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# **Creole Discourse and Social Development**

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**CREOLE DISCOURSE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Lawrence D. Carrington**

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## I

## PREFACE

**The history of the project**

The project which has come to be known as Creole Discourse and Social Development had its beginnings in a series of conversations between Jean Casimir, Social Affairs Officer, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and Lawrence Carrington, Senior Research Fellow, Faculty of Education, University of the West Indies (UWI). The pair attended together the 3ème Colloque International des Études Créoles held in St. Lucia in May of 1981. Exchanges related to the instrumentalization of vernacular languages led Casimir and Carrington to elaborate their ideas on the mobilization of vernacular languages in the development of Caribbean states.

The major part of the published and continuing debate on the place of vernacular languages in Caribbean society has centred on their treatment within the education sector. Should they be proscribed, ignored, tolerated or used? If they are to be used should they be tools of transition, partial instruments of instruction, sole instruments of instruction? This project does not derive from that argument even though it is informed by it. Instead, we start from the recognition that the productive sector of Caribbean societies lies beyond the reach of the existing educational systems and consequently cannot be readily and materially affected by decisions restricted to the education systems. The instrumentalization of the Creole vernaculars in the Caribbean needs to be founded on the transformation of formal dialogue between the citizen and the agencies of the state. The state must be able to perform its developmental activity through the medium of these languages. Our position does not deny the importance of decisions within the education sector, but it is founded on a different order of priority which we see as responsive to realities ignored by the arguments on education.

The first attempt to seek funding for an appropriate project was made in 1982. In 1983, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Ottawa, Canada expressed interest in the draft proposal submitted to it by ECLAC. The resultant negotiations culminated in 1985 when an agreement was signed between the two parties. This agreement made available funds to support a preparatory study with the goals stated at section 6 of the synopsis of the project. (See Appendix 5.) Dr. Lawrence Carrington, was contracted by ECLAC to undertake the preparatory study and work was begun in August 1985.

### The conduct of the study

The data for this report were collected mainly from documentary sources and from interviews. The consultant was able to visit several of the centres of study and initiative in the development of Creole languages and to discuss the ideas that have resulted in this report with colleagues in universities other than his own. He was also able to visit four of the Creole-speaking countries of the Eastern Caribbean (Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia and Dominica) to gather information and opinions. A visit to French Guiana was not possible and this country is not discussed. In the case of Haiti, the political unrest associated with the change of leadership in 1986 prevented a visit until just before the writing of this report. Consequently, Haiti is not discussed in the same manner as the other countries visited.

Certain limitations on the fullness of the report must be drawn to the attention of the reader. Firstly, there was very poor response to letters on the part of many public officials with whom the consultant entered into correspondence. Subsequent visits to some of the officials confirmed all of the plausible guesses that might have accounted for their non-response.

The first explanation is the slow processes of the bureaucracies in which many of these persons work. Secondly, to many persons, the ideas suggested in the project were totally novel and even revolutionary. In the case of others, while the ideas were neither novel nor revolutionary, they called for difficult mental adjustments because they were requiring official action by the state in a previously neglected area. In either of the latter two cases, there was uncertainty on how to reply to some of the questions raised. The third case was rejection by the receiving officer of the ideas suggested and a consequent assignment of low priority for reply. Finally, loss of the related correspondence after receipt was also a factor.

A second important limitation on the study is that the consultant could not tap the opinions of the persons most likely to benefit from any success that might be achieved by the proposed sub-projects. To put it bluntly, the respondents to enquiries by the investigator were not those persons who, in their personal capacities, stood to benefit most from the implementation of any of the proposals. Indeed, there are senses in which respondents could consider their institutional interests to be directly threatened by the shifts in access to information that could result from the implementation of sub-projects described in Appendices 1 to 4.

## The organisation of the study

Whilst it would have been useful to have this document organised in a similar order to the listing on the final pages of the proposal for the preparatory study, such a pattern would have resulted in a considerable amount of repetition. In order to avoid this and to make the document more readable, I have opted for a more open format. All aspects of the intended study are however included. The acknowledgements list the names of the persons in each country with whom the investigator had contact for the purpose of the study. Their contributions of knowledge, information, moral support and administrative assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## II

## CREOLES IN THE SOCIETIES UNDER STUDY

Creole languages -- definition and characterisation

In the context of the Caribbean, the term Creole Languages (1) refers to the languages which developed as communication systems between Europeans and West Africans during the period of European colonial expansion, the trade in enslaved Africans, and the plantation phase of Caribbean economy. Initially, the early versions of these languages were purely compromise cross-linguistic communication systems. The duration of the circumstances that created them and of the social settings which demanded their use was sufficient that they stabilised as indispensable languages of the societies of the region.

For our purposes, socio-historical explanation of "Creole Languages" is preferred to a linguistic definition because no linguistic definition of these languages is free from theoretical disagreements which are peripheral to our present concerns. It is important nevertheless, to note certain linguistic characteristics of the Caribbean Creoles which have repercussions on their statuses within their societies.

All of the recognised Creoles of the region have vocabularies that are overtly and predominantly drawn from some European language. Indeed, it is practical to classify them on the basis of which European language is the source of the lexicon, e.g. French-lexicon Creole, English-lexicon Creole etc. Since few of the Creoles have distinctive independent names, this is the most usual formula for their designation.

All of the Caribbean Creoles have elements of syntax, semantics and phonology which show transfer and retention from those languages of West Africa which were part of the social equipment of the Africans enslaved in the New World. These retentions and transfers are partially responsible for linguistic features common to all the Caribbean Creoles regardless of their lexical bases (2). The term Creole itself is transferred to the languages from the people referred to as Creole in colonial lore and ethnic nomenclature i.e. persons of European parentage born in a colony; eventually, persons of mixed ethnicity born in the same settings and ultimately, any one born in the colony regardless of ethnicity.

### Types of Creole languages and their distribution

All of the major European languages that found themselves in the Caribbean and West Africa were contributors to the development of one or more varieties of Creole -- Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and Spanish. Not all of the varieties have survived into the last quarter of the 20th century but even those that have not survived have left detectable traces. The following table shows the geographical distribution of the different varieties of Creole in the Caribbean.

Table 1. Geographical distribution of Creole language varieties and their lexical sources

COUNTRY	LANGUAGE	LEXICAL SOURCE
Netherlands Antilles	Papiamentu	Spanish & Portuguese
Suriname	Saramaccan	Portuguese & English
	Sranan	English
	Ndjuka	English
French Guiana		
Martinique	No distinctive name in use	English
Guadeloupe		
St. Lucia		
Dominica		
Haiti		
Jamaica		
Belize		
Virgin Islands		
Antigua and Barbuda		
St. Kitts-Nevis	No distinctive name in use	English
Anguilla		
Montserrat		
St. Vincent		
Barbados		
Grenada		
Trinidad & Tobago		
Guyana		

Trinidad used to be a French Creole speaking area until the first third of the 20th century, but at present the language is restricted to a shrinking number of elderly speakers in small rural hamlets and coastal villages. Grenada had a similar background but the language is now rare in that country.

Migrations of speakers of French Creole from St. Lucia to Guyana (3) and from Trinidad to Venezuela have also taken the language into some areas of the host countries.

In Guyana, former occupation by the Dutch left two distinct varieties of Dutch-lexicon Creole labelled by the relevant researchers, Skepi Dutch and Berbice Dutch (4). Only the latter has survived up to our time as a conversational medium but its few speakers are confined to an isolated tributary of the Berbice River. Creole Dutch (Negerhollands) was also once used in the now American Virgin Islands but there too, it is vestigial.

### Questions of mutual intelligibility

The French-lexicon Creoles of the region are typologically similar and to a great extent mutually intelligible. The accepted sub-classification of the varieties (5) is as follows:

Greater Antillean	Haitian and Louisiana French Creole
Lesser Antillean	Guadeloupean and Dominican
	Martiniquan, St.Lucian and Trinidadian
	Guyanais

The levels of mutual intelligibility within the Lesser Antillean group are very high and cross dialect comprehension is facilitated both by the proximity of the islands and by the frequency of contact among speakers. Graham (6) attempted a measure of the intelligibility of St. Lucian by speakers of other varieties and arrived at the following results:

St.Lucian with Martinican	89.0%
with Dominican	98.5%
with Guadeloupean	76.5%
with Guyanais	82.5%

While one should not exaggerate the importance of the figures, Graham's results corroborate impressionistic evidence of the ease of communication among users of these dialects. It is certain that the levels of mutual intelligibility between Lesser Antillean and Greater Antillean are lower but no calculation is available (7).

In the case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the region, there have been no attempts to determine formally the levels of mutual intelligibility. The Suriname group of languages is clearly separated from the remainder of English-lexicon varieties by a number of phonological particularities and syntactic features. The island varieties and Guyanese also differ from one another in the extent to which they have been affected by the persistent pressure of English co-existing with them. Nevertheless, Alleyne (1980) documents the structural closeness of the region's English-lexicon varieties and practical observation shows significantly high levels of intercomprehensibility within the group.

### Effects of co-existence with European languages

One of the important complicating factors in the linguistic and social reality of the Caribbean Creole languages is the fact that they have continued to co-exist with European languages which have official statuses within the region. The complications are greatest where the Creole is in contact with the European language that is its lexical source. For example, in Martinique a French-lexicon Creole is in contact with French, and in Jamaica an English-lexicon Creole is in contact with English. In cases of the kind, there are developments that are not present in instances such as Dominica where a French-lexicon Creole is in contact with English or Suriname where English-lexicon Creoles are in contact with Dutch.

The complicating factor is the development of varieties of language that are intermediate between the Creole language and the European lexical source language. The intermediate varieties have resulted from mutual infiltration of the languages especially at times when the evolution of the social structures of the countries have afforded speakers of the Creole languages social advancement in proportion to their control of the official language without necessarily making provision for their successful formal acquisition of it. The intermediate varieties are complicating factors for the following reasons:

1. They blur the boundaries between the languages in contact in the perceptions of the members of the society.
2. They reinforce popular opinions that the Creole languages are versions of the lexical source language.
3. They demand special analytical procedures that are capable of dealing with variation in ways different from those used in other circumstances.

A setting in which such intermediate varieties exist is referred to by creolists as a post-creole dialect continuum. In this document, the term is used for convenience without the implication that the author accepts all of the theoretical paraphernalia that accompany it in the works of the major proponents of the concept.

It is not only in such settings that the languages are considered to be versions of the lexically related European languages. The view is widespread because of the history of the languages and the transparency of the source of their vocabularies. Were the view simply erroneous in respect of the classification of the languages, it would not be especially serious. However, it attains serious proportions because it carries with it sets of attitudes that affect the social status of the languages and their place in the formal life of the communities which they serve. A number of general statements on attitudes towards Creole languages in the Caribbean are in order.

### Traditional attitudes towards Creole languages

Public attitudes towards Creole languages in the Caribbean have been changing significantly. However, the current changes of the relationships among the relevant languages can only be appreciated against the background of the traditional set of attitudes.

The prestige of the Creole languages has been lower than that of any of the European languages that function in the region. This is the cumulative result of several mutually reinforcing factors:

- a) their origins as the forms of speech produced by the group who were lowest on the social scale of the plantation society;
- b) the fact that their grammars do not show the commonly known features of the European languages to which they are so obviously lexically related;
- c) their limited geographical distribution;
- d) the fact that they are primarily oral media and not normally written by their speakers;
- e) their exclusion from the education systems;
- f) the absence of widely available, readily comprehensible grammatical descriptions, dictionaries and other scholarly evidence of their status as languages;
- g) the association of European languages with power and control of the societies.

The asymmetrical relationships that have existed between the official languages and the Creole vernaculars have fed the disadvantage of the latter in the face of the former. The result of the complex set of status related factors has been that the Creole vernaculars have been deprecated within their societies, their most usual linkage being with lack of education, lower socio-economic status, lack of social grace, earthiness and familiarity. This descriptive statement underlies any other observations about the socio-linguistic relationships of the societies concerned and is the baseline from which all change is to be measured.

### **Creole and Standard: the classic relationship**

The classic analysis of the relationship of Creoles and standard languages in the Caribbean region is one of non-competitive, complementary, social, geographical and functional distribution. Within such a framework, the following would be the broad outlines.

The use of the standard official language of the society would be characteristic of the upper classes and related aspirants while the use of Creole would typify the lower classes. The official languages would be used with higher frequency in urban environments while the Creole vernaculars would be more common in rural settings. In respect of the functional distribution of the languages, full exercise of choice is possible only for bilinguals. However, there would be general tacit social agreement on the kinds of functions for which each language is appropriate. The standard languages would be the vehicles of formal serious communication related to the management of the society, educational practices and public self-presentation. The Creole vernaculars would be the vehicles of folk communication, oral traditions, unofficial activity and private interaction.

This classic description is consistent with the traditional attitudes. Newer attitudes towards the languages necessitate major revision of the description. It would be an error though, to approach the new attitudes as if they had swept away the old and as if all that was required was a simple new statement. The relationships between Creole languages and European languages in the region are in evolution, but they have not been reversed nor have they stabilised in any static pattern.

### **The new attitudes towards the languages**

The changes that can be observed in attitudes towards the Creole languages of the region owe their development to several factors which have differing weights in each of the countries concerned:

- a) the evolution of movements of social protest and the growth of demands for political autonomy;

- b) the attainment of independence;
- c) changes in the routes to social acceptability and in the social structure of Caribbean societies;
- d) the erosion of the power of the traditional land-owning classes;
- e) the emergence of recognised literary and artistic figures who use the vernacular in their works;
- f) the accumulation of a body of scholarship associated with the Creole languages.

The combination of these factors has encouraged open questioning of the old attitudes on the part of an increasing number of persons. Deprecation of Creoles is increasingly considered to be part of an undesirable tendency of the ruling groups in the region to despise anything that is associated with the mass of the society. Reversal of that pattern has promoted the Creole languages into being markers of protest, symbols of identity and even rallying points for political change. Such shifts though, are themselves sources of some measure of alienation of persons whose socio-political positions would not allow them to identify with what they see as radical extremism or the luxury of intellectualism.

### The focus on French-lexicon Creoles

In this study, the focus will be on the French-lexicon Creoles of the region. The French-lexicon Creoles are an appropriate starting point for a project of this kind firstly, because they are present in three different socio-linguistic settings in the region and secondly, because those settings include very different political structures. Haiti is an independent state whose autonomy dates back to the early 19th century. In Haiti, Creole is recognised as a national language although not an official language. Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guyane are departments of the strongly centralised state of France, while St. Lucia and Dominica are recently independent mini-states. In the French departments, Creole is in contact with its lexical source language French; in the case of St. Lucia and Dominica, the European language in the contact is English.

This heterogeneity of contexts offers a rich variety of variables for the examination of the instrumentalization of a Creole vernacular. In the sections that follow, the relationships between French, English and French Creole will be explored as they condition the feasibility of the instrumentalization of the vernacular in the cause of social development.

## St. Lucia: Creole within public life

### The Constitution

The constitution of St. Lucia includes a language qualification for membership in the country's parliament. Citizens who do not speak English and are not literate in that language are debarred from election to the House of Assembly or nomination to the Senate. The qualifications for membership in the Senate are stated as follows:

- "25. Subject to the provisions of section 26 of this constitution, a person shall be qualified to be appointed as a Senator if and shall not be so qualified unless, he -
- a) (citizenship provision)
  - b) (residency provision)
  - c) is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with sufficient proficiency to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Senate." (8)

The clause in respect of the House of Assembly is parallel in wording. While this may be merely a way of stating that English is the official language of the state, the effect of the clause is to exclude a significant proportion of the population from participation in the affairs of the state.

As one would expect, the standing orders for the parliament and its committees conform with the intention of the constitution with the result that debate and discussion is supposed to be conducted in English. Most of the time it is, but not exclusively so. St. Lucian lexical items appear in the transcripts of the House apparently when the member cannot avoid reference to something that has no readily accessible English name. Longer sequences appear too as jests, witticisms, aphorisms or as sundry oratorical devices.

But the Speaker is vigilant and has been known to rule out of order a member who attempted to deliver the bulk of his contribution in the vernacular. The single most important case occurred in 1977 when the member for Castries East gave notice that he intended to address the House in Creole. He proceeded to do so despite the Speaker's attempts to silence him and after an exchange between the two, the member yielded to the Speaker's ruling. The incident is of significance because a politician on the campaign trail cannot dispense with the necessity to speak Creole. Yet once he has been elected, his official functions on behalf of his constituents oblige him to abandon that language within the House.

### **The public sector**

All of the formal business of the state is conducted through the medium of English. There is no written use of St. Lucian in any official correspondence or document. At the level of person to person interaction for official purposes, however, the picture is not clear cut. Whether English or St. Lucian is used in such contact varies depending upon the same set of factors that would determine normal conversational interaction. However, because the setting may be more than likely formal and the participants in the communication more than likely not familiars, the bias would be in favour of the official language.

In addition to the nature of the contact being biased in favour of the official language, a secondary consideration arises in the form of the sensitivities of persons to being addressed in the vernacular where the relationship between the participants in the communication act might be construed as asymmetrical. A public servant in contact with a citizen in a social system the size of St. Lucia is more often than not in a power situation. The public servant would have been required as a condition of his/her employment to show some operational proficiency in English and would be assumed by the citizen to be a speaker of that language. These considerations would make the use of Creole a marked act especially if initiated by the civil servant.

Linguistic communication in the public sector can therefore be represented as an area of unresolved tension in which participants must cross the formal barrier by ritual before real communication can begin. Because, however, one cannot assume either that the civil servant will be a competent user of Creole or that the citizen will be a competent user of English or that the topic of their communication will be one in which they control the relevant vocabulary in the language agreed for the communication, the incidence of non-communication may be unacceptably high. In the sections that follow, we shall outline the use reportedly made of Creole and of English by several of the agencies of the state in their interaction with the citizenry in some of the areas that will be proposed as suitable for intervention by this project.

### **The agricultural sector**

The Ministry of Agriculture, Lands, Fisheries and Cooperatives of the Government of St. Lucia recognises that a large proportion of the farmers in the country are primarily speakers of St. Lucian. Their extension officers with one exception are speakers of St. Lucian and they conduct the bulk of their work orally through that medium. This practice is a matter of unwritten departmental policy but its effectiveness is blunted because the success of communication with the farmer depends on the fluency of the individual officer.

Since not all the officers have the same level of competence, levels of success are variable.

As part of the policy, the Ministry's Agricultural Information Unit employs an officer (Agricultural Information Assistant) whose primary function is to prepare radio broadcasts in St. Lucian. The officer translates the texts of material prepared by technical officers from English into Creole and prepares the resultant broadcasts. But air time is very low and inconsistent, varying from 5 to 10 minutes per day 5 days per week in St. Lucian. The officer who does the translation uses the writing system developed by Mokweyol (9) but does not have available to him any reference material that would facilitate his task. He was recruited for his oral ability in St. Lucian but has no formation in translation or script preparation.

In the Fisheries Management Unit of the same ministry, 10 of the 13 officers are speakers of Creole and here too the general policy of the unit is that contact with their fishermen clients is through the medium of St. Lucian.

The Division of Cooperatives reports that the majority of its interaction with its public is in Creole but it also reports anxiety over a problem within the cooperative movement related to language and literacy. A significant proportion of the members of cooperatives are illiterate and are primarily speakers of St. Lucian Creole. This is particularly true of the farmers' and fishermen's cooperatives. They are obliged to have some literate person who can keep the minutes of their meetings and the records of the cooperative. Consequently, it is not uncommon for someone who is not within the occupational group (a teacher or a social worker) to be approached to join the cooperative for the specific purpose of functioning as scribe and record keeper. The Registrar of Cooperatives sees this as a potential violation of the spirit of management of cooperatives by their members.

### The health sector

The Ministry of Health, like the Ministry of Agriculture, is obliged to interact at certain levels with the public through the medium of St. Lucian. Officers such as nutritionists, public health officers and nurses are in the forefront of such contact. One particularly interesting enterprise associated with that ministry is the Primary Health Care project funded by the Kellogg Foundation. Within that project, there is an initiative to use popular theatre and to prepare educational materials using the vernacular language. Two topics have been attempted so far, alcoholism and teenage pregnancy. All the work attempted uses the oral medium.

### The education sector

The formal education system remains a preserve of English. No official policy permits the use of the vernacular language of the country within the classroom. The teachers in the society have developed past the stage of violent antipathy towards the language in the school compound to a posture of tolerance and in some cases recognition of the value of Creole contact with young children entering the school system.

An index of the change in the position of teachers can be obtained by reference to the late 70s and early 80s, when St. Lucia came very close to serious consideration of a modified status for its vernacular language. In February of 1980, a government appointed committee on educational priorities submitted its final report (10). Using as its base the urgent need to reduce the very high rate of illiteracy in the country, the committee pointed to the desirability of using Creole as a medium of instruction for children. It urged the admission of the reality that Creole was a principal means of communication for the majority of the population and advised that work should be initiated on the development of an official writing system.

Within two months of the submission of that report, a national consultation on education was held. The national consultation is of importance because it was convened by the government as part of the fulfilment of an electoral promise to increase the level of participation of the populace in the decisions of the government. Over a period of weeks, memoranda on the revision of the education sector were received from the general public. The final activities of the consultation brought together over 200 people who debated the memoranda as well as formal presentations made by invited speakers. The outcome of the consultation was a document that embodied a number of resolutions including several on the matter of language (11). The relevant resolutions can be summarized as follows:

- a) that a language policy providing for the recognition and establishment of Creole as an accepted medium of communication should be developed;
- b) that provision should be made for the "standardization" of oral and written forms of the language;
- c) that positive public policies should be established to counteract negative attitudes towards the language;
- d) that assistance be sought from UNESCO to determine orthographic conventions for the language.

When in November 1980 a committee on literacy submitted its report (12), its statements on the language issue were hardly

surprising. It called for the implementation of a bilingual policy, for the development of an official orthography for the Creole and for a literacy initiative that would have as its goal the development of reading and writing competence in both of the country's languages.

Then, the inevitable happened. An internal political struggle in the government resulted in its collapse and the Minister of Education who had been supportive of the work on the instrumentalization of the language resigned. With his resignation went the official initiative for the formalization of the use of the language.

The most important feature of these events is that the consultation on education was dominated by teachers, a group traditionally hostile towards the use of the vernacular of the country. That the endorsement of official recognition for Creole should have come from that group is an index of the kind of attitudinal shift that has been taking place within recent times.

Despite this improvement in attitudes, the current literacy activity in the country is conducted primarily in English and is certainly aimed at producing literacy in that language alone. The only attempt to use Creole in a literacy activity was restricted to a short lived effort in a rural parish and to an aborted experiment in a prison (13).

### Creole within the media - Radio

Within the lore of radio broadcasting in St. Lucia, it is said that the first use of Creole on the local radio was the result of an advertising campaign by the Chase Manhattan Bank. Apparently, in about 1971, an enterprising manager decided that the only way to attract the money that was stashed under rural mattresses was to advertise his bank in the language of the people - Creole. This may have been its first use for commercial purposes but Charles (14) reports the first use as being July 5th 1971 on a broadcast to St. Lucia from the then Windward Islands Broadcasting Service (WIBS) based in Grenada. The feature contained agricultural information aimed at farmers and was accompanied by an English version. Eventually, the initiative led to a 15 minute programme called "Agriculture Today". After WIBS was disbanded in 1972 and Radio St. Lucia came into being, the same idea was continued into a programme called "Farmer's Tips".

The Government owned station, Radio St. Lucia, does not have a specifically stated policy on the question of the use of Creole on the radio. Their current practices have been the result of the accretion of bits and pieces. The amount of air time is pitifully small, but consideration of the topics is more encouraging. The Ministry of Agriculture provides a daily 5 - 10 minute programme of information for farmers in its extension activities. The Government Information Service provides a twice

weekly half-hour gazette and the religious are provided, courtesy of the Baptist Churches, with a weekly 15 minute devotion. Of course, the daily variety programme with a popular DJ is routine. Within that frame, local and regional news items are interwoven with public service announcements frequently translated on the spur of the moment by the announcer.

Quite apart from the regularly scheduled programming, a number of special features appear from time to time. One might mention here coverage of the 1979 elections on both stations in St. Lucia in both Creole and English, commentary on the consecration of the Bishop of Castries in October of 1981, as well as occasional public education programmes one of the more notable being a series on the law and the citizen presented by a lawyer on his own initiative.

The quality of programming in St. Lucia, (and in Dominica as well) is not very professional and compares unfavourably with the programming in the French-based stations. Part of the reason for this is that the broadcasters are not trained in a formal sense and acquire most of their skills on the job. The other reason is that the stations do not appear to take the matter of broadcasting in the vernacular sufficiently seriously and the selection of personnel is less rigorous than it ought to be. Consequently, the quality of the Creole programming is significantly below that of English programming especially in St. Lucia.

### Creole within the media - Press

In St. Lucia, political cartoons have been appearing in Creole since the 1950s in the "Voice of St. Lucia", a thrice weekly newspaper. More recently, The Crusader, the official organ of one of the political parties, has been publishing a comic strip in the language. These traditional functions of the language have been left behind by a now faltering venture called Balata produced by the Creole promotion group of St. Lucia "Mokweyol". The paper, which has appeared far too infrequently, has the primary goal of familiarizing the literate public with the writing system of the Creole language. The paper is bilingual, English and Creole, and features socio-political articles and short literary pieces. It has also discussed the writing system in detail. The Castries Catholic Chronicle also devoted several pages of its issues in 1981 to introducing its readers to the then newly created writing system. The effort was largely the result of the personal initiative of the Vicar-General who is an active member of Mokweyol.

## Organisations working in the field

### National Research and Development Foundation

Registered in 1983, the National Research and Development Foundation of St. Lucia (Ltd.) (NRDF) is a non-profit company limited by guarantee. The organisation is the successor to the Caribbean Research Centre St. Lucia (CRC) which functioned from 1978 to 1983 as a non-governmental, non-profit institution created to coordinate, support and undertake socio-economic research projects. NRDF has both corporate and individual members and conducts its business through a Board of Directors elected by the membership. Its income is generated from the local membership, donations, from a hostel which it owns and manages as well as from fees paid for services in connection with research and development work contracted to it.

NRDF has three broad areas of operation: i) research; ii) development and training; and iii) credit and counselling. For our present purposes, a direct excerpt from its policy statement in respect of research is appropriate.

"It shall be the policy of the Foundation to undertake, conduct, promote and monitor scientific and general research for the purpose of improving the social and economic development and well-being of St. Lucia."

"The Foundation shall undertake to coordinate, document and disseminate research findings."

"The Foundation shall undertake commissioned research at its own discretion."

The relevant section in respect of development and training reads as follows:

"The Foundation shall participate in programmes and projects of a developmental nature directed at:...

4. The application of research findings in the development process."

NRDF does not maintain a permanent research staff but instead a base for the management of projects. They recruit personnel for different projects depending upon the skills required and build the costs of such recruitment into the projects.

Within the area of the development of language, NRDF functioned as the parent organisation for MOKWEYOL (Mouvman Kweyol Sent Lisi) whose activities are discussed below. More recently, Mokweyol's needs for a secretariat have been fulfilled by the Folk Research Centre.

### Folk Research Centre

The second non-governmental organisation whose goals and operation are closely related to those of the project is the Folk Research Centre St. Lucia Ltd. (FRC). Like NRDF, FRC is a registered as a non-profit company limited by guarantee. Again here, an excerpt from the articles of association is appropriate.

"To promote promote research into St. Lucian culture through the scientific study of culture, the collection and analysis of data on the folk tradition and through the compilation, publication and dissemination of information."

"To explore and clarify the role of culture in the development of St. Lucia through the following:

- (i)...
- (ii) promoting the use and appreciation of Kweyol."

FRC was founded in 1973 and since that time has undertaken a number of projects including the development of a Documentation Centre, the conduct of literacy programmes, research on folk beliefs in the religious sector, the documentation and classification of local medicinal herbs and their functions. Together with the NRDF, FRC was instrumental in initiating and conducting seminars towards the development of an orthography for Antillean Creole. The same initiative resulted in the formation of MOKWEYOL.

### Mokweyol (and predecessors)

Mouvman Kweyol Sent Lisi (MOKWEYOL) crystallised out of a short-lived committee called the Committee for Creole Studies. The latter was formed in 1981 at the end of a meeting convened to discuss an orthographic system for St. Lucian and Dominican about which more will be said shortly. Mokweyol can be described best as an informal interest group at the Creole intersection of the NRDF and the FRC. For convenience, the label Mokweyol will be used to refer to the group so named as well as to its immediate predecessors regardless of their individual labels.

Mokweyol has been involved in four important pieces of work. The first was the conduct of two workshops on the orthography of Antillean Creole. The sponsors of the meeting were the CRC (predecessor to the NRDF) and the FRC. It was out of those meetings that a workable speaker-endorsed writing system for St. Lucian and Dominican was developed. The system was also acceptable to the GEREK group of the Université Antilles-Guyane.

The second noteworthy activity of the group was an attempt to popularize the writing system through the pages of the Castries Catholic Chronicle. This newspaper, the official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in St. Lucia devoted full page spreads to introducing the readership to the writing system that resulted from the workshop. The cooperation of the Chronicle was possible because of the influence of the Vicar-General mentioned earlier as a prime mover of the Mokweyol group.

The third venture has been the publication of the occasional newspaper, Balata, mentioned earlier. The fourth important activity of Mokweyol was the convocation of a seminar for radio broadcasters who use Creole. Assisted by funding from the French Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (ACCT), the movement convened a ten day working session in which participants from all of the Creole-speaking Caribbean, as well as a representative from the Seychelles, discussed issues related to the improvement of news and information type broadcasting on radio. The workshop was conducted in Creole and engaged in practical tasks of news presentation and translation.

## Dominica: Creole within public life

### The Constitution

The constitutional pre-eminence of English is assured in Dominica as it is in St. Lucia by the restriction of parliamentary office to persons who speak and read English (15). The language provisions are exactly parallel to the St. Lucian formula. Interestingly enough, the motto on the coat of arms of Dominica is written in Creole! "Après bondié c'est la ter" -- After God, the Earth. Of equal interest is that a draft of the constitution dated 1977 did not include the provision (16).

### The public sector

The remarks that have been made in the discussion of the public sector in St. Lucia are very nearly exactly applicable to the case of Dominica. There are differences though, because the proportions of primary users of Creole in Dominica may be somewhat lower than in St. Lucia. It is difficult to authenticate this proposition and the view must be considered to be partially subjective and partially extrapolated from dated evidence.

If the relationship between levels of illiteracy and primary use of a language other than English established in early regional censuses still holds, Dominica would have a lower proportion of monolingual Creole speakers than St. Lucia (17). It is not possible to estimate how much lower and a number of other factors would suggest that regardless of the actual figure, the importance of the Dominican vernacular is high. For example, the use of the language by the Prime Minister is not restricted to the political platform; she has used it repeatedly in radio interviews and discussions. By comparison, the Prime Minister of St. Lucia is credited with the public remark that computers do not speak Creole. The two leaders may have different perceptions of their political reality and of their language.

### The agricultural sector

The Agricultural Information Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture employs an assistant to the information officer with the specific responsibility of assisting in Creole communication. He prepares a radio broadcast (5 minutes four times a week) on various topics in agriculture focussing mainly on crop production and marketing. Again here, the officer translates material prepared by technical officers of the division. His writing system is personal and idiosyncratic.

Within the unit some concern has been expressed at the fact that an insufficient number of agricultural officers were operation-

ally fluent in Creole. The anxiety was related to the knowledge that a majority of the producing farmers in the country are primarily speakers of Creole.

### The health sector

The Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health is a relatively new organism dating only from 1981. The department makes only limited use of Creole but claims to recognise its importance for a significant proportion of its goals. A collaborative effort between the one trained officer, two assistants and a cooperative broadcaster converts the salient points of a programme entitled "Santé Nou" into Creole for presentation in a popular radio programme called "Espéwyans Kwéyol". "Santé Nou" itself is broadcast in English (despite its Creole title) once per week for 15 minutes.

### Community development

The Community Development Division of the Ministry of Community Development, Housing and Youth Affairs effects its contact with the population it serves through the medium of both English and Creole at an oral level.

### Adult education

The activities of the Adult Education Division warrant careful attention. For a significant period, this division was heavily involved in the use of Creole for contact with its public. Sensitivity to a need in an emergency made the department opt for a continuous period of broadcasting in Creole. The impetus to Creole broadcasting came in the unwelcome form of a hurricane in 1979. The hurricane destroyed a number of roads. When it became clear that the isolation of several rural settlements would last for a long time, the adult education division began a series of broadcasts aimed at helping people in communities isolated by the hurricane to develop temporary self-sufficiency in dealing with their water supply, health, the emergency conditions, etc. The language chosen for these broadcasts was Creole and the programmes continued for a long period after the emergency.

Yet, the same department that took this initiative and recognised that true communication in the environment takes place in Creole, does not apply the language to literacy education.

### Creole within the media -- Radio

The Dominica Broadcasting Corporation is a Government owned station and, as in the case of St. Lucia, the actual time devoted to Creole broadcasting is very small. Here too, the content tends to be dominated by the Government Information Service and the Agricultural Information Unit. The most influential Creole programming is in the programme "Espewyans Kwéyol" which picks up informative pieces from "Santé Nou", other broadcasts of the Health Education Unit, as well as broadcasts of the Ministry of Agriculture's Information Unit.

In addition to this content through the medium of Creole, a number of religious organisations use the language in their radio broadcasts. These include two different Pentecostal groups and a Baha'i group. The relevant programmes are the following:

1. Lavwa Lévanjil - Horace John Lewis: 1/2 hour once per week on Sundays.
2. I vivan - Felix Henderson: 1/4 hour once per week on Saturdays.
3. Baha'i Faith - Ezra Dalrymple: 1/4 hour once per week on Sundays.

### Creole within the media - Press

There is no significant local press in Dominica.

### The education sector

In Dominica, there has been no development of the type that touched the education system of St. Lucia. However, at the time of writing, the National Cultural Council through the instrumentality of the Komité pou Etid Kwéyol, is trying to establish a training activity that would sensitize teachers to the special issues related to the presence of Creole and English in the community. Part of the effort is also intended to familiarize the teachers with the writing system for the language. It is not yet clear whether they will have the funding to undertake the activity and it is equally unclear what the overall policy lines are going to be.

## Organisations working in the field

### Komit  pou Etid Kw yol

In Dominica, the development of the Komit  pou Etid Kw yol (KEK) was parallel to the development of Mokweyol in St. Lucia. Starting as a Standing Committee on Creole Studies, KEK was formed in 1982. Without denying the activities in Dominica that preceded that date, the impetus for its formalization came from the participation of a group of active Dominicans in the Orthography workshops in St. Lucia in 1981.

KEK is a sub-committee of the National Cultural Council, a quasi-autonomous body established by the Government of Dominica to formulate cultural policy for the country. It is an informal organisation having no legal articles of incorporation but it is closely tied to the Cultural Division from which it derives its influence.

The objectives of the group may be summarized as follows:

- a) to promote the use of Creole in public life and in the media;
- b) to increase the availability of documentation on the subject;
- c) to enhance the status of the language in the eyes of the public.

The work of KEK has been supported directly and indirectly through UNESCO, the Nuffield Foundation, Christian Aid and the ACCT. Their projects thus far are the following:

1. The teaching of Creole to a group of Peace Corps volunteers and to a group of resident non-Creole speakers.
2. Teaching the agreed writing system for the language to a group of persons, (including some professionals who felt the need to use the language in their work).
3. The compilation of a wordlist leading to work on a bilingual dictionary of Dominican.
4. A memory bank project similar in intention and methods to the project of similar name being conducted in Jamaica. The project aims at capturing the oral history of the society from the elderly members of the society before they pass on.

KEK has also contributed to the content of Balata published by Mokweyol.

## The French Departments

Law #46-451 of March 19th 1946 changed the status of France's Caribbean colonies to that of "Departments". The change had the effect of making them legally an integral part of the state and consequently subject to the same constitutional provisions as metropolitan France. The importance of this in any discussion related to language and language policy is critical. The French state, despite recent administrative initiatives towards decentralisation, is not given to variation in its practices in relation to local necessity and in the case of the overseas departments, their place in the state was the result of a decision to "assimilate" them.

The status of French as the language of France dates back to the Ordonnances de Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 which established Francien as the sole language of the court and of the law. At the time the competitors were quite different, and if anything the edict was a break with Latin and a rebuff for Langue d'Oc. However, the historical accretion of power by the language of the state has made legislation permitting deviation from its use quite infrequent. The country's preoccupation with the health of its language has persisted and one of its more recent manifestations is the establishment of "Le Haut Conseil de la Francophonie" (18) under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic as well as a central commissariat and consultative committee on the French Language (19). Creole in the French departments is therefore an unrecognised tongue (20).

### The public sector

The public service of Martinique and of Guadeloupe operates in French. The practice is reinforced by the presence at all levels of the civil service of monolingual metropolitans. Quite apart from the fact that the integration of the state means that there are few, if any, barriers to migration from the metropole, the placement of metropolitans in the services of the Antilles was part of the act of control of the colonies and was continued into the process of assimilation.

The agricultural extension services operate primarily in French. This does not mean that the officers who are locally bred do not use Creole during the course of their work day. What it means is that they do not as a matter of departmental consensus use the language in the way that their counterparts in St. Lucia would. The statement must be adjusted to take account of the fact that in Guadeloupe the general level of use of Creole is much higher than in Martinique. For that reason, rather than for any difference in the policy between the two islands, there would be a higher quantum of expression in Creole. It is reasonable to enquire whether the French

Antillean farmer is more conversant with French than his St. Lucian or Dominican counterpart is with English. If the statistics on levels of schooling of the respective populations are to be our guide, then he would be. But that does not apparently reduce the extent to which one arm of the state considered it necessary to communicate with the rural population in Creole.

### The health sector

The Directions Départementales des Affaires Sanitaires et Sociales (DDASS) considered it desirable to prepare a film with Creole commentary as part of its effort to reduce the level of worm infestation in rural districts of Martinique. This initiative was undertaken despite the absence of a formal policy or directive on the use of the language within the service. The practices, though, of the field workers in the mother and child care services (Protection Maternelle et Infantile) would include the common informal use of Creole.

### The education sector

Except for the provisions that shall be discussed below, French is the medium of instruction in all schools. In 1951, the state made certain concessions to the existence within its borders of minority linguistic groups. The Loi Deixonne of 11th January 1951 authorised the use of certain approved regional languages in the education system. These were Breton, Basque, Catalan, Occitan and Corsican. No mention was made of Creole. In 1982, an important new development took place. In order that the importance of the development can be assessed, one has to step back a bit to 1976.

In that year, in a rural district of Guadeloupe, two teachers, Hector Poulet and Sylviane Telchid, began using Creole to teach children entering secondary school with low reading skills. Participation of the pupils in the programme was voluntary and subject to parental approval. They experienced several difficulties and teething problems. Unfortunately, for those of us who would like to look back at the experience, their assessment of the activity is sketchy. However, in 1980 together with a third teacher, Moïse Soreze, they produced a teaching grammar for the class and attempted to make the programme compulsory. At this point, they ran into parental protests and censure from the education authorities. They were obliged to discontinue the work (21).

This was not the first time that an attempt had been made by a teacher in Guadeloupe to use Creole formally within the education system. In 1957, a teacher called Gérard Lauriette had been struck off the official register of teachers for his attempt to do so. His effort was in precisely the same region as the later efforts by Poulet and his colleagues.

The next development was in 1982, when the French Government published a circular on the teaching of national languages and cultures in the national education system (22). The circular set out an officially sanctioned programme which would permit the use of regional languages in the school system for an experimental period of 3 years. The text is a marvel of language, scrupulously avoiding any reference to specific languages, tightly defining the limits of the suggested programme, establishing the lowest profile possible for the state in the promotion of the idea while asserting its monitoring, inspectorial and controlling functions.

The main provisions are the following:

1. The teaching of regional culture and regional languages would enjoy an established officially regulated status within all levels of the education system for an experimental period of 3 years after which evaluation of the experience would inform future decisions.
2. All activities within the programme would be on a purely voluntary basis both for pupils and for teachers.
3. The provisions do not exclude the teaching of the regional language nor its use for teaching other subjects especially where these have specific regional dimensions.
4. At the infant level there are no specific restrictions on the time that can be spent on such activities. Close reading of the document shows though that the framers of the text hoped to suggest a transitional function for regional languages.
5. For primary schools, the time allocation specified for such teaching is 1 to 3 hours per week. In the first 3 classes of the secondary sector, one hour is specified for the regional language and culture programme. In the next two class levels, 3 hours per week are set aside.
6. Explicit requirements are stated that teachers who wish to be involved in such programmes be trained and certified after appropriate examinations.

The significance of this development must not be underestimated. The circular established a frame of reference for the use of the vernacular language within the classroom. The state is making a concession rather than promoting a programme and its insistence on the voluntary nature of participation both of teachers and pupils in the regional language and culture programme may be interpreted as a screen for its reluctance to concede. The partisans of the use of Creole in the school system are being challenged to provide for themselves the infrastructure to be able to fulfil the academic controls stated in the circular and allow a programme of regional language and culture to be successful. It is important to know though that the Université Antilles-Guyane in Martinique has established a programme which lists as one of its purposes the preparation of personnel for the instructional intentions of the discipline "Cultures et langues régionales" set out in the circular mentioned earlier. Part of that course is taught through the medium of Creole.

### **Creole within the media - Radio: Martinique and Guadeloupe**

The use of Creole on the radio ceased to be a novelty a long time ago. What we need to notice is changes in the purposes for which it is being used. The established functions have been advertisement of popular products, humour within variety shows, and of course in the vocals of popular music. Within recent times, the purposes have spread to include news and information, political broadcasts and public education.

For many years, the French Government policy on broadcasting restricted the use of the radio medium to a state monopoly. Even within that policy, Radio France Outremer has for 30 years included in its regular programming a variety style programme in which the use of Creole was primary. The focus of the programme was entertainment drawn from the cultural base of Guadeloupean society. Literary works, folk narrative, reminiscences on earlier periods of community life and community news were interspersed with musical entertainment within the programme. Within recent times, there has been a change in the policy of the French Government and it is now legal for persons other than the state to operate radio transmitters. The controls on this kind of broadcasting include restriction to the FM band and to use of low power transmitters having only a 30km radius. The policy change has led to the development of what is referred to as Radio Libre.

More than a score of small radio stations have sprung up in the French Departments, some of them being community type radio stations but others being operated as political stations representing the interests of several of the political parties in Martinique and Guadeloupe. Most of these stations have a high proportion of programming in Creole and it is now possible for the interested public to enjoy broadcasting in Creole for a

majority of their listening hours. In the case of the political stations, much of the broadcasting is aimed at raising the political consciousness of the community and at exerting pressure on the authorities for a variety of political reasons. Some of the sentiment expressed is anti-metropolitan.

In addition to the Radio Libre, there is an important commercial radio station, Radio Caraïbe, which has included Creole programming for many years. In fact, before they were permitted to broadcast from French soil they used their transmitters in St. Lucia and their relay in Dominica to reach French and Creole speaking listeners in the French Departments. Now, from their studios in Martinique and their relay in Guadeloupe, their regular programming includes feature programmes in Creole. Among those that require special comment is a programme called "Doktè Caraïbe". This two hour programme running over the last 4 years features call-in medical advice with the advice provided in the language of the caller. A significant proportion of this is in Creole. It is worth noting that the respondent on the programme is a medical practitioner.

Use of the call-in format has been a device that broadcasters in the French departments have used as a lever to increase the air time of Creole. By setting up programmes that require the host to respond to the caller in his own language, the broadcasters have managed even within the official state radio to break the monopoly of the air-waves by French. Similarly, interviews have been used to good effect in the same manner.

### Creole within the media - Press

By far the most impressive use of Antillean Creole in the press has been the 63 issues of Grif an Te between August 1977 and early 1982. Grif an Te was a politically motivated periodical that set out to treat issues that would rally its readership to the camp of autonomy for the French Antilles. It had a specific policy on teaching the use of a Creole writing system and on the appreciation of indigeneous culture. It featured local and important French international news and provided commentary in Creole. It has been by no means the only periodical in which Creole appears in print but it is the only one in which it was sustained and cultivated for such an extended period.

## Organisations working in the field

### GEREC

The major group engaged in the pursuit of Creole Studies in the French Overseas Departments is the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches en Espace Créolophone (GEREC). The group was established in 1975 as a research unit within the Centre Universitaire Antilles-Guyane (CUAG). The CUAG itself subsequently became an autonomous university (1982) as Université Antilles-Guyane and GEREC has continued to function within the new structure. Not all of its members are university staff; many of them are teachers within the school system. Coordination is effected from Martinique but some of its members function in Guadeloupe.

The group conducts academic research on any topic that relates to Creole language and Creole society and is not only linguistic in its interests. It established the publication of two journals to carry its output in the field -- Mofwaz and Espace Créole. Both publications are behind schedule but their scope and quality when they appear are good. The fundamental premises of the group's approach to the field is set out in a detailed pamphlet (23). The document is explicit (p.47) in calling for the recognition of Creole as the first language of the French Antilles and Guyane with French as a recognised second language. It also presents a case for a language policy that would see the Creole language integrated into the school system and used as a primary medium by the press and radio.

Members of GEREC, in the normal style of university faculty members, conduct individual research and group research. The group research projects relevant to our concern are the following:

1. A study of reading skills among school children in the departments, being conducted jointly with Paris V.
2. A pan-Caribbean Creole dictionary.
3. A dictionary of creolistics (the terminology of pidgin and creole studies).

### KREY

KREY is the name given to the "Association pour le développement d'une littérature en langue créole" which functions in Guadeloupe. The group is important because some of its key members are involved in the experimental teaching of Creole and through the medium of Creole at Capesterre Belle Eau in Guadeloupe. In addition, they have been responsible for the preparation and publication of a bilingual Creole-French/ French-Creole dictionary (24) as well as books of tales, and word games for children in Creole.

### Haiti and Haitian

We now turn our attention to Haiti. For reasons mentioned at the beginning of this study, the treatment of Haiti is not parallel to that accorded the Eastern Caribbean states. Even if the practical limitations did not exist, the nature of Haiti and the place of Haitian in that society would have demanded a quite different presentation.

The Republic of Haiti is the largest and most populous of the Creole speaking states of the Caribbean. It is also one of the poorest nations in the world, one in which formal systems of education have had the least penetration. The result is that any developmental efforts have had to contend not only with poor political and economic conditions but with low levels of education and skills available in the society. The language situation of the country is the most extensively researched in the region. Despite this, it remains the country in which the need for further study is the greatest.

Its case is different from that of the Eastern Caribbean in a number of very important particulars. In the first place, whereas in the Eastern Caribbean it is necessary to consider the sociolinguistic situation very carefully to appreciate the dominance of the vernacular language in the society, in the case of Haiti there can be no mistake that one is dealing with a predominantly monolingual country. It is a Creole speaking country. The notion that it is a bilingual state exists only because the literate urban ruling classes are capable of using French and the formally recognised structures of the society have been put in place by members of that class and their predecessors. The population exceeds 5 million of whom the proportion capable of speaking French is variably estimated as being in the vicinity of 7 to 10%. Even within that minute group, a majority are competent to speak Haitian.

Scholarly discussions about Haiti as a "diglossic" state have served the country badly because they have falsified the reality of its language situation. A significant number of the commentators on Haiti have conformed with Ferguson's (1958) use of Haiti as a prototypical case of diglossia. Ferguson's proposition of the term diglossia was intended to cover cases in which two varieties of a language coexist in a special status marked relationship of complementarity to fulfil the social needs of the users. Ferguson's proposition was totally misplaced in Haiti because it was based on false impressions about the nature of the linguistic relationship between Haitian and French as well as about the social relationships between the two languages. Because French is used by so small a minority of persons, most of whom are in any event capable of using Haitian, the idea of complementarity of function on any significant scale must be rejected. Dejean (1983) carefully picks to pieces the

model proposed by Ferguson and shows it to be without any support in the Haitian reality.

Unlike the case of the Eastern Caribbean, where one has to discuss the socially accepted domains of use of the languages in the society, in the case of Haiti such discussion seems superfluous. The fact is that French has a place only in the repertoire of the governing groups. The polemic that has taken place on the question of language in Haiti has therefore been a discussion about power rather than about language -- a discussion between persons who have different views on the way in which power should be distributed in their society.

### **Constitutional status of the languages of the society**

According to Dejean (1975) (25), French was specifically designated as the official language of Haiti in 1918 in a constitution promulgated during the American occupation of the country. Prior to that, French was de facto official insofar as it was the language in which the constitutions and laws of the country had been written since its independence in 1804. In 1957, the then new president François Duvalier approved a constitution containing an article providing official sanction for the use of Creole as follows:

"Le français est la langue officielle. Son emploi est obligatoire dans les services publics; néanmoins la loi détermine les cas et les conditions dans lesquelles l'usage du créole est permis et même recommandé pour la sauvegarde des intérêts matériels et moraux des citoyens qui ne connaissent pas la langue française." (Article 35).

Haitian Creole acquired further official status when, by laws voted on 28th September 1979, it was declared a permissible medium of instruction and object of study within the framework of the educational reform. The same laws included articles specifying the spelling system to be used. Prior to this, the question of orthography had been the subject of much acrimonious debate producing several changes of system.

### **Education**

The educational reform began in 1979. It involves an elaborate reorganisation of the education sector and, most important for our present purposes, the formalization of the use of Creole as the medium of instruction in the first four years of primary schooling. This is a major step towards enhancement of the effectiveness of the education system in a country that has been engaged in the self defeating enterprise of offering its education in French when a mere 7% to 10% of the population are proficient users of the language.

The level of literacy in the total population was estimated to be 27% in 1982 (26). Of the population aged 10 years and over, an estimated 65% had no formal education. Less than half of the population aged 6-12 years is enrolled in school and about a half of that number are in the first two grades of school. Such a low participation rate and the high drop out rate augur ill for rapid change. For a project such as ours therefore, there is little necessity to argue a case for the use of Creole as an instrument of development. The only true question is where and when does one begin.

### Media

Three major periodical publications are available in Haitian: Boukan, Bon Nouvel and Bwa Chandel. Bon Nouvel has a print run of about 30,000 copies and Valdman (1982) estimated the circulation of the three papers at 50,000 copies. Given the small number of literates in the society and the low purchasing power of the citizenry, the circulation is respectable.

Outside of Haiti, the emigrés have become involved in the publication of numerous newspapers and magazines. Of these only two, Sèl and Haiti Ecran, are printed exclusively in Haitian. Sèl is an important publication. It is a serious journal published by the Haitian Fathers of New York (27). Publication began in 1972 and the early journals were published in French and Creole. The editors made a policy decision to continue in Creole exclusively for the following reasons:

1. They discovered that many readers would read only the French text and omit the Haitian text on the grounds that Haitian was too difficult to read. The editors considered the grounds spurious.
2. They wanted to reach readers within Haiti including many who had expressed the desire to use the journal for teaching purposes.
3. Many of the younger readers were users of Haitian and English rather than of Haitian and French.
4. The editors were convinced that Haitian could be used for all types of communication.

The print run for Sèl is very small, 1000 - 1200 per issue, and most of its subscribers are institutions like university libraries and students. The determination on the part of the editors to effect all communication through the medium of Haitian had extremely interesting results. It obliged the writers and the editors to find means for dealing with topics and terminology that were far removed from the average conversational range of speakers. This challenge they accepted

and they managed to exploit the folk vocabulary to express complex matters of economics and politics.

### Radio

The use of Haitian by the radio is widespread and not restricted to any particular type of subject matter. The state radio station (Radio Nationale d'Haïti), the Catholic owned Radio Soley and the Baptist owned Radio Limie all use Haitian routinely. Radio Soley has also applied the language to the support of literacy teaching on a wide scale.

Outside of Haiti, radio broadcasting in Haitian is also well established. In all of the cities where large migrant populations have settled (New York, Miami, Boston, Montréal, Ottawa and Washington) one can find a few hours per week of broadcast time in Haitian. Most of the air time is spent in entertainment but there is some consciousness raising, and some morale boosting for the population in exile. Special mention must be made here of the work of L'Heure Haïtienne broadcast on WKCR-FM in New York. The presenter asserts a commitment to total expression in Haitian and attempts to hold to this policy.

### Organisations in the field

#### Centre de Linguistique Appliquée

The Centre de Linguistique Appliquée has the status of a faculty of the State University of Haiti. Its goals may be summarized as conducting training and research in linguistics towards the transformation of the Haitian society. It currently offers a Licence in linguistics applied to education and development. The programme is closely linked to the goals of the educational reform and aims at the adequate preparation of cadres for the Ministry of Education and the Institut Pédagogique National.

In addition to the teaching programme, the Centre conducts research and developmental work in relation to the goals of the educational reform and to other areas in which linguistic work can contribute to the development of the country. Their current work includes the following:

- a) lexicography -- technical dictionary;  
agricultural dictionary;  
pedagogical dictionary;
- b) standardization of materials prepared by IPN;
- c) error analysis in French produced by learners.

### ON PEP

The organisation called ON PEP is the post-Duvalier successor to ONAAC which for many years was responsible for the government's input to the campaign to make Haiti literate. ON PEP results from an attempt to harmonise the several efforts of the agencies working in the field of literacy including the Roman Catholic sponsored agency Mission ALFA. It differs from ONAAC in that although it is a state organisation, it is headed by a board of directors (Conseil National d'Orientation) representing all of the groups active in literacy education. Its primary function is the coordination of literacy education and its creation does not nullify the existence of the other organisations.

The creation of ON PEP has facilitated the adoption of a common method of literacy teaching for the country, the method selected being that of the Mission ALFA. The agency uses Haitian for all of its official purposes including its business correspondence. It is planning to undertake wider popularization of the official writing system through the medium of television. Its most serious problem at present is the preparation of teacher trainers and teachers to service a proposed 6,000 centres aiming at a target of 3 million people between the ages of 15 and 65.

### Mission ALFA

The major instrument by which the Roman Catholic church engages in literacy education is the Mission ALFA. ALFA functions with the church parish as its basic organisational unit. In its most recent thrust, the agency has attempted a programme in 14 pilot parishes, involving approximately 6,000 adults in 300 centres. The drop out rate recorded was high (40%) but the success rate (60%) of those staying in the programme has been heartening. ALFA uses a methodology resembling the Freirian conscientization method.

### Other significant activity

Assessment of the Haitian scene will not be complete without mention of the 1985 appearance of the Christian Holy Bible in Haitian. Published by the Haitian Bible Society, the work represents an endeavour of several years and was translated from Hebrew and Greek texts.

## III

**THE QUESTION OF INSTRUMENTALIZATION**

In the preceding sections we have presented the French lexicon vernaculars of the Caribbean in their social contexts. For convenience, we shall now refer to the collectivity of the vernaculars as Antillean using the individual dialect name only where a remark specific to that dialect is made.

The project being proposed is an initiative in the instrumentalization of Antillean. At this juncture, it is important for us to state why the language should be brought formally into the service of the countries where it is used and to show how what we propose differs from what is already happening. We shall then present a strategy for achieving this goal and assess the resources for doing so.

The first reason for a decision to mobilize Antillean in the formal service of the Creolophone Caribbean is the fact that it is the primary language of each of the populations of the countries that we have examined. The second reason is that the development of the countries concerned can only be realised if the populations are mobilized in the interest of that development. Mobilization of the population requires open communication and this can only be achieved if the language of the population is a route to information, knowledge and action.

**Antillean -- the primary language**

Antillean Creole is the primary language of each of the Caribbean states that we have been discussing. The assertion is made with confidence although in the case of the Eastern Caribbean there is no direct contemporary statistical support for it. In respect of Haiti, the assertion can be made virtually without reference to any statistical data.

The last census of St. Lucia and Dominica that attempted to assess the size of the Creole speaking population was in 1946. At that time, based on direct questioning of respondents, the monolingual Antillean-speaking population of St. Lucia was 43.4% of the population aged 10 years and over while that of Dominica was calculated at 24.9% of the parallel group. In addition, 54% of the relevant age group in St. Lucia described themselves as bilingual with 68% of the Dominicans classifying themselves similarly. In other words, 97% of St. Lucians and 93% of Dominicans affirmed that they could speak the language. The extent to which the distribution of monolinguals to bilinguals can be considered accurate is subject to doubt for the reason that follows. The respondents were asked directly what language they spoke, and given the negative evaluation attached to inability to speak English, they were likely to have replied

that they spoke English when their knowledge of it might have been rudimentary. It is likely therefore that the proportion of monolinguals might have been higher with a commensurate reduction in the number of bilinguals.

No exactly comparable data for Martinique and Guadeloupe are available nor are there any more recent figures for St. Lucia and Dominica. Given the manner in which access to the official language is related to exposure to schooling, and given the socio-economic structure of the societies, it is reasonable to propose that the proportion of bilinguals would have increased at the expense of the proportion of persons monolingual in Antillean. There is also some evidence of growth in the proportion of locally born residents who are exposed to Antillean in a functional way after they have begun to speak the official language. It is therefore likely that the size of the population capable of speaking Antillean with competence is now less than the overwhelming 90+% of the 1940s. However, it is sufficiently large that the effects of its size can be registered in a number of other ways.

The documentation already provided for Haiti asserts that Haitian is the sole operational language of all but a maximum of 10% of the population of the country.

#### **Access to the official languages**

Post-plantation Caribbean society is based on and fosters a large mass in the working classes and a much smaller middle class and elite. The history of the education systems has been such that the needs of the latter groups have taken priority over those of the former. Since a child's entry to the education system and the length of time he was able to spend in it were dependent strongly upon the social and economic circumstances of his family, it follows that the higher up the social ladder he started life the more likely he was to have a reasonable education. Access to a reasonable education meant access to learning the official language of the country. Consequently, there is a direct relationship between class membership and ability to use the official language.

In the Eastern Caribbean, but not in Haiti, current access to education is much broader than the last paragraph would suggest. Nevertheless, unless the fundamental link between the structure of the society and its sociolinguistic organisation is accepted, much of the subsequent line of argument will appear spurious. Sizeable proportions of the populations have been unable to capitalize on the exposure that they have had to education because it has been offered to them in a language which they do not control. Furthermore, the teaching procedures have made it difficult for them to acquire competence in English or French because they have been based on the assumption that

the learner has adequate access to the languages in his normal environment. The effect of this double disadvantage has been the production of populations uneducated by their schooling, having limited competence in the official languages and with no confidence in the usefulness of the language that they do control.

A belief common among administrators in the Eastern Caribbean has been that the route to development and salvation is for the population to abandon its "quaint" dialect and adopt a modern sophisticated language in the shape of English or French depending upon the country. Yet the practices of education have not achieved a sufficiently rapid pace of language learning to allow confidence that reliance on gallicization or anglicization of the societies is a realistic strategy. Administrators have deceived themselves into believing that Antillean has been yielding rapidly in the face of the expansion of education and that its low prestige will ensure its passage into folkloric reminiscence. This has not been the case. Instead, the use of Antillean has persisted and its tolerated functions have expanded. The rate of its attrition is sufficiently gradual that development of the societies in the interests of their members should not be premised on its death.

In the case of Haiti, access to schooling is gravely restricted. In a population estimated at 5,053,189 in 1982, enrollment in schools was as follows:

Table 2. Haiti: enrollments by public and private sector and levels of education (28)

Level	Public	Private	Total
Primary	282,366	375,756	658,102
Secondary	15,868	82,702	98,570
Teacher tr'ning	829		829
Vocational and Technical	2,784	26,385	29,169
Higher	3,597	1,100	4,697
All	305,444	485,923	791,367

The low proportion of the population in school is made even less helpful by the dropout rates from the school system. A 1984 UNESCO study (29) based on information from 1982 reckoned that of 1,000 pupils entering primary school only 313 complete all six primary grades. Among the 687 dropouts, 447 complete only one grade of schooling, 131 complete two or three grades and the remaining 109 complete four or five grades. If one looks at retention figures the picture becomes more depressing. Such figures reinforce the futility of basing planning on the idea that acquisition of competence in the official language, obtainable only through schooling, can be a viable developmental strategy.

### The cost of inappropriate language policies

No one has estimated the cost of inappropriate language policies in the Caribbean. Indeed, it is difficult to provide quantitative measures for this in any society or even to determine what specific areas should be examined as indices of such a cost. Reference to levels of literacy and to levels of school performance are informative but they do not necessarily tell the full tale. Furthermore, unless some correlation can be established between these indices and the sociolinguistic description of a society, the argument is only approximate.

### Language, literacy and scholastic performance

True comparability of the statistical information for the four countries is not possible because the data collected by census authorities are not exactly parallel. Moreover, from one census to the next, the data collected and the tabulations that are published are slightly different and it is difficult to speak of tendencies with authority. Nevertheless, some indication of the state of the populations in respect of literacy and schooling is possible.

From the tabulations of the 1980 census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, the following can be extracted:

Table 3. St. Lucia: Population aged 15 and over (30)

Having no schooling	10.3%
Having primary school attendance as the highest level of schooling	72.2%
Having passed no certifying examination	79.2%
Having 7+ years of schooling	79.8%

Table 4. Dominica: Population aged 15 and over (31)

Having no schooling	4.9%
Having primary school attendance as the highest level of schooling	78.5%
Having passed no certifying examination	83.6%
Having 7+ years of schooling	82.9%

In the cases of the French islands, the census year was 1982 and the tabulations permit the following related extractions.

Table 5. Martinique: Non-school population 16 yrs+ by level of schooling attained (32)

Having primary school attendance as the highest level of schooling	46.18%
Having no diploma	69.94%
Reporting self as illiterate	7.4%

Table 6. Guadeloupe: Non-school population 16 yrs+ by level of schooling attained (33)

Having primary school attendance as the highest level of schooling	46.73%
Having no diploma	74.68%
Reporting self as illiterate	10.2%

The question of levels of illiteracy in the populations of St. Lucia and Dominica is a very delicate one because the distance between the figures that can be extrapolated from zero years of schooling and those that are likely by measures of functional literacy are widely different. Carrington (34) calculated three different measures of literacy in respect of the Commonwealth Caribbean -- an absolute minimum level of total illiteracy (calculated as equal to the measure of 0 years of schooling), likely levels of total illiteracy (calculated as equal to less than 3 years of primary schooling) and functional illiteracy (based on less than 6 years of primary schooling). The 1970 census data produced the following results for St. Lucia and Dominica in respect of the populations aged 15 and over.

Table 7. Levels of illiteracy: Commonwealth Caribbean

	St. Lucia	Dominica
Minimum total illiteracy	18.28%	5.88%
Likely total illiteracy	30.21%	8.16%
Functional illiteracy	64.03%	19.48%

The figures for St. Lucia were alarming and were greeted with disbelief by the education authorities there. It may well be true that the figures to be questioned are those for Dominica! Be that as it may, it is worth noting that the proportions of persons reporting no education dropped in St. Lucia from 18.28% in 1970 to 10.3% in 1980. In Dominica, the relevant drop was from 5.88% to 4.9%. For 1980, no comparison is possible for the measure of less than 6 years of education equatable with functional illiteracy because of the structure of the tabulations. What is recognisable though is that a majority of both populations do not have certification from their schooling. The census reports state that in St. Lucia 11% of the males and 14% of the females have the school leaving certificate, which is the lowest level of certificate. In Dominica the percentages are 5.3% of the males and 8.2% of the females.

It is a reasonable conclusion from the above that the seemingly respectable proportions of persons who have had some primary schooling do not show high levels of accomplishment.

In the cases of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the reported levels of illiteracy are acceptably low. The proportions of people who go past the primary level are higher than in St. Lucia and in Dominica but the proportion receiving certification for their pains is not startlingly better. It should be noted though that the absence of certification in their case is related to lack of success at the secondary level since the French system does not offer a certificate of the type used as a school-leaving certificate at the end of primary school.

Studies of the performance of students in the school systems of these islands and of comparable islands emphasize the extent to which low performance in language (i.e. English and French) is correlated with failure in school. This knowledge, together with the preceding documentation, allows the inference that the general population is not in control of the official languages of the societies.

### **The official languages as languages of development**

Dependence on the acquisition of the official languages as levers of development is a questionable strategy. Examination of the age gradient of the literacy figures, of the figures related to educational performance and of the documentation on the contemporary low performance of students in the school systems shows that the leap into competent use of French and English that the education systems would welcome is not going to take place. The education systems will continue to process students who will not develop the levels of competence in the official language that would allow acceleration of the pace of development.

Added to this uncomfortable fact is the knowledge that the economically active population is beyond the reach of the existing instructional systems especially if knowledge and skills are transmitted through the medium of the languages which have been stumbling blocks during the years of schooling in the first place. To be brief, aiming at mobilizing the economically active population through the medium of the official languages is likely to be no more effective than the attempts to teach them through those languages when they were of school age.

Another weakness of the assumption that development can only take place if the populations adopt the official languages is that it presupposes that "development" is of necessity the imitation of industrialisation along the technological lines that have been the patterns of the readily available reference points of North America, Britain and France. The kind of development that this study recognises as critical is the ability of the populations to come to terms with their existing environment and to control it in order to improve their personal well being.

The only senses in which English and French can be considered languages of development in the Creolophone Caribbean are the following:

1. English and French are international languages and the populations for whom they are native languages have been in the forefront of the development of the 20th century technology that has been a controlling force of the region's condition.
2. There are in the Creolophone Caribbean cadres formed through the medium of those languages in areas that are relevant to the development of the societies.

On the negative side of the second point, it is true to say that the cadres under reference have frequently used their skills to the disadvantage of the mass of the population rather than for the genuine development of their countries. The effect of this has been that the official languages have functioned only partially as instruments of development; they have functioned equally as tools of ruling classes and instruments of control of the societies, for maintaining systems rather than changing them.

## IV

## CONSIDERATIONS IN THE FORMAL USE OF THE VERNACULARS

Using the vernaculars

The major premise of this project is that the rate of development of the Creolophone Caribbean can be dramatically accelerated if the primary languages of the society are used as media for information, knowledge and the transfer of skills. In the section headed "Creoles in the societies under study", detailed reference was made to the several public agencies that have found it necessary and desirable to use Antillean as their means of contact with the public that they serve. It would be easy to suggest that the premises of this project are already understood within the societies concerned and that remedial action is already in progress. Such an argument would grossly underestimate what is intended and required. It would mistake private interaction for public communication, effort for success and amateurism for professionalism. It would incorrectly identify benevolent concession as firmly established policy.

It is not unfair to summarize the current use of Antillean in the public sector (especially in the Eastern Caribbean) as being:

- a) the outcome of the normal dynamics of personal interaction;
- b) the result of personal or group decisions at low levels of the civil service;
- c) unsupported by any agency that can provide the technical support to make the initiative better than palliative, cosmetic or conscience salving.

Strong commitment to the use of the language is present among many persons, but those who have the commitment are not necessarily those who have the knowledge or the level of influence to achieve fundamental changes in their societies.

A significant concession must be made in the case of Haiti. Despite the low level of development of the country and the necessity for the type of activities envisaged in this project, Haitian is much further advanced than Lesser Antillean varieties in several areas relevant to the instrumentalisation of the language. The size of the population and the extent to which it is monolingual has meant that the language has had to function as total communication for a larger proportion of the society than has been the case in the Lesser Antilles.

In addition, the economic conditions and the political system have had interesting effects on the language. At a certain level, they isolated the country, obliging the society to use its internal linguistic resources for all communicative functions. At the same time, the very same conditions drove significant numbers of persons into exile. The nature of the exile was such that the emigrés clustered in enclaves of sufficient size that the language could survive and be obliged to respond to the demands of completely new environments in which its speakers found themselves. The political dimensions of the state of exile have also fed activities that can have developmental returns when reimported to Haiti as is now partially possible. To state the matter differently, Haitian has had the opportunity to function as sole or critically major medium of communication in more varied contemporary situations (both domestic and international) than any other French lexicon Creole of the Caribbean. Indeed, Haitian can serve as a resource for the development of Lesser Antillean.

Given all of the preceding, the issue in Haiti is less to initiate the kind of activities proposed by this project than to expand the rate at which the country can prepare personnel to effect them. This is not to deny that the now literate cadres will need to be persuaded of the wisdom of large scale investment in development through formal communication in Haitian. What it means is that there are already examples of the activities required within the society. Enhancement of their developmental impact by change of scale is what will have to be established.

### Instrumentalization

The instrumentalization of Antillean for the purpose of social development is a complex task requiring a set of carefully planned creative acts. When we speak of the instrumentalization of Antillean in this document we mean the following:

1. The development of public policies in which agencies of the state and organisations working towards the welfare of its citizens use Antillean as one of their formal media of communication with the citizen. Formal use of the language means its use in writing and orally as an established part of the policy of communication.
2. The creation of mechanisms to equip officers of the state to perform their duties using Antillean competently as one of their languages of contact with the public.
3. The development of a setting in which access to information is not dependent upon one's competence in the official language of the state.

4. The creation of a setting in which community based developmental activities can be effected in the language of the community without limiting (for linguistic reasons) the participation of any member of the community or impoverishing the quality of the activity.

### Modernization

Given what is entailed in the instrumentalization of the language, one of the more readily identifiable requirements for success is the modernization of the language. Antillean has had a folk history and notwithstanding the progress made in Haiti and in particular in the Haitian diaspora, it has not been the language of administrative, political, economic or technological activity. In all four of these sectors, the direction of change and movement has been determined by speakers of English and French or by pressures from societies in which Antillean is not present. Since the language has not been used in these sectors, it does not have a ready repertoire for the formal elaboration of such matters. It therefore needs to be equipped to transmit contemporary information beyond the domains of its current use and competence.

### Reviewing the vocabulary resources

The vocabulary resources of Antillean are much wider than any user of the language realises. This is probably true of almost any language but in the case of languages that do not have traditions of writing, it needs to be stated quite explicitly. There is first of all an everyday vocabulary which is probably common to almost all the users of the language across its several communities. Then there is a specialized vocabulary of the crafts, occupations and rituals which have been pushed into corners by the pressure of contemporary lifestyles. These items can be retrieved and given new applications in the modernization process thereby reducing inadequacies in the vocabulary.

Some of the apparent inadequacies in the language are the result of competition with the official languages. Both English and French in their respective domains have offered convenient loan words that compete with words that already exist in Antillean. As the proportion of pseudo-bilinguals grows, so does the use of these loan words. Their status value is ensured because they signal the user's access to the official language. As their use becomes more frequent, they replace Antillean vocabulary, creating the impression of a hole in the vocabulary where there is in fact none. The process of attrition by loan is assisted by the code switching phenomena that characterise the post-Creole setting. Antillean items that have been subject to such attrition can be resuscitated as part of a vocabulary development strategy.

### Expanding the vocabulary

Equally necessary is the expansion of the vocabulary. This differs from the above in that it entails the borrowing or creation and, of necessity, the acceptance of new terminology. The deliberate expansion of vocabulary must as far as possible use procedures that are already natural to the speaker in his setting. Five procedures seem immediately useable:

- a) extension of the semantic field of already existing items;
- b) compounding and periphrasis;
- c) use of the derivational patterns of the language;
- d) loans from one dialect of Antillean to another;
- e) loans from other languages in the environment, which in this case would mean English and French.

Totally new creations are of course possible and occur quite naturally and this would increase the available word development devices.

Items d) and e) above require further comment. For all their similarities, the Antillean-speaking countries of the region have had sufficiently different experiences of government, administration and technology that they have responded in the lexical domain in different ways. This constitutes a rich resource for inter-dialect transfer of terminology, words and expressions. The readiness of items from one dialect for transfer to another lies in the similarity of phonetics, stress patterns, syllable structure and morphology of all the dialects of the language.

Borrowing items from English and French was mentioned earlier in connection with the erosion of existing vocabulary. However, the procedure can be harnessed for constructive purposes. The vocabulary of English and French can be exploited to the advantage of the language provided that two cautions are observed. Firstly, it is the cognate vocabulary of the two languages that should be tapped. Observance of this principle would be in deference to the fact that loans would be coming from two different languages and it is possible that dialects functioning within the orbit of one of these languages might develop in a divergent manner from those functioning in the sphere of influence of the other. Such a possibility must be forestalled by the principle of exploitation of cognate vocabulary.

The second principle is that any exploitation of the vocabularies of English and French must not propel the language away from the monolingual speaker of Antillean. There is a strong danger that if the work of vocabulary development is not rooted very firmly in this principle of access, soi-disant clever scholars could expand the vocabulary in ways that would make it useful only to bilingual users of the language.

Any attempt at conscious vocabulary expansion faces the problem of the acceptability of items and a clear testing procedure for the willingness of the target population to adopt terms will have to be established.

### Changing public attitudes

The popular stereotypes about Antillean include a list of strongly negative beliefs (or mouthings) about its possession of a grammar, its writeability and its ability to express worthwhile thought. If serious developmental purposes are to be served by the language, the attitudes of its users must be modified. Speakers must be induced to recognise the falseness of the traditional views as well as to have confidence in the resources of the language for all community needs.

Part of the strategy for changing these attitudes is that acceptability for the language must be built in the domains that are currently the preserve of English and French. Wherever possible this should be done by using the channels and institutions already available within the society. In other words, it is not a true act of instrumentalization to focus on the development of Antillean in the area of folklore. That is already an accepted domain for the language. Independently of the importance of that area, focus must be on an environment that is viewed as an area of transition to the official language.

The matter of attitudes can involve the greatest of circularity in argument and in reinforcement of existing views. The very act of refurbishing the vocabulary of the language and of expanding the lexicon can itself feed a view that the language is inadequate. Admission that it is and explanation that it is so for repairable reasons, will not advance its case. The instrumentalization of the language should therefore be attempted in a manner that will focus the attention of the target public and that of the spectator public on the content of messages rather than on their form. If this can be successfully accomplished it will give leverage to the other activities that might otherwise appear cosmetic in the matter of status shifting. The goal must be to arrive at the point where the language can be treated with equanimity rather than with an emotional load that could make it a focus for contention.

### Choosing the susceptible areas

Achieving the goals of modernization and status shift requires that the areas in which instrumentalization is initiated must be realistically selected. In addition, the scholarship necessary to support the initiative must be readily available. In the next section, the areas of activity for the instrumentalization of the language are discussed.

## V

**THE AREAS OF ACTION**

The areas which seem to be most appropriate for a project leading to the instrumentalization of French lexicon Creole in the countries discussed are the following:

1. News and information broadcasting;
2. Agricultural information;
3. Health education;
4. Adult literacy.

These areas have been selected for one or more of the following reasons:

- a) in each of the countries, some agency has already identified the desirability of communication through the medium of the vernacular in the field specified;
- b) the state of development of the relevant countries suggests that these areas are of major importance to their development;
- c) these are areas in which persons who are primarily speakers of the vernaculars can benefit from intervention.

The appendix to this report contains sketches of sub-projects directed at each of these areas.

**The starting point**

The pivot for the overall project on Creole Discourse and Social Development is the development of a capability to disseminate information through the medium of Antillean. The proposed sub-project on news and information (Appendix 1) would therefore have high priority. The development of this capability though, cannot be confined to the "media personnel" that the news and information label implies. The structure and goals of the other proposed sub-projects require that professionals in each of the designated sub-areas develop the skills of conveying their messages through the vernaculars. It is at the level of the professional and technical teams in health, agriculture and literacy that the information to be disseminated must be generated. The programming must be conceptualised within the technical units and the media must function as exactly that, media.

## Training

### Reading and writing the vernaculars

The first area of training activity for the project should be the training of the personnel functioning in the professional and technical areas required by the projects in Appendices 2 to 4 to write and to read Antillean using an approved writing system. Quite apart from the obvious necessity to train the personnel associated with the delivery process, it is an important strategy to attempt to influence first persons who are literate in English and French. The intention is to establish in the minds of those who are not literate that the use of their language is a legitimate act of formal communication. (Under the heading of writing, we include typing and typesetting where appropriate.)

Personnel in these training exercises will be taught to develop proficiency in the literate use of the language for their daily duties. Thus, health inspectors would attempt to develop their writing skills on the kind of topics that they would normally discuss with a member of the community that they serve e.g. mosquito control, disposal of waste etc. An agricultural extension officer piloting a passion fruit project would develop his skills in areas related to that project. Typists would attempt to develop speed in dealing with the house vocabulary of the unit in which they work, and learn to use reference material prepared in the vernacular language and so on.

### Reading for the illiterate

A second area of preparation would be reading aloud for the comprehension of persons who cannot read. Reading for the comprehension of others is not as automatic a skill as it might appear. It requires training like any other skill. The importance of attention to the skill of reading aloud is the following:

1. The public being served must become conscious that the officer is reading their own language from a legitimate document rather than translating on an ad hoc basis. This procedure should add depth to the communication act by allowing the recognition that its structure goes beyond the individuals who are overtly engaged in it.
2. Communication with the public through the medium of the language must not be centralised within the mass media as if it were a specialist task. It must be generalised in all of the areas of public interaction that are to be serviced by the project. In order to assist in the achievement of this goal, the same people who normally interact with the public must continue to do so. There must not be a substitution of a disembodied specialist (on a radio) for a live human in the flesh.

### Translation

Translation will constitute a special area of training within the project. In all of the areas that have been ear-marked for the initiative of instrumentalization, there already exist both materials in the official languages and personnel who function primarily through the official languages. The project must capitalize on this by developing cadres of translators competent to deal with the conversion of materials into Antillean. In addition, translation from one dialect to another may sometimes be necessary. Some of the subsequently discussed technical work relates to this necessity for translation.

### Linguistic field work

Earlier sections of this report made it clear that there was a significant amount of vocabulary repair and expansion that is required within the languages concerned. One of the strategies for accelerating the processes is to equip personnel in the professional areas with the skills that would allow them to function as field workers in noting, recording, developing and testing terminology. The requisite training could be linked to their training in the use of reference material such as dictionaries, glossaries, grammars and bibliographical resources.

### Technical tasks

Technical tasks within the project should aim at increasing access to the knowledge required to accelerate the process of instrumentalization. If in the first instance the preparation of textual material requires linguists with specialist knowledge, part of the goal ought to be to reduce dependence on such persons in subsequent phases of the work. This would mean that a lay consumer must be envisaged for much of the technical work that has to back up the project. It would be pointless, therefore, if a grammar book prepared for a given dialect in the project zone were only readable by persons exposed to linguistics or even by persons having tertiary level education. Such a book must be designed in a manner that allows its use by moderately educated literate persons independently of any specialist to interpret it. Similarly, the preparation of dictionaries and glossaries should envisage a user who does not have access to the technical skills that went into the preparation of such reference works.

### Specialist glossaries

In all of the areas outlined in Appendices 2 to 4, the exclusive use of the Antillean will require the compilation of wordlists and glossaries for the use of the technical personnel. A word of explanation is necessary. Many of the persons who function in health and in agriculture have had their formation through the medium of French or English frequently outside of the Creole speaking environment. This means that they do not necessarily have command of the vocabulary relevant to their field of operation within the vernacular language of their country. The compilation of the relevant terminology and the instruction of the personnel in its use would offer them a valuable resource.

Apart from the collection of existing terminology, the development of new terminology must also be envisaged. The knowledge and information to be disseminated among the target population may be sufficiently out of the ordinary in the environment that no terminology may be readily available for its expression. In this event, several lines of action are possible:

- a) terms may be borrowed from a related Creole;
- b) terms may be borrowed from an available language of the society;
- c) terms may be created.

(See however the earlier remarks on "Expanding the vocabulary".)

The borrowing of terms from related Creoles, points to a useful application of the glossaries mentioned earlier. They can be used to create cross-dialect reference glossaries which might be applied to the task of modifying material prepared in one country for use in another.

### The preparation of dictionaries

The section "The available resources and technical resources" discusses the type and sufficiency of the dictionaries that are available in the region. In anticipation of that discussion, we might note that the existing works do not fulfil the needs of the proposed project activities nor do they fulfil the need that can be anticipated as a result of the project's activities. Soundly conceived and carefully executed bilingual and unilingual dictionaries will be required for all of the region's languages.

### **The preparation of reference grammars**

Persons engaged in the preparation of materials for various aspects of the project will need to have reference grammars available for consultation.

### **Facilitating literacy**

The project will undertake the support of existing literacy initiatives by feeding to such projects materials for the use of new literates. These materials would be drawn from literary works available in the relevant languages, from cross-dialect translations of materials and from the materials prepared by the sub-projects on health, agriculture and news and information.

### **Support for educational reform**

Where appropriate, the technical material prepared by the project and discussed above can be used to support educational reform activities that include the use of vernacular varieties for pedagogical purposes.

## VI

## THE AVAILABLE SCHOLARSHIP AND TECHNICAL RESOURCES

The field of Creole studies has moved from being an esoteric and relatively limited area of interest to being a central area of linguistics. The growth in its importance and popularity has had a beneficial effect on our knowledge of the structures of the languages and the behaviours of their speakers. An assessment of scholarship in the study of Creole languages is therefore a major undertaking that can have very different results depending on one's motives. For the purposes of this study, the most convenient manner in which this can be done is to present a bibliography of materials in the field which have particular importance to a project of this kind. The bibliography presented in the next chapter lists a wide range of items including linguistic studies, literary works and criticism, popular materials and a variety of items published in dialects of Antillean.

Bibliography

Two major bibliographies already exist and these are listed at the very head of the bibliography presented in the next section. Their existence has determined the decisions on what should be included in our bibliographical listing. The work of Reinecke, Tsuzaki, De Camp, Hancock and Wood (1975) covers extensively scholarship prior to 1971 and includes a small number of items appearing in 1972. It includes approximately 740 items relevant to the area under study. The bibliography prepared by Valdman, Chaudenson and Hazael-Massieux for the Comité International des Etudes Créoles (1983) begins where Reinecke left off and includes just under 1000 entries as recent as 1983. The bulk of its coverage though is prior to 1982.

In the light of this, the principles that determined the entry of items into the bibliography in this study are the following:

- a) items subsequent to 1982;
- b) items not listed in either Reinecke et al. (1975) or Valdman et al. (1983);
- c) items listed in either of the previous mentioned that have special significance for the processes of instrumentalization.

The rate of production of work on Creoles is now sufficiently high that during 1986, a journal devoted entirely to pidgin and creole studies (Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages) became available. This is the second initiative to publish such a

journal. The first collapsed after 2 issues apparently for reasons not related to the likely market or to the ability of the scholars in the field to support a regular publication. An influential and informative bulletin, Carrier Pidgin, has been in publication since 1973 and keeps scholars in the field in touch with one another's work.

### The preliminaries to instrumentalization

In order to effect the instrumentalization of Antillean in the manner envisaged by this project, a number of resources have to be tapped and generated. Careful scrutiny of the bibliographical references and the major bibliographical works shows that a moderate proportion of the required resources exist. They are not available for all the countries concerned nor are all the types of resources available in all the countries. The fact is though that there is nowhere where absolutely no relevant work has been done but equally there is nowhere where sufficient work is available.

### Writing systems

One of the primary necessities is a writing system. There are several writing systems in existence for Antillean French lexicon Creole. Only in Haiti is there one that has the official recognition of the state. After decades of argument about the "correct" way to represent Haitian in writing, there is an official approved writing system in Haiti. In the Eastern Caribbean, this is not the case.

In the French Departments, the GEREK group has pioneered a scientifically based writing system which became well popularized because it was used by Grif an Te, by a few authors in the region and in a number of publications by GEREK scholars. In the case of St. Lucia and Dominica, the gap has been filled only relatively recently by the development of a writing system in seminars sponsored by CRC and FRC. The system developed there differs in small particulars from that proposed by GEREK, one of whose members actually participated in its development. The writing system developed in the St. Lucia meetings is less well known in St. Lucia and Dominica than the GEREK system is known in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

However, the GEREK system is not without competition in its own zone of influence. Bebel Gisler (1975) of Guadeloupe has proposed a system that differs from the GEREK system in the representation of affricates and back semi-vowel. Pouillet, Telchid and Montbrand (1984) have yet another solution to the representation of affricates. While the variety of systems within the Eastern Caribbean area may not trouble scholars, uniformity is desirable if materials are to have their widest reasonable applicability.

Independently of the differences that these systems have, the fact is that there are more similarities than differences and that the languages are all past the point where totally new work is required to arrive at orthographic systems. The differences can be sorted out once the proponents of the different orthographies are brought together in some cooperative act that has a goal beyond their immediate interests.

### Dictionaries

The existence of dictionaries is a second important resource which we need to examine. There is no authoritative dictionary for any of the varieties of Antillean. Haiti is at the least disadvantage in that there is more than one dictionary of Haitian. The work of Faine (1974, republished in 1982) suffers from the serious defect of using a gallicising orthography. This orthography, together with a decision to base spelling on etymological principles, reduces the value of the dictionary for purposes of instrumentalization and popularization. Valdman (1981) is a preparatory list for a dictionary rather than a dictionary in a real sense. Its strength lies in the fact that it permits reference starting from any of French, English or Haitian. The dictionary is organised in two volumes. The first contains two separate indices, one English--Creole, and the second French--Creole. Volume 2 has Creole headwords and meanings listed in both French and English.

In addition to these two works, Bentolila et al. (1976) offers an elementary bilingual Haitian--French dictionary of respectable quality. A fourth dictionary by Peleman (1978) is also available.

Guadeloupean has acquired the beginnings of a bilingual dictionary through the work of Pouillet, Telchid and Montbrand (1984). The headwords are Creole with a translation into French and examples of the use of the Creole item. Without belittling the efforts of the authors, this work must be treated as a beginning rather than a definitive document.

There is no dictionary of Martiniquan although Jourdain's work of 1956 contains an extensive word list. The current efforts in Martinique are incorporated into a pan Antillean Creole dictionary which is now in its early stages of design and is being conducted by GEREC in collaboration with scholars based at Paris V. When completed the dictionary will provide a cross-referenced listing of items stating the range of their use in the region as well as their variant forms.

In the case of Dominica, work on a dictionary is in its very early stages. Stuart of the Komité pou Etid Kwéyol has begun the collection of a word list as the start of a dictionary project. For St. Lucia, an extensive dictionary has been prepared by Mondesir (1987) and this represents a very important development in the instrumentalization process

for Lesser Antillean. Mondesir's dictionary, like so many others, has been prepared by a non-specialist. The richness of the entries and the examples compensates for the technical shortcomings of the work.

A second dictionary of St. Lucian is planned by Frank who has been working on the translation of the Bible into St. Lucian for the Summer Institute for Linguistics.

### Grammars

The number of academic papers on the grammatical systems of Antillean is very high. As one would expect of academic papers, the work available is of a technical nature intended for the use of other academics. Even within that type of material, it cannot be claimed that fully adequate descriptions of the several varieties of Antillean exist. The most regrettable deficiency however is that there are very few works that are prepared for the use of laymen. Those that are, frequently have the deficiency of describing the language in terms that are more appropriate to the lexically related French language. Equally noteworthy, is that several of the available grammar books adopt an unduly simplistic approach to the language and treat it with insufficient detail. The result is that those persons who consult them are left with the impression that they are dealing with a language that is very restricted and defective in not having the categories they are led to expect by their familiarity with grammars of European languages. Where this is not the case, the grammars are difficult to read without specialist knowledge or at least without familiarity with terminology that is not within the range of the citizen of average education.

### Instruction manuals

From the point of view of teaching grammars, the picture is even less satisfactory. Few teaching grammars exist largely because so few serious experiments have been affected in the teaching of Creole in any school system. Haiti has had the most effort in this area and some material of moderate quality is available. In the case of the French overseas departments only a small amount of material has been generated by the experiments that were discussed in Section IV. What is interesting to observe is that the major teaching materials have been designed to allow non-Creole speakers to learn to use the language. The efforts of the American Peace Corps to prepare their volunteers have provided major manuals for Haiti (Valdman, 1970) and for St. Lucia (Valdman and Carrington, 1969). Other similar work has been undertaken by residents who have recognised the possibility of financial profit in the preparation of materials to allow foreign visitors to learn the use of the language. Much of that material does not go beyond the tourist phrase book level but some of it is reasonably informative.

### **Reading Materials**

The largest amount of creative writing in French-lexicon Creole has taken place in Haiti and the Haitian diaspora. Novels, poetry, dramatic works, collections of short stories and of folk tales have been produced by some of the finest litterateurs as well as by relatively mediocre writers. The fact that these works have not had more impact on the relationships between the languages in Haiti (and indeed, in the rest of the region) is the result of the low proportion of the populations who can read at all and of the small section of the literate populations who have taken the trouble to learn to read Creole for more than casual purposes.

At the opposite end of the reading scale from the literary works lie the initial reading materials that have been prepared for teaching either children or adult learners. Again here it is in Haiti that the largest amount of material has been generated. For a variety of reasons related to the many changes of spelling system and to the disagreements that have taken place between agencies involved in the literacy enterprise, much of the material does not conform to the contemporary system. This means that for instructional purposes, material has become dated very rapidly and the current initiative does not necessarily benefit from the mass of work that has been conducted over the years.

### **Attitudinal studies**

Scholars engaged in the field of Creole studies have treated commentary on the attitudes towards the languages in the relevant societies with routine regularity. Almost all studies carry an introduction that states the social relationships among the languages. Much of the commentary though is parroted and does not arise from detailed attitudinal investigation so much as from personal observation and anecdotal recount. Without denying the value of the observations of trained scholars, I believe that these observations have provided only very broad outlines and few of them have been tested by any rigorous procedures. The result is that one gets the impression of very similar attitudes throughout the region and at all levels of the societies. Yet, exceptions plague the statements without a revision of the basic presentation.

### **Experimental information**

Few experiments have been conducted and evaluated in the use of Antillean for developmental purposes. The educational experiments of the French departments have not yet been properly examined. The Haitian activity has similarly not been properly assessed. Whatever assessment has taken place has been of parameters that relate to the problems of implementing the educational reform in gross terms rather than to the impact of the reform on the system.

### Research institutions and organisations

Research on the French lexicon Creole languages of the Caribbean is being conducted in several academic centres throughout the world quite apart from the work in progress in the region. A list of the institutions where directly relevant work is in progress is included at Appendix 6. Most of the work is of potential value to a project of this kind. The limiting factor is that academic research is most often propelled by personal inclinations and is frequently intended to satisfy scholarly rather than practical goals. This would suggest that work leading to the goals of this project would still have to be undertaken as special tasks. Nevertheless, the technical skills for all of the tasks outlined are present within the institutions and organisations listed. None of the types of tasks envisaged is beyond realization from the point of view of the existence of personnel.

The question of availability is more difficult to answer in global terms. It is at the level of the planning of individual parts of the project that the availability of personnel can be determined. The scale of each sub-project, the rate of intended implementation and the country in which implementation is intended will be conditioning factors on the availability of personnel.

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## VIII

### CONCLUSION

This study has documented the place of Antillean French lexicon Creole in five of the six Caribbean countries in which it is the major vernacular medium of communication. We have demonstrated that inappropriate policies on language have been barriers to the effective participation of the populations in the processes of their own development. The documentation on literacy and on levels of education in the populations has been significant proof of this position. We have proposed that the formal use of the vernacular language by agencies of the state in critical developmental areas can accelerate development. We have examined the state of the language and its readiness for contemporary developmental tasks, suggesting what courses of action should be adopted to allow it to fulfil the new roles envisaged. We have also considered the state of scholarship on these languages and determined that there is a sufficient basis on which direct action on the instrumentalization of the languages can proceed. Equally, we have discussed the agencies already working in the field of Creole studies to show that there are cadres who are persuaded of the advisability of the instrumentalization of the language and that within each of the societies the ideas being proposed would find support.

In Appendices 1 to 4, we have set out projects in the fields of news and information, agricultural information, health education and literacy education. Each of these projects is a part of broader proposal for the instrumentalization of Antillean set out in Appendix 5. A suggested strategy for implementation is presented in a separate submission entitled Implementation of the Project Creole Discourse and Social Development.

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It is not clear why St. Vincent would have felt it necessary to include the clause. It is possible that the framers of the constitution may have been imitating the constitutional provisions of the two neighbouring islands that seemed most like St. Vincent in constitutional history and development. They could also have been making a very conscious demarcation in their minds between English and the vernacular of their country to the latter's disadvantage. (See The Saint Vincent Constitution Order 1979, London: H.M.S.O., 1979. Section 25. 1 (c), p.24).
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**APPENDIX 1****Creole Discourse Sub-project: News and Information****Purpose**

The purpose of the project is to create, or to enhance where it already exists, an ability in media agencies to deliver information in Creole.

**Scope**

The project will cover radio and print media in those Caribbean countries where French-lexicon Creole is the primary language of the general population.

**Focus**

The primary focus of the project will be the delivery of local, regional and international news in the vernacular language. The secondary focus will be the development of the media component of sub-projects within the main Creole Discourse project (e.g. health education, agricultural information, etc.).

**Style of operation**

The operational method of the project will be the use of intensive training workshops backed by the continuous development of a translation and reference service.

**Target groups**

The target groups for the intensive training activity will be the following:

- a) news script writers
- b) broadcasters
- c) reporters
- d) sub-editors
- e) feature writers
- f) typists, composers and related copy preparation personnel
- g) translators.

**Training workshops**

The goals of the training workshops can be summarized as follows:

- a) to train participants to read and write in Creole;
- b) to familiarize participants with new vocabulary and terminology in Creole;
- c) to create in participants confidence in the ability of the vernacular to deal with the needs of its speakers;
- d) to familiarize participants with reference works for Creole and develop their facility in using them;
- e) to develop skill in the preparation of news items in Creole;
- f) to develop skill in the presentation of news items in Creole.

### **Translation and reference**

Under ordinary circumstances, translation is a specialist task. In a case where a vernacular language is being applied to communication functions that are beyond its traditional domain, the task of translation is more specialized. The project will undertake the training of translators. An integral part of the training will be active research on the expansion of the vocabulary of Creole to meet the demands of contemporary information transfer. The training programme will develop a continuous reference capability for agencies wishing advice on the translation of items for which there are not yet readily available terms. The reference service will seek to anticipate needs of the news services and of the sub-projects within the Creole Discourse project and will prepare word lists and translation strategies for their use.

## APPENDIX 2

### Creole Discourse Sub-project: Agricultural Information

#### Purpose

The purpose of this proposed project is to deliver to farmers in their communities information on farming that is relevant to the improvement of their farming practices. The project has the special feature of offering that information in the everyday language of the farmers themselves.

#### Delivery

The messages of the project will be delivered by two means: the radio and the extension officer. For our purposes, extension officer includes any personnel whose function within the project includes transmitting information to the target group. These means of delivery have been chosen because the target group includes many persons who have not been able to acquire literacy skills.

#### Some possible content for the project

##### I. Crops

- a) cultivation of specific crops
- b) soil and water conservation
- c) disease control
- d) safe use of agro chemicals
- e) environmental pollution and control
- f) harvesting
- g) storage
- h) marketing
- i) management of a small farm
- j) irrigation
- k) mixed cultivation

##### II. Animals

- a) nutrition and processing
- b) animal health
- c) breeding
- d) marketing
- e) sanitation
- f) refrigeration and storage

##### III. Crops in relation to animals

##### IV. By-products of animal husbandry

##### V. By-products of crop cultivation

##### VI. Agricultural services available.

### Materials required

The project will develop its own materials drawing on the skills available within the services of the country concerned in the first instance. However, where it is either necessary or desirable, skills will be drawn from any readily available source. The types of materials that are envisaged are the following:

- a) radio scripts;
- b) texts for the use of extension officers;
- c) texts for self-information for the literate user;
- d) texts for reading aloud in group meetings;
- e) training material for the preparation of the personnel functioning within the project;
- f) posters, charts, diagrams and other AV support material for the several levels of programme use;
- g) wordlists and glossaries of necessary terminology.

### The skills to be taught

For the time being, no attempt is made to make a total assessment of all of the skills that will be required by this project. Clearly, they are numerous. It is assumed that the project will be linked to the normal technical services of the agricultural sector as well as to other projects having similar global intent within the Creole Discourse project. The skills that will be identified therefore, will be those that are peculiar to delivery within the vernacular language of the country.

- a) writing in Creole
- b) reading in Creole
- c) reading aloud for comprehension by an audience
- d) typing Creole texts.

### Personnel participation

In order to effect the programme, the following categories of workers will need to participate:

- a) agricultural officers
- b) biologist
- c) local herbalist
- d) graphic artist
- e) typist/composer operator
- f) photographer
- g) script writer
- h) broadcasters
- i) specialists in the relevant areas of agriculture as required
- j) translator.

### Academic backup

The special nature of the programme requires specific academic tasks to be associated with it. The majority of these relate to the fact that the language to be used in the project has not thus far been formally applied to the task outlined and certain elements of technical development will be required. The tasks are of the following types:

- a) preparation in English of lists of words necessary for discussion of the relevant topics;
- b) preparation in Creole of parallel terms that are already available;
- c) creation, selection and testing of terms for items that do not have available translations;
- d) preparation of texts in conjunction with subject area specialists.

### A sketch of the operational style

Let us assume that the agricultural services have decided to conduct a special programme on soil conservation practices among persons conducting mixed subsistence cultivation. The agricultural officers would mock up the type of campaign they would like to conduct. This would include identification of which practices they wish to encourage or discourage, the reasons that they wish to advance to the farmers for their advice, the incentives that they see as appropriate etc. In consultation with a translator and a linguist, the officers would determine the vocabulary, terminology and phrases that they would need to convey the messages in Creole. Where equivalent expressions are not readily available in the language, the project would use existing dictionaries and wordlists of the language and dialects related to the language as a resource to find or to create terms that could convey the messages. This stage of the work could involve field research among monolingual speakers of the language to glean from them ways in which similar or related concepts might be expressed. Some neologisms (new words) may have to be created along lines that can be established by the lexical development aspects of the project.

Once this has been done the agricultural officers will participate in a preparation exercise that will familiarize them with the textual material that they can use to support their oral presentation of the required messages to the target population. If the campaign includes the use of visual material that material is prepared by the relevant combination of AV personnel. It will bear its messages in Creole. The point of this detail is

that the presentation of messages in Creole will influence the literate sector of the population into recognising that serious messages of the society can be carried by the language. That acceptance by the literate can favourably affect the acceptance of the use of the language by the non-literate.

If the campaign involves the use of the medium of radio, scripts and documentary material of an appropriate type for the purpose would be prepared for broadcast.

The personnel involved in the preparation of the materials will have to be capable of reading, writing and typing the material in the language. This would include the personnel listed above.

If there are other campaigns or activities of the agricultural officers that are associated with the activity described (e.g. a survey of the methods of storage and use of dangerous chemicals), the developmental efforts would be expanded in another direction. In this fashion, a dynamic development of competence to deliver more and more of the work of the agricultural services in Creole can be achieved. The effect of the effort will be evaluated on a periodic basis.

### APPENDIX 3

#### Creole Discourse Sub-project: Health Education

##### Purpose

The purpose of this project is to deliver to the general population information on matters affecting the health of the community in the language of the community.

##### Delivery

The programme of health education will be delivered by direct contact between health officers and the general population as well as by radio broadcasts. The language of communication will be Creole.

##### Some possible topics for the project

The following is a list of topics that might constitute the core for the messages that the project would seek to transmit to the community.

- a) environmental sanitation;
- b) soil and water conservation;
- c) nutrition;
- d) preventative health care:
  - i. inoculation and vaccination,
  - ii. first aid,
  - iii. gastro-enteritis;
- e) childhood diseases (e.g. whooping cough, mumps, chicken pox etc.);
- f) respiratory diseases;
- g) venereal diseases;
- h) skin complaints;
- i) public health services available.

##### Materials required

The project will develop its own materials drawing on the skills available within the health services of the country concerned in the first instance. However, where it is either necessary or desirable, skills will be drawn from any readily available source. The types of materials that can be envisaged are the following:

- a) radio scripts;
- b) texts for preparing health personnel to deliver the communication in Creole;
- c) texts to be read to public audiences by health officers;
- d) posters, charts, diagrams and other AV support material for different levels of programme use;
- e) wordlists and glossaries of necessary terminology.

### The skills to be taught

For the time being, no attempt is being made to list all the skills that a project of this type will need. They are numerous. It is assumed that the project is linked to the normal technical services of the Health Department as well as to other projects having parallel goals within the Creole Discourse project. Hence, the skills that will be identified will be those that relate specifically to the intention that delivery should be in Creole.

- a) writing in Creole
- b) reading in Creole
- c) reading aloud for comprehension by an audience
- d) typing texts in Creole.

### Personnel participation

In order to implement the programme, the following categories of personnel will have to participate:

- a) public health officer
- b) doctor, nurse, pharmacist
- c) nutritionist
- d) graphic artist
- e) typist, composer, printer
- f) script writer
- g) broadcaster
- h) local herbalist
- i) translator
- j) linguist.

### Academic backup

The nature of the academic backup to the programme relates very largely to the fact that the language to be used in the project has not thus far been formally applied to the task outlined. Certain elements of technical development will therefore be required. The tasks are of the following types:

- a) preparation in English/French of lists of words necessary for discussion of the relevant topics;
- b) preparation in Creole of parallel lists of terms that are already available;
- c) creation, selection and testing of terms that are lacking in the contemporary Creole language;
- d) preparation of texts in collaboration with subject area specialists.

### A sketch of the operational style

Let us assume that the health services have decided to conduct a public campaign on the prevention of gastro-enteritis in rural communities. The health officers would design the type of campaign they would like to conduct. This would include identification of the practices they wish to encourage or discourage, the arguments that they think would persuade the public to follow their advice, the incentives that they see as appropriate etc. In consultation with a translator and a linguist, the officers would determine the vocabulary, terminology and phrases that they would need to convey the messages in Creole. Where equivalent expressions are not readily available in the language, the project would use existing dictionaries and word-lists of the local language and related dialects as a resource to find or to create terms that could convey the messages. This stage of the work could involve field research among monolingual speakers of the language to glean from them ways in which similar or related concepts might be expressed. Some neologisms may have to be created along lines that can be established by the lexical development aspects of the project.

Once this has been done the health officers will participate in a preparation exercise that will familiarize them with the textual material that they can use to support their oral presentation of the required messages to the target population. If the campaign includes the use of visual material, that material is prepared by the relevant combination of AV personnel. It will bear its messages in Creole. The point of this detail is that the presentation of messages in Creole will influence the literate sector of the population into recognising that serious messages of the society can be carried by the language. That acceptance by the literate can favourably affect the acceptance of the use of the language by the non-literate.

If the campaign involves the use of the medium of radio, scripts and documentary material of an appropriate type for the purpose would be prepared for broadcast.

The personnel involved in the preparation of the materials will have to be capable of reading, writing or typing the material in the language. This would include the personnel listed above.

If there are other campaigns or activities of the health department that are associated with the activity described (e.g. public sanitation, proper treatment of water), the developmental efforts would be expanded in another direction. In this fashion, a dynamic development of competence to deliver more and more of the work of the health services in Creole can be achieved. The effect of the effort will be evaluated on a periodic basis.

## APPENDIX 4

### Creole Discourse Sub-project: Adult Literacy

#### Purpose

The purpose of the project can be summarized as follows:

- a) to create a cadre of personnel trained to effect literacy education through the medium of Creole;
- b) to implement an experimental programme of literacy through Creole;
- c) to effect a programme of English/French language teaching for persons made literate by the preceding;

#### Strategy

Initiation of the literacy sub-project will require the identification of an appropriate organisation which is engaged, or planning to become engaged, in the teaching of literacy through the medium of the vernacular. Once such an organisation has been identified, the project will collaborate in the training of personnel and the preparation of materials to support the programme.

#### Training activities

The training activities will provide instruction for facilitators in the following areas:

- a) use of the accepted writing system for Creole;
- b) use of materials prepared to introduce learners to the skills of reading and writing;
- c) instructional procedures appropriate for adult learners;
- d) use of reference materials relevant to the conduct of the programme;
- e) techniques of preparation of new materials.

#### Preparation of materials

The following types of materials will be prepared by the project:

- a) training materials for facilitators;
- b) instructional materials for different levels of learners;
- c) publicity materials to obtain public cooperation;
- d) post-literacy materials;
- e) French/English language teaching materials.

### **Linkage with other sub-projects**

The other sub-projects of the Creole Discourse project will be generating reading materials on a variety of topics. The output of these sub-projects will either be useable by new literates or can be modified for their use. In particular, the news and information sub-project will be able to feed the literacy sub-project. Similarly, output of health and agricultural information can become input to the project.

The development of reading materials for leisure use will hinge on those parts of the overall project that relate to creative writing in Creole.

## APPENDIX 5

Original Project Document

## CREOLE DISCOURSE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

## A SYNOPSIS

Introduction

The project is concerned mainly with those Caribbean countries in which English, French and Dutch are the official languages. The vernacular languages of these countries are linguistically classified as Creole languages. In the context of the Caribbean, the term Creole languages refers to the languages which developed as communication systems between Europeans of diverse linguistic backgrounds on the one hand and West Africans of equally heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds on the other during the period of European colonial expansion, the slave trade and the plantation phase of Caribbean economy.

Although the vocabularies of these languages are clearly relateable to European languages, their grammatical structure, phonological structures and large areas of their semantic categorizations are not. They are not mutually intelligible with the related European languages and do not stand in the same relationship to them as dialects of the same language stand in relation to each other.

Conservative assessment of the knowledge of languages spoken in the Caribbean would show a significant proportion of "bilingual speakers" in the group of countries under reference, with the exception of Haiti and Suriname where very small minorities speak the official languages. The notion of bilingualism must be modified by the recognition that specific functions are, by common convention, reserved for the different languages in contact, (i.e. certain societal functions are normally conducted in the Creole languages and others in the official languages). Since the official languages are the vehicles for the conduct of public life, and since proficiency in the official languages matches roughly the socio-economic stratification of the populations, participation in public life by the bulk of the populations is severely hindered.

The traditional prestige accorded to the official language is now being openly questioned. The accession to independence by most of the countries, the need for innovation in the economic sector, the delivery of social services and the circulation of ideas have all shifted the consciousness of the population towards a more favourably assessment of the indispensability of the Creoles as means of communication. Nonetheless, this tendency is hampered by the lack of institutionalized mechanisms for applying the vernaculars of the region to the pursuit of self-reliant development. This project addresses itself to the issues of creating these mechanisms based on the linguistic resources within the control of the people themselves.

### The goals of the project

The long term goal of this project is to contribute to the creation of systems that can assist self-propelled development of the region by facilitating the instrumentalization of the vernacular languages. In the current socio-linguistic circumstances of the region, the use of the official languages allows immediate contact between the Caribbean and the outer world but hinders dialogue within each country as well as between culturally related populations. The exchange through the official languages is an unequal one prolonging the monopoly of information by the former colonial rulers, perpetuating segmentation of the region and in so doing fostering the underdevelopment of both the whole and its components.

The development of the vernacular languages will permit the mobilization of local resources and foster social cohesion and regional togetherness. It will favour the discussion and adaptation of cultural loans and facilitate the expression of Caribbean aspirations. In addition, reversal of the negative evaluations of the vernacular languages will unblock the communication systems of the society.

The proposed project is pan-Caribbean in scope and must embrace as well the diaspora. Although social in nature, the project is essentially in the field of information. It is a deliberate attempt to erode the barriers to a free circulation of information.

Finally, the implementation of the project would benefit if it were seen as a pilot activity staged in the Caribbean but relevant to developmental pursuits in most third world countries where the structures of information dissemination and retrieval are too often overlooked by institutions dedicated to fostering the well-being of plurilingual and multicultural societies.

### The starting point

It is intended that the project be implemented in respect of one of the Creole vernaculars in the first instance. The most suitable case is that of French-lexicon Creole because it functions in three importantly different settings:

- a) a long independent state in which it is the undisputed sole language of the marginalized majority -- Haiti;
- b) three territoires in which it is lexically related to the official language -- Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana;
- c) two countries in which it co-exists with a lexically unrelated standard official language -- Saint Lucia and Dominica.

This diversity of contexts together with the high level of mutual comprehensibility of its dialects makes French-lexicon Creole an ideal test case for all aspects of the project.

### Objectives

The short term objectives of the proposed project are as follows:

- a) training of literates in reading, writing and transcribing the vernaculars;
- b) assistance to ongoing educational reform, especially literacy and post-literacy programmes and the improvement of the teaching of reading in plurilingual and multicultural environments;
- c) stimulation of intercomprehension between different dialects of French-lexicon Creole;
- d) development of readily understandable terminology for scientific and technological information;
- e) stimulation of the creation of informed public opinion and enlargement of the reach of the media;
- f) stimulation of the publication of creative writings and of textbooks for literacy and post-literacy programmes, for primary and adult education, geared towards rural and marginal urban areas evolving in intercultural and plurilingual situations.
- g) stimulation of translation from one Creole to another of the above-mentioned publications.

In the medium term, the project aims at developing for the French-lexicon Creoles:

- h) stylistic formats and vocabularies suitable for the dissemination of science and technology;
- i) forms of speech adequate for popular participation, rural development programmes, vocational and co-operative education, mass campaigns on public health, environmental protection, control of pests and plant disease, preventative measures to deal with recurrent natural disasters, etc.;
- j) female involvement (particularly rural women) in the enrichment of Caribbean discourse and most specially in the development of conceptual instruments needed for training prospective "higglers" and "traffickers" in accounting and other commercial arts at the primary and secondary school levels;
- k) environments suitable for the assessment of cultural contents conveyed by the mass media and for their utilization to foster social cohesion and Caribbean identity;
- l) environments suitable for the upgrading of local traditional institutions (sousou, gayap, coup d'main, combite, etc.) and for their increased use to provide community services.

In the long term, the project aims at development for the English-lexicon Creoles the same objectives set out for the medium-term in respect of the French-lexicon Creoles.

### Types of activities

#### 1. Establishment of a corpus

- a) retrieval and documentation of topic-specific vocabularies relating to disease, agricultural activities, litigation, masonry, carpentry etc.;
- b) retrieval and documentation of folktales;
- c) collection of Creole publications with special emphasis on drama and novels;
- d) collection of proceedings and minutes of workshops and training courses carried out by the project;
- e) establishment of a similar corpus of English-lexicon based Creoles.

## 2. Processing

- a) these data will be catalogued and indexed with a view to producing topic-specific glossaries and word lists;
- b) preparation of secretaries, typists, translators, interpreters, transcribers and editors to service meetings and workshops of the project.

## 3. First level output

- a) handbooks of terminology (e.g. media terminology, agricultural extension terminology, vocational training terminology etc.);
- b) inter-island glossaries;
- c) annotated collections of folktales;
- d) annotated collections of drama and novels.

## 4. Second level output

- a) public information, e.g. production of programmes for broadcast;
- b) creative writing e.g. production of translated drama and novels, particularly from Caribbean authors;
- c) social engineering, e.g. production of guidelines and handbooks relating to disaster preparedness, health campaigns, use of banking facilities, vocational training, etc.;
- d) research and development: grammars of individual dialects, comparative grammar for non-specialist use;
- e) expansion of public knowledge of writing systems, preparation of publicity materials to popularize the use of the written languages and for public information purposes.

## 5. Training and assessment

- a) public information workshops for broadcasters, script-writers, editors, etc.;
- b) creative writing: workshops for dramatists, writers, song writers and performers;
- c) social engineering: workshops for agricultural extension officers, health officers, staff of rural development banks, vocational training teachers, etc.;

- d) research and development: workshops for linguists and social scientists;
- e) public knowledge of writing system: workshops for advertising agency personnel, public relations officers, etc.

### The preparatory study

The preparatory study will undertake the tasks listed below:

1. A survey of the institutions studying Caribbean Creole languages both inside and outside the region. The survey will ascertain the types of studies already undertaken and in progress within the institutions and determine the manners in which these studies can contribute to the project's goals.

It will also assess the extent to which personnel can be available for and are committed to the pursuit of the project as outlined in the draft project proposal. If the institutions teach Creole studies or linguistics, an assessment will be made of their output of students who may be engaged on tasks relevant to the goals of the project.

2. A survey of public agencies currently using Caribbean Creoles in their day-to-day activities with a view to assessing their practices, methods and techniques in the use of the vernacular. The cross-Caribbean relations of these institutions will be documented.
3. A survey of official policies and common practices of the Caribbean governments for dealing with the linguistic cleavages of their countries. In particular, attention will be paid to the concerns of ministries responsible for education, health, agriculture and development planning.
4. A collection of assessment of published documents in and on Caribbean Creoles to determine the areas in which a minimum of new resources can permit the development of:
  - a) handbooks of terminology;
  - b) inter-island glossaries;
  - c) annotated collections of folktales, drama and novels, etc.
5. Design the detailed project on Creole discourse and social development and prepare a project document for consideration by various funding agencies.
6. Organise a regional workshop to discuss and evaluate the findings and proposals of the preparatory survey.

**Institutions at which Studies on Antillean are in Progress**

Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques, Paris, France

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.

Université Laval, Quebec City, Canada

The University of the West Indies:

Kingston, Jamaica  
 St. Augustine, Trinidad  
 Cave Hill, Barbados

Université d'Aix-en-Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France

University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Université Antilles Guyane, Schoelcher, Martinique

Université d'Etat d'Haïti, Port-au-Prince, Haïti

Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada

Université de Paris V, Paris, France

Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Canada

In addition to the work being conducted in the institutions listed, scholars scattered in a variety of other locations also engage in the study of Antillean.

