DYNAMICS OF AN AUSTRALIAN CREOLE SYSTEM

John R. Sandefur[1]

Bickerton rightly complained in his by now classic volume (1975:1) that practically all published descriptions of pidgin and creole languages had at least one thing in common: they assumed that the objects of description were 'unitary, homongeneous languages that could be adequately described in terms of a single monolithic grammar'.

The basis of Bickerton's complaint, however, was of course not restricted to pidgin and creole languages. It is only since Labov first made the break away from the static model that linguists have applied themselves to the task of trying to develop an adequate formalism for the description of time-based gradient variation, Bickerton's own study of the speech of Guyana being one of the most significant contributions to this relatively new field of 'dynamic' or 'non-discrete' linguistics.

Bickerton argues that in spite of the 'labyrinth' of variation, Guyanese speech is a 'true continuum' that should receive 'unitary treatment' as one system rather than several co-existent systems. One of Bickerton's main axioms is that an analysis should have an 'exclusively linguistic' base. Social and cultural correlates of linguistic variation, he says, although interesting, should be discounted, for 'accurate linguistic analysis is methodologically prior to [a sociolinguistic analysis], in that one can hardly determine the sociocultural function of a given speech-variety unless that variety itself has been very precisely defined...' (p.6). Grammar, he says, is independent of context, and social or contextual constraints should therefore not be incorporated in the grammar. A speaker's knowledge of grammar, he argues, is first stored 'in terms of purely linguistic information' which is subsequently 'exploited' by the speaker for social purposes (p.185).[2]

Guyanese speech forms what is generally called a 'post-creole continuum', although Bickerton himself (1980:110) rejects the prefixed *post*, and refers to the process of change that has been taking place broadly as 'decreolization'. He argues that 'linguistic variation is the synchronic aspect of linguistic change, and linguistic change is the diachronic aspect of linguistic variation' (p.16). That being so, 'a synchronic cut across the Guyanese community is indistinguishable from a diachronic cut across a century and a half of linguistic development' (p.17). The extreme creole varieties in modern Guyana, therefore, represent survivals from a relatively early stage in the development of Guyanese speech.

Bickerton claims that 'one important truth about English-based pidgins and creoles generally [is] that they *are*, in some meaningful sense, all English ...

and that one ought, therefore, to be able to describe them, together with English' in a 'unified analysis' (pp.21-22). He notes, however, that such an analysis is not quite possible because of the presence of elements from the substratum or non-English languages, particularly in the original creole. The analysis he proposes, therefore, is a 'recapitulatory' one: 'there is a constant succession of restructurings of the original system, across the continuum, yielding a very gradual transmission in terms of surface forms between the two extremes' (pp.22-23).

In the decreolisation process, the 'basilect' is the extreme of the continuum that is 'earlier' than other segments as well as 'furthest' from English. The 'acrolect' is the opposite extreme. All the intermediate varieties are 'mesolects'. Basilectal 'markers' are those features which are not used by any acrolectal speakers and are more common among basilectal speakers than among mesolectal speakers.

One of the unanswered questions about creoles is where exactly does the basi-lectal system come from? It is at this point that a creole can most strongly be linked with its substratum languages. Because, however, 'we simply lack sufficient knowledge both about the actual languages involved in the process and about the nature of, and constraints upon, linguistic change and inter-influence in general', Bickerton concentrates on 'tracing the changes which occur to the basilectal system ... and which serve to link it to the system of standard English (p.59). In other words, because it is not known whence creoles really come, but it is known whither they decreolise, Bickerton claims English-based creoles are in some sense completely English.[3]

Bickerton views the basilect as a 'phase in a development process' through which some creole speakers pass after the language itself has passed through the phase. One of the 'most striking' features, he says, of the continuum as one moves up the continuum until the acrolect is reached is its 'linearity': 'one man's hypercorrection is another man's vernacular (p.113).

Bickerton makes a distinction between the processes involved in the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase and the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase. In the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase, change consists largely of 'introducing formatives modelled on English ones, using them (at least initially) in a quite un-English way, and only slowly and gradually shifting the underlying semantic system in the general direction of English (p.114). Change in the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase, on the other hand, consists of increasingly adding English forms to the grammar 'in pretty much their English functions', while dropping out altogether non-English forms, or at least 'crushing and distorting' them 'into patterns that become steadily closer to English ones' (p.114).

At the acrolectal level Guyanese speakers have all the English rules within their competence, although they do not always realise these rules because of conflicting upper-mesolectal rules which equally lie within their competence. At the acrolectal level, then, 'the only major differences between Guyanese and English outputs are distributional' (i.e. English forms are not always realised, or if they are, not necessarily in appropriate environments) (p.162). Guyanese speech, therefore, is, according to Bickerton,

> an unbroken chain from a basilectal level to an acrolectal
> level whose underlying structure is virtulally indistin-
> guishable from that of English ... [and therefore] may
> legitimately be described as a system by virtue of the
> fact that all of its superficial confusion can be shown

> to represent the operation of consistent and interrelated
> factors which can be described in a principled and
> systematic way (p.163).

Bickerton argues that the range of structures of the Guyanese continuum were:

> produced through prolonged contact between on the one hand
> a creole language, probably already containing considerable
> variation, and deriving in the first instance from inhibition
> of normal second-language learning processes, plus first-
> language loss, in a non-European population, and on the other
> the European language that formed the target of that creole's
> antecedent pidgin, in this case English. As social divisions
> separating speakers of the two languages weakened, social
> contacts constrained speakers of the language adjudged 'lower'
> to borrow surface forms from that adjudged 'higher' (p.198).

Bickerton claims that although 'the ranges of different individuals may differ,
especially as regards production ... each will receive, and be at least poten-
tially able to produce, every variety within the creole system' (p.199). In a
seemingly contradictory statement, he also notes that 'it appears to remain
true that control of widely dispersed lects is indeed never absolute' (p.188).
He also found it 'quite impossible to forecast what effect an interviewer may
have on different individuals' (p.187).

Recognising the 'impossibility of knowing what constitutes a speaker's total
range' on the continuum, however, he impressionistically divides speakers into
two classes: 'single-range' speakers and 'split-range' speakers. Single-range
speakers may be located anywhere within the system and appear to control
continuous lects. 'One unmistakeable characteristic of such speakers is their
tendency to shift lects without any apparent contextual or even topical
motivation' (p.187). Split-range speakers, on the other hand, 'control lects
which are quite widely separated within the continuum, without controlling
intermediate ones' (p.188). The outputs of such speakers,

> resemble those of a bilingual rather than those of a person
> varying within a single system, in that while his two
> discrete levels may interfere with one another, shifts from
> one to the other are always sharply and unambiguously marked
> [and] are readily explicable on social grounds (p.188).

Some of the split-range speakers are 'genuine bi-dialectals, capable of switch-
ing between basilect and acrolect (or at least between something approaching
these extremes) without touching the mid-mesolectal level' (p.212).

Guyanese creole, Bickerton concludes, 'clearly does not constitute a language'
since one of its 'ends' is indistinguishable from English, nor can it be a
dialect 'since dialects are supposedly more homogeneous than the language that
contains them' (and Guyanese creole is less homogeneous than English) (p.166).
Instead, Guyanese creole is a 'dynamic system'. It is a system in that the
relationships within it are systematic with 'no trace of anything that could be
called random mixing of elements' (p.166); it is dynamic rather than static
since, in part, diachronic changes can be observed synchronically in the
continuum.

Bickerton claims that his dynamic system model is applicable, not only to other
creoles, but to other speech situations as well. He begins by noting that 'in
the course of decreolisation, speakers are strung out across the continuum

between 'native' creole and 'target' English in much the same way as second-language learners are strung out across the continuum' between first and second languages (p.176). The differences between these two types of continuum, he says, 'stem from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors', notably that creole continuum speakers form a closed community whereas language-learning continuum speakers typically do not (p.176). The conclusion, of course, is that if the creole continuum constitutes a system, then 'the language-learning continuum between two distinct languages must equally constitute a system' (p.178). Pushing this to its logical conclusion Bickerton says that all such systems in fact are 'only partially and arbitrary interpretations of the unique repository of System — the human *faculté de langage* itself' (p.178).

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL CREOLE SITUATION

The constitution of the recently formed Aboriginal Language Association recognises three varieties of English-related speech as being 'modern' Aboriginal languages: Torres Strait Creole, Kriol and Aboriginal English. Torres Strait Creole is spoken by ten thousand or so Aborigines and Islanders in Cape York Peninsula and the Torres Strait of Queensland. Kriol is spoken by an estimated twenty thousand Aborigines throughout much of north Australia west of Cape York Peninsula. Aboriginal English, of one variety or another, is spoken by virtually all Aborigines and Islanders throughout Australia.

The first in-depth studies of the English-related speech of Aborigines were carried out in the 1960s in Queensland, the only state in which all three of these varieties of speech are present. The results of the studies indicated 'linguistic variation between the extremes' of a 'low' form and a 'high' form, the latter approximating General Australian English (Flint 1972:152), thus giving the appearance of a post-creole continuum. There were, however, two forms of 'low' extremes. One was in the Torres Strait Islands where 'the informal English is somewhat different from Queensland Aboriginal English' and on the tip of Cape York Peninsula where Aboriginal children 'are acquiring the speech habits of the Islands children living on the same reserve' (Dutton 1970: 153). This latter point implies that the Aboriginal children are moving *away from* a more English-like Aboriginal English variety of speech in favour of the 'lower' Islander creole variety of speech. The other 'low' extreme was in 'one far north-western community' where the low form differed in certain respects from the Aboriginal English elsewhere in the state (Fling 1972:157). These two linguistically different 'low' extremes are known today as Torres Strait Creole (or Cape York Creole) and Kriol respectively.

During the 1970s similar studies were carried out on the English-related speech of Aborigines in Western Australia. The conclusion of the studies was very similar to those in Queensland: there appears to be a post-creole continuum between Standard Australian English and creole composed of 'numerous varieties of Aboriginal English imperceptibly merging into each other' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:112). The label Aboriginal English as applied to this continuum sometimes includes and at other times does not include the creole. Eagleson (1982:20) points out that 'the creole must be seen as a distinct language' because it has its 'own specific grammatical/semantic properties' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:110), and in that sense should not be included under the label Aboriginal English. When it is included under the label Aboriginal English, it is generally done so as to distinguish the creole from traditional Aboriginal languages and to point to the fact that its vocabulary is mainly English-based. The creole in question in Western Australia goes by the name Kriol.

Studies of Kriol, initially limited to the Roper River area of the Northern Territory, were also begun in the early 1970s. Kriol was being considered quite independent of English-related varieties of speech elsewhere in Australia until 1979. The conclusion of studies until that time was basically that Kriol was 'technically a creole, or what DeCamp (1971) calls a "post-creole continuum"' (Sharpe and Sandefur 1977:51). I have since begun arguing, however, that Kriol is *not* a post-creole continuum (Sandefur 1982a, 1982b).

Bickerton, of course, would argue that all three of these varieties of speech should be treated as forming a single, linear continuum. To consider them to be dialects of one language, let alone three distinct 'languages', in his view, would be tantamount to arbitrarily and inaccurately parcelling up a unitary system. In such a framework as Bickerton's, no account is taken of social and cultural correlates or the historical origins of the varieties of speech.

The origins of varieties of English-related speech of Australian Aborigines, however, are so diversified that it would be impossible to identity a *single* creole as the basilect. Torres Strait Creole has its roots firmly entrenched in Beach-la-mar brought into the Torres Strait by South Sea Islanders in the middle of the 1800s (Crowley and Rigsby 1979). Kriol, on the other hand, has developed primarily from a number of pidgins that independently arose in the Northern Territory and the 'pastoral' pidgin brought into the Territory from Queensland from the 1870s onwards. Not only have these two creoles developed their own distinctive grammatical features, but there appears to be significant divergence in their underlying semantic structures as well. The only sure link between them is that they are both 'based' on English as their lexifier language and any decreolising influence they undergo is in the direction of English. At best they could be considered to be the basilect creoles of *two* related continuum systems, unless of course one accepts Bickerton's definition of system as System.

It is more difficult to justify considering Kriol to be a system distinct from Aboriginal English, at least some varieties of Aboriginal English. Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:78) have noted that:

> it is not clear, at the present stage of knowledge about
> Aboriginal English, whether a full cycle of pidginisation
> — creolisation — decreolisation has occurred everywhere
> in Australia, including places where there is no trace of
> a creole today. In many areas there may have been a
> transition from pidgin to a non-standard form of English
> closer to Standard Australian English without an intervening
> stage of creolisation.

A study by Elwell (1979) clearly shows that some varieties of Aboriginal English have arisen without any pidginisation, creolisation or decreolisation having taken place, unless one defines second language acquisition [SLA] in terms of pidginisation/decreolisation as Schumann (1978) has suggested. Bickerton accepts the parallelism of the SLA continuum and the decreolisation continuum, claiming that the points of difference between them 'seem to stem from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors' (p.176). In other words, on a purely linguistic basis the SLA continuum and the decreolisation continuum are purported to be identical. In such a case, decreolisation is synonymous with SLA, and one of the terms becomes redundant. If, however, extra-linguistic factors are taken into account, as Stauble (1978) insists they should, then the two processes must be considered analogous rather than synonymous, for their end products are distinct, a fact recognised by Bickerton (p.175).

The label Aboriginal English is applied to the SLA continuum of mother-tongue speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages, both adults and school children, who are learning English as a second language without any reference to existing or previous pidgins or creoles. In other words, varieties of Aboriginal English in terms of the SLA continua of traditional language speakers have no direct relations with Kriol.

Historically, then, Kriol has no direct connection with many of the varieties of Aboriginal English spoken in Australia today. Similarly to its relation to Torres Strait Creole, the only relation between Kriol and many of the varieties of Aboriginal English is that they are 'based' on English and are spoken by Aborigines, this latter fact resulting in some semantic similarities. The linguistic variation of Kriol and *all* varieties of Aboriginal English *could* be considered as forming one synchronic, dynamic system, but the result would be the abstraction of a purely linguistic system that had little direct relation with actual 'flesh-and-blood speakers', to use Bickerton's own term, of the varieties in question. In addition, because of the different 'starting points' and processes involved, a synchronic cut across the entire Australian-wide English-related Aboriginal speech 'community' would *not* be indistinguishable from a diachronic cut across the last two centuries of linguistic development.

Kriol does, however, have direct connections with some varieties of Aboriginal English. If we restrict our consideration from the Australian-wide English-related Aboriginal speech community to the 'Kriol speech community', then we can — need to — legitimately ask: does the total variety of English-related speech of Aborigines within the Kriol speech community not form a single dynamic system that consists of a unified, linear continuum connecting Kriol at the basilectal end and Standard Australian English at the acrolectal end?

KRIOL, ABORIGINAL ENGLISH AND ENGLISH — ONE SYSTEM?

Bickerton, while rejecting the concept of co-existent systems, is nevertheless unable to completely get away from the idea of the continuum linking two systems, namely 'the basilectal system' and 'the system of standard English' (p.59). In Bickerton's terms, the basilectal system of a creole continuum is the 'original system' or the 'creole language' which 'probably' contained 'considerable variation' itself. This original creole system in the case of Kriol is basically the so-called 'hypostasised creole mesolect', to use Rumsey's (1983) terms, described by Sandefur (1979) and Hudson (1981), or what Kriol speakers themselves often refer to as 'proper' Kriol. Some of the varition within this original creole system will be discussed later.

Bickerton (pp.131-132) points out that the rate of decreolisation may vary from speech community to speech community as well as within a speech community from time to time depending on the social context. In both the Black American and Guyanese communities, creolisation, or the development of the creole which forms the basilectal system, had taken place by the early 1700s. Decreolisation began to take place by the mid-1700s in the Black American community, but not until the mid-1800s in the Guyanese community.

In the Kriol community, although pidginisation began to take place in some areas in the mid-1800s, creolisation has only taken place during the 1900s. In other words, it is a relatively 'young' creole. In the Roper River area, creolisation took place at the turn of the century; in most other areas within the Kriol community, it has only taken place since World War Two. Many mother-

tongue Kriol speakers are fluent second-language English speakers. If their English fluency is the result of decreolisation, then decreolisation from the basilect to the acrolect has taken place in the Kriol community within one generation. Such an interpretation depends, however, on the acceptance of the second-language learners' interlanguage continuum and the decreolisation continuum as being one and the same.

If one accepts the synonymy of second-language learning and decreolisation for speakers whose first-language is Kriol, one must also accept that synonymy for speakers whose first-language is a traditional Aboriginal language. In such a case, the interlanguage described by Elwell (1979), which links Yolngu Matha with Standard Australian English, results in a Yolngu Matha system that is parallel to a creole system as proposed by Bickerton. If the basilect in such a creole system is, as Bickerton claims, 'in some meaningful sense' *English*, then the basilect in the parallel Yolngu Matha system must also be some sort of English. Bickerton himself, however, rejects such a conclusion and, instead, jumps to the ultimate conclusion that all such 'systems' are only partial interpretations of the 'unique repository of system', *faculté de langage*. Theoretically, this may be significant, but for those of us who work in the applied field, it is socially and pedagogically useless.

As noted above, Bickerton divides creole speakers into single-range speakers and split-range speakers. Such a division is significant in the context of Kriol, particularly if Kriol is considered to be the basilect of a continuum that consists of Aboriginal English as the mesolect and Standard Australian English as the acrolect. Unlike Guyanese speakers, however, shifting between lects in both groups of Kriol speakers is usually explicable on social grounds, the most significant determinant being the ethnic identity and language background of the hearer.

The vast majority of split-range speakers are mother-tongue speakers of Kriol who also speak English or upper-mesolectal Aboriginal English, which they learnt as a second-language, usually through schooling. These people still speak their mother-tongue, although many Europeans are convinced otherwise. The most important speech-usage rule in operation among Kriol speakers is 'English with Europeans, not Kriol'. As a result, Kriol is seldom used by split-range speakers in the presence of Europeans. When it is used, however, the European often thinks the Aboriginal person is speaking a traditional language because of the unintelligibility to Europeans of fluently spoken Kriol.

In Bickerton's view, these split-level speakers would be genuine bi-dialectals, for they switch between the basilect and acrolect (or something approaching these extremes) without touching the mesolect. Note, however, that these speakers have 'passed through' the mesolectal phase by means of an interlanguage process rather than a decreolisation process. If these two processes are distinct, and if the interlanguage process operates on speakers of one language while learning a second language, albeit a related language, then these speakers are bilingual rather than simply bi-dialectal. Socially this distinction is supported by a large number of split-range Kriol speakers who generally consider Kriol to be an Aboriginal language in contrast to the European language, English.

With single-range speakers the situation is more complex. These speakers can be subdivided into two groups: mother-tongue Kriol speakers and second-language Kriol speakers. Most second-language speakers are older people who could technically be considered to speak 'the' pidgin from which Kriol developed,

since they were speaking it before creolisation (in terms of the acquisition of mother-tongue speakers) took place. Some of these people speak Kriol fluently and are indistinguishable from mother-tongue speakers, while others speak it very noticeably not so fluently. Older people typically consider Kriol to be English.

Second-language speakers of Kriol, however, are not restricted to older people. A number of mother-tongue speakers of traditional languages have learnt Kriol as a second language well after creolisation took place. For those who do not speak Kriol fluently, 'Kriol' is, in fact, a traditional-language-to-Kriol interlanguage. Those who speak Kriol fluently, on the other hand, are genuinely bilingual, switching between their traditional language and Kriol. Second-language Kriol speakers may or may not speak Aboriginal English or English as well.

The other subgroup of single-range Kriol speakers, those who speak Kriol as their mother-tongue, are for the most part younger than the mid-30s. The output of these single-range speakers varies, but all of their ranges include the basilect (i.e. Kriol). The degree to which their range extends along the meso-lect towards the acrolect (i.e. English) depends primarily on the effectiveness of their schooling in teaching English. Younger school children generally have not learnt the distinction between Kriol and English, neither socially nor linguistically. During the first few years of their schooling, their Kriol tends to show some genuine properties of decreolisation. Around the third or fourth year, however, they generally appear to become aware of the distinction between Kriol and English and their Kriol 'reverts' to more 'proper' Kriol.

There are many older school children who have not yet reached the acrolect. Some of them never will, for there are many school leavers who have 'fossilised' their English somewhere along the mesolect. In other words, there are a number of speakers who have not gained the upper reaches of the continuum in their second-language learning to make a clear linguistic split between their 'English' and Kriol outputs. They generally clearly perceive themselves as switching codes when speaking to Europeans and speaking among themselves, although linguistically their 'English' may contain many Kriol or Kriol-like features.

Note that with none of the above Kriol speakers has the end product of their 'moving up the continuum' resulted in the loss of their Kriol fluency. In this respect the continuum cannot be considered a 'post-creole' or decreolisation continuum. Note also that, unlike the Guyanese continuum, the Kriol variety does not represent a 'survival' from a 'relatively early stage in the development' of the Kriol community speech. In other words, a graph of the 'basilect-to-acrolect' movement of speakers would not be time-based for the language itself as is the Guyanese continuum. It would only be time-based for individual Kriol speakers learning English as a second language.

It would not be true to say that *no* decreolisation has taken place or is taking place in regard to Kriol. There are two situations in particular in which decreolisation may be in operation: in a few 'perimeter communities' near the boundary of the 'Kriol country', and among 'townie'[4] Aborigines. In several Aboriginal communities, particularly in Queensland, there tends to be an Aboriginal English that contains many Kriol features but is not Kriol itself. At Doomadgee, for example, Kriol prepositions are used by most of the population, at a rough estimate, about ten percent of the time, whereas English prepositions are used the rest of the time. Is this evidence that Kriol has

decreolised there? The situation has yet to be studied with any depth, but the historical evidence tends to indicate that Kriol never developed there. Instead, it appears that a variety of Aboriginal English developed from a pidgin (obviously related to those from which Kriol developed) without the intervening stages of creolisation and decreolisation.

It is more likely that decreolisation is taking place among Aborigines, in particular Aborigines of mixed racial descent, who are living in towns (as opposed to Aboriginal communities) in houses interspersed among Europeans. These Aborigines do not, by any means, form an homogeneous group. It is, therefore, very difficult to make any generalisations about them that are true. I will nevertheless attempt to do so. Some of these Aborigines in some of the towns, at least until relatively recently, took offense at being called an Aborigine. In general, these people were, and mostly still are, aspiring to gain acceptance from Europeans and move into the European community socially. Many of them would have nothing (at least openly) to do with traditional Aboriginal society. In company with Europeans, they typically looked down upon 'full-bloods', despising their so-called 'primitive' customs, which included language. Pidgin English (i.e. Kriol) was (and to many, still is) nothing but a deficient and 'bastardised' form of English that should be eradicated.

As a result of such attitudes, combined with the living situation, Kriol is not used by many 'townie' Aborigines in some towns. Many of them cannot speak, and never have spoken, Kriol. In some cases neither their parents or grandparents on both sides of the family have been Kriol speakers. On the other hand, in some towns, the majority of the 'townies' can speak Kriol. For some, it is their mother-tongue. For most 'townies' throughout the 'Kriol country', however, a variety of Aboriginal English appears to be their primary mode of communication, at least among themselves. If true decreolisation of Kriol is taking place, it is among these people, who are a relatively small portion of the total Kriol-speaking population.

Unlike the Guyanese situation where 'no range can touch both ends of the continuum' (p.188), the range of some of these speakers appears to extend across the entire continuum. It may be, however, that their ranges are, in fact, discontinuous. In other words, instead of controlling all variation along the continuum, they may be 'tri-lectal', speaking Kriol, a variety of mesolectal Aboriginal English, as well as fairly Standard Australian English. One such speaker, for example, is 11-year-old Tina from Halls Creek. She and her two younger sisters, while on a trip to the Northern Territory, made a recording in my presence to send to their friends back home.

The first extract is typical of the common everyday speech observed to be used by Tina (and her sisters) on most occasions in their home situation. It represents the speech she normally uses with her peers and family in their own home, and contains the 'classic' features of Aboriginal English as described by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). Tina begins by telling her peers back home what she and her sisters (M. and D.) are doing at that moment. After the break in the text, she starts telling them about some disobedient teenage girls.

> M. is layin' down here. She just relaxing. Me and D. is sit'n down
> working hard talking ... You no all 'a big big girls. Dey be stupid.
> Dey don' listen to they mother and that ...

In observations made of the speech of Tina (and her sisters), there appears to be two main features which trigger a switch to Kriol: a Kriol-speaker listener

who cannot switch to Aboriginal English, and a 'bush' setting or topic. In
this second extract Tina has clearly switched to Kriol. She was telling her
story to the same peers as in sample one, but the topic had switched to a trip
out bush. In the extract, the double hyphen '--' represents the lengthened
vowel of the durative aspect.

> Yu no mibala wi bin go--at langa bush la Benjobo en wibin gidim bi--gismob
> shugabeg. Ai no bin go. Mai greni bin go en imin bringimbek ful la
> biliken. Ai bin dagat langa i--m, idimbat, en ai bin idimbat ...
> *You know, we went out bush to Banjo Bore and we got a lot of wild honey.*
> *I didn't go. My grandmother went and she brought back a billycan full*
> [*of honey*].[5] *I ate it, ate it, and I ate it ...*

The third extract represents Tina's switching to English. The initial trigger
was an English storybook which she picked up to read. She followed this by
starting to make up her own story. After an interruption she shifted the tape-
recorder in an attempt to get a candid recording of her aunty, who can only
speak English.

> Oh, well, I'll read some of this... I'd like to tell you a story about
> C... She squealed a little bit, but you couldn't hear her... Well, I
> could just put this recorder over here at the door and listen. Aunty
> Glenys! [laugh] Ah, she didn't want to talk. She just laughed.

It should be mentioned that in addition to 'perimeter community' and 'townie'
situations, there are a number of cases of mother-tongue Kriol speakers who
have 'lost' their language. Some Kriol speakers who have moved out of 'Kriol
country', especially at a young age, and have lived in a southern European
environment for a lengthy period of time, no longer have any active recollection
of Kriol. They could be considered to have decreolised only if such 'memory
loss' is equated with decreolisation. Several such speakers who have recently
moved back into a Kriol-speaking Aboriginal community have been observed to go
through the process of re-learning their mother-tongue as a second language.

Overall, then, Kriol does not appear to be decreolising in any *Aboriginal*
communities. Indeed, in some communities its strength as a mother-tongue is
increasing. At Numbulwar, for example, where it has been in existence as a
second-language for the majority of the population for two decades or so, it is
now gaining mother-tongue speakers at the expense of the traditional language,
Nunggubuyu (Harris 1982:50). If decreolisation were taking place, it would be
expected that the children would be learning English (or at least a variety of
speech closer to English than is Kriol) as their mother-tongue, not Kriol.
English is taught to all children in the school, but its effect on Kriol is
minimal, resulting not in decreolisation but in Kriol-English bilingualism.

As noted earlier, Bickerton points out that as social divisions separating
speakers of creole and speakers of English weaken, 'speakers of the language
adjudged "lower" borrow surface forms from that adjudged "higher"' and thereby
decreolisation sets in. That certainly appears to be what has happened among
the 'townies'. Among the majority of Kriol speakers, however, such a 'weakening
of separation' has not taken place and is not likely to take place, at least in
the near future.

From the late 1930s until the early 1970s the Australian Government policy
towards Aborigines was one of assimilation. Part of the implementation of this
policy was strong efforts at 'Anglicising' the speech of Aborigines, with
particular vehemence in many cases being directed toward eradicating the

so-called deficient pidgin English. Such policies are now known to have had an effect opposite to that intended. One of the main effects of the policy in the linguistic field appears to have been to greatly *increase* creolisation, and therefore the spread of Kriol, at the expense of traditional languages. If the policy had been successful in achieving its aims and the policy continued, widespread decreolisation could indeed have set in. However, a change in the early 1970s to a self-determination policy and the consequent rise in Aboriginal identity and pride in one's Aboriginal cultural heritage, along with the 'assurance' of separate communities for Aborigines who desire them, have strengthened the social divisions separating Kriol and English and appears to be having an opposing effect upon decreolisation tendencies (Sandefur 1984). Although only time will tell, it appears that the tremendous social changes during the last decade, if they continue developing in the direction they are heading, will lend little encouragement to decreolisation.

It would appear, then, that Kriol and English, along with Aboriginal English, could conceivably be considered to form a single continuum Kriol system in the sense of a second-language learner's interlanguage continuum. There are, however, several problems with this interpretation. Should traditional-language-to-Kriol interlanguage continua be included as part of the Kriol system? Should the variation in the diachronic development of Kriol 'from' traditional languages through pidginisation be included in the Kriol system? Is movement along such continua only in the direction of the acrolect? Should the Kriol-to-traditional-language interlanguage continua of Kriol speakers learning a traditional language as a second language be included in the Kriol system? Should the English-to-Kriol interlanguage continua of Europeans be included in the Kriol system? While continua are linear within themselves, interlanguage continua from and to Kriol would not be unilinear as Bickerton's model implies. Such a Kriol system would have to consist, therefore, of multiple linear continua.

The whole question then opens up to the broader field of other languages: if Kriol and English form a single system, and Guyanese and English likewise form a single system, are not Kriol, Guyanese and English all just part of one system? We are, of course, now back to Bickerton's argument that in reality everything is only part of one grand System. The solution would seem to be system pluralism. Kriol and English form a Kriol-English interlanguage system, much like English and Chinese form an Anglo-Chinese interlanguage system. The two ends of an interlanguage system are two (in some sense) 'discrete' languages, related or otherwise. In other words, Kriol is an independent system that also functions as a subsystem in a number of other systems.

It could be argued, however, that Kriol really is part of a decreolisation continuum, even if only a relatively small number of 'townies' have decreolised. Part of the problem here, of course, is in determining how many speakers must begin to decreolise before the whole language is considered to have decreolised, a question impossible to answer with certainty. Admittedly creolisation is a process more available to observation than is decreolisation. Even so, the number of speakers who are decreolising is very small compared to the number for whom Kriol, in a sense, is 'creolising'. In other words, the Kriol-speaking population overall is on the increase. This is primarily due to better health care — the Aboriginal birth rate is high, infant mortality is going down, and Kriol speakers are living longer. In addition, the number of communities affected by decreolisation is very small. Out of some 250 Aboriginal communities in which Kriol is a significant language, only half a dozen or so appear to be

affected, and only a small portion of their population at that. Decreolised speakers, in essence, are bilingual split-range speakers who have forgotten (how) to switch back to Kriol in an Aboriginal context. In other words, although some decreolisation is taking place, it is relatively insignificant, at least at present, for it only affects limited speakers and not really the language as such.

It would appear, then, that Kriol is best considered *not* to be a post-creole continuum, for it shows no signs of disappearing through merger with English because of decreolisation. On the other hand, it does function as one end point of several interlanguage continua, by far the most common of which is a Kriol-English interlanguage continuum. As speakers move up this continuum, their Kriol is still there, basically just as it was before.

Even though it has been argued that Kriol is not a post-creole continuum, it would nevertheless appear best to consider Kriol to be a dynamic continuum system. It does not consist of 'a fixed number of parts which hold invariant relations with one another' (Bickerton p.166). Kriol is dynamic in that it is not a static, invariable language; it is a continuum in that there are a number of subsystems within it which are linked together by gradation rather than being discrete; it is a system in that it does not consist of a random mixing of elements.

THE CONTINUUM NATURE OF KRIOL

As noted earlier, 'considerable variation' exists within Kriol itself. This variation often appears to Europeans to be very ad hoc. Sharpe (1975:3) comments, for example, that a nursing sister at Ngukurr gave up trying to learn Kriol because it seemed so 'very variable, both with different speakers and with the same speaker on different occasions'. There *is* much variation in Kriol, but virtually all of it is systematic and explicable variation of a continuum nature. Indeed, continuum variation is the essence of Kriol itself.

There are two basic 'sets' of continua that form the Kriol system, which could be referred to as dialectal and sociolectal continua. Dialectal continue are those which have essentially arisen through association with separation caused by physical conditions. Sociolectal continua, which are the more fundamental of the two sets, have been determined by social conditions rather than geographical ones.

As with most of the words that Kriol has borrowed from English, its name is not synonymous with its English etymon. In other words, 'Kriol' is not simply 'creole' in a different orthographic system. The referent is not only creole, but also includes pidgin, at least in the perception of most Kriol speakers themselves and the way I use the term. Many linguists, however, maintain a distinction between (adult) pidgin and (youth) creole, in most cases primarily on the basis of second or first language learnt. Jernudd (1971:20) provides us with what is perhaps the most perceptive 'analysis' of the distinction:

> The youth Creole is linguistically different from Pidgin.
> Creole is typologically closer to English than Pidgin
> since is has a similar phonology (although particularly
> the intonational characteristics are closer to Pidgin)
> and a more English vocabulary. Its syntax is basically
> a Pidgin syntax. Pidgin has preserved an Aboriginal-type

> phonology ... [school children] use Pidgin to adults,
> Creole among themselves. Their Pidgin is in effect a
> modified Creole.

Pidgin and Creole are not discrete varieties but rather overlapping and inter-
acting sections of sociolectal continua. As far as Kriol speakers themselves
are concerned, there is only one sociolectal continuum and all speech is
adjudged in reference to it. According to their folk-linguistic system, Kriol
speech and features in Kriol speech can be either 'heavy' or 'light' or, with a
lot of overlap, 'proper'. [These terms are hereafter used in their folk-
linguistic sense.] Their use of these terms is somewhat analogous to the
general use of basilect, mesolect and acrolect. Heavy features are typically
'closer' in some respect to traditional Aboriginal languages in contrast to
light features, which are typically closer to English.

There are, however, two basic differences that distinguish their use of terms
from the technical terminology. First, light does not equate with English; it
equates with 'English-like', which is often very far removed from Standard
Australian English. Even when it is (almost) identical with English, light
Kriol is still Kriol, not English, at least as far as most mother-tongue Kriol
speakers are concerned. Second, while proper basically equates with mesolect,
the distance spanned by the typical mesolect is much greater than that spanned
by proper. Proper tends to overlap rather than link, as does mesolect. In
other words, in the Kriol folk-linguistic system, heavy and light are almost
contiguous ranges, with proper being a second-level overlapping range that
selects features within both first-level ranges instead of being a middle
range separating the heavy and light ranges.
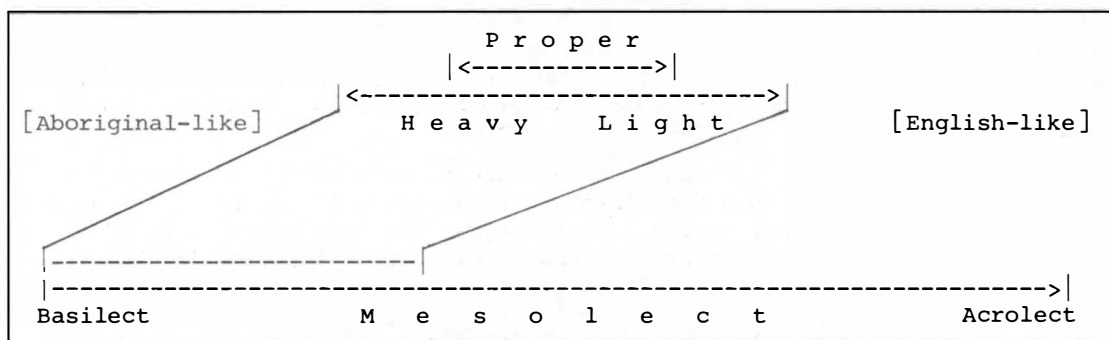
The Kriol system relative to a decreolisation continuum

The clearest example and most common operation of this folk-linguistic system
is in regards to the phonological continuum (Sandefur 1979). It is also this
continuum that causes Europeans the most consternation when having to deal
closely with Kriol, especially in the context of literacy. The extreme heavy
phonological subsystem is virtually identical with that of traditional
Aboriginal languages. Typically this means, for example, no affricates, no
fricatives, no contrastive voicing with stops, no consonant clusters within a
syllable, but five points of articulation for stops and nasals. The extreme
light subsystem, in contrast, includes virtually all the contrasts which occur
in English. Note, however, that unlike the heavy subsystem which 'eliminated'

all of the non-Aboriginal contrasts of English, the light subsystem has not eliminated the non-English contrasts of the traditional language. There are, of course, many sounds that are common to both subsystems.

Words composed of sounds that are common to both subsystems remain constant throughout the continuum (e.g. mani *money* is mani irregardless of position on the continuum; it's neither heavy nor light, just proper). Some sounds move from heavy to light in one step (e.g. heavy brog *frog* moves directly to light frog). Opinion is divided among Kriol speakers as to which is proper Kriol. In the Ngukurr dialect, which is the oldest and most 'conservative', brog is generally considered proper. A number of sounds, however, take several steps to move from heavy to light (e.g. heavy ding *thing* becomes ting before becoming light thing; or heavy mawuj *mouth* becomes mawus before becoming lighter mauth). The middle form, in both cases, is generally considered proper Kriol.

The last example hints at what would be expected, which is that in most cases sound changes do not operate individually. In other words, several sound changes typically operate implicationally within a given word as one moves up the continuum, resulting in the majority of Kriol words having several alternate pronunciations (e.g. jineg, jinek, sinek, sineik, sneik *snake*; buludang, bludang, blutang *blue-tongue lizard*. Typically, one of the middle forms is considered to be proper Kriol, with the others being heavy or light respectively.

Except for the extreme heavy and light variations of some words, most Kriol speakers control virtually all pronunciations in their active everyday speech. No Kriol speaker speaks with a consistently light pronunciation. There are, however, some Kriol speakers — mostly mother-tongue speakers of a traditional language who speak Kriol as a second language and who speak no (Aboriginal) English — who speak Kriol with a generally consistently heavy pronunciation. With virtually no exceptions every stream of Kriol speech will contain some words with heavy pronunciations and some with light pronunciations. Within the same conversation and even within the same sentence, it is not uncommon for Kriol speakers to use more than one of the pronunciation alternatives. Note, for example, Agnes:

> Orait, wi bin silip. Ailibala dei andi gu na weya taid bin gaman. Dei andi go floting na. Ola bin blotblot raidap langa lil ailen. Darran na. Dei bin flot moa. Ani naidam imin kaman dat bot, dat jepani bot. O, bigwan. Im garra — garra bigmob jepani, mijamet biginini la jat bot. Dei bin baindim na. Dat jirribala bin baindim dat bot. 'Hei! Big bot jeya. Melabat go luk.' Dei bin — Aisik bin lagijat la im barnga dubala. 'Wi go luk. Gaman.' Dei bin gu na. Dei bin gu flotflot. Jeya gulijap na dei bin gu ...
> *Alright, we slept. In the morning they were going to go when the tide came in. They were going to go paddling* [the canoe] *then. They paddled right to the little island. They reached it. They paddled more. But it was at night that the boat came, that Japanese boat. Oh, it was big. It had — had a lot of Japanese, just like* [a swarm of] *children on the boat. Then they found it. Those three men found that boat. 'Hey! There's a big boat here. Let's go and look.' They — Isaac said to his two cousins, 'Let's go and look. Come on.' Then they went. They paddled. Right up to it they went ...*

Many of the words are invariant (e.g. *past tense* bin, *to* langa, *many* bigmob). With some words, however, Agnes was consistently heavy in pronunciation (*three* jirribala, *near* gulijap, *find* baindim, *there* jeya). With other words she

alternated between heavy and light pronunciations (*paddle* blot and flot, *go* gu and go, *come* gaman and kaman, *that* jat and dat). Note also that she not only alternated between heavy and light pronunciation, but between heavy and light forms of some pronouns (*they* ola and dei, *we* melabat and wi). In addition, she alternated between heavy and light grammatical forms (*paddling* flotflot and floting). These last two examples, of course, indicate that the heavy-light continuum is not restricted to phonology, but is also applicable to syntax, lexicon and semantics, although it is not applied as thoroughly by Kriol speakers to these areas.

The applicability of the folk-linguistic system to these other areas of Kriol is primarily related to what Mühlhäusler (1980:22) refers to as developmental continua. These continua are the results of processes of development and expansion through which the overall referential and non-referential power of a language increases and are characterised in part by such changes as the gradual introduction of redundancy, the development of a word-formation component, an increase in derivational depth, the development of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes, and the gradual increase in morphological naturalness.

As Kriol has developed, the means of expressing plurality have increased, thus introducing some redundancy. At the turn of the century in the Roper River area, plurality could be expressed by the use of a pre-positioned quantifier such as bigmob or by the use of the post-positioned 'pronoun' olabat (third person plural): mi bin luk bigmob buligi or mi bin luk buligi olabat *I saw lots of cattle*. The use of the post-positioned pronoun is beginning to fall into disuse, with most Kriol speakers rejecting it in written literature even though many still use it orally. The same 'pronoun', however, is commonly now used in a pre-position, often with a shortened form: jeya olabat munanga or jeya ola munanga *there's the white men*. Reduplication is also used in some cases to indicate plurality. In particular, several human nouns have developed reduplicated or partial reduplicated forms, which may be used with or without a quantifier: jeya munanmunanga or jeya ola munamunanga *there's the white men*.

Another example of the development of Kriol is in the expansion of its word-formation component. Again, at the turn of the century in the Roper River area, intensification could be indicated in two ways, either by reduplication or by the use of a pre-positioned qualifier: imin bigwanbigwan or imin brabli bigwan *it was very big*. Today, in addition to these two means, intensification can be indicated by the addition of two suffixes: imin bigbalawan or imin bigiswan *it was very big*.

Kriol has also developed a number of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes. For example, emphasis or focus can be indicated by use of the particle na, by front shifting, by tagging or by the use of appositional phrasing (Sandefur 1979:92, Hudson 1981:46-49). The introduction and spread of such devices is not instantaneous and uniform throughout any given community, much less the entire Kriol language area. As a result, the development of such changes through time and space takes on the forms of a continuum.

Social changes and government policy during the last few decades have added an acceleration factor to the development of Kriol, especially the Aboriginal-isation movement of the 1970s (Sandefur 1984). Although the development of Kriol was not the intention of any government policy, the social changes deriving from policy changes are resulting, to a degree, in the 'modernisation' of Kriol. Some of this modernisation is planned, but most of it has been taking place spontaneously (Sandefur 1982c). In other words, many Kriol speakers

themselves, without the aid or encouragement of outsiders (i.e. linguists and teachers), have been attempting to extend the role and expand the lexicon of Kriol to enable them to discuss aspects of their new responsibilities in the realm of modern social institutions in their communities.

The significance of the spontaneous modernisation of Kriol to our discussion is the continuum of variation that it has resulted in. This continuum, in a sense, is the result of a 'deanglicisation' process. Bilingual Kriol speakers are learning new concepts in English. Because of the social situation and their relevance to the 'non-bilingual' Kriol speakers in their communities, they are attempting to communicate many of the concepts in Kriol. The move is not made through a clean switch from the one language to the other, but rather through a process more akin to code-mixing. There are definate indications, however, that over a period of time the speech of the 'educated elite' on a particular topic moves from being heavily laiden with Anglicised forms to being more 'proper' Kriol.

In addition to developmental continua, and in a sense operating in opposition to them, are what Mühlhäusler (1980:22) refers to as restructuring continua. These are continua which result from 'changes due to contact with other languages which do not affect the overall power of a linguistic system' (Mühlhäusler 1980:22). Such continua are characterised in part by language mixing that leads to unnatural developments, hypercorrection, and an increase in variation resulting in a weakening of linguistic norms. Most of the variation in Kriol appears to be developmental in nature rather than restructuring, although there is some restructuring taking place. For example, particularly in the Kimberleys, the future/potential tense-mood auxiliary free form garra is being replaced in some contexts by the more English-like bound form l, as in ail *I'll* instead of ai garra.

By comparison with the sociolectal continua, the variation involved in the dialectal continua of Kriol are not nearly as complex. Dialects in Kriol, at least as far as our knowledge of them thus far indicates, are much the same as dialects in any non-creole language. Relatively little work has been carried out on dialect documentation. One fact appears to be certain: there are no discrete boundaries between the dialects of Kriol. The bundling of isoglosses, combined with differences in the distribution and frequency of grammatical rules and forms as well as social attitudes, provide us with an indication of dialect centres, but do not indicate discrete dialect 'boundaries'. Indeed, the boundaries tend to be continua linking major population/service centres.

One of the most significant factors contributing to dialect differences in Kriol is the traditional Aboriginal language environment. As noted earlier, Kriol is spoken in some 250 Aboriginal communities. There are over a hundred traditional languages and dialects that have an influence on Kriol and Kriol speakers. Although all of those traditional languages have many features in common, each is distinct.

The influence of individual traditional languages on Kriol is most readily observable in the Kriol lexicon. Many words have been borrowed from local traditional languages, but most of them are only used in the Kriol of that local area. For example, manuga *money* [from 'stone'] was borrowed from one of the languages around Ngukurr. It is commonly used at Ngukurr, and known by Kriol speakers in the communities immediately surrounding Ngukurr, but it is virtually unknown by Kriol speakers elsewhere. Some language borrowed words, however, have become regionalised. Gajinga *damn it* [originally a reference to

the genitals] is also from a local Ngukurr traditional language, but it is now
used by Kriol speakers throughout the Roper River and Bamyili areas. It is
used in the Ngukurr area as a fairly serious swear word, following its original
usage, but in the Bamyili area it carries very little negative connotation.
Marluga old man, on the other hand, which was also borrowed from a traditional
language, is known throughout almost the entire 'Kriol country'.

A more subtle influence that traditional languages exert on Kriol is in
phonology. Kriol does not have only one extreme subsystem. Where traditional
languages differ, the subsystems differ. In the Ngukurr area three-vowel
systems were prominent, so go was pronounced gu; in the Bamyili area, five-
vowel systems predominated, so go was go. The influence of these extreme heavy
subsystems, however, is not a thing of the past nor limited to older, heavy
speakers. They continue to exert several types of influence upon virtually all
Kriol speakers in their respective areas. In the case of the Ngukurr three-
vowel system, all Ngukurr Kriol speakers today say go some of the time, but most
of them also say gu and consider gu to be the 'proper' variant. It is, in fact,
one of the features usually cited by Ngukurr speakers as well as Bamyili
speakers to exemplify the distinctiveness of Ngukurr speech.

The operation of the phonological continuum discussed above is dependent, to a
degree, on two 'external' factors: the influence of traditional-language
phonological systems in determining heavy Kriol, and the form of the English
etymon to which light Kriol is targeted. The route that a given word takes as
it becomes lighter depends on the latter, and its starting point on the former.
For example, the 'devoiced' stops in most traditional languages are predominantly
realised with voicing. In heavy Kriol, therefore, *talk* is dog; in light Kriol
is becomes tok. *Dog*, on the other hand, is dog in both heavy and light Kriol.
In those cases, however, in which the devoiced stops are predominantly realised
without voicing, *dog* is tok in heavy Kriol and becomes dog in light Kriol,
whereas *talk* is tok in both.

It should be pointed out that the influence of traditional language phonology
is not limited to the area of geographic dialectal variation. It also affects
sociolectal variation. For example, most Kriol speakers in Halls Creek are
either Gija people or Jaru people. The Gija language has lamino-palatals,
whereas the Jaru language does not. Because of the influence of the two
languages, it is possible to distinguish Kriol speakers from the two groups by
the presence or absence of lamino-palatals in their Kriol speech.[6]

CONCLUSION

To attempt to describe Kriol as simply a part of a single, linear English
continuum, especially without any reference to extralinguistic factors, is to do
injustice to the complexities of the Kriol speaker's competence. A model which
places Kriol at the basilectal level of a post-creole continuum with English at
the acrolectal extreme is too simplistic to accurately account for all the
variation associated with Kriol speakers, both within Kriol itself and between
Kriol and the other languages in its environment.

Kriol is related to and interacts with English, but it is also related to and
interacts with traditional Aboriginal languages. If Kriol is analysed on a
purely linguistic basis, then it could be considered to be only a part of the
English system. As Mühlhäusler (1980:31) points out, however:

> the belief that no linguistic rule is ever influenced
> by extralinguistic factors seems quite unnecessarily
> restrictive. My own view is that there may well be a
> whole set of cultural prerequisites for grammatical
> analysis... The neglect of the non-referential
> dimensions of language may be one of the reasons why
> many questions in the area of linguistic variation
> remain unsettled.

The locus of Kriol is clearly in the Aboriginal community. To take a closer look at the extralinguistic cultural determinants of speech variation, both within the Kriol system and between the Kriol system and other language systems, should shed more light on our understanding of the nature of human language.

NOTES

[1] I am indebted to Susan Kaldor and Margaret Sharpe for their helpful comments in the preparation of this paper.

[2] There are, of course, many linguists — or should I say sociolinguists? — who disagree with Bickerton on this point.

[3] Bickerton is so adamant in discounting substratum influence on creoles that he refers to those who insist on taking the substrate languages into account as 'substratomaniacs' (1981:48).

[4] This term is used by some Aborigines in north-west Kimberleys. Its referent is explained several paragraphs later.

[5] The construction *imin bringimbek ful la biliken* is more literally translated *she brought-back full in billycan.*

[6] I am indebted to Patrick McConvell for pointing this out.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BICKERTON, Derek

   1975   *Dynamics of a creole system*. London: Cambridge University Press.

   1980   Decreolization and the creole continuum. In Albert Valdman and
           Arnold Highfield, eds *Theoretical orientations in creole studies,*
           109-127. New York: Academic Press.

   1981   *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.

CROWLEY, Terry and Bruce RIGSBY

   1979   Cape York Creole. In Timothy Shopen, ed. *Languages and their
           status,* 153-207. Cambridge MA: Winthrop Publishers

DeCAMP, David

   1971   Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum.
           In Dell Hymes, ed. *Pidginization and creolization of languages,*
           249-370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DUTTON, T.E.

   1970   Informal English in the Torres Straits. In W.S. Ramson, ed.
            English transported, 137-160. Canberra: Australian National
            University Press.

EAGLESON, Robert D.

   1982   Variation in English language. In Eagleson et al, eds 1982:11-30.

EAGLESON, Robert D., Susan KALDOR and Ian MALCOLM, eds

   1982   *English and the Aboriginal child.* Canberra: Curriculum Development
            Centre.

ELWELL, Vanessa M.R.

   1979   English-as-a-second-language in Aboriginal Australia: a case study
            of Milingimbi. M.A. thesis, Australian National University.

FERGUSON, Charles A.

   1968   Language development. In Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson and
            Jyotirindra Das Gupta, eds *Language problems of developing nations,*
            27-35. New York: Wiley.

FLINT, E.H.

   1972   The sociology of language in Queensland Aboriginal communities.
            Kivung 5/3:150-163.

HARRIS, Stephen

   1982   Bilingual education in the Northern Territory: a sharp tool easily
            blunted? *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 5/1:25-59.

HUDSON, Joyce

   1981   Grammatical and semantic aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol.
            M.A. thesis, Australian National University.

JERNUDD, Björn H.

   1971   Social change and Aboriginal speech variation in Australia.
            Anthropological Linguistics 13/1:16-32.

KALDOR, Susan and Ian G. MALCOLM

   1982   Aboriginal English in country and remote areas — a Western
            Australian perspective. In Eagleson et al, eds 1982:75-112.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter

   1980   Structural expansion and the process of creolization.
            In Albert Valdman and Arnold Highfield, eds *Theoretical orientations
            in creole studies,* 19-55. New York: Academic Press.

RUMSEY, Alan

   1983   On some syntactico-semantic consequences of homophony in north west
            Australian Pidgin/Creole English. *Papers in pidgin and creole
            linguistics No.3. PL,* A-65:177-189.

SANDEFUR, John R.

   1979   *An Australian creole in the Northern Territory: a description of
            Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects. Work Papers of SIL-AAB* B.3.

SANDEFUR, John R.

    1982a   Kriol and the question of decreolization. *IJSL* 36:5-13.

    1982b   When will Kriol die out? *Occassional Papers* No.5. Applied Linguistics Association of Australia.

    1982c   Extending the use of Kriol. In Jeanie Bell, ed. *Aboriginal Languages Association — a collection of papers ...,* 18-24. Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.

    1984   A language coming of age: Kriol of North Australia. M.A. thesis, University of Western Australia.

SANDEFUR, John R. and Joy SANDEFUR

    1980   Pidgin and creole in the Kimberleys, Western Australia. AIAS *Newsletter* 14:31-37.

SCHUMANN, John H.

    1978   The relationship of pidginization, creolization and decreolization to second language acquisition. *Language Learning* 28:367-379.

SHARPE, Margaret C.

    1975   Notes on the "Pidgin English" creole of Roper River. *PL,* A-39:1-20.

SHARPE, Margaret C. and John SANDEFUR

    1977   A brief description of Roper Creole. In Ed Brumby and Eric Vaszolyi, eds *Language problems and Aboriginal education,* 51-60. Perth: Mount Lawley College of Advanced Education.

STAUBLE, Ann-Marie E.

    1978   The process of decreolization: a model for second language development. *Language Learning* 28:29-54.