the entire curriculum by the 5th year (Hebblethwaite 2012: 265).

Unfortunately the Bernard Reform made limited advancements. Although there was an underlying goal to infuse the Haitian culture and language into curriculum, the reform was met with much resistance and lack of resources among the Haitian government and leadership.

Although the Bernard Reform was not able to advance, it was a significant gain for the Haitian Creole advocates. This was one of the first times the Haitian government officially acknowledged that there was a problem with the current system. They realized that most Haitian students were unable to succeed because of the linguistic apartheid that suppresses them. Chaudenson (2006) notes that this policy was the first elaborate language policy plan that included Haitian Creole, and represented a stark difference from the previous centuries. Although the Bernard Reform essentially failed in its mission, it represents a departure from the past.

Literature Review

Prominent Work

In order to situate this paper within the body of research that already exists on linguistic apartheid in Haiti, it is appropriate to offer a succinct presentation of the recent works on the subject. This section provides a brief overview of prominent literature on linguistic apartheid and highlights the unique contributions this thesis brings to the field. It also creates a framework for further developing and interpreting the results from the participant observation data in Chapter 4.

The French Language and the Underdevelopment of Haiti

In his article “French and underdevelopment, Haitian Creole and development”, Benjamin Hebblethwaite argues that the French language is an impediment to Haiti’s development (Hebblethwaite 2012: 255). In a country where 95% of the population is

monolingual in Haitian Creole, French has played a critical role in underdevelopment of the nation as a whole. Hebblethwaite notes that Haiti's language policy is the most problematic in the country's school system. Although French is the language of the school systems, as many as 80% of the educators in Haiti have an inadequate command of it and a small minority of students actually complete schooling (Hebblethwaite 2012: 255). His article argues that students are failing to advance not because of content but rather because of the vehicle used to bring the content, the French language (Hebblethwaite 2012: 257). He then connects the diagnosis of the problem with its practical effects on the Haitian society such as high illiteracy rates and poverty.

Through quantitative and qualitative approaches, Hebblethwaite rejects the argument for maintaining French-dominant education and supports the argument that majority-language education in Haiti will lead to a greater benefit for the country as a whole. He states "[Creole in schools] will lead to improved learning, graduation and Creole literacy in addition to a more streamlined and coherent State, economy and society" (Hebblethwaite 2012: 256). The crux of his argument is that the social, economic and intellectual progress of a society is accelerated by education in a first language and Haiti will not rebuild post-earthquake apart from the citizenry's refuting creole exceptionalism (look at Chapter 3) and embrace of Haitian Creole.

The argument that Hebblethwaite poses is critical to the field. He is systematically able to identify the fundamental issues within the Haitian education system and propose a solution that will impact the entire nation. He presents the effects of linguistic apartheid in a concise way and offers a practical approach to replacing it.

The Sufficiency of Haitian Creole

In his book titled “The Haitian Creole Language”, Spears authors a chapter that dismantles many myths and misconceptions of Haitian Creole (2010). He begins by stating that Creole is not a corrupt form of French, “it is a separate language governed by its own grammatical rules, just as French is separate from Latin and other Romance languages, and has its own grammatical rules” (Spears 2010: 2). For example, you can consider the following sentence in Creole and English:

Sa	ou	di	a	se	vwe
‘What	you	said		is	true

Spears argues that the *a* in the Creole sentence has no exact counterpart in French or English, which shows that it has its own grammatical rules apart from other Romance languages. These rules can be complex or simple, but each is structured with respect to the words preceding. Spears further argues that the idea of Creole being a broken or corrupt language is a misconception that is rooted in centuries-long stigmatization of Haitians and other people of African-descent (Spears 2010: 3). The correlation between slavery and other kinds of forced labor with certain languages has shaped language attitudes and perceptions associated with the groups of people who speak the language. Spears argues, “When a people receive respect and admiration, so do their languages” (Spears 2010: 3). The history between *Kreyòl Ayisyen* and slavery is so intertwined that the negative stigma of slaves and slavery has transferred to the perception of Haitian Creole.

Spears further dismantles negative perceptions of Haitian Creole by arguing that just because Creole does not have verb inflection suffixes for tense other than pre-verbal markers, person and number does that mean it is simple or primitive (Spears

2010: 3). The difference seen between these languages only points out that Haitian Creole has a different way of expressing these concepts. Although some linguists would argue that creoles are the simplest and most “streamlined” languages, Spears argues, “their idea of simplicity focuses crucially on the relative lack of ‘exceptions’ in creole grammars, for example, exceptions to grammatical rules and items like irregular verbs” (Spears 2010: 3). Hebblethwaite also adds that in his 14 years of teaching Haitian Creole to nonnative-speaking learners, he is constantly reminded of how difficult Haitian Creole is to master and he finds no major difference in difficulty between the acquisition of Haitian Creole and French- both are very difficult (p.c). Spears points out that the unwarranted defamation of Haitian Creole is the reason behind it not being used within the educational system in Haiti. Many wrongfully believe that it has no grammar. This misconception continues to plague Haiti and the development of Haitian Creole in the Haitian society.

Spears makes a convincing case that Haitian Creole is on the level of other Romance languages such as French and Spanish. His study is important for understanding linguistic apartheid because it lays out some of the negative perceptions of the Haitian Creole language while making a case for its legitimacy and effectiveness as a full-fledged language.

The Uses of Language

In her work entitled “Language choice, language use, language attitudes of the Haitian bilingual community”, Flore Zéphir addresses language functions in the Haitian bilingual community (Zéphir 1990:vii). By observing language choice, language use and language attitudes this research sheds light on the role or function that French and *Kreyòl Ayisyen* play in the bilingual speech community. Her research addresses the

following questions: Which language is used in a given context? What are the social norms for the uses of the two languages? What kind of attitudes do speakers have towards their language? Is there a direct correlation between their attitudes and their alternative use of the two languages? (Zéphir 1990:vii). The questions Zéphir posed were addressed with ethnographic approach and collected with fifty-two informants. She collected her data by means of an oral questionnaire, participant observation and tape-recorded interviews (Zéphir 1990:viii).

Through the data collected, Zéphir concluded that French and Creole are not used interchangeably and that there exists an unwritten code that dictates language choice and use in Haiti (Zéphir 1990:viii). Her research also showed that the use of French and Haitian Creole can be explained in terms of the function of the language and in terms of the diglossic relationship that exists between the two languages. All in all, Zéphir's findings supported the notion of national identity through Creole and a desire to gain social mobility through French (Zéphir 1990:viii).

Zéphir has contributed to the understanding of the complex relationship between Haitian Creole and French in Haiti. Her research along with Iv Dejan are two of the first to elaborate on the uses and perception of language in Haiti. Although her research only focuses on members of the bilingual elite who speak French and Haitian Creole, it shows the structural differences between the two languages. This research looks at linguistic apartheid through new lenses. Most informants confirmed that French is the language of choice for increasing social mobility; however, only 5% of the population has access to that mobility because they are bilingual (Zéphir 1990:1). The uses of French are clearly not the same for monolingual and bilingual Haitians.

Absurd School Systems

In his compelling book “*Yon lekòl tèt anba nan yon peyi tèt anba*” (*An upside school in an upside down country*), Iv Dejan speaks about the linguistic absurdity found in the Haitian school system. Although the majority of Haitian children are raised speaking Haitian Creole and only Haitian Creole, they are expected to learn in a language that is foreign to them (Dejan 2006:259). Dejan points out that only a crazy person would expect a child from Brazil to speak Latin, or a child from Egypt to speak Hebrew or a child from China to speak Hindi. Why, then, do we expect children from Haiti to speak French? Dejan furthers his point by stating that it is in Haitian Creole that most students hear their news about their family. It is in Creole that young men and women speak to each other. It is in Creole that neighbors speak (Dejan 2006:6). It is absurd for the Haitian school system to expect Haitian children to then speak and understand a foreign language when they are in the school system. Schools are created to grow the intellectual capacity of individuals, especially young children, but in Haiti they function as a means of suppressing the educational outcomes of children.

Dejan points out that 90% of students in the schools do not know French and of the 45,000 primary school teachers in Haiti, 80% do not really speak French (Dejan 2006:7). His book tells various stories that illustrate the ludacris logic behind French being in the school system. He argues that the effects of the using French in the school system are detrimental to the development of young children and the country as a whole.

In his quest to prove that French has no place in the Haitian school system, Dejan points out that Haiti is the only country that has been independent for over 200 years, yet still uses a secondary language in the school system as a language of

pedagogy. The lack of progress in Haiti can be linked to the lack of linguistic reasonableness. He argues that Haiti fails to realize that speaking a language takes time and effort. One cannot simply teach a child in a foreign language and expect her/him to succeed (Dejan 2006: 46).

This book does an excellent job showing the lack of logic and seriousness behind linguistic apartheid. Dejan is able to effectively show the negative effects by focusing on children and stories of children who have been adversely affected by the use of French in the school system. Writing this book in Haitian Creole allows Dejan to subtly show the maturity of the Haitian Creole language and its ability to serve Haitian society on a scholarly and academic level. In 1977 Michel-Rolph Trouillot wrote one of the first books written in Haitian Creole, "*Ti dife boule sou Istwa Ayiti*". His ability to speak intellectually and debate in his native language supported the notion of Haitian Creole being a language of academia.

Summary

This brief general overview of research on language in Haiti has demonstrated pertinent contributions to understanding linguistic apartheid. Although some scholars such as Hebblethwaite have researched the effects of the linguistics apartheid and other scholars such as Spears have studied the history and myths that contribute to its persistence, they have all significantly contributed to the argument that Haitian Creole should be the foundation of the development in Haiti. Now, this study is vital because it is the first to examine, in an empirical manner, Haitian attitudes and perceptions towards French and Haitian Creole along with a comprehensive interpretation of the nature and workings of the linguistic apartheid. Zéphir (1990), conducted an excellent study on the uses and attitudes towards Haitian Creole and French; however, it was

limited to the bilingual minority and not to the majority of the populace. It lacked the input of the Haitians who are most affected by linguistic apartheid. All in all, there has been little development on the perception and uses of language in Haiti and this research is situated in that arena.

CHAPTER 3 THE USES OF LANGUAGE IN HAITI

For almost two centuries, French has been perceived as being the prestigious language of Haiti, the language through which knowledge should be imparted, the language of formal domains. Creole, on the contrary, was simply a vernacular unfit for formal situations.

—Flore Zéphir
Language choice, language use, language attitudes of the Haitian bilingual community

Haitian Creole and French

The Dichotomy

At the heart of the Haitian linguistic apartheid is a dichotomy between *Kreyòl Ayisyen* and French. Flore Zéphir states, “Generally speaking, French was the high language, the language of the superior, privileged class and Creole was the low language, the language of the inferior, oppressed class” (Zéphir1990:16). Since colonial times these two languages stood as competing tools. French represented civilization, knowledge, enlightenment and power while Haitian Creole, at least for the oppressors, represented backwardness, ignorance, obscurantism and suppression. When the founding fathers established French as the official language of Haiti, they simultaneously set the stage for an internal linguistic conflict, the subject of this research. This segment will provide a brief overview and comparison of these two languages independently.

The French language is a descendant of the spoken Latin language of the Roman Empire. Its roots are closely related to those of Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian, Lombard, Catalan, Sicilian and Sardinian languages; however, its closest relatives are the other “*langues d’oil*,” which are the languages historically spoken in northern France and Belgium (Web 1). The French language has a long history that

goes back further than many other modern languages. According to the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterets, it has served as the official language of France since 1539. When the French buccaneers landed on Hispaniola, they carried the culture, history and language of their homeland with them. The longevity and wide usage of the French language established it as a prestigious language, coupled with the power of the French Empire, of power throughout the world.

The history of Haitian Creole is not as defined as the history of the French language. Scholars have been unable to pinpoint an exact time and purpose for the formation of Haitian Creole. Consequently, there are many theories for its formation. Flore Zéphir states, “Whatever the linguistic situation of the earlier period of French colonization, Creole arose during the massive arrival of slaves after 1697, when Saint-Domingue was being developed...Creole was formed in the plantations” (Zéphir 1990:15). The slaves who were brought to Saint-Domingue came mostly from the West and Central African regions. As a result, they brought over their various native tongues and formed a new language with the language of their master. Linguist Claire Lefebvre speaks of the relationship between French and African languages, especially Fongbe, stating, “particular lexical items in the creoles have a phonological representation similar to a French expression but these creole lexical items share properties with corresponding lexical items in the African substratum languages” (Lefebvre 2010:3). Sylvain comments on the mixing of French and African languages when he states, “we are in the presence of a French that has been cast in the mold of African syntax or...of an Ewe language with a French vocabulary (Lefebvre 2010:3). In short,

although the exact genesis of Haitian Creole cannot be pinpointed, it is nevertheless a product of French and African languages.

The novelty in the creation of Haitian Creole leads some to believe that Haitian Creole is an inferior language. This notion has generated “creole exceptionalism,” which holds that “the Creole languages form an exceptional class on phylogenetic and or typological grounds”(Degraff 2005: 533). The nonlinguistic implications leave people believing that Creole languages are a “handicap,” which ultimately undermines the development of Creole language in various sectors of society. This can be seen in the case of Haiti. The Haitian language is seen as deficient and incapable of serving the same purpose as its European counterpart. The exceptional viewpoint is one that continues to plague Haitian Creole and in effect, elevate French. Although some would claim that Haitian Creole is a patois of French, Mervyn Alleyne notes, “Haitian phonological system is quite different than that of French in its inventory of units, the contrasts that exist, the morphophonemic, and the suprasegmentals” (Alleyne 1994:11). All in all, Haitian Creole is an entirely independent language.

Haitian Creole Advocacy

The battle between Haitian Creole and French has been going on for centuries. Although advocacy for Haitian Creole has not been as robust as the advocacy for the French language, there has been a strong and steady voice for Haitian Creole. Marie-Christine Hazael-Massieux (1990) published a collection of Haitian Creole texts from the French colonial government of Saint Domingue. These proclamations are proof that there were individuals that saw the value of using Haitian Creole within the colonial

society. The process of standardizing Haitian Creole has therefore been a slow but steady process.

Language in Haiti today

The Confusion

Article 5 of The Haitian Constitution states, “All Haitians are united by a common language: Creole,” but the following sentence in the article states, “Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic” (Web 2). The misleading nature of this article demonstrates the confusing nature of the linguistic situation Haiti is in today. Spears states, “To assert that Haiti is a bilingual country is as deceiving as making French a national language in Haiti” (Spears 2010:54). Institut Haitien de Statistique states that Haiti has 10,413,211 citizens. The Haitian government continuously places the majority of these citizens, over 95%, in a state of confusion and seclusion through their use of French. Although the Constitution begins to highlight the importance of Creole in article 5, it is undermined by the fact that the Constitution itself is written in French. Michel Degraff speaks further about this confusion when he notes, “The Haitian birth certificate, the very first official document that every newborn Haitian citizen is in principle, assigned by the state, exists in French only” (Degraff 2007:101). This French-only policy and many others like it on the policy level create a system of perplexity and suppression for the majority of Haitians today.

As noted in Chapter 1, upon gaining independence from France, the Haitian foreparents created a Declaration of Independence and Constitution in French. Although every Haitian shares the Haitian Creole language, French was adopted as the official language and was used to establish all official documents. In fact, Haitian Creole was not legally recognized as the second official language of Haiti until 1918

(Schieffelin, 1992:178). In 1964 Creole was mentioned for the first time in the Haitian Constitution. The law permitted the use of Haitian Creole in specific circumstances where the use of French would hinder monolingual Haitians, such as, in legal courts of law. In 1979 there was an educational reform that allowed Haitian Creole to enter into the first four years of school, however it did not infiltrate the educational system of Haiti. In 1980 an official orthography was established and by 1987 Haitian Creole became the second official language of Haiti, although French would continue to function as the language of power.

Today, many people refer to Haiti country as bilingual, but as Michel-Rolph Trouillot points out, “most linguists have stopped calling Haiti bilingual. They speak instead of a diglossic situation, in which a bilingual minority imposes one language as the language of power” (Trouillot 1990:115). The confusion is even seen throughout the Haitian communities as many Haitians view their country as bilingual when only 5% are truly bilingual.

To make the situation worse, Haiti continues to operate based on the principles of the old colonial system that elevates the French language and sees Haitian Creole as the language of the lowest class and subordinate group. Although there have been efforts to reform Haiti and further Haitian society, there has been little progress in elevating the Haitian Creole language at the policy level. In short, linguistic apartheid is still prevalent in modern day Haiti.

Haitian Creole Orthography

The orthographic debates about Haitian Creole have been deep rooted. They strongly tie into the history, politics and ideologies of the different groups in Haiti. Bambi Schieffelin (1994) notes that there have been several different types of Creoles.

Because both geographical and social dialects exist in Haiti there is a Northern variety, a Western variety, and a Southern variety of Haitian Creole. In addition to these variations there are also social dialects such as *kreyòl fransize* (Frenchified creole), *gwo kreyòl* (vulgar creole), *kreyòl swa* (smooth creole) and *kreyòl rèk* (rough creole). Schieffelin mentions that these titles are both popularly and scientifically used to describe varieties of Creole in Haiti.

Since the mid 1920s the proposals for Haitian Creole orthography have undergone different phases. Schieffelin (1994) summarizes the stages in the following four parts: 1925-40, The pioneers, 1940-51, The first technical orthographies (McConnell-Laubach vs. Pressoir), 1953-79, The contested reign of Pressoir-ONAC (Office National d'Alphabetisation et d'Action Communautaire) and finally 1980-present, The reign of the official orthography (with isolated rebellions) (Schieffelin 1994:183).

Today, there still remains some debate on the written orthography of Haitian Creole, in fact as of 1980, Iv Dejan (1980) identified 11 different spelling systems within Haiti. One of the greatest debates on the Haitian Creole orthography has been between those who wanted Creole spelling to resemble French and those who wanted an autonomous variety that would be streamlined for rapid learning. Overall, the autonomous spelling system has triumphed and the publication of *Bib la* (1999) confirms its ascendancy.

CHAPTER 4 THE RESEARCH

Studies of social differentiation of language use in the Anglophone Caribbean have concentrated primarily on correlations between language use and socioeconomic status, with some attention also paid to the rural-urban difference, ethnic differences and age differences.

—Donald Winford
An Introduction to Contact Linguistics

Methodology

Qualitative and Inductive Approach

This research takes a qualitative and inductive approach. This qualitative analysis consists of interviews with key informants. Haitians that are positioned in specific sectors in Haitian society were strategically selected. The sectors that were focused on are education, state and economy. Within the education sector informants were interviewed in the lower grades, high school and university level. This includes both instructors and students. Within the state informants were mid-level state bureaucrats and politicians. Finally, within the economic sector business owners, mid-level white-collar individuals and low skilled and manual laborers were interviewed. The objective of this research was not to select a random sample of the population but, rather, to select key informants who are strategically positioned within different sectors of the country's educational, political and economic organization. This judgmental sample served as a rough but not a statistically significant representation of the larger population. Having participants from a full range of social and demographic backgrounds allows this research to have a holistic reach. Although individuals from some vocations indicated a need to speak French, the researcher made it a goal to include both French speakers and non-French speakers. After establishing initial

contacts, snowball sampling was used to identify other key informants. This led to a wide range of key informants.

Through the use of semi-structured interviews, information was gained about the perception and attitudinal patterns that are associated with speaking or not speaking French. Information was elicited about the effects, views, interactions, feelings and uses of the French language. This was not done with a short questionnaire, but rather with open-ended and, subsequently, probing questions. This approach gave structure to the conversations but also allowed the informant to speak freely. Questions about Haitian Creole also followed this structure.

The conversations prompted by the semi-structured interviews provoked ideas concerning perceptions of French and Haitian Creole. Approximately 23 interviews were completed. Although it would be ideal to have more interviews, with the limited time allotted, only 23 were completed. Through these semi-structured interviews participant observation was also done. Through participant observation the researcher was able to take notes on the actions of the informant during the duration of the interview. According to Zéphir, "Participant observation is the best technique for watching actual behavior, since the researcher is always present on the scene" (Zéphir 1990:132).

The informants spoke to the researcher in Haitian Creole and she recorded their responses in English. This may have resulted in a loss of meaning and emphasis with some of the responses. A few of the responses were recorded in Haitian Creole in order to capture the words and meaning. The researcher marked the responses that were paraphrased by indenting them in section 4.3. The responses that were quoted directly from the Haitians are in quotations.

All 23 of the interviews were held in Haitian Creole. Some informants spoke French and English to the researcher, however the researcher facilitated the interviews in Haitian Creole. This may have affected the way that the informants responded to questions. Because the interview was administered in Haitian Creole, the informants may have concluded that the researcher perceives Haitian Creole as a more valuable language for academic work.

This research moved from initial observations about French in Haiti to patterns indicated from the informants. In keeping with the procedures of data collection and inductive interpretation that Glazer and Strauss (1976) outline in “The Discovery of Grounded Theory”, the analysis of the interviews evolved into a hypothesis and finally it developed into theory concerning the social bases of the linguistic apartheid in Haiti.

Research Site

Cap-Haitian, Haiti served as the research site. This site was chosen for two main reasons. First, there were previous connections made in Cap-Haitian by the researcher. It was easy to create a contact list in the North. The second reason for this choice was that Cap-Haitian is the second largest city in Haiti and in current times it serves as the second hub for international affairs (Farmer 2006:34). Since the devastating earthquake hit the capital in 2010, there has been a mass migration of Haitians to this city. Natural disasters brings Haitians to the north because the south usually receives much damage. In short, Cap-Haitian serves as a hub for a wide range of Haitians from all the major sectors of Haitian society.

Cap-Haitian is a city of over 190,000 people on the northern coast of Haiti. It is currently the capital of the Department of the North. The 10 departments of Haiti serve as states for the country. According to the Haitian Congress, Cap-Haitian is known as

the largest center of historic monuments; it is a large tourist destination but also attracts Haitians from all around the country. This large region has both rural and urban areas and has individuals from all socio-economic statuses. This research site was in fact very strategic.

Administration of Data

The questions asked during the interview typically took 45 minutes to 90 minutes depending on how elaborate the informant was. The researcher attempted to keep the interview less than 1 hour; however, there were quite a few informants who took more than 1 hour to express themselves. These were informants who gave rich information outside of the proposed questions. Based on an ethnographic model, the questions are designed to reveal their core attitude and perceptions of French and Haitian Creole. Using a direct approach, which entails the fieldworker personally asking questions and then recording the informant's response, allowed the informant freedom to respond with as little or as much information as they pleased. Those who provided little response would be probed by follow-up questions asked.

The questionnaire was administered orally, which gave participants the opportunity to talk through their responses. Talking through responses gave respondents the liberty to venture out into topics that were not originally written in the questionnaire, but nevertheless exposed attitudes towards language in Haiti. It was also beneficial to have an oral questionnaire because there were some informants who were not literate and could not spell their own names. Finally, administering the questionnaire orally left little room for the questions and answers to be misinterpreted.

The answers to the questions were recorded with a pen and paper. In order for the informants not to feel alarmed, the researcher stayed away from using recording

devices or expensive equipment. The atmosphere of the research area was more inviting and natural without the intimidating presence of advanced technology. Informants noted that they were thankful that they did not feel as if they were being taken advantage of in the interview situation. In the past, a few informants had experiences with media outlets that gave empty promises of paying the informants for interviews. This research avoided such appearance.

Below is a chart of the locations of the interviews. Locations may have affected the interview depending on how comfortable they were and who was around. This will be elaborated on more in the interpretations sections.

Demographics

Demographics Summary

As stated in the methodology section, the informants of this research were strategically selected because of their status within the Haitian society. The sectors that were focused on are education, state and economy. Within the education sector informants were interviewed in the lower grades, high school and university level. This includes both instructors and students. Within the state informants were mid-level state bureaucrats and politicians. Finally, within the economy sector business owners, mid-level white-collar individuals and low skilled and manual laborers were interviewed. The objective of this research was not to select a representative random sample of the population but, rather, to select key informants who are strategically positioned within different sectors of the country's educational, political and economic organization. The wide range of informants that were selected allowed this research to reach various types of individuals from different backgrounds.

All twenty-three informants were living in Cap-Haitien during the time of the interview. Although their backgrounds varied, they were stationed in the north for personal, academic and professional reasons. Nine of them were bilingual in Haitian Creole and French, but only one of them grew up speaking French in his home. Three of them were college graduates and four of them had not gone past secondary school. The informants were chosen from professions, which allowed this research to reach targeted areas in Haiti's society.

Explanation of symbols used:

Age

In the Haitian culture it is disrespectful to ask the age of an adult. For that reason the questionnaire was designed to ask for a general age. By asking informants to classify themselves in a category instead of giving an exact age, there was more likely to be an honest response with little resistance.

Languages Spoken Fluently

This question was perhaps the hardest to clarify. Many Haitians are under the impression that they are fluent in French because the majority of the Haitian Creole vocabulary is similar to French vocabulary. In asking this question the researcher had to clarify that fluency entailed being able to understand and communicate effectively without aid. In order to confirm whether or not the informant was bilingual, the researcher asked the informant to speak about a topic for 1 minute in French. Although this is not a perfect method of identifying proficiency in French, the researcher was able to quickly identify the informants who were monolingual within 20 seconds of the activity. Monolinguals struggled with forming sentences and stopped trying after 20 seconds or less. Four of the informants further insisted that every Haitian speaks

French fluently, but retracted their statement after the researcher asked an interpreter to speak to them in French. For those who were bilingual, the researcher then asked which language was their primary language and when did they learn their secondary language. Every Haitian said French was their secondary language and only one person claimed to have learned French from their parents. Every other Haitian stated that they learned French through the schooling system.

Occupation

The researcher asked each informant for his or her primary occupation. Although most informants had more than one occupation, this research focused on asking for their primary classification. Two of the vendors interviewed claimed to be unemployed when initially asked to provide an occupation. The researcher then asked how they made money, regardless of how small it was, and they both said that they have a small side business.

Questionnaire Data

The Questions

The questionnaire administered is designed to reveal the difference in the perception and value of French among bilinguals and monolinguals in Haiti. It is designed specifically to illuminate perceptions that reinforce and oppose the linguistic apartheid within the country. Its main purpose was to answer the following questions: Is there a difference between how French speaking and non-French speaking Haitians view French? Are there any notable similarities among the French speaking Haitians? And non-French speaking Haitians? Do perceptions and attitudes reveal anything about the nature of the linguistic apartheid?

The following questions were the questions that were asked during the interview.

1. Name, Age, Occupation, Language(s) Spoken, Sex, Marital Status, Children?
2. Talk to me about the history of Haiti.
3. Talk to me about the history of France.
4. Is Haiti a bilingual country? Explain.
5. What are your thoughts on the Haitian Creole & French languages?
6. What language do you use for official business?
7. What language do you use most often?
8. What is the difference between the two languages? What connotation do they carry?
9. What role does English play in 21st century Haiti?
10. Have you ever been a victim of linguistic discrimination? Explain.
11. Do you see a linguistic apartheid in Haiti? To what extent?
12. Is your family bilingual? What were you raised speaking?
13. If God erased your linguistic memory and allowed you to know only one language perfectly, what would it be? Why? What would your second and third choices be? Why?
14. What are your thoughts on Haitian Creole in schools?
15. If you were able to choose only one language to place in Haitian schools, what would it be?

The Reason

Question 1 was asked so that the researcher could better interpret the data collected by the informants. Demographics prove to be useful when identifying correlation between group demographics. Questions 2-3 were asked to reveal if there were differences in how French speaking and non-French speaking informants interpreted history and the state of their country today. These questions seemed to evoke much Haitian nationalism within the informants. Questions 4, 5 and 8 were designed to determine the perceived difference between the French and Haitian Creole

languages. The existence of linguistic apartheid was confirmed through the unanimous response that Creole is stigmatized and French is glorified although most Haitians do not speak French fluently. Questions 6 and 7 were designed to show the functional use of French and Creole. Although the monolingual informants could not show variation, bilingual informants were able to speak about their uses of both languages. The perceived usefulness of both languages was critical to observe. Question 9 was asked to help understand the future of the linguistic apartheid and to see its relationship to other dominant languages. And finally, questions 10-15 were designed to understand the dynamic nature of linguistic apartheid. Personal stories and perceptions of the segregation based on language acquisition illustrated the effects of the apartheid. This questionnaire was designed to lead informants in a direction that allowed them to speak about their experiences and relationship to languages in Haiti. It was not an exhaustive questionnaire; in fact, it often provoked informants to offer personal stories and information.

The Answers

Below are the responses to the questionnaire and the research observations. Although all of the interviews proved to be vital, the researcher selected the interviews that most effectively supported claims made and illuminated intricate dynamics of linguistic apartheid. In this section the term bilingual is used interchangeable with French speaking informants and monolingual is used interchangeable with non-French speaking informants. This is because every non-French speaking informant was monolingual and every French-speaking informant was bilingual.

Name, Age, Occupation, Language(s) Spoken, Sex, Marital Status, Children?

The demographics of the informants show that most French speakers were between the ages of 30-59. The French speakers held all of the prestigious occupations and all but one of the French speakers were men. There seemed to be no correlation with marital status or having children and being a French speaker. The monolingual informants on the other hand were scattered in ages and held all of the least prestigious occupation such as farmer and vendor. There were some monolingual informants who held higher positions such as those of businessman, receptionist and police officer; however, their positions were not as prestigious as the positions held by the bilingual informants. The job descriptions that the informants gave me, and the resources that were available to them proved this. Whereas the bilingual businessman, informant 19, owned his own facility, the monolingual businessman, informant 3, worked primarily on the streets. He did not classify himself as a vendor, because he did not sell his goods individually. Both men sold their merchandize wholesale, but the bilingual businessman was more established and known in the community. We held informant 19's interview in his office, but we held informant 3's interview in a local business managed by his friend. Likewise, the monolingual police officer seemed to be dressed more like an armature guard, whereas the bilingual officer wore his badge, gun and full uniform to his interview. Both interviews were taken at the police station; however, one, with informant 10, was taken outside, and the other, with informant 14, was taken in an office. When giving their job descriptions, the monolingual informant, informant 10, gave a description that fit more with a gate guard; however, he was adamant that he was a police officer. The research made it a point not to be offensive or accusatory to any informants.

These demographic questions show that the effects of linguistic apartheid affect social mobility. Although speaking French does not automatically make a Haitian more affluent, these demographics show that French is an indicator of class. Furthermore, this research would have benefited from having had more informants to substantiate that gender is also related to language in Haiti. There appears to be a higher rate of competence in French among the men than among the women. Of the 9 French speakers, only 1 was a woman. This is especially alarming, because of the 13 Haitian Creole monolinguals, the majority, 8, were females. With a high level of monolingual females and a low level of bilingual females, this research suggests that there may be a relationship between gender and French language acquisition. Unfortunately, women are the disadvantaged gender. In effect, if women are less likely to speak French, this means that they are less likely to be as affluent as their male counterparts. This insight points to a new and critical aspect of linguistic apartheid—the workings of gender differentials. The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-2.

Talk to Me About the History of Haiti. Talk to Me About the History of France.

The responses to these question showed uniformity amongst the French speaking and non-French speaking informants. There was an overwhelming sense of nationalism, a sense of pride in their country, amongst all informants. When talking about the history of Haiti, every informant mentioned it being the first free black nation in the world. Informants 6, 10, 16, 21 and 23 spent more than 10 minutes talking about the independence of their country. They enjoyed having the pleasure of informing me of important figures in the development of Haiti and the history of Haiti's independence. Informant 6 emphatically declared, "We are the first free black republic. Did you know

that? The world seemed to have forgotten where we came from, who we are, but we know who we are. We are the children of Toussaint Louverture and Jean Jacques Dessalines. We have a history unique to only us but the world has forgotten that, but we haven't forgotten and we will never forget," This sense of nationalism was seen in the French-speaking informants as well. Informant 1 stated, "I am Haitian which means I have resilience in my blood. My ancestors fought off the major powers of its time in order to become independent from France. We are a product of the French but gained our independence so that we could be our own Nation, which we are." Both groups of informants shared a common love and admiration for their country.

Although nationalism was high, French speaking and non-French speaking informants had slightly different views of France. When probing informant 1 about what it meant to be a "product of France," he said:

We are who we are because of France. They have given us our cuisine, they have given us our language, and they have given us the structure of our government and other civil systems. To deny the French is to deny who we are. Although they were brutal to our ancestors, they are still a part of our history and who we are as a people. This response revealed that informant 1 was aware of the brutality faced by the Haitian people during colonial time, but still had a glorified view of France. He continued to speak about how Haiti may have been more advanced if we didn't take our independence so soon.

Informants 13 and 14, who were also French speaking, had very similar responses. They never once mentioned the brutality of the French, but rather the strong influence the French had on shaping modern-day Haiti. Informant 13 stated, "We are

now a country with a mixed culture. We have French, African and Spanish in our mixture. The greatest influence has been the French. Because the French had such a strong relationship with us, we still carry their language and culture with us today.” Informant 14 stated, “We are a French country. The French colonized us and now we still see their influences in our daily every day.” A few non-French speakers, however, were not afraid to describe the brutalities of the French. Informant 21 stated, “They were killing us off like animals. It was too much, we had to fight back.” Informant 23 stated, “Our history with the French is one filled with blood and tears. A lot of people died by the hands of the French. They were savages to the blacks because of their skin color.” And finally, informant 9 stated, “I can’t imagine being a farmer back long ago. Right now, I work with the land and if I don’t cultivate food, I don’t eat. If I didn’t cultivate food then, the French would have killed me. This is a better world. We live in a better world because we are not owned by the French or anyone else.”

Other informants focused more on the bravery of the Haitian leaders and fighters, but these informants demonstrated a slight but critical shift between French speaking and non-French speaking Haitians. Winston Churchill once stated that “History is written by the victors,” and the truths of that quote could be seen within the context of this research. The glorification of the French amongst the French-speaking informants hints that these informants have embraced French culture more than the non-French speakers. They have embraced a history that reflects dominating culture. The non-French speakers, however, displayed more of a resistance to the actions and influences of the French.

Is Haiti a Bilingual Country? Explain.

This question yielded perhaps the most interesting responses. When asked if Haiti was a bilingual country every French speaker and 8 (of 14) non-French speakers responded that it was. As bilingual informant 19 said:

Haitians speak two languages. Although the less educated have not mastered our second language, French, everyone needs to speak it because it is in the school system. If you have gone through any official system in Haiti you must use French. We are all Haitians and all Haitians need to speak Creole and French... if they want to be considered as a true Haitians. Look at our history and you will see what I am talking about.

Informant 19 is also a French speaker, and he stated, "French and Creole are our official languages. Our constitution lays that principle but we can also see it in our news, our courts and our politics. French dominates everything in this country and it should be that way. Imagine if we only embraced Haitian Creole. We would be wiped off of the map. French connects us to the world and Creole connects us to each other." The French speakers explained Haiti's bilingual nature through showing Haiti's need to be bilingual.

The monolingual informants that believed Haiti was a bilingual country gave interesting responses. Informant 9 stated, "I don't speak two languages, but my country does. I have never gone to school, I don't speak the language that other Haitians have the opportunity of speaking, but it's still in our system." Likewise, informant 21 stated, "Yes, we speak two languages here. Not everyone can speak it, but that doesn't make it less official." And finally, one of the most interesting responses came from informant 8. He stated:

Every Haitian can speak French. Of course every Haitian can speak French. Our vocabulary is all French vocabulary. When someone says something to me, even if I can't understand every part I am able to understand what he or she are meaning to say to me because I speak Creole. This country is bilingual because French and Creole are almost the same language.

These responses showed that French speaking and non-French speaking Haitians both fed into the myths of Haiti being a bilingual nation. Many non-French speaking Haitians changed their answer after the researcher informed them of some basic facts of linguistic apartheid, including the fact that over 95% of Haitians are not fluent in French.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-4.

What Are Your Thoughts on the Haitian Creole & French language? What is the Difference Between the Two Languages? What Connotations Do They Carry?

Both French and non-French speakers confirmed that French is the language of social mobility and prestige. Haitian Creole was described as the language of the people. Informant 1 stated, "Every Haitian speaks Creole. It's our language that is distinct to only us. It's the language I use from the time I get up until the time I go to sleep. French, however is the language that I use to express myself in a powerful way. If I am talking to a girl that I like, I can tell her "I love you" in French and that would mean much more than "I love you" in Creole." French is the language I would use in school, because other students respect me more when they hear I speak it." Informant 2 also said:

If you hear a man speak Creole but he makes many mistakes, you typically laugh it off, but if you hear a man speak in French, but he is making many mistakes, you cover your ears. French is a delicate language that shows your intelligence and prestige. You can't slaughter it, butcher it by misusing it. No! Never. Creole, however, is the language of everyday use. You use it to make jokes, especially filthy ones. You use it to talk with your family, and you use it connect with friends. It's the language of everyday life; you can make mistakes. But French is the language of the educated.

Among the French speakers, there was a clear consensus that French is the language of the educated and that Haitian Creole is a lower class that serves the nation as an informal means of communication.

The non-French speakers, however had a slightly different view of French and Haitian Creole. They seem to glorify French as a language of social mobility, but as the only means by which their current economic situation would change. Many of the non-French speakers glorified French as the easy way to become rich. Informant 4 stated, "I am supposed to know French, but I don't. I know though, once I am able to understand it, I will succeed. Speaking French opens many opportunities for Haitians. If you speak French you can work in any department and any section of Haiti. Anyone will higher you without any questions if you speak French." Informant 23 said, "I am old. I don't have much in me, but I know that my children and my grandchildren can bring me out of my misery if they continue to work towards speaking French. I never had the opportunity because my family didn't have the money to send me to school, but I know that it's not going to be the same with my offspring. Creole is the language of my country, but French is the language of progression."

Almost every informant saw Creole as a means for daily communication. They were proud to have a language of their own regardless of whether they were monolingual or bilingual. The difference between French speaking informants and non-French speaking informants was that the French-speaking informants primarily saw French as a way of life. They used French to express themselves in a particular way and to show their status. Some used French to attract others; some used it to show intellectual ability, and some used it to communicate with higher authorities. They all used it to accomplish a specific goal. The non-French speakers, on the other hand, primarily saw French as a means for social mobility. Most of the monolingual informants stated that although they cannot speak French, the acquisition of that language by family members or even themselves would lead to more opportunities for economic advancements.

What Language Do You Use For Official Business? What Language Do You Use Most Often?

Every French speaker used the French language for official business and every non-French speaker used Haitian Creole for official business. All 23 informants, however, stated that they used Haitian Creole the most throughout their day. Informant 6 stated, "What Haitian doesn't use Creole more often than French, English or Spanish? That is our language, made just for the Haitian people. Of course we speak it more often. Next question?" This supported the notion of French as a language of the minority and Haitian Creole as the language of the masses. Many informants, in fact, responded to this question as if it were poorly written or conceived. When the researcher asked informant 6 if the question irritated her, she responded that it was just a silly question.

The researcher noted that perhaps she was offended because this question only has one possible outcome for her because she is monolingual.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-5.

What Role Does English Play in 21st Century Haiti?

Informants had generally the same response to this question with slight variations. They all agreed that English is impacting Haiti more and more in commerce and business; however, French is currently the language of power. French speakers such as informant 2, were convinced that French would continue to maintain its power for the upcoming years; however, English would come to its level within the next 50 years. Non-French speakers all saw French as the current language of power, but English as the language that would dominate French within the upcoming years.

Informant 18 said:

English will soon triumph over French. Just look at this system. We share this side of the world with the United States; they are the most powerful country in our region. Just as the French came in with their language, the Americans will be sure to install their language in our country. Not only that, but look at commerce. All powerful business transactions are done in English. Some are done in Spanish, but Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela all trade with the United States in English. English is the new language of this world's system.

All informants agreed that English will have a significant role in Haiti's future; however, the non-French speakers seem to believe its power is going to be seen much sooner than the French speakers believed. This is very telling, because it suggests the power struggle between monolingual and bilingual Haitians. Monolinguals would be

more open to having another language become the language of prestige, because they are not currently advantageously positioned in the linguistic situation of Haiti, whereas the French speakers seemed to be more resistant, perhaps because they are positioned advantageously already. English may be more of a threat to them.

Have You Ever Been a Victim of Linguistic Discrimination? Explain. Do You See a Linguistic Apartheid in Haiti? To What Extent?

Every informant noted that they had seen the linguistic apartheid in Haiti. No informant was alarmed by this concept. This supported the existence of a linguistic apartheid in Haiti. Every French-speaking informant except for one stated that they had never been a victim of linguistic discrimination. The only French speaker who claimed to have been a victim was the only woman bilingual. She stated that it is not uncommon for monolinguals to classify her as an uppity bilingual because she speaks French. On several occasions she has been the object of ridicule because she speaks French. Although she doesn't speak French to everyone, she is known in her neighborhood as a French speaker, which leads to much sarcasm at her expense.

All non-French speaking informants reported that they had been the subject of discrimination on several levels. "The system is made to suppress those who don't speak French," stated informant 23. Although there were varying degrees of the discrimination, all of the monolingual informants agreed that linguistic discrimination is not rare in Haiti. The researcher expected the differing views because of the daunting facts that surround linguist apartheid. The only notable surprise was the woman informant who stated that she had been the subject of linguistic discrimination even though she spoke French fluently. Perhaps this discrimination is embedded in something more than just language, language and gender. Although speaking French

assisted her in getting a job as a nurse, she was still the object of discrimination. Because she spoke French, she would often be labeled a snob and treated as an outcast. If she had been a man, would she have received as much discrimination? This points back to the issue of gender in the linguistic apartheid in Haiti.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-6.

Is Your Family Bilingual? What Were You Raised Speaking?

Every informant except one noted that their family did not speak French fluently and they were raised speaking Creole. Informant 20, a politician, was the only informant who was raised speaking French in his home.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-7.

If God Erased Your Linguistic Memory and Allowed You to Know Only One Language Perfectly, What Would It Be? Why? What Would Your Second and Third Choices Be? Why?

The following is a chart with the most common answers for French speakers and non-French speakers. All 9 of the French speakers chose French as their first choice and English as their second choice. Ten non-French speakers chose French as their first choice, 3 chose Creole and 1 chose English. As a second choice, 6 chose Creole, 5 chose English, 3 chose French and one chose Spanish. These data show that among the French-speaking informants, French is elevated as the most important language and English is the second most important language. Among the non-French speaking informants French is seen as the most important and then Creole is seen as the second most important language.

These responses reveal that French is elevated as the most important language for both monolingual and bilinguals. Although there are functional differences as seen in questions 5 and 8, if the informants had to speak one language they would chose French. When asked for the second most important language, the French-speaking informants voted on English; however, the non-French speaker voted on Creole. This demonstrated the devaluation of Haitian Creole for the bilinguals. This question also supported the notion of French being a marker of social status mobility for non-French speakers. This may be why they chose French as the top choice.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-2.

If You Were Able to Choose Only One Language to Place in Haitian Schools, What Would it Be?

Every French-speaking informant stated that French must be in the school systems. Ten of the 14 non-French speaking informants supported French being in the school system and the remaining 4 informants were indifferent towards French being in the Haitian Education system.

These responses reaffirm values and perceptions of French and Haitian Creole. They show that although most of the informants are unable to speak French fluently, French is truly a language of power in the Haitian society. It also supports the notion of French being a vehicle for class mobility. Informant 22 stated, "I know my child is struggling in school right now, it's not easy, but if he is able to understand the language of the high class, he will go far. I support French in schools because this the only opportunity my children have to make our lives better." Every informant who had a child

voted for French in the school system, which is explained by the logic of informant 22. Those who don't speak French see it as an avenue for social mobility.

The responses for this question are recorded in table format at the end of this chapter. It will be Table 4-8.

Data Interpretation

Interpretation

In undertaking this study, the main goal was to understand the nature of the linguistic apartheid in Haiti by investigating the differences between perceptions towards the French language among French speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. The results of the investigation were incredible. Through semi-structured interviews held with 23 informants, this research was able to expose attitudes that oppose and support linguistic apartheid. Although all informants were aware of the linguistic apartheid, perceptions of it differed between the French speaking and non-French speaking groups. This research was also able to show a correlation between language use and class and gender.

Through question 1, the research data indicated that there was a correlation between occupation and language acquisition, and gender and language acquisition. The more prestigious occupations were those of French speakers. Interestingly enough, occupations that were held by both French speakers and non-French speakers were significantly different as well. Although job titles were the same, the job description and salary between the French and non-French speakers differed dramatically. French speakers held jobs that lead to higher class stratification and non-French speakers were on the lower end of the spectrum. This research also indicated that women were less likely to speak French, which meant that they were automatically at the lowest spectrum

of the class stratification. These results revealed a deeper level of the linguistic apartheid that effects gender.

The data collected from questions 2 through 3 indicated that French speakers and non-French speakers interpret history in slightly different ways. French speakers saw the French as a paternal figures that gave Haiti a sense of culture and identity, whereas non-French speakers saw the French as brutal murderers who had be removed. These differing views continue to show the schism between the French speaking and non-French speaking communities in Haiti. While the French-speaking informants' perceptions were more accepting of the colonization that Haiti went through, the non-French speaking informants were more resistant to the idea of colonization.

The data collected from questions 4 through 15 indicated that the linguistic apartheid is perceived differently amongst the French and non-French speaking informants. While both communities affirmed that there was a linguistic apartheid in Haiti, they viewed the structure differently. French speakers saw French as a vital part of the Haitian community, and even a necessity, a way of life even though it is the vehicle used to separate monolinguals and bilinguals. Non-French speaking informants saw French as the vehicle for linguistic segregation; however, they were not resistant to the segregation, because they were hopeful that their current economic state could be reversed by acquisition of the language. This observation is critical in understanding the linguistic apartheid because it demonstrates that while French speakers support the linguistic apartheid through their perception, non-French speakers also support the linguistic apartheid through their glorification of the language and desire to see the acquisition of the language change their economic situation. This research data

indicates that non-French speakers fight against the apparent effects of the linguistic apartheid (discrimination), but they condone the structural existence of it (e.g. being in schools).

This research serves as an exploratory and preliminary research. It supports the claims made by previous scholars such as Dejan and Degraff and it illuminates intricate aspects of the linguistic apartheid such as gender inequalities. This research will allow the researcher and other researchers to create more pointed questions in regards to the linguistic apartheid. The interesting insight will lead to even greater research on language in Haiti.

Limitations & Further Research

Limitations

Although this research was informative there were many limitations. Firstly, because of financial and time limits, only 23 informants were interviewed. In order to be a more effective sample, there should have been at least 25 interviews. This research was effective in yielding important data; however, more informants would have yielded even richer data. In the case that this research can be expanded, the researcher should aim to interview more informants. This will insure that there is a better representation of French speaking and non-French speaking informants.

Next, this interview was limited to only residents in Cap-Haitian, Haiti. One could argue that the reach of this research was not broad enough. The different cities in Haiti are very different. Therefore, the farmers that you meet in Bois de Lance, a small neighboring village, can very easily be different than farmers you would meet in farming villages in Port-au-Prince. Although this research effectively reached individuals who

were demographically different, there was little geographic variation. For the integrity of the data, geographic variation could have made this research more rigorous.

Finally, this research may have been limited because it was conducted in Creole. The fact that the researcher administered the questionnaire in Creole as opposed to French may have swayed informants to think a certain way. Because the researcher is not fluent in French she was restricted to using only Haitian Creole. This limited the researcher from being able to extract rich information from informants such as subtle behavior, code-switching and inaccurately self-reported French skills. Also, the research was translated from Creole to English, which proved to be difficult. Many metaphors and sayings were not easily translated into English from Creole. Because Creole can be a very emphatic language, much of the passion and emphasis was also lost throughout the translation process.

Although there were other limitations throughout the research process such as limited funding and translating responses, the researcher handled the limitations as best as she could. Because the findings in this research are consistent with earlier research this research is able to contribute to the greater body of research that exist already.

Further Research

This research revealed new and deeper dimensions of linguistic apartheid; however, there is still much to be researched. Further research should focus on unearthing more perceptions of language within the Haitian society. Specifically, it should look at non-French speakers' perception of French. This research has indicated that non-French speakers experience the effects of the linguistic apartheid; however, at the same time, they support some aspects of it. Further research should also explore

the correlation between gender and bilingualism. These two topics would increase the potency of this research tenfold.

Because this research was brief and exploratory it was not full-fledged with full participant observation. Future research should include an ethnographic approach that uses participant observation in the interpretation of the research. It is advised that the researcher or other future researchers become fluent in French as well as Haitian Creole in order to maximize the depth of the information received from informants.

Table 4-1. Location of interviews

Informant	Occupation (Primary)	Location
I 1	Student	School
I 2	Student	School
I 3	Business man	Business
I 4	Student	School
I 5	Student	School
I 6	Receptionist	Business
I 7	Vendor	Business
I 8	Farmer	Home
I 9	Farmer	Home
I 10	Police Officer	Police Station
I 11	Office Manager	Office
I 12	Educator	Church
I 13	Nurse	Office
I 14	Police Officer	Police Station
I 15	Translator	Police Station
I 16	Educator	School
I 17	Lawyer	School
I 18	Pastor	Church
I 19	Business man	Business
I 20	Politician	Office
I 21	Vendor	Business
I 22	Vendor	Business
I 23	Clerk	Business

Table 4-2. Informant demographics

Informant	Age	Languages Spoken (Fluently)	Occupation (Primary)	Marital Status	Children
I 1	20-29	Fr, Cr	Student	S	N
I 2	20-29	Fr, Cr	Student	S	N
I 3	20-29	Cr	Business man	M	N
I 4	20-29	Cr	Student	M	Y
I 5	20-29	Cr	Student	S	N
I 6	20-29	Cr	Receptionist	M	Y
I 7	30-39	Cr	Vendor	M	Y
I 8	30-39	Cr	Farmer	M	Y
I 9	30-39	Cr	Farmer	M	Y
I 10	30-39	Cr	Police Officer	M	N
I 11	30-39	Cr	Office Manager	M	Y
I 12	30-39	Fr, Cr	Educator	M	Y
I 13	30-39	Fr, Cr	Nurse	M	Y
I 14	30-39	Fr, Cr	Police Officer	M	Y
I 15	30-39	Fr, Cr	Translator	M	Y
I 16	30-39	Cr	Educator	M	Y
I 17	40-49	Fr, Cr	Lawyer	M	Y
I 18	40-49	Cr	Pastor	M	Y
I 19	50-59	Fr, Cr	Business man	M	Y
I 20	50-59	Fr, Cr	Politician	M	Y
I 21	50-59	Cr	Vendor	M	Y
I 22	50-59	Cr	Vendor	M	Y
I 23	70-79	Cr	Clerk	M	Y

I=Informant

Cr= Haitian Creole

Fr=French

M= Married

S= Single

Y= Yes

N= No

Table 4-3. 1st and 2nd language choice

Speaker	1st Choice	2nd Choice
French	French	English
non-French	French	Creole

Table 4-4. Is Haiti bilingual?

	Yes	No
French	8	0
Non-French	8	6

Table 4-5. Official language of business

	French	H.C
French	8	0
Non-French	0	14

Table 4-6. Victim of discrimination

	Yes	No
French	1	7
Non-French	0	14

Table 4-7. Is your family bilingual

	Yes	No
French	1	7
Non-French	0	14

Table 4-8. Language in schools

	French	H.C
French	8	0
Non-French	10	4

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

What is the true nature of man? To what extent and under what conditions does he develop his potential? Are all human races capable of rising to the same intellectual and moral level? (...)The Study of Man in his physical, intellectual, and moral dimensions as he is found in any of the different race which constitute the human species. All men are endowed with the same qualities and the same faults, without distinction of color or anatomical form.

—Anténor Firmin
The Equality of the Human Races

Equality

The fight for equality has been written on the hearts of the suppressed since the beginning of time. From Toussaint Louverture to Martin Luther King to Nelson Mandela, human equality is something men and women have given their entire lives to achieving. Martyrs such as Steve Biko valiantly fought for equality and lived life declaring the vitality of equality and freedom. This research on linguistic apartheid is not as explored as racial, gender and other social inequalities; however, it is just as pertinent and is intricately intertwined to all other forms of social inequalities.

The goal of this study was to examine the differences between perceptions of the French language among French speakers and non-French speakers in Haiti. By doing so, it has shown that the perceived cultural value, the perceived instrumental value and the perceived life value of the French language vary depending on whether a person speaks French or not. In effect, this research has exposed attitudes that perpetuate and oppose the linguistic apartheid in Haiti. The data in this research has illuminated intricate aspects of linguistic apartheid. This study and others like it are truly vital to the advancement of the nation of Haiti and humanity as a whole.

The Future

Although the fight has been long and hard, there is still hope for the linguistic situation in Haiti. Examples such as the Papiamentu primary and secondary schooling in Kolegio Erasmo have demonstrated that the expansion of first-language education can be very beneficial for the education system of the host country. The privately run schools in Kolegio Erasmo were the first to implement the new Papiamentu curriculum in 1987 (Hebblethwaite 2012:270). Through this curriculum, students were experiencing positive psychological effects, high enrollment rates and higher rates of grade completion. As Hebblethwaite states, “Creolists can look to Kolegio Erasmo as a shining example of the benefits of employing Creole languages in education” (Hebblethwaite 2012:270). With regards to Haitian Creole, we can look at the Papiamentu example and be confident that Haitian Creole is capable of rising above the grips of its stunted and excluded past.

The future of Haitian Creole appears to be bright. As mentioned throughout this research, there have been gains such as the Bernard Reform and intellectuals such as Trouillot using Creole as a vehicle for researching Haiti. One of the greatest gains has been the move to the IPN ,institut pédagogique national, system of orthography. Unlike other systems that embrace French-like spelling, the IPN system eliminates most of the French patterns of spelling (Hebblethwaite 2012:284). Since its acceptance, the majority of major Creole literacy and scientific publications after 1979 accept this official orthography. This gain shows that the battle to centralize Haitian Creole within Haitian society is advancing. The future of dismantling the linguistic apartheid looks bright and this research only further supports the advancement of this fight.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Berthude graduated from the University of Florida with a Master of Arts in Latin American Studies. Her focus was Development and Haiti. She was born in Haiti but moved to the US at the age of 8. In 2011 Berthude co-founded a Gainesville-based 501(c)3 Nonprofit called Projects for Haiti, Inc. (P4H). As CEO of P4H Berthude's heart is to see sustainable development and growth in Haiti. She is confident that she will be working with the Haitian people until her dying breath.