

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE BY HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA:
A CASE STUDY OF THE CHICAGO COMMUNITY

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT:

This dissertation addresses fundamental questions regarding the factors that facilitate and/or impede multi-generational mother tongue (L1) maintenance, with an emphasis on immigrant contexts by case-studying the Haitian immigrant community in Chicago as a potential exemplar of bilingual immigrant communities that is embedded in an economically and culturally dominant language: English. The dissertation examines the question of inter-generational language maintenance and transmission in that community based on fieldwork conducted there for almost a year.

It addresses essentially three questions into which a few others are embedded: (1) Has the Haitian Immigrants living in Chicago been able to successfully maintain their linguistic repertoire inter-generationally without shifting to English? (2) If so, how have they managed to achieve this difficult task? And (3), if they have not been as successful, because they have experienced, for example, attrition some in one or both languages (i.e., French and Haitian Creole) or failed to transmit them to the 2nd and 3rd generations, why has this occurred and what specific factors might account for this outcome?

The dissertation answers these and the related questions unambiguously, and considers the theoretical implications of the findings. Specifically, the analysis of the data, that were collected via several instruments including a questionnaire and selected follow-up interviews, showed that the Haitian immigrants in Chicago have successfully maintained their two languages firmly through the second generation and to a limited extent the third generation. They have achieved these results through a combination of language and cultural maintenance strategies that include: the use of their two languages in the family domain; participation in the church for religious and community-wide interactional purposes; engaging themselves in social gatherings

outside of the church to mark special events such as celebrations of Haitian historical dates (i.e., the independence date, Flag Day); and tuning into radio or TV programs that are broadcast in or support the usage of French and Haitian Creole. I argue, among other points, that these strategies account not only for the success of language maintenance documented in the study, but also provide an explanation for such a success in a non-enclaved immigrant community where it is commonly unexpected.

The study also considers other theoretical issues, including the achievement of language maintenance in a non-enclaved immigrant community; the Haitian identity; the role of grandparents in fostering language maintenance in the family domain; and, to a limited but nonetheless important respect, language transmission to the 3rd generation. It is argued with respect to language maintenance and transmission by Haitians, for example, that their Haitian identity and the use of Haitian Creole as an identity marker has played a pivotal role.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Presentation of the Study	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study.....	2
1.3 Objectives.....	6
1.4 Organization of the Dissertation.....	8
Chapter 2: A Profile of Haiti and its People	10
2.1 Introduction.....	10
2.2 Haiti's Geographical Location.....	10
2.3 Historical Overview.....	11
2.4 Implementation of French and Emergence of Haitian Creole.....	17
2.5 Sociolinguistic Profile of Haiti.....	19
2.5.1 Language Ecology: Who Speaks Which Language and Where?.....	20
2.5.2 Language Policy, Education, and Identity.....	22
2.6 Haiti's Economic and Political Challenges.....	26
2.7 Haitian Migration Movement	28
2.8 Identity Construction in the Haitian Diaspora.....	29
2.8.1 Sociolinguistic Identity Construction	30
2.8.2 Socio-cultural Identity Construction.....	32
2.9 Conclusion.....	35
Chapter 3: Chapter 3: Literature Review	37
3.1 Introduction.....	37
3.2 Characterization of Language Maintenance.....	38
3.2.1 Language Maintenance.....	38

3.2.2.	Language Shift.....	40
3.2.3	Language Attrition and Language Loss.....	43
3.2.4.	Factors Underlying and Consequences of Language Loss.....	45
3.3	Intergenerational Language Maintenance.....	48
3.4	Conclusion.....	53
Chapter 4:	Methodology and Data Analysis.....	55
4.1	Introduction.....	55
4.2	Design of the Study.....	55
4.2.1	Methodological Approach to Data Collection.....	56
4.2.2	Findings from the Pilot Study.....	57
4.2.3	Conclusions from the Pilot Study.....	59
4.2.4	Data Collection Procedures and Instruments.....	59
4.3	Research Instruments.....	61
4.3.1	Data Analysis Methodology.....	62
4.3.2	Tools Used in the Data Analysis.....	62
4.3.3	Motivation for the Combined Approach.....	63
4.3.4	The Researcher's Role in the Fieldwork.....	64
4.4	Methodological Approach to Data Analysis.....	65
4.4.1	Conclusion.....	65
Chapter 5:	Analysis of the Sociolinguistic Data from the Questionnaire.....	67
5.1	Introduction.....	67
5.2	Qualitative Data Analysis.....	67
5.3	Reported Contexts and Strategies of Use of French.....	71
5.3.1	Contexts of Use of Haitian Creole.....	74

5.4	Intergenerational Language Transmission.....	77
5.4.1	Intergenerational Differences in Language Use, Language Maintenance, and Ethnicity.....	79
5.5	Haitian Networking and Maintenance of Haitian Creole and French.....	80
5.6	Blackness and Native Language Maintenance.....	81
5.7	Haitian Identity and Language Maintenance.....	83
5.8	Summary of Follow-up Interviews.....	87
5.8.1	Conclusions of the Qualitative Analysis.....	89
5.9	Descriptive Statistics	90
5.9.1	Background Information.....	90
5.9.2	Maintenance and Transmission.....	97
5.9.3	French and Haitian Creole in Other Domains of Use.....	102
5.10	Inferential Statistics.....	106
5.11	Conclusion.....	108
Chapter 6 Conclusions and Theoretical Implications.....		110
6.1	Introduction.....	110
6.2	Discussion of Research Findings.....	111
6.3	Theoretical Implications.....	116
6.4	Directions for Future Research.....	119
6.5	Conclusion and Further Reflections.....	120
6.6	Limitations.....	123
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		124
APPENDIX.....		134

Chapter 1: Presentation of the Study

1.1 Introduction

Language maintenance as a general phenomenon in language contact under immigration contexts has long been a topic of considerable debate in sociolinguistics. The issue boils down to language vitality among the speech communities of the individuals who come into contact with one another. The usual situation under such contexts is that the immigrants bring their language or languages to the host country, which may have a single or dominant language. Initially the immigrants' language(s) will serve in its usual family and intra-speech community domains, but the speakers must learn and use the host community or country's language to access various socio-economic opportunities, including jobs, education, and government-offered services. As the host community's dominant language becomes more familiar, it often begins to compete with the immigrants' own language(s) in its/their privileged domains.

Several questions arise under such circumstances. The first and most fundamental is whether the immigrants' language(s) will be maintained in the long run across generations. Second, if it is/they are maintained, in which domain(s) is this occurring. Third, is the retention intra- or intergenerational? Fourth, what factors and/or strategies facilitate the retention? In the event that the language(s) is/are not maintained, the questions that arise in this case concern what exactly occurred over time; and, second, why the language(s) underwent this development.

Language maintenance in a single or pervasively bilingual country is relatively easy. However, under immigration contexts the choice is highly limited, because the immigrants are embedded in a new community of practice where they have to not only live, but also acquire the dominant language in or order to seek employment and other opportunities necessitated

especially by modern living. This particular situation presents perhaps the greatest challenge in language maintenance. The story that I will tell in this dissertation involves the case of language maintenance of Haitian immigrants in United States, living in the Chicago area. The study is an attempt to uncover not only the challenges they face, but also whether or not they have been able to successfully maintain their languages while living in a megacity like Chicago. And if they have, this dissertation will discuss what factors and strategies have facilitated this achievement, in addition to in what respects their experience reflects or not those of other immigrant speech communities, and what contribution this study can make to the field.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

The case of the Haitian Creole and French bilingual Haitian immigrant community in Chicago seems to typify the language contact situation described above. While there have been several studies of language and culture maintenance among Haitian immigrant communities in selected major U.S. cities such as New York, Miami, and Boston (e.g., Zéphir 1996, 2001, 2004; 2005; Joseph 1992; Stepick 1996, 1998 and Stepick et al. 2001), their scope and databases have been limited in several respects.

Let us consider briefly the key findings in some of this research. Zéphir (1996), for example, in a study based on data collected through fieldwork among New York City Haitians in 1993 where she tried to uncover different aspects of how Haitians portray themselves in this particular place, found that Haitian Creole was the primary language used in the community as the language of interaction. Her research demonstrates that Haitians in New York City used Haitian Creole as a marker of their ethnicity and French as a marker of their social belonging.

More specifically, Haitian Creole represents a unique asset as it helps them distinguish themselves from other minorities with whom they share the same skin color.

Miami's Haitian immigrant population has been widely studied by Stepick. In a study he conducted in the community using a survey, anthropological interviews, and participant observations, he found that Haitians deliberately preserve the use of Haitian Creole a marker of their heritage (Stepick 1998). In that same study, however, he found that Haitians from the second generation are ambivalent in their portrayal of their Haitian ethnicity. For instance, he discovered that Haitian high schoolers refused to be recognized as Haitian, so he coined the concept of "cover-up" to talk about this group of young Haitians. He believed that the second generation feels the pressure of not being accepted by their school peers.

In the same vein, in a study conducted by Zéphir in Brooklyn in the fall of 1998 and published in 2001, where she focused primarily on how second-generation Haitian immigrants portray themselves, she noticed an array of behaviors performed with regard to the subjects' Haitian ethnicity, their cultural and linguistic preservation, and so forth. In fact, many second generation informants reported to her that they are not so proud of their ethnicity, a feeling which, in turn, effected their lack of knowledge of Haitian Creole and/or their covering up of them saying they are Haitians when asked by other people. This in fact echoes what Stepick (1998) found in his study of the Haitian immigrants living in South Florida, especially in Miami. In addition, Woldemikael (1989) uncovered the same behaviors among the youth in fieldwork he carried out in Evanston, Illinois, near Chicago.

Despite the lukewarm feelings about second-generation Haitian immigrants, these researchers found that first-generation Haitian immigrants living in major urban areas such as New York City, Miami, and Boston tended to proudly recreate their Haitian customs and

traditions in the U.S. The same behavior has been reported regarding the use of their native languages among themselves and how they try to transmit one or both of them to their children.

A survey of the many studies conducted on Haitians living in urban environments in the U.S (e.g., New York, Boston, and Miami) suggests a successful ability by first generation immigrants to maintain their linguistic heritage and culture. Even when the bulk of these studies foresee that it is very likely that Haitians in the second and third generations will maintain the use of Haitian Creole and/or French in the future, however, not a single study has stated this prediction explicitly. Although Zéphir (2001) has provided some answers to the patterns of language maintenance of the second and possibly the third generations of Haitian immigrants in New York City, it is nonetheless the case that studies do not in their essence focus their attention on language maintenance. They tend to emphasize more the different aspects of ethnicity among the first and second generations of Haitian immigrants, which does not allow readers of these works to clearly understand the very language maintenance strategies used by these minority immigrant communities. These limitations, in my view, leave many questions unanswered, including the following: (1) Why do some Haitians teenagers resent using Haitian Creole and French? (2) Why do they want to be seen as African-Americans and live an under-cover life? And (3) Why do some others maintain their languages and culture and want to influence their peers to follow the same path?

It is true that the various studies surveyed above discussed the phenomenon of cultural and language maintenance among Haitians in major mega cities such as New York City and Miami, however, my research is very different from them in many respects. Accordingly, these studies have been conducted in cities where the Haitian immigrant population density is very high and where regular influx of new immigrants is expected, whereas in my research, not only

the Haitian immigrant community of Chicago is very scattered, but also their number is greatly inferior to that of the aforementioned cities, which then makes it more difficult for classic language and culture maintenance to take place. Also, influx of new waves of immigrants from the same background is less likely. Secondly, my research is in Chicago, a city that has an historical connection to Haiti. In fact, the city of Chicago was founded by a Haitian native, Jean Baptiste DuSable. This historical connection has an underlying relevance in the people who migrated to Chicago, as they tend to be more professionals and more educated compared to its counterparts. Also, the sense of belonging and community in spite of not living in a specific part of the city as they can be found in very small numbers in various parts of the city and at some bordering cities as well has lent itself well in the maintenance of their cultural heritage. In addition, the social composition of this community and their spread within the city of Chicago suggest that the relevance of Haitians in the history of Chicago, plus the presence of so many churches, TV/radio, etc. are very important in facilitating the maintenance of their culture and languages. Moreover, the pride in the Haitian identity, and strong connection to French as exemplified and the book clubs, masses and other church related services in French as well are all very important in differentiating this group of immigrants from others living in other major cities. And finally, a positive attitude towards multilingualism, bidialectalism, and biculturalism seems to be an important trait of this community. And finally, one of the main differing aspects in my research and those conducted earlier in other major Haitian immigrant concentrations in the U.S is that this present research not only targets Haitian Creole and French maintenance but also the intergenerational language transmission by enquiring about the second and third generation Haitian immigrants living in the greater Chicago area.

1.3 Objectives

The questions raised above, and related ones that remain unaddressed, have motivated this study to shed light on one of the main aspects of the phenomenon of language maintenance and its facets: language shift, attrition, and non-transmission, referred to in the literature as [inter-generational] language loss. Specifically, the study will attempt to determine whether the maintenance of Haitian Creole and French by Haitian immigrants in the United States is due to large, populated areas of Haitian immigrants, or to identity-marking through the use of their linguistic knowledge and cultural pride to differentiate themselves from other Black ethnic groups in the country. If the latter is true, we can easily hypothesize that no matter where Haitians immigrants are located in the U.S., whether it is a sizable enclave (e.g. a Little Haiti of some sort) or a very scattered population in a large metropolitan center, they will maintain their heritage languages and culture. If the former is the case, we can predict that Haitians in the Chicago area will likely not maintain their languages and culture, because unlike Haiti's Enclaves in New York, Miami, Boston, the population here is scattered across several neighborhood and suburbs. And it could also be the case that both of these factors underlie these immigrants' retention of their languages and culture.

Recent research on this general topic in the U.S. has primarily focused on Latin American, Asian, and European immigrants. Although the different studies conducted thus far have been very informative and have advanced the scholarship on immigrants' maintenance of their native languages or shift to the majority language—English in this case—very few of them have been dedicated to other immigrant groups, such as those from Caribbean countries. This is particularly true of bilingual states in which English is not spoken as the vernacular (e.g., Haiti,

Dominican Republic, Cuba, etc.). Therefore, to begin to fill this gap, enhance our understanding of the phenomenon, and determine how such immigrants maintain their heritage languages and cultures, this thesis examines the behaviors of Haitian immigrants in Chicago as a case study.

This study seeks to ascertain which of the proposition(s) stated above hold(s) by investigating the maintenance of Haitian Creole and/or French by the Haitian immigrant community of metropolitan Chicago. In this regard, it intends to determine, first, if these immigrants have maintained their linguistic repertoire inter-generationally. And if so, how have they managed to achieve this difficult task? And if they have lost one or both languages or experienced some attrition of their linguistic knowledge in one or both, why has this occurred? For example, what specific factors could account for this development? Have the families that maintained one or both languages transmitted it or them to their children? The investigation, in these respects, will also seek to determine the functional domains of each language and what discernable factors may have delineated them. Finally, this research will seek to shed light on how the three generations under study have dealt with the phenomenon of language maintenance and culture preservation and more importantly how have they viewed themselves in terms of race and ethnicity in the U.S.

Based on just the face value of Zéphir's argument, which maintains that Haitians in the U.S. use French as social marker and Haitian Creole as an identity marker, we could, therefore, hypothesize that adult Haitian immigrants will, by all means, strive to maintain their native languages (French and Haitian Creole) and culture, and also pass on this linguistic heritage to future generations. In order to test this hypothesis, the study will address the following primary questions:

- 1) Have Haitians been able to maintain their native languages and cultural identities in the U.S.?
- 2) If they have been able to do so, how have they managed to do this? That is, what strategies and or factors have facilitated the maintenance of one or both of their language(s) and cultural heritage?
- 3) If they have been unable to maintain their native languages by shifting to English, the language of the mainstream society, why have they shifted?

1.4 Organization of the Dissertation

In order to present a coherent storyline of the Haitian immigrants' sociolinguistic journey to and experience in the U.S, this dissertation is divided into five interconnected chapters.

Chapter One introduces the topic under investigation, highlights the concept of immigration and migration, and situates the Haitian immigration to the U.S. in its historical contexts.

Chapter Two foregrounds the analysis to be presented in Chapters Three and Four by profiling major aspects of the sociolinguistics and socioeconomics of Haiti and its people. The discussion includes an overview of the country's socioeconomic history, and language ideology and identity construction as understood and practiced by Haitians prior to their immigration to the U.S. It also highlights the different causes of Haitian's migration movements to the U.S. and elsewhere, as well as the process of diasporic identity formation after immigration.

Chapter Three presents a review of the extant literature on the different aspects of language maintenance, and raises questions concerning the adequacy of some of this research. In particular, it examines what is known concerning the different phases of language maintenance as a progressive phenomenon, and critiques some of the research on different grounds.

Building on this background, Chapter Four describes first the methodology followed in carrying out this research, with a focus on the fieldwork conducted in the Haitian community of Chicago, and the coding of the data. It then delves into the data analysis from qualitative and quantitative perspectives in an attempt to offer empirically informed conclusions on the case study.

Finally, Chapter Five highlights the major results of the dissertation based on the research questions posed and the hypotheses set forth at the beginning of the study, and proceeds to a thorough discussion of the findings. It also presents the significance of this research and its scholarly implications on language maintenance. It concludes with suggestions on directions for future research.

With this background in mind, let us proceed to a discussion of Haiti and its people. In summary this dissertation seeks to address fundamental questions concerning language maintenance by Haitian immigrants living in the greater Chicago area as a case study of the phenomenon in a non-enclaved population. The ultimate goals are ascertained their strategies such a community utilizes in maintaining their language(s) typically studied population but also the third generation. And if they are successful what actors facilitate such success? And if they are not successful, what factors account for this development or this outcome? My hope here is to attempt to tease out the main factors that characterize the so-called “language shift” in immigrant community in general and touch possibly on non-immigrant contexts.

Chapter 2: A Profile of Haiti and its People

2.1 Introduction

In order to uncover whether or not Haitians living in the U.S., especially in the Chicago area, have been able to successfully maintain their native languages and culture, it is important to understand the ways in which Haitians lived in their country prior to their departure to the U.S. With this background in mind, we can gain a better understanding of the changes and challenges they have faced in their new home. This chapter offers a socio-historical and sociolinguistic overview of Haiti, beginning with a discussion of key aspects of the country's history, moving next to a brief description of the sociolinguistic landscape of the country, and concluding with the country's economic and political challenges. The overall aims of the chapter are essentially to characterize Haiti and its people, and to present a retrospective view of the factors that have motivated, and in fact necessitated their frequent migrations to the U.S. where they have faced, like many other immigrants, the problems of language and culture preservation.

2.2 Haiti's Geographical Location

Haiti is a small Caribbean nation with an area of 27,750 square kilometers, and is located between the Caribbean Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean, just west of the Dominican Republic. In 2015 it had an estimated population of 10,110,019, and constitutes "the first post-colonial black-led nation in the world, having declared [and obtained] its political independence from France in 1804" (*CIA: The World Factbook* online, December 2015). Haiti's climate is tropical overall, and semiarid where mountains in the east cut off trade winds. The main natural resources include bauxite, copper, calcium carbonate, gold, marble, hydropower, and arable land. Haiti's

arable land is about 64.4% according to the 2015 estimates, with highly mountainous terrain (CIA: *The World Factbook* online). Haiti shares 376 km of borders with the largest portion of the Hispaniola Island, and the Dominican Republic. According to the data presented by the *World Factbook* online (December 2015), Haiti's environment faces many challenges including extensive deforestation, soil erosion, and inadequate supply of potable water.

Figure 1.1 The map of Haiti



2.3 Historical Overview

To truly appreciate the socio-economic challenges that Haiti has faced for decades and that have led to massive immigrations to the U.S. and elsewhere, one must examine the country's history. This section presents an overview of this history, going back to the country's humble

and troubled beginnings, to its glorious rise, and then to its demise as a failed state characterized by decades of dictatorships and grinding economic poverty.

This small island nation that is surrounded by water for much of its area has a very fascinating and intriguing history as both a Western hemisphere and Black nation-state, starting with its so-called “discovery” by Columbus. Although the discovery of Haiti in December 5, 1492 has always been credited to Christopher Columbus, historians such as Madiou (1989), Chin (2004), Fouron (2010) and others, however, report that when Christopher Columbus arrived on the island then called Ayiti, it was already inhabited by more than three millions Tainos. Since the beautiful piece of land reminded him of Spain, he renamed it “Hispaniola,” which means “Little Spain” (Madiou 1989:94). According to Madiou (1989), Fouron (2010), and Zéphir (2010), the main objective of Columbus’ expeditions to the Americas was to find spices and gold which were scarce in Spain in that period of time. As a direct result of this quest, he ordered his troops to enslave the Taino population by forcing them to work in harsh conditions. Due to the combination of terrible work conditions and dire outbreaks of previously unknown, imported diseases, the Tainos began to die by the dozens and afterward by the hundreds (Fouron 2010). In the 1500s as the Taino population decreased, Columbus’ troops gradually replaced them with a significant numbers of Africans, whom they thought were more suited to work in those conditions.

The arrival of African workers helped the Spanish colony flourish at different levels and it began to prosper with very high strides. It was at that time then that English privateers and French filibusters, which were French-speaking sailors and merchants attracted by the silver the Spanish convoys carried from Havana, started to yearn to possess the island (Fouron 2010). As a result, in 1697 the French powers took over Barcelona and forced the Spanish monarchy at that

time to sign a treaty known as the *Treaty of Ryswick*. This treaty stipulated that the island of Hispaniola be divided as follows: one-third for France, which they renamed Saint-Domingue and constitutes modern day Haiti, with the remaining two thirds under Spanish possession. Fouron (2010) reports also that the French side of the island was flatter and more fertile. Following the example of the Spaniards in bringing Africans to the colony, France also relied heavily on mass slavery to work on their land from 1697 to 1804.

From that period onward, Saint-Domingue became highly socially stratified, with the whites, who had an estimated population of 40,000 or 8% of the island's total population, at the top of the social ladder (Fouron 2010: 24). At the second level were the mulattoes who were the offsprings of the white male inhabitants and female slaves. This group represented 5.6% of the population, who worked as low-paid or unpaid traders. Fouron (2010) reports also that some of the "gens de couleur," i.e., the mulattoes, received a high level of education in France in some of its then-most prestigious schools. They also managed to acquire lots of land in the colony of Saint-Domingue. And finally, at the bottom of the totem pole, were the Blacks who represented 86.4% of the population of Saint-Domingue. Their lives in the colony were regulated by a set of ordinances that were published in 1685 in a booklet known as the *Black Code*. It considered the slave population as "laboring machines, cogs in a system meant to produce as much sugar and coffee as possible" (Dubois 2004: 45). The slave workforce in the colony had been very productive and helped its economy to flourish, as these products were in high demand in Europe and elsewhere. In fact, during that period of fierce slavery, Saint-Domingue became the most thriving of all France's colonies. For instance, according to Dubois and Garrigus (2006:8), "Saint-Domingue produced 40% Europe's sugar and 60% of its coffee." It is from that flourishing period that Saint-Domingue was named "the Pearl of the West Indies."

Although the slaves represented the backbones of that thriving economy, they were abused, mistreated, and neglected by the colonists. As a result, according to Fick (1990: 27), 60-65% of the slaves died in the first few years after the establishment of the French colony. He also noted that “slaves were literally worked to death because they were the units of production and, as such, represented an investment that, once amortized, had already yielded its profits. So, once dead, infirm, or otherwise physically unable to continue working, they were replaced by additional investments in new slaves” (27).

Since the slaves’ living conditions kept deteriorating in the colony, the majority of them tried to organize themselves to alter these terrible conditions. They reached a tipping point where they could no longer bear their life conditions. They attempted some successful resistance strategies, such as fleeing the fields, hiding in the forests or the mountains, and poisoning some rivers and lakes (Donnadieu 2014). In fact, a slave named François or Makandal poisoned the masters’ food and many rivers to avenge his arm lost while working at a sugar cane mill. When the slave laborers were captured by their masters, they were beaten harshly or simply killed (Madiou 1989). Perhaps to avoid this kind of humiliation and the unrelenting misery, many slave laborers simply committed suicide by drowning themselves. Gradually their resistance became more organized under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, for instance. Fueled by their quest for liberty, they kept informed about what was occurring in France after the French Revolution of 1789. As a result, their resistance movement reached its climax in the period of 1793 to 1804 when Haiti, with ample fiery battles won by the clairvoyance and eloquence of Toussaint Louverture as a war strategist, secured its independence.

After securing a very decisive defeat of the French colonial forces led by the then-general Napoleon Bonaparte at the fierce Battle of Vertières on November 18, 1803, the general in chief

of the Indigenous Army, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and declared Haiti's independence on January 1, 1804. This date also marks the rebirth of the country from Saint-Domingue to Haiti, its French name, and Ayiti, what many believe to be the original name of the country. At last, the Haitian people celebrated the advent of this independence that was secured and won at a very high price, including the destruction of almost all the major plantation fields, fierce combats, and major disease outbreaks that killed the vast majority of Haitian freedom-seekers. Dubois (2012: 15) reports in this regard that during the period between 1802 and 1803 alone, more than 100,000 Haitian freedom fighters perished.

After achieving its well-deserved independence, the country soon found itself in the midst of a vast majority of thorny problems. In fact, less than three years after its birth, Haiti, the young Republic, was already in crisis after the death of Dessalines in an ambush possibly led by some members of the army, especially Henry Christophe and Alexandre Pétion on October 17, 1806 at Pont Rouge, the northern side of the capital. The country split into two parts, with Christophe leading the north and Pétion the west and south. Beginning with the country's division by these two important figures of Haiti's independence, Haiti has been counting political instability after political instability ever since.

Reflecting on the significance of the Haitian revolution of 1804, Dubois (2012: 16) observes that "[t]his revolution was an act of profound-and irreversible transformation." He continues to argue that "few other generations in history have achieved what the Haitian revolutionaries managed to do." The conquest of that independence is of even greater symbolism since it helped spark other anti-slavery movements throughout Latin America and to some extent the whole world at that time (Dubois 2012). Haitians even assisted other Latin American leaders such as Simón Bolívar and Francisco Miranda to defeat Spain and proclaim the independence of

Bolivia and Venezuela, respectively, by not only advising them militarily, but more importantly, providing them with logistical support and sending them trained troops to fight alongside them.

As a result, as Fouron (2010: 30) points out, “Haiti became the anathema for white colonial powers that lived in constant fear of slave insurrection in their own societies.” Haiti became isolated so that the white hegemony around the world could attempt to maintain the status quo (Fouron 2010, Trouillot 1994). As the fear of disturbance and resonance of the slave revolution of Haiti kept increasing, it reached the ears of the U.S. President Thomas Jefferson, himself was a slave owner. Fouron (2010: 31) reports on a letter that Jefferson sent to James Monroe, then the governor of Virginia, where he states, “It is high time we should foresee the bloody scenes which our children certainly and possibly ourselves have to wade through, and try to avert them...if something is not done and done soon [about Haiti] we shall be the murderers of our own children. We are truly to be pitied.” As we shall see later on, the U.S. has been meddling in the political difficulties of Haiti ever since.

One need not forget that communication or interaction between all the slaves played a very crucial role in the Haitian victories over the colonizers. As a matter of fact, the conquest would be highly compromised without the linguistic assets that were developed and acquired during its history: French and Haitian Creole. As we know, the slaves were seized from different ethnolinguistic groups in Africa, and that to prevent the development of unity and possible rebellions by some or all of them under the umbrella of their ethnic groups, they were dispersed. Some of them managed to learn French at the feet of their masters. However, for those who were mainly in the fields, they could only communicate after they were able to forge a new linguistic code, what became Haitian Creole. So it might be asked at this juncture, what roles did each of these languages play in the conquest of Haiti’s independence? And what was their status after

securing this independence? These are some of the issues on which the following section will shed some light.

2.4 Implementation of French and Emergence of Haitian Creole

Haitian Creole is generally known as the indigenous language of the Haitian people, in contrast to French, which is historically the imposed language. The Haitian's ancestors spoke a variety of languages ranging from the Kwa spoken predominantly in West Africa to the Bantu languages spoken in central Africa. We have to note that these languages are considered as substrate languages to Haitian Creole in terms of the language's morphosyntax, and so some constructions of Haitian Creole such as predicate clefts and serial verbs undoubtedly derived from African languages (Degraff 2007). When it comes to lexicon and much else, however, these features are derived primarily from French (Degraff 2007). The blending of these various African languages and French occurred over several decades in the mid-late seventeenth century.

The exact date of Haitian Creole's emergence, presumably from a pidgin of various African languages and French, remains indeterminate and a subject of ongoing debate. According to Zéphir (2010), the French language first came to establish itself in the colony of Saint-Domingue around the period 1630–1640 when the French buccaneers and filibusters came to settle on Turtuga Island, located on the northwestern part of Hispaniola (Zéphir 2010: 56). Chaudenson (1992) theorizes the formation of Haitian Creole in two phases, with early evidence of its use in the colony shown around 1665. During the first phase, Saint-Domingue was considered a “homestead society” where the contact and interactions between Blacks and Whites were strong. As a result, the Blacks learned how to express themselves in French through daily exposure. In fact, the father of Haiti, Toussaint Louverture, can be cited as an example of that process: he was born in the Habitation of Bréda, where he learned how to read and write French

in the house of his masters, because he was a coachman. During the second phase around the year 1756, however, Saint-Domingue had become a “plantation society” which witnessed little-to-no interaction between slaves and colonizers. So without the slaves’ sharing a common knowledge of the French language, interaction between slaves was extremely difficult, since those who spoke the same African languages were systematically separated from each other and mixed with other ethno-linguistic groups to avoid the possibility of rebellion.

Following the Haitian revolt, French became the de facto official language, as it was the only language used in all of government and commerce, culture and refinement. That is to say, it served as the de facto official language from the 1804 revolution until it was enacted as the country’s official language in 1918 and duly stipulated in that year’s constitution. In article 24, this constitution states that “le français est la langue officielle. Son emploi est obligatoire en matière administrative et judiciaire” (French is the official language. Its use is obligatory for administrative and judiciary purposes). The legislators’ decision to install French in this position implicitly relegated Haitian Creole to less prestigious domains of use such as between family and friends, and for other non-official or informal communication (i.e., in marketplaces, worship services, music, or local radio shows).

French, the symbol of the ruling class, was thus the language used in formal domains, such as education, administration, and so on (Joseph 2010), whereas Haitian Creole became the language of the oppressed, the slaved, and the dominated (Zéphir 1995: 186). This differentiated allocation of language functions between French and Haitian Creole has created what Ferguson (1959) characterized as a diglossic community consisting of French as the high (H), and Haitian Creole as the low (L) language. It took the Haitians almost two centuries, from 1804 to 1987, to really raise Haitian Creole to the “same” level as French.

Diglossia or polyglossia are acknowledged today as common phenomena found in many nations across the world, and they raise profound questions regarding national and individual identity when speakers of such languages emigrate to other countries. This is precisely the situation of bilingual Haitians in Chicago and elsewhere in the Haitian Diaspora. Depending on their respective level of education, how do they identify themselves linguistically? For example, do they consider themselves primarily as French and Haitian Creole speakers, or first as French speakers and secondary as Haitian Creole speakers? Does the converse hold for some of the speakers, and if so, why and to what socio-economic class(es) did such individuals belong in Haiti prior to their migration to the U.S.? The section below addresses these questions to provide a foundation against which we can analyze the linguistic situation of Haitians in Chicago to determine whether they have reproduced the same linguistic behaviors/practices and attitudes as visible in Haiti, and how these practices bear on their strategies for the maintenance of their language(s). Alternatively, we wonder if some of them have embraced the implicit American language policy, which is to use English as the sole language in all sphere of life. Although many states in the U.S do not have an implicit language policy, it is nonetheless implied that English is the only language of the land.

2.5 Sociolinguistic Profile of Haiti

Since the goal here is to determine whether or not Haitians living in the Chicago area have been able to maintain their linguistic competences in French and Haitian Creole, it is important at this juncture to consider the kind of linguistic contexts they left behind. In particular, we present an overview of the literature on the status of Haitian Creole and French, and how they languages interact with each other in Haiti.

2.5.1 Language Ecology: Who Speaks Which Language and Where?

Moments after the proclamation of Haiti's independence in 1804, Boisrond Tonnerre, under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, penned in the declaration of independence solely in French. At that time and for over 150 years, French was considered the language of the high class, the prestigious language of the land, whereas Haitian Creole has been viewed by the most educated as the language of the poor and the masses (Zéphir 1996). Generally speaking, there is the tendency that people with high social status use Haitian Creole less and are more likely to use French in their daily communication. However, this is not a rigid rule, since interactions between members from different social classes are generally carried out in Haitian Creole.

This situation started to change in April 1979 with the launching and partial implementation of a new educational program during the administration of Claude Bernard, the Haitian education minister at the time. The “Bernard Reform” targeted, among other aspects, the language used in education. This policy was designed in 1976, brought into life in 1979, and finally established in 1982 (Locher 2010, citing Hadjadj 2000). Bernard, the Minister of Education under the regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier, or “Baby Doc,” developed this educational reform to create balanced bilinguals at the end of the first ten years of schooling. Haitian Creole was to be used as the sole medium of instruction for the first six years of schooling, whereas French was to be taught as a subject. Prior to the launching of the reform, school was conducted uniquely in French, and Haitian Creole was not taught formally as a subject nor was it used a vehicular language to teach other subjects. The reform achieved some degree of success, but did not reach the country on a large scale due in part to resistance from many people from all social classes. Some people from the middle class and the majority of the people from the upper class

preferred to keep the status quo ante where French would continue as the main language at all levels of education.

Despite the lukewarm success of the Bernard Reform, the early 1980s brought some changes to the linguistic environment that had prevailed for over a century. Haitian Creole gained some ground because Haiti's 1987 constitution stipulates that Haitian Creole is the only national language, and raised it to an official language on par with French. From that time on it became possible to produce and publish materials in Haitian Creole, including Parliamentary proceedings, and speeches by government officials. In this respect, though the language has been ground since its inception in the educational system and in administration in Haiti, nonetheless Haitian Creole has achieved its global visibility on October 3, 2008, when former Haitian President René Préval delivered a speech U.N. General Assembly in Haitian Creole.

Although Haitian Creole has been recognized at the highest levels, it remains a fact that the “face” of the country is written in French (Etienne 2000). This is exemplified by the fact that important signs, including street names, those of private and public schools alike, and of boutiques, are all written in French. Upon arrival in Haiti, a visitor would be under the impression that Haiti is only a Francophone country. With respect to the media, however, there has been some noticeable progress in the use of Haitian Creole. More and more radio and television shows have been broadcasted in Haitian Creole. There is even a newspaper, *Jounal bon nouvèl*, which is published periodically solely in Haitian Creole. Notwithstanding such advancements, French has remained the main language used in the country's major newspaper, *Le Nouvelliste*. And yet still, it has to be noted that Haitian Creole has gained a great deal of general prestige in the media, especially since *Le Nouvelliste* began sometimes publishing a story in Haitian Creole on the front page.

It is evident historically that Haitian Creole has gained significant ground and made some major milestones, because it can now be used at any level in the sphere of public life. For some segments of the population, however, Haitian Creole remains the language of the masses; for the masses, HC is their only or strongly primary language, and because these masses are largely uneducated, for instance, HC becomes associated with these speakers and is thus prevented from enjoying the same prestige as French and also because to the upper classes Haitian Creole has been viewed as lesser or for the masses, as a result, it does not enjoy the same prestige as French in the country. The following section highlights in some detail the post-1980s language policy in practice.

2.5.2 Language Policy, Education, and Identity

One of the landmarks of the Bernard Reform was actually prompted and drafted based on recommendations made by UNESCO during the Addis Ababa conference on education held in 1961. During that conference, UNESCO advised African countries and other developing states on the importance and the necessity of teaching children in the language they know best: their mother or father tongue (Locher 2010). Publicly championing the use of Haitian Creole in education was a bold move on the Haitian government's part and Haitians' reception of the reforms illuminates their relationship to Haitian Creole.

UNESCO coined the concept of “Mother Tongue Instruction” and urged all the representatives of all the participating countries to follow its recommendations. They projected the launching or pilot phase of this important education project for the late 1970s. For this reason, Haiti, which was represented at the conference, pledged to act on its education reform, which resulted in the drafting of the Bernard Reform. According to Locher (2010), the main objectives of the reform comprised the following three goals: 1) open educational access to all,

2) improvement of the education system's internal and external efficiencies, and 3) ultimate installation of Haitian Creole for effective schooling (Locher 2010: 178). This proposal targeted at least the first ten years of education (i.e., the equivalent of K–9), where French was to be taught as a subject and not used as the main language of instruction. According to Locher (2010:179), citing articles 29 to 31 of that reform, from grade six onward, “French and Haitian Creole must occupy at least 25 per cent of weekly class time” as the language of instruction.

According to many researchers, this new policy a mediocre reception (Locher 2010), but it is difficult to ascertain clearly and convincingly why it was not as successful as it promised. In general, it is clear that the Reform did not reach its potentials for two principal reasons: (1) it was never applied fully; and (2) it confronted considerable resistance from those who did not believe that Haitian Creole could serve as the vehicle for knowledge transmission and production (Joseph 2010; Locher 2010). Numerous school managers in the private sector preferred teaching under the traditional system where French was featured not only as the subject, but also utilized as the medium of instruction throughout the educational system. Locher (1991b) suggests that not a single school in the private sector ever applied the reform exclusively, but rather tended to combine French manuals and those written in Haitian Creole to instruct their students. Locher (2010) also maintains that the roadblocks combined of a number of uncontrollable factors that include rural students' access to education, cost of education, teacher training, and politics.

One thing that does not seem to be very clear in the analysis of many scholars' discussions of language use in education in Haiti has to do with the *actual* use of French and Haitian Creole in the classroom. My experience, both as a student and a language teacher in the Haitian educational system, has taught me to be much more nuanced on this issue than most scholarship. While it is fact true that French is the official language of instruction in the

classroom, it is equally the case that more interactions between students occur in Haitian Creole than in French both in and outside of the classroom. When the teacher comes to teach chemistry for instance, the activities are of course written in French, but both the students and the teacher conduct the actual discussions in Haitian Creole. The same can be said for solving math problems. Both the interpretations and the discussions leading to the solutions of the exercises are carried out in Haitian Creole, even while the instructions are written in French. Therefore, I think it is safer to say that though French is the officially recognized language of instruction, both teachers and students spend more of the class time interacting in Haitian Creole. To claim that Haitian Creole is not suitable as a language of instruction is a pure nonsense, since this is what has been taking place in the school systems in Haiti for many years.

This paradoxical approach to considering the relative use and value of French and Haitian Creole relates very clearly to the linguistic identity of the first generation speakers under consideration in this dissertation, which was informed by these types of flexible linguistic practices. The question of linguistic identity in Haiti has been the subject of considerable debate for decades. For many Haitians, Haitian Creole is considered as the language of the soul and the heart. The average Haitian would, however, want to master French for social mobility purposes, as many jobs in Haiti's formal economy some fluency in French, the presumed "legitimate" language (à la Bourdieu 1991) of the educated. Therefore, no matter how much one may know, one's inability to express one's thoughts in French represents a problem in the minds of many Haitians from all social strata. Many monolingual Creole speakers, who represent the less educated and the majority of the Haitian population, are even very resentful of the idea of using only Haitian Creole in the classroom. Their resentment stems from the fact that they think the government is trying to block their children's advancement in the social ladder, since French is

viewed to many as the language of upward mobility. Some parents strive to send their children to Catholic schools reputed to have maintained French as their main language of instruction.

The birth of the Haitian Creole Academy required by the constitution of 1987, however, has facilitated the promotion of Haitian Creole and its use in all the domains in which French has prevailed for centuries. In Bourdieu's (1991) perspective, this development represents a contestation of the French legitimacy. Although French has maintained its broad dominance over the educational and public social spheres, with the recent increased use of Haitian Creole in higher domains (i.e., administration, the parliament, education, and the media) as discussed above, this kind of categorical perception of French versus Haitian Creole has softened a little bit. By the same token, Haitian Creole has served in the past three decades as the culturally authentic language of the land. This attitude has caused French to lose ground in many areas in the country. For instance, Haitian Creole has been used more and more in the media to the point that it has recently outrun French. Haitian Creole is used during presidential speeches and it is the only language utilized in public festival such as the Haitian national carnival, etc.

Besides the linguistic imbroglio that has long troubled the development of Haiti, politics and the economy are often cited as two of the factors that still account for the classification of the country as one the most underdeveloped nations in the world. More importantly, Haiti's political and economic struggles have represented the main reasons why Haitians from all walks of life have fled the country by the thousands. Due to the importance of these two areas to our understanding of the motivations or forces behind the Haitians' journey to the U.S., we will now present an overview of the country's political struggles and economic challenges.

2.6 Haiti's Economic and Political Challenges

Haiti, considered a stellar economic power and wealth producer from the early 1600s to the late 1700s while it was a French colony, began to experience economic degradation starting in the early 1800s after independence. As discussed in Section 2.2 above, Haiti used to be called rightly “the Pearl of the West Indies” as a result of its highly successful agricultural production and commerce. After securing its independence, however, it faced a struggling economy. Many of the slaves who became free did not want to return to the plantations to work under similar conditions, and they preferred having their own small piece of land where they could plant and harvest for themselves and their family. Without the plantations bringing in wealth, the economy became very weak. In addition, Charles X, the king of France from September 1824 to August 1830, forced Haiti in 1825 to pay an exorbitant ransom of 150 million in gold francs in order for it to be recognized as an independent nation in the assembly of nations for trade purposes (Trouillot 1990). After negotiations, Haiti ended paying 90 million gold francs from 1825 to 1947. Consequently, all the Haitian governments that followed were handicapped by a fragile economy and political instability that raged in the country. Those developments obliterated the economic progress that the country had made up to 1823.

Since the colonial times, Haiti's two main export products have been coffee and sugar. Other major exports include oils, cocoa, mangoes, sugar, sisal, and bauxite. In modern times, the country's main trading partner remains the U.S. Trouillot (1990) argues that Saint-Domingue exported more than 60% of the sugar consumed in the West, and at the end of the nineteenth century it was among the top exporters of coffee and sugar. The flourishing Haitian economy, however, received a big blow from misunderstandings between the masses and the leaders. In fact, the leaders wanted to continue the exportation of crops, but the cultivators desired land and to grow their own food. These misunderstandings added to the political turmoil that reigned in

the country since independence, and massive emigrations of the peasantry are often cited as the top reasons for the country's economic struggle (Trouillot 1990).

The degradation of the Haitian economy had many lasting consequences on the country's political life by creating the political instability at the national level that has characterized its modern existence. It seems as if the unity that emerged and prevailed during the wars for independence imploded after 1804; since independence, the country has registered more than nineteen coups d'état. As early as 1802, in fact, the country began to suffer the consequences of its victory over the Napoleonic Army. The country's leader, Louverture, was trapped by one of his colleagues and captured by France in 1802 leaving the army and the country in chaos (Donnadieu 2014).

Following the Haitian independence, a civil war began between the whites and mulatto freedmen against the agrarian policy of Dessalines, general of the Indigenous Army. It was during this war that Dessalines was killed in an ambush in Pont-Rouge on October 17, 1806. The main goal of Dessalines' government's policy before his death was to help the masses gain some lands to produce goods to export. Dessalines was replaced by Christophe, the most senior officer in the army, whom the parliament appointed as head of state. But the mulattoes of the West and the South disagreed with that choice, and chose Pétion as their president. This act divided the country into two. After the death of both Pétion and Christophe in 1816 and 1818, respectively, Jean Pierre Boyer became the new president of Haiti. He subsequently unified the country and annexed the eastern part of the island, the modern day Dominican Republic, only to be deposed by a coup in 1843. The continuing political chaos has exacerbated the country's dire economic situation, and has characterized much of its history ever since, thus constituting the most common reason for the Haitian people's frequent and massive migrations abroad.

2.7 Haitian Migration Movements

The political crises and economic challenges described above have had a serious impact on the lives of the Haitian citizens since the country's partition in 1816–1818. The state failure, combined with its subsequent political oppression, especially since the 1950s, has created ripe conditions for many Haitians from all backgrounds to look elsewhere in order to find a better life. Haitians have migrated everywhere: to the neighboring Caribbean countries like Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Jamaica; to the U.S. and Canada; to Europe, especially France; and to French-speaking Africa. There is a general consensus in the literature on Haitian migration studies that the massive and uninterrupted emigration of Haitians has been the result of the antidemocratic handling of the state (Zéphir 1996 and 2010). This claim is supported by migration trends data. For instance, between 1974 and 1984 more than 2,063 fled to France because of political oppression (Catanese 1999; Zephir 2004).

The migration to France, the former colonizer, represents only a fraction of the waves of this exodus. For example, according to Catanese (1999) the U.S. received more than 80,000 economic refugees from Haiti, and that over 40,000 fled to the Bahamas, and that over 200,000 headed to the Dominican Republic. According to Hunt (1988), during the revolutionary war which took place during the period of 1791 to 1804, refugees from Saint-Domingue fled to many neighboring countries including Cuba, and primarily the U.S. In the U.S., the preferred destination of the slaves, former slaves, and masters was Louisiana where the record shows that more than 5,574 people came from Saint-Domingue. In fact, this number comprised 1,887 white, 2,060 free “Negroes”, and 2,113 slaves (Catanese 1999: 56). This group represents the first major wave of Haitian immigrants to the U.S.

During the second stage, which began in the 1900s and ended in 1930s, peasants owning no land started to go to Cuba in the aim of finding an agriculture-based job. We can state without any doubt that this represented primarily an economic migration. In fact, 500,000 legal and illegal immigrants went to the island of Cuba from 1903 to 1931 according to Catanese (1999: 56), although two-thirds of them came back to Haiti due to the growth of the Cuban population.

During the period of 1950 to 1970, more than 35,000 people migrated, and 70% of them went to the U.S. This group of migrants comprised talented and skillful professionals, beginning, in fact, with those who migrated to the U.S. in the 1950s—largely lawyers, businessmen, professors, and other people from the upper and middle classes. The arrival to power of Papa Doc's regime in 1957 set the stage for a new class of Haitian immigration. The severe brain drain of the 1960's (Catanese 1999) further included urban skilled or semi-skilled immigrants who were less skilled than their antecessors. The upper-class Haitians migrated to the U.S. permanently, whereas the middle-class citizens considered themselves as “birds of passage,” to use the concept coined by Pierre-Louis (2006). This concept indicates those immigrants who do not wish to remain in U.S. permanently. Their goal was to settle in the U.S. until the political situation that prevailed in Haiti had improved. From the early 1970s, the majority of Haitians who migrated to the U.S. were poor. And consequently, from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, the 80,000 Haitians who immigrated to the land of “Uncle Sam” primarily originated from Haiti's rural areas and were mostly, craftsmen, small-scale land cultivators, merchants, fishermen, market women, etc. and they have settled down in the southeastern states of the U.S. (Catanese 1999: 57).

2.8 Identity Construction in the Haitian Diaspora

Haitians' bilingual identity in French and Haitian Creole, as discussed above, subjects speakers not only to new cultures wherever they opt to settle in the Haitian Diaspora, but also to

new language communities of practice. The degree of linguistic challenges that they face in these respects depends on the country of destination. In countries where French and Haitian Creole are spoken, there is a minimal challenge; where only French is spoken, they must learn its nuances; and where none of their two languages is used as a medium of communication, there is a greater challenge, as they must learn a third language while attempting to preserve their own. This is precisely the case of their settlement in the U.S., to which this discussion now turns.

2.8.1 Sociolinguistic Identity Construction

The long process of adjusting to a new culture, language, and environment results in the formation of a diasporic identity. Linguistic identity in particular refers to constructing a vision of the world through the lens of the language(s) one speaks or is exposed to. In the case of the Haitian immigrant community, this phenomenon is crucial since back in Haiti, speakers had a different linguistic identity compared to what they forged throughout the years after emigrating abroad. Haitian immigrants to the U.S. faced the additional adaptation challenge when they encountered the widespread social pattern of very rigid, dichotomous racial classification: in the U.S., one was either Black or White, and Haitians were viewed as Black, no matter how educated or skilled they were (Zéphir 1996). Thus, as any immigrant group, Haitians had to learn the host country's language (English, in this case) in order to survive, but at the same time, in an attempt to distinguish themselves, they also emphasized to their surroundings that they were bilingual prior to immigrating to the U.S.

According to Zéphir (1996), many Haitians consider French the language of upward mobility, of culture and prestige, but also place certain value on Haitian Creole. This attitude is visible in Haitians' construction of their new sociolinguistic identity. The Haitian immigrants use French as a social marker to help them differentiate the class to which every Haitian immigrant

pertains. As a result, Zéphir (1996, 2005) found that on a small but noticeable scale, during gatherings Haitians would form groups in which some would use French in order to separate themselves from other people who did not have a chance to learn the language when they were in Haiti. Paradoxically, Zéphir also maintains that Haitian Creole is used to connect Haitians and serve as an “identity marker,” as the intergroup or “we” language. French may be used as a conversation starter, but the conversation definitely shifts to Haitian Creole once the speakers have determined that their interlocutor(s) share(s) the same social values.

In addition to Zéphir’s (1996) perspective, Parham (2011: 252) reveals that despite the fact that Haitian Creole is spoken and understood by most Haitians in Haiti, and in spite of its being utilized as a catalyst for ethnic identity and cultural heritage preservation, the place of the language in Haitian public and intellectual networking life has been a subject of debate for a very long time. The author points to the use of the Internet for a better recognition of the language and also to help people familiarize themselves with the standard orthographic system established in the early 1980’s. One point worth raising at this juncture is the fact that many diaspora Haitians do not know how to read or write in Haitian Creole due to the fact that many of them were schooled only in French prior to emigrating, and Haitian Creole was not used in the educational system until the early 1980s.

As mentioned earlier, Haitian Creole was introduced very timidly in schools in Haiti after the promulgation of the constitution of 1987. Therefore, one can easily understand that if Haitians living abroad do not make the effort to learn how to write in the language on their own, it will never happen, because there are not many places in the U.S. where courses on Haitian Creole are offered. The issue concerns the misunderstanding that has arisen in some circles of the Haitian diaspora that since they know how to speak the language, they can easily write it. As a

result, many live under the illusion of being able to read and write it when in reality they cannot. If this claim is correct, it would then follow that Haitian immigrants use Haitian Creole mostly in its spoken form for daily communication.

Irrespective of their written skill or lack thereof, what has emerged from the literature, and is supported in part by my own research, is that Haitian immigrants use French as a social marker to perpetuate the same class distinction dynamics enjoyed in Haiti, and Haitian Creole their “authentic” vernacular for daily communication in both formal and informal contexts to showcase their Haitianness and their cultural identity. It should be noticed that English is allowed to take on a somewhat important role in shaping the identity of many of the second-generation Haitian immigrants.

2.8.2 Socio-cultural Identity Construction

It appears that contrary to the somewhat shared linguistic identity that Haitians seem to have portrayed in the U.S., the same is not actually true with regards to their perception of their socio-cultural identity in the U.S. In fact, their dynamic of language use is linked to the desires of the first generation to both maintain the same class distinctions in use in Haiti, and also forge a new identity. This concept of cultural identity has received a great deal of attention on the part of many scholars. From sociolinguists to anthropologists, cultural identity is always at the forefront of the debate on how immigrants manage to create a new identity during their journey and stay abroad. Here we will use the definition provided by Stuart Hall (1990) who maintains that the concept of cultural identity is dualistic in its essence. For him, in one sense, cultural identity can be discussed “in terms of one shared culture, [and] is a sort of collective ‘one true self,’ hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’...our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as ‘one

people,' with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history' (Hall 1990: 223).

The second approach to establishing a cultural identity, Hall (1990) argues, begins when a subject "recognizes that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what we really are'... 'what we have become'" (Hall 1990: 225, quoted in Mortland 1998: 94). In the same vein, Block (2007) argues that "individuals do not carve out an identity from the inside out or from the outside in, as it were: rather their environments impose constraints whilst they act on the same environment, continuously altering and recreating it" (Block 2007: 27). Fishman and Garcia underscore also that "identity depends essentially on circumstances and contrasts that play upon it, modify it, and recreate it" (Fishman and Garcia 2010: xxviii). Cultural identity, in sum, is a product both of natural constants and changes in social environment, as well as how individuals interact with and respond to their environment.

At this juncture we can say that the literature on Haitian immigration often mentions that Haitian immigrants try to emulate and recreate most of their cultural traditions while they are living abroad. Zéphir (1996), Joseph (1992), and Pierre-Louis (2006) report that Haitians settling in New York City, South Florida, Boston, and Chicago, to name only a few, do their best to maintain their cultural heritage. For instance, Haitians celebrate major Haitian holidays such as the Haitian Mother's Day, Commemoration of Bois Cayman (the ceremony that sparked the revolution war in 1793), Haitian Flag Day, and Haitian Independence Day, during which they eat a special pumpkin soup. Furthermore, while they are abroad, they continue to listen to Haitian *compas*, a traditional Haitian music style, and engage with still other traditions. Most of these traditions are maintained by first generation Haitian immigrants, however; when it comes to the

second generation, habits change. Haitians in the second generation are much more pressured to abandon their Haitianness (Woldemikael 1999).

Based on the results of research conducted in Evanston, Illinois, I have found that such pressure originates from other ethnic groups such as black and white Americans, mostly at school. One of Woldemikael's interviewees maintains, "They used to say, hey! This guy isn't American, although he looks like American." The informant continues to say, "They don't trust you, especially the black Americans. They will be looking at you as a foreigner. They will say you talk funny" (Woldemikael 1989: 106). This pressure exerted on the second-generation Haitian immigrants forces them to question their identity and to take measures to help overcome the possibility of rejection. In order to confront the American social structure, they rely on the support of their family at home, but such help is insignificant compared to the everyday pressure received at school.

As mentioned earlier, because Haitian immigrants are rejected by black Americans, who treat them as foreign-born, and by white Americans, who mistreat them because they are black, Haitian immigrants of the second generation found a very useful strategy by forming peer groups among themselves to play soccer together, play music, and so on. Despite those strategies, however helpful at times, Woldmikael (1999) reports that many Haitians in the second generation, especially those living in his research locus, are in the process of constructing a new identity that allows them to melt into American culture. Joseph (2009) also uncovered that some of her participants believe that they were not Haitians, but rather American citizens. I think their attitude might correspond with a low level of engagement of their parents vis-à-vis the Haitian culture and Haitianness.

2.9 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to provide a clear and yet a short overview of Haiti which includes its geography, politics, economy, and linguistic ecology. We retraced Haiti's history from the invasion (what many mistakenly call its "discovery") of Christopher Columbus, passing through the implementation of slavery in the island of Hispaniola. The different movements and battles for independence under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and others were also highlighted during our discussion on Haitian early history. Furthermore, we discussed the history of Haiti's economic struggles and the political chaos that has facilitated or influenced the different migration waves of Haitians seeking a better life abroad. As we saw, Haitians have been migrating since the 1800s and they have settled down almost everywhere, from neighboring countries in the Americas to very far countries in Europe and Africa.

Following this substantial background information, the Haitian linguistic landscape constituted the heart of our discussion. We presented the official and unofficial language policies in use in Haiti, and noted Haitians' linguistic behaviors, and important linguistic practices. Accordingly, this chapter concludes with an overview of diaspora Haitians' transnational identities, which make the first generation believe that they are citizens of two countries, their homeland Haiti and their host country. We showed that the second generation of Haitians have found many strategies to overcome the assimilative pressure of American society, with some managing to survive and remain abreast with their cultural heritage, and others believing that constructing a new identity in which they portrayed themselves as Americans has proven to be the ideal solution. The chapter was important to foreground the kind of Haiti that the Haitians living in the U.S. left behind, in order to analyze their linguistic practices in their host country.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the data collected for this purpose under a pilot project, a review of some key studies that have been conducted in this general area of research is

necessary. As a result, in the following chapter we survey the literature on language maintenance, language shift and loss in general, language maintenance as practiced in the USA, and finally review the few studies that have targeted Haitian immigrants in particular.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

What actually constitutes language maintenance? Is it a single phenomenon or a complex one consisting of several sub-phenomena that represent a cline or chain of changes in ethno-linguistic language use in immigrant contexts? The answers to these questions vary from one group of scholars and school of thought to another. The overall picture to-date is that of analyses that treat language maintenance, shift, attrition, loss, and death as disparate phenomena, and in some cases, having different definitions. For us, however, this type of analytical variation is problematic in that it obscures the understanding of the phenomenon and its actual effects on immigrant societies' language practices. It will be argued later that a unified understanding of language maintenance as a multi-faceted phenomenon is necessary for both theoretical and practical purposes.

Research on language maintenance in immigrant contexts across the globe have been conducted for centuries by scholars from a variety of disciplines, including anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, linguists, and other language professionals, to name only a few. Their efforts to explain this phenomenon have resulted in the publication of numerous studies that provide accounts of how immigrants deal with the maintenance of their languages and cultures when they settle down on foreign soil (e.g., Fishman 1966, 1972, and 1991; Haugen 1950; Pauwels 1986; Glazer 1978; Silva-Corvalan 1994; Ó Riagáin 2001; Njeru 2007; Garcia 2008; Potowski 2004, 2010, 2011, 2013).

3.2 Characterization of Language Maintenance

While these studies, among others, have been very informative and have advanced the scholarship on the phenomenon of language maintenance overall, their treatment of it varies with respect to what it encompasses and how the different sub-phenomena relate to each other. Further, there are some misperceptions regarding the characterization of the so-called “language loss” across generations, and how this development is connected to language attrition and/or language death. This chapter reviews the relevant research on language maintenance as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and comments on it as appropriate in order to foreground the discussion and analysis of the subsequent chapters. We begin with a characterization of language maintenance as a general phenomenon.

3.2.1 Language Maintenance

As indicated above, language maintenance is a common and widely studied phenomenon, but it appears to be analyzed differently by different schools of thought and disciplines. Scholars often treat it in dichotomous terms—language maintenance versus language shift—often without reference to related sub-phenomena. In contrast, some other scholars, including Fishman (1965), view it as a complex phenomenon analyzable in terms of a cline of changes in the domain uses of an L1. So, what in fact does it represent or refer to? For Pauwels (2004: 719), for example, the term of language maintenance describes “a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres.” In addition, she maintains that language shift is closely related to language maintenance since investigating real cases of language maintenance is often done by the identification of the very domains and contexts in which a language is gradually losing ground

and being replaced by another. More specifically, she argues that the concept of language shift is used to refer to the case where a majority language gradually replaces another language in some domains or spheres of life.

More generally understood, language maintenance concerns the fact that in spite of all the pressure of the mainstream majority language and culture, a minority language community keeps using its native language(s) in that larger speech community in which it is embedded (Fase et al. 1992). An example in point is the Hamtramck, Michigan community whose members have successfully maintained their linguistic competencies in Polish while participating in American life, in which English represents the mainstream language (Fishman 2006). This effort also applies to the retention of that language's culture. Brandt and Youngman (1989: 6), for example, define language maintenance as a "collective decision to continue using the language or languages traditionally used at home or in the community."

In contrast to Brandt and Youngman (1989), Fase et al. (1992:4) state that "language maintenance refers to both retention of use and proficiency," so for these authors, maintenance "presupposes maintenance of use as well as maintenance of proficiency." From this perspective, the minority language, if maintained, will be used for "intragroup communication," while the dominant one will be used in all other situations or instances (Fishman 1972). In that case, the researchers argue that the "functional distribution between the two languages remains intact." Additionally, Fase et al. (1992: 7) argue that in order to understand how language maintenance and language shift operate, it is of utmost necessity to study and understand changes in language choice in intragroup communication. The same researchers maintain that "changes in language choice in such a context are the result of negotiations between persons and groups that interact

socially; it is the social structure that should look for the mechanisms underlying the norms”.
Fase et al. (1992:7).

Consider in this regard the conclusion of some of the studies that have appeared in the last twenty-five years, as indicated above by the few studies cited: language maintenance presupposes the possibility of language shift via the reduction of domains of use of an L1 for monolinguals, and the ceding of such domains to an L2 presumably by a minority population. This conclusion would presumably apply to a bi- and multilingual community such as the Haitians. Let us now consider what actually occurs when a community finds itself unable to maintain its heritage culture and language(s).

3.2.2 Language Shift

The concept of language shift generally refers to the process during which minority populations “switch from their mother tongue/L1 to another language (L2) in everyday use whether or not at the same time they also gave up a language or variety they had previously used” (Fishman 1972: 107). Similarly, other scholars such as Pauwels (1986: 14) define language shift as “the process in which L1 is (gradually) replaced by L2 in all spheres of usage (domains and language levels).” Cases of such a change, that include shifts in languages such as French, Spanish, Chinese, and Vietnamese, have been found to occur within three generations (Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983; Boyd 1986; Glenn and Dejong 1996). Similarly, Fishman (1991: 1) argues that shift often occurs when the native languages of a speech community are threatened, “[b]ecause their intergenerational continuity is progressing negatively, with fewer users or uses every generation.” (Fishman 1991: 1);(Dorian, 1982: 44). In sum, language shift denotes:

The gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members manifested as loss in number of speakers, level of proficiency, or range of functional use of the language, Hornberger (2012:1).

Language shift is portrayed as a very common phenomenon that occurs under different communicative circumstances. Apparent subconscious and involuntary shift from an L1 to an L2 by second- and third-generation speakers achieves communicative and cultural integration, which explains the fact that minority groups embrace the majority's culture. It has been discovered that families develop a strategy where they force their children to gear up towards the mainstream language and culture rather than seeking to maintain their native languages. This type of parents-driven shift from an L1 to an L2 reportedly strives for perceived socio-economic upward mobility. Sachdev et al. (1987) found that first-generation Chinese Canadians use Cantonese much more than members of the second generation in the family domains, although some scholars testify to second-generation children's involvement as translators of their parents' communication in L2 with non-family speakers.

This second aspect of language shift has attracted the attention of many scholars. In cases where immigrant families who do not speak the language of the host country rely heavily on their children for communication with speakers in other speech communities/networks, those children play the role of translators for their families and such communities. And yet despite this level of preservation of the L1, there is a great tendency overall among the incoming minority community members to acculturate to the mainstream. Needless to note, this is often done at the detriment of the minority language spoken at the time of immigration.

Although the phenomenon of language shift has been found to take place all over the world, many scholars believe that there are some societies in which immigrants are more pressured and prone to shift to the mainstream language than in others. For example, after the

analysis of thirty-five different countries around the globe, Lieberman et al. discovered that in no other country was the pace from mother tongue toward monolingualism in the dominant language as quick as it is in the U.S (Lieberman, et al. 1975; Potowski 2010; Thomason et al. 2015). Recent studies have found a similar pattern even among those newly arrived immigrants. Veltman (1983, 1990, 2000), for instance, found out that it not only takes just five years for newly arrived immigrants to show preference for English as their main language in the U.S. at the expense of their mother tongue, but also that after five more years the percentage of immigrants adopting English increases from 20% to 40% (Potowski, 2010) Rumbaut et al. (2006) discovered that some languages such as Spanish, Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean phase out among such immigrants after two generations. They conclude that the U.S. is like a “linguistic graveyard” (458).

This type of reported rapid shift raises questions concerning the factors that “accelerate,” as it were, the shift in the U.S., but not elsewhere. In that vein, the main factors often cited as triggering it involve the way in which the minority has integrated into the host country’s mainstream life, assimilationist pressure on immigrant families, negative linguistic social climate, and so on (Potowski 2013). Furthermore, the rapid shift may result from the very negative attitudes Americans hold vis-à-vis minorities languages and communities in that they see the maintenance of their mother tongues as a threat to the national American identity or nationalism (Dicker 1996; Fishman 2006; Potowski 2010). Due to the pressure that the local communities exert on the immigrant communities, immigrants find themselves in a position of giving in, and so give up their mother tongues by embracing the American way of life, which necessarily entails the mastery of English. That being the case, the immigrant communities find

it very challenging, if not impossible in certain cases, to balance the maintenance of their language(s) against their aspirations for mainstreaming.

3.2.3 Language Attrition and Language Loss

Defining the concepts of language attrition and language loss, or inter-generational non-transmission, has not always been a very easy task in the literature of language maintenance. In fact, Thomason (2001: 227–32) believes that language attrition is a process that takes place at the communal level, and is therefore beyond the control of the individual. She sees attrition as a gradual process of language regression as a language loses speakers, structure, and domains. More specifically, the two sub-phenomena are not very often used in their proper contexts. This sub-section synthesizes our understanding of these two sub-phenomena.

Strictly speaking, language attrition refers to the diminution of linguistic/language competence or proficiency in an L1 (or possibly L2) in which the speaker or population had previously achieved high proficiency, whereas language loss defines the end result of language shift in an individual speaker, ethnic group, or a segment of an ethnolinguistic group. Language attrition can be exemplified by the situation of Yiddish among certain groups of Jews in the U.S.: in this case, the language itself is not lost or dead, but rather is no longer part of this group's repertoire, even while it continues to be used elsewhere by the rest of the ethnolinguistic group (de Bot 2001; Fishman 2006).

A definition of language loss advanced in the sociolinguistic and anthropological literature is the complete loss or death or disappearance of the language (Nettle and Romaine 2000). It simply vanishes from the face of the earth, as has occurred with some Amerindian languages in the U.S., whose number has been reduced from approximately 300 to just 175 today (McCarty 2010, cited in Potowski 2010), and with other languages elsewhere in the world

(Nettle and Romaine 2000; Thomason et al. 2015). From the domain of psycholinguistics, however, and this is from where much of the confusion referenced above arises, language loss is actually a misnomer for language knowledge non-transfer to subsequent generations in a single family or ethnic group (Kenny 1996). Consequently, the available research on what is referred to ambiguously, in fact, misleadingly, as language loss is rather problematic (Kenny 1996).

In its original conception, the term “loss” was intended to describe or refer to an individual or individuals who lost their abilities to speak their L1 that they had acquired prior to their migration to a host country. In such cases, the individuals became immersed in the host country’s dominant language, and thus lost their proficiency in their L1. The putative loss is assumed to include both the L1 and its culture (Munstermann 1989, Seliger 1989, Olshtain and Barzilay 1991, de Bot et al. 1991, Jaspaert and Kroon 1992). Similarly, Guiberson et al. (2006: 2) define language loss as “the process in which [an] individual [’s] L1 abilities are reduced or impeded from developing while her or his L2 skills become more established.”

Currently, language loss refers to both the actual loss of acquired abilities in an L1, and the inability of a second generation individual or group who fail, for one reason or another, to learn their parents’ language(s) (Seliger 1989, Allard and Landry 1992). This extension is unfortunate, because it makes an unwarranted claim by presupposing internalized language abilities that were not present if the targeted second-generation individual/group did not acquire their parents’ L1. How can some or a particular group of individuals lose what was not acquired? It would seem much more appropriate to portray such cases as language non-transmission or non-acquisition, instead of language loss, when talking of the second-generation children (Bokamba 2008). In summary, this dissertation will treat language maintenance as a complex or multi-faceted phenomenon that represents a continuum that proceeds from language maintenance

proper to language shift, attrition, and non-transmission intergenerationally (generally referred “language loss”). Schematically: a hierarchy such as language maintenance → shift → attrition → non-transmission.

3.2.4 Factors Underlying and Consequences of Language Loss

As suggested above, many researchers, including more recently Dicker (1996), Hinton (1999), Lacey and Spencer (1999), Potowski (2010), and Thomason et al. (2015), have addressed these questions, among others. For example, Potowski (2010), in her studies of immigrants’ language loss in the U.S., believes that there are some well agreed-upon reasons for abandoning immigrants’ native languages. They include the lack of opportunity to use a language; fear that it will interfere with their ability to learn English or get ahead in American society; negative attitudes of the speakers toward their language or stigmatization of it by speakers of the majority language; and monolingually-oriented language policies intended to achieve a “melting pot” culture, as the case of the U.S.’s treatment of Amerindian languages before the twentieth century (McCarty 2010, Potowski 2013, Thomason 2015).

Similarly, Hinton (1999) believes that one of the main contributing factors to language attrition is the “forceful pressure” and the “assimilative pressure” schools generally exert on children, which then leads to the stigmatization of their heritage language and culture, as well as linguistic inferiority vis-à-vis their peers. Lacey and Spencer (1999) also discovered that students who spoke minority languages were criticized by their peers from the dominant language; as a result, the minority language students become very reluctant to utilize their heritage language at school. It seems that this is also the case where the children tend to give up their heritage culture and language, and assimilate to those of the majority at the detriment of theirs.

Despite the fact that many more studies reported in the literature concern the attrition or loss of languages and culture in immigrant settings, there are, however, a handful of studies that report successful maintenance by minority speakers. For instance, Ninnes (1996) who studied 197 Vietnamese high schoolers in Australia, found that they have successfully maintained their native language, Vietnamese. The factors reported to influence the maintenance of Vietnamese are its use not only at home but also during religious ceremonies, at social events, in restaurants, and other social contexts. In my understanding, in most cases the same social support is available but success in language maintenance and transmission depends heavily on conscious efforts on the part of the first generation to provide the means for subsequent generations to acquire their parents' languages.

Many scholars suggest that parents may play a huge role in their children's inability to acquire the mother tongue. Those parents have been found to be fearful that their children may not be able to acquire any languages if they are exposed to too many at the same time. Along the same lines, some other parents hold negative attitudes towards their minority language(s) and do not wish to transmit it/them to their children. And yet, others seem to correlate their children's bilingualism to a desire of those children to come back to live in their parents' country of origin (Zéphir 1996 and 2001; Stepick 1996; Zantella 1997; 2010; Grosjean 2006 and 2010).

Language attrition and eventual loss is not without consequences. A number of scholars have argued that losing one's heritage language and culture can have lasting negative consequences on the speakers, including the creation of either linguistic insecurity, or identity loss (Krashen 1996; Fought 2006; Zhou and Bankston 2000a). These researchers maintain that "the loss of heritage language and identity leads some students to participate in delinquent activities" (Potowski 2010: 4). Along the same lines, both Zéphir (2001) and Stepick (1996 and

1998) report the dramatic case of a Haitian teenager, Phede, who ended up committing suicide due to the problem of language peer pressure on him or the desire for him to assimilate to the host culture.

Phede lived in Miami, Florida, and reportedly came to the U.S. at the age of twelve and then quickly assimilated to the American culture. He changed his name to Fred and spoke English without any perceivable foreign accent. According to Zéphir and Stepick, he was reportedly good-looking and tried to never speak Haitian Creole, even when he was among his family members at home. All his friends and classmates believed he was an African American. He seemed to be a successful student with high achievements as an honor student, a very reliable worker at a McDonald's restaurant, and a singer in a church choir. One day during his break time at work, his African American girlfriend came to visit him, and while they were talking, Phede's sister arrived and began to talk to him in Haitian Creole. He screamed at his sister and told her to never talk to him in Haitian Creole. Four days after this incident, he bought a gun and killed himself. It is evident from Phede's story, and other instances as well, that losing one's own identity and covering up because of peer and societal pressure can lead to tragic consequences. Since children are very susceptible to peer pressure to obtain acceptance, it should not be surprising that they do not maintain their parents' language if its acquisition is not strongly motivated internally.

With this understanding of the nuances of the terms language attrition and loss, to avoid any confusion in this study, "language attrition" will be used to refer to adult speakers who immigrated to the U.S. knowing one or two languages who experience a decline in their L1 skills; in contrast, language (L1) "non-transmission" or "non-acquisition" will be used when

referring to second- and third-generation speakers who do not acquire their parents' mother tongue(s) at all.

3.3 Intergenerational Language Maintenance

As indicated in section 3.1.2, language shift, which is the consequence of a population's inability to maintain its language, occurs intra- and inter-generationally, with the latter case being the most studied in the sociolinguistic literature. While inter-generational language shift is well-documented, especially for second-generation children, the tendency in the literature has been to over-emphasize it at the expense of language maintenance by this generation (Fase et al. 1992, Fishman 2006, Potowski, 2010). There are, however, some cases of clear language maintenance by such groups in the United States and elsewhere. For example, Condos (1997), in a study conducted in a Greek community in Connecticut, found that its inhabitants showed very strong support for their children to learn and continue using Greek as their heritage language. To maintain this attitude, the community even sent their children to a school where they had the opportunity to improve their language proficiency. Furthermore, Garcia (2008) corroborates Condo's (1997) findings on the Cuban immigrant community. In fact, in her dissertation, she found that the Arias family, a Cuban immigrant family whom she studied across three generations, has maintained their native language, Spanish, because the family holds "strong core values" of the language. She hypothesized that these strong values determine whether a family will maintain or shift across generations. In addition, she argued that when the core values are absent, loss of the minority language is inevitable in the second generation.

Cases of language maintenance, just like of language shift, naturally raise questions regarding the factors and conditions that facilitate or account for it. Many scholars who have dedicated their careers to the study of language maintenance in immigrant situations have

identified such factors over the years. These scholars include Fishman, one of the pioneers in this area of research, whose 1977 study proposed the following five factors for the maintenance of a minority language in the context of immigrant groups: demographic, sociocultural, economic, philosophical/ideological, and political (cited in Baily et al. 2013). Since Fishman, several studies have expanded this list of factors not just in terms of numbers, but also types. For example, Roca (1999), who has studied the Cuban community in Miami, has suggested eight factors that he reportedly attributes to the maintenance of Spanish as the native language of that community. They include: a constant influx of immigrants; strong religious support in the community; educational support; radio and television stations that broadcast in the Spanish language; community theaters that screen movies in Spanish; programs that sponsor Spanish language lectures; various newspapers; and finally, the existence of Hispanic-owned businesses. The confluence of these factors not only facilitates language maintenance, but also strongly enhances it due to these functional incentives. In contrast, communities where similar factors are absent impede or at least minimize such maintenance.

One of the main factors often cited for playing a major role in the maintenance or shift of Spanish in the U.S. is geographic concentration (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: 229). In this respect, Alba et al. (2002) uncovered that a third-generation child who lives in Miami, for instance, where the Spanish-speaking population reaches fifty percent, is without any shadow of a doubt twenty times more likely to be bilingual in English and Spanish than a child born and raised in an environment where only five percent of the population speaks Spanish. Similarly, Potowski (2010, 2013) argues that intermarriage is also a major predictor in determining whether or not the child will grow up speaking Spanish. They believe that when a Latino and Latina marry, it is very likely that their children will grow up bilingual.

Another element that has often been taken into consideration in trying to explain the different factors that facilitate language maintenance or is thought to be conducive to language shift, is the concept of network. In fact, Milroy's (1987, 2001) research on network over the years has made significant contributions of various types that enable us to understand, among other phenomena in language contact, the dynamics of language maintenance. A clear understanding of the different types of network ties appears to be of paramount importance in trying to explain how and why immigrant and immigrants' children maintain or shift to the mainstream language and culture.

Several other studies, including Milroy (1987, 2001) has found that the type of network ties immigrants develop through the institutions they create in the host country will be a very determinative factor in the maintenance of or shift from the minority language. According to Milroy (2001), Fishman (2004), Rey et al. (2013) one institution that has received attention in immigrants' community is the church. Milroy (2001) believes that the church may be more than a religious community. It can be a socialization association where members of the community meet, exchange, and develop ties. She mentions, for instance, the Chinese True Jesus Church in Newcastle, U.K., and the Korean Church in New York City, where the church plays a very crucial role in language maintenance through not only the use of the language as the medium of worship, but also for socializing before and after services, and during other church-related activities. Fishman (2006) also found that the church has played a pivotal role for the Yiddish Orthodox in the maintenance of their mother tongue even when they tend to live in urban areas where the pressure of English is considerable. For this and many other reasons, the role of the church as an environment for socialization will be examined in this dissertation.

Stoessel (2002: 11) further underscores the importance of social networking in language maintenance in immigration contexts. She presents an hypothesis according to which “the more speakers one has in the network who speak the L2, the more likely one is to be[come] a shifter, and the more L1 speakers one has, the more likely one is to be a maintainer”. According to this hypothesis, it appears that immigrants have more chances to maintain their heritage language wherever they are surrounded by other members of their community with whom they can communicate in that language than when this condition does not hold.

While apparently accepting previous findings, Subhan (2007) adds two more contributing factors to language maintenance in immigrants’ contexts: where the language is used, and children’s perception of the status of the heritage language. She also maintains that transnational resources have proven very helpful in facilitating the phenomenon. These include visits to the home country; letters and telephone communication with family members; frequent visits by family members; ethnic enclaves; and ongoing communication with other members of the extended family or friends from the same language group. Unsurprisingly, in addition to all the aforementioned factors, one that is found to pervasively facilitate language maintenance is the frequency and high quality use of the minority language in the household (Subhan 2007).

But what happens if these environments supportive of language maintenance are not in place? Can immigrants transmit their heritage language and the associated culture to their children successfully in the face of the immense pressure of the majority language? There can be a very strong desire from immigrants to maintain their language among themselves while living in a foreign land, mostly when they feel either rejected or fully embraced by the host society (Milroy 2001).

There have been a number of studies that point to the pressure that society and school personnel have exerted on children not to maintain their native languages. The pressure can take several forms from teachers actively discouraging abandonment of the native languages, lack of support services for new immigrant students, exclusion from participation in school activities (sports teams, drama clubs, etc.) without proof of fluency in the societally dominant L2. In this respect, Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001), after conducting research on some Hispanic families living in the Toronto area, concluded that there is a general tendency from society and school personnel to subtly discourage the preservation of bilingualism and biculturalism.

Similarly Subhan (2007), through her research on the Bangladeshi in Toronto with regards to language maintenance, discovered that members of that community who participated in the study did not seem to be aware of how to maintain and transmit their heritage language, nor did they seem to be interested in doing so. She also found that the children of the Bangladeshi community members did not see the importance of maintaining and using their parents' heritage language. The lack of interest in many parents with regards to language maintenance can be explained by the fact that they very often do not see the immediate importance of such maintenance. Along the same lines, many people reject the idea of maintenance due to the pressure that the host society exerts on children. For instance, Stepick 1998 reports that some Haitian students in South Florida were afraid to speak their native languages at school because they received a lot of threats from schoolmates. Therefore, unfortunately, for many immigrant children integration comes with a high price.

3.4 Conclusion

It is evident from the research reviewed in the preceding sections that the field of language maintenance has addressed a number of difficult questions, including how to clearly characterize language maintenance and its sub-phenomena of shift, attrition, and loss; under what circumstances people maintain, shift, and lose their native languages; and what factors facilitate or impede the desire to maintain native languages in immigrant contexts. In dealing with these questions and others, the field has also clearly advanced our understanding of the processes and the factors implicated in the language maintenance to language loss continuum (Fishman 1977, 1991, and 2004; Zéphir 1996 and 2001; Hinton 1999; Milroy 2001; Subhan 2007).

Language maintenance, shift, and loss represent worldwide phenomena and have been occurring for a very long time. We have learned also that different scholars have identified the factors that tend to facilitate language maintenance such as an enclave speech community which shares the same language and values; the status and usefulness of the heritage language for survival reasons; the attitudes of the speakers toward the majority language and culture; and the educational background of the immigrants. There has been some confusion in the literature in trying to present language maintenance and its corollaries as discrete phenomena. In my view, it is preferable to consider language maintenance as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that can be described as a continuum/cline of facets/phases. This perspective is better than the one where language maintenance, shift, attrition, and loss/death are treated as separate phenomena, since it allows a more integrative process to delineate factors that affect each one of them.

Although the field has achieved impressive results in these respects, numerous thorny questions remain unanswered. For example, what clearly explains some parents' decision not to transmit their native languages to the subsequent generations? What motivates some youngsters

to maintain their parents' language(s) and culture while some others from the same family resent identifying with and using these same cultures and languages? Or what explains the fact that some parents who did not maintain their first language(s) do subsequently encourage their children to acquire it/them? What factors clearly motivate second and third generations of immigrants to maintain or lose their heritage languages and cultures? And what accounts for the fact that some children in the same family will maintain their parents' native languages and others will not?

Undoubtedly, more empirical research is required, especially concerning heretofore under-researched communities and populations. It is precisely to this type of need that this study on the Haitian immigrants in Chicago hopes to make a significant contribution by shedding light on some aspects of the above questions, and by so doing, helping expand and enhance our understanding of the field of language maintenance in general, and of French and Haitian Creole maintenance in particular.

Based on the above-mentioned considerations and factors, this study seeks to examine whether Haitian immigrants who live in the USA, especially in the Chicago area, have maintained Haitian Creole and/or French. And if they have, how have they achieved this difficult task? And if they lose one or both languages or experience some attrition of their linguistic knowledge in one or both, why does this occur? What factors account for this development? This dissertation attempts to address these questions, among others, by drawing in part from a field research I conducted in Chicago from March 2013 to August 2013 to assess language maintenance and intergenerational transmission. The study's ultimate goals are to elucidate this process, and to contribute to the research on bilingual language maintenance by adults and youths.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Language maintenance as well as its corollaries is a very complex phenomenon which requires complex, well-founded, and well-thought out methodologies to tackle it in its different contours. Accordingly, this study aimed to use several methodologies to provide a clear and comprehensive account of the language maintenance behavioral patterns of the Haitian community living in the greater Chicago area. This chapter first presents this study's design, the basis on which it was conducted. Second, it discusses the findings from the pilot study that permitted the revision of the methodology and the expansion of the questionnaire. And third, it describes and motivates the methodology employed in the analysis of the findings from the main study. Overall, the chapter attempts to document not only the extent to which the field research was carried out methodically and systematically, but also foregrounds Chapter 5, which presents the analysis of the results. It is argued in this chapter that an understanding of language maintenance as a socio-cognitive phenomenon requires both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

4.2 Design of the Study

As stated earlier, this dissertation seeks to address the following questions, repeated here for ease of reference:

1. Have the Haitian immigrants living in Chicago, Illinois been able to maintain their native languages and cultural identities?
2. If they have been able to do so, how have they managed to do this? That is, what strategies and/or factors have facilitated the maintenance of one or both of their language(s) and cultural heritage?

3. If they have been unable to maintain their native languages through shifting to English, the language of their new local mainstream society, why have they shifted?

To answer these questions and related ones, I have chosen the Haitian immigrant community in Chicago as the locus of the study. This choice was motivated by the fact that this population fits very well with the goal of our research, which is to inquire about Haitian immigrants' language maintenance behavior in less-enclaved and dense population in the U.S. than those studied previously.

The advantage of studying a less dense population, such as the Haitian community in Chicago, compared to the ones in Miami, Boston, and New York City, is that it provides a unique window to clearly gain in-depth insights about the core reasons that enable a speech community to maintain its language and culture. Since the population of Haitians in Chicago is smaller than the above-mentioned major ones, the common wisdom is that they will be unable to achieve the difficult task of maintaining their languages, because there will not be the continued influx of new immigrants, as compared to in the other cities, to reinforce the cultural and linguistic connections to Haitian Creole. This speaks also to the originality of our inquiry, since many studies that have been conducted on Haitian immigrants have focused primarily on large population where Haitian immigrants have been found to recreate easily the customs and traditions of Haiti by maintaining their culture and languages.

4.2.1 Methodological Approach to Data Collection

In this dissertation I adopted a combined method: sociolinguistic and ethnographic. In the sociolinguistic aspect, I utilized a questionnaire to enquire about the linguistic practices of the immigrant population being investigated. I used the questionnaire in part to obtain participants' self-assessments of proficiency in the three languages involved, namely French, Haitian Creole,

and English. Additionally and following Dorian (1981), Romaine (1989), Bennett (1990), and Pauwels (2007), I chose the use of the sociolinguistic questionnaire to examine participants' language attitudes in order to uncover whether or not those that Haitian speakers hold vis-à-vis the three languages have played an important role in the maintenance of their own native languages or the shift to English. Furthermore, in order to investigate in-depth language maintenance and shift as they occurred in the greater Chicago area, I relied heavily on participant observations. I was particularly interested in documenting the linguistic choices of the Haitians living there. This choice was inspired by several similar studies, including primarily Gal's (1979) on the village of Oberwart in Austria, where he documented the phenomenon of language shift in that bilingual community; Zentella's (1997) entitled "Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York;" and Heller's (1999) in Canada where she documented the participants' practices in schools in Ontario and she also used the participant observation method to collect her data (Pauwels 2004).

A clear understanding of language maintenance requires an in-depth knowledge of the community under investigation. Accordingly, before launching the full study, I carried out a pilot study whose aim was to sample the population and select the appropriate methodology that would facilitate the deconstruction and analysis of this important phenomenon. The section that follows attempts to pursue this objective with a focus on the Chicago Haitian community's cultural and linguistic practices.

4.2.2 Findings From the Pilot Study

In response to question #1 in section (4.1), I conducted a pilot study in the community in 2013 to have an initial overview of its linguistic practices. The study included a survey questionnaire containing forty questions, ten of which aimed at gathering participants'

background information, and the remaining thirty attempted to assess language maintenance, attitude, and use by the target population. Further, it used a semi-structured interview with a face-to-face interview mode in which the participants were asked to answer the demographic questions first, and then the other questions in the questionnaire, including some follow-up probing questions as deemed necessary. Each interview lasted about forty-five minutes, and all the interviews were initially recorded and then transcribed. On several occasions the researcher was a participant-observer in order to endeavor to understand better how Haitians living in Chicago use and maintain their native language(s). The observations took place during the Haitian Flag Day celebration hosted every year by the Haiti General Consulate of Chicago, and during several visits to Haitian churches and multiple other places in the community.

The pilot study data collected from ten participants strongly suggested that the Haitian immigrants living in Chicago have maintained at least one and possibly both of their languages (Haitian Creole and/or French) during their stay in the U.S. Similarly, these immigrants provided a number of reasons why they have retained this linguistic and cultural heritage, including pride in being Haitian, the economical asset of being bilingual. And native bilingualism as a way to differentiate themselves from other black ethnic groups in the country. The pilot study also uncovered the practices in which they have engaged at the family and community levels to achieve their language and cultural maintenance objectives. The findings were very revealing in their overall predictions with regard to the community's strategies to successfully maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage.

4.2.3 Conclusions from the Pilot Study

This preliminary conclusion, which appeared to be consistent with successful cases of language maintenance reported about other immigrant groups in the U.S. and elsewhere, encouraged me to expand the fieldwork and modify the research instruments in the hope to corroborate these findings. Specifically, I made some major changes in the pilot study protocols and procedures in terms of the number of participants and items on the questionnaire, so that I could achieve two interrelated objectives: (1) have a full grasp of this community's linguistic practices; and (2) uncover in what ways they are similar and/or differ from other Haitian immigrant communities in the U.S. described earlier in this research. The following section describes the methodology I followed in the data collection and in the data analysis.

4.2.4 Data Collection Procedures and Instruments

In order to capture as much as possible the dynamics of language maintenance in the target community, the main study, in contrast to the pilot, required the collection of the data via several fine-grained methods. It was hoped that such an approach could provide us with a clear assessment of the practices, attitudes, and behaviors that individuals in the community have developed concerning their language and culture maintenance or shift to the mainstream language. These methods included: the use of a survey, selective follow-up interviews, as well as participant and non-participant observations. The following subsections provide a clear account of this pursuit.

Based on just the face value of Zéphir's argument cited earlier and in which she maintains that Haitians in the U.S. use French as social marker and Haitian Creole as an identity marker, I could, therefore, hypothesize that adult Haitian immigrants will strive to maintain their native languages (French and Haitian Creole) and culture, and also pass on this linguistic

heritage to future generations. The data collection for the main project followed the same three-fold approach: use of a survey questionnaire, selected follow-up phone or face-to-face interviews, and multiple participant and non-participant observation sessions. This section discusses each of these aspects in detail.

The study took place between April 2015 and December 2015. The process began by improving the pilot study survey in two ways: (1) refinement of the questions; and (2) addition of more items on language maintenance, use, and identity. The revised survey contained four sections with a total of forty-nine questions. The first section, which is made up of fourteen questions, inquires about participants' demographic information, including country of citizenship, date of arrival in the U.S., age, gender, education, and profession. The second section is composed of 28 questions which investigate Haitian immigrants' linguistic practices, home language use, attitudes towards languages, linguistic behavior, linguistic identity, etc. The third section targets participants' socio-cultural behavior, ethnic identity, and awareness of their diasporic identity while living in Chicago in particular and in the U.S. in general. And finally, the last section contains seven questions, which target the participants' understanding and attitude towards race and ethnicity in the U.S.

The bulk of the items in the questionnaire were designed by the researcher, however, a few others were adapted from Zéphir's (1996) pivotal study entitled *Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological and Sociolinguistic Portrait*. The survey was originally constructed in English and subsequently translated into Haitian Creole and French in order to expand the scope of the prospective participants, and thus attain a more diversified group of participants with different socio-economic or educational backgrounds. The researcher, who is a native speaker of

both Haitian Creole and French, initially translated the questionnaire, and passed it to a volunteer who is also a native speaker of both languages, so it could be reviewed for accuracy.

4.3 Research Instruments

To facilitate the data collection process, the survey was delivered in two different formats: hard copy and online, with the former handed out in person to participants at different venues, and the latter circulated via e-mail as a QUALTRICS' platform. A link was provided in each of the three languages (English, French, and Haitian Creole) to participants who wished to complete the survey online. It was also accessible through any mobile device, including smartphones, laptops, tablets, and desktops.

Some participants were recruited through contacts made during multiple visits and stays in the community. The remaining participants were contacted through the Internet via emails and Facebook. Different Haitian social organizations' websites were identified and their leaders contacted in order to reach a larger and diverse range of participants, with copies of it posted on their Facebook pages based in Chicago.

The survey was part of a package which contained three documents: a cover letter explaining the research procedure; a consent form which the respondents were asked to sign if they agreed to voluntarily participate; and the actual survey questionnaire. Further, it was explained very clearly that they were not obligated to answer any questions that they did not wish to, and that even after they had started the survey, they could still opt to discontinue. After they had read the consent forms and asked clarification questions, they began to answer the demographic questions and then proceeded to the full survey. For the hard copy survey, the researcher was assisted by some volunteers at Haitian social events held by different organizations, Haitian churches in the community, and at special events organized by the

General Consulate of Haiti in Chicago. Those who preferred to complete the survey online were given the relevant links to it.

In order to supplement the data collected through the use of the different forms of the survey, the researcher also took extensive fieldwork notes during multiple visits and stays in the community. The sites for these supplemental data included Haitian celebrations, festivities, church services, formal meetings such as conferences, political meetings, and Mother's Day and Father's Day social gatherings. As a result, this process yielded very fascinating data which permitted the corroboration of the data obtained through the use of other channels. Further, non-participants' observations were also carried out during the same social encounters. They consisted of attentive observations of interactions between family members, members from the same organizations, community members, customers at a restaurant, strangers, and so forth. Careful notes were taken on the languages utilized during such interactions, with whom and where they were used, and possibly for what apparent purpose(s).

4.3.1 Data Analysis Methodology

The data collected through all the aforementioned channels were then transcribed, coded, and converted to digital formats for ease of analysis. Two different methodologies were used, qualitative and quantitative, in order to capture fully the richness of the data gathered. This subsection describes the analytical procedures pursued and the justification for them.

4.3.2 Tools Used in the Data Analysis

The data collected are analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. This choice is motivated by the fact that data of this sort tend to be emergent and rich, so a qualitative data analysis lends itself well to capturing all the facets of the investigation. In contrast, a quantitative analysis

approach is necessary to facilitate and highlight the different grand tendencies in the data. In the quantitative section, I computed the descriptive statistics on the sample under study with respect to several factors: the number, mean, and standard deviation for the age of the participants; their language use at home; gender; level of education; and years of residence in the U.S. Similarly, I computed inferential analysis, such as the calculation of the correlation between the years of residence in the U.S and Haitian Creole maintenance, competence in French with level of education, etc. In addition, I ran an inferential analysis which attempted to answer the following questions: (1) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict the importance for maintaining both Haitian Creole and French in the U.S.? (2) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict parental beliefs that their child will speak French? (3) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict parental beliefs that their child will speak Haitian Creole?

In contrast, the qualitative analysis was conducted as follows: first I retrieved the questionnaires, and compiled and labeled the data. Second, I summarized the findings by identifying the main and secondary themes and determining trends as well as generalizations. And finally, I began the coding process, which had led to the quantitative and qualitative analyses whose results are presented in Chapter Five.

4.3.3 Motivation for the Combined Approach

As stated previously, the elicitation of the data combined the use of survey and participant observation, and both approaches were used in a complementary fashion. For instance, the participant observation approach allowed me to immerse myself in the community's varying life aspects by participating actively in an array of cultural and religious gatherings. This aspect of the research was very critical since it permitted me to have an insider's look at the

community's linguistic practices. Accordingly, the surveys made it possible for participants to reflect on their language uses, and attitudes towards them. Undoubtedly, there are many aspects of this data that would have gone unnoticed without the combination of the two approaches. For instance, during the following interviews participants offered more in-depth explanations about their linguistic practices, which might have been difficult to elicit through the use of surveys.

4.3.4 The Researcher's Role in the Fieldwork

One of many major setbacks in conducting fieldwork in a community resides in the fact that very often participants seem to be willing to provide the research with the information that she is interested in, which may not be a true reflection of her behavior in the absence of the author. In fact, conducting fieldwork research in order to observe the linguistic behavior of subjects has never been an easy task. Labov was the first scholar who studied this phenomenon thoroughly, and he coined it the "Observer's Paradox" in the early 1970's. Labov (1972: 209) argues that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation." In order for researchers to be successful in carrying this task, he (Labov) believes "this can be done in various intervals and breaks which are so defined that the subject unconsciously assumes that he is not at the moment being interviewed" (Labov 1972: 92). This issue is even greater when the researcher is not a member of the community under investigation. In this present research, this problem has been circumvented because all the participants noticed that the researcher is one of them. This behavior also transpired in how helpful participants were in helping with the distribution of the surveys that were used in this research. Furthermore, during participant observation, participants did not show any reluctance to behave naturally, since they felt very much comfortable with the presence of the researcher in their midst.

4.4 Methodological Approach to Data Analysis

As discussed in Chapter 3 in the literature review, language maintenance has been researched for over a century in different fields and with a variety of tools, including the use of government-based census data and questionnaire surveys in recent times (Pauwels 2004, Potowski 2010). The present study, as discussed above, is the result of fieldwork conducted in the Haitian Community of Chicago, Illinois, from March 2015 to December 2015, using a questionnaire, participatory observations, and face-to-face and phone interviews of a selection of the participants. Chapter Five presents, discusses and analyzes the results of the main findings. It begins with a discussion of the findings of the pilot study, followed by those of the main study, with a particular attention on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study in an attempt to shed new light on language maintenance as a common phenomenon, and using the Haitian immigrants community of Chicago as a case study. The last section in the chapter offers not only an explanation of the findings, but also does so against the background of previous research.

4.4.1 Conclusion

To better understand the phenomenon of language maintenance and its corollaries as practiced by Haitian immigrants living in Chicago, I designed a questionnaire to uncover whether or not these Haitians have been able to successfully retain the usage of their native Haitian Creole and French, and to transmit equally both of them and their cultural heritage inter-generationally. I received eighty-three responses out of the total of 300 questionnaires that were distributed. These responses were supplemented with field notes that I took during several participant-observation visits in the Haitian community.

I used two different data analysis methodologies to analyze the data collected in this research project. I first conducted a qualitative data analysis during which a content analysis was run, followed by quantitative analysis in which we computed descriptive and inferential statistics. As such, the main goal of the following chapter is to lay out the different findings obtained, and to discuss them through the lenses of the theories of language maintenance reviewed in Chapter 3. Following the discussions section, I provide an outline of possible routes that future research might wish to take in order to further tackle the phenomenon of language maintenance.

Chapter 5: Analysis of the Sociolinguistic Data from the Questionnaire

5.1 Introduction

Pursuant to the goal of uncovering the factors that facilitate or impede language and culture maintenance and transmission in the Haitian community of Chicago, this chapter aims to present the results obtained through the different methodologies utilized in this investigation. The chapter begins with some qualitative data analysis and moves on to quantitative analyses obtained through the use of the surveys. Finally, it draws some conclusions informed by these findings.

5.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

As stated in Chapter 4 and following suggestions by Glesne and Peshkin (1992), Rubin et al. (1995), Patton (1989, 1990), and Thomas (2003), I felt that a global semantic analysis of the interview data was warranted as a starting point for this research. Specifically, like Glesne and Peshkin (1992: 2), I wish to recognize that “[q]ualitative researchers seek to make sense of the personal stories and the ways in which they interact.” To further elaborate on this idea, Thomas maintains that

qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. (2003: 1)

Thus, the first step taken in this research was to explore the interview sample’s general tendencies. I chose to focus on the most frequently used words by participants in their interviews collected through the use of survey questionnaires. I fed the transcribed interview data to the software Mathematica in a function called WordClouds that helps users determine the most used

words in texts, and presents the result in a chart. In addition, it creates word clouds of texts to come up with the most repeated words from text scripts. Figure 5.0 shows the output obtained from our data.



‘creole,’ next to references to orality such as ‘speak’ and ‘speaking.’ With these first macro-trends in mind, we can now examine how these tendencies relate to the different strategies in which the participants have been engaged to maintain their native languages or, on the contrary, to shift to the mainstream language. Prior to getting deeper into the analysis, it is important at this juncture to succinctly present the demographics of the sample (83 participants) surveyed in the research.

Of the 83 participants who responded to my survey (as indicated in Chapter 4), thirty-three were males (39.76% of the total participants), and 48 (57.83%) were females, one participant (1.20%), did not provide any information concerning his or her gender, and one was a transgender (1.20%). Also, of the 83 participants who responded, 62 participants (74%) were born in Haiti and moved to the U.S. at a later age; thirty-five of these (42%) reported Chicago or Illinois as their place of arrival. These statistics will be revisited in Section 5.2 in more detail in the classification of the participants who claimed to have successfully maintained and transmitted their language(s).

Further characteristics of the respondents concerning language use are as follows. Seventy-two of the 83 participants (87%) reported having used Haitian Creole and French when they were in Haiti and prior to migrating to the U.S. More than 90% percent maintained that they used Haitian Creole within the family, whereas most of the ones who reported using French in Haiti said they would use it in school to talk to their classmates, schools officials, teachers, and so on. Others stated that they spoke French in the offices to communicate with their colleagues and co-workers. Enquiring about the maintenance of Haitian Creole in the Haitian community of Chicago has been one of the main reasons why this study has been undertaken. In fact, in the survey, I asked specifically what the Haitian Community of Chicago has been doing to maintain

Haitian Creole. The answers they provided varied, but the bulk of the participants stated that the main strategies used by the communities involved the organization of cultural activities, the creation of Haitian social networks, the use of the language to communicate with their families, and the informal use of the language by the older generation. In addition, many participants reported that one of the most important vectors of Haitian Creole maintenance is the Haitian church, where the language is used not only for worship service, but in many other social gatherings.

When asked about what they do personally to maintain the use of the language in the community, about 75 participants (90%) said they maintain the language by practicing it daily. They reported that they use it to communicate with their family members, friends, and other Haitian acquaintances in the community. Furthermore, some indicated that they listen to music in Haitian Creole. Others reported that they visit Haiti at least twice a year. In addition, some insisted that they continuously read articles in Creole, attend Haitian events that are of interest to them, and speak Creole with family and friends. Many of them also reported that they listen regularly to Haitian news broadcast in Haitian Creole. Some of the participants are very intentional about maintaining Haitian Creole and culture. These participants reported that they speak the language not only daily with relatives and friends, but also enroll in Haitian Creole classes in the community. The following section presents a non-exhaustive description of the different contexts and strategies in which Haitians said they engaged to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage.

5.3 Reported Contexts and Strategies of Use of French

There were a number of responses that indicated a series of communicative practices one could characterize as “strategies of language maintenance.” More specifically, during my frequent visits in the Haitian community of Chicago, I asked the participants to reflect on in what circumstances they are most likely to use their two native languages in communicating with their compatriots in the city. Members of the first and some of the second generation asserted that they use French for the most part when other people address them in French or when they encounter other French-speaking people around the city. Others stated that they use French to talk to those Haitians who are not fluent in English. In addition, a great majority of the members of the first generation reported using the French language at church in singing the hymns, reading the Bible, and listening to sermons. Another context that was brought to my attention is the different Haitian gatherings such as parties and Haitian celebrations where participants of my survey reported meeting other Haitians who speak French. Some others argued that they utilize French at home to talk to their family, Haitian relatives, and also some close friends who are fluent in this language.

French speakers stated that they use many strategies to keep their French alive. For instance, both members of the first generation and the second generation said they have engaged in a set of activities, which include participating in masses where French is the language used, joining other French-speaking cultural groups, and encouraging their children to learn the language in school. In the same vein, some reported that Haitians in Chicago tend to use French in formal contexts such as wedding ceremonies, funerals, or other special events. This is especially true for informants who were educated in Haiti and who immigrated to the U.S prior to the 1990s. And yet others reported reading scripture in French as a way to maintain the use of

the language. Others said that they have participated in exchange programs in francophone countries in order to maintain their French proficiency. A sizeable group of participants, mostly from the second generation and also those who migrated to the U.S without some solid education in Haiti, however, reported that they either do not speak French or they do not use it very often in Chicago. They reported finding it more comfortable to use Haitian Creole when among other Haitians. Table 5.1 provides a summary of what the participants stated about the strategies they use to maintain their French while living in Chicago.

Table 5.1 Representative Sample of Strategies Reportedly used by the Informants of the Survey to Maintain French in the Haitian Community in Chicago.

Generation	Participant	Strategies Used to Maintain French
2 nd	Obas	"I participate in a language exchange program."
1 st	Gazner	"I don't find preserving my French a priority. If needed I can speak it and understand it."
1 st	Gesner	"Yes, sometime if I stayed too long in an environment where I hear only English I sometimes think of an English word first."
1 st	Brutus	"Yes, I attend meet-ups with French speaking people, I have friends from Congo and Senegal, we meet very often and we speak French when we meet."
2 nd	Jolien	"I try and read French and watch French films."
1 st	Eric	"I speak it at home. I read (in French), books, articles, blogs in French. I listen to music, I watch YouTube channels and I read books in French to my kids."
1 st	Wesner	"Yes, I keep reading the Bible in French on a regular basis. I also read newspapers in French as well as listening to the radio in French as much as possible."
1 st	Victoria	"Yes, speaking with people, watching French programs on TV, writing and exposing or delivering messages in French."
1 st	Jocelyne	"Read every day some French book. Keep in touch with all my friends who live in Haiti speaking French."
2 nd	Lapierre	"Yes, I speak it to some Haitian friends and I read."
1 st	François	"I continue to practice French in my conversation and my ministry. I have books in French that I read regularly."
2 nd	Adassa	"I speak the language every day. Listen to French news from Haiti and France. I read the Bible, articles, do research in French."
1 st	Michel	"I speak French to professionals or someone I think knows how to speak it, because I am more comfortable speaking French then Creole"
2 nd	Nancy	"I only speak French to my children born here and to my husband."

As it is apparent in the previous table, most of the speakers claimed that they have maintained their proficiency in French through reading and interactions with other Haitians or francophones. In fact, more than half of the participants mentioned reading as one of the strategies used to not lose their competence in French. Participants who are part of the first generation argue they often use French for instrumental purposes. This means that they reported using French at conferences, meetings, and gatherings where they encounter people from France and other francophone countries. For instance a participant from the first generation declared: “I don't speak French with Haitians. I only speak it with people from French-speaking nations. Haitian Creole is my preference with Haitians.” Comments such as these signal that French seems to be a lingua franca, a language of communication typically used with speakers who do not share the first language, Haitian Creole, of the community.

Moreover, based on data collected during my observations, I can say that the domains of use of French are mainly the formal ones, such as conferences, church masses or services, weddings, sermons, funerals, etc. However, I also need to point out that there are some participants who indicated that they do not try to maintain French because they live in an English-speaking environment. For instance, Marie-Anne said, “I just never practiced [French] after coming to school in America and there was no point to it.”

These reactions echo the sentiments some participants reported feeling with regards to maintaining the French language. For many of them, knowing how to speak it prior to emigrating to the U.S. does not mean that they are obligated to retain their communicative competence. Some reported that their French proficiency is declining daily to the point that it has become almost non-existent. For instance, Josaphat declared, “I have almost lost the practice of the language at home.” Some participants from the first generation argue that using French in the

U.S. is to try to recreate the linguistic discrimination that prevails in Haiti. In fact, in Haiti French is very often associated with the educated elite at the detriment of the peasants who are not considered to be educated. Accordingly, people from the working classes who migrated to the U.S. during the 1990s and early 2000s rarely knew French prior to immigrating. Therefore, some informants reported to me that they try not to address people in French simply to not make them uncomfortable. In summary, it is safe to argue that people who were educated in Haiti and who are part of the first two large waves of migration, namely during the early '60s to the early '80s, have found a way to maintain their French competence. Some have also been able to transmit this knowledge to the second generation with some degree of success. Even in the third generation, there are some people who know some French.

5.3.1 Contexts of Use of Haitian Creole

Almost all my participants from the first and second generations reported being fluent in Haitian Creole and have kept using it in almost every relevant domain of communication in which it serves. Also, based on data collected from parents and grandparents, I estimate that about 15% percent of the third generation can speak and understand Haitian Creole. For instance, a participant reported that she uses Haitian Creole to talk to other Haitians living in Chicago, because “that is the most common thing to do.” Her response is echoed by other speakers who affirm this practice in different ways. There are those who use Haitian Creole in order to make their interlocutor feel more comfortable because, as one participant put it, “chances are they only speak Haitian Creole,” and there are those who maintain the language “[b]ecause my family in Haiti speak only Haitian Creole.” Other reasons they provided to support their use of Haitian Creole to communicate with other Haitians include: “[a] sign of respect to the older Haitians

folks;” “[i]t’s easier for them;” “[b]ecause the majority of them speak Haitian Creole;” “because I assume all Haitians speak Haitian Creole;” and “[b]ecause Haitian Creole is the universal language for all Haitians.”

For some of the Haitian Creole speakers, the language is more than a simple means of intra-Haitian communication. It is a powerful symbol of identity; the nexus that connects all Haitians. This perception is exemplified in statements such as the following obtained from different speakers: “Haitian Creole connects us;” “[i]t is more personal and comfortable;” “[i]t is the language of the motherland and I feel at home;” and “Haitian Creole connects us at a deeper level.” A sizeable group of respondents evoked the notion of effectiveness of communication between Haitians stemming from a general lack of proficiency in English. Several of them stated using Haitian Creole “because we communicate better that way,” or “because Haiti-born I think prefer to speak Creole.” Others declared: “I generally try to speak Haitian Creole with Haitian-born,” or “I love Haitian Creole and I feel that conversations are easier in Creole with fellow Haitians.” Many Haitians in the Chicago community use the language as a bond among themselves because they consider the language the best manifestation of their Haitian identity.

With respect to the use of Haitian Creole at home, with friends or with Haitian adult relatives, the majority of the participants in this study reported that thanks to conscious efforts and strategies, they have continued to use Haitian Creole while living in an English-dominant environment like Chicago. Their practices, which can be interpreted as “strategies of communication” in this case study, are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Strategies Reported to Maintain Haitian Creole

Generation	Participants	Strategies Used to Maintain Haitian Creole
1 st	Carlo	"I use it with my family and children. Honestly, I do find myself speaking more English than Creole with my daughter. I think my reasoning is she goes to a private home caregiver whose primary language is Creole. She does not go to daycare and is not exposed to English language. So I speak a combination of English and Haitian Creole with her."
2 nd	Predalien	"I listen to Haitian music almost daily. I purposefully speak to my parents in Haitian Creole. I seek out events sponsored by Haitian organizations in Chicago. I try to keep up with developing news in Haiti (i.e. elections)."
1 st	Papouche	"Well, I just speak Creole with all Haitians I meet, except one particular person who always wants to speak French; I initially thought she did not know how to speak Creole until I saw her speaking Creole at Church one day."
2 nd	Luckner	"I try and speak it with certain members of the Haitian community, especially elders, and insert it into conversation with my peers from time to time."
2 nd	Verité	"I speak it as much as I can with my friends and family most of the time I mix it with Creole and English together. "
1 st	Radmar	"I continuously read articles in Creole, attend Haitian events that are of interest to me and speak Creole with family and friends."
2 nd	Vital	"I often speak Creole with my mother."
1 st	Volnie	"As I raise my kids and they are learning English and new words and let them know French/Creole. Read literature."
2 nd	Volmar	"I attend Haitian Churches."
	Jean-Ricot	"I use it all the time everywhere I go."
1 st	Samantha	"I speak it with everyone. However, sometimes I find myself adding some English words and find it hard to remember some words I used to use."
2 nd	Colain	"Our services in the Church are done in three languages."
2 nd	Carlain	"Speak. Participate in all Haitian activities where Haitian Creole is spoken."
1 st	Vitine	"I speak it around other Haitians. Speak it in the Haitian community."
1 st	Marceline	"Stay in touch with my friends and participate in community events."

As indicated in Table 5.2, many of the participants who took part in the research made a conscious effort to maintain Haitian Creole. Compared to the use of French, Haitian Creole was

reported to be used by participants from all walks of life. In fact, the domains that received the most attention were the household, church, and informal encounters with other Haitian immigrants. Also, as was mentioned in the literature by many scholars (Fishman 1966; Pauwels 2004; Potowski 2010) a language used in institutions such as the family and the church has a greater chance to survive the dominance of English. This claim, which is based on empirical research, suggests that there is a greater chance that future generations of Haitian Americans born in Chicago to Haitian parents will seek to learn the language at best or will be incidentally exposed to the Haitian Creole language at worst. On this note, let us now turn our attention to the transmission of this language to future generations.

5.4 Intergenerational Language Transmission

In addition to the overarching goal of language maintenance of Haitian Creole and French among first-generation Haitian immigrants in the city, the second goal was the study of the intergenerational transmission of the two languages. Unlike most previous studies on this question, the aim for this research was to go beyond the second generation by also examining, as much as possible, the third generation. In order to determine how the two languages and cultures have been transmitted or not from the first to the second and from the second to the third generations, a multi-channel data collection process was undertaken in the Haitian community. The first analyses of the data point to a few major factors that contributed to the maintenance of the two languages as well as to some success of the intergenerational transmission of Haitian Creole.

It is very likely for Haitian Creole to be maintained and transmitted for future generations as long as they keep using the language in the household, at the church, and during informal

encounters. One reason why appears to be that the elder generation who came to the U.S. as adults, for example during their late forties, fifties, and sixties, and who knew only Haitian Creole, continue to live in many households and provide great help in the transmission of the languages and the culture for the most part as babysitters and household relied upon by working Haitian parents. Accordingly, several participants told me that they learned Haitian Creole thanks to their grandparents. For instance, some reported that in order to include the elders in your conversations in the household, discourse must be conducted in Haitian Creole. Others considered speaking Haitian Creole to the elders as a sign of respect.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, another vehicle of transmission of Haitian Creole appears to be the school. Many participants in this study who are second generation Haitians reported they have learned the language formally in school, adding to the source of practice they had at home. In fact, during my investigations, I was able to discover some Haitian Creole language programs offered by the churches, or by the Haitian American Museum of Chicago (HAMOC), that hold special Haitian Creole classes for Haitians from the second and third generations who are willing to learn the language. Moreover, the University of Chicago currently offers training in Haitian Creole through their Center of Latin American Studies.

As reported almost twenty years ago by Zéphir (1996), in other Haitian-American communities, Haitian Creole is also used as an “identity marker” in Chicago. A great majority of the participants reported that Haitian Creole is the language that binds them together in the U.S., and more specifically, in the city of Chicago. Since the Haitian population of Chicago is less dense than other settlements of Haitian immigrants for instance in Miami, New York City, and Boston, participants told me that they cherish the moment when they run into Haitians in Chicago as an opportunity to connect to the individuals through the use of Haitian Creole.

Generally speaking, the younger generations are spoken to in Haitian Creole either at home or in church and other Haitian community gatherings. They are, in fact, provided a great deal of input in order to learn the language. I can comfortably say that based on my fieldwork experience, Haitians living in Chicago are very keen at maintaining their native language and culture, and make conscious efforts to transmit the language to future generations. How successful they will be in pursuing that goal remains an open question for future research to address. What is known at this time, however, is that the community as a whole has laid the foundations through different institutions for the language and the culture to be transmitted and maintained for years to come.

5.4.1 Intergenerational Differences in Language Use, Language Maintenance, and Ethnicity

As mentioned before, my goal in this research was to not only uncover the linguistic behavior and practices of the Haitian immigrants living in Chicago, but also to inquire about their efforts at transmitting their languages and culture to future generations. Accordingly, I collected data on intergenerational transmission directly from first and the second generation Haitians. I targeted the parents and grandparents to gather information about the third generation since this group has been found to be less than 18 years of age, which was the minimum age required to participate in this investigation. In the following, a summary of those intergenerational differences will be presented. To do this, I will present the results on language maintenance and ethnicity by generation.

5.5 Haitian Networking and Maintenance of Haitian Creole and French

The concept of social networks has often been cited among the necessary conditions that are conducive to dialect and language maintenance in domestic and immigrant contexts (Milroy 2001). According to several scholars (among them Milroy 2001, Stoessel 2002), the tighter the network ties the greater the chance of maintaining the community language. Consequently, I tried to uncover whether the Haitians immigrants living in Chicago have developed some strong ties over the years, which would facilitate their retention of French and Haitian Creole as community languages. In that respect, about 75 (90%) of the participants reported that they have maintained their languages, specifically Haitian Creole and French, through interactions with family members, close friends, and church members. For some of them, the Haitian community of Chicago plays the role of a greater or extended family. They support one another, go to church together, and participate in Haitian cultural activities together. Furthermore, their children benefit greatly from the links these parents maintain since they can play together, watch movies, and have birthday parties. During my many visits in the different areas where the majority of Chicago's Haitians live, I witnessed how strong these ties were in the community. After church, for instance, all the members meet to have lunch together, during which time the dominant language used is Haitian Creole. They benefit from recounting stories about Haiti, sharing family and Haitian country news, and so on. Similarly, when a client enters a Haitian restaurant in Chicago to eat, it is very likely that he/she will find groups of Haitians at a table conversing in Haitian Creole or sometimes in English. Not only do these activities help them sustain their culture, but they also enable them to retain the use of the languages of their original homeland.

5.6 Blackness and Native Language Maintenance

The concept of Blackness is an aspect of American life that has surprised many Haitians upon their arrival in America. As may be recalled from Chapter 2, the first major waves of Haitians were comprised of highly educated citizens fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship. To their greatest surprise, they were automatically categorized as Black no matter their skin color, their social status in Haiti, or their level of education.

In fact, the concept of Blackness was clearly one of the themes repeatedly mentioned by respondents in my field research in the Haitian community of Chicago for this study. The answers to the question of who is Black differed from one generation to the next. For instance, it was almost certain that participants from the first generation would identify themselves as being different from Black Americans. For this category, as reported in Zéphir (1996), generally speaking they do not want to be confused with other Black ethnic groups in America. They strive to remain Haitians and to keep their unique Haitian identity. In this vein, one participant noted for instance: “[w]henver people confused me with other Black ethnic groups, I corrected [them] right away.” For first-generation Haitians, being Black means the pigmentation of their skin, rather than their ideology and culture. For instance, a participant named Antoine said quite revealingly, “Black is used to identify African American[s]. I consider myself Haitian.”

Along the same lines, another first-generation female participant code-named Liliane maintained that her “definition of Black is not related to culture, but to the color of the skin which is a result from [sic] being of African descent.” However, the same cannot be said for the second generation of Haitians. For them, when a policeman pulls them over in the streets, he/she does not see them as Haitian, but rather as Black. Therefore, a good number of them believe that

they are from the same African ancestry and are proud to be called Black in the same terms as other African Americans.

At this juncture, it is worth pointing out that some of the second-generation Haitian immigrants reported that they are also classified as Blacks by American administrations. When filling out official forms, for instance, they are not left with any other choice than to write that they are Black or African American. In this respect, Joseph stated that he unwillingly goes along with this label because he does not have a choice: “[b]ecause this is how I have been classified in the United States, though I do not agree with what the term implies.” Table 5.3 presents a brief sample of the respondents’ answers to Blackness by generation.

Table 5.3: Generational Understanding of the Concept of Blackness

Generation	Definition of Blackness
Generation 1	“My skin color is black therefore I’m black. I also come from what I consider a black nation most of the population is black.”
Generation 1	“Because my skin tone is black and I am part of the African diaspora.”
Generation 1	“Haiti is a black nation and identify as black.”
Generation 2	“Because I’m not white...and I fall under that category even though there are so many blacks who are different cultures.”
Generation 2	“It's obvious!! What else would I consider myself??”
Generation 2	“Born and raised in Chicago but from Haitian parents. So I do associate myself with the Black culture.”
Generation 2	“Haitians are descents of Africans.”
Generation 2	“I’m treated the same way. No one can look and immediately see ‘Haitian.’”
Generation 2	“Because I am Black.”
Generation 2	“Because we're descendants of Africans.”
Generation 2	“There is no mistake about it.”

What these statements are conveying is a generational change in the understanding of the concept of Blackness. The first generation of Haitian immigrants is often ready to correct people when they are confused as other Black ethnic groups in America. Although some participants from the second generation followed suit, it remains clear that many participants from the second generation do not distinguish themselves from other Blacks in America. These findings are very

different from Zéphir's 1996 results from New York City. Contrary to her informants' portrayals of themselves and their Haitian identity, I found that the second-generation Haitian living in Chicago have multiple identities. In fact, a sizeable number from the first generation still portray themselves as Haitians or Haitian-Americans. However, a great majority of the second-generation informants see themselves as Black and argue that there is no major difference between them and African Americans. Moreover, many second-generation participants reported having developed competences in both Standard English and African American Vernacular English. In other words, at least a sizeable portion of second-generation Haitian Americans appear to grow up as bi-dialectal speakers in their community. According to their accounts, they tend to use the African American vernacular with their African American friends or when they are in such environment, while Standard English is reserved for all other situations including the presence of their parents and Haitian friends.

5.7 Haitian Identity and Language Maintenance

Another important element that has been found to facilitate the maintenance of immigrants' cultural and linguistic heritage is their ideology. In fact, when asked to what extent they are proud of their Haitian identity, of the 68 participants who responded to that question 100% stated that they are proud to be Haitian. As a follow-up question, I asked them why they are proud. Their responses are sampled in Table 5.4 by generation.

Table 5.4 Generational understanding of the concept of identity

Generation	Responses
First	“That is why I go to Haitian church”.
First	“There is nothing wrong to being Haitian in the U.S. I want those people that I meet to know the real virtues of the Haitian people”.
Second	My Haitian identity is a huge part of my daily “life and background and it impacts my perception.”
First	“I am proud to be Haitian. That is why I opened the Haitian American museum to develop and sustain cultural progress and help maintain the Haitian Creole language”.
First	“I am very proud of my Haitian heritage. That is who I am, it also means preserving my culture, pride, and intelligence”.
First	“I am and I am proud of being Haitian. That is why I speak Haitian Creole and keep my cultural identity. I keep my Haitian culture while accommodating to the American culture”.
Second	“It’s my culture and my tradition. That is why I Speak Creole, participate in Haitian affairs”.
Second	“It’s who I am. I want to maintain my heritage by speaking Haitian Creole”.
Second	“I’m proud, they raised me like a Haitian kid, and my family is from Haiti. I maintain the culture by the music, church, language, family, and friends”.
First	“I cry it out loud. I make frequent visits to Haiti; stay informed on what is going on in Haiti. I only speak English when I have to”.

As exemplified above in the answers they provided, both the first and the second generations are keen to display their Haitian identity. Very often you see them hanging the Haitian flag in their car, on the wall of their house, on their office desk, etc. Another typical behavior showcasing the pride of the second and the third generation informants is to wear Haitian-made bracelets, hats, and jerseys. In fact, at the time of their graduation from middle school and college, many informants reported wearing something with the Haitian flag on it.

Haitians in the U.S. remain closely connected with Haiti, as manifested through the very active implications of diasporic Haitians in the political, economic, and social life of Haiti. It is well-known that so-called remittances, money transfers by Haitians living in the diaspora to support family and friends in Haiti, contribute considerably to the economy of Haiti. According to many Haitian economists and estimates by the World Bank in 2007 and the Inter-American

Bank of Development, the Haitian diaspora remittances account for about 20% of the country's gross national product (Dupuy et al. 2013).

This commitment to Haiti, this transnationalism, is documented by scholars such as Laguerre (1984), Zéphir (1996, 2004, 1999, 2008), Stepick (1998), and Pierre-Louis (2006), who state that Haitians often portray themselves as having two nationalities. The Haitians surveyed were often very proud to proclaim their Haitian identity and to be regarded as such. One participant told me that in class she had to make it clear to a professor what it actually means to be Haitian. She recalled telling the professor that Haiti is the first Black independent country in the Western Hemisphere, and that it was the first country in the North American continent to stop slavery. In addition, she maintained that the founder of Chicago, Jean Baptiste Dusable, was Haitian. All of this to say that she has a lot of pride in being called Haitian.

Along the same lines, a great number of participants reported to be very proud to openly show their Haitian identity while living in the U.S. For that reason, they are involved in a large array of cultural activities that tend to recreate their Haitian customs and traditions. As one participant reported, this pride can be evidenced by multiple domestic activities: "I cook the food, speak the language, and I celebrate the holidays." For Jocelin, another participant, being a proud Haitian means to "[e]at and cook Haitian food, speak Haitian Creole, listen to Haitian music, and participate [in] or lead Haitian cultural activities." Participants also described their conscientious effort to convey cultural pride to their children. One said, "I teach history to my kids. I visit Haiti as often as I can. I cook Haitian cuisine at home." Lyonel, another participant, revealed that maintaining the culture and remaining truthful and faithful to his Haitian identity means that he has to teach his children the culture by representing Haitian art at home, speaking the language, listening to the music, etc. One of the participants stated, "I listen to Haitian music

daily. I purposefully speak to my parents in Haitian Creole and I seek out events sponsored by the Haitian Consulate of Chicago.” Many of the participants made it clear that that they want the Haitian culture to be perpetuated, so that is why they engage in activities that enact and re-enact their Haitian identity. One told me, “We make history. I am proud of my people and compared to other nations we are strong mentally.” Yet another participant declared that she maintained her Haitian culture and identity because, she said, “I am attached to Haiti even though there are a lot of negative tendencies against Haiti.”

What is worth pointing out at this juncture is that almost all the participants in this research indicated that they are very proud of their Haitian origins. They believe strongly that one way of demonstrating that sense of identity is through the maintenance of Haitian Creole and their cultural traditions while they live in Chicago. This perspective on identity construction and maintenance confirms Zephir’s (1996) findings in her NYC study. The findings of my research differ from what Stepick (1998) found in Miami where some Haitians from the second generation covered up their Haitian identity. Haitians in Chicago are very open about their identity and take great pride in displaying it whenever they can. Even children who have no problem assimilating to the American way of life remain steadfast about their Haitian identity. I also have to note that the grassroots organizations in the community, such as Haitian American Haitian Association (HACA), Haitian Congress to Fortify Haiti (HCFH), DuSable Heritage Association, etc., make it easier for the second and the third generations to get involved in the cultural activities that these associations organize to help sustain Haitian culture and traditions.

5.8 Summary of Follow-up Interviews

Following the administration of the questionnaire used in this study, selected participants were contacted for follow-up interviews to address some ambiguous responses obtained through the surveys and/or expand on some the assertions made by participants with regards to their community's cultural and linguistic practices. The main findings obtained through these interviews are outlined below.

The main objective of the follow-up interviews was to ensure that the data collected from the participants through the use of survey questionnaires truly mirrored what was actually occurring among Haitians in the community in terms of language practices. For this purpose, five participants (three females and two males) were randomly selected among those who were willing to participate in a short follow-up interview. Two of the females are from the second generation of Haitian immigrants living in Chicago, and the remainder are first generation immigrants who have been living in this community for twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years respectively. A number of questions from the questionnaire were selected to elicit more elaborate answers than what these participants had provided.

The main tendencies revealed by the follow-up interviews echoed what other participants reported to me in one-on-one conversations in the community during my visits. First of all, all of them believed that the first generation of Haitian immigrants has maintained the use of Haitian Creole and a sizeable number have in addition retained their fluency in French. According to what they reported to me, the retention has been made possible through the use of their native languages in different domains including the church, the family, and some schools that offer classes on Haitian Creole. The dedication of some parents to send their children to French and English bilingual schools to encourage their children to enroll in French classes both at the high

school and the college levels was also singled out. Almost all participants interviewed believed that the second and third generations of Haitians in Chicago have varying levels of proficiency in Haitian Creole and French.

Additionally, these participants believed that passing the language to the third generation through the family setting is not guaranteed among Haitian immigrants, since many Haitians of the second generation marry people who are not from the Haitian community and therefore do not know French or Haitian Creole. They stated that it can become a real challenge for them to transmit their incomplete linguistic knowledge at home to their children while their spouses are not able to reinforce that practice. One participant from the second generation reported that she knows of a couple where the wife is a second generation Haitian and her husband is African American. Even though the wife of Haitian descent usually attends Haitian church services, her husband cannot understand the church services conducted in French and Haitian Creole. As a result, they are thinking of leaving the church for an English-only service. This case exemplifies the difficulty that the second generation is currently facing to maintain their linguistic competence in their native languages.

Another issue reported to me is the idea that some families do not see the need for their children to maintain Haitian Creole or French because they live in the U.S. where the mainstream language is English. Moreover, the interviewees also believed that many parents have the desire to transmit Haitian Creole or French to the next generation, but due to time constraints imposed by work they are unable to reach that goal. In this latter group, parents generally work menial jobs and are forced to send their children to preschools where English is the sole language used. To circumvent this challenge, one of the things that some of the parents have been doing is to arrange for one grandparent to live in their home. These grandparents

generally do not speak English, which makes it ideal for the children to be immersed in the language.

While the picture seems to be a little grim for the second and the third generations, dedicated families have found successful ways to ensure that their children remain engaged with their Haitian culture by actively participating in a number of activities organized by the Haitian community in Chicago. Some of these include but are not limited to going to Haitian Flag Day celebrations, book club events where they read about Haitian writers, Haitian music festivals, and the Haitian American Museum of Chicago that shows paintings by Haitians artists and others depicting Haiti's history, culture, and everyday life. The follow-up interviews therefore corroborated the findings obtained through other channels.

5.8.1 Conclusions of the Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative assessment that precedes is a way for me to present the echo of the different voices of the many Haitian immigrants living in the Chicago community. I wanted to create a channel to ensure that the participants' own understanding of the phenomenon of language maintenance gets the spotlight. I wanted to make sure I reproduced their thoughts faithfully via the data collected through the surveys, participant observations, and selected follow-up interviews. All these methodologies have helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the strategies of language maintenance practiced by Haitian immigrants in Chicago. In sum, Haitians living in the Chicago area are clear about their desire to maintain and transmit their native languages. As such, they reported a wide variety of conscious efforts they have been making over the years to be successful in their endeavors. From attending Haitian churches where the two languages of Haitian Creole and French are used, to listening to Haitian radios in

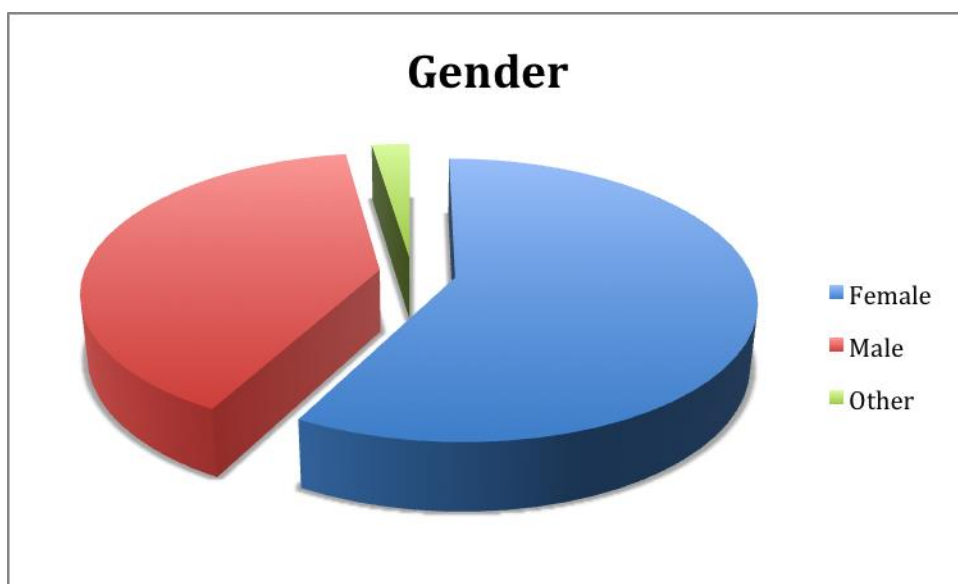
their homes, or making sure that grandparents are present in the family to help with the transmission process, the Haitians reported in this research are very proud to state clearly that they have known a certain degree of success in recreating Haitian customs and traditions in the U.S., maintaining and transmitting their culture and native languages. In order to provide a discrete and detailed picture of the main tendencies of this survey data, I also carried out a small-scale, exploratory quantitative analysis, which is laid out in the next sections. The results will first be presented in terms of descriptive statistics and then some inferential statistics.

5.9 Descriptive Statistics

5.9.1 Background Information

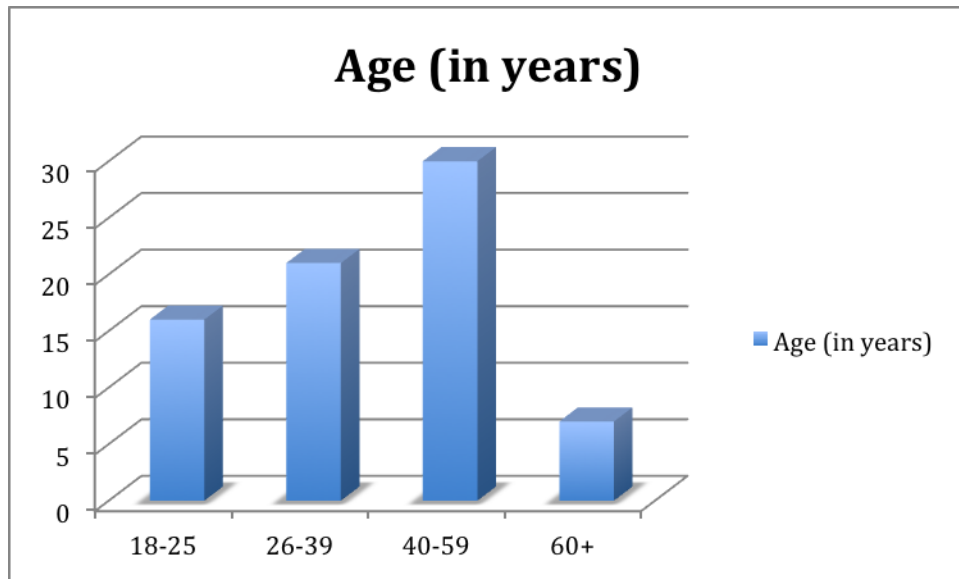
The sample size was 83 participants. As indicated previously, thirty-three of the respondents were males, representing 39.76% of the pool; forty-eight (57.83%) were females. One respondent did not provide information on gender and another one reported that she is transgender. These facts are illustrated below in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Gender Distribution of Respondents.



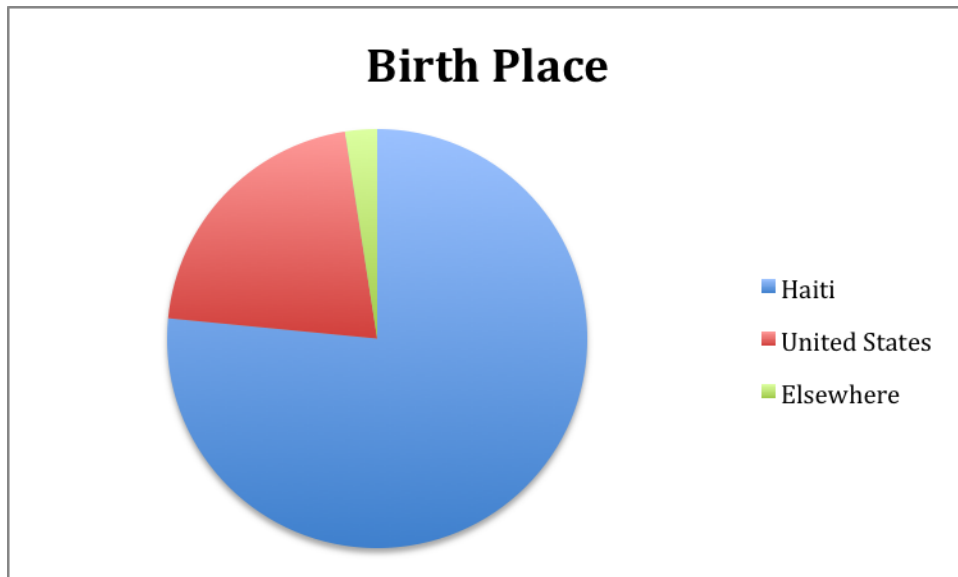
Seventy-four participants (89.16%) responded to the question related to their ages. Participants' ages varied from 18 to 75 with a mean of 40.07 (SD = 13.96). Fifty-six participants (67.47%) provided answers regarding the duration of their stay in the U.S. Durations ranged from 2 to 45 years with a mean of 21.23. The age distribution is indicated in Figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5.3 Participants' Age Ranges.



In terms of place of birth, 81 participants (97.59%) responded to this item, indicating where they were born. 62 participants (76.5%) stated that they were born in Haiti, 17 (21.0%) in the U.S., and 2 (2.5%) elsewhere, as illustrated in Figure 5.4.

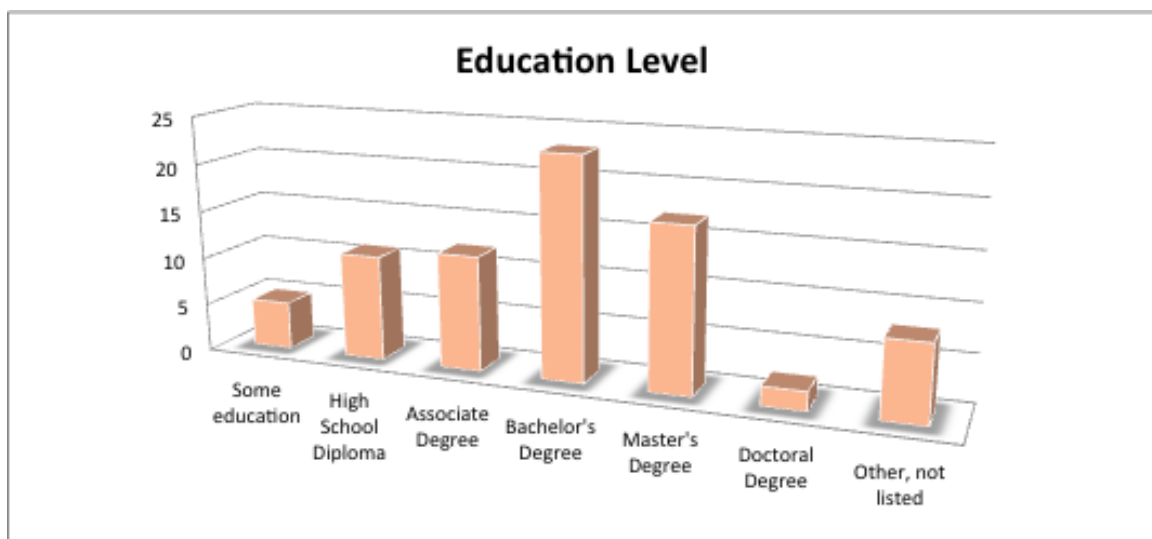
Figure 5.4 Participants' Place of Birth.



As can be seen in Figure 5.4, most of the respondents were born in Haiti, thus indicating the percentage of first and second generation immigrants.

With respect to the respondents' education, 78 participants (93%) provided responses related to their achievement. Figure 5.5 provides a concise summary of the different levels of education reported by the respondents.

Figure 5.5 Participants' Education Level.



As one can see, the pool of participants surveyed in the study has a wide range of educational levels, with most of them (29%) holding a Bachelor's degree, followed by Masters' (21%) and Associate Degrees (15.4%), and high school diplomas (14.1%). A smaller number hold doctoral degrees (2%). These levels of education indicate clearly that most of the respondents were well-educated. If this sample is representative of the Haitian population in Chicago, it would suggest that we are dealing with predominantly middle-class individuals who include first-generation immigrants highly proficient in Haitian and French.

Table 5.5 Reported Proficiency in Haitian Creole

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Excellent	57	96.61%	10	50%
Very well	0	0%	7	35%
Well	1	1.69%	2	10%
Fairly well	1	1.69%	1	5%
Poorly	0	0%	0	0%
Total	59	100%	20	100%

Table 5.5 above summarizes the respondents' reported level of proficiency in Haitian Creole. As transpired from their own accounts, reported previously in this chapter, all informants in the sample report to be highly proficient in Haitian Creole. The overwhelming majority of the first generation informants (>96%) and half of the second-generation informants reported 'excellent' proficiency in the language. Based on these reports, it can be concluded that this community may have great success in the maintenance and the transmission of Haitian Creole. This represents a very important finding in this research since such a high level of proficiency in the language attests to this community's strength and determination to transmit the language despite constant pressure from English. During several visits or long stays in the community, I

had the chance to gauge many participants’ actual level of Haitian Creole and can attest that the above reports represent a clear picture of the linguistic landscape of the community.

Table 5.6 Reported Proficiency in French

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Excellent	25	45.45%	1	5%
Very well	11	20%	1	5%
Well	13	23.63%	6	30%
Fairly well	6	10.90%	9	45%
Poorly	0	0%	3	15%
Total	55	100%	20	100%

As expected and also indicated in Table 5.6, every respondents’ level of proficiency in French is lower than in Haitian Creole. This is consistent with findings reported in the interview data, presented earlier: French is part of the linguistic landscape of the community, but it is much more widely spoken by those who acquired it prior to immigrating to the U.S. The first-generation respondents reported “excellent” or “very good” proficiency in French. Respondents from the second generation reported to be much less proficient in French than their elders, but the overwhelming majority (>75%) of them still report speaking it “well” or “fairly well.” At a first glance some would say that this is a familiar trend in the Haitian population even for those who live in Haiti. However, as was previously mentioned in this study, many of the Haitians who first immigrated to the U.S. were highly educated and had French as their first or their second language. If this sample is representative of the community as a whole, then it might provide a very good indication that first-generation speakers have not been able to transmit their highly proficient skills in French to younger members of the community. Furthermore, if a shift to English was to occur in some families from the two languages, French – acquired in formal contexts prior to immigration – might be the language leading this process.

During my visits to the community and interactions with committee members, many of whom reported being fluent in French in Haiti, subjects also reported that their ability in the language is declining due to the fact they do not practice it as often as they would want to. For that reason we can genuinely question the possibility of transmitting this language to the next generation of Haitian immigrants. Some participants, for instance, who are still fluent in French reported that when they encounter Haitians in Chicago, their conversation is conducted in Haitian Creole or English, but virtually never in French. As indicated in the table above, French is losing ground within the community despite the fact that it still serves the purpose of connecting its members to other francophones in the city (see Table 5.5 above).

In a similar vein, in order to have a better understanding of the respondents' full range of linguistic practices, I asked the participants to rate their proficiency in English as well. Table 5.6 summarizes their responses by generation. As expected, both generations reported having a good to excellent mastery of the mainstream language. Understandably, the first generation tends to rate its non-native proficiency in English much less generously than the second generation (only 25% of the former report being "excellent" at it). However, only 6% of the first generation respondents report speaking the language "poorly" and there is no sign of non-native competence among respondents from the second generation.

Table. 5.7 Reported Knowledge of English

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Excellent	15	25%	14	82.35%
Very well	18	30%	3	17.64%
Well	19	31.66%	0	0%
Fairly well	5	8.33%	0	0%
Poorly	4	6.66%	0	0%
Total	60	100%	17	100%

When asked what languages participants use the most every day, of the 59 participants from the second generation, sixteen participants (27.11%) responded that they use Haitian Creole, fifteen (25.42%) indicated that they use French, twenty-seven (45.76%) said they use English, and only one (1.69%) reported using another. As far the second generation is concerned, sixteen participants (21.33%) responded to the question. One (6.25%) reported Haitian Creole, two (12.5%) reported French, and thirteen (81.25%) reported that they use English the most everyday. I summarized their answers in the following table. It is noteworthy that both generations' most widely used language is English, with Haitian Creole coming second, and French third for respondents of the third generations. The average daily use of French by the second generation included in the sample might be over-estimated, as it seems to outrank the vernacular—Haitian Creole—of the community.

Table 5.8 Language Used the Most Everyday

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	16	27.11%	1	6.25%
French	15	25.42%	2	12.5%
English	27	45.76%	13	81.25%
Other	1	1.69%	0	0%
Total	59	100%	16	100%

I believe the findings above show what anyone cognizant of the linguistic behavior and practices of the Haitian immigrants living in Chicago would expect.

Participants were also asked to rate how important Haitian Creole and French were to Haitians in identity marking. Seventy-four participants (89.15%) responded to this question. Of these, 55 were from the first generation and 17 from the second generation. From the first

generation, 40 (70%) participants reported that the two languages are important for their identity, eleven (19.29%) asserted that they are important, four (7.01%) reported that they are fairly important, one (1.75%) responded that they are slightly important, and one (1.75%) reported that they were not important at all. As for the second generation, only 17 (14.86%) participants responded to this question. Of the seventeen, 11 (64.70%) participants reported that Haitian Creole and French are very important and six (35.29%) stated that these two languages are important for their identity. Interestingly enough, the second generation is more categorical in their ratings than their elders, which is consistent with reports from their interviews (analyzed earlier) that clearly show the pride members of this generation attaches to their community languages and Haitian cultural heritage.

Table 5.9 Perceived Importance of Haitian Creole and French for Identity Marking

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Very important	40	70%	11	64.70%
Important	11	19.29%	6	35.29%
Fairly important	4	7.01%	0	0%
Slightly important	1	1.75%	0	0%
Not important	1	1.75%	0	0%
Total	57	100%	17	100%

Table 5.9 indicates that the two languages are similarly important for identity marking for both generations. Accordingly, respondents in this research argue repeatedly that French and Haitian Creole are pivotal to who they are, because through these languages they can connect to their countrymen and participate actively in the life and culture of Haiti.

5.9.2 Maintenance and Transmission

Participants were also asked to rate the likelihood that the children born from Haitian parents in Chicago will grow up speaking Haitian Creole and French. With regards to Haitian

Creole, 78 (93.97%) participants responded to the question. Fifty-seven (73.07%) from the first generation and 21 (26.92%) from the second generation. Of the 55 respondents from the first generation, 2 (3.50%) participants believe that it is extremely unlikely that children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking Haitian Creole, 13 (22.80%) participants believe that it is likely, 19 (33.33%) respondents were neutral, 19 (33.33%) participants believe that it is unlikely, and 4 (7.01%) participants responded that it is extremely unlikely that children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking Haitian Creole. The following table provides a summary of their answers. The optimism of the second-generation respondents in this respect is quite noteworthy: nearly twice as many participants from the younger generation (44%) than from the older generation (23%) think that their children are ‘likely’ to speak Haitian Creole growing up. If this trend can be generalized to the community, it might indicate positive attitudes towards the maintenance of the vernacular in future generations.

Table. 5.10 Likelihood of Haitian Children Growing Up Speaking Haitian Creole

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Extremely likely	2	3.50%	2	9.52%
Likely	13	22.80%	9	42.85%
Neutral	19	33.33%	5	23.80%
Unlikely	19	33.33%	3	14.28%
Extremely unlikely	4	7.01%	2	9.52%
Total	57	100%	21	100%

As for French, 76 (91.56%) participants responded to the question. Of the 76 respondents, 57 (75%) are part of the first generation and 19 (25%) are members of the second generation. From the first generation group, two (3.50%) answered extremely likely, seven (12.28%) responded likely, 13(22.80%) neutral, 21 (36.84%) unlikely, and 14 (24.56%) extremely unlikely. Of the 19 second generation participants who answered this question, one (5.26%) believed it is extremely likely, one (5.26%) believed that is likely whereas eight

(42.10%) respondents were neutral, four (21.05%) respondents reported it is unlikely while five (26.31%) respondents believed that it is extremely likely that children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking French. The table below summarizes their answers.

Table 5.11 Likelihood of Haitian Children Growing Up Speaking French

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Extremely likely	2	3.50%	1	5.26%
Likely	7	12.28%	1	5.26%
Neutral	13	22.80%	8	42.10%
Unlikely	21	36.84%	4	21.05%
Extremely unlikely	14	24.56%	5	26.31%
Total	57	100%	19	100%

Based on the observational data I gathered in the community, I can say there is some truth in their answers. While both generations find it rather unlikely that their offspring would grow up speaking French, the second generation is less pessimistic than the first generation: 42% of them take a neutral stance on this issue in contrast to first-generation speakers who tend to be less neutral more pessimistic for French (23% neutral and 36% unlikely).

As far as projections for Haitian Creole are concerned, I think the respondents meant that these children will not be growing up speaking Haitian Creole on the same level as English, but this does not undermine their learning of the language(s). Because there are many other factors that need to be taken into consideration in order to foresee whether or not future generations of Haitian immigrants will speak Haitian Creole, which include but are not limited to the number of Haitian friends they have, the number of times they travel back to Haiti or other Haitian communities in the U.S., and the presence in the household of grandparents who only speak Haitian Creole. Almost the same thing can be said for French as well. The answers to this question represent a very idealistic view of the community, which is somewhat different from what I noticed during my visits of Haitian families residing in the greater Chicago area.

Participants were also asked whether they think it is important for Haitians living in Chicago to continue using French, the following tables presents a summary the answers they provided.

Table 5.12 Importance of Continued Use of French

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Very important	22	40%	6	30%
Important	18	32.72%	6	30%
Fairly important	6	10.90%	6	30%
Slightly important	4	7.27%	2	10%
Not important	5	9.09%	0	0%
Total	55	100%	20	100%

The answers they provided prompted me to ask participants in the follow-up interviews more questions on this aspect. In fact, I asked them why do some people think that the continued use of French or Haitian Creole is not that important in the communication. Many of them stated that these responses have nothing to do with the importance of the maintenance of these two languages per se but rather than to the real need of someone who is working in an Anglophone context where they get by easily without the knowledge of any of these aforementioned languages. Additionally, they added that the efforts to maintain the use of the two languages are virtually guaranteed because Haitians are keen at preserving their cultural identity. In other words, these languages are important not because Haitian-Americans in Chicago cannot live without them but because, on the contrary, they wish to continue to live with them. The following table summarizes answers regarding the importance of maintaining Haitian Creole while living in Chicago. As can be seen in Table 5.13, the opinions are strongly skewed towards the most positive answers and are similar in both generations.

Table 5.13 Importance of Continued Use of Haitian Creole

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Very important	46	77.96%	15	78.94%
Important	8	13.55%	4	21.05%
Fairly important	4	6.77%	0	0%
Slightly important	0	0%	0	0%
Not important	1	1.69%	0	0%
Total	59	100%	19	100%

When participants were asked which language they tend to use at Haitian gatherings, their answers varied, as shown in table 5.14. Here, one can see an interesting generational split. While the older generation uses overwhelmingly Haitian Creole, the younger generation is nearly evenly split between Haitian Creole and English.

Table 5.14 Reported Language Use at Haitian Gatherings

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	43	75.54%	8	44.44%
French	6	10.52%	0	0%
English	4	7.01%	7	38.88%
Spanish	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and French	0	0%	1	5.55%
Haitian Creole and English	2	3.50%	0	0%
Other	2	3.50%	2	11.11%
Total	57	100%	18	100%

5.9.3 French and Haitian Creole in Other Domains of Use

With regards to language maintenance, we can clearly see that Haitians are conscious about the choices that they make. This pattern has also been noticed during the Haitian gatherings that I participated in. The first generation tends to use only Haitian Creole to one another, and the second and third generations use English among themselves and sometimes Haitian Creole, but not French. This is true for different contexts, both formal and informal.

As was clearly pointed out in this research, the church has received a lot of scholarly attention. What has been found is that the church plays a pivotal role in the maintenance and the transmission of the native languages of immigrants and culture. My study echoes these findings. Accordingly, a vast majority of participants reported having been able to maintain Haitian Creole and to a lesser extent, French, because of the church. As can be seen from the table below, even when English is used among believers, mostly for talking to their children, most churchgoers speak Haitian Creole to sing, preach, and conduct business. The following table (Table 5.14) provides a summary of the role of the church in the maintenance of the two languages.

Table 5.15 Languages Used at Church

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	53	88.33%	10	83.33%
French	3	5%	0	0%
English	4	6.66%	2	16.66%
Spanish	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and French	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and English	0	0%	0	0%
Total	60	100%	12	100%

French is noticeably absent from the reports of second-generation participants while, as expected, English is the second most important at church. During my data collection process I visited a number of churches in the community and I can attest to the truthfulness of these responses. In fact, the church represents one of the venues conducted mostly in Haitian Creole in the community. I have never attended a church service without noticing that almost 65 to 70% of the service was conducted in Haitian Creole.

Another key place where many Haitians can be found throughout the week is Haitian restaurants. There is a very well known Haitian restaurant in Chicago that serves Haitian food throughout the week. Its name is Kizin Creole Restaurant and it is located on Howard Street in Chicago. This place represents a point of rally for many Haitians from different generations and social backgrounds. I noticed this during the pilot study, so I included in the main questionnaire a specific question regarding language practices in that venue. The following figure provides a summary of the languages used there.

Figure 5.16 Languages Used at Haitian Restaurants in Town

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	32	71.11%	5	83.33%
French	1	2.22%	1	16.66%
English	4	8.88%	0	0%
Spanish	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and French	3	6.66%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and English	5	11.11%	0	0%
Total	45	100%	6	100%

According to the respondents, Haitian Creole is the language that would be used most in this context among customers from both generations. As a customer of the restaurant, I have noticed the same phenomenon overall. Haitians from the first generation tend to use Haitian Creole to order the food. However, most of the second-generation customers order their food in English. It should also be noted that the menu is available in both English and Haitian Creole. Curiously enough, French also appears among the responses and, unexpectedly, it is evoked mostly (16%) by second-generation participants.

For many Haitians in the diaspora, remaining abreast of what is going on in the “old country” is a must. One way that they have managed to do it is by talking to their relatives and friends on the phone. Knowing that, I asked them what language they generally use when placing or receiving calls from Haiti, their answers are reported in the table below.

Table 5.17 Languages Used when Receiving Calls from Haiti

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	49	81.66%	13	81.25%
French	8	13.33	0	0%
English	3	5%	3	18.75%
Spanish	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole-French	0	0%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and English	0	0%	0	0%
Total	60	100%	16	100%

As one can see, Haitian Creole recorded the most mentions in both generations. And it is without any surprise, because as we now know, the tendency of the Haitian immigrant population of Chicago is to use Haitian Creole to interact to people with whom they share intimate relationships.

In an effort to delineate very clearly the contexts in which the three languages in question are used in the community, participants in this investigation were asked to provide the languages they use or they would use in certain contexts. For instance, when asked which language they would use in the family domain, 73 (87.95%) responded, 54 (73.97%) being of the first generation and 19 (26.02%) of the second generation. Of the participants from the first generation, 28 (51.85%) reported Haitian Creole, 8 (14.81%) reported French, 1 (1.21%) reported both French and Haitian Creole, 15 (27.77%) reported English, 1 (1.85%), 1 (1.85%) Haitian Creole and French, and 1 (1.85%) reported Haitian Creole and English and finally, one (1.85%) reported Spanish. The picture is somewhat different for the second generation participants who responded to the same question. In fact, 11 (57.89%) reported using Haitian Creole in the family, 6 (31.57%) reported English, and finally, 2 (10.52%) reported Haitian Creole and English as the main language(s) used in the family domain. I need to point out that zero participants from the second generation reported using French in the family domain.

Figure 5.18 Participants' Language Use in the Family Domain

Response	First Generation		Second Generation	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Haitian Creole	28	51.85%	11	57.89%
French	8	14.81%	0	0%
English	15	27.77%	6	31.57%
Spanish	1	1.85%	0	0%
Haitian Creole-French	1	1.85%	0	0%
Haitian Creole and English	1	1.85%	2	10.52%
Total	54	100%	19	100%

5.10 Inferential Statistics

The analysis attempted to answer the following questions: (1) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict the importance for maintaining both Haitian Creole and French in the U.S.? (2) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict parental beliefs that their child will speak French? (3) Do parental proficiencies in English, Haitian Creole, and French predict parental beliefs that their child will speak Haitian Creole?

Correlation coefficients were computed among nine variables under investigation. The results of the correlational analyses show that 11 correlations were statistically significant and were greater than .32. The question “How likely do you think children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking Haitian Creole?” was positively correlated to parental proficiency in Haitian Creole. The importance of speaking French was positively correlated to parental proficiency in French and also to parental beliefs that their child will speak French. Similarly, the importance of keeping Haitian Creole was positively associated with parental proficiency in French, parental beliefs that their child will speak French, parental proficiency in English, and parental belief in the importance of keeping French. The importance of maintaining both Haitian Creole and French was positively correlated to parental beliefs that their child will grow up speaking French, parental proficiency in English, parental belief in the importance of keeping French, and parental belief in the importance of keeping Haitian Creole. The correlations between parental age and other variables were either negative or not significant. Table 5.19 shows all the correlations computed.

Table 5.19 Correlations Predicting Children's Language Proficiency

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Proficiency in Creole	1								
Will child speak Haitian creole	.336*	1							
Proficiency in French	.139	.021	1						
Will child speak French	.117	-.029	.187	1					
Proficiency in English	.074	-.35**	.092	-.036	1				
Importance of keeping French	.026	.230	.324*	.455**	-.167	1			
Importance of keeping Haitian Creole	-.343	-.36*	.517**	.571**	.440*	.821**	1		
Importance of maintaining Haitian Creole and French	-.406	-.55**	.365	.403*	.475*	.469*	.893**	1	
Participant Age	-.493**	-.36**	.015	-.312*	.144	-.193	.011	.142	1

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed)

To better understand the relationship between the predictor and criterion variables, and to further examine variables that contribute to the prediction of the importance of maintaining both Haitian Creole and French, and the predictions of parental beliefs that their child will speak French and Haitian Creole, it was important to conduct a standard multiple regression analysis. There were many missing data, however, which reduced the number of participants, making it impossible to run a standard multiple regression analysis.

5.11 Conclusion

This research confirmed in many respects the trends that sprang out from the pilot study. Analyses reported in this chapter lead to the conclusion that first generation Haitians living in the Chicago area have known some level of success in the maintenance of their native languages and culture and the second generation either does or wishes to perpetuate the same traditions. Accordingly, findings reported in this study strongly suggest that the Haitian immigrants living in Chicago have maintained and are committed to transmitting their native languages after their journey to the U.S. These immigrants provided a number of reasons why they have maintained and advocate transmitting their languages and culture. These include, among others, the pride in being called Haitian, the economical advantage of being bilingual (in Haitian Creole and French), and a way to differentiate themselves from other ethnic groups in the country. This investigation also identified a number of practices in which they are involved in the family and in the community to achieve the goals of maintaining their unique linguistic and cultural identity. The findings were conclusive overall that Haitians in Chicago employ a variety of strategies to successfully maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, which include being very active in the Haitian community and speaking the heritage languages with relatives, members of their extended families, and friends. Moreover, many reported that the presence of their parents and grandparents at home in some way forced them to use their native languages on a daily basis. And finally, the church represents the cornerstone of linguistic and cultural maintenance in terms of providing Haitian Creole and French input to the younger generations, and in addition to the church's spiritual role, representing a point of rally for Haitians in the area to meet once or twice a week. These conclusions are consistent with successful cases of language maintenance reported about Haitians in large cities in the United States and other immigrant groups in the U.S. and

elsewhere. It is hoped that these results can be replicated in future research that will include a much larger pool of participants, and target additional language proficiency components.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Theoretical Implications

6.1 Introduction

Based on the literature related to the pervasive reality of immigrants who have been found to shift to English after living in the U.S. for two years or so, I decided to conduct a fieldwork-based study on the Haitian immigrants living in the greater Chicago area to ascertain what their experience has been vis-à-vis the phenomenon of language maintenance. Since Haitians immigrated to America speaking two languages, Haitian Creole and French, and for practical purposes had to learn English as a third language, it was predicted from previous research (Portes et al. 1996) that the first generation would likely maintain their bilingual repertoire while acquiring English; that the second generation would likely shift to English as their dominant language (Fishman 1972); and that the third generation would be monolingual in English (Potowski 2010).

As seen throughout this dissertation, its primary objective was to ascertain the vitality of French and Haitian Creole in the Haitian immigrant community of greater Chicago, with a focus on inter-generational language maintenance or possible failure thereof. This concluding chapter considers the main findings presented in Chapter 5, discusses their theoretical implications against the background of previous research on Haitian immigrant populations in the U.S. and their counterparts in other nations, and highlights the contributions this study hopes to have made. The focus in these regards is to delineate the similarities and differences between this and such early studies. For example, do our findings corroborate some or most of the previous ones summarized in Chapter 3, or do they depart from them? If the former is the case, in what respects

does it confirm such studies. And if the latter case holds, what significant theoretical implications, if any, flow from this study?

6.2 Discussion of Research Findings

What this study has found are essentially three clusters of factors: First and foremost, first generation Haitian immigrants living in the greater Chicago area have maintained their two languages by drawing from different strategies of language practices. They include the use of their two languages in the family domain; participation in the church for religious and community-wide interactional purposes; engaging themselves in social gatherings outside of the church to mark special events such as celebrations of Haitian historical dates (i.e., the independence date, Flag Day); and tuning into radio or TV programs that are broadcast in or support the usage of French and Haitian Creole. I have to say that maintaining Haitian Creole and to a lesser extent French in a very scattered community such as the one of the Haitian immigrants living in the greater Chicago area is a remarkable accomplishment, since based on the available literature on language maintenance, this group would be expected to shift to English.

The second major finding is that the second generation of Haitian immigrants in Chicago, supported by these various communicative and community interactional practices, and direct encouragement from the parents and grandparents about the use of their mother tongues, and imbued with a sense of pride in their cultural heritage, have also maintained their languages. In fact, the parents were successful in transmitting the languages as exemplified by the children's levels of proficiency achievement.

The third finding concerns the third generation, which the study was not able to access directly because members of this group were younger than 18 when the fieldwork was conducted, therefore, they were excluded by the Institutional Review Board regulations. However, by talking to parents and grandparents, and also evaluating grandparents' responses to the questionnaire and the detailed field notes taken during participant observations, the study revealed that an estimated 15% of this generation has learned one or both of the languages. This is much more evident for Haitian Creole than for French, because of the sense of pride that some parents have towards the former. Additionally, it should be noted that some grassroots community organizations have striven to foster this linguistic maintenance objective by organizing the cultural activities referenced above regarding the celebrations of Haiti's major historical dates. These events invariably include several activities that are tailored primarily to the second and third generations.

It should be pointed out further that, while these celebratory events enabled the first generation to remain connected to their motherland's cultural heritage, they also greatly benefited the second- and third-generation Haitian immigrants who lacked that type of personal exposure to or knowledge of the Haitian cultural traditions. The fact that cultural activities are generally conducted in two or three languages, with Haitian Creole and French as the main ones, has further facilitated the community's quest for the maintenance of its languages. Moreover, I found that the presence of one or both grandparents in the household is very pivotal in fostering language maintenance among the second and the third generations because they are the ones taking of the children during the day and very often they only speak Haitian Creole and French.

To the extent that these conclusions are accurate, they corroborate Fishman's (1966, 1972, 1989) findings regarding the central role of the church as one of the principal loci for

language maintenance efforts in immigrant contexts, as well as that of the existence of a community of practice. What has emerged regarding the church is that it represents not only a spiritual institution for the immigrants, but also a safe haven where they connect to one another, mobilize for and plan community events, and by so doing facilitate and nurture the maintenance of their culture and native languages.

Unlike in Zéphir (1996) where black identity was found to be a major determining factor in the Haitian immigrants' cultural identity that drove their quest for language maintenance as a distinguishing characteristic from other black ethnic groups in the U.S., this was not the case in the present study. In this dissertation, however, 60% of the participants, mostly from the second generation, believe that there are no major differences between them and other ethnic groups in the U.S., because at a practical level they are often treated as all other blacks, especially whenever they are stopped by policemen and questioned on the street. Further, the U.S. Census Bureau does not have a different rubric for Haitians, as it does for example for Latinos/Latinas, in its survey. According to these administrative bodies, Haitians are seen as Black, pure and simple. This view is also held by some first generation Haitians. However, even though a sizable number of Haitian immigrants participating in this research have shown some similarities with other Black ethnic groups, a few of them remain steadfast in their position concerning their Haitian identity, and do not hesitate at all to correct anyone who would portray them as part of other ethnic groups.

From a broader sociolinguistic perspective, the strategies of language maintenance exploited by the Haitian immigrants community in Chicago independently support Milroy's (2001) concept of "micro-macro gap" bridging. These Haitians have not only been bridging that gap by maintaining their languages through the different domains mentioned above (i.e., the

church, grassroots organizations, official events), but also by the use of their languages individually in their homes with their immediate and extended families, as well as by maintaining very strong ties to their immediate community. The participants frequently reported that they held very strong-knit networks where they interacted regularly with one another, using their native languages.

When it comes to the second-generation Haitian immigrants in this study, the trends revealed that many of them have successfully acquired Haitian Creole, but less so French. Their responses echo what was observed during participant observations conducted in the community. My interactions with some of them gave me a clear picture of the scope of their acquisition. In fact, I encountered varying levels of proficiency in Haitian Creole. Some have native-like competence in speaking it, while others simply spoke it with some difficulty. In the case of French, it was very rare to find Haitians from the second-generation who have mastered it very well. The few cases I witnessed of solid mastery were enabled by individuals who chose to study French in high school, or where some parents very consciously made the decision to raise their children in French.

The pattern of maintenance and transmission of French uncovered in my data appeared to be unimpressive: only 15% reported they could speak it. The reason for this apparent minimalist interest was expressed by some of the respondents who reported that French is not a critical language for their Haitianess. Zéphir (1996) reached the same conclusion. She stated that the subjects' maintenance of Haitian Creole was due to the fact that they considered it as an identity marker *par excellence* in the U.S., but knowledge of French correlated more with their high social class identity back in Haiti, their high level of education there, and networking within the same social groups. These relationships seem to have been extended to their lives in Chicago.

The findings summarized above confirm the initial hypothesis posited at the beginning of this research, which was that Haitians living in Chicago would maintain their native languages. This confirmation is documented not only in the qualitative and quantitative analyses, but also by the participants' actual statements in the follow up interviews. The only caveat is that the third generation could not be surveyed directly because of IRB restrictions, as stated above. It is reasonable to infer from the first and second generation findings, however, that language knowledge transmission to and maintenance by the third generation are highly plausible, because of the existence of two language maintenance pillars in the clusters described above: the family domain, where the use of one and/or both language(s) is expected, fostered, and nurtured to index Haitianess, and the church as a locus for religious and certain social programs in which discursive practices commonly demand French and Haitian Creole.

As in other studies on language maintenance (Portes et al 1996, Pauwels 2004, Potowski 2004), the (extended) family plays a pivotal role in serving as the guardian, promoter, and the primary locus of practices of the cultural and linguistic heritage. In this regard it encourages and takes advantage of a growing number of Haitian Creole classes offered throughout the community for children. The presence of non-English speaking grandparents as baby-sitters, as discussed above, constitutes a further strong motivation for grandchildren to learn and maintain their parents' language(s). In fact, according to accounts by many community members, many Haitians from the second generation have been able to maintain Haitian Creole and/or French because one or both grandparents who do not speak English have resided in the household and contributed to their upbringing. Similarly, the church's role both as a religious institution and a locus of different types of community gatherings, as is common in many African-American

communities, offers on-going opportunities for grandchildren to enhance and practice their French and/or Haitian Creole language skills in a supportive environment.

The second possibility for the fostering of language maintenance within the domain of the family involves what Grosjean (2010) termed the “one parent one language” transmission strategy. According to Grosjean (2010), some families choose to speak two languages to their children. One parent systematically uses one language and the other parent will communicate with the child only with another language. Some respondents have reported to do the same in the Haitian community of Chicago. A parent told me that she consistently introduces French to all her children every day, while her husband does the same in English. It can also be posited that these possibilities have not resulted in the production of a higher percentage of Haitian Creole or French speakers in the third generation. The sample size for this study was not large enough to capture such speakers, but this would be an interesting avenue to explore in future research.

6.3 Theoretical Implications

While many elements in the clusters of findings discussed above confirm previous conclusions regarding language maintenance in immigrant contexts, there are several others that interrogate such research and/or represent novel findings. These include (1), the achievement of language maintenance in a non-enclaved immigrant community; (2) the strategies of language maintenance deployed by the Haitian immigrants in Chicago; (3) the role of grandparents in fostering language maintenance in the family domain; and (4), to a limited but nonetheless important respect, language transmission to the third generation. The question that naturally arises at this juncture is this: What are the theoretical implications of this study? Let us now turn our attention to it.

One major theoretical implication of this study overturns the expectations set by previous research. As stated, earlier work should have led us to find the second generation shifting to English while maintaining some use of the first languages of their parents, with the third generation not having any knowledge of their grandparents' languages. While our evidence is not as strong as it could be because of the issues I pointed out earlier, for instance, lack of population accessibility, it is nonetheless significant because based on what is reported by grandparents in this study, at least 15% percent of the grandchildren have acquired the languages. This is contrary to what we know from the research on language maintenance (Fishman 1972, Portes et al. 1996, Potowski 2010). Perhaps former researchers have not studied the third-generation population and are more interested in studying the second generation, or perhaps they extrapolated their conclusions about the third-generation speakers from an already noted decline in the second generation, without conducting more direct research into this question.

A second important realm of inquiry of this research, one that other studies have not seemed to take into consideration, except for Fishman's study of the Yiddish community in Pennsylvania, is the pivotal role that both social and linguistic identity play in facilitating language maintenance. Previous research has dealt particularly with monolinguals acquiring a second language. In my case, however, I have studied a bilingual community, and this novel exploration represents perhaps one of the most important contributions this dissertation hopes to make. Even if there were cases I encountered where individuals did not seem to transmit both languages to their children and grandchildren, they seem to have transmitted at least one language to the next generation with some degree of success. Perhaps, then, the number of languages spoken or complexity of socio-linguistic identity maintained by the first-generation

immigrants in a given community may affect the success of individual-, family-, or community-driven language maintenance.

What these findings do suggest is that once we move away from the monolingual paradigm and look at language maintenance as a complex phenomenon that not only involves maintaining the language or shifting and so on, but also factors that influence the direction of either the change or the maintenance, we learn more about how certain communities are much more successful in maintaining their languages and others are less successful or not successful at all. If the success of this community in maintaining its languages can be generalized, it indicates clearly that a bilingual community's immersion into a mainstream language does not necessarily have the determinative effect that it has in a monolingual community. The individuals I have studied show that it is possible to be multilingual in a country that is pervasively monolingual in practice. What they have done is to be able to allocate strategically the use of their languages to different domains. That is what accounts, in part, for their success. They have learned which language to use to whom and for what purpose, à la Fishman.

Furthermore, what has been found thus far in the literature on language maintenance deals mainly with first- and second-generation immigrants by and large. They very rarely inquire about the linguistic behavior of the third-generation population. Therefore, in this study, I focused on all three generations. Special attention was given to the third generation indirectly because members are under-age, but through their parents and participant observation conducted in the community, I was able to discover the different strategies that parents and grandparents have used in order to facilitate the transmission of their heritage languages to future generations, and assess how successful third-generation immigrants are in acquiring the Haitian native languages. By so doing, this study has contributed to a very large extent to the scholarship on

intergenerational language transmission and acquisition in an area currently lacking substantive research.

Moreover, previous studies very often fail to identify specific factors and strategies that permit immigrants to retain their language(s) or shift. In this sense, part of the significance of this study was to fill such gaps about the salient specific strategies that Haitian immigrants in Chicago have utilized to successfully or less-successfully maintain their native languages. Finally, this dissertation aimed to bridge the gaps in the literature on language maintenance by studying a less dense population where, contrary to the Hispanic population, a huge and continuous influx of immigrants is not expected (Portes et al 1996, Zantella 1999).

6.4 Directions for Future Research

To my knowledge, this study represents the first attempt to uncover empirically how Haitians in Chicago deal with the phenomenon of language maintenance. It is hoped that the insights presented here will inform and stimulate future research by, among other aspects, investigating directly how inter-generational language maintenance is achieved or not achieved; replicating this study in other non-enclaved immigrant communities to ascertain their strategies and degree of language maintenance; and conducting field research on the phenomenon through the third generation. The pursuit of this line of research that can also be expanded to non-immigrant communities (i.e., in-country rural migrants to urban centers) in pervasively multilingual nations will advance tremendously our understanding of this common and multifaceted phenomenon.

One way to carry out this type of research is to design a study where language maintenance in any migrant community is measured via a battery of tests, including not only

surveys and participant observations, but also listening and speaking components. Further, instead of continuing to focus on monolingual speakers, future research should switch to the study of bi- or multilingual communities. For instance, there are thousands of (im)migrants who come from highly multilingual countries such in Africa and Asia and often settle in the same city, sometimes in the same neighborhood, who could be researched with considerable benefits to the field. The absence of such research represents not only a major gap, but also prevents the development of a comprehensive characterization of language maintenance.

Another way would be to try to access the third generation, whether by assessing children through their grandparents or much more directly, and to determine from actual direct surveys what their language practices are. Do they commonly, as it is claimed in the literature (Fishman 2004, Portes et al 1996), fail to acquire their grandparents' language(s)? Additionally, future research will need to expand the study on strategies for language maintenance. Many studies tend to claim that people maintained or have not maintained their mother tongue(s) without actually discussing the factors that facilitate the retention or prevent it.

This dissertation could have pursued a much more ambitious study along some of the aspects suggested above, but time and institutional constraints made such a pursuit impossible.

6.5 Conclusion and Further Reflections

The findings discussed above under section 6.2 and their theoretical implications are clear and not necessitate repetition here. There is, however, another dimension to those conclusions, as suggested in section 6.3, namely, the extension of this study to stable multilingual societies. The focus here has been on the investigation of bilingual (Haitians) who have migrated to a country where monolingual practice in English predominates, and language

shift it is expected. What occurs, for example, in pervasively multilingual societies where ethnic languages co-exist with national and official languages? Does language shift occur or not, and to what extent? It is worthwhile to briefly consider this question in the interest of the need to pursue this type of research line, as suggested in section 6.2.

The linguistic situation of both immigrant and non-immigrants communities on the surface would seem to be an instance of language shift. However, the shift is also occurring across different language ecologies in that in an immigrant situation the choices are somewhat limited. The choice is either maintaining one's language(s), acquiring the dominant language and possibly, because of employment- and/or other upward mobility opportunities pressures very competitive economies, shifting to the dominant language. In the pervasively multilingual societies, however, the shift occurs mainly because the individual is attempting to accommodate to the dominant language in an urban center as well as seeking competitive advantage in acquiring the mainstream language, but the community of practice that is typically multilingual surrounds him or her and therefore it is not necessary to abandon their native language(s). There is an apparent language shift occurring both in immigrant and non-immigrant communities, but in reality these are different levels of shift and factors that minimize the shift. Further, in predominantly multilingual societies, individuals add the language to their repertoire and therefore one cannot characterize language shift across these different types of communities as being the same. In principle they are, but qualitatively they differ, and different factors influence the degree of shift as well as the maintenance.

Previous studies and discussions have failed to capture this major aspect with regards to similarities and differences between monolingual and multilingual societies. In fact, there is a paucity of research on language maintenance and shift in multilingual settings. The usual kind of

discussions generally focuses on what appears to be a bilingual community versus a multilingual community. In the same vein, when it comes to the third generation embedded in pervasively monolingual communities versus multilingual communities, the tendencies tend to be the same: the third generation children do not acquire their mother's tongue(s). Instead, they learn the dominant language and the official language. However, there are major differences in multilingual communities. An example is Bokamba's (2008) discussion of the role of Lingála in Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Central Africa. What the author documents is that pre-pubescent children migrating with their parents from various provinces to Kinshasa, a mega-polis with an estimated 9,000,000 inhabitants, do not shift to Lingala, the city's dominant language. Instead, they simply add Lingála to their linguistic repertoire, while maintaining their mother tongues, which maybe one of the other national languages (Kiswahili, Kikongo, or Tshiluba), or an ethnic language (e.g., Kitetela, Dzamba, Lomongo). Bokamba's (2008) study, which is based on a small sample survey of families in Kinshasa and Mbandaka (the capital of the Equateur province), states that children who are born in Kinshasa in families where the parents speak an ethnic language do not acquire that language; instead they acquire the Kinshasa Lingála dialect and French, the official language. A similar situation is reported by McLaughlin (2008) about Wolof in Dakar, the capital city of Senegal in West Africa.

These are fascinating facts that could inform and advance the scholarship on language maintenance. While this dissertation has not specifically addressed directly this aspect, it has implicitly done so by focusing on bilingual speakers from Haiti who have managed to retain their two languages (French and Haitian Creole), while adding English to their repertoire. There is a degree of analogy when these two contexts are considered from the point of view of what is

commonly referred to as additive versus subtractive bilingualism, or in our case here, multilingualism. This is precisely one major gap in the field of sociolinguistics that my work has attempted to fill by studying bilingual speakers.

6.6 Limitations

Although this study has some limitations, since it included only 83 participants and we could not access the third generation population directly, it remains nonetheless true that if these facts can be generalized or replicated elsewhere, along the lines of research suggested in section (6.3), it would hopefully serve as the basis for future research.

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Appendix

Table A.1 Strategies reported to maintain French

Participant	Strategies used to maintain French
Obas	"I participate in a language exchange program."
Marlie	"I try to watch French films with no subtitles."
Pierre	"Yes, I read a lot in French, such as the news and books."
Jean-Claude	"I read in French, I listen to French radio station and I speak with some friends."
Joseph	"Visit with my grandpa."
Josephine	"I just speak to my family in French instead of English."
Pierrot	"Not at this point, as I would need to really learn the language first."
Gazner	"I don't find preserving my French a priority. If needed I can speak it and understand it."
Gesner	"Yes, something time if I stayed to long in an environment where I heard only English I sometimes think of an English word first."
Jésula	"Watch the news in French."
Brutus	"Yes, I attend meet-ups with French speaking people, I have friends from Congo and Senegal, we meet very often and we speak French when we meet."
Joél	"I try and read French and watch French films."
Asma	"Yes, I speak it as often I can."
Thamas	"Yes, I try to practice it."
Poucely	"I just try to speak to anyone who does not speak English from foreign country"
Ricot	"I practice every day"
Nesly	"I try to text and communicate in French with Friends and Family"
Adassa	"I speak the language everyday. Listen to French news from Haiti and France. I Read Bible, articles, do research in French."

Table A.1 Strategies reported to maintain French (continued)

Participant	Strategies used to maintain French
Jean	“Yes, I read my French Bible, Pray.”
Jeannette	“Read French books, listen to French TV stations.”
Odlin	“Practice it with my family.”
Eric	“I speak it at home. In read (in French), books, articles, blogs in French. I listen to music, I watch YouTube channels and I read books in French to my kids.”
Wesner	“Yes, I keep reading the Bible in French on a regular basis. I also read newspapers in French as well as listening to the radio in French as much as possible.”
Patrick	“I try to speak it to friends sometimes”
Marcel	“Speaking it at home.”
MarieLoures	“I read books in French.”
Bernard	“Yes, because I pay cable and watch some French Channels.”
Victoria	“Yes, Speaking with people, watching French programs on TV, writing and exposing or delivering messages in French.”
Jocelyne	“Read everyday some French book. Keep in touch with all my friends who live in Haiti speaking French.”
Annie	“Reading, watching French TV.”
Lissa	“I practice the language with my family and Church members.”
Linda	“Yes, read book in French.”
Lapierre	“Yes, I speak it to some Haitian Friends and I read.”
Rénand	“I Read”
François	“I continue to practice French in my conversation and my ministry. I have books in French that I read regularly.”

Table A.1 Strategies reported to maintain French (continued)

Participant	Strategies used to maintain French
Merline	"I Read French books"
Orelie	I speak with some of classmate and friends from school.
Yves-Marie	"Speaking day-to-day reading day-to-day, listening to French programs."
Odalie	"French newspaper."
Vivianne	"Yes, always".
Michel	"Almost lose the practice of the language at home."
Mirlande	"I read in French all the time."
Myryame	"I read, speak, and think in French."
Madeleine	"I Read Haitian Newspaper and Le Monde."
Moises	"By reading French books and speak it around the home."
Danjou	"Read"
Valaubrun	"I listen to French songs."
Dacoste	"I read French."
Nancy	"I only speak French to my children born here in Chicago and to my husband also."
Dieula	"I read."
Jacques	"Conscious effort"
Odinord	"Musique"

Table A.2 Strategies reported to maintain Haitian Creole

Participants	Strategies used to maintain the use of Haitian Creole in Chicago
Tamara	“Church and speaking to family members”
Jacquelyne	“Try to talk creole with Haitian friends”
Bartholy	“Talk creole to all Haitian born relatives I know”
Roberson	“I practice with my sister and other family members”
Marie	“I Speak it at church”
Anne	“I Speak with some family and friends”
Nadine	“I am trying to learn it from my grandpa.”
Micheline	“Talk to my family in Haiti on the phone.”
Carlie	“I try to speak Creole to and with my parents to stay fluent.”
Carlo	“I use it with my family and children. Honestly, I do find myself speaking more English than creole with my daughter. I think my reasoning is she goes to a private home caregiver whose primary language is creole. She does not go to daycare and is not exposed to English language. So I speak a combination of English and Haitian creole with her.”
Predalien	“I listen to Haitian music almost daily. I purposefully speak to my parents in Haitian Creole. I seek out events sponsored by Haitian organizations in Chicago. I try to keep up with developing news in Haiti (i.e. elections)”
Victor	“Go visit Haiti every year”
Réginald	“Haitian church”
Papouche	“Well, I just speak Creole with all Haitians I meet, except one particular person who always wants to speak French; I initially thought she did not know how to speak Creole until I saw her speaking Creole at Church one day...”
Luckner	“I try and speak it with certain members of the Haitian community, especially elders and insert it into conversation with my peers from time to time.”

Table A.2 Strategies reported to maintain Haitian Creole (continued)

Participants	Strategies used to maintain the use of Haitian Creole in Chicago
Verité	“I speak it as much as I can with my friends and family most of the time I mix it with creole and English together. “
Luckson	“Practicing it with my family “
Adson	“I Speak it for practice”
Renaud	“I Speak to friends in Haiti”
Radmar	“I continuously read articles in Creole, attend Haitian events that are of interest to me and speak Creole with family and friends.”
Lucmanne	“I Try to speak it with anyone who speaks creole”
Lavisite	“I Speak it with Friends and Family”
Dayanne	“Haitian church, hang out with other Haitians.”
Vital	“I often speak Creole with my mother.”
Volnie	“As I raise my kids and they are learning English and new words and let them know French/Creole. Read literature.”
Volmar	“I attend Haitian Churches.”
Jean-Ricot	“I use it all the times everywhere I go.”
Arisma	“I use it.”

Table A.2 Strategies reported to maintain Haitian Creole (continued)

Participants	Strategies used to maintain the use of Haitian Creole in Chicago
Valery	“Watch the news through Roku. Listen to Radio Metropole, signal Fm, I also watch movies”
Joseph	“I do that that by carrying my casual conversation with fellow Haitians in HC.”
Valdemar	“Hamoc holds HC classes where I learned the basics.”
Domingue	“I keep in touch with other Haitians.”
Salnave	“I was born in Haiti. I call my cousin and aunties in other states to keep Creole.”
Lumanne	“I speak it with friends and family members.”
Adline	“I write in Creole, present speech in Creole.”
Albert	“Valorize my language. Speak it when I meet some of my friends”
Victoire	“Practicing”
Rose	“I remain connected to the Haitian community.”
Roseline	“I Speak it with the kids.”
Rose-Marie	“I communicate more with friends and family.”
Rosiane	“I use it in my conversation with my parents, my family, my church, my friends.”
Roberta	“I speak with old relatives every day, listen to news in Creole.”
Roberto	“I speak it whenever I have an opportunity.”
Riviere	“I speak it with my parents and family.”
Patience	“I visit family, friends, and church.”
Atlanta	“I create a Haitian Creole Class.”
Johnny	“I communicate with my Haitian friends.”

Table A.2 Strategies reported to maintain Haitian Creole (continued).

Participants	Strategies used to maintain the use of Haitian Creole in Chicago
Roger	"I speaks Creole with all my Haitian friends, family."
Curtis	"Talking to relatives/ Family sometimes participating in church activities."
William	"I speak it with my relatives."
Ronald	"Talking to Haitian friends."
André	"I speak at home and with Friends."
Marleine	"I don't know any other language."
Daphney	"I speak with the children who are in the U.S."
Rosita	"I speak it."
Samantha	"I speak it with every one. However, sometimes I find myself adding some English words and find it Hard to remember some words I used to use."
Colain	"Our services in the Church are done in three languages."
Carlain	"Speak. Participate in all Haitian activities where Haitian Creole is spoken."
Vitine	"I speak it around other Haitian. Speak it in the Haitian community."
Andréa	"I speak it."
Obrillant	"I speak Creole with my family."
Dana	"Haitian activity."
Danita	"Not much except conversing in Creole"
Sabine	"Joke around, repeat funny things my parents say"
Marceline	"Stay in touch with my friends and participate in community events."
Rosemitha	"I listen to music and speak to friends"

Table A.3: Generational Understanding of the Concept of Blackness

Generation	Understanding of the concept of Blackness
Generation 2	“Because I was born in America.”
Generation 1	“Because this is how I have been classified in the United States, though I do not agree with what the term implies.”
Generation 2	“Because when a cop sees me walk down the street he sees a black man not a Haitian.”
Generation 1	“My definition of Black is not related to culture but to the color of the skin which is a result from being of African descent.”
Generation 2	“Because I am black.”
Generation 1	“Black to me is a term used by Americans.”
Generation 2	“My culture reflects that of not only Haitian culture but black American culture as well.”
Generation 2	“Because physically I look Black and I consider that to be my race.”
Generation 1	“My skin color is black therefore I’m black. I also come from what I consider a black nation, most of the population is black.”
Generation 1	“Because my skin tone black and I am part of the African diaspora.”
Generation 1	“I’m proud of my color”
Generation 2	“Of African descent”
Generation 1	“Haiti is a black nation and identify as black.”

Table A.3: Generational Understanding of the Concept of Blackness (continued)

Generation	Understanding of the concept of Blackness
Generation 2	“There is no mistake about it.”
Generation 1	“I am Haitian.”
Generation 2	“We are all African.”
Generation 2	“Black Culture is different than Haitian Culture.”
Generation 2	“Associate myself to the kids and the community.”
Generation 2	“Seems likely.”
Generation	“Because I am Haitian and Haitian descent from Africa.”
Generation 2	“Because my ancestors are Black.”
Generation 2	“I consider myself Haitian.”
Generation 2	“Black is used to identify African American. I consider myself Haitian.”
Generation 1	“Because I am.”
Generation 1	“My skin color.”
Generation 2	“I am part of the Black Race therefore I am Black.”

Table A.3: Generational Understanding of the Concept of Blackness (continued)

Generation	Understanding of the concept of Blackness
Generation 2	“Because I’m not white...and I fall under that category even though there are so many blacks who are different cultures.”
Generation 2	“It's obvious!! What else would I consider myself??”
Generation 2	“Born and raised in Chicago but from Haitian parents. So I do associate myself with the Black culture.”
Generation 2	“Haitians are descents of Africans.”
Generation 2	“I'm treated the same way. No one can look and immediately see "Haitian".”
Generation 2	“Part Black due to the color but Haitian blood.”
Generation 1	“It's my race. Not my ethnicity”
Generation 1	“Because of my ancestry.”
Generation 1	“Only by convention, I would refer to myself as black. Color has nothing to do with who I am.”
Generation 1	“Because of the color of my skin.”
Generation 2	“I am Black.”
Generation	“Because Haitians are generally Black coming from Africa.”

2	
Generation 1	"My skin color."
Generation 1	"I am Haitian."
Generation 2	"Because I am Black."
Generation 2	"Because we're descendent of African."

Questionnaire

Maintenance of French and Haitian Creole by Haitian immigrants living in Chicago

The present survey aims at uncovering how Haitian immigrants who live in Chicago maintain French and Haitian Creole. This survey targets Haitians who immigrated to US in the 1950's and 1960's and onwards, their children, and their children's children. The survey contains 14 demographic questions in order to have some background information from you and 35 other questions whose objectives are to discover how you use and maintain Haitian Creole and French in your daily interactions with other Haitians. The survey will use a structured interview format mode. The face-to-face interviews will be conducted by the researcher and will last about 30 minutes. Your participation to this study is very important and will help us understand better how Haitian immigrants living in Chicago use and maintain their two native languages in their daily lives. Your participation is voluntary. We highly appreciate your taking the time to answer the survey questions and we are so grateful.

There are no known risks associated with this study other than those one may encounter in daily life.

Your answers will remain confidential. Any identifying information will be removed and your responses will be given a code that cannot be linked to your identity. This research may be used for journal articles, conference presentations, or a thesis, however, no identifiable information will be published. The only ones who will have access to your data will be myself and my advisor.

If you have any questions you may contact Dr. Bokamba Eyamba by phone at (217) 244-3051, or by email at bokamba@illinois.edu and Johnny Alex Laforet by phone at (740) 856-1763, or by email at laforet2@illinois.edu, and If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu. I have read and understand the above consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Signature

Date

Investigator's signature

Date

Would you like to participate in a short follow-up interview?

- a Yes
- b No

If yes, please give us your contact information.

Please circle your preferred method to be interviewed by.

a- by phone

b- On Skype

c- face to face

The following questions ask for some background information from you.

A. Demographic data

1. In what year were you born? _____

2. Where were you born?_(Please choose all that applies):

a. []: Haiti

b. []: United States (US)

c. []: Elsewhere (Please specify): _____

3. What is your gender?

a. []: male

b. []: female

Other []: other (Please specify)

4. If you were born in Haiti, what year did you leave Haiti to come to the U.S.?

5. Where did you first go (in the US) when you left Haiti for the first time?

6. What is the highest level of education you have attained? (Please choose one):

a. []: Some primary school

b. []: Some high school

c. []: High school diploma

d. []: Associate of Arts degree (AA)

e. []: Bachelor of Arts (B.A.)

f. []: Bachelor of Science (B.Sci.)

g. []: Master of Arts (M.A./M.Ed.)

h. []: Ph.D.

i. []: M.D.

j. []: Other (please specify): _____

7. What is your profession? _____

8. What is your occupation? _____

9. Which of the two languages did you speak or know before you left Haiti? Please check one or both.

a. ☐: Haitian Creole

b. ☐: French

10. If you checked both languages, which one was your dominant language in daily communication / interaction?

a. ☐: French

b. ☐: Haitian Creole

11. With whom did you use to use Haitian Creole when you were in Haiti?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

12. With whom did you use to French when you were in Haiti?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

13. Do you speak any other languages besides French, English, and Haitian Creole?

a. ☐: Yes

b. ☐: No

If yes, specify _____

14. What languages do you use the most every day?

a. ☐: Haitian Creole

b. ☐: French

- c. []: English
- d. []: Spanish
- e. []: Other, please specify_____

The following questions investigate the maintenance of Haitian Creole and French by Haitians in the Chicago area. Please select only one answer under each question.

B. French & Haitian Creole Language Maintenance:

1. How would you evaluate your speaking abilities/proficiency in Haitian Creole?
 - a. []: Can't speak nor understand it
 - b. []: Can't speak it but can understand it
 - c. []: Have limited knowledge
 - d. []: Can carry on some conversation in it
 - e. []: Can speak and understand it without any difficulty
2. To what extent do you use Haitian Creole in your everyday life?
 - a. []: Almost always
 - b. []: Often
 - c. []: Sometimes
 - d. []: Seldom
 - f. []: Never
3. What language do you most often use outside the home with your Haitian relatives or friends?
 - a. []: French
 - b. []: Haitian Creole
 - c. []: English
4. What language do you use the most often outside the home with Haitians who are not your friends, or people whom you do not know very well?
 - a. []: French
 - b. []: Haitian Creole
 - c. []: English
5. Where would you say you use Haitian Creole the most
 - a. []: at home
 - b. []: at school

- c. []: at work
- d. []: at church
- e. []: during Haitian cultural activities

6. Which language do you use in each of the following domains?

- a. in the home/family _____
- b. with your friends _____
- c. with your spouse _____
- d. with your children _____
- e. adult relatives _____

7. How likely do you think children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking Haitian Creole?

- a. []: Extremely unlikely
- b. []: Unlikely
- c. []: Neutral
- d. []: Likely
- e. []: Extremely likely

8. To your knowledge, what does the Haitian community of Chicago do to maintain Haitian Creole?

9. What do you personally do in order to keep using Haitian Creole while you are in Chicago?

10. How well do you think you speak French?

- a. []: Very poorly
- b. []: Poorly
- c. []: Fairly well
- d. []: Well
- e. []: Very well

11. To what extent do you use French daily?

- a. []: Almost always
- b. []: Often
- c. []: Sometimes
- d. []: Seldom
- e. []: Never

12. Where would you say you use French the most?

- a. []: at home
- b. []: at school
- c. []: at church
- d. []: at work
- e. []: during Haitian cultural activities

13. In what situations will you most likely speak French to a Haitian?

Why?

14. How likely do you think children from Haitian parents born in Chicago will grow up speaking French?

- a. []: Extremely unlikely
- b. []: Unlikely
- c. []: Neutral

- d. []: Likely
- e. []: Extremely likely

Why do you think so?

15. Personally, do you do something not to lose your French? Please elaborate.

16. To your knowledge, what does the Haitian community of Chicago do to maintain French?

17. How well do you think you speak English?

- a. []: Poorly
- b. []: Fairly well
- c. []: Well
- d. []: Very well
- e. []: Excellent

18. When you go to a Haitian church in town, what language do you use to talk to the Haitians you meet at the church?

- a. []: French
- b. []: Haitian Creole

- c. []: English
d. []: Other? Please specify_____

Why?

19. If you meet a Haitian you did know before at a Haitian social gathering what language will you speak to him or her?

- a. []: French
b. []: Haitian Creole
c. []: English
d. []: Other? _____

Why?

20. If you meet a friend from Haiti in Chicago, what language would you use to talk to him or her?

- a. []: French
b. []: Haitian Creole
c. []: English
d. []: Other? Please specify_____

Why?

21. If a friend or a family who lives in Haiti calls you, in what language would you answer the call?

- a. []: French
- b. []: Haitian Creole
- c. []: English
- d. []: Other? Please specify_____

Why?

22. If you go to a Haitian restaurant, in what language will you place your orders?

- a. []: French
- b. []: Haitian Creole
- c. []: English
- d. []: Other? Please specify_____

Why?_____

23. In what language do you listen to News about Haiti?

- a. []: French
- b. []: Haitian Creole
- c. []: English
- d. []: Other? Please specify_____

Why?

24. Do you think it is important for Haitians living in Chicago to continue using French?

- a. []: Not important
- b. []: Slightly Important
- c. []: Fairly important

- d. []: Important
- e. []: Very important

Why do you think so? Please explain.

25. Do you think it is important for Haitians living in Chicago to continue using Haitian Creole?

- a. []: Not important
- b. []: Slightly Important
- c. []: Fairly important
- d. []: Important
- e. []: Very important

Why do you think so? Please explain.

26. What Haitian newspaper do you read while you are in Chicago? Please list them?

27. Is it important for Haitians living in the US to maintain Haitian Creole and French?

- a. []: Not Important
- b. []: Slightly important
- c. []: Fairly important
- d. []: Important
- e. []: Very important

Why do you think so? _____

28. To what extent do you think Haitian Creole and French are important to Haitians for identity marking?

- a. []: Not important
- b. []: Slightly important
- c. []: Fairly Important
- d. []: Important
- e. []: Very Important

Race and Ethnicity

29. When you fill out a personal data form, for the question pertaining to race and origin, which response do you generally mark?

- a. []: White
- b. []: Hispanic
- c. []: Black (Non Hispanic)
- d. []: Native American
- e. []: Asian
- f. []: Pacific Islander
- g. []: Other. Please specify _____

30. As Haitian immigrant, what designation do you feel the most comfortable with?

- a. []: Haitian
- b. []: Haitian American
- c. []: Native Black
- d. []: Black Immigrant
- e. []: African American
- f. []: American
- g. []: Foreigner

h. []: West Indian

i. []: French

Why?

31. Do you consider yourself Black?

a. []: Yes

b. []: No

Why?

32. Do you want people to know you are Haitian?

a. []: Yes

b. []: No

Why?

33. Do you want to maintain your Haitian identity?

If so, what do you do to maintain it?

34. What does it mean for you to be Haitian in the U.S.?

35. What do you think defines the Haitian identity in the U.S.?

Interview consent form (face-to-face)

Maintenance of French and Haitian Creole by Haitian immigrants living in Chicago

This interview aims at uncovering how Haitian immigrants who live in Chicago maintain French and Haitian Creole. This interview targets Haitians who immigrated to US in the 1950's and 1960's and onwards, their children, and their children's children. This interview will be conducted by the researcher and will last about 30 minutes. Your participation to this study is very important and will help us understand better how Haitian immigrants living in Chicago use and maintain their two native languages in their daily lives. This represents a follow up interview on the questionnaire you took at earlier point in this study. Your participation is voluntary, which means you can choose to discontinue the interview at any time. And even after you have done the interview, you can decide to no longer participate in the study. We highly appreciate your taking the time to answer the questions and we are so grateful.

There are no known risks associated with this study other than those one may encounter in daily life.

Your responses to the interview questions will remain confidential. I may audio record the interviews for transcription purposes, however, I will assign your responses a code or a pseudonym (fake name) and you will not be identified. This research may be used for journal articles, conference presentations, or a thesis, however, no identifiable information, including audio recordings will be published. The only ones who will have access to your data will be myself and my advisor.

If you have any questions you may contact Dr. Eyamba Bokamba by phone at (217) 244-3051, or by email at bokamba@illinois.edu and Johnny Alex Laforet by phone at (740) 856-1763, or by email at laforet2@illinois.edu. And if you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at (217) 333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

I have read and understand the above consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Signature

Date

Investigator's signature

Date

Interview consent form (by phone or on Skype)

Maintenance of French and Haitian Creole by Haitian immigrants living in Chicago

This interview aims at uncovering how Haitian immigrants who live in Chicago maintain French and Haitian Creole. This interview targets Haitians who immigrated to US in the 1950's and 1960's and onwards, their children, and their children's children. This interview will be conducted by the researcher and will last about 30 minutes. Your participation to this study is very important and will help us understand better how Haitian immigrants living in Chicago use and maintain their two native languages in their daily lives. This represents a follow up interview on the questionnaire you took at earlier point in this study. Your participation is voluntary, which means you can choose to discontinue the interview at any time. And even after you have done the interview, you can decide to no longer participate in the study. We highly appreciate your taking the time to answer the questions and we are so grateful.

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If you agree with the content that I just read to you, please say, "Yes, I agree".

Example of multilingual official communications among the Haitian immigrants in Chicago.

Consulat Général d'Haïti à Chicago / Consulate General of Haiti in Chicago

Chicago, le 14 mai 2016
CGCCHI140516

Chers amis membres de la Communauté,
Chers compatriotes,
Dear friends,
Frè m ak sè m yo

Au nom du Consulat Général d'Haïti à Chicago, je suis ravi de participer, en votre compagnie, à la célébration du deux cent treizième anniversaire de notre fier bicolore. C'est avec un sentiment de profond respect et d'humilité que je vous salue fraternellement, tout en vous exhortant à vous pencher sur l'important symbolisme de notre emblème national.

Cette année encore, je félicite le CONGRÈS DES HAÏTIENS POUR FORTIFIER HAÏTI ainsi que toutes les autres organisations communautaires qui participent à ce rassemblement patriotique. Cette atmosphère d'union est une façon idéale de célébrer notre bicolore, et de rendre hommage à nos ancêtres.

Je n'insisterai jamais assez sur l'importance de notre bicolore parmi les drapeaux des pays du monde entier. A l'Arcahaie le 18 mai 1803, nos ancêtres défièrent l'ordre mondial de l'époque, et se réunirent pour poser un geste montrant, sans équivoque, leur attachement à la cause universelle de la liberté. Braves et déterminés, ils se servirent de l'impitoyable symbole de leur oppression pour créer leur propre drapeau, sachant que ce bicolore serait appelé à sonner le glas de l'esclavage et de toute exploitation de l'humain par l'humain. Le 18 mai 1803, nos ancêtres

posèrent ce geste solennel au nom de l'humanité toute entière et de toutes les générations à venir. Aujourd'hui, notre bicolore nous interpelle. Il nous parle de cette unité qu'il symbolise. Il nous parle d'un destin digne de nos ancêtres puisqu'il représente le triomphe de la bravoure face à la tyrannie. Je me dis qu'une histoire comme la nôtre devrait être appréciée de ce monde si épris de liberté et de justice. Mais nous savons tous qu'il n'en est rien. C'est donc à nous d'être fiers de notre emblème national, et surtout d'y puiser le courage et la détermination qu'il nous faut pour façonner notre destin.

Ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the Consulate General of Haiti in Chicago, I truly appreciate your company as we proudly celebrate the two hundred and thirteenth anniversary of our illustrious flag. With humility and deep respect, I extend my brotherly greetings to you, and urge you to always meditate on the powerful symbolism of our national emblem.

This year again, I congratulate the HAITIAN CONGRESS TO FORTIFY HAITI as well as all the other Community Organizations that are taking part in this patriotic event. This pleasant atmosphere of unity and collaboration is a fitting way to celebrate our flag, and pay tribute to our ancestors.

I can never insist enough on the unique status of our flag among those of all the other nations of the world. On May 18, 1803 in Arcahaie, our ancestors defied the powerful world order of the time, and did something that confirmed them as world heroes in the perennial fight for freedom and justice. They used the dreadful and unforgiving symbol of their oppression to create their own unifying flag. On May 18, 1803, when my ancestors made that gesture, they

were fully aware of the fact that it was the beginning of the end for slavery and all exploitation of humans by humans. They did what they did for the generations of the future, and on behalf of mankind as a whole.

Today, our flag is talking to us. It is urging us to remember the unity that it symbolizes. It is also showing us the way to a destiny which is worthy of our ancestors since it represents the triumph of bravery over tyranny. I always tell myself that our history should be highly appreciated in a world that purports to be so in love with freedom and justice. However, we all know that is not the case. It is we who must be proud of our flag, and draw from it all the courage and determination we need in order to forge the destiny we deserve.

Frè m ak sè m yo,

Lan non Konsila Jeneral Ayiti lan Chikago, m ap di nou kijan m kontan patisipe avèk nou lan aktivite sa a k ap selebre 213 lane gwo kokenn chenn drapo nou an. Avèk anpil respe ak imilite, m ap salye nou, epi m ap mande nou pou nou toujou reflechi sou kisa drapo nou an reprezante.

Ane sa a ankò, m ap felisite KONGRÈ AYISYEN POU FOTIFYE AYITI avèk tout lòt òganizasyon kominotè ki pote kole avèk nou lan aktivite patriyotik sa a. Lè nou selebre anivèsè drapo nou lan bon jan tèt ansanm, sa fè zansèt yo plezi paske drapo sa a sa senbòl inite.

M pap janm sispann pale de gwo enpòtans drapo nou an avèk plas ti peyi nou an okipe lan listwa limanite. Jou ki te 18 me 1803, zansèt nou yo te defye tout gwo pisans lan epòk la lè yo te reyini lan Akayè pou yo te kreye drapo sa a. Gwo jès sa a, yo te fè l lan non tout pèp sou la tè paske yo te kwè ke tout moun fèt pou yo viv lib. M toujou panse jodi a tout nasyon sou tè a ta dwe apresye

drapo nou ak istwa nou paske yo di yo renmen libète ak jistis. Men nou tout konnen se pa konsa sa ye vre. Sa vle di se nou menm ki pou apresye drapo nou ak idantite nou. Se lan sa n ap jwenn kouraj ak detèminasyon pou nou konstwi yon bon desten pou peyi nou an.

Pou m fini, m ap remèsye tout Òganizasyon Kominotè yo ki pote kole avèk nou pou fè selebrasyon 213èm anivèsè drapo nou an reyisi. M ap ankouraje nou pou nou toujou sonje mesaj drapo nou an ak enpòtans ti peyi nou an lan listwa limanite. Tanpri, fè ti moun yo fyè de idantite yo.

In closing, I want to thank all the participating Community Organizations. Their collaboration made this event a success. I urge you to always remember the powerful message of our flag, and the contribution our small nation made to the history of mankind. Please make the children proud of their identity.

Je terminerai en remerciant toutes les Organisations Communautaires participantes. Elles ont contribué au succès de cette activité. Je vous enjoins de toujours penser au message de notre drapeau, et à la place qu'occupe notre nation dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Encouragez vos enfants à être fiers de leur identité.

MERCI! MÈSI! THANK YOU!

Lesly Condé

Consul Général

Figure. A.1

A sign written in English and in Haitian Creole at a Haitian restaurant in Chicago

