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WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 10

**KRIOL OF NORTH AUSTRALIA
A LANGUAGE COMING OF AGE**

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**Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin
1986**



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Kriol of North Australia.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 327 3.

1. Creole dialects - Australia, Northern. 2.
Aborigines, Australian - Australia, Northern -
Languages. I. Summer Institute of Linguistics. II.
Title. (Series: Work papers of SIL-AAB. Series A; v.
10).

499'.15

This book is written
in memory of
Barnabas, Mordecai, Isaac and Douglas,
four great men
who had great patience
with an inquisitive munanga,
and it is
dedicated to
Holt Thompson and Dorothy Meehan,
the first two Anglo-Australians to recognize
the significance of Kriol
to such a degree that
they stood against the tide of opposition
and helped to establish
the Bamyili School Kriol bilingual education program.

Foreword

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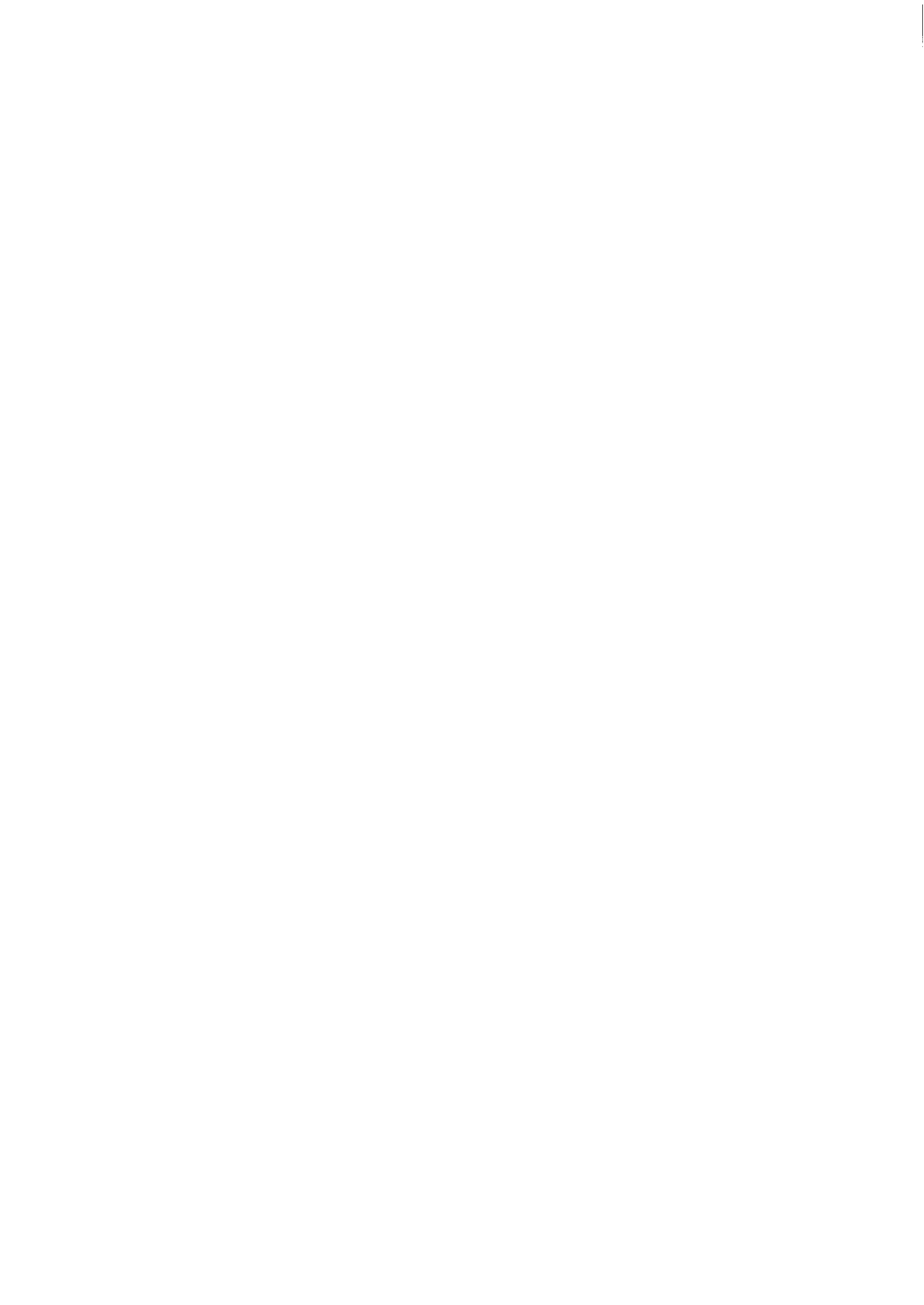
Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest primarily to those concerned with Aboriginal and Islander studies, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from readers.

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Contents

FOREWORD	v
PREFACE	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xv
CHAPTER 1: THE STUDY OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES	1
THE ORIGIN AND LIFE-CYCLE OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES	2
VARIATION IN PIDGINS AND CREOLES	4
PIDGINIZATION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS	6
Characteristics of pidgins	7
CREOLIZATION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES	8
Characteristics of creoles	9
PROCESSES OF CHANGE	10
DECREOLIZATION	12
INTERLANGUAGE	14
CHAPTER 2: WHAT IS KRIOL?	17
KRIOL AND TORRES STRAIT CREOLE	20
Historical roots	20
Sociological features	22
Lexical differences	22
Grammatical differences	23
Distinct languages	24
KRIOL AND ABORIGINAL ENGLISH	25
Varieties of AE and terminological confusion	25
Historical relationships	27
Grammatical distinctness	28
ONE GRAND ABORIGINAL ENGLISH SYSTEM?	30
THE KRIOL 'SPEECH COMMUNITY'	31
Aboriginal community	32
The problem of 'speech community'	33
Kriol communication area	34
Kriol language currency area	34
Kriol language area	35
Cattle stations	38
Missions and settlements	40
Outstation or homeland centres	41
Towns	41
KRIOL, ABORIGINAL ENGLISH, AND ENGLISH - ONE SYSTEM?	43
Interlanguage rather than decreolization	44
Decreolization: perimeter communities and 'townies'	46
Government policy strengthening Kriol	48
VARIATION WITHIN KRIOL	49
A folk-linguistic perspective	49
Development and modernization variation	52
Dialectal continua variation	55
VARIETIES OF KRIOL	56
Social attitudes to dialects	57
Sociolects	58
KRIOL AND TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES	59
Baby-talk and child language	61
MULTILINGUALISM IN KRIOL-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES	62
SUMMARY: WHAT THEN <u>IS</u> KRIOL?	64
CHAPTER 3: IS KRIOL AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE?	67
KRIOL AS A REFLECTION OF CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL SOCIETY	67
World view of humanity	69

Contemporary kinship	71
Classification of food and animals	77
SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE USE OF KRIOL	81
Two sociolinguistic rules	82
Changing value judgements	83
KRIOL AND ABORIGINAL IDENTITY	85
Boundary marking	87
Identifying with Kriol	89
CHAPTER 4: A CASE HISTORY OF A KRIOL-SPEAKING COMMUNITY	91
BACKGROUND	91
The stage of neglect	91
The stage of direct control	92
The stage of indirect control	93
Government policy and language use	94
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE AT NGUKURR	95
Early history	98
Old Mission	102
World War Two	106
CMS	108
Government control	109
FOUR MODERN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AT NGUKURR	113
The Ngukurr town council	116
The Ngukurr school	117
The Ngukurr clinic	120
The Ngukurr church	121
SUMMARY OF THE EFFECT OF ABORIGINALIZATION ON KRIOL	123
CHAPTER 5: THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF KRIOL	127
KRIOL AND LEGISLATION	127
KRIOL AND PRIMARY EDUCATION	128
Typology of education alternatives	128
Monolingualism in the dominant language	131
Transitional bilingualism	132
Monoliterate bilingualism	133
Partial bilingualism	135
Full bilingualism	137
Monolingualism in the home language	137
Kriol bilingual programs	137
KRIOL AND INFORMATION	139
KRIOL LANGUAGE PLANNING	143
SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	151
NOTES	154
APPENDIXES	
APPENDIX 1. Kriol Glossary	182
APPENDIX 2. Resource Guide to Kriol	192
APPENDIX 3. Non-Aboriginal Involvement in Kriol	195
APPENDIX 4. Newspaper Items regarding Kriol	209
BIBLIOGRAPHY	219

CHARTS AND DIAGRAMS

Creolization and the developmental continuum	9
Developmental and restructuring changes	11
Summary of features common to Kriol and Aboriginal English	30
The Kriol system relative to a post-creole continuum	50
Contemporary Kriol kinship system at Ngukurr	72
The <u>skin</u> system at Ngukurr	73
English and Kriol classification of lizards	80

MAPS

Map 1 Australia	18
Map 2 The Kriol Language Currency Area	36
Map 3 The Kriol Language Area	37
Map 4 North Australia and the Roper River District	96



CHAPTER 5

THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF KRIOL

The role of language can be considered as falling into two major categories (Haugen 1975:288,282). On the one hand, language is used as an expression of personality and a sign of identity; on the other, as an instrument or tool of communication. The role of Kriol in the expression of identity in contemporary Aboriginal society in North Australia was explored in chapter three. Its role as an instrument will be considered here. In particular, this chapter will look at the deliberate enlargement of the functions of Kriol or the ways in which it is used as a tool.

The deliberate enlargement of the functions of a language is a process referred to as 'instrumentalization' (Samarin 1980:223). This process is not directed towards the 'ordinary' uses of language. That is, it is not directed towards the uses of which an individual avails himself during the course of his daily activities. Rather, the aims of language instrumentalization have to do with affecting or improving the life of the society as a whole (Samarin 1980:224). Instrumentalization therefore comprises legislation, education and information.

KRIOL AND LEGISLATION

The major hindrance to the effective instrumentalization of Kriol has, in many respects, stemmed from the lack of an explicit Australian national language policy. It would be incorrect to claim that Australia is entirely without a national language policy, for as was amply pointed out in the previous chapter, it has had a de facto largely English-only language policy. This situation has, however, been changing. In 1982 the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts called for an inquiry into the development and implementation of a coordinated language policy for Australia. As a result, language policy is now firmly on the national agenda. In a paper prepared to stimulate public debate on language policy, the Commonwealth Department of Education (1982:8) noted that

there may be value in the emergence — or designation — of a national Aboriginal language. This could be an existing language, or a "lingua franca" might be consciously constructed. Aboriginal Kriol spoken by some 10% of the Aboriginal population might represent the basis for such a language, although it might be seen by some to lack the status of the traditional language.

In their submission to the Senate enquiry, the PLANLangPol Committee¹⁵² (1983:87) stated: "Any language planning policy for Aborigines must take into account the existence of these Creoles [i.e. Kriol and Torres Strait Creole] as coherent, productive systems, and operate to take advantage of their presence in education rather than discourage their use on the basis of an imperfect understanding of their nature."

It is expected that Kriol will be accorded official status in the Australian National Language Policy, although the exact form which will constitute that recognition is as of yet unknown. The National Language

Policy should, nevertheless, effectively remove at least some of the departmental barriers which have hindered the instrumentalization of Kriol during the 1970s.

KRIOL AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

As far as can be ascertained, the instrumentalization of Kriol was first officially considered by the government shortly after the Prime Minister announced in December 1972 that the Australian Government would "launch a campaign to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages".¹⁵³ During one of the first meetings on bilingual education in the Northern Territory the following year, a member of the N.T. Department of Education¹⁵⁴ turned to the Director of the Summer Institute of Linguistics¹⁵⁵ and asked, "And what about this pidgin English?"¹⁵⁶

Sharpe had attempted to gain official recognition for Kriol ten years earlier but had only been successful in bringing about an awareness of its existence (Sharpe and Sandefur 1976:63). Her lack of success is hardly surprising in view of the fact, pointed out in chapter one, that most linguists themselves did not accept creoles as legitimate languages until relatively recently. In the field of Australian Aboriginal languages, it was not until well into the 1970s that creoles gained a general acceptability among Australian linguists, as exemplified by their inclusion in such recent volumes as Dixon (1980) and Blake (1981).¹⁵⁷

Typology of Education Alternatives

In most creole language situations throughout the world, education policies are seldom chosen by explicit and rational processes (Craig 1977, 1980).¹⁵⁸ Instead, communities tend to drift into policy positions under the force of historical and emotional commitments. Failure to plan explicitly itself implies a policy, albeit an incoherent one, which results in a confusion of high ideals, injustices and superficialities, and which wastes valuable human resources otherwise available to enrich the nation (Ingram 1979:5). Such has been the case not only with officially English-speaking countries where creoles are spoken, but also with those where French and Dutch were the colonizing languages. The situation, however, is beginning to change.

An example of the lack of an explicit language policy is Haiti. Although Haiti has a population that is at least ninety percent monolingual in a creole, schooling has always been in French. After seven years of schooling many young Haitians still find it impossible to express themselves in French. The question of an orthography and standardization of the creole has been considered since the 1940s and for many years the country has had a significant adult literacy program in the creole. There has been Bible translation and religious activity in the creole, dictionaries have been compiled and grammars written, and popular radio and television programs have been produced in the creole. There have been many private efforts by missionary and other bodies to implement primary school programs in the creole. In spite of all this, however, it is only very recently that serious official consideration has been given to the possible use of the creole in the public school system (Craig 1977:320, 1980:246).

Another example is the Seychelles. It was only during the 1970s that the government became "fully aware of the vital importance of adopting a

realistic language policy and conscious of the catastrophic results of the pre-independence educational policy" (de Rieux 1980:268). In January 1982 creole became the official teaching medium in the first grade of primary schools with a view to progressively extending it to other grades on a yearly basis. At the same time, creole acquired the status of first national language in the Seychelles, with English and French as second and third national languages.¹⁵⁹

It is to the credit of the Northern Territory Department of Education that it was, in fact, one of the first in the world to recognize the importance of a creole when it accepted the legitimacy of using Kriol in bilingual education. Admittedly, there was, and still is, considerable doubt in the minds of many educationists concerning the value of using Kriol as the basis of a bilingual program (Spring 1980:21). Some consider Kriol to be a definite hindrance to the education process, and those who dislike bilingual education in general, usually have a particularly strong aversion to Kriol.

The consideration by education authorities of alternative education policies depends to a large extent on recognizing the fact that creole-speaking communities tend to be bilingual or aspire to be so (Craig 1980:246-247). That is to say, it depends on realizing that giving creole a place in the formal education system is not tantamount to accepting a 'bad' form of the national language. In the Australian context this involves reversing the disposition of "white Australians [to] see the difference in Aboriginal behaviour as being deviant forms of their own culture pattern" (Fesl 1981:70).

Widespread acceptance of the fact that a creole is a language distinct from the national language has had to await the development of an understanding of the true nature of creole languages. In creole-speaking areas where English and French are the official languages, that understanding has tended to develop relatively late, whereas in the Dutch West Indies favourable attitudes towards creole developed earlier. More recently the growing awareness of the bilingual status of creole-speaking communities has come from the French-speaking world, building upon general studies of bilingual education in many contexts. In Australia, as was pointed out in chapter two, awareness of the creole situation has only developed during the last decade, building upon the studies of Aboriginal English carried out during the 1960s and early 1970s.

The education policy alternatives now recognized as being available in creole language situations can be viewed through a typology of six models of bilingual education based on language use and language function (Fishman and Lovas 1970, Craig 1977, 1980):

(1) Monolingualism in school in the dominant language, in which the home language (i.e. creole) of the child is completely ignored.¹⁶⁰

(2) Transitional bilingualism, in which the home language of the child is used in school only to the extent necessary to allow the child to adjust to school while learning enough of the school language to permit the school language to become the medium of education.

(3) Monoliterate bilingualism, in which both languages are developed for aural-oral skills, but literacy is introduced only in the one language that happens to be socially dominant in the community.

(4) Partial bilingualism, in which aural-oral fluency and literacy are developed in the home language only in relation to certain types of subject matter that have to do with the immediate society and culture, while aural-oral fluency and literacy in the school language are developed for a wider range of purposes.

(5) Full bilingualism, in which the educational aim is for the child to develop all skills in both languages in all domains.

(6) Monolingualism in the home language, in which the aim of the school is to develop literacy only in the home language of the child.¹⁶¹

There are a number of factors relating to the nature of the creole bilingual context which must be taken into account when considering the use of creole in education (Craig 1977). These factors fall into two sets, the first of which has to do with the structural relationship between the creole and the national or dominant language, and the second with creole speakers' attitudes toward the two language forms.

Creole languages exist in two broad types of sociolinguistic situations. The first is where one of the base languages of the creole is the official language of the country. In the other type of situation the creole has no formal linguistic relationship with the official language. Of the eighty creole language areas listed by Hancock (1971), over sixty represent the first type of sociolinguistic situation, Kriol included. Creoles of the second type are more clearly seen as distinct from the official language, and as a result, the bilingual nature of the situation is more easily recognizable. Attitudes toward such creoles tend to be similar to those expressed toward foreign languages in general.

Creoles of the first type, in contrast, are often not perceived as being distinct from the official language. As was pointed out in the last chapter, this is the crux of the language 'problem' in schools in Kriol-speaking communities. This 'problem' is due in large part to the continuum nature of the relationship that characteristically develops between the two languages. As a result, the bilingual nature of the language situation may not be recognized, with the creole often being treated as a deficient form of the standard language. Craig (1977:314) points out that a 'continuum creole' situation, although not necessarily exactly what one would call 'bilingual', "is in any event 'biloquial', since the creole-influenced speech form retains its own rules and remains sufficiently distinct from the standard language to be accorded a separate status. Consequently, most of the characteristics of a bilingual situation would still be found to apply here."

The sociopolitical history of creole language situations has usually resulted in the creole being assigned a much lower value than the other language. As was amply documented in chapter three, this has certainly been true with Kriol. This attitude is due in part to the fact that most creoles developed out of a language situation of the enslavement or colonization of people who continue to live in depressed and low social status conditions. It is also determined in part by the lack of utilitarian value in most creoles for literate activities at national and international levels. Such factors must be taken into consideration when considering the use of creole in education as they affect the nature of the bilingual context in which formal education is supposed to take place.

Monolingualism in the Dominant Language

The first educational alternative available in creole language situations, that of using only the dominant language in school, is the one which school systems have traditionally tended to adopt. This alternative is actually outside the sphere of bilingualism altogether. The motivation for the adoption of this alternative tends not to be a carefully thought out educational rationale, but the low valuation of the creole language. In such situations the creole is rarely accorded the status of being a discrete language. This is particularly the case with creoles which exist side by side with their socially dominant base language.

The education policy in North Australia, until 1972, was one of monolingualism in English. Kriol was officially ignored, in practice often actively discouraged, with the hopes that it would disappear. This policy was not unique to Kriol but was applied to traditional Aboriginal languages as well. Unlike the traditional Aboriginal languages, however, Kriol was not recognized as being a discrete language and was considered to be a highly stigmatized and deficient form of speech. Officially this policy of English-only is no longer in effect. In practice, however, many schools which cater for Kriol-speaking children continue to operate with an English-only program that does not give recognition to the children's own language. Some schools even continue to impose a ban on the use of Kriol by the children while at school, with teachers ridiculing those who speak it.

Such an English monolingual alternative is contrary to our present day understanding of cognitive development and the education process, and can be questioned from the point of view of its effect on cognitive development. It has been argued (Eichorn and Jones 1952, Anastasi and Cordova 1953) that adverse cognitive effects are suffered by children who grow up in communities where the language of the school is not that of the home and normal development of the home language is restricted. Whether or not a child actually suffers adverse cognitive effects in such a situation might be debatable (Lambert and Tucker 1972). However, there is little doubt that a strong first language provides a good cognitive base for second language learning and for ethnic minorities a good sociological and attitudinal springboard as well (Lambert 1979).

An additional factor must be taken into account in regard to a monolingual school program in a creole language context. In most situations the avoidance of creole in school reflects and reinforces the stigma that has traditionally been placed on it. Creole speech becomes regarded as synonymous with backwardness and lack of intelligence. Creole speakers learn to be fearful of possibly incurring ridicule by venturing to speak in non-casual situations. This is clearly the case in areas such as the Caribbean (Craig 1980:249) as well as Australia.

The strongest support for school monolingualism in the dominant language can sometimes come from the creole speakers themselves. Craig (1980:250) and Todd (1974:86) claim that creole speakers reject the use of creole in favour of the dominant language because they are acutely aware of the advantages of possessing an internationally accepted language in reaching their aspirations of moving 'upwards' in their social environment. De Rieux (1980:269), on the other hand, argues that creole speakers' rejection of the use of creole in school "is not surprising and stems from the fact that in pre-independence situations linguistic imperialism was so strong that generations have been brainwashed into thinking that creoles were not only useless, but a handicap to economic development and social mobility".

A model of monolingualism in the dominant language is likely to be selected by education policy makers if no significant recognition or value is given to the home language and (sub)culture of the creole-speaking community. In order for such a policy to persist with stability, it appears that there has to be a consistent low socio-cultural valuation of the creole. If there is a high level of mutual intelligibility between the creole and the dominant language, then such education policies would tend to be maintained by all parties.

If, however, the attitude of policy makers towards the home language changes, then the persistence of a monolingual policy is also likely to change. Once the Commonwealth Department of Education accepted the concept of bilingual education using the mother tongue of the children, the department in essence had no choice but to give consideration to Kriol. In their report to the Northern Territory Department of Education, for example, O'Grady and Hale (1974:17) clearly pointed out that "this principle applies no less in the case of a child whose language is creole" and therefore recommended that Kriol be used "in early education in communities where children speak it as their first language".

For the implementation of a change in policy, it appears to be necessary for creole-speaking communities to exert considerable pressure on the policy makers, for they tend to take few initiatives in that direction themselves. The Northern Territory Department of Education, for example, claims that its "concern is to identify and prepare other schools serving the same language group that already have a bilingual program and to which bilingual education could be extended..." (McGill 1980:46). The department to date, however, has only fully recognized three Kriol-speaking communities in the Northern Territory (i.e. Barunga [formerly Bamyili], Ngukurr and Beswick) (Harris 1982:45). Of these three, only Barunga has an operational Kriol bilingual program.¹⁶² Ngukurr received departmental approval for a bilingual program in 1974, but the program never became operational, largely due to the lack of interest on the part of the non-Aboriginal school staff and an associated lack of organization.¹⁶³ In situations where the attitude of the policy makers towards the home language remains negative, as has been largely the case with regard to state schools in Western Australia, the wishes of the creole-speaking community for a change in policy are likely to go unheeded.

Transitional Bilingualism

The second alternative, transitional bilingualism, appears very close in nature to the first. In schools in which the teachers are themselves bilingual in creole and the dominant language, it is virtually impossible to prevent an intended monolingual dominant language program from informally becoming one of transitional bilingualism at least at the infant level. With young children creole is the easiest and most spontaneous vehicle for two-way communication between teacher and child in such situations. Even if the school system prohibits the use of the creole, when the teachers and children possess the creole in common, it is very unlikely that they will avoid it altogether. In such situations teachers remain unaware of the extent to which they themselves unconsciously resort to the creole language, and it is only to covert observers that their creole discourse tendencies are fully revealed (Craig 1980:251).

The crucial difference between a monolingualism and a transitional bilingualism model of education is that the latter recognizes the linguistic autonomy of the child's home background. This recognition does not go so far as to oblige the education system to develop any aspect of the child's personality, including language, strictly in relation to that home background, but it at least acknowledges that the child belongs to a language-culture which is different from the one aimed at by the education system. This model is a step in a positive direction because of the latter fact, but it does not go far enough so as to build on pre-school experience rather than discard it.

Many schools in Kriol-speaking communities could be classified as operating de facto transitional bilingual programs. Such schools recognize the children's speech as being different from Standard Australian English, although not necessarily discrete from Standard Australian English, and take that into account. They do not, however, actively develop the Aboriginal child's personality in relation to his Kriol language-culture home background. It should be noted that these schools are operating purely de facto bilingual programs. Such programs are not well organized or properly staffed and tend to be 'implemented' through force of circumstances (e.g. the need to communicate somehow with younger children who control virtually no English, the presence of Kriol-speaking teachers in the classroom, or the desire to implement a formal program without being able to do so due to lack of materials, staff or official approval).

While the first model of monolingualism can be imposed on any linguistic situation, this second model requires the existence at least of an intelligibility gap between the two languages. In order for the policy implementing the second model to remain stable, the social recognition and valuation of the creole needs to remain low. If this recognition and valuation of creole is naturally high or becomes so through socio-political and other pressure, then the model would exhibit a tendency to change, at least informally.

The main difference between the transitional model and the third model, that of monoliterate bilingualism, is related to the duration and continuation of creole language communication between teachers and children. At Ngukurr, for example, where virtually all classroom teaching is done by Kriol-speaking Aborigines (Harris 1982:51-52), the school practice, although not official policy, has spontaneously developed into monoliterate bilingualism. This situation is related to that of most outstation schools: "although not officially bilingual, a realistic assessment of outstation education accepts that the medium of instruction in many schools must be the local Aboriginal language" (Sims 1981:39). This is due primarily to the fact that outstation teachers are usually Aborigines.

Monoliterate Bilingualism

The third alternative, monoliterate bilingualism, ensures some continued development in school of the home language-culture. This model requires that aural-oral skills in creole be developed concurrently with skills in the dominant language. This represents not merely tolerance of creole, as does the second model, but a positive commitment on the part of the education system to provide a school curriculum, although only an oral one, in creole with a content that is relevant to the cultural background of the language and its speakers. Within this model the problem of a possibly harmful break between the child's home background

and his early experience of the wider world through school, which constitutes a potentially serious disadvantage of the preceding models, does not occur. One of the possible disadvantages this model shares with the preceding models, is that by keeping the creole language as an oral language only, it would always remain subordinate in status to the other language.

It is normally taken for granted that teachers in a school have full fluency, both oral and literate, in the dominant language of the school. If they also possess, or can easily acquire, aural-oral abilities in the creole, then a change from one or the other of the first two models to a monoliterate bilingualism model is possible, provided certain socio-economic and cultural pressures (e.g. pressure for a higher valuation of the creole) are also present. In order for a monoliterate bilingual program to achieve stability, there needs to be an acceptance by the creole-speaking community that literacy in the creole is not a necessity and that its absence in no way devalues the creole.

Craig (1980:258-259) considers a model of monoliterate bilingualism to possibly be the best compromise despite the disadvantage of potentially encouraging a lower status for the creole through lack of a literature. The main reasons for compromising and implementing a monoliterate policy, in contrast to a biliterate policy, are that it avoids the problems of standardization of the creole and saves considerable economic costs by eliminating the need to develop reading materials and school texts in the creole. Todd (1974:83-86) agrees with Craig, adding the claim that the spelling conventions of a creole "will inevitably clash" with those of the dominant language and may interfere with the "more useful conventions" of the dominant language, thus limiting literacy to the creole. Todd provides no documentation for her claims, and in view of the widespread biliteracy in pidgin or creole and the national language in countries such as Papua New Guinea, her argument is of doubtful validity. The experience of Kriol-speakers, although it has yet to be documented formally, also calls into question the validity of Todd's argument.

When permission was granted by the Department of Education in the Northern Territory for the Barunga school to implement a Kriol bilingual program, it was initially for an oral program only. It had been recognized that while there were "strong arguments" in favour of Kriol literacy, there were also "many problems" associated with a biliterate approach (O'Grady and Hale 1974). In a report to the department, Sharpe (1974a:19) identified five basic problem areas which were potential hindrances to the implementation of literacy in Kriol: (1) the problem of defining what is Kriol and what is English; (2) the difficulty of choosing an orthography; (3) the emotionally charged attitudes of many Europeans and some Aborigines who regard Kriol as inferior and a language to be despised; (4) the twin problem of dialectal differences among Kriol speakers and the need for one set of materials to be useful in as wide an area as possible; and (5) the problem of areas where Kriol lacks vocabulary or concepts available in English and sometimes also in Aboriginal languages. Further study was made of these problem areas, and it was decided that they would not be insurmountable, as indeed Meehan (1981) shows they were not, and permission was therefore granted for the full implementation of a bilingual/biliterate program at Barunga in 1977.

The experience of the Northern Territory Department of Education in bilingual education in general indicates (Harris 1982:26) that a monoliterate program¹⁶⁴ is not necessarily easier and more economical to

implement than a program in which literacy is developed in the minority language. It was originally thought that monoliterate bilingual programs would be relatively easy to implement, but no such programs have yet been properly established. The department has learnt that it requires almost as much specialist staff to mount a well planned monoliterate program as it does to mount a biliterate program. In addition, because a monoliterate program lacks the use of printed materials which 'real' bilingual education seems to symbolically require, such a program does not seem to inspire the same support from Aboriginal people as biliterate programs do. In the Australian Aboriginal context, the fourth alternative would therefore appear to be best.

Partial Bilingualism

Within the fourth model, partial bilingualism, the creole assumes a position of near equality with the other language, in so far as it would be both an oral and a written language. Within this model, however, it is envisaged that the usage domains of the creole would remain tied, as they naturally tend to be, to the immediate society and culture. This means that the other and still dominant language would, if required, cover many of the same domains as the creole, but would in addition have a range of wider usages that go beyond contact with the immediate society and culture. This model takes it for granted that there would be a phased introduction of the socially dominant language in school and that the earlier education of the child would begin in the home language, with the latter being the first language of literacy. One such program, at Barunga,¹⁶⁵ has been implemented for Kriol.¹⁶⁶

The partial bilingualism model can be implemented with two different aims in mind. On the one hand, the creole can be used merely as a bridge into the national or dominant language. Literacy skills (and other concepts) are easier for a child to acquire in the language with which he is thoroughly acquainted (i.e. his own first language). Once these skills have been acquired, they can relatively easily be transferred or extended to other languages the child may learn. The development of materials and use of a creole in a partial bilingualism program, then, may be seen primarily as an aid to transfer to the national language. This approach is essentially the same as the transitional bilingualism model except that literacy in the creole for a very limited period has been added. One of the disadvantages of this approach, as with monoliterate bilingualism, is that the creole is likely to be viewed as subordinate in status to the dominant language and possibly be considered to be a reflection of the supposed cultural and linguistic deprivation of its speakers.

The other perspective on the implementation of a partial bilingualism program is that of language maintenance. This does not mean that the primary aim of such a program is merely to revive or ensure the survival of the minority language. Rather, it refers to the use of both the home language (i.e. creole) and the national language through all levels of schooling in contrast to using the creole only as a means of initial literacy. In order to maintain both languages there needs to be a separation of function or separate language domains (cf. Harris 1982). Fishman (1980) emphasises that if there is functional overlap between two languages, one of them will become redundant. This redundancy in turn contributes to language decline. The problem of domain separation is a very complex issue, and there are still many unanswered questions relating to it.

Domain separation has not yet been a serious problem in the Northern Territory bilingual programs, although a number of factors are beginning to cause problems in this area. Those discussed by Harris (1982) are related to the Aboriginalization which has been taking place since the introduction of the self-determination policy in 1973. In the Northern Territory programs, including the Kriol program at Barunga, European teachers have basically taught non-Aboriginal content in English, while Aboriginal teachers have taught reading, beginning maths and some social studies in the Aboriginal language. English curriculum materials have not in general been translated into Aboriginal languages, Kriol included, on the grounds that it is educationally unnecessary and functionally unwise, in addition to being too big a task anyway. Most effort to date has gone into reading schemes¹⁶⁷ and the oral use of language in the early childhood program. Work is beginning to be done in the development of curriculum in language based on Aboriginal knowledge. Ideal domain separation could possibly be maintained by having non-Aboriginal concepts taught through an English-based curriculum by European teachers and Aboriginal knowledge taught through a language-based curriculum by Aboriginal teachers. In order to fully develop the self-concept of the Aboriginal child in the context of the Aboriginal society of which he is a part, a maintenance-type partial bilingualism model with emphasis on domain separation would appear to be the best alternative.

For a creole to function within a stable partial bilingualism model, it is generally considered that the structure and orthography of the creole would need to be standardized for the creation of a body of literacy materials. The standardization of a creole language over a whole given area is often more difficult than it would seem at first glance (Craig 1977). Many creole language areas consist of a series of relatively small and traditionally self-contained communities or regions which have developed their own peculiarities of phonology, grammar and vocabulary within the system of the general creole. The community or regional differences or dialects are often associated with particular attitudes and prejudices. As was discussed in chapter two, this is certainly true for Kriol. Any attempt at standardization has to take into account the linguistic variation as well as the attitudes and identifications of the speakers. It is not uncommon for Kriol literates involved in discussions on standardization to insist that the way they speak and write Kriol in their community is the right way because it is their language, and that they do not want to change their spelling conventions to make allowances for other dialects.

It is, of course, possible to avoid the problems of standardization by avoiding standardization itself and taking the dialect of each community where an education program is to be implemented and using the creole as it is in each of those communities (Craig 1977). One of the problems of this approach is that the production of separate education materials for each relatively small group of students usually proves uneconomical. A more serious consequence of such a solution is that it promotes linguistic fragmentation. Where the intention of the education program is for creole literacy to function only as a bridge into literacy in the national language, linguistic fragmentation is of little consequence. If the intention is, however, for the development and maintenance of the home language, then at least a degree of standardization of the writing system and literacy materials is essential.

Full Bilingualism

The fifth model, full bilingualism, in the full sense that Craig (1980) uses the term, is only theoretically possible for a creole. For full bilingualism, complete parity of functions for the creole and other language would be assumed. In the broadest sense this would include status as an international language. Because no creole has such international status, the full bilingualism model cannot be realized with a creole. As a minority language, there is a natural limitation on the domains which may be served by a creole. This natural limitation would have to be removed and the creole would need to gain international status in order for full bilingualism in the broadest sense to be applicable. It is difficult to see how such status could be of benefit to the creole speakers, at least in a situation similar to Australia. There are, of course, no full bilingual programs, in terms of Craig's definition, in operation using Kriol.

Monolingualism in the Home Language

The sixth model, monolingualism in the home language, which is actually outside the sphere of bilingualism altogether, could only be consciously implemented in the creole language context under two sets of circumstances (Craig 1980:261). The first is that the vast majority of the country's population is already monolingual, or nearly so, in the home language. The second set of circumstances is that the government is in the position to politically overcome the obstacles of making a break away from the past which is codified in the other and historically dominant language. It is unlikely that this model would be officially implemented for any of the eighty or so creole languages in the world. It is certain that no such programs in Australia using Kriol would ever receive official recognition if they did come into existence. The only feasible context in which a monolingual Kriol school program could come into being would be an outstation community which had a viable adult Kriol literacy program, set up its own totally independent school, and rejected any literacy in English. Such a situation may be theoretically feasible, but very unlikely.

Kriol Bilingual Programs

The only school in the two hundred and fifty or so Aboriginal communities throughout the Kriol language area (not all of which have schools) with an officially recognized and well organized Kriol bilingual program, as mentioned above, is the school at Barunga. There is also the de facto monoliterate bilingual program mentioned earlier at Ngukurr. As was discussed in the last chapter, the school at Ngukurr went through a reorganization in 1978 which eliminated most of the non-Aboriginal staff. Since the reorganization the school has not established an explicit language policy and hence does not yet have an official program in operation.

Several other schools have given consideration to the use of Kriol in their programs. In addition, some teachers at a number of schools have dabbled in Kriol literacy, mostly with children in the upper grades. This has happened at various times in at least six schools in the Kimberleys, three in the Northern Territory and one in Queensland. A number of other teachers have expressed an openness to the use of Kriol in school (e.g. Glasgow 1984:134), but have taken no initiatives in pursuing the matter further.

Several of the schools which have given consideration during the last few years to implementing formal monoliterate bilingual or partial Kriol bilingual programs, have decided against establishing such programs, at least for the time being, for a variety of reasons. One school in Queensland (at Doomadgee) decided that a Kriol bilingual program would not be applicable to the school largely because there is insufficient data presently available to positively identify the children's speech as being Kriol.¹⁶⁸ It appears that their speech is a variety of Aboriginal English rather than Kriol.

In the Kimberleys, teachers in a number of communities have expressed interest in Kriol bilingual programs for their schools. In general it is the younger teachers who have had some Aboriginal studies included in their teacher training who are in favour of such programs. The Western Australian Department of Education, however, does not encourage bilingual programs and most regional officers have not been in favour of them. As a result, no Western Australian state schools have given formal consideration to Kriol bilingual programs, and it appears at this stage that there is very little possibility that such schools could obtain official permission to implement any form of Kriol bilingual program.

Among Catholic and independent community schools in Western Australia, however, the situation is more positive towards the potential for implementing Kriol bilingual programs. Two independent community schools have given consideration to a Kriol program. One of these schools (at Noonkanbah) has decided not to implement such a program, although it was realized that it would be immediately applicable to the educational situation. The main reason for the decision was that the community preferred that the traditional language, which they see as threatened, be used so as to reinforce the language, as well as culture. The school is therefore heavily involved in a traditional language revival program (Richards 1982a, 1982b) and a formal Kriol program is felt to be inappropriate, at least for the time being. The other independent school (at Yiyili) implemented a 'trilingual' program in 1983 in which Kriol, English and the traditional language are utilized.¹⁶⁹

One Catholic community school in the Kimberleys (at Turkey Creek) ran an informal partial bilingual program for a year or so. For several years the school had been running a traditional language revival program that included literacy in the language (McConvell 1980). The traditional language program continued, so the school was running a trilingual program, or what was locally being referred to as a "3-way school", using Kriol, traditional language and English.

As noted earlier, the Northern Territory Department of Education claims that it is concerned with extending existing bilingual programs to further schools whenever the same language materials can be utilized. Kriol has a well established bilingual program which could be extended to other Kriol-speaking communities, and I have sought in chapter two to identify those communities. The extension of the program to those other schools in the Northern Territory, however, is dependent upon two factors (McGill 1980:46): Firstly, programs will be extended from a central school only when a well developed coherent literature program has been trialed. Secondly, such extensions will occur only at the request of the Aboriginal community and with the approval of the Secretary of Education.

In the case of Kriol, the central school is at Barunga where virtually all curriculum and literature development has been taking place. The

Northern Territory Department of Education has been undertaking an evaluation of the Barunga program. This evaluation basically tests academic performance alone in spite of the important non-academic aims of bilingual programs (e.g. the development of better self-concept, more responsibility for Aboriginal staff, and maintenance of first language and culture¹⁷⁰). When such non-academic aims are taken seriously, the bilingual students should only have to break even with non-bilingual students for the program overall to be regarded as a success if the non-academic aims are evaluated positively (Harris 1982:36). If the Barunga Kriol bilingual program passes the department's academic appraisal, the school will become an 'accredited bilingual school'. This moves the Kriol bilingual program, in effect, from an experimental to a permanent one, and should remove some of the remaining opposition by education administrators to the instrumentalization of Kriol in the field of education.

KRIOL AND INFORMATION

When the Department of Education in the Northern Territory officially recognized Kriol and approved its use in school in the early 1970s, it was not because they considered Kriol to be of value in itself or necessary in order to communicate with Aborigines, but because they considered the use of the children's first language would ultimately result in a higher success rate of students learning English. Government departments other than Education, however, are not so much concerned with the imparting of English-related language skills as they are in effectively communicating information to Kriol speakers. The degree to which this is true varies from department to department and from personnel to personnel. The level of communicative ability of government personnel appears to depend partially on the degree to which they are affected by three commonly held views which hinder communication.

Many Europeans think that most Kriol speakers fully understand English. Such Europeans therefore proceed to use English without realizing the degree to which they are failing to communicate. Even Europeans who are aware of the difficulties encountered by people who speak English as a second language are often incapable of realizing just how complicated their own speech actually is when talking to such people (Elwell 1982:85-86).

Another view is that all communication with Aborigines should be in standard English as a means of helping them learn English. After all, so the reasoning goes, Aborigines have to learn English in order to get on in the world, or at least it should be in English since that is the language of Australia, and there should therefore be no accommodation on the part of standard English speakers. The argument that "Ultimately the Aborigines all have to learn to speak English anyway, so why not get them used to it now?" is often levelled against bilingual education (Harris 1982:37). This view stems from an attitude that goes back to the early days of the Australian colonies. It appears that monolingualism in English was the "culturally approved norm" (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1981:5), with it generally being "assumed everyone should learn and use English and that everyone should live the same way and have the same culture" (Sharpe 1982:40).

The third commonly held view is that the use of Kriol will prevent a Kriol speaker from being able to learn English or will cause him to lose some of the English he has already learnt. The strongest criticisms of using Kriol in writing come from monolingual Anglo-Australians who hold

this view, for they consider Kriol and English to be mutually exclusive (Hudson 1983a:19). This idea probably stems in part from the inability of many English speakers to appreciate the nature of bilingualism due to the monolingual ethnocentrism of the majority of Anglo-Australians. It also stems in part from the belief held by many that Kriol is a deficient language which hinders the 'remediation' of the supposed 'cultural deprivation' of those who speak it. This latter belief is not restricted to Kriol but, as Fesl (1979) points out, is also applied to varieties of Aboriginal English.

These ideas are not limited to government personnel, but are also held by many other Europeans including missionaries.¹⁷¹ When the Kriol Bible translation project began twelve years ago, there was more opposition than support for the project from missionaries. The most common reason given for this opposition reflected the second concept above. A number of missionaries in essence said, "I have to preach the gospel in English so Aborigines can learn English and get on in the world". A number of these missionaries have now come to realize, at least in theory, that their primary role is not teaching English, but some still do not support the translation project. The main reason given today for not doing so is related to the belief that English is sufficiently understood by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal Christians so that the English Bible is adequate. There is, however, an increasing number of missionaries who, like Leske (1980:23-24), a missionary in the Northern Territory for thirty-three years, have realized¹⁷² that the result of having exclusively used English is "that what was understood was often far from the reality of what we thought was being expressed... A man understands Kriol but he does not really understand the English concepts; therefore his understanding would not correspond to what is expressed in English."

Of the many changes which have come about during the last decade, one of the most important has been the recognition of the distinction between teaching English and communicating information. An understanding of bilingual education and T.E.S.L. has probably been the most significant factor in bringing about this change. Another factor has been the growing realization among Europeans at the grass-roots level that in the Kriol language area Aborigines do not in general understand English to the degree that they appear to.

The independence of Papua New Guinea has had an indirect bearing on this realization in regard to Kriol. Some of the Commonwealth Government officers who were serving in Papua New Guinea before independence in 1975 were repatriated to the Northern Territory. While in Papua New Guinea they were well aware of the presence of New Guinea Pidgin and the existence of interpreting and translation services in Pidgin. Upon transferral to the Kriol speaking area, they were immediately aware of the existence of Kriol. They were used to government recognition and use of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea and transferred their expectations to the government in the Northern Territory, although these expectations were not fulfilled by the government.

One of these government officers was the late Peter Cameron, a Crown Law Solicitor transferred to the Darwin Law Courts. Six months after his transfer, as a crown prosecutor in a trial in which a Kriol speaker was charged with first degree murder, he broke with normal practice and secured the services of a (non-Aboriginal) Kriol translator¹⁷³ while interviewing witnesses in preparation for the court case. He had intended to have the interpreter serve during the court case, but the defendant pleaded guilty and thus cut short the need for the

interpreter. In discussing the situation with the Kriol interpreter, the crown prosecutor said that he was astounded to discover upon his arrival in Darwin that there were no court interpreters even when the defendant was on trial for first degree murder. In Papua New Guinea he had come to expect the presence of interpreters even for petty charges.

The need for translating/interpreting services in Kriol was recognized in Brennan's (1979:43) report for the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs, and more recently by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre Pilot Study¹⁷⁴. During the last decade several dozen Kriol translations have been done for a number of government departments. One of the problems faced by these departments in getting the translations done, however, has been the lack of a central listing of Kriol translator/interpreters whose services could be secured.¹⁷⁵ Brennan (1979:36) notes that "when people who have needed interpreters are asked how they got access to them, the usual response is along the lines of: 'one asks around'." This is still a frustrating problem today, not only for the departments seeking the services of a Kriol translator/interpreter, but also for Kriol speakers who have undertaken translator/interpreter training. They are frustrated because there is no institutionalized organization of translator/interpreter services that would list the jobs for which they have been trained.

The Northern Territory Division of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was the second government department to recognize the significance of Kriol. A circular letter sent by the department to all field personnel in 1976 stated that "it has become apparent to the writer that the use of Creole Pidgin [i.e. Kriol] would have acceptance in all Aboriginal communities; this assumption is the end result of questioning Aboriginals who frequently visit our Darwin offices."¹⁷⁶

The department endorsed participation of field personnel in a Kriol language learning course that was being offered at the Summer Institute of Linguistics' school in Sydney. However, response was fairly negative to the circular and no department personnel attended the course, although three school teachers (from Barunga) and two missionaries (one of whom was working in the clinic at Ngukurr) attended. Since then several Kriol language learning courses have been offered, and a cassette course published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1981 has been used in several colleges of advanced education as part of their Aboriginal studies courses.¹⁷⁷

Beginning with the translation of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has had a number of items translated into Kriol. These have been oral translations circulated on cassette. The Northern Territory Department of Health, through the clinic at Ngukurr, has produced two books, two media kits, several cassettes and numerous posters in Kriol. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has also produced two media kits in Kriol, one for each of the last two censuses. The Australian Electoral Office has produced cassettes and in some cases posters in Kriol for Federal, Northern Territory and National Aboriginal Council elections. Unfortunately, however, the Northern Territory elections were shifted forward at the last minute and the time and money spent on preparing the Kriol materials were wasted as the materials were not able to be distributed before the elections. The Department of Social Security has had information on benefits and pensions translated into Kriol for distribution in the form of posters, brochures and a cassette.

Considering the amount of information that these and other government departments attempt to convey to Aborigines, in spite of the above mentioned translations, the government has made very little use of the communicative potential that Kriol offers.

Kriol has likewise been used very little in adult education. Most of its use has been informal where Kriol-speaking Aborigines have done the teaching. As with other government departments, the use of Kriol by TAFE [Technical and Further Education] in the Northern Territory has depended primarily upon the attitude of particular adult educators in the field. During the past twelve years at Barunga, for example, most adult educators have allowed Kriol to be used, (although few have actively encouraged and supported its use), with the exception of at least one particular adult educator who actually very actively opposed the use of Kriol in the community and the school and continually ridiculed Aborigines for speaking it. The use of Kriol by TAFE adult educators is affected by the attitude of TAFE department officers. An adult educator at Ngukurr, for example, was unable to get funds for a Kriol literacy program in 1979 because Kriol was not recognized as a 'real' language by TAFE officers.¹⁷⁸ A change in personnel in the regional TAFE office has since resulted in a more positive attitude.

The Northern Territory Department of Health has probably been the most active in its use of Kriol, primarily because the work has been instigated by concerned field personnel and carried out by Kriol-speaking Aboriginal health workers.

It should be noted that all of the above mentioned translations, with the exception of a job for the Electoral Office in Western Australia (Hudson and McConvell 1984:7), were done by departments or divisions of departments located in the Northern Territory. Although Kriol is spoken throughout the Kimberleys and in part of Queensland, no attempt has yet been made by governments to make use of Kriol in Western Australia or Queensland. Political boundaries impose an artificial limitation on the use of Kriol materials produced by government departments. Even though the materials being produced by, for example, the Northern Territory Division of the Department of Social Security are as applicable to the Kimberleys and northwest Queensland as they are to the Northern Territory, the Northern Territory Division evidently has no mechanism by which it can distribute those materials for the benefit of Kriol speakers in those two states.

Distribution of Kriol materials as a whole presents a problem. As pointed out earlier, the people who could benefit from these materials live in two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in three states. Although much time and effort goes into producing a translation of a document for a department, it appears that no department has the ability to make effective use of that time and effort by getting the material produced into the hands of someone in each of those communities. In addition to the inability of crossing political boundaries, a limited budget is often given as the reason for limited distribution even within a department or division's region. Material that is produced in the field is often circulated only within the community in which it was produced, and even then not necessarily effectively.

What is probably the most viable means of disseminating information to Kriol speakers in all of those communities in which it is a primary language has yet to be utilized. The use of Kriol on radio was discussed as early as 1976 by the Australian Broadcasting Commission [ABC] in Darwin.¹⁷⁹ With the recent establishment of several Aboriginal Radio

programs, the potential now exists for the use of Kriol in the dissemination of information through the radio media.¹⁸⁰ The current structure of the programs potentially allows for a limited amount of time to be given to Kriol broadcasts, although such broadcasts have yet to be realized. In addition to the brevity of time allocated, however, the locations and type of radio stations airing Aboriginal Radio programs also severely limit the number of Kriol speakers able to benefit from these broadcasts. The current stations with a potential for reaching Kriol speakers are located in Darwin, Alice Springs¹⁸¹ and Mt. Isa (with the broadcasts for Mt. Isa originating in Townsville). None of these stations is located in a community central to the Kriol language area. The most relevant of these stations would be Darwin. All of these stations operate in the medium wave band. The distance of their propagation is limited, with probably less than twenty percent of the Kriol language area being adequately covered under ideal conditions. What is needed if the communication of information to Kriol speakers throughout the Kriol language area is to be achieved, is the establishment of a Kriol radio program in the shortwave bands. The ABC through Radio Australia¹⁸² provides shortwave programs in Indonesian, Standard Chinese, Cantonese, Thai, Vietnamese, Japanese, French and New Guinea Pidgin. Exploring the feasibility of extending this program to Kriol would be a step which could bring about better communication of information with the 20,000 or so Kriol-speaking Aborigines in North Australia.

The dissemination through such radio programs of information translated into Kriol by the various government departments would be much more efficient and effective than the present ad hoc methods of distribution. In addition, the establishment of such programs would provide employment opportunities for Kriol-speaking Aborigines who have received translating/interpreting training at the School of Australian Linguistics and the Institute for Aboriginal Development.

The formulation of a national language policy may well give official recognition and status to Kriol and bring about the effective realization of the communicative and educational potential which Kriol offers by removing the barriers which prevent the instrumentalization of Kriol in the media and government information services. Research during the last few years has firmly established that Kriol is the language used for most everyday communication among most of the Aborigines throughout a large portion of North Australia. Anyone seriously attempting to communicate with Aborigines throughout that area, (representing some ten percent of the total Australian Aboriginal population), can no longer continue to ignore or oppose such a widespread and significant language as Kriol.

KRIOL LANGUAGE PLANNING

Formal language planning arises out of the perception of language problems. The primary focus in language planning has been on the language problems of 'developing' nations in relation to the standardization and modernization of national languages, orthographies and literacy, specialized terminologies and functional styles. Recently language planning has been expanded to language problems of minority groups in 'developed' nations in relation to such issues as second languages and multilingualism, translating and interpreting, and communication difficulties in contact situations (Neustupný 1983:1).

The perception of the existence of language problems leads to the concept of language correction. The correction process involves the identification of a problem, a design for its removal, and the implementation of the design. Language correction provides the widest frame of reference for dealing with language problems. A more specific frame of reference is language treatment, which refers "broadly to all organized forms of societal attention to language problems, both in the past and at present" (Neustupný 1983:2).

Language planning is a subset of language treatment, denoting only such language treatment that is systematic, rational, future-oriented, and informed by a language planning theory. More specifically, language planning is

deliberate language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision (Rubin and Jernudd 1975a:xvi).

Language planning is therefore normally associated with an organization as the purveyor of rationality in planning, the organizational or institutional framework usually being provided by government. The entire language planning enterprise can be viewed as a political process, for it is through such a process that some members of the community are given what Jernudd (1982:2) calls "variable opportunity to participate in designing a desirable future and finding ways of moving toward it as effectively as possible". This is not a simple straightforward process, for not only are there different levels of political organization through which people may express their preferences, but different communities have different kinds of political organization as well. Definitionally, then, language planning is "tied to the structure of the polity — [to the] political process and public administering agencies at any level of group inclusiveness" (Jernudd 1982:2).

Language treatment and language planning can apply to either or both of two categories of language issues, namely to questions of how to effect changes in the status of particular languages in the community (status planning) or to questions of how to bring about changes in the language itself (corpus planning) to make a given language better suited to serve various intended functions.

The major language problem of Aborigines in North Australia, as perceived by non-Aboriginal people for almost a century, is that they speak a form of language other than so-called "correct" English. Language treatment that pre-dates the 1970s involved mainly attempts to replace Aboriginal forms of speech with English. While such treatment could be considered definitionally to have been language planning since it was governmentally sponsored deliberate language change that focused on problem-solving, it could not be said to have been characterized by the formulation and evaluation of optimal alternatives nor to have been a political process through which members of the community affected by language planning had opportunity for input.

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that Kriol came into existence at the Roper River Mission shortly after 1908. Pidgin had been present in the area for some thirty-five years prior to the

establishment of the mission. The emergence of Kriol occurred following a violent period of time that had extreme social and linguistic consequences for the Aboriginal groups of the Roper River area.

As is typical of Aboriginal people of the region, the adults of these groups were multilingual. They had not lived permanently in such close proximity before but in their traditional lives had met for ceremonial and other purposes each year. Over the course of a lifetime, these people became fluent speakers of each other's languages. The children, however, were not yet multilingual. There were between 50 and 70 children attending school at the mission. They were now forced into contact with other children whose languages they had not yet had time to learn. Whereas their parents could communicate with other adults by speaking Alawa or Mara or Wandarang or whatever, the children could not. What they had in common was the English pidgin used between Aboriginal and European people and the English they were hearing in school. With this limited input, it was this younger generation who, in the course of their lifetime, created the creole, manipulating the lexical resources available to them and drawing on linguistic universals to create a language which catered for all their communicative needs (Harris and Sandefur 1984:15).

Kriol emerged at Roper River in spite of the efforts of the missionaries to stamp it out. The mission had an active language policy that "discouraged" the use of Kriol and focused on teaching Aborigines to "speak correct English". Many of the Aborigines who grew up as children at the original mission did in fact learn to speak English fluently. English did not, however, supplant the language they created for their first language, neither in their nor their descendants' generation.

However, the emergence and development of Kriol at Roper River can not be considered to be a direct consequence of the language treatment activities of the Anglican missionaries. They had applied their language policy at all their missions, but it was only at Roper River Mission that it was not successful. At Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt, for example, no creole ever emerged. A creole failed to develop at Emerald River, not because of the application of a language treatment policy, but because the socio-linguistic context of the community was such that there was no need for a creole to develop. The Groote Eylandters already had their own language and they had no need to develop a first language in the mission community.

The language problem faced by the children at Roper River Mission was greater than the missionaries realized. The children had an immediate need to communicate with each other on a first language basis. The acquisition of English was of little value except for communicating with the missionaries. The end result was the creation by the children of a new language. Thus Kriol emerged at Roper River, not through the language planning efforts of missionaries, but in spite of their efforts.

Not only did Kriol emerge in spite of the language treatment of the early missionaries, but it has also persisted despite the continuous efforts of missionaries and teachers to eradicate the language through disparagement and ridicule. Aborigines in other places, such as Groote Eylandt, recognized that this was the language of the Roper River people. In the language network of the western Gulf of Carpentaria,

"Roper Pidgin" was widely acknowledged as being the socially correct usage at Roper River. Groote Eylandters were sorry for the Roper River people because they had "lost their language", but this did not prevent Groote Eylandters from using Kriol with their Roper River relatives.¹⁸³

As indicated in chapter two, Kriol is not restricted to the Roper River area. It is currently used as a significant language in over two hundred and fifty Aboriginal communities in three states. It was pointed out in chapter four that the social changes brought about by World War Two were largely responsible for the emergence of Kriol as a first language in most of those communities. Despite the language treatment efforts of European institutions, Kriol is the first language of thousands of Aborigines throughout those communities.

Until the 1970s Kriol was almost universally held in low esteem by non-Kriol speakers as well as Kriol speakers themselves. This became very evident to me early in my studies of Kriol. As a result I determined to concern myself with helping to reverse this trend and improve the social standing of Kriol, an endeavour that has met with a great deal of success. In chapter three I showed how the attitudes of Kriol speakers toward their language have significantly changed in the last decade and how more and more Kriol speakers are publicly identifying with Kriol. The earlier sections of this present chapter clearly imply the increasing acceptance of Kriol as a legitimate language by non-Kriol speakers by virtue of its recognition and instrumentalization, especially in education. This entire book is, in effect, a documentation of the almost phenomenal rise in status and social standing of Kriol since 1972.

I do not by any means wish to imply that I am solely responsible for bringing about the emergence of an autonomous status for Kriol. Such a claim would be patently false.¹⁸⁴ I have discussed at length in all except the first chapter various significant aspects of the socio-political and socio-linguistic situations of the last decade that have been instrumental in bringing about the rise in status of Kriol.

Most of the preceding has dealt with matters of status planning. As regards language corpus planning, no such activities were directed at Kriol until the early 1970s.

Non-Kriol speakers have always informally affected the expansion of the Kriol lexicon by communicating with Kriol speakers on subjects involving experiences new to Kriol speakers. Kriol is rich, for example, in its pastoral terminology. Although stockwork is an introduced non-traditional activity, it has been assimilated by Aborigines into their contemporary lifestyle. As a consequence vocabulary associated with stockwork has been incorporated by Aborigines into their Kriol speech. However, such lexical expansion is not due to language planning, for it is not the result of a deliberate attempt by an institutional body to enhance the expressive power of Kriol.

Formal Kriol language planning in the corpus developmental sense has only taken place since the establishment of the SIL Kriol Bible translation project and the Barunga Kriol bilingual school program in the early 1970s. As was pointed out in chapter two, most of the formal or deliberate development of Kriol (as opposed to its spontaneous development by Kriol speakers) has arisen from these two translation and education programs. The effects of these two programs in increasing the expressive power of Kriol are evident in three main areas.

Firstly, SIL and Barunga School have worked together with Kriol speakers, initially from Ngukurr and Barunga, in developing a written mode for Kriol.¹⁸⁵ Most of the direct influence of non-Kriol speakers on the written mode relates to the development of a script or orthography for Kriol.¹⁸⁶ Non-Kriol speakers have also encouraged the development of various written styles, but it is Kriol speakers themselves who are doing the writing and thereby developing the particular styles of writing. Because virtually all Kriol writers to date first obtained their literacy skills in English, the influence of English style in Kriol literature is clearly evident.¹⁸⁷ Some Kriol writers show signs, however, of not being constrained by English writing rules.

Secondly, although standardization is not overtly planned, it is generally supposed that the development of a written Kriol literature will have a standardizing effect upon the language. Written literature tends to fix the formal code, with that which is considered to be optimal language later becoming the 'classical' language (cf. Ferguson 1968:30). It should be pointed out, however, that Kriol literature is still very much in an incipient stage and limited to a relatively few number of Aboriginal communities. The standardizing effect of Kriol literature is therefore dependent upon the continual growth of the body of literature and its widespread distribution, the latter of which has yet to take place.

Thirdly, the Bible translation project is expected to have a standardizing effect on Kriol terminology across dialects. As with the standardizing effect of written literature, this standardizing of terminology is a by-product of the translation process rather than the result of a deliberate or conscious planning process. For example, binjibinji in the eastern dialects means 'pregnant'. The term is not in common use in the western dialects but has been under consideration for use in Bible translation. It would then be expected that if the term were used in widely distributed and often used literature, binjibinji would come into greater use in the western dialects.

Two basic principles of the modus operandi of the Bible translation project should be pointed out. The first principle is the heavy reliance on Kriol speakers who are familiar with English terms which occur in the Bible and have fairly well developed notions as to how to translate them into Kriol. The actual translation is not being done by non-Kriol speakers. While SIL personnel assist with the task, their responsibility is primarily to insure fidelity to the source text. It is the Kriol speakers who translate the source text into idiomatic Kriol. This principle not only helps to ensure an idiomatic translation that will sound natural and be understood by Kriol speakers, but it also helps to prevent the unwarranted introduction of English loanwords into the translation.

In spite of the heavy reliance upon Kriol speakers, SIL recognizes that the Kriol Bible translation project will inevitably have an effect upon the lexical expansion of Kriol. The advent of the Bible to any minority group exposes the people to knowledge and experiences new to their culture and language. The translation of the Christian Scriptures by SIL, however, is guided by well defined and recognized principles of translation (e.g. Beekman and Callow 1974, Larson 1984) that seek to express the Scriptures idiomatically within the existing corpus of a given language. The goal is to translate the meaning of the source text, rather than its form, into the receptor language, using the natural lexical and grammatical forms of the receptor language. Such guidelines lead to a lessening of deliberately introduced changes in the corpus of the language.

In the case of Kriol, the Bible translation project was begun at a time when terms and concepts relevant to the Bible were already fairly well developed in Kriol. As was pointed out earlier, Kriol emerged in a mission environment in which the missionaries exposed the Aboriginal people to the Bible in English and at the same time unsuccessfully attempted to thwart the spontaneous development of Kriol. As the Aborigines assimilated Christian teaching into their contemporary lifestyle, they expanded the Kriol lexicon to include their new experiences and knowledge. The Bible translation project is, in fact, the first language planning activity aimed at supporting rather than suppressing the language. Thus in that project, SIL has not had to make many corpus changes, but has been able to utilize vocabulary which had already been spontaneously developed by Kriol speakers themselves.

The second basic principle of the Kriol translation project is that of the use of Kriol expressions and structures which enjoy wide currency and acceptance. The translation is not being produced in a particular local dialect. The first draft often starts out in a local dialect, but localized constructions are edited out and replaced with more widely used equivalent expressions. For example, drafts produced by Ngukurr Kriol speakers almost inevitably make use of the pronoun melabat 'we'. That pronoun is restricted in its distribution, with almost all other dialects using mibala instead. As a result mibala is being used in the Bible translation instead of melabat.¹⁸⁸ The by-product of this principle will possibly be the standardization of certain expressions or constructions, at least in written form if not in church language.

The influence of non-Kriol speakers has thus been mainly restricted to the development of an orthography and subsequent written literature, including the translation of the Bible, and the standardization that is arising from that literature. The enlargement of the expressive power of Kriol has taken place almost in its entirety as a consequence of the spontaneous efforts of Kriol speakers themselves.

There are a number of Kriol speakers who have expressed opposition to the development of Kriol. This is not surprising. What de Rieux (1980:268) says about creole in the Seychelles is applicable also to Kriol: "The dominant group, speaking the dominant language, [has] managed to persuade the creole-speakers that their 'speech' [is] so inferior in status as to be a 'non-language'."

There is an increasing number of Kriol speakers who are freeing themselves from the negative attitudes toward their language which the Anglo-Australian dominant culture has impressed upon them. During the last twelve years there have been several hundred Kriol speakers who have moved from publicly denying their language to publicly acknowledging it. They are increasingly coming to adopt the attitude expressed by Todd (1974:27): "There is no intrinsic stigma attached to speaking a creole, and ... to deny [one's] linguistic heritage is to interfere with [one's] cultural heritage and to block, if not to dam, the flow of [one's] self-expression."

During the last few years two significant and growing groups of Kriol speakers have emerged. These speakers may well exert a substantial influence on the future development and instrumentalization of Kriol.

One of these groups consists of the Kriol speakers who have either worked in the Barunga school Kriol bilingual program, been involved in the SIL Kriol Bible translation project, or studied at the School of Australian Linguistics [SAL]¹⁸⁹. Possibly the most important

contribution these three entities have thus far made has been the development in Kriol speakers of positive attitudes toward their language. Eric Yelawarra Roberts, one of the first Kriol students to complete a study program at SAL, is a case in point. In 1980, while serving as a member of the Northern Territory Bilingual Education Consultative Committee, he commented at the ninth consultative committee meeting that "Although I spoke Kriol, I didn't really accept it until I was eighteen. Now I write poetry in Kriol and I am proud of it." (Meehan 1981:29).

The other significant and influential group of Kriol speakers consists of teachers and teacher trainees. These Kriol speakers are becoming acutely aware of the importance of their pupils' mother tongue in education. As more and more Kriol speakers become trained as teachers, their influence on education policy and programs for their communities will increase.

The aims and implementation of the modernization and instrumentalization of Kriol will increasingly rest with such Kriol speakers. The effectiveness of language development and utilization programs, however, are ultimately dependent upon the whole of the 'Kriol-speaking community', not simply a small elite. The future of Kriol lies, therefore, predominantly in the hands of the 'Kriol-speaking people'.

