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by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies Department of School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies College of Arts and Sciences University of South Florida

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my ancestors. Their pain I have never experienced gives me the courage to be unapologetic about my quest to uncover self-freedom in a world where greed has always dominated. To my Haitian brothers and sisters, to my African brothers and sisters with whom I share comradeship through demonization and marginalization, I hope my writing did you justice.
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Abstract

Language is a very complex matter in Haiti. One of the most pressing issues related to language in Haiti is the aspect of violence. The violence that exists through linguistic means in Haiti today has for its basis the same mechanism that existed during the colonial era in Haiti. The same western concept of colonial social dualities, and unequal distribution of esteemed associates to African and European cultures are still at the forefront of linguistic violence. The only difference being that those ideas of colonial superiority, which informed those recurring acts of violence, are now self-imposed.

In Haiti, the nature and effects of linguistic violence are both unique and complex. Linguistic violence occurs within an array of mechanisms that blur the property of real violence between victims and perpetrators. The utilization of languages, as an instrument of violence, camouflaged class inequality, colorism, institutional corruption, and other aspects that dent the possibility of positive Haitian development and liberation.

Looking at the peculiarity of language in Haiti, this thesis argued two points. First, language is politicized, and language politics is an elitist instrument for power. Second, linguistic instrumentalization becomes violent, and linguistic violence occurs within three invisible mechanisms that sustain power for the elite sector of the population. Those mechanisms are the symbolic, the collective, and the structural aspects of language. These spurious properties of language allow classes, color complexion, and other means of discrimination to operate covertly.
It is within that framework of linguistic complexity and intersectionality that this thesis seeks to place language and violence in Haiti. By taking into account the historical context of language pluralism in Haiti, I argue that language, aside from its primary purpose of communication, has had and is still having damaging effects on Haitian society when it comes to the ulterior objectives and motives it has been used for since the start of colonial adventurism in Haiti by the ruling class.
Introduction

French and Haitian Creole are the two official languages of Haiti. Haitian Creole is the only language spoken and understood by all Haitians. French is spoken by very few people in Haiti. The number of people speaking French fluently is around 5 percent. The French language is learned and used in school in Haiti, and the Creole language is learned naturally at home.

“Creole bears many structural similarities with its French. Most Creole words have their etymological roots in French. But Creole and French have distinct words and sentence structure and distinct sound patterns” (DeGraff, 2010).

Haiti became independent in 1804. Creole was widely spoken in Haiti then, and mostly the mulatto elites educated in France spoke French. After independence, Haiti decided to maintain the French language, the language of their former metropole France, in written and official contexts. According to Michel DeGraff, French was maintained in the country as part of a strategy for “elite closure” (2010), meaning, as a way for elites to secure exclusive access to power.

French has been used as the primary language in important institutions of the country since independence. These include education, government, laws, and essential entities of the private sector, etc... (Robertshaw, 2018). While French was included in operating the ins and outs of the state apparatus, Haitian Creole- the language of the Haitian majority- on the other hand, was baselessly relegated to lower status, and put to use only as a means of communication for the rural and the uneducated masses. For all it concerns the elites, Haitian Creole was just a
spoken language used by illiterate peasants living in the countryside. As a result of this linguistic marginalization, Haitian Creole was squeezed out of any official usage of autonomy, legitimacy, intellectuality, and official contexts; even though all Haitians, including mulatto elites, speak and prefer to use the language in personal settings.

The linguistic marginalization of Haitian Creole is of central importance to the process of exclusion and discrimination that most of the populations have had to deal with. The marginalization of Haitian Creole, for one, plays a role in withholding political and economic power from the Haitian majority who are not fluent in the official French languages; and second, it functions as a barrier that limits Haitians’ full citizenship rights in their own country. Practically, the linguistic hierarchization between French and Haitian Creole undermines the civil rights of the masses; and it fails to represent the majority monolingual population that are stuck in their own Creole language and ways; mostly due to the failure in the system and lack of formal education in the first place.

The ability to speak Haitian Creole, on one hand, and having competence in the French language, on the other hand, is a clear indicator of social status in Haiti. Language use defines whether one will be looked down upon as informal citizens and discriminated against. Language determines people's “capability, opportunity, and alleged competence” (Nicholls, 1974:17).

To the vast majority of Haitians, French is intellectuality, French is beauty, French is all that is important in society. The high estimation and prestige of the French language in Haiti maintain a divided class system in the country through which the interests and power of the elites are protected. On the other hand, “the monolingual Creole speaker is politically disenfranchised, economically deprived, socially subordinated, and culturally marginalized. At the moment of this
writing, “lack of fluency in French in Haiti is still normally associated with illiteracy, low socioeconomic level, and backward-ness” (Fontaine, 1981: 31).

Frantz Fanon understood this basic complexion of language in the French Caribbean and the former colonies of France. That is one of the reasons he chose to elaborate on language as a phenomenon of hierarchical power and status in Martinique in his book *Black Skin, White Mask*. Fanon stated that mastery of French affords remarkable power. “The negro becomes whiter as he gains greater mastery of the cultural tool that colonial language is” (1967: 31). This analysis of Fanon about language in the former colonies is easily the reality of all Haitians in their society.

The severe dominance of French in Haiti has become a notion of mythization, illusion, low national esteem, and cultural hate. One of the salient causes for Haitian self-rejection of Haitian Creole is because of the obstinate colonial view of Creole languages - in which Haitian Creole is considered as a half-formed language, a simplistic pidgin incapable of a complex expression - is still alive today (Robertshaw, 2018).

Even respected Haitian intellectuals and educators have fallen to this notion of induced colonial inferiority complex about the use of Haitian Creole. When Haitian Creole was first introduced as a means to facilitate learning on 28 September 1978 under the Bernard reform numerous school deans were furious with the policy (Fontaine, 1981). Besides the intellectual sector that present problems to the reappraisal of Creole, change to the system becomes more difficult because any proposed reform often encounters taxing resistance from conservative elites- those who anticipate slipping in their potential if Creole were to become the legitimate and dominant language use in Haiti- and parents of Haitian students who consider French as tool of advancement in Haitian society.
There has been effort made in recent years to redefine the Haitian Creole language in Haiti. Slow promotions of Creole in the government started to take place in the early 1950s with the black nationalist movements such as Norisme. “In 1957, after the election of Francois Duvalier, the constitution allowed in official context the use of Haitian Creole in circumstances where using French could put a monolingual Creole speaker at a disadvantage, such as in a court of law” (U.S Library of Congress).

The Bernard reform in 1979 introduced Creole as the medium of instruction during the first 4 years of schooling. The mandate of the Bernard reform had seen a lot of resistance on the part of both teachers and parents during the time it was proposed, and it is still barely implemented in the education system (Dejean, 2010). In 1987, Creole was finally accorded full recognition as an official language on par with French in the latest constitution. The 1987 constitution maintained “all Haitians are united by a common language: Creole. Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic” (Georgetown University, 2011).

Despite the gradual acceptance of Haitian Creole over the years and its final recognition in the 1987 national constitution, Haitian Creole which is spoken by everyone in Haiti is still severely undermined. Citizens are still denied services for their inability to speak French, children are punished for speaking in their mother tongue in schools, and the government still relegates Haitian Creole to a second-class language. This discrepancy of Haitian Creole to attain its autonomy, despite the language being used as the primary medium of communication in most situations and by everyone in the population, is at the base of this thesis development.

The purpose of this thesis is to come to terms with the systematic discrepancy brought out by the linguistic plurality in Haiti. We will analyze the spectrum of language to see why
Haitian Creole struggled to be recognized and is still undermined by its own speakers. In that analysis, we will see that language differences in Haiti have the power to reconfigure the entire system of the country to benefit a few and prevent the participation of the majority. In an effort to understand the larger linguistic marginalization, a particular focus will be given to class, color prejudices and other social divisions as it relates to the history of Haiti. Because language owes specific value to certain causal mechanisms of the past, the role of colonial adventure in Haiti will be considered. Historical context as they relate to economics, education and politics will be key to the research analysis. To such a degree, the role of this research is to understand linguistic evolution in Haiti and determine its effect and role in Haitian society as a whole.

Research Formation

Chapter Overview

This primary goal of this thesis is to explore the effects of Haiti’s hierarchical base linguistic policy. To do that, I examined the socio-economic outcome associated with bilingual Haitian individuals who command both French and Haitian Creole and the outcome associated with Haitians who are only fluent in Haitian Creole. I gathered written scholarly data to inform myself of the effects associated with languages used, and I examined them with an interconnection with race and class. Finally, relying on those data collected, I proceeded to structure the thesis as described below.

The thesis is made up of four chapters. Chapter one is an introduction to Haiti’s historical background and its languages. The purpose of chapter one is to give context and justify the argument made in the ensuing chapters. In chapter one I take on Haiti’s colonial stratification and
describe the social class relations and the politics among them. I also give a brief overview of Haitian Creole development, its status, and the role it played in Saint-Domingue during the French colonial enterprise. An examination of the French language’s colonial purpose was added to this chapter to situate its position as part of the Haitian colonial making process and to understand how ideology about the French language affects Haiti’s current linguistic development. Lastly, I investigated Haiti’s revolution to determine how ideologies about cultures and language differences informed revolutionary leaders’ vision for post-colonial Haiti.

Chapter two is a review of existing literature in the field of linguistics as it pertains to the role played by Western languages in the former colonies. I have studied how creolist and nativist language activists have studied language issues in these now independent countries and see how it affects them. Because the thesis is a case study of Haiti, a particular focus is given to the relation between French and Haitian Creole. However, language as it is studied in the second chapter is relevant to all former colonies affected by neo-colonial elite domination through language. Important to this chapter is the analysis made by Kenyan academic and novelist, Ngugi Wa Thiong’o in his text *Decolonizing the mind* (1986).

Chapter two can be divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with languages' social and political aspects, meaning the role languages play as mechanisms for power and marginalization among different speech communities. In this first part, I debated the colonial and neo-colonial contours of language. The second part of the literature review is concerned with the concrete reality of neo-colonial linguistic pluralism. There, the literature review provides detailed explanations about the real consequences that linguistic pluralism has on children learning, cognizance, and mental development. Finally, it provides competing alternatives to implement other new curricula that prioritize local languages to prevent the problem associated
with neo-colonial linguistic hierarchization. The literature review of this research is important because it gives credence to the argument made about language as violence in the analysis section in chapter four.

Chapter three is concerned with the theories that guided this research. There, I engage with elitism to make sense of how the French language commanded by a specific group of people - the elite - gives them the power and authority to construct and justify truth narratives about Haitian society. Elitism also helps explain how elites strategize languages, ideologies about civilization and culture to marginalize the mass monolingual Haitian Creole speakers and keep their personal interest well protected. Because elitism emerged from colonial class constructs, I integrate Anibal Quijano’s (2000) theory of *coloniality of power* as part of the framework to broaden elitism as a neo-colonial agenda in Haiti. It is through this connection made in chapter three between elitism and the aspect colonial legacy theorized by Anibal Quijano that the notion of neo-colonial elitism discussed in this thesis emerges. To sustain the analysis on language and elitism in Haiti, I applied Aime Cesaire (1950), conceptual analysis about the *boomerang effect of colonialism* to provide a holistic view about the effects of linguistic hierarchization in Haiti, particularly among the traditional elites.

Chapter four constitutes the bulk of this thesis’s objective. It reflects on the issue of language pluralism with consideration to the context given by the historical background, the literature review, and the theoretical framework. This chapter takes a stance on languages used in Haiti and argues that language hierarchization fashioned a violent attitude in Haitian society and its environment. The chapter is divided into multiple subsections, with each defining how language pluralism embodies different types of violence. The chapter identifies four types of violence associated with language in Haiti: symbolic, structural, collective, and self-inflicted.
Here, in the analysis of language hierarchization in Haiti, these four types of violence are broadened to connect them to Haitians’ class analysis, ideological differences, politics, literature, culture, and religion to point out the evidence of impairments and destructions theorized in the thesis. Lastly, this chapter analysis aims to situate language in a formal and broad academic discourse, in which language status and utilization can be problematized to examine their effects on society.

Methodology

No single approach can address the issue of language in Haiti. The analysis of this thesis relies on various factors of substance that define the postcolonial interpretation of language pluralism in Haiti in the context of violence. Because I investigated a “specific issue-language-within one case-Haiti- and constrained to particular normative”, I decided to write this thesis using a qualitative approach (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994: 3). I also settled on qualitative research because, in this thesis, I have adopted a decolonial critical approach to critique classical theories about the internationalization of language. Through this critical approach, I uncovered and described the relationship between power and the inequities inherent in Haiti's linguistic hierarchization. I also shed light on the contradiction between what is understood of language pluralism and what language pluralism actually entails (LeCompte, Schensul, 1994: 61-62). Through the critical analysis, I have also focused on how power intersects with race, nationality, ethnicity, class, and color. As a scholar born in Haiti, studying in U.S academia, I take a critical theorist positionality in this thesis to question the modality of truth with respect to language to empower the marginalized monolingual mass in Haiti.
I recognize there is an inherent bias to the critical paradigm adopted in this thesis. This bias is the tendency for the critical paradigm to habitually side with subjects who are in subordinate positions. But, because this research’s critical aim is to study inherent inequities that exist in Haiti through language hierarchization; and to describe the relationship of power and societal contradiction that sustains these conditions of inequality, critical theory will still be an important framework to the thesis. Another limitation of this thesis concerns the non-examination of gender and sex in relation to language use in Haiti. Those identities, although they are relevant to languages used in Haiti, are not part of the analysis.

The theoretical framework of decolonization informs the critical analysis of this thesis. As it concerns decolonization, the framework provided context and outlined the character of domination that has developed in Haiti. Practicing refusal, the idea of refusing western theories, I used the decolonizing methods to claim new meaning to the Haitian Creole language and position it as an autonomous language, away from the idea that it is a corrupt derivative of French (Tuck, Yang, 2014). To connect the critical theory approach with the decolonizing method, I used process tracing to explore the Historical development of languages in Haiti. I traced how languages were used in colonial settings and then looked at how the historical components and ideology of language influence current standing of French and Haitian Creole in independent Haiti. At last, I determined what properties language allocates to its users; meaning how it characterizes contemporary bilingual minority and the majority monolingual Haitian Creoles speaking population.

Historical data about class domination, politics, economic power, and language politics were important to the analysis when it comes to relating the typologies of violence to language pluralism. They enabled this thesis to design historical causal inference between languages used,
power, and determine how interactions between the two create situations of violence in Haiti. Most of those historical data collected were secondary research. The problem with secondary data collected is that they are based on researchers’ interpretation. Because of that reason, there are multiple and inconceivable dynamics that may exist when it comes to the causal inferences made here. With that in mind, this case study of languages in Haiti is important, not because it is replicable; but because it decoupled the dynamics of multiple concepts related to Haiti’s language problem, and it assessed multiple causal mechanisms between language and violence. While there is a limit to the method employed in the thesis, I believe that the analysis presented here is useful to the conversation about language in Haiti because it is based on substantial evidence about the subject being discussed.

**Terminologies**

This research fits the social thoughts of power relations in the social science discipline; for that reason, the terms *Linguistic Elitism/ Linguistic Marginalization* will be central to the argument made in this research. In this research, they are referred to the occupational status, privileges, and advantages one may get over others by their fluency in a respective valued language. The use of these terms in political discourse is critical because they help explain the imbalance and realignment of power within an array of multiple social and institutional contexts (Hebblethwaite, 2012). In this regard, linguistic elitism and marginalization will serve as a canvas that helps explain decision-making processes by policy planning networks and, more importantly, define the tensions that exist in Haiti, where there is more than one language at use. Other terms include *linguistic plurality, language pluralism, language differences, linguistic hierarchization*. In this thesis, the pluralistic concept is defined as a country where the
government recognizes one or more languages in official contexts. The concept of differences and hierarchy with respect to language explains the social status between French and Haitian Creole in Haiti. I denote Haiti’s language status in relation to these terms above because of controversial implications and discord revolving around other terms such as bilingualism or diglossia. Lastly, this thesis will use the term Creole and Haitian Creole interchangeably. Since this research will be based on Haiti, various terms in Haitian Creole and French will permeate this paper. In these cases, translation will be provided to the best of my ability. Other important terms include: False consciousness, symbolic violence, self-inflicted violence, structural violence, collective violence, modal suffering, neo-colonial elitism, politique de doublure and boomerang effect. These terms will be defined and contextualized as they are being used in the thesis.
Chapter One: Historical Background of Haiti

Introduction

To understand the concept and effect of language, it is important to understand how society itself evolved. In Haiti as well as in any other society, language is a reflection of the society in which it developed. Language and culture have an intertwined functional purpose in shaping individuals and groups; and it is very difficult to understand one without mentioning the other.

Language in action may be the expression of thoughts and feelings, but in the political context language is definitely the outcome of societal policies. In a sense the development of language is multiple and at the core, its role and character are bound by interest and the interplay that define the political traditions of such society.

Perspectives about language and its endpoint, whenever that is, is a reflection of the complexity of the society in which it was created and has evolved. The below section is a representation of how language differences occurring effects in Haiti are born out of a relation that creates tangible benefits for an elite sector at the expense of a mass majority. The overall perspective here is that language development is a mirror of colonial ideas built in Haiti during the colonial era to justify colonial invasion. Those same ideas continue to be prevalent in Haiti because they serve as gatekeepers for social division that guarantee symbolic power to the current ruling class in Haiti. All in all, in Haiti the linguistic problem is a reflection of groups
defending their general interest which are codified by colonial mentality, tradition, and symbol of superiority.

**Haiti’s Colonial History**

It is not possible to report on the complete History of Haiti in this thesis. Any semblance of a historical recounting made here has the purpose of giving context and a better understanding of the language problems that exist in Haiti. It is for this reason that we will start the history of Haiti in relation to the French colonial adventure in Santo Domingo. The French colonial conquest and its outcome in Santo Domingo will explain how the French colonial class structure helps propel the linguistic hierarchy society that exists in Haiti, which I will explore in this research.

Colonial adventure in Haiti first started with the Spanish conquest in 1492 with Christopher Columbus. After the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of New Spain in 1521, Santo Domingo lost its status as an administrative center for Spanish colonization. Growing Spanish disinterest in Santo Domingo led to French exploration of the island. In the middle of the 17th-century French settlers occupied the island of Tortuga off the north coast of Hispaniola and later French Huguenots began to settle the north coast of what is now Haiti (Watkins). After years of unnecessary war with France over the island, Spain recognized the French claim of the Western third of Hispaniola, *Saint Domingue*, later called Haiti, on September 20, 1967, in the ratified Treaty of Ryswick. Once France had legitimate autonomy over Saint-Domingue, they implemented an economic system completely different from that of the Spanish empire. France focused more on agriculture contrary to the Spanish who focused
more on mining. These changes initiated the transition of Haiti from mining to a plantation-oriented economy. As the plantation economy grew, labors were imported from Africa to maintain the new economy.

France's colonial enterprise in the Americas was completely different from that of Britain and Spain, to some extent. The primary purpose of France was colonial exploitation, they had little if any intention of settlement or investment in Saint-Domingue. “Apart from Port-au-Prince, the capital, and Cap-Francais, the towns of Saint-Domingue at the height of its prosperity were little more than villages and only a few whites were occupying these city centers” (C. L. R James, 1963: 31). According to Robin Blackburn the case for French colonization was to strengthen the metropolis economically (1997: 279-280). Creating an actual colonial civilization was not part of their goal. Saint-Domingue overall was simply a cash-generating property.

Black slaves heavily outnumbered both the whites and the free colored people in the French colonies in the Americas, with half of these slaves born in Africa. In Saint Domingue alone Slaves outnumbered whites by more than 10 to 1 (Popkin, 2003). Miscegenation like in any other colonies was taboo in Saint-Domingue, but French attitudes toward their children born of black mothers were relatively different than most other European colonizers. Whereas non-whites were always put in the same categories as black slaves in the U.S, in the French colonies, many whites had emancipated their mixed-race children, creating a class of “free coloreds” or “gens de couleurs” that numbered 28,000 by 1789 (Popkin, 2003). The lasting consequences of that class structure or more so the colonial strategy in Saint-Domingue by France created an odd post-colonial situation in Haiti.
Some of the French children, *gens de couleurs*, that were born of slave mothers were sent to France to study different professions, where they acquired French knowledge and mannerisms. In the colony, “these gens de couleurs interchangeably called affranchis were intermediate in color, status, and power, and socially situated between the grand blancs (large planters) on the one hand, and the vast mass of enslaved Africans (their majority African-born) on the other” (Mintz, 1995:76). The occupations of these free colored people varied. “Most of them were working-class or peasants. Many worked as artisans or laborers in the towns, doing jobs that whites didn’t want to do themselves and couldn’t trust slaves to do” (King, 2007). Some gens de couleurs were also very wealthy. Some were planters like the grand blancs and owned hundreds of black slaves on their properties. One of those wealthy gens de couleurs was Julien Raimond. According to Raimond “deputy for the citizens of color at the National Assembly, the free people of color owned more than half the land and a third of the slaves on Saint Domingue” (Robert Stein, 1981: 14).

The gens de couleurs and freed slaves of Saint-Domingue had little, if any, distaste for France as the metropolis; in many cases they saw France as an aspiration. The code noir implemented in 1685 by Louis XIV gave those mulattoes and freed negroes equal rights in the colony to the whites. These affranchis’ (gens de couleurs and freed slaves) biggest issues were with the colonists of Saint-Domingue who did abide by the metropolis code noir ruling and continued to suppress their potential of advancement (C.L.R James, 1963).

Under the gens couleur and the freed slaves, occupying the bottom class were the mass black slaves. The mass slaves were the impetus of the revolution in terms of its totality, meaning they wanted unwavering and total freedom from the French colonial empire. They did not want Haiti to maintain any relation with the colonial French empire. They revolted systematically
against the harsh treatment they were subject to in the colony. The slaves’ revolution started on the night of August 14, 1791, in Bois Caiman with the burning of multiple plantations around the vicinity of Cap-Francais.

The affranchis and the slaves had a common interest in wanting to remove the colonists from the island because they were the marker of suppression, but these two classes were very different in their ideology and most important in what they thought a post-revolutionary Haiti should look like. The slaves were practitioners of the diasporic traditional West African religion (vodou) – a religious system that involved ancestor worship in a distinct variant form, and tied land, family fate, and the African past together (Mintz, 1995:80). Furthermore “they hated anything that portrayed colonial whiteness. In their ceremony they sang violent hymns that showed their anger toward the whites, vowing to destroy the whites even if it meant that they would in consequence” (C.L.R James, 1963: 18). On the other hand, we had the affranchis who were disdainful of vodou, refer condescendingly to the poor blacks, and feign disinterest in questions of cultural origin- that is, what is or might be "African origin” (Mintz, 1995:38).

According to Mintz, “These affranchis were true creoles, something of the Old World, born in the New. Neither Europeans nor Africans, they swiftly adjusted as a class to their status as non-European, slave-owning, and power-holding people " . Important to Mintz’’s analysis of this class is the last sentence. He stated that “many saw themselves as culturally French” (1995: 76).

When it comes to the goal of the revolution, many of the affranchis had concrete interests that differed from the mass slaves as well, whereas the mass wanted complete freedom, the affranchis wanted only autonomy from the colonial French empire. The reason is because total emancipation of the slaves was a threat to the economic lifeline of rich gens de couleurs planters such as André Rigaud and Julien Raimond. It is in these complex historical divisions between the
affranchise/gens de couleur that language in Haiti has developed. It is a case of class conflicts between those whose interests and sense of self-identification are completely different. It is a conflict between those who wanted to disengage from France in all facets versus those who wanted to remain partially attached to France.

**Evolution of Language in Haiti**

**Haitian Creole**

The language widely spoken in Haiti is Haitian Creole. Creole is spoken by more than 10 million people in Haiti and in the diaspora. “Haitian Creole is a contact language, it arises naturally from the direct contact between people that spoke a variety of languages” (Spears, 2010: 1). “Creole as a language gains contribution from different languages such as Spanish, African languages, French and later English” (Bonnefant, 2011). Haitian Creole vocabulary is dominantly French. It is part of a group of French-based creoles that can be found in former French colonies and now protectorates such as Martinique, Guadeloupe and Saint-Martin. However, the syntax, semantics, and morphology of Haitian Creole is very different from French. This latter aspect of Haitian Creole was influenced by West African language or languages in the contact situation. These syntaxes and morphologies mostly come from the speakers of the Gbé languages in the Kwa language family, itself a branch of Niger-Congo (Lefebvre, 1998:57-58; Zéphir, 2010: 55-82)

Drawing From the colonial era in Saint-Domingue, Haitian Creole was spoken by almost all creoles; this includes creoles born slaves, creole whites; and it was acquired relatively by most African born slaves. “There are numerous statements by contemporaries that indicate its
generalized use among the creoles society. Moreau de Saint-Mery characterizes Haitian Creole as the general vernacular of Saint-Domingue: “It is in that language ... that Creoles [of all colors] like to converse among themselves and the Negroes don't use any other among themselves” (Valdman, 2005: 153). “In the colony the mastery of Haitian Creole also served as a symbol of colonial, versus metropolitan identity” (Valdman, 2005:154). Haitian Creole in Saint-Domingue, in many ways, was a bridge language between the colonists and the number of slaves living in the colonies.

There is no fixed time as to when Creole began to emerge as an intermediate language between the colonists and the slaves in Saint-Domingue, but according to Zéphir and St-Fort, Haitian Creole emergence most likely started to take place in the 17th century during the expansion of the plantation economy (Bonnefant, 2011). Many people see Haitian Creole as a corrupt form of French. Some describe the language as patois, dialect, and even broken French. Many contemporary scholars have begun to push against that argument, however; these scholars include the likes of Michel DeGraff, the late Yves Dejean, Arthur K. Spears, Albert Valdman and others. Spears argue that “Creole is not a corrupt form of French. It is a separate language governed by its own grammatical rules, just as French is separate from Latin and other Romance languages, and has its own grammatical rules” (Spears, 2010: 2).

At this point it’s worth noting Haitian Creole is more than a language. It’s development and the purpose it served is part of national discourse of Haitian-ness and ideology about Haitian identity (Schieffelin, Doucet, 1994). Creole is a rebel language that appeared against the brutality associated with colonization and westernization. According to Marie Lily Cerat, the Haitian Creole language served as an empowering force that united all the enslaved of Saint-Domingue against the colonial oppressors (2011:73). “Some creolists, Dany Bebel-Gisler, for
example, argues that European-based Creole, together with other cultural phenomena such as dancing, represents a pocket of the slaves' resistance against total acculturation by the European class” (Valdman, 2005:160).

Despite those great values of freedom associated with Haitian Creole, the language has existed and continues to exist within the paradox of class politics of Haiti. The language was never recognized or implemented in the formal institution of the country despite it being spoken by most of the slaves. Creole was finally recognized in the constitution in 1987, but this is mostly in theory because all important institutions continue to function in French. “The Haitian birth certificate, the very first official document that every newborn Haitian citizen is, in principle, assigned by the state, exists in French only” (DeGraff, 2007:101).

The disposition by the post-colonial leaders to relegate Haitian Creole to the backseat was an affranchis/elitist neo-colonial legacy that has sought to increase the disparity between themselves and the emancipated slaves (DeGraff, 2016, Cerat, 2011, Spears, 2010). To understand this complexity about Haitian Creole is to understand the ways in which Haitians evaluate each other and think about themselves (Schiefflen, Docet, 1994). But this different view about Haitian Creole also explains where one’s interest lies. We will elaborate on this issue further in this thesis.
Before I examine the problem of language in Haiti it is important to understand the historical interpretation of the French language itself. In the historical development of the French language there is the existence of a myth about civilization. The idea of “La Clarté Francaise” - the admirable qualities of French language and French letters - is a central element of that French civilization. A civilized man/woman for example must engendered the quality of good self-expression. “Boileau - French poet-generally considered the spokesman for the first, laid a solid groundwork with his famous apothegm: “Ce que l’on conçoit bien s’énonce clairement, et les mots pour le dire arrive aisément”. What is well understood is clearly stated, and the words to say it come easily” (Felix, R. Freudman,1956: 31, my traslation).

Boileau’s opinion on language blurred oratory skills with intellectual capacity, ability to think and solve problems. For him language is a factor of intelligence. The instinct of clarity which he professed about French laid the rational foundation for other philosophers to conclude on a similar argument as Boileau. The concept of minimum distance between expression and thought in French thus became the essential core of the myth of clarté française. Dauzat in his Génie de la langue Française expresses a similar thought about the French language. He stated that:

"Dans toute langue, on observe un décalage entre la pensée et l'expression. Cet écart, le français tend à le réduire au minimum, en serrant toujours de plus près son ajustement à la pensée. In any language, there is a gap between thought and expression. This gap, the French language tends to reduce it to a minimum, always
bringing closer the adjustment between expression and thought” (Kasuya, 2001: 243, my translation).

A similar echo was expressed by Stelio Farandjis, the General Secretary of L'Haut Conseil de la Francophonie. For his turn, he focused on the intellectually that someone may acquire because he/she speaks French. He stated:

"J'aimerais insister sur la rigueur intellectuelle de cette langue française […] Cette obsession de la clarté, de la rigueur, de la précision, est inscrite au cœur même de ceux qui ont à la fois forge cette langue et réfléchit sur elle. I would like to emphasize the intellectual rigor of the French language. The obsession of the French language with clarity, rigor, precision, is inscribed in the very heart of those who both forged this language and reflects on it” (Kasuya, 2001: 243, my translation).

Mission Civilisatrice of French

French among all languages was considered the clearest and most effective among “des hommes de lettres” of the 17th century, period of the enlightenment. French was believed to enable men/women the property of intellectualism, rationality and honesty. By that “the diffusion of French means the diffusion of civilization” (Kasuya, 2001: 242). French was believed to be superior to any other language. As the language of the universal human reasons, anyone that chose to speak French would become civilized. The emphasis of the French language as a method of civilization gained widespread support among both left and right theorists in France in the era of colonization. According to Mathew Burrows, the establishment of the Alliance
Francaise was in fact predicated on such unanimity about the civilizing role of the French Language (1986:128). The Alliance Francaise was established in 1883. According to Janet Horne, the Alliance Francaise had for the purpose of purveying colonial education during the early years of the French Third Republic to mount and maintain the French colonial empire alive (2017). “Although the organization went beyond the advancement of a French national political or economic agenda. Still, in the broadest sense, the work of the Alliance Française can be viewed as a shrewd move to capitalize on the cultural power of French in the world in order to further certain geopolitical goals, including imperial expansion” (Horne, 2018: 24).

The mission civilisatrice of the French language also served the interest of the French socialist who decried colonial conquest of the French government. Abbe Gregoire, an anti-slavery and Jewish emancipation rights advocate believed that blacks slaves and Jews could themselves become civilize if they spoke French. Gregoire believed that Jews and black slaves “had the perfect right to enjoy full citizenship in all political and social activities. At the same time, however, in order to be integrated into the surrounding societies, Jews and blacks would need to abandon the traditional and ancestral modes of life of their communities, including their language for the French” (Kasuya, 2001: 241)

The plan to become civilized according to Gregoire entails the destruction of all patois and Creole-low languages they have called them- in the French colonies. “Gregoire insisted that all the "patois" should be "annihilated" in every social sphere in order that all the citizens of the Nation should hold in common the same national language, that is, French” (Kasuya, 2001: 240). The language policies of Gregoire had in it the expression of humanism through linguistic assimilation. The idea there was to turn the black men/women into Frenchmen/women despite his/her black skin. Despite Gregoire’s tendency toward humanism and against slavery, his idea
conferred in its linguistic chauvinism and racism that justified imperialism, and the French colonial system in the name “civilizing mission”. For Gregorie the blacks were savage if they could not speak French, and thus needed to be civilized.

His theory on language overall gave a spirit of superiority to French and engendered in the black slaves an air of inferiority complex. As a result of that the colonized men/women came to believe that they could only be civilized if they spoke French and immersed themselves in French culture. In the relationship between the humanistic claim of language what ends up happening is a relentless attack on Creole language. “The humanistic claim that the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the Jews was inseparably bound up with the passionate will to annihilate Yiddish and Creole” consequently make sense of the idea that blacks and Jews were uncivilized by fault of inferior language that reduce their mental capabilities; therefore, they must commit to slavery, deprivilege and marginalize if they couldn’t speak French. An equation which after all enforces and justified French colonization to some extent (Kasuya, 2001: 241).

But after all, this ideology was accepted by the colonized colonial being as a way to free him/herself from the slavish self and the primitivism associated with African derived language.

**French Language, Ideologies and Culture in the Haitian Revolution**

The reason that the French colonial system remained so intact in Haiti is because the leader of the revolution never challenged the ideologies and culture of the French colonial system. The Haitian revolution is ingrained within the notion of the French civilization that is inconsistent with the Afro-creole identity of the mass that has developed in the colony. The
revolution was more political than ideological. It promoted resistance less through the propagation of liberal ideas than through affecting the distribution of power (Geggus, 1989).

The revolution was very complicated and multifaceted to the different interests of the groups that took part in it. It occurred within the bounds of reality and illusion. Eugène Genovese argued that Saint-Domingue slave revolt became the first of a new type of « bourgeois-démocratic » (Geggus, 1989: 107). It was a slave revolution to the extent that it was aimed at the destruction of slavery as a system; however, it was also a bourgeois demagogue, for it includes at its core the establishment of bourgeois property relations. All considered, the Haitian revolution was a bourgeois-democracy based on slave insurrection that did not take into account the social oppression of the mass slaves. To a certain extent, the Haitian revolution was mise en action of Abbe Greigore’s idea about language and civilization. The revolution was not a revolt against oppression, it was one of envy. The envy was to be civilized and become a caricature of the colonial white men.

The above argument does not intend to diminish the Haitian revolution’s autonomous happenstance. However, it shows the realization that the Haitian revolution never gets away from the oppression of the west. The Haitian revolution was the rebellion of the oppressed within the spaces of freedom theorized by the oppressor. It occurred in part within the greater context of the French revolution of 1789 and the European revolutionary zeal of that time- Bourgeois Revolution. It also shows that the revolution was inconclusive in its goal of total decolonization of Haitian society. The concepts of liberty, equality, and fraternity champions by the revolutionary fighters and leaders were dangerous for the colonial stability and the new world slavery only to the extent it guaranteed grands blancs, petits blancs and free colored people the opportunity to inquire of the metropole greater political freedom for the colony. However, when
when it comes to changing the overall mindset, it reimposes the colonial framework of European
civilization defined by liberty, equality, and fraternity and as well the colonial sense of
government defined by exclusion, classification, and elitism.

**Haitian Revolution: Colonial Mentality of the Leadership**

Toussaint Louverture who is often touted as the foremost convener of the Haitian
revolution and liberty for all has left a troubled legacy to Haiti's black population. Toussaint was
fervent in wanting to keep Haiti French. He was sincere in his devotion to the French republic.

“Toussaint wanted the formerly enslaved Haitians to become exemplary Frenchmen”. He wanted
to show the world that black men could build a civilized state. “French should be spoken as
correctly in Port-au-Prince as in Paris” (Kumm, 2016). Toussaint has always looked to the
development of the blacks in Haiti as people whose aspirations were to be French. If they were
unable to achieve French-ness through skin pigmentation, Toussaint had hoped that blacks would
be French in the values they hold and how they process information about the world. Toussaint
wanted to break with France in neither its language nor its tradition and customs. He vowed that
he would be faithful to France as long as France was faithful to the blacks (C.L.R James, 1963).

“Toussaint invited white emigre planters to return on the plantation. In 1801 he drew up a
constitution for the colony that declared in the first article that Haiti was part of the French
Empire but subject to special laws” (Robin Blackburn, 2006: 647). Toussaint believed that the
colony needed these former masters in order to rebuild the plantation economy or maintain the
continuity of economic progress in Saint-Domingue (Dubois, 2004: 187). The mode of
leadership by Toussaint may be called strategic, diplomatic, civilized, and free from race hatred;
but some have questioned Toussaint’s lack of beliefs in the blacks to generate their own institution and economic system to govern themselves. In an attempt to defend Toussaint’s questionable loyalty to France, Mary Aquinas Healy stated that “Toussaint pursued his policy not only because of his humanitarianism but because of the co-operation of the white colonists enabled him to maintain the island on a secure economic and Military basis” (1953: 425).

Nevertheless, Toussaint’s governmental policies represent the mythification of colonial ideology that France has instituted in Haiti. Such gestures by Toussaint entails the western images by the colonized people of the metropole as a place of aspiration and fascination (Thomas, 2003: 952). And this is the same foundation in which the language question would develop in Haiti. Toussaint like the elites that were to follow him has made use of language on several occasions to legitimize his power, solidify his social status and justify his rank and civilized himself toward the colonizer and the formerly colonized blacks. C. L. R. James describes this instance where Toussaint made use of language in those lines below:

A Negro who wanted the post of judge came to see Toussaint. He was unfit for the post, but Toussaint did not want to hurt his feelings. "You know Latin, of course," said Toussaint. "Latin!" Toussaint reeled off a string of cheap Latin phrases that he had picked up. probably from official documents and the church service. The applicant retired, satisfied that he was incompetent, and marveling at the knowledge of the Governor (1963: 252).

Ideologically and socially, Toussaint’s memoir of France was one of protest, disappointment instead of revolution. He was anxious to see the blacks acquire the social deportment of the better class whites with their Versailles manners. Struck by the carriage and
bearing of a French officer, he said to those around him. "My sons will be like that. (C. L. R, 1963: 246).

Considering these points, we can say that Toussaint has eclipsed and ignored the potential culture of violence and hierarchization; his appreciation for French idealisms would consequently cause the non-western masses population in Haiti. This legacy of Toussaint brandishes the legacy of Haitian society that was to come. He laid the foundation for colonial elites to transform into urban elites to legitimize their idea of superiority within the framework of their closeness to French’s ideals and language. The revolution in Toussaint’s action was unfinished; for as Gayatri Spivak stated:” decolonization also involves a refashioning of the structure we inherited from colonial days’” (Thomas, 2003: 252). To go further as Ngugi Wa Thiong’o theorized decolonization needs the decolonization of the mind, in culture, its politics and sense of being. Since the leader of the Haitian revolution didn’t go as far, we can say that slaves of the January 1804 Haitian revolution were able only to” Kase chen nan pye yo selman, men chen ki nan tet yo toujou rete soude” (Haitians were only to break the shackles on their ankle but not the one in their mind, my translation).

Conclusion

Whether or not language institutions are a non-intentional backdrop of colonization, we can observe that the reality of language and culture in Haiti is selective in how it affects different sectors of the population (Mintz, 1995, Valdma, 2005). Haitians believe they can only resemble real humans if they share the characteristics of white dominance, in that case, the French Language. Elites have used language as a weapon to marginalize the mass majority. Elites’
reasoning on language use has excluded the majority Creole-speaking population in the political operation of the country (DeGraff, 2016). Until the time of this writing, Creole is still belittled and seen as backward or half language. This sentiment propagated in Haiti about the Creole language since colonial time creates unfortunate circumstances for monolingual Creole speakers.

The greater problem with the surviving colonial mentality is that the masses have blurred the line between political qualifications and the ability to speak French. The masses have accepted that only French speakers can govern. Because they have supported these false political facts, the masses have voluntarily given the elites who are fluent in the French language control over their lives. At the same time, the masses exclude themselves from the political process. Anti-democracy and de-democratization through language discrimination, thus, is a complementary process, where both the oppressor and the oppressed play a part in keeping the system unbalanced for the benefits of a few. This link between language and politics is thus “functioning as an underlying cause of, a contributor to, and trigger for political exclusion in Haiti” (Luzincourt, Gulbrandson, 2010: 5).
Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

It is very problematic to delineate creolist scholars and nativist intellectual language activists under a particular aspect of language. Most if not all engage with language within a myriad of common interpretations. It is for this reason here that the information on what scholars understood of the problem with linguistic pluralism in the former colonies will be multifaceted. It is built in relation to how these scholars understood the issues differently and similarly to each other. It is in this context that the literature review is written. It will encompass the sociolinguistics, the psychological, the subconscious aspects, and lastly the concrete effects of language use in the former colonies. Perspectives about language in the literature review are not drawn merely from Haitians experiences about language. The literature review overall is a multicultural examination of language plurality and the effect it has on the former colonies. These scholars' analyses are assessed to understand linguistic plurality, in general. And lastly, these scholars' analyses will be used to complement and understand the practicality and impracticality of the current language pluralism in Haiti.

Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’o: Decolonizing Language

“If I meet an English person, and he says, ‘I write in English,’ I don’t ask him ‘Why are you writing in English?’ If I meet a French writer, I don’t ask him, ‘Why don’t you write in
Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’o is a renowned Kenyan novelist and theoretician who decided to stop writing in English. Ngugi decided to write only in his African languages, Gikuyu, because he wanted to revolt against western influence associated with language that was still dominant in his homeland of Kenya. His book, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, is a holistic assessment of languages pluralism in the former colonies. He retraced the ideas confirmed in Anibal Quijano’s *Coloniality of Power* that knowledge is as important as politics, history and economics. Ngugi is not opposed to anti-imperialist movements but he criticized harshly those who are fighting western influence in the former colonies yet remain envious of western elements such as the language, the culture and the knowledge. Ngugi thinks revolutions that don't question the West’s social fabric as being incomplete.

_The question is this: we as African writers have always complained about the neocolonial economic and political relationship to Euro-America. Right. But by our continuing to write in foreign languages, paying homage to them, are we not on the cultural level continuing that neocolonial slavish and cringing spirit? What is the difference between a politician who says Africa cannot do without imperialism and the writer who says Africa cannot do without European languages? (Ngugi, 1998:101)._  

The works and ideas of Ngugi are not meant to simply free us of the shackles of oppression, his intention is to build conditions that are favorable to African autonomy, cultural independence, self-worth, and a sense of valorization. “Such investment in our culture and resources is what Ngugi calls “securing the base”. He elaborated on this aspect in his book:
Secure the Base: Making Africa Visible in the Globe where resistance in all facets became the best way to keep the culture and subaltern self-worth alive” (Marshall, 2018). As stated, Mukoma Wa Ngugi;” the concept of decolonizing the mind or language is to recognize the power relationship between the colonizer and colonized, or oppression and avenues of resistance” (2018).

The analysis of language utilization in the former colonies, in Ngugi’s case Kenya, is a critical perspective of power relations. It questions the authority of cultural myth about linguistic globalization, linguistic cultural exchange vs. actual truth of linguistic endangerment and determines how the illusion of truth created by those in power is justifiable to those being oppressed (Ngugi, 1986).

For Ngugi, culture and language are mutually inclusive, to the extent that language itself becomes the collective memory bank of a people’s experiences and history. Language forms imagery gives context and guides one’s particular thought process. Language in itself is the precedent to how knowledge is constructed within a particular culture. Culture is the reality of the knowledge in actions informed by language. Language, therefore, is inseparable from the community through, by and for which it was created.

Dividing culture from its particular language is a socio-logical violence that encompasses anything related to that culture (Ngugi, 1986:13-15). Ngugi stated that children in the former colonies often go through a school system that graduates them with hatred for their language and culture (1998:101). The education system often instilled in children contempt for their primary tools of communication under the assumption that their culture and being anything other than European had negative qualities such as backwardness, underdevelopment, humiliation and
punishment (Ngugi, 1998:103). Ngugi’s purpose is to restore the harmony between the African self and the local African language. “Through that harmony as the starting point, Ngugi concluded that anybody can learn other languages and even enjoy the positive humanistic, democratic and revolutionary elements in other people’s literatures and cultures without any complexes about his/her own language, his/her own self, his/her environment” (1998:103).

Beside the fact that language is a carrier of culture, the necessity to rethink language for Ngugi also has its roots on what one could call the real effects of linguistic colonization on the former colonies. Linguistic colonization reduces any possibilities of democratization in any country. “Democratic participation of the people in the shaping of their own lives or in discussing requires mutual comprehension in discussing their own lives in the language they understand the most” (Ngugi, 1998:104); parting away from that is to intentionally prevent the people from participating in issues that define their way of life. Second, there is the economic problem. To that condition, Ngugi according to Josephine Ntelamo Sitwala refers “to the suffering of the masses as a form of “neo-colonial elitism, a condition where the leaders of an independent state exercise power to exploit their people socially, politically and economically but, simultaneously, serve the interests of foreign businesses and governments” (Sitwala, 2018:6). It is for this reason that Ngugi alludes to the fact that “the most reactionary African politician, the one who believes in selling Africa to Europe, is often a master of African languages” (1998:101).
Colonialism, Neo-Colonial Elitism and Language

The ideas of Ngugi in relation to his homeland Kenya are relevant to the language condition in Haiti and multiple authors have talked about languages used in Haiti with similar perspectives. Michel DeGraff for example explains that language politics or “Creole exceptionalism”, as he calls it in the case of Haiti, is tainted by colonial and neo-colonial biases. The stigmatization of Haitian Creole, as DeGraff sees it, is part of race theories associated with African derived culture and knowledge implemented by neo-colonialists anti-creole” (2005:534-536). It is part of a social culture of exploitation that reinforces an ideology of class dominance by encouraging attitudes of contempt toward Creole and its derived culture (Dejean, 1983: 207). Benjamin Hebblethwaite integrated both DeGraff and Dejean’s analysis. He stated that “the negative attitudes expressed by many members of the French-speaking Haitian minority for the monolingual Creole-speaking majority originates in colonialism, class ideology, and race-based slavery in Saint-Domingue” (2012: 257). Albert Valdman supports the analysis made in the case of Haiti. Similarly, he refers to the language problem in Haiti, “as part of an elite ambivalence against the valorization of the so-called African heritage, whose pillars are Vodou and Haitian Creole” (Valdman, 1991:112).

Positioning Haiti’s Language Status

The Eurocentric dualistic epistemology associated with language utilization in Haiti has pressured multiple scholars to investigate the status of Haitian society linguistically. When it comes to that aspect there is doubt and disagreement about how to describe Haiti linguistically. Some scholars have positioned Haiti under the scale of bilingualism, but others disagree because
full bilingualism would need an egalitarian function of the two languages at use, which in reality doesn’t exist in Haiti between French and Creole. French is seen as superior in Haiti in all facets. The condition of inequality between the two languages has proposed an updated view of Haiti through which many characterize the country as diglossic. The term *diglossia* was coined by Charles A. Ferguson (1959). Ferguson characterized the relationship between French and Haitian Creole as one of prototypical diglossia. In Haiti, this diglossia is a situation in which languages play unequal roles and are ascribed unequal values; there is a High (French) and a Low (Creole) language. The low language (Haitian Creole) emerges and is subordinate to the high language (French). Furthermore, according to Ferguson, “although there is a hierarchical differentiation between the High (French) and the Low (Creole), the speech community accepts the functional complementarity and the hierarchical relationship between the two linguistic codes, thus making diglossia a stable and coexisting system (Valdman, 1991, Dejean, 1983).

Although Ferguson's analysis seems very logical when it comes to defining the language situation in Haiti, there is not a full consensus on whether Haiti should be described as a diglossic country. Dejean rejects the diglossic labels on the basis that there is not a real coexistence between the two languages and the speech communities. Dejean also problematized and politicized the notion of diglossia by showing that the low (Haitian Creole) has gained autonomy from the High (French) language. “DeGraff also agrees with that statement by implying that Haitian Creole isn’t a corrupt French or a low language because Haitian Creole is an official language with its own orthography, literature, and academy” (Bonefil, 2017:7). Valdman agrees with Dejean assessment stating that “dynamism rather than stability characterize the linguistic situation in Haiti” (1991:110). They agree as well that Haiti is made of two separate speech communities.
The social consequences of these two different speech communities in Haiti are that the majority of the population never masters the prestige (French) language, which excludes them from participation in the more public and formal activities of the country. In the struggle of the masses to acquire the prestige (French) language is a powerful elite which by virtue of their high wealth is able to educate themselves, learn the high French language and continue to use it to further their advantage. For the reason that true complementation is not achievable between the high and low language, diglossia is doubtful (Valdman, 1991, Dejean, 1983).

**Linguistic Pluralism and Education**

**Students Learning**

One of the greatest effects of French imposition over the majority creole speaking population is that it creates confusion and difficulty in Haitian aptness to applied languages efficiently. Recent studies have shown that bilingualism, linguistic hierarchization in the case of Haiti, may have potentially hamper lexical access in speech production. While multilingualism may increase cognitive ability, it however reduces lexical processing (Sarah. E Young, 2016).

This negative effect of language hierarchization is particularly relevant in the unequal adoption of language properties in Haiti. An ethnographic data gathering made by Marky Jean-Pierre (2011), with elementary school students in Haiti illustrated that problem. Jean-Pierre in his study observed that Haitian students have struggled to understand what they have learned when the language of learning is French based. Marky Jean-Pierre observed that students may be able to regurgitate what they have memorized in the French language, but they do not understand the meaning behind what they have been encouraged to learn.
During a lesson, students were asked in French. *Qu’est-ce qui frappe une grande partie de la population?* {What affects a large number of the population?} After hesitating some students replied *le chomage* or unemployment; others say *la production agricole*. {The agricultural production.}. Beside the answers they forgot to repeat, these two answers and the question to which they have responded came from what the students had to memorize for that day's lesson in a French book. The fact that the students could not gather more answers about the question shows how little understanding they have about what is being asked and the answers they've given.

When teaching is applied through the medium-Creole- that students comprehend well, they tend to perform better. In a lesson about Children’s rights performed in Creole in the class, Marky Jean-Pierre observed that students were very responsive to questions. Their answers were not limited to the scope of what their books said. Their answers reflect a deep understanding of the subjects of study and that they were able to spontaneously analyze complex subjects and come to terms with answers about them.

An arithmetic lesson in the same class shows that students encounter similar problems, M. Jean-Pierre (2011) observed. In a lesson about decimal numbers students were able to read aloud from the arithmetic French textbook what decimal numbers are, listing successive decimals up to 12. The students went as follows: *zéro virgule neuf...neuf dixièmes* {zero comma nine...nine tenths} *six virgule deux ... six unités deux dixièmes* {six comma two...six units two tenths}. But when the students were asked questions outside the context-specific of the lesson in the book or in Creole, for that matter, they were very confused. M. Jean Pierre proceed after the arithmetic lesson with this question in Creole: *Ki sa vle di “nombre décimal”?*’’ {What does “decimal number mean?”}. The students attempted to answer: *Un nombre decimal se yon nonb*
ki... ki... *ki, se yon nonb ki, c’est un nombre...a m bliye*’ {A decimal number is a number that...that...that, it is a number that, it is a number . . . *I forgot*}.

The essence of that conversation with M. Jean-Pierre illustrates two important problems about the imposition of a foreign language on nativist monolingual students. The first problem is that there is the chance that students may never fully understand anything if they are taught in a language they don't grasp. They will most likely be able to recite what’s in the book without a deep understanding of the lessons. And, if they are able to understand something about the lessons, students will only understand these lessons as they are applied in the French context of the book. “This is a surface understanding of learning that involves the acquisition, storing, reproduction, and using of knowledge”. This aspect of knowledge, for Haitian students stuck through linguistic pluralism, is limited in scope because there is not a “deep understanding”, where “learning has to involve the construction of meaning (understanding) and personal change” for further progression of knowledge and ingenuity (Hattie, Purdie, 2002). These depressive effects on people's potential to actually think corroborate the hypothesis that language hierarchization in the education system has led to the loss of potential geniuses in Haiti.

The second spurious effect of language pluralism in education may be seen in the inability of students to appropriate a specific language to answer questions. There is a challenge in word use, vocabulary and even the ability of students to explain what they had learned in either French or Creole. When the children answered, “I forgot” to Jean-Pierre’s question, it did not indicate that the children really forgot the lesson. She may have understood it well, but her inability to speak French fluently made her unable to explain it, in a first point. And second, the fact that the lesson was not taught in Creole, it is also difficult for her to explain it in that new space. All accounted for, the education system in Haiti makes learning context/language specific,
where the problematic language down pinned the insurrection of intellectualism among Haitian students. In Haiti, pupils are mortified to pose, answer questions or start instrumental intellectual conversation because of fear that they will be made fun of if they speak incorrectly in French or humiliated if spoken in Creole. This practice of punishing children for using their mother tongue interferes with their skills, creativity, and well-being (DeGraff, 2017). To the majority students at the school system in Haiti, the best way to save face is to remain silent and unnoticed.

**Neuro-linguistic Effects of Haiti’s Language Pluralism on Students**

Language oppression in education is only part of the story. Unreasonable language pluralism is much more than an unfair practice put at a disadvantage by the majority of the population. Unfair implementation of multilingualism is also a human problem in Haiti. The fact is that the policy of multilingualism affects individuals directly. Research suggests that language pluralism can cause lexical impairment in individuals. One of the conclusions made in this research is that multilingualism represents a paradox. The central paradox is that the multiple linguistic experience improves performance on nonverbal cognitive tasks for individuals, but it simultaneously makes language processing more effortful for those affected by it (Sullivan, Poarch, Bialystok, 2017). Considering that, one of the greatest effects of French imposition over the majority Creole-speaking population in Haiti is that it creates confusion and difficulty in Haitian aptness to apply languages efficiently.

Sarah E. Young (2016) showed that multilingualism may potentially hamper lexical access in speech production. She makes a similar argument with Margot, Poarch and Bialystok on multilingualism. Young takes into account that multilingualism can also have some positive
aspects. Relying on the positive spectrum multilingualism of Hulit and Howard, she shows that bilingual children have more developed metalinguistic skills than their monolingual peers. Further advantage is that bilinguals have increased cognitive ability and also believe that they can be better at executive control functions (Young, 2016).

Nevertheless, Young returned to her original point and concluded that multilingualism reduces lexical processing, leading to what she called retrieval induced forgetting (Young, 2016). Young showed that bilinguals often show poorer performance than monolinguals on picture naming and verbal fluency tasks. Moreover, despite exposure to different languages, bilingual children and adults typically have smaller vocabulary reach than monolingual speakers of each language (Margot D. Sullivan, Gregory J. Poarch and Ellen Bialystok, 2017).

*Lexical retrieval*, the process of getting from a concept to a spoken word, is severely reduced in multilingual individuals because multilingualism complicated the process that allows speakers to retrieve words rapidly and accurately (Freidman, Brian, Dotan, 2013). The analytical processing of word choices - their cultural, their literate meaning - that multilingual speakers have to engage with when they are speaking is multiple. The idea here is that people who have multilinguals suffer from cross-language interference. When multilinguals communicative actions are activated, they have to compete for selection with the lexical representations of all the linguistic knowledge that is available in the brain (Ivanova, Costa, 2008). There is a *competition account*, multiple languages are jointly activated in the brain. The need to resolve this conflict “about what word to use and which language to use” often leads to latencies, tip of the tongue words and even forgetfulness in lexical retrieval (Sullivan, Poarch, Bialystok, 2018).
Another factor that reduced the lexical retrieval process of multilinguals is the underutilization of the divided utilization of the languages available to them. There is a frequency-lag in each language used. According to that frequency-lag lexical retrieval is slower for bilinguals because they use words from each language less frequently than monolinguals, making concept-word connections less automatic or “weaker” (Gollan, Montoya, Cera, Sandoval1, 2008). Multilinguals may relatively know more words than monolinguals, however, the fact they have to divide time between multiple languages puts them at a disadvantage to monolinguals. In trying to find the words, translating words internally to express particular situation to reflect particular contexts in different languages multilingual individuals experience obvious processing cost and latent fluency. “On this view, multilinguals face unusually fierce competition each time they speak because, for any given concept or conversation, they know multiple words (translations) that fit their intended meaning or they know multiple within language contextual analysis that could explain something better, whereas monolinguals typically know just one (Gollan, Montoya, Cera, Sandoval1, 2008). A lot of time while multilinguals may be aware of those multiple explanations, however they have problems expressing themselves well because of lack of fluency caused by language sharing in the brain. This problem can reduce speech production in multilingual individuals and language development multilingual society. In Haiti, when kids are squeezed in this neuro-linguistic choice in schools, it reduces their ability to process information efficiently. It also puts a strain on their ability to express themselves with ease.
Cognitive Linguistic Impairment and Ineffective Scholastic Pedagogy

When multilingualism is implemented without any proper policy to reduce its effects on the individual it can lead to severe problems in education. Michell T. DeGraff expresses his concern with children being taught in French in a majority creole-speaking population. DeGraff’s argument here revolves around neurological issues as well, but the problem he identifies is different from what is discussed above by Sarah E. Young. In a Conversation with Peter Dizikes, DeGraff points out that Haitian students face a *Virtuous Triangle* conundrum, linguistically, when language pluralism is forced upon them improperly (2015). He insinuated that children become worse readers as a result of bilingualism in Haiti. According to DeGraff, the Virtuous Triangle of linguistic representations—1) letters on the page (“graphemes”), 2) sounds in the corresponding language (“phonemes”), and 3) word meanings (“semantics”)—is broken among bilingual Haitian students. The triangle is broken because Haitian children who only speak Creole are taught to read in French (often by teachers who themselves are not fluent in French), the graphemes on the page relate to one language (French) while the phonemes and semantics in the child’s mind relate to another language (Kreyòl) (Peter Dizikes, 2015). So, in the Haitian students’ learning process there is a barrier between what is taught and what the students understand. The child is thus obliged to learn in a state of confusion without a grasp of what he/she is indulging.

This virtuous triangle which is essential to becoming a good reader is most effective when it reflects the student’s native language or the language, the student feels most comfortable speaking. In Haiti, the opposite occurs. Children are taught in a foreign language, French, instead of their native language, Creole. This reverse methodology of teaching consequently reduces the
learning potential of these students, curtails their prospects and makes them generally
disinterested in school.

Juan Baron, a World Bank observer, stated the teaching method is ineffective in Haiti.
According to Baron, language played a major role in the problem. “Language poses a problem of
comprehension. Many students are unengaged in class. They spend as much time wondering,
bemused instead of learning” (2016). These pedagogical failures cause exponential school drop-
out in Haiti. Approximately 30 percent of children attending primary school will not make it to
third grade and 60 percent will abandon school before sixth grade. Of the rest still attending
school, 50% are overage (UNICEF, 2008). The high dropout rate is generally not reflective of
Haitian students disregard for school or actual disinterest in education; rather, it is an
unfortunate consequence of limited family resources and other barriers such as language set up
by an education system imprisoned by a colonial mindset (Luzincourt, Gulbrandson, 2010: 2).

In experimental schools that have applied a monolingual curriculum, we’ve seen higher
improvement in Haitian students learning. Partly funded by the National Science Foundation,
LKM (Lekol Kominote Matenwa) is a Creole based school located in the community of La
Gonave, Haiti. The use of Creole as the main language of teaching shows that Haitian children
who are taught in Kreyòl achieve much higher learning gains than their counterparts who are
taught in French. In 2014, all 25 sixth graders at LKM passed the official standardized tests
administered by the state. Teachers themselves are noted to perform better in class. In terms of
language proficiency, LKM students seem to learn French better than those that are taught in
French in the conventional French-based educational Haitian institutions. According to DeGraff,
the reason for students' success in LKM is because students are better equipped to learn all
academic subjects, including second languages, such as French, when they master their native
tongue (Dizikes, 2015). Supporting DeGraff’s analysis is Noam Chomsky’s analysis on the same subject. Chomsky ascertained that “students who study in their own languages will obtain greater competence of their language and as well the subject matters. It will increase their capacity to aspire to a higher level of learning. It will help them integrate successfully in the general world of culture, mathematics, science; interactions with others; developing a sense of worth, dignity and consciousness that they can achieve, inquiry and create (Dizikes, 2015).

These perspectives of DeGraff and Chomsky on LKM language reflect many successful school systems in countries such as Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Netherland and Sweden who teach their students in their native tongues and only teach Global foreign language as a subject like any other course taught in the curriculum. This shows that students are only able to build strong academic foundations in all subjects, including foreign language, unless and until they’re coherent in a specific language-their native tongue preferably (Macedo, 2019).

**Academic Disenfranchisement**

The elite have historically used language as a method of suppression. The school system is often the primary means through which that repression is materialized. The policies pertaining to language in the education system constitute a barrier to education of the masses. The ruling class like their former French masters of Saint-Domingue have used illiteracy to protect their social position and economic interest. By making “education a privilege associated with the social status of French language elites classified the education system and severely curtailed its access to the mass monolinguial population” (Marky-Jean Pierre, 2011).
Language marginalization also reduces the competitive nature of the education system. The upper crust of Haitian society is able to pay the schooling of their children to understand and speak the language of administration in well-founded private and catholic schools. Children of the lower class, however, do not have that same opportunity. The public-school system available to desperate poor Haitian is full of delinquent teachers who rarely conduct classes, incompetent principals and mediocre methods of teaching.

Parents who can afford to educate their children in the relatively inexpensive and low-quality schools such as Lekol Bolet, spurious and non-accredited private schools that have multiplied in Haiti since the 1980’s, see their kids suffer the effects of cheap and half-baked education. There are no chance children will receive a quality education in those non-accredited private schools in Haiti. Teachers at these schools can barely speak the French language they are required to teach. And many of them have no qualifications for their jobs on top of their inability to teach in the French language. Only 60 percent of non-public schoolteachers are recognized as appropriately trained (Luzincourt, Gulbrandson, 2010: 3). Due to the gap in privilege that exists in education, students raised in monolingual environments see the school system as a difficult place of learning in terms of language use in the education system and its management.

The unbalanced language pluralism often discouraged unprivileged students from continuing with their studies in Haiti. According to a report by the firm United States for Peace, one of the main reasons for high dropout, beside finance, is the linguistic barriers instituted in the education system (Luzincourt, Gulbrandson, 2010: 3). Aside from the few devoted students of the mass that give everything to their studies, only the most advantaged Haitians receive the French education needed to perform the institutional functions required for the structural establishment of Haitian society. Therefore, using French as the main education medium
disregards the Haitian reality and the Haitian mass. This Practice of using French rather than Creole in the classroom discriminates against the lower socioeconomic classes (Luzincourt, Gulbrandson, 2010: 30).

The dominance of French in the school system is an inherent contradiction to the goal of education when people are being educated in a language they do not understand. “George Clark and Donald Purcell noted in 1975 this problem of language in Haiti. They stated that educating Haitian children in French was unsuitable because students were sitting in French-only classrooms with no comprehension of what the teacher was saying” (Kuhn, 2019: 11). The system of education has put in place a platform for the disadvantaged masses to fail. It justified a pervasive cognitive dissonance among the elites, where they relieve themselves of the burden they have imposed on the masses through an elusive linguistic structure that continues to benefit their economic interests and their social standing in society.

Conclusion

The reason linguistic plurality is ineffective in Haiti is because it creates a condition of inequality between French and Haitian Creole. This linguistic inequality has real and measurable consequences on the mass. This inequality of languages greatly influences the position, academic progress, and cognition of those who make use of French and Haitian Creole. As such, by itself, language pluralism creates academic violence in the school system and altered the cognitive mental capabilities among its users (Dizikes, 2015). These dynamics of linguistic plurality when they entrenched the population, they often create conditions of social inequality; and when left unchecked they cause catastrophic problems to the marginalized mass.
The linguistic situation of Haiti is very much a complicated phenomenon. It is guided by two factors: one intangible and the other tangible. Those two factors complement one another very well. The intangible factor is the psychological prison that colonial interpretation of language has asserted upon the nation. This abstract notion of superiority through language has legitimized colonial and postcolonial elite control of the country. It forces the masses to accept the theory of language proposed by the elite as a symbolic truth. The tangible aspect is the political and economic interest that compelled elites to maintain colonial structure of elitism to dominate the masses and preserve their benefits. Elites maintained/accepted colonial interpretation of language to avoid economic, political competition and to preserve their social status that allowed them the ability to sway the institutional administration of the country.

The greatest danger that emerges from that linguistic strategy by the elites is that the colonial lie they nurture about language superiority has become a fact overtime. Haitians inherently define themselves in relation to language without question. This crony linguistic adaptation held the elite prisoners of superiority and the masses prisoners of inferiority. It wound both the elites and the masses to the point of no repair. The linguistic problem hence is marred by a violent lie that hurts psychologically both the elite and the mass. When they accepted the false colonial narrative about language in Haiti, they remained colonized themselves.
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The de-colonial effort staged in Haiti, and the postcolonial era that followed can both be defined in terms of elitism. Pareto stated, “elite is a value-free term inclusive of all those who score highest on scales measuring any social value or commodity, such as power, riches, knowledge” (L. N Sharma, 1977: 64). Since the French colonial classes were politically above the mass slaves, it thus fits the notion of elitism. Respectively, the mulattoes and few people of color that came to control the economic and political power suit that reasoning because of their status above the black masses. Like Gaetano Mosca said: the elites “had a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority over those they govern” (John Higley, 2010: 161). Those colonial and post-colonial elites had all these characteristics in Haiti. “They consisted of the most talented and deserving individuals. Their knowledge allowed them to legitimize their power through force and persuasion, and usually they enjoyed important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections Wilfred Pareto postulate” (John Higley, 2010: 161).

In general, the new elite class that developed in Haiti in the early post-revolution era is a reflection of the colonial era elite’s class stratification. Their legitimization relied on the factor that defined the French colonial power. The new elite class similarly commanded the institutional language and French culture necessary to conduct institutional affairs. Many were educated in France; therefore, they were and still deemed the strongest and most capable of governing by virtue of the residual mentality Haiti has inherited.
Although elitism is very important to understand the language in Haiti. Constraining language to elite theory will only give a fringe understanding of the language problem that exists in Haiti. Justification of linguistic elitism in Haiti is beyond the rationality of greed that is part of western understanding. Elitism, in Haiti, in correlation with rapacity is the evidence of a living legacy of colonialism and Eurocentrism that has tainted most former colonies. Anibal Quijano’s Coloniality of Power is best fitted to explain the nature of elitism (1990). Following the interdependence of these two theoretical concepts about elitism and coloniality, I wish to give more clarity to the language problem in Haiti and the effects it has on the country’s population. To best understand the effects, I will integrate Aime Cesaire’ Boomerang effects theory into the equation.

**Elitism**

**Language in the Post-Revolution Period: Strategy of Opportunist Elite Classes**

The elite-controlled post-revolution political process constructed in Haiti a predatory state defined by hierarchization that was central to the French colonial enterprise in Haiti. Like any other political tools, language as well has fallen under that predatory state of hierarchization. In Haiti, language is not simply a method of communication, it also becomes an instrument to discriminate against the majority Creole-speaking population that are not world-oriented, western-educated or do not have any command of the French language.

In a strategy of linguistic marginalization, “research on Creole languages identified Creole to low esteem” (Kramer, 2017: 107) in public opinion. Creole to the elites represented a decay in the mental capacity of those who have not been able to speak standard French.
Language. In addition, they have treated “Creole as a waste of resources that should be dismissed given to their fact that it doesn’t contribute to any refinement or development of language” (Kramer, 2017:107). Such a comparative perspective by the elites between French and Creole reveals how language ideologies are adapted in Haiti as means to delegitimizing the moral, the intellectual and even the human existence of an entire speech community united by the use of the Haitian Creole language.

Language attitudes in Haiti also suffer from the unpreventable disease of History. In Creole-speaking Haiti, the historical context that set up the elite’s interest to maintain a linguistic hierarchy emerge from and reflect the historical debate about racism, classification, slavery and dominance that existed in the pre-independence era. The elite desire is to run away from any constraints that may delegitimize their authority. As the new colonizer, the elite sought to establish a colonizer-colonized duality between itself and the mass, just so to impose a new structure of domination on the masse. In that aspect, French and Creole are compartmentalized into a space of opposition. To control the masses of Haitians angry for freedom, the elite reminded the Haitian mass (former slaves) of the bruteness associated with Haitian Creole and other black developed languages; while they painted a portrait of themselves and the French language in a position of superiority that the former slave should aspire and bow to.

To defend their position in society the new ruling class applied the same old strategies the French colonizer of the colonial era had used in an attempt to establish their hegemony in the country. “Policies for an extended use of French are reinforced as measures in formal institutions to perpetuate social inequalities and stabilize the divide between the influential standard-speaking elites and the underprivileged monolingual mass Haitians (Kramer; 2017: 107). “Michel T. DeGraff concludes on a similar argument. He stated that ‘Francophilia’ and
‘Creolophobia’ characterize the mentality of the Haitian elite for whom linguistic dichotomy is a ‘tool, not for nation-building, but […] the ‘expression of class self-interest’’ (Hebblethwaite, 2012: 262).

Philippe-Richard Marius argues that “in the privileged classes of Haiti postcolonial circulation of Western symbolic values originating in Europe and its diaspora – from language to fashion to social etiquette – is not simply a cultural problem; it is also a straightforward matter of political economy” (2015: 174). Elites use language as a means to enrich themselves. Beyond the communicative means, they have initiated language concrete values. French became a political instrument. Having the command of French is practically having the preamble of power. The reason is because the elites impose a system where the French Language is the platform in which access to social and political capital are negotiated.

Coloniality of Power

Decolonization and Coloniality

When Haiti embarked on its path as an independent nation in 1804, it was encumbered with the unfortunate heritage of colonial method of hierarchization and elitism imposed by the leader of the revolution in their quest to be French look-alike society. The success of the Saint-Domingue slave’s rebellion for all its concerns had only initiated a new phase of colonialism that entrenched all aspects of Haiti. After the declaration of independence in 1804, “the free people of color and mulattoes simply filled the vacuum left by the former ruling class and became the new elite that dominated the then slaves now turned into a peasant mass. A century after the independence Haiti did remain essentially a two-class society with an urban mulatto elite that
was over-hysterical about French culture and a peasant mass left for dead and demonized for their non-conservative way of living” (Patterson, Wingfield, 1965: 339).

The implications of this phenomenon show that the indoctrination of the long-ago colonial rulers’ concepts about being French and living within the construct of French morality and culture is still the aspiration of most Haitians. Haitians, thus inherited the mentality of Toussaint in which we seem to be free in spirit, free physically, however we’re shackled consciously because we devoid ourselves the opportunity to construct our own autonomous identity by blindly falling for the civilization of oppression designed by the white men for his sole benefits.

Haitians believe they could only resemble real humans if they share the characteristics of white dominance, in that case, the French Language. This is because they have internalized the colonizer’s image and submerge in the social reality that the French colonial power has constructed in the colony about superiority and inferiority. Being oppressed, for so long, by the duality of French (superior) versus Haitian creole (superior), white (superior) versus blacks (inferior); Haitians have become disgusted with their own reality and lost almost all self-pride. Feeling inferior and distrust in their own identity, Haitians have become a puppeteering white attractions; thus, leading to the irresistible attractions toward the French language as well. An example of that attraction can be observed when Haitian lies about their knowledge of French. While only 2-5% of Haitians can actually speak fluently, but because of the associations of high culture associated with France, most Haitians will say they speak French; especially to foreigners who are confused about those two languages due to the similarities in the vocabulary used.
Anibal Quijano views are important to understand the concept of language in Haiti because it puts in perspective the hegemony of colonial power beyond the military and political dominance (Castro-Gomez, 2008). It explains the discursive reality of Haitian society as a paradox between political emancipation and epistemic domination. “The coloniality of power analysis makes references to the way in which colonial domination attempted to eliminate the many form of knowledge, i.e. (Haitian Creole) of a native population and to replace it with new ones that is more appropriate for the civilizing purpose of the colonial regime” (Castro-Gomez, 2008: 281). Coloniality of power in reference to linguistic hierarchization in Haiti makes references that the current characteristics of the former colonies' political thought is the restructure of colonialism through local elitism or neo-colonialism (Kebede, 2003, Sitwala, 2018). “This colonialism is beyond concrete evidence of colonialism (history, politics and economics), because what really matters in the concept of decoloniality is above all the knowledge that is intertwined in all these praxical spheres that entangles us to the point of making us believe that it is not knowledge that matters” (Walsh, Mignolo, 2018).

**Boomerang Effect**

The concept of elitism helps explain how language is reconceptualized by the elite’s class Haiti, but it does not fully touch on the holistic effects of language. It is for this reason that this thesis adopts Aime Cesaire analysis on colonialism and savagery to understand the complete effects of language in Haiti. The integration of Cesaire analysis to linguistic hierarchization in Haiti is mostly to understand the effects that language has on the elites that have weaponized language in Haiti. Language effects in connection with elites is best captured by Aime Cesaire's theory of *boomerang effect of colonization* (1950).
When Aime Cesaire wrote his influential text *Discourse on Colonialism* he had in mind the white colonialist, the barbarism of western civilization, and the passivity of the bourgeoisie class. He showed how they appropriated a savage temperament to themselves by trying to justify and inflict on people of color the stamp of savagery. This thesis, to humbly put it, is an extension of this boomerang effect. According to Cesaire, the boomerang effect is when one adversely sustains the same traits, he/she imposes on others; on violence, one would likely suffer the same violence it inflicts on others. Thus, the linguistic boomerang effect in Haiti explains, of the violence that the elite perpetuated on others through linguistic means, they consequently violate their own sense identity as Haitians. Meaning, the elites’ class preference to be French and speak French is an assault on the values of the 1804 revolution that sought to free Haitians from the superiority of French civilization based on the aspect of language, race, and culture. Reference of class superiority through French characteristics devalues the matrix of what makes the elites class and Haitians, in general, an autonomous civilization. Ironically, what happened is that preponderance to French ways submit the understanding of Haitianity to white societal construction of nations in which people of color and antithetical western epistemologies are seen as inferior. Of the brute and ignorant that the elites create of the rural peasants and of the civilize they create of themselves due to their closeness to French culture; they consequently allow white society authority to not only demonize the peasants of Haiti, but to also condemn to perpetual slavery all who fell under the umbrella of Haitians, including the elites.

Overall, the boomerang effect, through linguistic hierarchization, is the idea that the local elites have taken part in a national self-rejection and found themselves in a position of crisis in regard to their identity. The boomerang effects of elites’ linguistic hierarchization asserts that undeniable practice of violence by the fact language is destroyed, religions are toppled, the
Haitians identity is demonized and society as a whole is drained of its cultural essence (Cesaire, 1950).

**Conclusion**

Bridging the gap between language, underdevelopment, elitism and colonality in Haiti is not an absolute confirmation that developing linguistic elitism is the most important catalyst to Haiti’s misery. The objective of this research is to examine Haiti and identify particular constraints that are often ignored in the study of democracy, development and decolonization, and then provide a comprehensive discourse on the effect of language imposition in the former colonized world, with particular focus on Haiti. It is for this reason that the greater role here, beyond those theoretical frameworks mentioned above, is to extend upon the position taken by postcolonial Caribbean francophone and African authors such as Aime Cesaire (1950). Cesaire’s contributions will be important to determine the reasoning behind both the elites and the mass submergence under the realm of colonial predisposition, discussed in this research analysis in linguistic terms.
Chapter Four: Analysis

Introduction

This section below presents the analysis of the language problem in Haiti. Building upon already built knowledge such as Pierre Bourdieu’s Symbolic Power, Johan Galtung’s Collective violence, Paul Famer’s Structural Violence and Aime Cesaire’s Boomerang Effect, I demonstrate that language pluralism in Haiti exemplifies the prototype of a society defined by linguistic violence. The consideration given to violence, with respect to language here is multifaceted, meaning it doesn’t fit the classical singular understanding of violence. The intent here is to approach violence sociologically and critically. This linguistic analysis of violence in this thesis is inclusive in that it supports the concept of violence as the use of power to harm one another, whatever the form it takes (Anand, Bjerre, Berggren, 2020).

This critical perspective of violence goes beyond the mainstream positivist views of violence; at its basis is the investigation of power relations in Haiti. This social literature that establishes the link between power and violence will deepen our understanding of violence as something that is metalinguistic and exists beyond the parameters of measurement. The linguistic examination of violence here does not intend to diminish classical views of violence; on the contrary, it seeks to build on it.

To contextualize the relationship that exists between language and violence I divided the thesis analysis into six subsections. The first part investigates the complexity of violence and
proposes a more holistic view of the concept through nuance theoretical analysis. The ensuing sections draw upon typologies of violence emerge from the nuance analysis and determine how they interact with language in Haiti. In the last section, I problematize violence and argue that it takes place within a neo-colonial elitist framework in Haiti. This last analysis is based on the theory of the boomerang effect theorized by Cesaire. The boomerang explains, in linguistic violence terms, that the elites have been violent to themselves by using language as a violent tool on others in Haiti. The framework quite simply, is that linguistic violence encompasses the whole genome of Haitian society. So much so, that even the elites who guide that violence fell subject to it.

**Violence**

**Traditional Perspectives**

Before I go through the details of how violence occurs through language, it is best to understand what violence is. It is in the interest of this thesis to lineate a clear general understanding of violence here. However, we do not wish to dwell upon the universal understanding of violence because violence in the visceral sense does not capture the element of deep suffering this thesis emphasizes. For the sake of context, it is important to bring attention to the familiar perspective of violence, nevertheless. In the World Report on Violence and Health (WRVH), the World Health Organization defines violence as: "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation" (Rutherford, Alison, 2007).
The essential aspect of violence here is the identification of a direct link between perpetrators and victims. In the event that the link is not identifiable or the relationship between the two protagonists is very murky, violent behaviors and actions are likely to remain uncovered. The effects of climate change are instances where acts of violence are subtle and very hard to establish a direct link between victims and perpetrators. "Air pollution causes an estimated 600,000 deaths each year in children under five. It also causes cognitive development and can risk behavioral disorders" (Ghebreyesus, 2019). However, the fact that there is a gap between the perpetrators and victims makes it challenging for classical theories on violence to sequester climate change through the sphere of violence.

The above example on climate change also brings another dimension to violence. It is that infliction of violence also depends on its purpose and intent. Violent acts are not necessarily violence. Violence generally must be organized and intentional. In the typology of violence defined by the WHO, "a person or group must intend to use force or power against another person or group in order for an act to be classified as violent" (Rutherford, Allison, 2007). Spontaneous acts of violence for self-defense may have the same results as organized violence, but they differ in their classification because they do not serve the same purpose. Thus, violence in its entirety is not only the physical injury or psychological harm; violence overall is the structural disposition and the predisposition to deprive and hurt others and then act on that intention.
Theories on Violence

The analysis of violence as presented above, is a positivist viewpoint of the term. As explained above, positivists point out violence through identifiable agents' direct link with one another. This perception of violence is a case in which the objective is to be able to identify and prevent violence. Violence there is objectified and engulfed within a set perspective and limits. The intention to characterize violence through the construct of perpetrators, victims, purpose, and intention may have been altruistic, but it failed to attack complicated questions about the limitlessness of violence. Questions such as “Does the advent of capitalism and, indeed, cause more violence than it prevents?” (Zizek, 2008); and whether visceral ideas of violence have undermined other forms of violence, thus making non-blunt violence acceptable? These questions presented may have the traits of straw man fallacy; however, this is not the purpose here. These questions are posed to broaden the notion of violence and make sense of the argument that language is inherently a violent concept, especially in Haiti, as the thesis is trying to prove.

Critical theorists take a more flexible stance on violence. Violence is not merely typified and reduced to physicality. Consideration of violence underlies particularly "power" and "power relations." While the result of violence is inevitably pain, its objective is different, however. The logic of violence is not death; it is instead the production of order through "power-over," "power to," and "power with" (Hamilton, Sharma, 1997). Violence thus is not a means-end instrument; it is a logic that accompanies power for the benefit of individuals or groups (M. Thame, 2011: 85). To clearly define violence, Galtung argues, we must delocalize concepts of violence. By that, he means that we should extend our understanding of the term beyond the agents' immediate intersubjective relations (Parsons, 2007). The reality of violence emerges based on how power is
generated within the social construct of society. Galtung defines this aspect of violence "cultural violence"-the symbolic sphere of our existence that justify and legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990: 291). Poverty and inequality, for example, embodied the notion of violence. It is not because poverty, inequality is a state of suffering, but because they depend on the social machinery of indirect oppression and exploitation that embodies violence through the deep historical-social construction of power legitimation (Burton, David, 2016: 48).

Power is the functioning element of violence; it is associated with influence, domination, authority, and control. When power relations are legitimate through society's established norms and codes, the infliction of violence is justified. The government, for example, as a legitimate authoritative body, has the authority to use violence in case it chooses necessary because societal values enable it to do so within set limits of the power they instill in the state (Hamilton, Sharma, 1997). When violence is structurally immersed through socio-political power, it is difficult to realize that acts of violence occur in society. In Haiti, historical factors such as acceptable colorism, hegemonic social formation of society eclipse the suffering of people and constrain their agency to see their state of poverty as something that is caused by a power-determinant inegalitarian system.

It is inadequate to explain violence through the result of suffering, pain, and poverty. We must consider violence through structural analysis, "the larger matrix of culture, history and political economy" (P. Farmer, 2003: 41). We must understand the balance of these important concepts through class analysis and the institutional formation of society because they are the motivation to violence. We must question which groups or sectors have authority over culture. Finally, we must understand whom system benefits and how it benefits them? As a final note, we must understand violence through the inability to explain and see violence. It is evident and
inevitable that this thesis may be an act of violence because I am unable to capture what violence fully entails. Thus, the most significant impact of violence is when violence becomes invisible, and one accepts or impose violence on him/herself without realizing it. Galtung fully conceptualizes this imperceptible aspect of violence in these words: "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Parsons, 2007:175).

"Violence thus is the gap between the potential and the actual" (Parsons, 2007: 175). It is a fact of misconstrued hegemony where both victims and perpetrators suffer from a lack of understanding of self-liberation. Violence, in its real sense, is dehumanization. Fundamental and perceived views of this dehumanization occur when perpetrators demonize the other agents to justify their actions. However, a broadening perspective of violence is overall a global identity crisis, the disposition of humanistic austerity imposed on self and others through "monsterization" of the other.

Aime Cesaire gave us one of the most profound understandings of violence. His enduring image of the "boomerang effect" shows that violence slowly migrated against others to oneself (Abourahme, 2018). Violence in the colonial global context is a strident self-dehumanization, the internalization of colonialism in its non-physical form. This violence is the “preservation of internalized sense of inferiority in the colonized proletariat and elites” (Dusatka, 2019: 3). “It is a case in which we saw that the native thinkers had internalized the feeling of inferiority, marginalized their original self by endorsing otherness or whiteness” (Kebede, 2001:551). The linguistification of that self-inflicted, internalized violence in Haiti is a case that the elites and the masses have minimized, marginalized, their language by endorsing western derived language such as French.
I confess that the general emphasis on violence here is quite exuberant and abstract. The purpose of this thesis is not to theorize on the infinite forms of violence, for that would be very exhausting; neither is it devaluing real physical violence people experience daily. Nevertheless, in its capacity, we found it very important to pinpoint these examinations of violence because they characterize the complexity of suffering in Haiti. They land tributary explanations that Haiti linguistic violence is defined by multiple enclaves intertwining together for the purpose of mass oppression and elite superiority.

**Symbolic Violence**

**Defining Symbolic Violence**

Slovenian philosopher, Slavoj Zizek, in his text, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*, calls the violence performed through language, symbolic violence (2008). The term symbolic violence was first coined by Pierre Bourdieu (1991). According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is the result of symbolic systems- "a tradition in which the cognitive function of symbols ignores the questions of their social functions and realities" (Bourdieu, 1979: 77). Bourdieu theorized that language is violent because there is an established hierarchy that embodies language (1991: 19). In Bourdieu's reasoning, language as symbolic violence calls to attention that there is a habitual form of violence in regard to dominant speech production, grammar, orthographic standardization, and hierarchical order between different languages. This linguistic violence is effectuated through the "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e., culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they experienced as legitimate" (Castagno, 2012: 95).
According to Bourdieu "Legitimacy of symbolic violence relied on the foundation of shared beliefs, the active participation of those subjected to it, and the legitimacy of power in those who wield it" (1991: 23). Symbolic violence is similar to the Marxist idea of "false consciousness." It is a situation whereby people internalize the discourses of the dominant, meaning that "the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural" (Smith, 2007). The complex reality of language as symbolic violence within this Marxist analysis is that language is an objective matter marred by conditional realities of power that define its political disposition. All accounted for, one can say that language as symbolic violence "occurs due to the influence of contingent ‘pathological’ circumstances which distort the inherent logic of language as simply a symbol of communication" (Zizek, 2008:61).

Language is seen to be objective or neutral because it often functions in the normal state of things. Language has the quintessential efficacy of equality and neutrality of communications. Language is assumed to be available to all people and can be used by all. Unfortunately, this contextual accessibility of language facilitates a simplistic perception of language in which linguistic violence can perform against the background of neutrality. Thus, the perceived reality of language functions as a dark matter where its consequences are invisible (Zizek, 2008). According to Bourdieu, Language is a capable conductor of violence because it has that power of "misrecognition" and illusion (1991); this is "the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eye of the beholder" (Castagno, 2012: 95).
Symbolic Violence in Haiti

The enduring mechanism of French superiority, through which power is partially preserved in Haiti, defines the endemic violence that Haitian society has succumbed under. The acts of violence within the linguistic framework imbued the character of symbolic, collective, and structural violence. These outbreaks of violence are symbolic in that it is an agreed-upon violence manifested in Haitian society as a result of the symbolic power difference that exists between French language, culture, and the local Haitian Creole history, which as for basis African origin.

The very fact that most Haitians are passive and admit to the false consensus regarding language hierarchy illustrates the essence of the existing symbolic violence. The consequences of this violence are the social class division, colorist-based inequalities, and linguistic marginalization suffered by the majority Haitians. These acts of violence are symbolic for reasons that Haitians play a role at indirectly reproducing those acts of violence on themselves (Healy, Connolly, 2006). Haitian own self-rejection and acceptance that western ideology is the sole premise to become civilized constrain their humanity and subordinate them to the elite control for which these western ideologies are meant to benefit. Symbolic violence allows us to explain how the masses have internalized the social construct of Haiti’s socio-political life and development established by the elite class for the detriment of the mass.

Traditional Haitian Elites, Language and Symbolic Power

While there is no debate that creole-phobia is a colonial construct subconsciously adopted by the formerly colonized, there is also the fundamental understanding that Creole base
discrimination is also a consciously calculated phenomenon. Today, the “inferiority of Haitian Creole is also a strategy neo-colonizers and local elites use to maintain the colonial status quo for their own benefits” (Migge, Leglise, 2007: 33). Therefore, the fact of the language is a struggle for control, "a manifestation of the political economy of imperial or neo-imperial domination," a cultural manifestation of the Haitian class struggle, where fluency in French is served as a weapon of the traditional bourgeoisie" (P.M Fontaine, 1981).

The political consequence of this hierarchical linguistic policy is that the mere use of French creates a spatial polarization whereby the kind of social discrimination and subjugation of the mass can operate invisibly in liaison with color complex, institutional classism, demonization of local religions and beliefs, and division between urban elites and peasants that do not share the same walk of life. The idea here is that the use of language is very much metalinguistics and that the bilingual policy instituted in Haiti is fraudulent. Alleged bilingualism, as it is the case in Haiti, in its very essence is guided by the broader social constructs of race, civilization, modernity that give greater importance to western ideologies and vilify non-European advanced knowledge.

One of the most important aspects when it comes to the representation of languages in Haiti is the idea of competence. Competence undoubtedly is one of the primary means through which language as a proxy of power is translated into actual power. Immediately following independence, Beaubrun Ardouin historian, politician, and “mulatre ideologue”, made the argument that the mulattos had the natural right to govern Haiti by virtue of their origins and ability. This authority to govern resided partially in their ability to speak French. Mastery of the French language was the measure by which competence was assessed. Since they had European blood and were educated through European schools, they convinced themselves that they were
cultured enough to govern. This “mulatratist” strategy wanted to capitalize on the illusion that competence is engulfed within the French language, western identity, and development (M.R. Trouillot, 1990: 126).

The aim of mulatto ideologues during those first years of independence was to establish themselves as the hegemonic class of Haiti. “Mulatrisme wanted to assume control over the political institutions, political culture, and the ideological sphere of Haitian society” (Nicholls, 1979: 13). Language, which is presumed to see no color or race and was already legitimated as a source of power during the colonial years, was the vessel through which the mulatto elites sought to establish hegemony in Haitian society.

The collective action of the mulatto elites, in terms of language, had taken the form of Afro-social homicide. They wished to wipe out Haitian of their esteemed of being culturally afro descent. Part of the mulatto strategy was to dissociate Haitians with their African past. They made it indispensable that the European consciousness was followed in the Haitian’s societal construct. Numerous mulatto intellectuals and writers of the nineteenth century argued that the valuable element for Haitian development was its French influence instead of its African origin. "Leon Laroche, an elite mulatto writer in the 19th century, describes the importance of France to Haiti. He said that intellectual life, language, law, and customs of Haiti derives from France. Hannibal Price, another nineteenth-century writer, on a similar note, theorized that African elements would make Haitian uncivilized and less intelligent" (Nicholls, 1979: 131).

In Haiti, this appeal to French values serves as a mechanism that reconfigures anything French as superior for the benefits of the elite mulattoes. The masses were meant to face that mulatto ideology in the ghostliest, yet vivid way possible, through the French language.
Language and culture were able to go beyond the color complex of Haitian society because both were presumed to be accessible to the mass. This focus on culture and language by the traditional mulatto elites explains why the mulattoes sought to never portray their ideology to govern Haiti within color and class prejudice. What the mulattoes were able to do with touting the French language as the basis for power is that they maintain a colorist and classist system by using language as the vector of color-blind oppression.

The fact of language as a neutral site also gave the elite class a better opportunity to legitimize their power because they could fool the mass into thinking that they are capable of obtaining positions of power through acquisition of French culture and language. It was this juncture of linguistic false hope-the alleged ability to become civilized through French learning-that constructed the false consciousness mentality in the Haitian psyche and maintained until the time of this writing the severe policies and practices of class division through language in Haitian society. This practice, without doubt, has mostly benefited the French bilingual minority at the expense of the lower class.


Saturation of the Haitian society with the self-deceptive notion of "civilizing process "-acquiescence of French language and customs- has also influenced the post-Haitian revolution's black leaders. Louis Joseph Janvier, was a proponent of the Black Legend- an ideology that emerged in reaction to the mulatto legend, it champions the plight of poor black rural workers and peasants, and maintains that political power should reside in the hand of the blacks mass
which constitute the majority of the population (Nicholls, 1979: 11) of the Haitians past in the 19th-century, had maintained a penchant for French traditions despite his disgust of colonial and mulatto elite dominance. "In his attempt to leverage the French language and culture to redeem the people of Haiti, Janvier made the audacious claim that French was the only language spoken in Haiti" (Robertshaw, 2018: 24). Janvier’s statement, in French, went as follows: "La langue française est la langue courante, la seule en usage, et tous les paysans la comprennent. The French language is the habitual language, the only one in use, and all the peasants understand it" (1882, 27, my translation). Janvier went further to say that referring to Haitian society: “Les mœurs, les coutumes, les fêtes, le droit, les institutions, le costume, tout est français: on se modèler en tout sur la France. Manners, customs, festivities, laws, institutions, suits, everything is French: everything is modeled on France (1882, 27, my translation). Janvier and Demesvar Delorme, another black Haitian theoretician of the 19th century, were criticized by 20th-century writer Jean Price-Mars for submitting to the elite minimization of the Haitian Creole language, their African culture and way of life. Price-Mars accused them of "bovarysme collectif "for “the imitation of French forms and subject matter and for ignoring the reality of the everyday reality and the culture of Haiti” (Daut, 2016).

These criticisms directed at those black intellectuals were often warranted. Delorme, like many of the traditional elite mulattoes, explicitly defended French tradition in Haiti. "In a letter to Salomon in 1867, Delorme advocated that Haiti should follow European pattern of development" for long-enduring progress (Nicholls, 1979: 131). In his text: Les Théoriciens au Pouvoir, Delorme articulated that power should reside among the intellectual elites, which included the bulk of the mulatto elite class and few black Haitians. In his defense and unlike the mulattoes, Delorme professed those ideas with disregard to color or class. The problem is that
Delorme and other black intellectuals like him failed to understand that their subscription to the mulatrist ideology of competence reinforced the cycle of oppression in which intellectualism defined by French culture and language would exclude the bulk of the peasantry and the mass urban population from the government institution and the democratic process of the country.

Antenor Firmin, one of the most recognized Haitians intellectuals and writers of the renowned text, *De l'Égalité des Races Humaines*(1885), a rebuke of Arthur de Gobineau: *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*(1853), partially follows the same path Delorme did in strengthening the elite ideology. Firmin’s promotion of the mulatto ideology has to do with his political convictions. Firmin, intentionally, never offended the discriminatory practices of the mulatto elite class. Instead, Firmin was a valiant advocate and member of the bourgeoisie ideology in Haiti. Firmin joined the elitist Liberal Party and proclaimed a representation of Haiti's past that is free from color prejudice. An ideology often touted by the elite mulatto class to neutralize the mass from revolting against them. Firmin also indulges in the upper-class notion that Haiti was a bastard child of French promiscuity. With pride, "Firmin stated that Haitians were more French than Martiniquans and Guadeloupeans" (Nicholls,1979: 132).

The fact that these black intellectuals tend to overlook Haiti's African way of life shows the irony that even the best intellects of Haitian society have bought into the mulatto elites’ hegemonic construction of Haitian society. The prioritization of western culture over those of African origin puts, in perspective, the well-established notion that the mulatto interest has defined Haitian society, particularly in the 19th century. The Mulatto elite ideologies were able to define the Haitian social construct of power legitimation through their closeness with French culture and they injected that idea into the bloodstream of all Haitians, including the best among the populations- the black intellectual elites. Consequently, the norms, the codes for power in
Haiti are identified with French customs. And they are reinforced by one's ability to be dominant in the French language, acquire mannerism deemed French, or be educated abroad in French institutions.

I do not intend any critiques of these authors made above to be misconstrued and purport the impression that these authors were deliberately serving the interest of the mulattoes. Janvier, Delorme, and Firmin were firm defenders of black autonomy in Haiti. They fought against racist, colorist sentiment and the myth of mulatto legend purported by the traditional elite mulatto historians such as Beaubrun Ardouin and Joseph St. Remy. Their elaboration on the black legend—the Afrocentric retelling of the Haitian revolution—against the mulatto legend played a part in the emergence of Afrocentric movements such as Les Griots, Indigenisme with Jean Price- Mars, Noirisme with writers such as Francois Duvalier and Lorimer Denis that pointed racial and colorist inequalities that exist in Haiti.

Many of Janvier’s works defend the African characters of Haitian society (1882, 1883, 1884). In Les détracteurs de la Race noire et de la République d'Haiti (1882), Janvier Vehemently defended the intellectual capability of Haitians and Blacks in general. But this same work shed light on why language politics can be such an instrument of violence in Haiti. The work defends Haitians in their capability to be civilized through European knowledge, rather than being civilized already through their native customs, beliefs and culture. Such mindset of Haiti by the black elites have tend to benefit the Haitian mulatto ideology and place languages in Haiti between the “radical dissociation between biology and culture” (Nicholls, 1974:36), or, in a way culture vs. culture, in which black developed knowledge must be set aside for the attainment of European culture because African culture are seen as barbaric.
The complex situation regarding language and other developed national practices, within which the black intellectuals of the early days of the revolution found themselves fitted in the larger perspective that they were products of a time when French influence and cultures remained predominantly superior in Haiti. The Haitian Elites were clearly guided by France. “Demesvar Delorme (1831-1901), an influential Haitian writer, thinker and diplomat was a friend of French intellectuals such as Jules Michelet, Alphonse de Lamartine, and Victor Hugo. Haitian philosopher, Louis-Joseph Janvier (1855-1911) studied philosophy with Auguste Comte’s disciple, Pierre Lafite” (Magloire, 1999:32).

Haitian literature in the 19th century exemplifies very well the minimization of national culture and the national Haitian Creole language in exchange for the French culture. During that time very few artistic expressions expressed nationalistic and Afrocentric sentiment. “Nineteenth century Haitian novels were written entirely in French, and they closely followed the aesthetic models of the former colonial metropolis” (Duno-Gottberg, 2017). A few poems were written in Creole. The best known were Choucoune by Oswald Durand and Grand Manman Moin dit by Francois-Romain Lherisson. Despite the effort made by these authors to give the nod to Haitian Creole and customs, they partially failed because their text inherited European plots, rhyme-schemes, and aesthetics which indicated the indispensability of European values and knowledge (Lang, 204: 131-132). It is indeed true that a lot of these literature were patriotic, but their essence often minorized the honest daily lives of Haitian society, the majority Haitian Creole language and our national customs. Although unintended, these conditions provoked an epistemicide and still serve as an epistemicide of Haitian national consciousness.

What Janvier calls in his thesis La raison physiologique et la raison philosophique (1882) played a big part in the linguistic violence that developed in Haiti. The Haitian philosophers of
these periods wanted to make of Haitian society a nation that doesn’t espouse any condition of barbarism. Janvier pointed out that in Haitian society “En nous, nous avons à lutter contre l’élément africain dont les ardeurs et les appétits sont connus; nous avons aussi à lutter contre la turbulence et les impatiences de ce sang des aventuriers français qui peuplèrent Haïti.” As Haitian, we have to fight against the African element whose ardor and appetites are known; we also have to fight against the turbulence and impatience of the French blood whose longing for adventurerism populated Haiti” (1882:37, my translation). In a later line Janvier concludes: “Avons-nous réussi?..Un peu, j’ose le dire. Nous avons évolué et je vais le démontrer. Did we succeed?... A little, I dare say it. We have evolved and I will demonstrate that” (1882: 37, my translation). Although these writers intended to construct Haiti as a civil nation, in most cases they end up making of Haiti, a European caricature. When it comes to language, Janvier pointed out how well Haitian have acquired and spoken French instead of valuing the National Haitian Creole language (1882: 38). When it comes to religion, Janvier makes the assertion that Haiti has grown away from its African religion (Vodou) to take up the value of Christianity (1882: 43). Janvier supports only a few aspects of African culture in Haiti. He values the art, the musique of Haiti which he sees as naturally the soul of Africanism. But when it comes to civility, morality, knowledge everything else must be European (1882: 38).

Janvier was not the lone wolf when it comes to this kind of thinking. These ideas emerged as part of a cosmopolitan thinking in Haitian society in the 19th century, where the black intellectuals desired Haiti to be neither pan-African nor Pan-American, but both. Delorme and Janvier urged Haiti to the center of world affairs. “Both writers envisioned Haiti as a central part of an interconnected global intellectual tradition of what we might call Haitian Atlantic humanism: a long-standing way of thinking about eradicating the problems of racism and slavery
through and from the nation state of Haiti, but also in collaboration with European and American world powers” (Daut, 2016:12).

During the time of Haitian Atlantic humanism, Haitian culture's demonization sharpened in the face of European and American modernization. The mulatto class and the black intellectuals class judges Haitianism a cause that hampers the nation development. To them an independent Haiti “were to participate in the mainstream of world history rather than away from it” (Munro, 2008:54). According to Munro, the elites of the nineteenth century council Haitians to reject “Vodou and its rhythmic dance and music were, it seems, too closely associated with Africa and anti-modernism to be incorporated into the raison d'être of the Haitian” (2008: 54).

Radical cosmopolitanism in Haiti did not challenge the mulatto ideology in Haiti. In many ways, it serves as a platform that the traditional elites exploited for their own interest. The mulatto ideology imported liberal and democratic ideas from Europe were in favor of a system of representative government and attacked militarism in politics. There is nothing wrong with participatory democracy adopted by the mulattos. The problems are that along with these ideas, they imported dominion pro-French values, religious practices which stand in stark contrast and endanger the national construct and traditional culture practices of Haitian society. These implications about cultural fusion that many of the black intellectuals failed to notice, despite their good intention, are at the heart of the violence in Haiti, not only on language but also on the complete genome of Haitian culture.
Symbolic Violence and the Haitian National Epistemology

Language and Vodou

The key to symbolic violence is that it tells us something about other extreme forms of violence. The pressure on Haitians to abandon their language and assimilate to French informs us about sustained cultural violence in Haiti. When Haitians put aside their language, they automatically lose their sense of national identity. When Haitian reject the Haitian Creole Language, they also lose their selfhood because language in general serves as a key for community building. "It is through language that we transmit and express our culture and its values" (Rovira, 2008: 66). Purposely denying the Haitians Creole language the recognition it deserved is permanently destroying the roots of Haitian social formation. Ignoring the fact that Creolite is diminishing the history of Haiti's development, and the purpose Haitian Creole has served as part of the Haitian liberation process. When a particular language is dead, a nation, a culture, and an entire body of knowledge die along with that language. Because as Ngugi Wa Thiong’o said “language carries culture” (1986:13).

The fact of language hierarchization in Haiti restricts an entire body of cultural knowledge from emerging. The peasants, the marginalized mass, who are the source of the Creole culture, cannot express their knowledge of self and their environment because they are censored through the French language's imposition. The idea as situated above basically maintains that there is a whole notion of epistemicide when it comes to the relations between French and Haitian Creole language in Haiti.

The religious practice of the mass, Vodou, which is usually held in Creole and expresses the consciousness and emotions of the Haitian people, is one of the sources of knowledge abated
and demonized by the elites because it can be filtered through the superior French language. Haitians’ mentality to lessen their culture subdue all the benefits that they could gain from the Haitian cultural experience. In Vodou, for example, alternative knowledge of health and healing is lost because Vodou as body knowledge cannot be translated within Western civilization’s framework. This incompatibility between culture and knowledge explains why French language superiority, as the shackle of Haitians culture and religious practice, is very much a visceral element of violence that congests the Haitian’s health care system. The truncations of health knowledge situated within religious practice, like Vodou, that could bring health benefits to Haitians are disregarded or completely curtailed because they are incompatible with western civilization preferred by the elites of Haiti. The fact of these disregard for the medicinal and other benefits in Vodou engulfed Haitians in an inadequate modernized and conventional healthcare system that caused the death of many Haitians daily.

Despite Vodou's mischaracterization within the western literature, there is interest in rebuilding its significance within the broader concept of knowledge creation and medicine. *Le Vodou Haïtien: entre médecine, magie et religion* (2012), a text by Nicolas Vonarx is one of the few explorations that seeks to reverse the demonization stamps on Creole practices such as Vodou. The text had the purpose of locating the positive and non-colonized aspects of vodou; meaning the approach of vodou on illness; the curative, preventive, and caregiving within legitimate approaches of healing and caring.
Language and Literature

Language hierarchization is not solely an abasement to traditional Haitian religion. The language problem is also a barrier to the creative genius in Haitian society and its culture. One of the most significant problems of linguistic violence is the underdevelopment it has created in Haitian Creole literature. Although Creole is the essential instrument of Haitian social life, very few literary works are produced in Creole. Like education, politics, and government, Haitian Creole has mostly taken a back seat in the contemporary sphere of Haitian literature. The formal literature produced in Haiti is usually in French. These literary works, which are created by the few elites who can read and write French, often diminished the historical role of Haitian Creole literature, and it also excluded the mass from participating in ideological consumption and generation of literary work.

The new literature format under the guise of French letters is contradictory to Haitians literature's original traditions. The trailblazers and the initial acts of Haitian literature predated the written and printed literature legitimated through the French language. The primary of Haitian Creole literature consists of the" oral culture, tales, proverbs, and songs that were more or less coeval with the birth of the language, rather than the current hybrid culture of the bilingual elite whose models of literature came from French" (Lang, 2004: 130).

As an oral language, Haitian Creole communicated the communal sentiment of the mass illiterate, through songs and storytelling traditions. These stories and folktales describe the core of Haitian society, which involves the spirits of the Vodou religion (the lwa/loa), the mythical legends of Haitian society, the superstitions, and their traditions. Michael W. Merriam argued the existence of the oral-literary traditions in the first Haitian Constitution (1805) by citing the
preamble, which speaks of the equality of all before the "supreme being" (2015:26). The metaphysical aspect of it speaks of the Haitian’s traditions and beliefs in the supernatural, which is a defining aspect of the Haitians' peasant literature, philosophical culture heritage, and naturally creative and art-filled imaginations.

The Haitian Creole literature is not dead, but its production is deeply stifled. It is stifled because the peasants, the source of the Haitian Creole literature, are rendered voiceless by the successive administrations since independence, which had upheld the French language's hegemony as the standard that should be followed in all institutions.

As a result of language politics and superiority, what we are left with is a literature driven by the positional influence of western capitalism and competition. Haitians men/women of letters don't produce literature of national inspiration and liberation. In Haiti literature functions as a way to prove that Haitian belongs to the global and Francophonie construct. In the Haitian literature, there is the dialectic semblance of valuing capital over national culture and human life. For example, "before 1901 none of the novel written takes place in Haiti; Demesvar Delorme's *Francesca* (1872) and *Le Damné* (1877) are set in Italy and Switzerland respectively, while Louis-Joseph Janvier's *Une Chercheuse* (1889) takes place in France and Egypt" (Robertshaw, 2016: 23). Looking at those books one may ask, are they even Haitian literature? However, this is not a surprising question, because, as Cesaire said: colonial guided projects will "drain former colonized societies of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out" (E-stop, 2016).
Living Haitians and Speaking French: Impairment to Knowledge Development

One might be prompted to ask why the Haitian literature cannot be communicated in French? The simple answer is that no other language can completely translate a reality to which it is foreign to. In the sociology of language, literature is an extension of society's linguistic habitus. Thus, alienating literature from its innate linguistic principle is basically trying to destroy it. Ahmadou Khoruoma, an Ivorian novelist, theorized on the disagreement between foreign language and local literature by explaining the problem he, as an African francophones writer, sometimes faces. He says: *Mon problème d'écrivain francophone est de transposer en français des paroles créées dans une langue orale négro-africaine, des œuvres qui ont été préparées pour être produites pour être dites oralement. My problem as a French-speaking writer is to translate in French words that were created in a African oral language and to transpose works that have been prepared to be produced and narrated in the African oral language*” (1997, my translation ). What Khoruoma explained here is that literature bears a culture, a sort of surrealism- a unique and alternative creative potential that is purely autonomous and Haitians-that will be lost if modified. In conclusion, the message is as important as the language through which the message is transmitted.

Multiple Haitian writers have failed to recognize this incompatibility and the linguistic dilemma that exists within literature, and they choose not to halt their continuing acts of violence on the Haitian Creole literature. René Philoctète is one of the renowned Haitian poets whose tone indicated much hypocrisy with his use of the French language to express Haitian ways of life. He stated that Haitian culture could be expressed in French, but he stated that he felt uncomfortable using Haitian Creole in his writing of Haitian social life because he is afraid of misusing the
Haitian Creole. The reason he stated for not wanting to use Creole is because there is a wide gap between his experience and that of the peasants who are native of the Haitian Creole language and can make better use of it (Philoctète, 1992: 622). Philoctète has given a good reason for his decision, but the fact he assumes to know French better than Haitian Creole is confirmation of the symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991), a condition informed by colonial and neo-colonial elitism false consciousness (Ngugi, 1986) in the former colonies, in that case Haiti.

In the early days of Haitian literature, only a few poets made use of Haitian Creole in the written bilingual Haitian literature. The most notable were Oswald Durand "Choucoune," Lherisson's "Grand Maman moin dit: Nan Guinea," and Georges Sylvain's "Cric Crac." Although these poems and prose show reverence to Haitian Creole and national life, they like the novel of Firmin and Delorme bow to French empowerment. Their poems and the "Creole they used were subjects to a European rhyme-scheme." (Meriam, 2015:26) By that, their Haitian Creole literature is marred by French esthetics. J. Michael Dash criticized the writers who ignored the beauty of the alternative Haitian literature ideology by saying that "Haitian poets are disappointing as creative writers" (Merriam, 2015: 26).

In the past couple years, however, we have seen the emergence of authors and artistic movements that produce arts that fit the national consciousness of Haitian society. Some of these movements are built against the western colonialism and postcolonialism cannon. Spiralism, a literary movement spearheaded, in the 1960s, by Haitian writers René Philoctète, Jean-Claude Fignolé, and Frankétienne is one of the most influential of such movements in Haiti (Stofle, 2015). Spiralism captures the aesthetics of Haitian Creole literature. It is a movement of self-reclamation with an anti-colonialist sentiment. Kaima L. Glover, in her book: Haiti Unbound: A
Spiralist Challenge to the Postcolonial Canon, reaffirmed the autonomous essence of culture revitalization Spiralism sought in their writing. Spiralism Glover said:

... provides the point of departure from which they write the specificity of being and creating in Haiti. The very idea of the spiral recalls the foundations of the Caribbean oral tradition, according to which stories unfold cumulatively or cyclically; are relatively unconcerned with any purely narrative structure or horizontal, linear development; and are subject invariably to the frequent and spontaneous interventions of the public. The interplay of repetition and deviation at work in the spiral form thus provides a structural point of departure that decisively anchors the Spiralists' fiction in a Haitian geo-cultural space (2010: vii)

Spiralism departs from the colonial construct of duality, hierarchization between being. It produces something that mimics the narrative of liberation, self-creation and equality. On language, Frankétienne reclaims the language of Haitian society through his novel Dezafi (1975). In Totolomannwel, Frankétienne again projected the poetic theater of Haitian society born through folktales, oral traditions, and the Creole language. This emergence of rebellious literature that gives life to language and Haitian culture does not mean linguistic violence has ended. It only means that there remains an air of hope despite all.
Language and Collective Violence

Defining Collective Violence

The problem of language hierarchization in Haiti and how it manifests violently between groups of people suggests that language in Haiti also fits the aspects of collective violence. The collective violence aspect of language in Haiti is the fact that there are deliberate steps taken by one group (the ruling class) to subjugate other groups (the masses) to poverty by using language.

First, we must define collective violence. World report on the issue of collective violence defines it as: "the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic or social objectives" (Rutherford, Alisson, 2007). Collective conflicts/violence, in most cases, take the character of brutal atrocity between groups and nations. Groups use rape and torture as weapons of war. Mass killing, genocide, and displacement are most likely to occur during those conflicts (Rutherford, Alisson, 2007).

Redefining language through the prism of collective violence is thorny because language as a neutral element does not perpetuate the traits of cruelty often present in collective violence. Language, as well, does not fit the defining character of clear division which exists within races, religions which are often the causes of collective violence. Furthermore, the violence perpetuated linguistically, as we have seen above, does not always have the conventional connection between perpetrators and victims.

Despite the conundrum of situating language within the sphere of collective violence, this does not offset the fact that the same societal imbalance and the violence used to achieve the
social, political, and economic objectives of one group are also present in language. As Bourdieu was content to say, the victim is complicit in its own oppression (1979). Thus, in terms of language, collective violence is violence that the elite class deliberately imposes on the masses by using the mass as the main perpetrator.

Collective violence, linguistically, and in the case of Haiti, is an extension of symbolic violence. The position of the elite classes as the perpetrator of this violence is to infuse a false consciousness within the mass deliberately. This false consciousness that serves the interest of the elite consists of the mass destroying itself based on the elites’ mandated policies. The calculated plan by the elite to take actions that create imbalances between a privileged elite class and the disadvantaged masses is the essence of that collective violence - a divided nation for the purpose of sub-nationalistic interest.

Language, Collective Violence in Saint-Domingue

To see the “collective violence” aspect of language in Haiti, we must start with the purpose that language had served during the colonial era in Saint-Domingue-Haiti under French colony. In Saint-Domingue ideology of language, “envision and enacts links between language, groups, personal identity; to aesthetics, to morality, and epistemology” (Woolard, Schiefflen,1994: 55). Language ideology distorted the reality of human beings and proposed hierarchical standards among them, even among the black slaves. Thus, languages in Saint-Domingue was a clear marker of social division and a symbol of colonial identity.

African born slaves (bosales) who speak their native languages were considered less human than their brothers and sisters born in the Antilles who speak the Creole language.
Moreau de Saint-Méry, one of the first Historian to write on the experience of the slaves in Saint-Domingue, declare on the difference between bosale and creole slaves on the perspective of language:

À intelligence nègre créole réunit la grâce dans les formes la souplesse dans les mouvements agrément dans la figure et un langage plus doux et privé de tous les accents que les nègres africains mêlent ... une prédilection assez générale fait préférer les nègres créoles pour les détails domestiques et pour les différents métiers. (Bathelemy, 1997, 842).\(^1\)

The status that each human inherited; be it the whites, the Caribbean Antilles creoles, or the slaves; in Saint-Domingue, shows that collective violence, neglect, and discrimination occurred partly through linguistic determinacy. African born slaves were assigned the hardest agricultural tasks and discriminated against by their own kind because their language indicated they were less human than any other beings in the colony. Creole born slaves, on the other hand, occupy less arduous slave roles. Some work as house slaves, and others work as nurses or in the ateliers of their masters (Bathelemy, 1997). I do not maintain that language was the primary force behind those discriminations. What I seek to show here is that language in concert with many other factors produced the kind of unequal class system developed in Saint-Domingue and subsequently remains constant in Haiti.

\(^1\) Note: I decide to not translate because the phrase will lose its meaning.
The Gatekeeper of Privilege: Elites, Education and Collective Violence in Haiti

In Haiti, language as collective violence exists today as a resistance to change or elite complicity in keeping the system of linguistic discrimination alive. Although less than 90% of Haitian don't speak French, French is the primary language of instructions in Haiti. Opting to teach students in a language foreign to them is a strategy that the elite uses to severe division and inequality between the mass and the elites. Upper-class Haitians are more likely to be bilingual, and therefore more likely to benefit and excel in a French education system (Khun, 2019: 31).

The elites are aware that they can potentially lose their position of privilege if language is democratized in the education system. Elite insistence on maintaining their privilege is one of the main reasons the Bernard Reform act (1987), which legislatively sought to establish French and Creole under the same pedestal in the education system, was not received well in Haiti. The greatest resistance to the Bernard reform was in the parochial and private schools, which catered to the upper-class family (Prou, 2009: 47). For the elites, an education in Creole would undermine the traditional role that schools, and their French centered education had played as a "gatekeeper" and as a means of maintaining privileges through social divisions (Prou, 2009: 48). "The intent of such a practice was to silence the multiplicity of voices and manifestations of Haitian cultural identity that convey a discourse of hope - "indicating an ideological coherence and potential power that can be exercised by the peasantry and urban poor" (Prou, 2009: 46).

Resistance to the Bernard reform act and Creole elevation is categorically the cultural disposition by the elites to limit the mass poor from attaining social mobility. The use of French language is very much political. Albert Valdman, an American linguist who has focused much of his professional works on Haiti, said French serves no communicative purposes in Haiti (2005). The
sole use of French is a social marker, the conscious effort by Haiti’s elite to perpetuate the social, economic, and political started since the colonial time (Prou, 2009).

All accounted for, in the context of education, the collective violence of language is a form of social control. It is established by elites' linear social agencies and beliefs to define certain aspects of society as deviant and others as moral and pure. Collective violence in Saint-Domingue then was the relational mechanism and ideas that generate unbalanced treatment between slaves and masters. The same mechanism remains in Haiti today. The only difference is, instead of dwelling on actual acts of violence and overt racism, the collective violence today is economic and political. It is the instance where violence does not only happen but is also systematically sustained through invisible means unbeknownst to the victims.

Structural Violence and Language in Haiti

“Structural violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way... The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people ... neither culture nor pure individual will is at fault; rather, historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces conspire to constrain individual agency. Structural violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of scientific and social progress.”

(Farmer, 2006)

Defining Structural Violence

It would be a failure to talk about language in Haiti and not examine it in reference to structural violence. Structural violence is important because it allows for a better explanation of
how linguistic violence intertwines with the entire genome of Haitian society. Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung first coined structural violence as a term in his article entitled "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research “(1969). According to Galtung structural violence is an absence of positive peace, the integration of human society (Grewal, 2003). In the case of structural violence, nobody is actually committing the violence; instead, violence is indirectly imbued within the ins and out of society. Structural violence takes different forms. It is very possible that people died, were injured, and hurt as a result of structural violence. However, people can suffer from structural violence as well when power, opportunities, resources are unevenly distributed (Galtung, 1969). The fortitude of structural violence depends entirely on the presence of culture. It is culture that makes institutional discriminations acceptable, and it is culture as well that blind people from defining the structural violence of these institutions as an immoral phenomenon. When violent culture is internalized, structural violence becomes a ritualistic aspect of society (Galtung, 1990). For example, in some societies, women and people of color are subject to violence because there is a culture that undermines the human values of those who suffer from the structural violence. In general, structural violence is an extension of cultural violence

The Social and Cultural Consequences of Linguistic Structural Violence

It is in the terms of culture that structural violence is aligned with language. Language is capable of expressing thought, but language carries with it also culture and identity. "The relation of culture and language is the way they share human values, realities, and behaviors of a social group" (EU, 2017). If language cannot be decoupled from culture, language in itself is synonymously culture and carries with it all the elements of culture. A culture that is violent will
generate a violent language to maintain the culture of violence. Structural violence through language as culture is multiple. One example Galtung took is how "certain language - Spanish, French, Modern English - make women invisible by using the same word for the male gender as for the entire human species" (1990: 299). The French language plays a comparable role in Haiti. The linguistic hierarchization that put French and its cultural derivative above Haitian culture made an entire population invisible in Haiti. The French language is able to achieve that by internalizing the French cultural right to claim intellectual superiority over any other languages. Such cultural violence induced by the French cultural superiority complex can manifest as truth because it has changed the Haitian population's moral capacity and understanding about the use of language. Haitian internalization of French cultural duality and superiority "makes the reality of languages in Haiti opaque. So much so, that Haitians are not able to see the violent acts or facts inherently extended through the French Language; to the least, they see language as something removed from societal issues" (Galtung, 1990: 292).

In Haiti, the evidence of structural violence through language manifests primarily as an assault on the Haitian dignity and culture. In essence, when it comes to language, Haiti's suffering is threefold: deculturalization, struggle for equality, and local culture demonization. In Haiti, the French language undermines everything that is said or have the characteristics of Haitian Creole. It brought down all the important elements that are part of Haitian culture; by that, I mean the literature, the music, the religion, the folklore, and the mythology.

Against the background of modernization and globalization, Françoise Lionnet “stated that French had decontextualized the image of Haitian culture to construct Haiti as a paradoxical object; something fascinating, haunting, and repulsive” (2008:232). Vodou's ritual is one of those cultural artifacts that was ridiculed by early French-language writers of the 17th century. Pierre-
Corneille Blessebois 1696 *Le Zombi du Grand Pérou*, introduces myth about Zombies in Vodou; Michel Étienne Descourtilz portrayed Vodou practitioners as serpent worshippers. Moreover, Drouin de Bercy, for his part, cited that Vodou is superstitious and presents a danger against colonial rule. It is worth stressing the view that elite mulattoes and pioneer historians of the 18th century have of Vodou as well. “In Thomas Madiou's four volumes of *Histoire d'Haiti*, there are tasteless descriptions of Vodou. Madiou described Vodou as something of sorciere, magiciens, fetiches, and sortileges” (Pettinger, 2004: 417).

Against the background of Haitian Creole, French's distinguished values differentiated the metropolitan identity from the colonial identity. Although most whites Creoles spoke Haitian Creole during the colonial era, it was considered, according to the Swiss Girod Chantrans, to be "an uncouth jargon invented for the use of the blacks" (Valdam, 2005: 154). The colonial view is that Haitian Creole was a corrupt version of French that needed to be inferior to the French language. All accounted for, in Haiti, "linguicism has taken the form of racism to hierarchize the different social groups that exist in Haiti. The role of French is to provide privilege and esteem to some people and be harmful and depreciating to others" (DeGraff, 2019).

**The real Effects: Structural Violence in the Daily lives of Haitians**

Ashley Needham, in her article: *Creole Languages as a Reaction to Political Economy, a Mechanism for Afro-descendants to Gain Political Agency, and a Vehicle to Obtain Freedom from Colonizers*, made the argument that the creative genius of the slaves to conceive a new language and promote creolization of Haitian culture was both economics and political. For the Haitian people, mass creolization was a vehicle for independence and emancipation from the
colonial rule of the French colony maintained partly through the colonial French language (2015). Needham is not alone in this argument. Daddy Chery theorized on a similar argument by asserting the liberating role that Haitian Creole has played throughout the Haitian revolution war and tricky diplomacy. Cherry stated that Haitian Creole is a Revolutionary language. According to her, Haitian Creole was certainly the tongue spoken at the 1791 Bois Caiman Vodou ceremony that launched the Haitian Revolution (2013). Creole has also unified the Creole born slaves and the African born slaves. Newly arrived slaves had to learn the common language, Haitian Creole. Out of the bond the slaves form over Haitian Creole; they evolved a unique set of beliefs, Vodou, which gave them a sense of identity (Popkin, 2003) that eventually led them to revolt against French Hegemony.

The two arguments made above demonstrate that language is inherently political and can be used as a mechanism for freedom. What needs to be understood from those arguments as well is that language as an economic and political tool can be used to oppress. In the ideological war of culture and language, Haitian Creole was used to free Haiti in 1804. Today, the French language has regained the upper hand and consequently reinforcing a culture of systemic oppression in the country.

The most appalling aspect of linguistic structural violence is how institutional arrangement is intertwined with language to materialize violence concretely in the daily lives of all Haitians. Language as structural violence is not only symbolic, cultural, and invisible; similar to a diagnosed cancer, it destroys the state apparatus, hurts, injures actual human beings, and depletes the national soul of the Haitian population.
Paternalism and Modal Suffering

Haiti's structural linguistic violence is reified through an institutional government system and interest-driven private sector that put French on a pedestal to protect their political and economic rights. This system of structural violence, born partly out of the language difference, is anti-democratic, colorist, and classist. This structural linguistic violence is also responsible for the rural and urban divide in Haiti, and lastly, it is deadly. Regulated by historical complicity of elitism, language rationality in Haiti conspire policy choices that contribute to political instability, malnutrition, poverty, misogyny, racism, colorism, “ghettoization”, gang war, and other negative consequences at the micro-level of Haitians life. I will not have time to touch on every contributing effect of structural linguistic violence. However, here we will illustrate an example of structural violence with reliance on how Paul Farmer, a medical anthropologist, imagined actual suffering within the membrane of a larger invisible structural violence.

Farmer called the violence that occurred in Haiti "modal suffering" (1996: 271). “It is because the suffering of the masses is the consequence of direct and indirect human agency that deprive families of a good way of living” (Farmer, 1996: 271). The linguistic force that helps shape the human suffering in Haiti can be seen, in a way, as to how the French language patronization has failed students academically and consequently lead them to involuntary activities. Many young women are driven into non-desirable sexual activities, and many young men have been oriented toward felonious purposes (vice-versa) because there is a language (French) that vehemently rejects their ability to progress in the school system, prevent them from creating a career for themselves and progress in life in general.
The French pedagogy in Haiti is one of oppression; it is driven by paternalism (Freire, 1968). “Paternalistic social action apparatus is a strategy, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients. They are treated as individual cases, as marginal persons who deviate from the general configuration of a "good, organized, and just" society” (Freire, 1968: 74). The oppressed are regarded as incompetents and primitives who must therefore change their mentality through French language and French curricula. In the context of Haiti, according to Paulo Freire, this banking concept of education is camouflaged by the elite's false generosity to educate. The elites used the humanitarian idea of education; the alleged superiority of French culture can enlighten people as an instrument of oppression that benefits their own interests. Simply noted, French education in Haiti has much to do with the Elite strategy to silence the masses and distort their ideas about what real education entails. The elites consider the mass to be ignorant because of their Creole spoken language. Playing on that ideology of ignorance associated with language, the elites present themselves as the necessary opposite through French qualities. Consequently, they justify their superior existence and the ambivalent view that the mass is warranted of their suffering because of their French language deficit.

**Structural Linguistic Violence and Anti-Democratization**

Among other challenges, non-French speaking Haitians are forced to reckon with the problem of linguistic anti-democratization. This is because the issue of language difference by its very activities constructs a sort of boundary between the citizenries of the country. This boundary has given some net advantages to people on one side of the boundary to influence the government more than the other side (Tilly, 2003: 37). The Language problem also reduces the relations between the government and the majority of the governed. The non-French speaking Haitians do not have the same access to participate in political affairs as the elites who speak
French. Because language has created a gap between potential political participation and actual political participation, collective control over the government agents, resources, and activities remained fraught and one-sided (Tilly, 2003: 38).

This dilemma of democratization is one of the most hurtful facts about Haiti's social life and politics. The masses, until the election of Dumarsais Estime, in 1946, have never truly enjoyed self-government in Haiti. According to David Nicholls "Politics in the rest of the nineteenth century can generally be seen as a tussle between a mulatto elite centered in the capital and in the cities of the south, on the one hand, and a small black elite often in alliance with army leaders and peasant irregulars, on the other." (1974: 15).

Although Haiti had black head of state in the nineteenth century, they were usually controlled by the mulatto elite class who espoused the parti liberal ideology. This system whereby black politicians governed under the guise of mulato ideologues is called: *La politique de doublure*. The first president de doublure was Charles Riviere-Herard, in 1843. *La politique de doublure* was a system built to neutralize class and color politics in Haiti (Nicholls, 1979). In the years that followed, traditional elite mulattoes continued to dominate politics in Haiti, especially during the U.S occupation in the early 20th century. Elite politics reign continued during the American occupation because the occupation had in it the very existence of racism and color prejudices that discriminate against the masses. Five succeeding mulattoes governed under the occupation with the majority of these administrations' cabinet members made up elite attaché (M.R Trouillot, 1990: 130-132).

Linguistic structural violence as an instrument of anti-democratization process still exists today. It can be clearly perceived within the daily flamboyant French-written speech by
politicians seeking to deceive and impress the mass, simultaneously. It can be seen within methods of political literature disenfranchisement that the elites use to create disinterest in the mass about the value of political discourse.

Despite these obstacles Haitian Creole has confronted, its purpose as a liberating and democratization tool is not lost. On multiple occasions, Haitian Creole has played a role in attempting to democratize and re-democratize the political system in Haiti. One of the first occasions was with the emergence of the noiriste and indigeniste movement after the U.S occupation. Because these movements advocated for the restoration of black pride, the Haitian Creole culture, along with the Haitian Creole language, was embraced and given positive and new meaning.

François Duvalier, a noiriste himself, partly ran his presidential campaign on the platform that Haitian Creole should be legitimated to accelerate democracy. The Duvalier doctrine and position were to create a rival Afro-Haitian elite against the traditional elite mulatto. The anti-elite program of the Duvalier campaign proposed the "resort to Haiti's rich culture, from its widely misunderstood and misrepresented folk religion to its Afro-French language and indigenous art" (Lewis, 2004: 46). Through this political strategy, Duvalier was able to co-opt the post-occupation's emerging Haitian Creole movement and gain the trust of the non-French speaking rural population (Robertshaw, 2019: 234-235) to get himself elected as president in 1957. To some extent, Duvalier did make good on his promises to bring new esteem to Haitian Creole if elected. He ratified a constitution, the Haitian constitution of 1957, that explicitly referred to the Haitian Creole for the first time in a government document. Article 35 of that constitution "reaffirms that French is the official language, but goes on to decree that: "The Law will determine the cases and the conditions in which the use of Kreyòl will be permitted and
even recommended in order to safeguard the material and moral interests of citizens who are not adequately competent in French." (Robertshaw, 2019: 235). Duvalier even promised to use Haitian Creole in his literacy campaign. While the Duvalier administration had given constitutional protection to Haitian Creole, his complete disregard for real notion democracy and his oppressive antics, disregard for human rights have handicapped any progressive steps taken under his administration to democratize Haiti through language.

Haitian Creole was also used as a method of democratization during the emergence of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in politics in Haiti. Aristide piercing and fiery speeches in Haitian Creole result in a fervent populist attitude, an awakening in national consciousness in the population to revolt against despotic rules of the Jean-Claude Duvalier regime and the other government administrations that came after. Aristide was very intelligent in his approach with the Haitian Creole. He purposely used Haitian Creole within the membrane of institutions like the catholic church and the media-institutions that have been systematically oppressive to the mass- to provoke the masses against the government. Aristide’s unconventional approach created problems to the coincide interests between the traditional elites, Vatican, and the Haitian catholic church. His burning speeches in Haitian Creole were used against him to boot him out of the church in 1988. "The reason for his expulsion, the Salesian order said at the time, was that his "exaltation of class struggle" conflicted with the church doctrine" (Cowell, 1993). His speeches were also criticized for inciting violence and fueling divisions along racial lines (AP, 2004).

According to Alan Cowell, Aristide was not the only priest to preach for democracy that got cut from the church. He was part of an ensemble of revolutionary priests that got disowned by the Vatican. Cowell stated that Aristide “fell afoul of the Vatican's rigid opposition to so-called liberation theology, a blending of Christianity and Marxism” (1993). Despite those pressures,
Aristide’s use of Haitian Creole as a revolt mechanism has also gained him popular support among the population. In 1991 he became the first democratic presidential elected candidate after the 30 years of Duvalierism and botched provisional government. He won 66% of the vote casted and counted, with his election considered the only legitimate democratic election in Haiti’s history.

**Structural Linguistic Violence and Health**

The tangible side of structural linguistic violence also manifests in the health of the persons being discriminated against. In Haiti, we can see that daily linguistic discrimination has routinely depressed the victims and make them physically lethargic. The structural linguistic violence is likely to have real health effects on Haitians because Haitian Creole share “a similar racial background involving in the eyes of the world the stigma attached to the Negro” (Lobb, 1940: 28). “For many adults, dealing with discrimination results in a state of heightened vigilance and changes in behavior, which in itself can trigger stress responses” (APA, 2015) and other mental health issues. Besides the psycho-social effect, structural linguistics discrimination is prone to have physical effects as well. Research conducted by the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences informs us that there is a sizable health gap between privileged and non-privileged individuals; and that people who are predominantly discriminated against are often prone to the risk of cardiovascular disease, hypertension, and obesity (2019). Thus, there is much to language besides the socio-political aspect of Haiti. The fact of language pluralism and superiority explains to us the axis of language is meta-consequential. Is there a solution to Haiti's language woes? It is a difficult question to answer but one thing is sure; it is the fact that language serves as a paradigm that complements color, racial and class division in Haiti. The
purpose of language politics is the notion of domination, and within its circle is the act of violence, suffering, and exclusion of the mass rural and poor for the benefits of the traditional elites and emerging elite class.

**Language and the Elite Self-inflicted Violence**

**Rethinking of Violence**

The elite classes have collectively maintained the structure of linguistic violence in Haiti because they imagine that it brings them tangible and social advantages. For them, the harmful effects of language politics are undeviating, whereby language's adverse effects are only fixed upon the mass as a burden. Such a way of thinking sustains the condition of violence in Haiti because violence is only seen as a violent act toward the victims without any actual repercussion on the perpetrator. This thinking of violence stems from the conventional understanding of violence whereby violence is actions taken by individuals or groups to injure or destroy others. The idea here is that violence can only occur between self and others. This perspective of violence, as examined above in the first part of this thesis findings, vehemently fits the ideology of violence that Haiti's elites subscribe to.

The understanding of violence resulting from tensions between self and others is based on the notion of social duality - French vs. Haitian Creole; Mulatos vs. Blacks; Urban vs. Rural. This dualistic notion of violence needed to be examined and touched upon because we cannot deny its existence. Despite the invisibility of conventional dualistic violence in Haiti within its language form, it is nevertheless the clearest example of how violence occurs within the standard definition of violence.
In the brief and second part of this thesis, I would also like to argue that understanding of linguistic violence as merely symbolic, structural is also limited. It is because all understandings of violence are themselves limited. There is no limit to the notion of violence. Violence, like language, is multifaceted and occurs in almost all interest-driven actions undertaken by human beings. A holistic understanding of violence is infinite. The dualistic philosophy of violence-whereby violence happens between self and others- is a western idea in which one is separate from the other. In this philosophy, violence transpires in the presence of competition-death and life, richness, and poverty.

In the interest of escaping from the dualistic aspect of violence, this thesis has for purposes, as well, of examining violence without the dichotomous character. This non-dualistic approach to analysis of violence is a condition where violence occurs not between self and others but within oneself. In societal terms, the violence within self is an "unconscious suicidal violence" where ill-natured actions toward others result in the destruction of self. This is the boomerang effect of violence. A condition in which the elites unconsciously scourge themselves, meaning their notion of identity and self-worth, by using language as a tool to marginalize the mass.

There is an alarming aspect to the violence of self-to-self in Haiti. It is the unfortunate circumstances that the act of society's self-suicide come about without the consciousness of self-destruction. The fact is unconscious of self-injury can make self-destructive acts satisfying. For example, the elite class in Haiti never tame their class domination of the masses because they find it politically, socially, and economically gratifying to marginalize sectors of society on the premise of language, oblivious of the negative effects these actions may have on them.
Unconscious suicide, whether it is enjoyable or portrayed regrets, does not occur in a vacuum. There are actual situations that force individuals or society to destroy themselves. In Haiti's case, self-destruction occurred within the backdrop of the dualistic western ideology it has appropriated during the colonial era. Thus, the crisis of self-destruction in Haiti is historical and colonial.

Self-destruction, in the linguistic term, occurred within the whole of Haitian society. Symbolic notion of violence did touch upon that by explaining that the masses are active participants of their own oppression (Sec 1. chap.4). However, symbolic violence is limited to the theory of self-destruction because it reactivates the dualistic prospect of collective and structural violence by which the elites (one class) willingly ostracized the mass (another class) (Galtung, 1990, 1969, Bourdieu, 1982, Farmer, 1996). The argument here is that language symbolic violence, collective violence, and structural violence occurred within the greater schemes of societal self-destruction despite the semblance of duality in which the elite faction seems to be directing the violence against the mass. As a consequence, the conclusion is that language politics, in its infinite essence, does not only have a harmful effect on the masses that are being oppressed; it also has an adverse effect on the elites who are the oppressors. Therefore, despite the advantage that elites exhaust from the mass through the politicization of language, it is certain that language politicization in Haiti has detrimental effects on the procedure of good living by the privileged class. This aspect of language explains the elites' "unconscious suicide" through the violence directed at the mass.

The “unconscious suicide” of the local elites, can also be seen through their adoption of western epistemologies. Given the choice the elites had after the revolutions to reject western dualities and engage in autonomous alternative ways of life, their choice to continue with self-
colonization shows the mental bruise that colonialism has left on them. The property of superiority the elites confer to western concepts is as if they choose to submit to the rifle of foreign ideologies that were used to destroy them during the time of colonization. It is a case where the elites have become so used to violence of colonialism that they become immune to it and choose to maintain it through other means after independence.

The presence of this violence is presented through the notion of colonality that Anibal Quijano has prominently theorized upon (2000). The repression that the elites suffer today is what some scholars denote postcolonial amnesia. This is a posttraumatic effect of colonialism that cut through the logic of the elites and redefined the politics of knowledge within a binary construct of geography, race, color, and language. There the locus of enunciation of the elites is fractured, and perspectives about self-become an extension of western colonial difference and hegemonic discourse (Morana, Dussel, Jauregui, 2008). All accounted for; the local elite has become an adrenaline colonial junky whose pleasure derives from his/herself ostracized through the situation of ambiguity that enduring colonialism has placed him/her. “The comfort that the elites find by appropriating colonial violence on his/herself shows that elites are not the problem when it comes to language politicization in Haiti. Rather they are the bearers of a system of exploitation that holds colonialism in place” (Castro-Klaren, 2008: 139).

Crisis of Identity within the Elite Class

The crisis of language, identity, and the violence the elite have imposed on the masses in Haiti is a crisis of national identity within the elite. Because the elite cannot understand their own identity, they consequently failed to understand the mass. More than the masses, the elites have
not been able to escape from the concrete ideology of colonization. The reason for that is because the elites have fallen in the trap of "colonial false opportunity." "During the period of decolonization, certain colonized intellectuals have begun a dialogue with the bourgeoisie of the colonialist country" (Fanon, 1961: 44). They have talked about the possibility of economic trade and the benefits of maintaining diplomatic relations and western social influence in Haiti. It is through these conversations about possible coexistence that the precious values of the Haitian revolution have started to disappear within the elite class and begin after that the erosion of their autonomous identity gained through the slave revolt.

The opportunistic relation between the colonialist and local elites have created a struggle between the leaders of the revolution and the emancipating African slaves. Whereas the masses have asked for revolution, the elites ask for reforms. The complexity and the dissension of the Haitian revolution in this aspect illustrated the struggles of the Haitian elites to define themselves today. The various interests among the different groups that fought for independence have fraught the elites' identity and created a condition of discord between the elites and the Haitian identity. Carolyn E. Fick (2007) described this contention of identity as the limit of the Haitian revolution. She stated that it was never the intention or the priority of the revolution leaders and the elites to achieve political independence. “At the very least, the leaders of the revolution wanted to strike a powerful blow at the hegemonic absolutism of their French masters and significantly alter their condition as enslaved human beings but not eliminated” (Fick, 1990: 395). The incompatibility between the presuppose purpose and the outcome of the revolution is one of the reasons that Dr. Karen Salt (2019) has denoted the Haitian revolution as unfinished. The enduring connection between the Haitian commercial elites and the metropole have nullified greater political power within the governing classes, which consequently challenges total black
emancipation and black politics within Haiti. "Because of the relationship with the metropoles, the elite class strongly identified with external cultural norms of the metropole", (Plummer, 1984, 119) instead of those of African origin that defines the majority of the population.

Taking into account the elite sentiment about the revolution, it is therefore comprehensible that the elites never felt Haitians entirely. Their sentiment about Haitian-ness is ambiguous and fractured. The elites are in a conspicuous position, where they themselves mostly serve as a satellite of the foreign colonial class performing overseas the duty of the metropolitan bourgeoisie class (Plummer, 1984). The elites' fractured identities are one of the important issues that David Nicholls (1974) have touched upon during his scholarly work in Haiti. He pointed out the ambiguous role and identity of the elites as one of the reasons for Haiti's woes. Being Haitians for the elites has always been a position in which they have to balance between their African origin and their preferred foreign civilizations (Nicholls, 1974). The elites are not Haitians in terms of language, religion, or culture; they are only Haitians when it comes to the value of rebellions and freedom-seeking nations associated with Haiti. This divided sentiment about national identity is crystallized in the parti liberal and mulatto ideology that "there are, certainly, superior cultures but not superior races" (Smith, 2009: 3). "The supporters of the elite ideology viewed Europe of their day-and France, particularly as the model to be followed. In these matters, the civilization Haiti must aspire to follow is that of Christian nations and France above all, rather than adopting or encouraging Africa's customs. This is because Africa is viewed as barbaric and backward continents (Nicholls, 1974: 35).

"The controversial movement of Noirisme guided by Duvalier, Lorimer Denis, and Louis Daquoi that emerged after the American occupation did understand the elites' failure to appropriate autonomous Haitian identity for themselves. Because of the elites' indifference
regarding Haiti's national well-being, noiriste thinkers criticized them of inauthenticity. The noirisme movement, contrary to the elites, argued that cultural authenticity defined all other aspects of social life. Furthermore, they added that African political structures would be a more appropriate model for Haitian governance instead of the Euroophile outlook of civilization, which portrays Africans as a despotic race which is inclined to paternalistic ruling" (Smith, 2009: 25). "The political thoughts of the "noirisme" movement understood that there was a need for a "nouveaux Haitians" whose thought and approach regarding history, politics, and culture pointed the way forward for Haiti through the inclusion of the cultural element and folklorique element that inspire the uniqueness of Haitian" (Smith, 2009: 24). Noiriste is often criticized for allying power and politics with race. As I have stated earlier, noiriste ideology is very controversial. I don't seek to either condone or condemn it here, but what is certain is that the noiriste understood what was focal for the Haitian people's non-violent development. The noiriste understood the idea development within Haitian society would only take place if the national culture is aligned with the national language to inspire autonomous knowledge development and nationalism.

**The Elites, Language and Denationalization**

The unconscious suicide by the Haitian elites creates of themselves and of Haiti a society without identity, a confused society, one without goals, a society that is navigating a route of failure with no direction. By forcing Haitians to reject their own identity, Haitians elites constrained themselves and Haitians society in the space of national emptiness. This property of ambiguity puts to question the essence of elite nationalism. Since the educated elite is the intermediary for the imperialists of post-colonialism, the judgment among observers is to ask
whether the elite is a visionary nationalist, nationalist, or a colonial nationalist collaborator (Hussain, 1974).²

It is understood that there is an array of understanding of nationalism. "Nationalism has been studied in its connection with race, language, religion, politics, economics, education, and psychology" (Wirth, 1936: 724). The psychology of nationalism is the idea of belonging to specific groups of people. Psychological nationalism may arise as a result of decisive factors such as political challenge, mystical references to race, culture, war, competition over resources, etc... In the psychology of a nation, there may be the existence of multiple nationalisms within a nation. These are minority nationalisms and probably a nation without nationalism (Hussain, 1974: 484).

In Haiti, within the political realm of languages, culture, and nation, nationalism is not merely belonging. Besides the psychological essence, nationalism is to espouse a character, to carry and defend oneself against a particular identity. Nationalism in Haiti is a rebellious act, one of dissociation, claim of territorial reclamation, national self-determination, political, economic, and social autonomy. This kind of identity is primarily referenced as "Hegemony Nationalism" were among the factors, the important issues are those of race, culture, languages, and religion (Wirth, 1936: 725) and renunciation of superiority. Hegemonic ideas of national construction are encrypted in the 1804 declaration of independence. The founder of the republic declare in the document that everything that "revives the memories of French and colonization must be toppled", where it says that "we must live independent or die" and finally endorse alternative

² Note: I do not seek to define Haitian nationalism in any way. The purpose here is to problematize the meaning of nationalism within Haitian society, especially when it comes to the legitimacy of the elites’ class to appropriate a dual national consciousness
ways of life by stating: "Let us walk down another path; let us imitate those people who, extending their concern into the future, and dreading to leave an example of cowardice for posterity, preferred to be exterminated rather than lose their place as one of the world's free peoples." (1804)

The elites have failed to uphold these nationalistic sentiments that freedom has inspired. They have reimposed the notion of French cultural superiority antithetical to the values of the revolution in Haiti. These very practices, which consist of doing the opposite of what the pledge to the revolution mandated illustrates the deficiency of nationalism within the elite’s cadre.

The Psychology of the Elites: Slaves of Superiority Complex Mentality

The elites have lost all moral consciousness and beliefs regarding themselves as Haitians. As a result of their non-preference to be Haitian and their inability to be French, the elites found themselves in a place of low self-esteem. More often than not, their low self-regard perpetuates class aggression toward the mass. In their quest to confront and comfort themselves of their envious feeling to become close to the civilized white men, they have followed in constructing a poverty-stricken class that they can call themselves superior to. The understanding here is that low self-esteem among the elites mediates an unstable, narcissistic, and manic behavior that frees them from their burden of inferiority complex in regard to foreign cultures (Bushman, 2009, Barnett, 2016). It is also regrettable that this aggression resulting from elites' low national self-esteem is the cause of class inequality, colorism, and language politics in Haiti.
The psychology of the elites about language politics reverberates the inferiority complex they feel the need to overcome about being blacks or Africans of origin. Their ultimate objective is to escape the source of inferiority associated with black culture. The elites have realized that they cannot dissociate themselves with who they are in nature. However, the elites believe that if they build a new self and a new culture that corroborates the very spirits of white culture, they will attain to some extent the clout of white superiority. The strategy that the elites have used to demonstrate to the white world that they are not inferior to them is by materializing a societal fabric that shows they are different from the rest of Haitians society but remain Haitian nonetheless. National cultural differentiation is at the very core of the elite's strategy to demonstrate that they are more enlightened than their Haitian counterparts who maintain the essence of afro cultural identity.

The elites of Haiti do not want to construct an identity that is entirely white, per se, but they place themselves in a position where the privilege of self is above that of the mass Haitians. Most elites in Haiti are defiant to the concept of whiteness. Whether they are mulattoes, have fair complexion, or are actually white, by the eye test, they reject any ideas of being the composite of whiteness (Marius, 2015). Thus, the mulatto elites posit a claim of global cultural whiteness in Haiti within an alternate national imaginary. This alternate national identity distanced the elite mulatto class from the fundamental blackness posited in the dominant nationalist narrative (Marius, 2015: 99). I add it also distances them from the white narrative of paternalism and racism associated with whiteness. According to one elite mulatto participant in the field research of Phillipe-Richard Marrius, the Haitian elite identity is a concept in which“Haiti shall not grant whiteness transactional liquidity in its social economies, yet colorist practices in the nation are pegged to global whiteness as standard currency” (2015: 107).
The psyche of the elite class in Haiti can be placed within the W.E.B. Du Bois concept of double consciousness within the twist of Haitian colonial social construct (1903). This double consciousness creates an element of conflict within the elites as they try to reconcile the beliefs of themselves as being equal to the whites and their antagonism against the belief that white society has imposed on them as being inferior. The double consciousness of the Haitian elites makes their identity a complicated matter. "The elites are proud of their country's tradition, but they identify with France; they hate the United States for its occupation of Haiti and its Jim Crow attitude, but they are attracted and fascinated by the United States. They are fascinated by Africa, and often romanticize their African past, but they reject all identification with Negroes” (Bourguignon, 1952: 319). The problems with self-understanding have forced the elites to deracialize themselves to construct an identity based solely on their loyalty to their nationality. The elites do not want to be white, mulattoes or blacks; they just want to be Haitians that maintain a distance with the social narrative of the negro republic marred by the African origin of backwardness.

As we have seen above, there is a lot of pressure on the elite class to construct themselves as the other in the Haitian national construct. It is in that very fact of elites' national self-differentiation that the elite's self-inflicted violence resides. The elite class is a society run on pretense rather than reality. Their existence relies on the notion that they have to be somewhat better than the mass. Their entire life is inorganic. The habits and activities of the elite class are not dependent on their desire to be at liberty of self-choice. Rather their decisions of everyday life are made to escape the entanglement of inferiority associated with the mass Haitians and to align themselves with colonial ideologies of superiority. Thus, the mindset of the elites is constrained within the colonial ideological of white purity and black immorality.
Linguistically, there is no actual function that proves that the elites like to speak French or frame themselves in any manner of French culture. In most measures, it seems that the elites do not like the language politics they themselves constructed. In social gatherings that consist simply of the elites, they would rather speak the Haitian Creole language instead of French. Roland Wingfield and Vernon J. Parenton, in their field research in Haiti, made a similar conclusion. They observed that Creole is spoken profusely between those elites who feel comfortable enough with their friends within the elite class (1965). According to Roland Wingfield and Vernon J. Parenton French is only spoken as an indication of inter-class and caste divisions between the different elite classes and the mass. The argument here is that speaking French is a responsibility to the elites. The fact that they have to maintain a linguistic system they oppose, in their undisclosed social life, shows that the social construction of language in Haiti is a burden that the elites bear as a result of a disorder complex within themselves that they inherited from colonial social construct.

Conclusion

The linguistic violence debated in this chapter is concerned with a neo-colonial elitist mindset developed in Haiti through linguistic hierarchization. We argue that this mindset is defined by the neo-colonial class system’s greed and a strong appreciation to be civilized through French values and morals. Linguistically, violence takes place in two ways in Haiti. First, through epistemological destruction and second as a form of institutional oppression and exclusion. The epistemological destruction occurs as part of a neo-colonial importation of foreign values that hampered the possibility of progress within the local elements that define Haitian-ness.
Epistemologically, the idea is that Haiti's linguistic hierarchization has transcended elitist aspects such as marginalization and inequality. In its complete form, linguistic hierarchization proceeds to undermine the traditional Haitian culture. Since Haitian Creole is intertwined with the Haitian religion, literature, and way of life, the assault on the Haitian Creole language by French values creates a condition in which the meaning, the purpose, and the fact reality about Haitian knowledge are halted or slowly disappearing in Haiti.

The reality of linguistic violence is not merely confined to the abstract. Language differences are part of the real Haitian economy and politics. It is designed, in part, by the neo-colonial elites to capitalize on alleged speech illiteracy and incompetence associated with the mass in their utilization of the Haitian Creole language. The political manipulation of language differences committed the elite classes to the chances of materials acquisitions, symbolic benefits, and power. This unfolding corruption, through languages use, construct in Haiti a political and economic apartheid system that affect the health and well-being of the mass monolingual Haitian. Therefore, Haiti’s linguistic hierarchization is the feature of an authoritarian soft state designed and monitored by a highly centralized bureaucracy who has the purpose of de-democratizing the nation by using language to reduce political participation and prevent upward mobility among the masses.
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to explore implications of the hierarchical base linguistic structure that exist in Haiti between French and Haitian Creole and to see how that system of linguistic hierarchization affects the evolution of Haitian society in general. There are many reasons as to why the examination of language in this thesis is important. To start, it questions the accepted truth about language development in Haiti to gain a holistic understanding of what language really is and how it functions as part of a hierarchical system. In order to do that, the thesis removed language from the classical thinking that defines it as a neutral tool of communication. In the complete opposite, we place language within the post-structural conceptual framework that it is a social agent that emerges as part of the social structure constructed through socio-historical condition (Bourdieu, 1991). Second, the thesis is also essential because it demonstrates that language hierarchization is part of an undead colonial enterprise in Haiti that has the purpose of purging the African identities in the Haitian self. Third, this thesis matters because it situates Haiti’s language hierarchization as part of an elite strategy that maintains a system of inequality. Lastly, this thesis matters because it reveals the intersectionality of language hierarchization, demonstrating how language creates new identities, a new sense of self in relation to class, color, education, culture, and more.

To gain a complete understanding of language use in Haiti, I took a critical approach to language. The critical approach is important because it allows the thesis to investigate language without necessarily refraining from other epistemological frameworks important to the subject in
discussion. The argument made in this research is a reflection of that approach. Through the critical lens, I argue that language use in Haiti- French at one hand and Creole on the other- is a reflection of power differences, a dynamic of oppression, which makes languages inherently violent.

The critical approach is complemented by the “method of decolonization”. The decolonizing method consists of claiming autonomy to the Haitian Creole language, the Haitian culture. Through the decolonizing methods, the critical approach also has the purpose of re-evaluating western portrayals of African derived culture, knowledge to de-demonize them. Vodou is given new meaning as a possibility for health; the oral literature of Haitian is seen as an expression of freedom and self. Overall, the analysis of language in the thesis contributed to the political and economic aspect of language, whereby we investigate the identities languages carry to determine how they are part of a broader circulation of neo-colonial elitist oppression defined by western dualistic aspects of civilization and primitivism.

As we have demonstrated multiple times, through existing literature, language hierarchization tends to benefit the traditional elites in Haiti and pains the masses no matter how they approach it. Albert Valdman helps explain this violence by saying “French help alienates the masses from their kin and their deep cultural values, and when they try to learn the language, and unless it is learned well, it may turn against them as well” (1991:113). This critical analysis is positivist thinking of violence. While these critical positivist views about violence on the masses have enlightened the thesis to see the connection between language hierarchization and its damaging effects it has on the mass; however, it was not satisfied with the critical positivist thinking that the effects of linguistic hierarchization in Haiti is one-sided. This notion was problematized with the concept of language as a "boomerang effect" (Cesaire, 1950). Boomerang
effects of colonialism help explain that the elites’ strategy to disenfranchise and demonize the mass, using language, tends to disenfranchise the elites of any identity they might have had. Thus, enjoyment of neo-colonialism among the elites is total violence, the submissive rejection of self without a substitute to it. Fanon explains language through this boomerang effect as violence that dehumanizes (1963:10).

Situating language within the framework of violence is not a new analysis of language. Many scholars have theorized on this connection. Pierre Bourdieu’s text, Language and Symbolic Power (1991) is a broad investigation of language and its relation to society's social and political aspects. Bourdieu's analysis in the mentioned text departed from classical linguists who focused on the structural aspect of language formation and competence (1991). Taking a critical approach, Bourdieu investigated how power is ingrained within the structure of language—grammatically, semantically—to benefit the upper class and give them a de-facto monopoly over the means of power.

As it relates to languages used and violence, this thesis's analysis follows the footsteps of Bourdieu's analysis closely. But it differs from Bourdieu's analysis in two ways. First, it examined language differences/hierarchization rather than language as a structural unit, and second, it placed language within a colonial/decolonial context. The analysis is not a complete departure from Bourdieu's analysis. The extent to which it differs stems from the fact it is a case study of Haitian society. The finding of this thesis in relation to the method employed concludes in the case of Haiti that linguistic violence metamorphosed into different types of violence. This violence typologically is symbolic, collective, structural, and self-inflicted.
Although each of these violence types functions in their own way, collectively, they reflect class stratification and dualistic ideas of civilization constructed in the colonies about language and cultures that remain constant in Haiti. The interconnection between these typologies of violence in Haiti is that the residual colonial position of French language over Haitian Creole is at first a colonial psychological prison or symbolic violence. The way patterns of symbolic identities associated with those languages maintain class and social inequality in Haiti is part of the structural and collective violence. Finally, the way the neo-colonialist class struggles with their identity as an intermediary between the native and the colonial power is the self-inflicted violence.

The violence occurring through language in Haiti is the idea of colonization as part of cultural domination. It occurs within and between different cliques of the elite classes that have developed in Haiti. This residual colonial violence is what Frantz Fanon called the Manichean culture of colonialism or settler Manichaeism. It is a colonization of the masses by the neo-colonial elites who believe that they have escaped primitivism due to their adoption of French moral values and civilization 1968: 144). A case in point is that the former colony is indoctrinated by Western civilization’s ideas that minimize non-western knowledge. That has pressured all -the mass and the neo-colonial elites- to accept blindly the condition imposed through linguistic Hierarchization in Haiti since the French colonial era.

There are flaws in taking a complete western-driven critical approach to colonialism in this thesis when it comes to examining Haiti's linguistic pluralism. First, there is a lack of engagement with the people whom the thesis claims to be affected by linguistic hierarchization in Haiti. Positioning myself to theorize on the violence that affects the mass and the elites through linguistic hierarchization without their input can be seen as another colonial domination
method. It can also be seen as a western academic savior complex. My status and education, which delineate my authority, define what is true of the power relations and violence that exist in Haiti linguistically, not the people who are affected by it.

This flaw stems from the fact that the analysis provided above relied mostly on secondary research. While this approach may be questionable, the hope is that it invites new thinking about the role of language hierarchization in Haiti and influences more details and thorough research about language in Haiti. This thesis is part of a decolonial critical analysis of language, and the important elements languages utilization influences in Haitian society. The hope is that it inspires a true post-colonial mentality and autonomous epistemology in Haitian society and research about Haiti, that colonial understanding that is an inevitable part of this research could not escape from. Finally, this thesis is a reflection, not a claim to subaltern freedom, for only the subalterns can speak for themselves.
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