

Introduction 3: Pidgins and Creoles and Applied Linguistics

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Applied Linguistics research involving P/Cs has a long tradition (cf. Siegel 2002), but as in the case of other areas of research it tends to not be equally vibrant in all geographical contexts. The instrumentalization of P/Cs in primary and secondary education and language planning probably have the longest and richest research tradition. However, in recent years, research on other aspects of public life such as human rights, law enforcement, the use of P/Cs in the media (see volume 3), language preservation and documentation have been gaining in importance.

The numerous applied linguistics activities coupled with persistent advocacy in favor of a greater role for P/Cs in all aspects of public life (Devonish 2008), and on-going social change, have significantly enhanced positive attitudes towards P/Cs and consequently raised their social status in the societies where they are spoken. Although negative attitudes towards P/Cs continue to persist - they are still seen as broken versions of the related lexifier language - they are increasingly appreciated as valuable means of communication outside of formal domains. This change is probably due to the ongoing informalization of communication processes spurred by commercialization and by popular use of technology, especially social media. Besides having high covert prestige, they have also been gaining overt, albeit not always legally inscribed recognition in many communities. For instance, Bislama is the national language of Vanuatu, Seychellois is one of three official languages of the Republic of the Seychelles, Haitian Creole is one of the official languages of the Republic of Haiti, and the French-based creoles spoken in the French overseas territories and several of the English-lexified creoles (Aluku, Ndyuka, Pamaka, Saamaka) in French Guiana have been included in the official category 'language of France' (*langue de France*).

However, this change in prestige and status does not evenly apply to all P/Cs worldwide and is not a guarantor that P/C-speaking populations are facilitated in their first language. Consequently, much of the research on Creoles has focused on identifying the obstacles to accepting P/Cs as media of education and ways of overcoming these obstacles (cf. Siegel 1999, 2005 for an overview) as well as on developing approaches to teaching the official language, usually English, to speakers of P/Cs (Simmons-McDonald 2004). Dennis Craig was an important early leader in this area. His numerous publications have not only provided us with astute analysis of the language situation in contexts where P/Cs exist side-by-side with their erstwhile lexifier -- with particular reference to the English official Caribbean (e.g. Craig 1971, 1979) -- but they have also offered valuable approaches (e.g. Craig 1978, 1983, 1996) and experiences (Craig 1999) of how to tackle the acquisition of the official language in such contexts. Craig argued that learning of English requires an approach that is akin, but not identical, to second language learning since in many Caribbean contexts Creoles (both urban and rural varieties) mostly share lexical rather than other structural similarities with English. He thus advocated an approach that takes into account and actively raises awareness about the socio-cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of Creoles and English while at the same time acknowledging the existence of overlap between the two systems. Effective language education has to start with children's actual practices and communicative needs and introduce new features gradually and in a systematic manner through a combination of structured, communication-oriented and culturally adapted activities (e.g. Pollard 2003).

Many of Craig's students have developed this approach further. Most well-known is Hazel Simmons-McDonald's (2010) inclusive language education program that she developed and successfully piloted in Saint Lucia. It concurrently develops greater levels of proficiency in, and knowledge about, Standard English, the main medium of instruction in schools in St. Lucia, and children's primary language(s), Kwéyòl, and/or the vernacular English that is widely used in St. Lucian society. Research on the role of P/Cs in the acquisition of the official language has been carried out for a variety of contexts (cf. Siegel 2012) they include Australia (Murtagh 1982; Malcolm & Konigsberg 2007), Guinea-Bissau (Benson 1994, 2004), Papua New Guinea (Siegel 1997), the English official Caribbean (Clachar 2004, 2005), Hawai'i (Rynkofs 2008) and San Andres (Morren 2010). Other research has focused more specifically on the acquisition of literacy in the school context and the benefits of a communicative-type approach to language learning. This research shows that the use of P/Cs in the teaching of literacy positively enhances literacy in the official language and the acquisition of non-structural aspects of language (Pollard 1999; Siegel 2010).

In contrast, more recent research, has been interested in raising the status of and validating P/Cs. Depending on the local political landscape, some programs (e.g. Higgins 2010; Siegel 2005) largely focus on raising awareness about the fact that P/Cs are languages in their own right using a language awareness approach (e.g. Hawkins 1984). Other programs focus on facilitating children's insertion into, and identification with, the school context which is largely dominated by external cultural norms. Such programs, which generally teach about local matters using a P/C, are typically found in the French overseas regions (Bolos 2010; Migge and Léglise 2010). The most advanced integration of a P/C into education occurs when it is used as the main or only means of instruction in a variety of subjects. There are still only very few contexts where this takes place. Apart from the Seychelles (Bollée 1993), attempts to make P/Cs full media of education have occurred in Curaçao (Dijkhoff & Pereira 2010) and Nicaragua (Koskinen 2010). However, in both cases widespread introduction was halted last minute and has since proceeded slowly. The most recent attempt involved a successful experimental project run in Jamaica (Devonish & Carpenter 2007) in which specially trained teachers taught the four year primary school curriculum through Jamaican Creole in selected schools in Jamaica. Children who participated in the project were not only much more engaged in the learning process but also did not perform worse on standardized achievement tests, showing that education through a P/C does not negatively affect students' learning in core subjects such as English and Mathematics. There is also some research that focuses on language and education of Caribbean Creole English speakers in the diaspora context Clachar 2004; Coelho 1991; (Le Page 1981; Nero 1997, 2001, 2010, 2012).

Closely aligned with educational activities is language planning. Research on P/Cs has focused on the selection of appropriate varieties for standardization, codification, corpus planning and the status of P/Cs. An important starting point for standardization activities is the identification of a linguistic variety that has high social standing and acceptance within the community. In P/C communities the discussion has centered on two main issues (cf. Devonish 1991; Alleyne 1994). First, how can distinct linguistic norms be identified in situations where code-mixing and code-switching between different creole varieties and/or varieties of the European language are common in a wide range of contexts? Second, should standardization focus on varieties that are furthest removed from European languages? The arguments in favour include the fact that such an approach would emphasize the distinctiveness of P/Cs and take account of the fact that these varieties are widely considered to be most authentic. The main argument against such an approach is the fact that conservative varieties often have low overt social prestige.

Romaine (1994b) has also considered the linguistic effects of standardization on the development of language practices in the community.

Codification involves designing orthographic conventions for written representation that are accessible and acceptable to community members (Dejean 1980; Vernet 1980). Here the debate has focused on whether to closely align the system with that of the lexifier/local European language or to maximally distinguish it from these norms in order to assert the linguistic independence of P/Cs (Bernabé 1976; Hellinger 1986; Baker 1991; Mühleisen 1999). There is also research on the processes, motivations, issues and obstacles involved in designing acceptable orthographic systems (Schieffelin & Douchet 1994; Decker 1996; Métellus 1998; Romaine 2005; Deuber & Hinrichs 2007; Managan 2008; Valdman 2016).

Corpus planning deals with the creation of essential language materials such as dictionaries, grammatical descriptions and literary and other texts. We currently have a number of grammatical descriptions for P/Cs, however, most of them are primarily accessible for a linguistic audience (but see Goury & Migge 2003; Sakoda & Siegel 2003) and there is no research that critically assesses existing grammatical descriptions of P/Cs or the processes and goals of grammar writing. Lexicography, in contrast, has received more attention in the P/C literature. Some of the research assesses the unique issues and problems of lexicographic projects on P/Cs (Roberts et al. 1980/1; Bollée 2005). Other publications critically examine the makeup of single dictionaries (Cassidy & Le Page 1961; Allsopp 1978; 1982; Winer 2006; 2007) or compare different P/C dictionaries (Görlach 1985; 1996). There is also research on the process of language elaboration. Siegel (1985) discusses the uses of Tok Pisin in the media and Mühleisen & Anchimbe (2012) explore the effects of Bible translation, usually an important written document for many P/Cs, on the propagation of written norms and for expanding the expressive possibilities and ultimate uses of a language. Finally, status planning research has mostly consisted of investigating attitudes towards P/Cs in a variety of contexts employing both a broad observational and descriptive approach (Mühlhäusler 1991; Hellinger 1992; Romaine 1994b) or based on questionnaire-based (e.g. Jamaican Language Unit 2005) or qualitative analysis of language ideologies (cf. volume 3). Some of this research has considered more in detail the social and linguistic consequence of on-going status change and how status change can be enhanced and promoted (Agheysi 1984; Neba et al 2006; Igboanusi 2008; Devonish 2008). We do not seem to have research on acquisition planning and P/Cs. Thus we know very little about how speakers of a P/C familiarize themselves with the standardized language norms for P/Cs and learn how to use them. However, we do have some research on how children who are learning a P/C as a first language acquire syntax (Adone & Vainikka 1999) and phonology (Meade 2001, 2004).

In recent years, we have also seen a rise in interest in the area of language and law in research on P/Cs. One strand of research has examined the social implications of officially validating and inscribing the right to use P/Cs in legal documents such as the constitution and the statutory documents of specific institutions. Brown-Blake (2008, 2014)¹, for instance, argues that this kind of officialization of P/Cs is an important step towards promoting their use in educational institutions, as well as the political and legal domains. However, their inscription in the legal domain is not sufficient in itself. It needs to be followed up with targeted actions that bring about their implementation and planners need to take account of the fact that implementation is likely to affect the linguistic

¹See also articles in Brown-Blake, Celia and Walicek, Don E. (2011-12). Language Policy and Language Rights in the Caribbean. *Sargasso* <https://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=175978>

practices and structure of a P/C. Another strand of research deals with legal discourse and language in the courtroom. There are a few publications on language use in the legal domain for the Caribbean context (Forrester 2012a, b; 2014) and for the Sudanese context (Miller 2007) and Evans (2012) has also examined the linguistic rights of speakers of P/Cs in legal proceedings in St Lucia. There is clearly a need for more work in the area of language and law. However, research is not just needed on language practices in the legal and educational (cf. e.g. Alby 2007) domains in Creole-speaking communities outside of the Caribbean island context where P/Cs are the main means of communication and in diaspora contexts (Le Page 1981; Nero 1997; 2001), but we also urgently need more work on language use in other institutional contexts, most notably the medical domain (Patrick & Fumagalli 2006; Léglise 2007) and different areas of state administration.

With the dramatic rise in research on language endangerment and language documentation since the late 1990s, there is now also some work in this area on P/Cs. However, as discussed by Garrett (2006), P/Cs are generally marginalized in this newly emerging area of research because they are considered neither sufficiently linguistically valuable nor distinctive because they are presumed to mostly have unmarked grammars. Nevertheless, there are publications that assess the current status of varieties of Chabacano (Lesho & Sippola 2013) and those that focus on documenting South Asian varieties of Portuguese-based Creoles (Cardoso 2014).

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