KREÑÒL: A NEW LANGUAGE IN THE HISPANIOLA?

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Abstract

Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have approached the Hispaniola to study its historical and cultural richness. However, they have not yet addressed the linguistic barriers that impact the economic and social interactions between both countries. This study investigates language interactions of Haitian Creole and Dominican Spanish speakers in the border city of Anse-à-Pitres, Haiti. The study looks at 20 hours of recorded natural speech between Dominican Spanish and Haitian Creole speakers interacting at a market. It was revealed that these speakers used, among other mechanics, a newly emerging pidgin language. This paper explores the meaning that is constructed in this emerging language, which for the purposes of this research, will be called Kreñòl.

I. Introduction

THE ISLAND of Hispaniola, currently divided between the nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was the first in the "New World" where the Spanish formed a colony.\(^1\) As such, it served as a logistical base for the conquest of most of the Western Hemisphere.

\(^1\) Nilsa Baez & República Dominicana: Historia, civilización y cultura.

French and Haitian Creole are the major languages of Haiti, while in the Dominican Republic, Dominican Spanish is spoken. Scholars of various educational branches have carried out investigative work on the island; these studies focus on the history and cultural diversity that the island has to offer. However, many of them have not had the opportunity to study the relationship between the languages.
spoken in both countries and how the language barrier between them affects the economy or the social relations between these countries. This study seeks to explain some of these socio-economic relations happening on the island. The study took place, for more than a year, in one of four country binational markets, better known as “La puerta de la confraternidad” or “The door of fellowship,” in the border towns of Anse-à-Pitres (Haiti) and Pedernales (DR). It was revealed that the speakers at this market used, among other mechanics, a newly emerging pidgin language. This paper explores the meaning that is constructed in this emerging language, which for the purposes of this research, will be called Kreñòl.

I also had the opportunity to visit the largest market on the island, located between the border towns of Ouanamente and Dajabon for an entire day. The importance of that visit was that I heard the same pidgin language being spoken among vendors. This indicates that the expansion of Kreñòl not only occurs in the southwest of the country, but rather it is a phenomenon that spreads among sellers from both countries in all binational markets. This study is focused on more than 10 hours of natural conversations by Haitian vendors in the market. I focused on Claudine and Rasamel. These participants come from different generations. Claudine is older than Rasamel, has 10 children. Rasamel, on the other hand, provides the youthful example of the study. He is very charismatic and sociable. For him to use this linguistic phenomenon is not only a source of employment, but also a simple and easy way to communicate with Dominican counterparts.

These vendors use a new language, pidgin-like, which I call Kreñòl. According to the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy,² pidgin (pronounced [piˈʃɨn]) is a language characterized by combining syntax, phonetics and morphologicals of one language with another's lexical units.

I define the Kreñòl as a linguistic encounter between the two civilizations, the Haitian and Dominican. This means that when confronted by the need to sell their products and communicate with the buyer and/or sellers, inhabitants of the island use a simpler way to communicate. They use this mixture, or pidgin, because they know little about the other's language of business; in the case of the Haitians, it is Spanish. The Dominicans, on the other hand, do not care to speak Creole or see the need to learn and so, always speak in Spanish. Many of them claim that as the market is on the Dominican side of the island, they do not have the need to learn Creole. For them, Haitians should, and must, be able to communicate if they wish to sell productively. Yet Dominicans understand Kreñòl, the new mixture of languages.

In this analysis I have examined the explanations made by bilingual participants of Haitian kreyòl (Creole) and Dominican español (Spanish) when they combine both languages.

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² Centro virtual Cervantes: Pidgin
to create Kreñòl. Kreñòl contains the same number of letters in which the original names of the languages of these countries are written (a ratio of 3:3) because I see a change of the same ratio and/or average when speakers combined both languages to create a new word. However, pronunciation and other effects proved that Creole is used more than Spanish; such details will be explained later.

Figure 1 explains how the word Kreñòl evolved. This is a new word, never before written. I was inspired by the original names of the most used languages in the island, Dominican (español) Spanish and kreyòl (Creole) ayisyen. Moreover, as there is a 50% contribution by each language, so far, I used the same number of letters to explain and name Kreñòl.

Figure 1. Derivation of the word Kreñòl: three letters from Haitian Creole and three letters from Dominican Spanish.

II. The History of Language in the Region

Haiti is heavily influenced by African culture. Among the most prominent heritage cultures we find represented in the country, we find the Kongo, Igbo and Yoruba. Members of these African tribes arrived in Haiti as slaves, and features of their cultures are still present today in the language.

The market in which I conducted my research for more than one year was called La puerta de la confraternidad (the gate of fellowship, known as “La Puerta”). In addition to this market, I had the opportunity to visit the largest market of the island in Dajabón, where I also noticed the influence of Kreñòl. At La Puerta, customers come from both countries, but over 80% are Dominican.

Dominican Spanish is strongly influenced by the Yoruba language. Similarly, the Dominican dialect uses several indigenisms, despite having a completely extinct indigenous population. The African influence is evidenced in the words, speech, accent, colloquialisms and intonations. According to historians, the arrivals from Guinea in West Africa, along with the Congo, were forced to learn and neutralize Castilian forms. People in the Cibao region are the descendants of runaway slaves, and therefore their Spanish tends to be more of a creole language.

- **Dominican Phonetics:**
  - Dominican Spanish is spoken with a lisp and does not distinguish between the sound that represents the letters "c" (before "i" and "e"), "z" and "s". The three letters represent the phoneme /s/. For example, in Dominican Spanish, the verbs "cazar" (hunt) and "casar" (marry) sound the same.
  - Yeísmo: In the Dominican Republic, the sound represented by "ll" has become the lateral /ʎ/ a sound like the sound represented by "y" (and). This is carried out in phoneme sounds [j] or [dʒ].
  - Lambdaization: very common phenomenon in the lower classes, where the implosive consonant

3 Ina Fandrich: Yorùbá
changes (at the end of a syllable or word) for /l/. Example "New yol" or "niu yol" (for New York), "coltar" or "coitai" (to cut)

- There are three different geographical regions of pronunciation that are Southern, northern (Cibao), and Santo Domingo, which is in the center of the south and east (the pronunciation in the east is more neutral). Also, there is the tendency to shorten words and put them together.

1. In the North region, use of "i" between the words predominates, (caminar = "caminai") [walking] (madre, mal, mar = "mai, mai, mai" are pronounced all the same) [mother, evil, sea] and there are expressions that are no longer used in the Spanish of Spain, but in one way or another have survived in DR as (Aguaita = "listen"), (es a menester? = "it is required").

2. In the South region, the "r" between words predominates and it is also draged or strongest pronounced where it stands (walking = "caminarrr"), (let's go to the people = Vamono Parr pueblo). Less often you can hear a change in the "o" for "u" (vamonos = "vámunu") [let's go].

3. In Santo Domingo, (Capital City), there is "I" (walking = "caminal") and words become much shorter with the deletion of the "s" in some cases (vamos a ver = "vamoavé") [we'll see].

Despite regional differences in dialects (geolects), Dominican Spanish also has sociolects, different dialects between social classes. The syntax and morphology of Dominican Spanish have a demonstrative African influence; phonics are African, with a differentiation between the educated and cultured. Despite a difference, Dominican Spanish has specific characteristics as yeismo, the lisp and the complete lack of vos.

In the binational markets, several languages are spoken: Spanish, Creole, and English, as well as the pidgin dialect of Kreñól variation. Since markets are on the Dominican side of the island, Haitian vendors have to know some Spanish. There is a correlation between the ability to use the language of business (Dominican Spanish) and income.

➤Haitian Phonetics:

Haitian Creole, despite having originated from the French, has grammar that is very different and much simpler, mainly in the following points:

- Verbs are not conjugated according to time or person.
- It lacks grammatical gender, that is, the adjectives do not agree in gender with the noun they qualify to.
- Use of person suffixes to indicate possession of nouns.
- Use of auxiliary modifiers to indicate all tenses.

The Creole uses a basic order of constituents of type Subject Verb Object (SVO), as well as French.

Many grammatical features, particularly pluralization of nouns and possession, are indicated by adding certain suffixes (postpositions), like me, to the main word. It is an issue which punctuation should be used to connect the suffixes to the Word; the most popular alternatives are the script, the apostrophe, or even a space. The case complicates when the "suffix"

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4 Voseo (Spanish pronunciation: [boˈse.o]) is the use of vos as a second person singular pronoun, including its conjugational verb forms in many dialects of Spanish. In dialects that have it, it is used either instead of tú, or alongside it.
contracts, even being able to return a single letter (like m or w).

Nouns
Haitian Creole nouns have no gender. The plural of a noun is indicated by adding the particle yo after the noun (yo also work as a plural definite article). liv yo o liv-yo (libros) [books]

machin yo o machin-yo (carros) [cars]

Pronouns
There are six pronouns, one for each combination of number and person. There is no difference between direct and indirect. Some pronouns have an obvious French origin, others do not.

Table 1: Pronouns in Haitien Creole, French, and Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/number</th>
<th>Haitien Creole</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain Form</td>
<td>Short Form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/singular</td>
<td>mwen</td>
<td>m o m' o 'm</td>
<td>je, moi, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/singular</td>
<td>ou (*)</td>
<td>tu, te, vous</td>
<td>'tú, te, usted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/singular</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>il, elle, lui, le, se</td>
<td>'él, ella, le, lo, se’, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/plural</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>nous</td>
<td>'nosotros, nos’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/plural</td>
<td>ou o nou (**)</td>
<td>vous</td>
<td>'vosotros, os, ustedes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/plural</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>ils, elles, eux</td>
<td>'ellos, ellas, los, les’, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
(*) sometimes ou can be written as w. The w indicates ou.
(**) depending on the situation

Record: lexicogrammatical features
According to Haitian sellers interviewed at the market, when a Haitian seller uses Kreñòl instead of only Spanish or Creole, he or she is able to he sell more and Dominicans customers can understand him or her better. Kreñòl is not Patuá, as Patuá is a variation of French from 1789. When a Haitian speaks Patuá to a Dominican, the Dominican simply does not understand. The Patuá is a mixture of sixteenth century English, 1789 French and several dialects spoken among the slaves. This implies and even gives some validation to the hypothesis that Kreñòl is a trend and/or possible new linguistic variation implemented during business between the two nations.

I must emphasize that Kreñòl use is most common among Haitian vendors and their children. Many Dominicans do not care to learn Creole, much less Kreñòl. They believe that Haitians are the ones that should learn Spanish and use Kreñòl to sell as they are in their territory. Kreñòl is used among primary school students with whom I have worked. For them, speaking this way is fun and funny. And many times when I did not understand in Creole, they spoke Kreñòl and I quickly understood. Also, some Dominican students also use Kreñòl when talking to Haitians, and in many cases as a fun way to refer to marketers.

Code Switching: according Roca and Colombi, code switching is the rapid alternation between English and Spanish within an argument and even within the same sentence. It is a regular language behavior that has systematic functions and obeys defined linguistic principles (102). There is code switching
among participants in this study (in this case of Dominican Spanish into Creole and vice versa), so they exchanged words or phrases in both languages in the same sentence when the word created in Kreñòl is not understood. Although there is no written form of Kreñòl, (that I am aware of), what is being studied in this research is mainly verbal, but there are rules about when, how and why to use the phrases and words created by participants.

Participants who use this phenomenon use words that resemble Dominican Spanish. For example, the host language at the market is Spanish, so it is important for children and parents to study and learn Spanish. But the pronunciation has a tone or sounds like Creole, when they use Kreñòl, since most of the speakers are Haitians.

III. The Informants: Claudine and Rasamel

Of all the participants, I selected these two for the thesis because Claudine and Rasamel represent two different generations coming together to use Kreñòl.

Claudine: Born in Port au Prince. She is the mother of ten children: six girls and four boys. She and her husband moved to Anse-a-pitres, where their last three children were born, more than ten years ago. Her two eldest sons help her to sell in the market, and speak Spanish more fluently than Claudine and her husband. Although Claudine does not know much Spanish, she manages very well in the market when selling her products. Almost always, she takes her children with her for extra help, and admits to using Creole words that sound like Spanish to succeed. Her educational level is very basic, having completed only the third year of primary school. She can read and write very little. For Claudine, it became common and normal to have me with her on Mondays and Fridays in the market taking notes. She always helped me and answered my questions with enthusiasm. Claudine, in this study, represents an older generation of the island, which is forced to learn a pidgin dialect if they want to sell at a market to Dominican customers.

Rasamèl: Born in a village in Banane, Haiti. His father is Haitian and his mother Dominican. He lived most of his life in Haiti until the age of 16, and then traveled with his mother to Villa Consuelo, DR—the birthplace of his mother. In Haiti, he never had the need to speak Spanish, as his mother speaks fluent Creole. He completed his studies in a small primary school in Haiti, and when he reached DR, started high school but did not finish due to lack of income and his limited Spanish vocabulary. Rasamel is the fifth child of ten. From an early stage, he became independent from his family and several times returned to Haiti by the route of Pedernales. In this way, he became familiar with the market and started selling ice cream in the area. Rasamel says that the fluency he eventually developed in Spanish was thanks to the continuing influence he was exposed to in Anse-a-pitres and Pedernales. For him to switch from one language to another is extremely easy and necessary. He says, “even though I may not know the words very well, I can always predict whether I need to mix or pronounce the word in Spanish.”

i. Vocabulary: words [examples]

Claudine’s natural talk- example #1: In this passage, I describe the reaction of one of the vendors at the achievement of another vendor who was not in the same section as her.

“siempre sale usted con eso; tod que dis ese papeluch es por dicir nu; yo no puedo creer un
cose tan inverosímil. Me da dolín de cabeza pensalo. Si es cierte su triunf, amodecí no pued durar much si otre man ma poderos no lo coj baje su protección y plesi...mejo vende el sipón y fulá, ale ale“

Point 1: The participant has removed many final vowels, a phenomenon that is far from the well-known approaches to Spanish produced by French and Haitian. Only the conversion of /a/, /o/ final [e] (sewn <thing, otre <other) may occur in the partially acquired in Kreñol by Spanish speakers of Haitian Creole.

Point 2: Within Kreñòl we have found Haitian words in the nuclear vocabulary, e.g., nu instead of us or nous in French.

Point 3: The amodecí expression comes from my say. It is more likely, however, that this comes from the Haitian archaic pronoun mo (which still exists in Haitian patois of Samana and French Creole of Louisiana). Deci may be the Haitian word Dezi ‘desire’ or a combination of Haitian pronoun and Spanish verb.

Point 4: The word plesi was registered from its Haitian origin plézi ‘pleasure.’

Point 5: sipón (< Haitian zipon < French jupon) ‘skirt, enagua,’ fulá ‘handkerchief’

Point 6: dolín (< Haitian dolè ‘pain’) ‘cholera, rage’

ii. Grammar: code switching (examples)$^6$— Rasamel

H- lo mejor oríinal carabelita fantacia, rosa oríinal pal Kalora. Si quiere llamamame yo toy ahí mimo, ¿dime a ve compai? (risa) yo soy de Bani, estreyo, asociación racial bonsua, pase ke hay mucha de la vaina.

D- Repite, repite, repite
H- ¿dime a ve maníatico? ¿tu ta ahí?
D- dale dale, ¿dime a ver como he, como he?!
H- asociación nacional bonsua, hay mucha cosa que ta pasando en Bani entero. Yo kiero pa defendelte. En Haití también hay gente media errrarcodiga, errrarcodiga he ke tan andando, hay mucho ciclone k tan pasando, yo no se k fue k ta pasando, el maníatico va venil con otro detalla, el yonarice profesional en santó domingo ke tan hablando. Ehhh Asociacion racial bonsua por la paleta que ta vendiendo, este ta vendiendo flow ahora. Porque hay mucha forma, hay oríinal carabelita fantacia, rosa numero uno pal kalora. Un por ejemplo si la chokolata con cascarona si tu te kiere compra una comparona, tu le da una moldia chikita y kita el kalora de arriba y se va suaba. Un por ejemplo ostra ve el sabora, si tu kiere tu la da una moldia chikita y se va toe el sudol. El numero uno pal kalora. Un por ejemplo mira ahí (empieza a sacar paletas de la nevera andante), la de bicocha la chokolata con mani si tu kiere tu priva de comparona tu la da una moldia chikita y kita esa cacaron de mani y se te va jevi en tu bokita. Mira ahí
D-okey, okey
H- traje chokolata de bicocho y tu resuelve y tu le da una moldia se va suaba D-ya cola eso
Caro-pero tú hablas bien el español. Cuéntame, ¿de dónde eres?
H- gracias. No yo le sabe, que significa eso, polke tu sabe ke yo no soy de aki. Polke yo soy de lrrrancia. Mi pai e francia, mi mai Villa Consuelo de Santo Domingos
Caro-¿entonces siempre vienes por aquí?
H- yo toy vendiendo elada y curando con mis amigos. Yo voy parao en la calle
Caro-¿cómo te llamas? ¿Qué te gusta hacer?

$^6$ Codes for who is talking in the conversation:
Heladero--Rasamel (H), Dominicans of the area buying the ice cream (D), and myself (Caro).
H- yo soy Rasamel ke canta, to lo tipo saben quien soy yo y mi amora, mi amores y toito saben ke soy yo. (Sonido de trompeta) canta: “bicocho chokolata chokolata con leche con fresa de sabora oriyinal carabelita fantacia rrosa numero pal kalora, niña niño señora señor viejo k eta dulmiendo, rrrrevantate el numero uno pal kalorai llego pa come elata pol pipa”  
D-mira ahí ahora todito te vamo a compra la palet

Table 2: Kreñòl Words Heard at La Puerta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase/sound: dominicanism</th>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>Kreñol</th>
<th>New/not known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pol pipa (eating a lot of icecream)</td>
<td>Oriyinal <em>(original la, the participant pronounces G like a Y)</em></td>
<td>Elada <em>(combination of helado and krèm glase—icecream—</em> Rasamel changes de ending of lado for -lada making the creole sound glase (glas))*</td>
<td>Rrrrevantate*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toito (all)</td>
<td>Bonsua <em>(bon aswè, means good evening, but Rasamel uses it as the name of the organization he represents)</em></td>
<td>Yo le sabe –I know <em>(in creole is mwen konnen. The participant uses the end of creole –ne mixinf it with Spanish –yo lo sé)</em></td>
<td>yonarrrice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curando (having a good time with friends, relaxing)</td>
<td>Bicocha <em>(gato equivalent to cake in Creole, whereas in Spanish is biscocho. Rasamel only adds an {a} at the end of the Word, like Claudine did also.)</em></td>
<td>Bicocha <em>(gato equivalent to cake in Creole, whereas in Spanish is biscocho. Rasamel only adds an {a} at the end of the Word, like Claudine did also.)</em></td>
<td>errrarcodiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priva (a person who thinks and believes is superior to others)</td>
<td>Suava <em>(suave—smooth— in Spanish and mou in creole. –ou makes the same sound as –ua at the beginning of the word)</em></td>
<td>Suava <em>(suave—smooth— in Spanish and mou in creole. –ou makes the same sound as –ua at the beginning of the word)</em></td>
<td>estrrrrreyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaina (in dominican spanish it means a lot of things. In this case it refers to the problems occurring in both country’s politics)</td>
<td>Chokolata <em>(chocolate in Spanish and chokola in creole. More than 50% of the Word is in creole, but to make it sound like in Spanish he adds –ta instead of –te)</em></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carabelita (fake)</td>
<td>Detalla <em>(detay—details— in creole. Again he adds an {a} at the end, living more than 75% in Spanish)</em></td>
<td>Detalla <em>(detay—details— in creole. Again he adds an {a} at the end, living more than 75% in Spanish)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalora <em>(calor/ chalè. –Hot— More tan 95% is in Spanish, but the end has an {a})</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*words that I do not know the meaning of, but for the sound they make when spoken by Rasamel, I have denoted as Kreñòl, for neither in Creole nor French there is so much emphasis on the {r}.*
iii. Other examples:

1. Change of the word: “thanks”
   - Dominican Spanish: gracia
   - Haitian Creole: Mèsi
   - Patuá: Mesi
   - Kreñòl: Grasi

2. Change of the word(s): “how many”
   - Dominican Spanish: ¿Cuánto?
   - Haitian Creole: Konbyen?
   - Patuá: Konbe?
   - Kreñòl: Cuánbye?

IV. The Spanish of Claudine and Rasamel

Whether Chicano English is a dialect in the United States is subject to debate, as many see it simply as a Spanish accented English while others propose that Chicano English is a dialect of English equally valid as African-American vernacular English (AAVE). There is a similar question for Haitians in Dominican Republic, whose speech is often criticized when they use Spanish. But for hundreds of Haitians, speaking this way is not a luxury but rather a necessity. As we saw in the case of Rasamel, he tries to sound as Dominican as possible and uses dominicanisms throughout his conversation to prove that he can speak like the rest of his Dominican friends. Words like: toito, carabelita, priva, among others, are only useful in some way by Dominican speakers. This characterizes the Dominican Spanish slang (for details refer to the Dominican phonetic section).

V. The Creole of Claudine and Rasamel

Glenn Martínez’s study demonstrates that, Chicanos use a Spanish that has the influence of English. Likewise, both Claudine and Rasamel use an informal, Dominican Spanish influenced by the way they talk in Pedernales. Their Spanish is not academic, nor is their Creole. Education levels of both participants are low, so the French influence is minimal in their speech.

For the examples mentioned above, we can see that all their Spanish and Kreñòl are heavily influenced by their native language of Creole. They do not seek to develop complete or fixed sentences, but use short and to the point sentences, as if they were using a pidgin. Both use some colloquial Spanish words, not only with their children but also in the work area. Such words are: pal, toito, ostra ve, among others. This practice of Creole shows that while participants work on the Dominican side of the island, they still have speech features of their maternal village, with which they express their identity.

VI. Claudine, Rasamel and their Reason for Code Switching and Use of Kreñòl

The speech of the informants may vary depending on the person and the place where they are. With a monolingual person in Dominican Spanish, informants use the little Spanish they know and quite a bit of Kreñòl, especially in their workplace. On the other hand, when both are in their country of origin, home or with family, they use only Creole and a little Kreñòl among their children. None of the informants use French, as their education levels are very limited and they do not have the need to use it. Claudine says that although her children do not know much, they are always using this combination of Creole and Spanish between them, especially when they play or attend school. Both Claudine and Rasamel claim that this combination of languages was implemented in this area of the country (Pedernales and Anse-a-pitres), since in Port au Prince it is not necessary to speak

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7 In Dominican Spanish, an aspiration exists with an S at the end of words
8 Glenn Martínez: Mexican Americans and Languages
Spanish and in Villa Consuelo only Spanish is necessary. The interesting thing about both cases is to know which language the informants choose when speaking to another bilingual in the workplace.

I'm intrigued to know: Why choose a certain language? Why combine it in a certain way? Ana Celia Zentella's study of bilinguals in a block of New York City, Growing up Bilingual, focusing on a group of Puerto Rican girls. Chapter 5 explains that the girls sometimes use the dominant language of the recipient and change if the recipient changes. They use the "follow the leader" process when responding in Spanish if someone speaks to them in Spanish or switch to English if the other does the same. With both of my Haitian informants, the same thing occurred. When they heard me speak in Creole, they quickly followed me and were glad to see a Dominican speaking their language. But as soon as they perceived my linguistic limitations they began to speak in Spanish. Similarly I used phrases and words in French, Creole and/or and they also did the same. From there we ended up using Kreñòl in every conversation.

VII. Pronunciation of Onomastic

Glenn Martinez explains that in the case of Chicanos, pronouncing the Spanish names of names, places, food, etc., is very common when speaking English. Thus, they use Spanish phonology, with no intention of changing to Spanish. Using Spanish phonology demonstrates that Chicanos fully assimilate resistance to the dominant culture of the United States, which according Martinez is seen as a policy. However, this behavior is perceived as irritating, especially by English monolinguals who oppose bilingualism. Zentella, on the other hand, indicates that the Puerto Rican girls she studied preferred the English pronunciation of their names. However, this attitude may change over the years. Paca, for example, is only 6 years old and does not really understand the political problems between Spanish and English within the U.S.

In the case of the informants in Haiti, they are proud of their French names and ensure that you do pronounce their name correctly. Both Rasamel and Claudine made me repeat their name several times until I said it correctly. Also, they changed my name from Carolina to Kawolin, the equivalent of Creole. Not only did they do that, but also in both classrooms students called me "pwofesè Kawolin" (teacher Carolina).

Haitians are very aware of the political problems between the two countries. During my first trip the community, they did not trust my "good intentions," as they could not expect anything good from a Dominican. However, once they saw my work they changed their attitudes. Also, I tried to adapt myself to their culture, language and traditions. Soon, I adopted the name Kawolin and showed great interest in their work and education. I think this attitude helped me to move forward with the project. Haitian participants knew that to survive financially, they had to speak Spanish and Kreñòl. But that did not cause them to let their cultures go. Despite speaking the language of the trade, each participant kept their accent and pronunciations from Creole, as in the case of Chicanos.

According to Martinez, the structural framework of Chicano English is based on the use of the language that has the most prominent words, those in a higher position in the structural hierarchy of the sentence. Another definition used to identify the predominant language is to count the number of words in each language, with the language with most words being defined as the predominant language. With Kreñòl, I cannot ensure this to be the case; in Example 1 and in the conversation with Rasamel, there are more words in Dominican Spanish than in Creole.
However, the pronunciation is more like Creole than in Spanish.

VII. Syntactic Hierarchy in Code Switching
Linguists around the world have completed studies about code switching and grammar and have determined that bilinguals follow certain grammatical rules when they switch codes. Zentella states, "Spanish and English bilinguals don't favor change between a pronoun and an auxiliary [verb], or between an auxiliary and an infinitive, or omit the 'a' person or indirect objects" (116). For example, participants don't prefer to say "yo like carrots" and "me gusta to cook." In her study, the author determined that participants follow the syntactic hierarchy in terms of code switching from English and Spanish. Zentella says that similar to data of Poplack and Lipski, her data indicate similar constituent barriers where bilinguals switch codes in the sentence, the noun, and the object of the noun phrase.

My future research will focus on these aspects. I want to know why they change in certain cases and not in others, and to develop a table of possible pronouns and verbs to determine the possible linguistic future of this phenomenon.

VIII. Conclusion: What is the future of Kreñol?
This phenomenon has many aspects that need to be investigated. A conclusion cannot be reached on whether or not it is a new pidgin or perhaps, language. To reach a solid conclusion, it is necessary to go to different places in both Haiti and the Dominican Republic and see how deep the roots of Kreñol are. My research has led me to believe that as Creole ended up being the national language of Haiti, rendering French a secondary and elite language, Kreñol could do the same. It does not look as though the same possibility holds for the Dominican Republic, although there is a great influence of Creole and Kreñol in the border areas.

Kreñol is a linguistic boom because it is increasing. I believe it can continue to influence the income of many Haitian vendors as it did to my participants. I firmly believe that the younger generation, as in the case of Rasamell, will continue to see the importance of knowing Spanish, and will study it more as it is the language of trade. I also believe that if Kreñol expands further into Haiti, it could become a pidgin, and even Creole. What remains for us is to continue with broader, and more complex research to get to the core of this new combination of languages, which could end up being the next language of the island.

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