# THE LANGUAGES OF NEW YORK STATE:

# A CUNY-NYSIEB Guide for Educators



Luisangelyn Molina, Grade 9

ALEXANDER FUNK



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# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alexander Funk has a Bachelor of Arts in music and English from Yale University, and is a doctoral student in linguistics at the CUNY Graduate Center, where his theoretical research focuses on the semantics and syntax of a phenomenon known as 'non-intersective modification.' He has taught for several years in the Department of English at Hunter College and the Department of Linguistics and Communications Disorders at Queens College, and has served on the research staff for the Long-Term English Language Learner Project headed by Kate Menken, as well as on the development team for CUNY's nascent Institute for Language Education in Transcultural Context.

Prior to his graduate studies, Mr. Funk worked for nearly a decade in education: as an ESL instructor and teacher trainer in New York City, and as a gym, math and English teacher in Barcelona. He makes his home in the language hotbed of Jackson Heights, Queens, a home he shares with his Italian-speaking, English-teaching wife, and their three emergent bilingual sons.

#### About This Guide

This Guide to the Languages of New York State is designed as a resource for all education professionals, but with particular consideration to those who work with bilingual<sup>1</sup> students. Several ideas have underpinned its conception and execution:

- a) the languages other than English (LOTEs) spoken by bilingual students are neither obstacles nor excess baggage, but resources of great value to our community;
- b) the mission of supporting and encouraging students in home language development belongs to all teachers, not only those from similar linguistic backgrounds and/or certified in language education;
- c) language and culture are sufficiently intertwined as to make the understanding of one
  without the other a distinctively hollow experience;

and...

d) the development of translingual and transcultural competence is not an on-off switch, but rather a lifelong process of engaging with different communities.

Educators constantly face the task of overcoming <u>distances</u>: between us and our students, between families and schools, between student performance and classroom objectives, and so on. In nearly all cases, these distances are best bridged when both sides extend toward each other, and it is no exception when it comes to language. The sense of linguistic distance between emergent bilinguals<sup>2</sup> and the English-speaking world can seem vast, and while great efforts should be and are made to help these students extend themselves toward ever-greater inclusion in the Anglosphere, one of the strongest positive messages we can send as educators is that we will work **to bridge linguistic distance** from our end, too. This Guide is a means to following through on that message.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We use the word *bilingual* throughout to mean 'speaking more than one language.' *Multilingual* has certain advantages over this term, but the disadvantage of denoting 'more than two languages.' *Plurilingual* signifies exactly what we have in mind, but in our view hampers the reading experience by dint of its unfamiliarity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Consistent with the CUNY-NYSIEB vision, we use the term *emergent bilingual* to denote students traditionally referred to as *English Language Learners*. "[O]ur use of the term... conceptualizes these students as much more than learners of English only, since they are developing proficiency and literacy in academic English from the base of home language practices. Furthermore, the term *emergent bilinguals* acknowledges that the education of these students must go beyond simply English language learning, to include a challenging curriculum in the content areas that also meets their social and emotional needs." For more: http://www.nysieb.ws.gc.cuny.edu/our-vision/

#### Haitian Creole

#### 1. Haitian Creole in Brief

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Haitian Creole for 'Haitian Creole language':
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kreyòl ayisyen [kye.jol a.ji.sjɛ]

Haitian Creole word for 'English language':

angle [ã.gle]

Writing system(s):

Latin (alphabetic)

Official national language in:

Haiti (pop. 9,801,664) (Haiti, 2012)

Language family (related languages):

Creole (French, possibly Fon, Ewe)

US Speakers (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

629,019 ('French creole')

Ethnic Haitians in US (US Census 2010b):

881,488

Top 3 US Metro areas where Haitian Creole is spoken (Shin & Kominsky, 2010):

Miami, New York, Boston

Did you know that ...

- ... Frederick Douglass was the US Consul-General to Haiti from 1889-91?
- ... Franklin D. Roosevelt claimed to have written the 1918 Haitian Constitution himself?
- ... the Port-au-Prince neighborhood of Bwouklin is named after Brooklyn, NY?

#### 2. Haitian Creole in Global Context

Haitian Creole, spoken by virtually all Haitians, has been recognized as one of the country's two official languages since 1987. French, the other, is spoken by far fewer Haitians, possibly under 10 percent (Dejean, 2010). Like many creoles (e.g. Jamaican patois, Cape Verde Creole), **Haitian Creole has long been stigmatized and marginalized**: it is not a broken or corrupt variety of French, but a distinct language with its own rules, "just as French is separate from Latin and other Romance languages" (Spears, 2010). It has its own standardized writing system, is the primary language of instruction in Haiti, and boasts a significant and growing body of literature. The number of estimated Haitian Creole speakers worldwide is over seven million (Lewis, 2009), with large communities in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Canada, and the USA.

# 2.1 History and Politics

Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, a larger nation to its east. The island was the first significant New World landfall for Columbus on his first trans-Atlantic voyage, an event that initiated three centuries of brutal colonial exploitation of the native Tainos and imported African slaves. After years of somewhat anarchic settlement by French colonists and pirates, the western third of Hispaniola officially became a French colony, known as 'Saint-

Domingue,' in 1697, with French the language of colonization. A constant influx of new slaves



from West Africa--driven by the very high death rate of local slaves--and the isolation prescribed by France's colonial 'Codes Noirs' contributed to the development of Haitian Creole among the oppressed during the colonial period.

In 1791, fresh on the heels of the French revolution, the slaves of Saint-Domingue revolted, chasing off or killing nearly all of the white

colonists, and formally declaring independence from France in 1804. In the decades that followed, **the world's first black republic** was shunned by the international community, a fact that contributed to its economic isolation and deterioration.

Fig. 1: Historical Timeline

pre-1492	Taino culture and language predominate
1492	Columbus arrives in 'Ayiti' (Taino term), renames the island 'Hispaniola'
1500s	Tainos subjugated by Spaniards, decimated by hard labor and European diseases
1517	Spanish emperor Charles V authorizes procurement of slaves from Africa
1600s	Western Hispaniola becomes haven for French pirates, buccaneers
1685	France's 'Code Noir' provide legal framework for slavery in colonies
1697	Spain cedes western third of Hispaniolamodern Haitito France
1700s	Sugar, coffee, and indigo make 'Saint-Domingue' the 'Pearl of the Caribbean'
1789	French revolution; Saint-Domingue is richest French colony in New World
1791	Haitian revolution begins with slave revolt led by Dutty Boukman
1794	France frees slaves in all French territories; Toussaint L'Ouverture leads 'noirs'
1804	Haiti declares independence from France (USA officially recognizes it in 1862)
1915-34	USA occupies Haiti, executes peasants, rebels (e.g., Péralte 1919)
1957	'Papa Doc' Duvalier elected; begins violent dictatorship with US support
1971	19-year-old 'Baby Doc' Duvalier succeeds father, continues brutality
1990-2004	Jean-Bertrande Aristide elected president, rules intermittently (exiled 1991-94)
2003-04	Chaos escalates: corruption scandals, strikes, protests, assassinations
2004-06	Aristide quits, flees to Africa; U.N. forces enter to stabilize
2010	7.0 magnitude earthquake leaves hundreds of thousands dead or homeless
2011	Former kompa musician Michel 'Sweet Micky' Martelly elected president

Today, Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with a history of unstable government that has led to large-scale emigration of a Creole-speaking diaspora. **The earthquake of 2010** in capital city Port-au-Prince shook the entire nation, and despite continued aid efforts from the international community, Haiti remains critically hampered by poverty, corruption, and inconsistent access to education (Haiti, 2012).

#### 2.2 Culture and Lifestyle

Haiti is an impoverished nation still struggling to recover from one of the most disastrous earthquakes in human history. Before the earthquake, 55% of its household subsisted on less than \$1 per day, and 45% had no access to potable water (World Health Organization, 2010). Trees are burned as a primary energy source, which has wiped out nearly all of the country's forest land, leaving settlements vulnerable to mudslides and flooding. Haiti's per capita GDP is roughly an eighth of its island-mate the Dominican Republic's, and forty times smaller than America's (Haiti, 2012). Most Haitians live at the subsistence level, affected by issues--intestinal parasites, iodine deficiency, acute malnutrition, a cholera epidemic--that rarely cross the minds of Floridians less than 600 miles away.

Bearing that in mind, there is plenty of sunshine, both literal and figurative, in Haiti. The late 20th-century rise in status of Haitian Creole had strong ties to the *kompa direk* music and dance movement, a style known for uptempo beats, electric guitars, horns, and Creole lyrics, and one of whose foremost practitioners, Michel Martelly, is currently Haiti's president. It also had a religious connection: nominally, the country is predominantly Catholic (80%) and Protestant (16%), but roughly half the population also practices 'voodoo' *vodou* [vo.du], a religion deriving from West Africa (Haiti, 2012). American views on *vodou* have been molded by misrepresentations in pop culture: rather than the simplistic 'sorcery' depicted in B-films and pulp fiction, *vodou* is a complex, widely practiced religion with longstanding historical traditions and a specialized language--known as *langaj*--spoken by 'male priests' *houngans* and 'female priests' *mambos* that draws even more on African languages than does Haitian Creole.

#### 2.3 Linguistic Variation and Contact

Haiti's two official languages French and Haitian Creole (henceforth referred to as 'Creole' for brevity's sake) coexist in a situation sometimes described as 'diglossia,' with one variety, French, associated with 'high' or formal social contexts--e.g., government documents, street signs, daily newspapers--and the other, Creole, used "when speakers are less guarded, less formal, and more intimate" (Zéphir, 2010). Given, however, that less than half of Haitians actually speak French, either a majority of the population is essentially excluded from 'high' level discourse, or the situation is **not actually one of stable diglossia**.

Most trends point to growth in the use and status of Creole. Roughly 25% of TV programming is in French, 25% in Creole, and the remainder a bilingual mix, or alternating according to the day (Etienne 2000 in Zéphir, 2010). Although French continues to be perceived as the more

prestigous of the two languages, the momentum of language shift appears, for the time being, to be on the side of Creole: school reform in the 1980s made Creole the language of instruction (see 2.4 below), and varieties spoken by younger Haitians feature distinctive elements that situate them further from rather than closer to French (Valdman, 2010).

Scholars have traditionally assumed **three regional dialects of Creole--**Northern, Southern, and Central--with the Central dialect surrounding the capital Port-au-Prince considered the standard. It is not clear, however, that geography is a stronger axis of variation than age, class, or urbanization (Valdman, 2010). Standardization of Creole via the development of dictionaries, grammars, literature and the educational system has been much more recent than, say, the analogous processes for English or French, which date back over 500 years, and though Haiti's is likely the most studied of all the world's creoles, there has been less time for a consensus to develop about its varieties. Whatever their classification, the dialects of Creole are mutually intelligible, while intelligibility between French and Creole is low.

# 2.4 Language and Education

A sweeping reform of the Haitian education system in 1982, known as the Bernard Reform, established Creole as the "language of instruction as well as subject of instruction all through fundmental education," with French a required "subject of instruction" throughout schooling but only a "language of instruction" starting in sixth grade (Locher, 2010). Despite this relatively progressive step, and despite significant lip service and money being dedicated to education in Haiti over the ensuing years, the state of schooling in the country remains inconsistent, chaotic, a "massive failure" to some (Dejean, 2010). Literacy is estimated at between 20 (Joseph, 2010) and 40 percent (Madhere, 2010), and only 10% of students who begin primary school will complete it (Locher, 2010).

Roughly half of Haitian schoolchildren attend private schools, many of which have maintained an emphasis on French over Creole in the face of the Bernard reform. The fact that students from richer backgrounds have different language experiences in school from their poorer counterparts both reflects and perpetuates the link between language and status mentioned above: "the havemores have French and their French language schools and textbooks... the have-nots and the have-less... have Creole language materials and curricula" (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010: 227, emphasis added). Even in public schools, Creole instruction and the 1982 reforms have been hampered by insufficient materials, corruption, and ambivalent attitudes toward the changes (Locher, 2010).

On the positive side, studies suggest that Creole print materials now meet acceptable standards (Trouillot-Lévy, 2010), **girls have gained equal access to education** and slightly outperform boys at the primary level, and the study of Creole has not negatively affected the acquisition of French (Locher, 2010). Nevertheless, there is near universal consensus that more quality, consistency and clarity are badly needed.

#### 3. Haitian Creole in the United States

There have been several waves of Haitian immigration to the United States. The first came on the crest of the 1791 revolution, consisting mainly of colonists, their slaves, and freemen. A second wave arrived during the 19-year American occupation of Haiti, during which a large number of educated professionals were allowed to emigrate, many of whom settled in Harlem and the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Two subsequent waves fled the chaos and bloodshed of the two Duvalier regimes in the late '50s and '70s: many of the poor, unskilled members of the last group immigrated on perilously small boats, and were referred to as "Boat People" (Joseph, 2010). The Haitian-born population residing stateside quadrupled between 1980 and 2000, but has grown at a slower rate since 2000 (Terrazas, 2009). Though the US government currently estimates the number of Haitians in the United States to be at or under one million, it is widely thought that undocumented immigrants would push the accurate number substantially higher. Of American cities, Miami has the largest percentage of Haitian residents, while New York City has the greatest number.

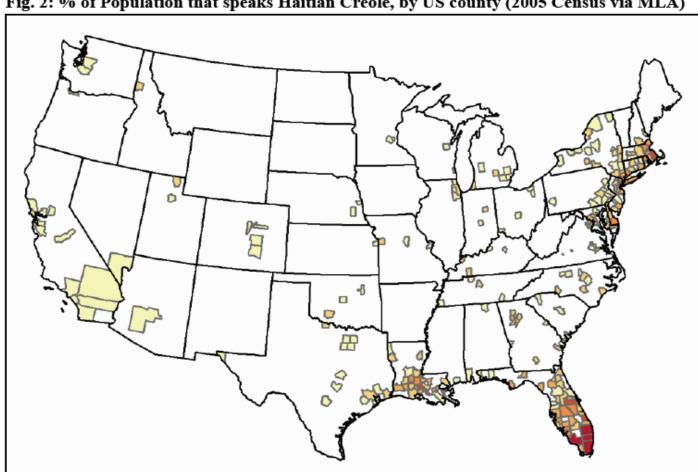


Fig. 2: % of Population that speaks Haitian Creole, by US county (2005 Census via MLA)

#### 3.1 National Trends

In contrast to the indigence of Haiti's home population, Haitian immigrants in the USA are less likely to live in poverty than are other immigrant groups. This has much to do with the higher socio-economic status of early waves of Haitian immigration. More recent waves have gravitated toward typical fields of immigrant labor: in 2008, almost half of employed Haitian-born men in the USA worked in services, construction, extraction, or transportation; more than a quarter of employed Haitian-born women worked in health care support (Terrazas, 2009).

As non-English-speaking black immigrants, Haitian Americans have endured and continue to endure multiple types of discrimination. Nowhere was this starker than in the 2002 case of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant viciously assaulted by NYPD police officers in Brooklyn after a minor altercation at a nightclub. Though the conviction of the principal offender and success of Louima's subsequent civil suit brought a modicum of justice to the case, for many Haitian Americans, Louima's ordeal illustrates the serious obstacles standing between them and acceptance into American society. Some members of the community also harbor bitter memories of the FDA's 1990 decision to ban all Haitian-Americans from donating blood, for reasons of medical safety that proved relatively flimsy and which led--along with protests like the "Great March" on the Brooklyn Bridge--to the ban's subsequent overturning.

Research indicates that new and recent Haitian immigrants are more likely to be monolingual in Creole, and that attitudes of Haitian Americans towards Creole are positive, but that language shift to English is taking place all the same. **Bilingual education in Creole and English has declined** over the past decade, though the New York City Board of Education publishes documents and exams in Creole, and the language is taught in a number of American Universities (Joseph, 2010).

Fig. 3 Haitian American boldface names

Wyclef Jean	hip-hop artist (Fugees), record producer; born in Haiti
John James Audubon	19th-century naturalist, bird-sketcher; born in Haiti
Pierre Garçon	NFL offensive star
Jason Pierre-Paul	NFL (New York Giants) football star; parents from Haiti
W.E.B. Dubois	promient African-American writer, activist; Haitian father
Jean-Michel Basquiat	avant-garde 1980s-era NYC artist; Haitian-born father
Reggie Fils-Aime	President, COO Nintendo of America; Haitian parents
Jean Baptiste Pointe du Sable	freed Haitian slave, trader; founder of Chicago (1779)

#### 3.2 Creole in New York State

Brooklyn is home to the highest concentration of Creole speakers in New York State and the most Creole-speaking EBs in the school system. Rockland County also has a high concentration of Creole speakers--particularly in Spring Valley--while several school districts in Nassau

County rank right behind Brooklyn's in numbers of Creole speaking Emergent Bilingual Learners (EBLs).

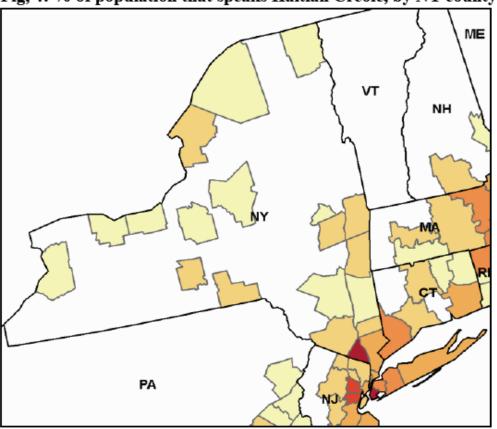


Fig. 4: % of population that speaks Haitian Creole, by NY county (2005 Census via MLA)

According to Census figures, New York City is the third-largest Creole-speaking city in the world; after Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, and Miami. Manhattan was historically the first nexus of Haitian immigration to the city, but most of its Haitian population has since departed, likely pushed out by Manhattan's "relentless gentrification" (St. Fort, 2010). Brooklyn is now the epicenter of New York's Haitian community, with such strong ties to Haiti that a slum district in Port-au-Prince was renamed *Bwouklin* in its honor (Joseph, 2010). The Brooklyn neighborhoods of Flatlands, Midwood, Canarsie and East New York have distinctly Haitian flavors: churches, record stores, restaurants and food carts often bear Haitian flags, Creole words and phrases, and naturally Haitian culture within. Queens also has a significant Haitian community, concentrated for the most part in Ozone Park, Jamaica, Springfield Gardens, and Cambria Heights (St. Fort, 2010).

# 4. Structures of Note in the Haitian Creole Language

Creole languages form through the contact of two or more other languages. In Haitian Creole's case, the languages were French and one or more African languages from the Fon family, currently spoken in and around Benin, in West Africa. Creole languages tend to take their lexicon, or basic word forms, from one language (called the 'lexifier'), and certain grammatical

and phonological structures from another (often called the 'substrate(s)'). Viewed in this framework, French was the lexifier for Haitian Creole, and Fon the substrate, perhaps among others. **Different theories exist for where and when Creole arose**: some propose that it formed in West Africa as a lingua franca before the Atlantic crossing; others target Haiti's 'Turtle Island' and its buccaneers as the nucleus; still others claim it formed in the 17th and 18th century on the French-run plantations of Saint-Domingue.

A significant number of Creole speakers and scholars advocate for the use of 'Haitian' as the language name, both to emphasize its national character, and to break free of the stigmas typically attached to creoles (Joseph, 2010); sound counterarguments also exist (Dejean, 2010; St. Fort, 2012). Perhaps a helpful thought to keep in mind when/if using the word 'Creole' is that few modern languages have airtight claims to being non-creoles: British English itself was forged through several known instances of disruptive language contact--Celtic and West Germanic, West Germanic and Old Norse, Old English and Norman French--and other instances further back have been hypothesized by scholars. The languages known as creoles, in short, tend to be labelled as such only because their contact events took place relatively recently, and perhaps in a particularly disruptive manner, as with the slave trade. To the extent that it helps us remember that creoles are just one type of human language, it is not fatuous to think that all human languages were probably creoles at one point or another.

# 4.1 Sound System

Creole has 20 consonants and 12 vowels. All of the consonant sounds exist in English, though the sound written 'r' is pronounced with the tongue looser against the roof of the mouth (almost a 'w' sound): [y]. Like French, Creole distinguishes between **nasal and non-nasal vowels**: the words 'you' ou [u] and 'one' oun  $[\tilde{u}]$  differ only in the nasality of the vowel (no consonant is pronounced in either word).

English has a number of sounds that are not distinctive in Creole, and which therefore may prove challenging to learners, particularly when contrasted with similar sounds:

(Consonants)	(Vowels)		
$[\theta]$ at the beginning of 'thin'	[æ] at the beginning of 'ash'		
[ð] at the beginning of 'this'	[I] at the beginning of 'igloo'		
[dʒ] at the beginning of 'jump'	[ə] in the middle of 'putt'		
[#] at the beginning of 'change'	[v] in the middle of 'put'		

Stress tends to fall toward the end of words, as in French (Rigdon, 2005).

# 4.2 Writing Systems

Although Creole first appeared in written form at the end of the 18th century (St. Fort, 2012), very little effort was made to standardize the writing system until the 20th century. The Haitian

government instituted the current system in the late 1970s, when Creole's imminent status as the official language of instruction motivated an explosion of 'official' print material in Creole.

The Haitian alphabet uses Latin characters, and is designed as a consistently **phonetic** system: i.e., any particular symbol is always pronounced the same way. Most of the consonant letters represent pronunciations as they do in IPA (see Introduction), with a few exceptions:

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ch is pronounced [ʃ] as in English 'sheep' ex: 'grapefruit' chadèk [ʃadɛk] j is pronounced [ʒ] as in English 'mirage' ex: 'today' jodi a [ʒo.di.a] y is pronounced [j] as in English 'yes' ex: 'to dance' yaya kò [ja.ja.kɔ] n indicates preceding vowel nasal ex: 'English' angle [ã.gle]
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Vowels adhere quite closely to IPA values, except for the digraph ou which is pronounced [u], as it is in French. There is one symbol unfamiliar to English: the 'grave accent' aksan non tonm, which gives 'e' [e] or 'o' a more 'open' or 'lax' quality: o [5] or e [8], as in chadek and yaya ko above.

#### 4.3 Grammar

Creole grammar is very different from that of both French and English, though it is an SVO language. **Verbs are not conjugated** for person, number, or tense; tense is indicated with other words, not verb endings, somewhat as English marks future time with the word 'will.' Nouns are marked for plural with the word *yo--*e.g., 'books' *liv yo--*but the *yo* marker attaches to any possessive adjectives accomanying nouns, rather than the nouns themselves: 'my books' *liv mwen-yo*.

The indefinite article 'a/an' you goes before nouns--'a knife' you kouto--but the definite article 'the' has three forms (la, lan, and a), all of which follow the verb: 'the vaccine' vaksen la.

#### 4.4 How Names Work

As in the United States, Haitian names generally follow the pattern **PERSONAL PERSONAL FAMILY**, though many people do not have middle names. Women usually take their husband's last name, and children get their family names from their fathers. Thus, Jean-Claude Duvalier was born to Simone Duvalier (born Simone Ovide), and François Duvalier.

#### 4.5 'Friends' and Classroom Phrases

Many English words for academic ideas, whether it be in math, the arts, science, or social studies, either come from or share a Latin root with French words, and Creole also gets many of these words from French. The list of helpful academic cognates below, then, is merely the tip of a large iceberg:

Fig. 5: Creole-English Academic 'Friends'

<u>Elementary</u>		_	
abrevyasyon	'abbreviation	pwovèb	'proverb'
apostwòf	'apostrophe'	resipwòk	'reciprocal'
gravite	'gravity'	revolisyon	'revolution'
emisfè	'hemisphere'	sistèm	'system'
mezire	'measure'		
oktagòn	'octagon'	Secondary	
planèt	'planet'	anplitid	'amplitude'
popilasyon	'population'	bakteri	'bacteria'
repwodiksyon	'reproduction'	kolonyalis	'colonialism'
sinonim	'synonym'	ipotèz	'hypothesis'
volim	'volume'	parabòl	'parabola'
		paradoks	'paradox'
<u>Intermediate</u>		presizyon	'precision'
sik	'cycle'	kwadratik	'quadratic'
divèsite	'diversity'	senbòl	'symbol'
fonksyon	'function'	teyorèm	'theorem'
fotosentèz	'photosynthesis'	viris	'virus'

Fig. 6: Classroom Phrases in Creole and English

Greetings & Questions		Kijan mwen kapab ede ou?	
Alo.	'Hello.'	'How can I help you?'	
Byenveni nan sal klas nou.		Sa ou bezwen?	'What do you need?'
'Welcome to our classroom.'			·
Kouman ou ye?	'How are you?'	Directions	
1	'What do you need?'	Leve non	'Stand up'
Ou bezwen ale nan twalèt la?		Chita	'Sit down'
'Do you need to go to the bathroom?'		Li	'Read'
		Ekri	'Write'
Compliments & Niceties		Koute	'Listen'
Bon travay!	'Good work!'	Reponn	'Answer'
Mèsi!	'Thank you!'	Pale ak patnè ou a	'Talk to your partner'
Tanpri.	'Please.'	Nan travay nan gwoup ou a.	
Eskize mwen.	'Excuse me.'	'Work in your group'	
		Ouvri liv/kaye ou a.	
<u>Communication</u>		'Open your book/notebook'	
Ou vle di?	'Do you mean?'	Pran plim/kreyon ou.	
Ki sa yo panse ou a?		'Take out your pen/pencil'	
'What are your thoughts?'		Kopye devwa ou.	
		'Copy your homework'	

### 5. Further Reading and References

#### 5.1 Imaginative Literature

# Ages 4-8

Jean-Gilles, Marie Monique. Ti Belo Ak Ti Pye Zoranj. (Creole)

Landowne, Youme. Selavi, That is Life.

Paquet, J.N. These Animals... Don't Want to Wash (bilingual English-Creole)

Williams, Karen and Catherine Stock. Tap-Tap, also Circles of Hope (Williams only)

# Ages 8-12

Danticat, Edwige. Behind the Mountains, also Anacaona, Golden Flower.

Myers, Walter Dean and Jacob Lawrence. Toussaint L'ouverture: The Fight for Haiti's Freedom.

Wolkstein, Diane. The Magic Orange Tree and Other Haitian Folktales.

#### Ages 12-16

Dauphin, Lili. Crying Mountain, also I Will Fly Again.

Temple, Frances. Taste of Salt, also Tonight, By Sea.

#### Ages 16-adult

Danticat, Edwige. Kric? Krak!, also Breath, Eyes, Memory

Endore, Guy. Babouk.

Lauture, Denize. The Black Warrior and Other Poems.

# 5.2 English language periodicals

Haitian Times--http://www.haitiantimes.com/

Boston Haitian Reporter--http://www.bostonhaitian.com/

#### 5.3 Haitian Creole language periodicals

Haiti's newspapers are starting to publish Creole (and English) editions, but as of 2012, the online editions of the principal newspapers are all in French.

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