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TEACHING ENGLISH TO KRIOL SPEAKERS

Where on earth do I start?

*Joyce Hudson and
Anthea Taylor

BACKGROUND DISCUSSION

Readiness programmes are of little or no value. The door to reading for *any* [sic] beginning reader is his *own* language, used to express his own experiences.

(Sloan and Latham, 1981)

It is an irrefutable fact that most Aboriginal children are under-achieving scholastically. It is also fairly obvious that a contributing factor in this under achievement is poor literacy skills which can hold children back in most areas of school performance.

Many different reading schemes and approaches have been tried, including Bridging and Headstart programs, which have met with very little success in the long term. As a result it is all too easy for educators to fall back on the deficiency model and blame the child and the home. This is neither profitable nor an adequate explanation for the under-achievement of Aboriginal students.

While many Aboriginal homes have neither the resources nor the know-how to support and reinforce the white middle class school of mainstream society there are many homes and communities which are extremely supportive and see sound education as one of the great hopes for the future. The purpose of this paper is to propose a language program which capitalises on the home language to lead into English and thus give a greater opportunity for genuine scholastic achievement which comes from proficient literacy. After presenting some of the issues relating to the home language of Aboriginal children in the Kimberley, a proposed bicultural oral language competence program is outlined. Examples of classroom application are given with suggestions for the direction such a program could take.

*Western Australian College of Advanced Education off campus
enclave - P O Box 930, Carnarvon 6701.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES

It has often been suggested that Standard English is a second or even third language for many Aboriginal children in the Kimberley. This is true, particularly for Aboriginal children from traditional and semi-traditional areas and probably true for many urban children in whose homes a mixture of languages and/or dialects is spoken. The fact that a standard Australian version of English is not spoken first at home is a barrier to learning to read in Standard English (a language which is not their home or first language).

Where traditional languages are still spoken, bilingual programs have been tried with varying success throughout Australia. Many Aboriginal people, however, have had deep-rooted reservations about bilingualism in the school. Such people may see education (schooling) and Standard English as synonymous and thus think that to teach in any language besides Standard English is a retrograde step in the education of their children. Much of this attitude no doubt stems from their past experiences and the many years of being told by white monolinguals that their own Aboriginal language was of no value, to be forgotten as quickly as possible if one wanted to be educated and "get on".

Furthermore, many older Aboriginal people who are literate and are fluent speakers of Standard Australian English, cite their own experiences in the Standard English-speaking monolingual school as the desirable and only acceptable mode of teaching. Like many people, they have no other model of schooling but their own. One should, however, never forget that most of these people grew up in an era when they were removed from their camps and placed in missions or government settlements. Thus home and school language were the same - Standard Australian English. This situation is no longer widespread; but using such experiences as the desirable model is not satisfactory for today's Aboriginal students in a modern school.

In an attempt to preserve as much traditional culture as possible many Aboriginal communities are now asking that their own languages be taught in schools. Generally speaking the Education Department of Western Australia has been nominally supportive of these requests but only where there are already resident linguists and a standard and agreed upon orthography. This department has never developed a comprehensive program as in the Northern Territory and unfortunately only one or two locations in Western Australia have ever been approved for a bilingual program in an Education Department school.

KRIOL AS A HOME LANGUAGE

The situation is not as simple as it appears, however. It is a fact that there are few Aboriginal communities in the Kimberley where all members use traditional languages in everyday speaking. In most cases traditional languages are only used by older people and although younger people may understand them, they rarely speak them. In many places the traditional language is even more limited. Smatterings of idiom and individual words may be used in daily speech but the language as a living tool of communication is not a child's first or home language.

Rightly or wrongly most children in the Kimberley are not learning a traditional language and no amount of lament or funding will change this situation. Many Aboriginal parents are not speaking to their children in a traditional language. They are using colloquial English or a lingua franca such as Kriol (see 'terminology').

Communities generally do not like the idea of using Kriol in a formal way in schools even when they are themselves using it extensively. If they credit it with language status at all, they believe Kriol to be an inadequate language even though they are using it themselves in daily communication with each other. Using linguists' definition of what in fact constitutes a language, there is no doubt that Kriol is indeed a language in its own right and spoken by a great many Aboriginal people.

Some Aboriginal people in the Kimberley, particularly those older people who went away to school for many years and who know two or more languages are quite able to switch clearly between languages. They can use whichever one is appropriate for the situation: Standard Australian English, Kriol or a traditional language. The majority of Kriol speakers, however, cannot switch in this way. They are restricted to Kriol because they have problems communicating in Standard Australian English. One of the reasons their children are not achieving in school is due to the interference between the two languages, Kriol and English. There is an extra complication for many Aboriginal people in that while they are speaking Kriol, they think they are speaking English.

The relative merits and status of Kriol are not the purpose of this paper. It is acknowledged that Kriol is a language in its own right and that it is spoken widely by children and adults in northern Australia.

In summary the situation at present is as follows:

- Aboriginal communities generally want the school to teach Standard English.
- Most communities do want to keep their traditional language(s) alive.
- Many Aboriginal people speak to each other in a language other than a traditional one.
- Many Aboriginal children communicate with each other in a language they have heard from birth, which they use every day but which is not approved by the school nor by their elders and to which their teachers are reacting as though it was very poor English.

At present an impossible task is being asked of many Aboriginal children. These are some of the language requirements placed on Aboriginal children:

- At school, they must speak and learn to read in a form of English they rarely hear.
- At home, they are expected to know and keep alive a traditional language they may rarely hear and very likely do not speak.
- At home and at school, they must intuitively realise that the language in which they think and speak and the one in which they read and write are in fact different languages.
- At school, they must automatically realise without being taught that the language being used and promoted by the school is English and not the home language.
- In brief, they must develop the ability to function in two cultures with two (or more) languages.

LANGUAGES IN THE SCHOOL

To be able to switch between two cultures, as they are required to do in the modern world, control of all relevant languages is necessary. Aboriginal children need to be given the chance to take advantage of the opportunities offered for a meaningful life in a society of their choice. They need to be able to code switch - that is, switch between languages appropriate for the social circumstances, and not be at the mercy of a confusing and covert and largely unclarified situation. This has little to do with the status of a language but is to do with helping school learning and giving children a chance in all societies.

From the first day at school we need to teach Aboriginal children three parallel ways of seeing, speaking, and maybe doing. One way is not superior or inferior to another. However, one way *is* different from another and what is important is to *know* the difference and to know how to *consciously choose* between ways until that choice becomes automatic.

Because at the moment the differences are never consciously clarified, children stumble along reading badly, thinking that they are speaking English when they are not, and rejecting their traditional languages because their role models are not using them.

It is our opinion that until the language situation (involving Standard Australian English and Kriol) and its implications for education are faced, clarified and described accurately, the majority of schools in the Kimberley will not be able to adequately meet the educational needs of Aboriginal children. Teaching only in and for Standard English will mean that many of these children will never be able to easily control English and thereby overcome the barrier to literacy and scholastic achievement in modern society.

The schools in which there is a significant proportion of enrolled Aboriginal students need to be aware of the three types of language which may be relevant:

1. Traditional languages (of which there are many).
2. Standard Australian English.
3. Home language which may be neither of the above, e.g., it may be Kriol.

In some instances the home and the traditional language will be the same. In others Standard Australian English and home will be the same. This paper is addressed not to either of those situations but to that in which *all three languages types* are found, as is the case in many Kimberley schools.

In such schools it is recommended that language programming in early and middle primary schools follow a tripartite approach, with traditional language(s), Standard Australian English and home language (be it a traditional language or Kriol) being used to develop oral competence and provide a stepping stone to a second language, e.g., Standard Australian English. The home language should not be seen as a substitute for Standard Australian English and neither should English be seen as a substitute for the home language. Each serves a different purpose.

BICULTURAL ORAL LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

In an attempt to meet the needs of students and teachers in Kimberley schools, the following language program prototype is suggested. It is based on the principle that the use of the oral language of the home provides an essential first step and bridge to competent Standard Australian English use and thus to biculturalism and bilingualism. It is similar in some respects to the Language awareness programs conducted in England, Victoria and New South Wales in recent years.

RATIONALE

The following program demonstrates the use of oral Kriol to teach Standard Australian English. To do this and avoid language interference, code switching must become automatic and intuitive. The home language is the pivot from which the child can switch. It is also the language to which he will retreat in confusing and threatening situations.

By using the three languages creatively in classrooms, it is our belief that children will learn to switch languages discretely and thus avoid the confusion which has been brought about by interference and which has become a learning barrier for most Aboriginal students.

This program is addressed to the Kimberley and applies where Kriol is the home language. However, the underlying principles should also apply to any school where children have a home language other than Standard English. Anyone wishing to use other home languages, such as Nyoongar, could retain the objectives but substitute local examples throughout.

As the focus is on oral language, if teachers choose to write Kriol, any orthography is acceptable if used consistently. However, teachers should beware of duplicating or publishing written Kriol materials even in Language Experience readers or worksheets unless they have some understanding of the principles involved in choosing the spelling system for an unwritten language. In this paper the orthography developed in the Northern Territory is used.

It is envisaged that as this program focuses only on oral language it should be introduced into the school as early as possible - preferably at the year one level if not at the pre-school stage. The objectives, however, are seen to be applicable at any stage from K to year 12 and beyond with adapted activities. All students should

benefit from this approach to teaching Standard Australian English. Because negative attitudes towards home language may have developed in older children, care and more time must be taken in introducing open discussion of the home language in the classroom. Moreover, as it is likely that older students will have already learnt incorrect patterns of Standard Australian English usage, more immediate results are likely from younger students.

In summary:

- * Children must know when they are code switching between their home language and English.
- * They cannot know if they are not helped to learn the skill of accurate code switching.
- * We cannot help them to code switch if the languages they are switching to and from are not identified and recognised.

GOALS

1. Standard Australian English

Standard Australian English of a high standard is required for mobility, literacy, and to enable today's students to achieve educationally and, later, economically and socially in mainstream society. Facility with written and spoken English will give an Aboriginal child autonomy and access to the wider society. It will also enable that person to be in the position to contribute to his own society on a variety of different levels.

2. Traditional language

Traditional language(s) will be required where a community desires to keep this language alive. Facility with the community's or group's traditional language (spoken and/or written) will enable today's child to maintain his cultural identity, develop a sense of pride in Aboriginality and will assist with cultural maintenance.

3. Home language

Using the home language in the school will assist the learning process as it will be the language of experience and the language of expression. The development of the skills of prediction, substantiation of that prediction and decoding needed later for reading will be facilitated when introduced and practised orally in the first and home language. This facilitation will ensure greater early success;

success will build confidence and confidence will enable intellectual risk taking which is associated with successful learners.

Such use of the home language in the school cannot help but bring the home and school closer together and thus increase the relevance of the school. There is then a greater likelihood of school and home sharing expectations for education and a greater likelihood of mutual reinforcement. The inclusion of the home language in the school legitimates the home for the school and the school for the home. This language - the home language - becomes the stepping stone bridging the traditional and the Western cultures and gives the balance between the old and the new.

SUGGESTED INITIAL PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. To distinguish orally the difference between Kriol and English.
2. To define orally the different meanings of Kriol and associated English nouns.
3. To define orally the different meanings of Kriol and associated English verbs.
4. To demonstrate orally appropriate use of associated nouns in English sentences and Kriol sentences.
5. To demonstrate orally appropriate use of associated verbs in English sentences and Kriol sentences.
6. To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the word level using both English and Kriol.
7. To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the sentence level using both English and Kriol.
8. To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the story level using both English and Kriol.
9. To demonstrate orally correct use of equivalent grammatical structures involving Kriol and English pronouns.
10. To demonstrate orally correct use of equivalent grammatical structures involving Kriol and English verbs.
11. To demonstrate orally correct use of equivalent grammatical devices for articles in Kriol and English.
12. To demonstrate orally correct use of equivalent grammatical structures involving Kriol and English prepositions.

The above list of objectives is not intended to be exhaustive. Moreover, in the teaching notes and suggested ideas below,

objectives 1 to 8 only are discussed. Objectives 9 to 12 have been included in the list above to indicate the direction the program should take. To deal with these later objectives teachers will need to acquire a systematic background in Kriol as a language, working from one of the references listed below. Teacher observation of students' speech will not provide a sufficient basis for lessons on grammar because the grammar is different from English, and is complex and thus needs systematic study.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHERS

Teachers are reminded that the focus is on English and they need only be aware of the Kriol equivalent in order to highlight the English to the children. Much of this can be done by maintaining consistent colour coding, on-going dictionary work, and Standard English modelling, as it is Kriol that the children are familiar with, and it is English they are learning.

Although teachers should gain valuable and essential assistance from Aboriginal Education Workers, the concept of using Kriol to assist in teaching English will be new to most AEWs and they may need much discussion and time to get used to the idea. Such discussion and involvement in programming will be time well spent, as the AEWs will be the people in the best position to assist with pronunciation and clarification and provide examples with which to work in the classroom.

Teachers should use a very High form of English to highlight the differences and discourage literal translation from Kriol to English which would result in incorrect English. For example, *kid* is the colloquial term for a child in Australian English, but it is the main word for child in Kriol. However, if a Kriol speaker wants to speak English he must know how to use the English word *child*. The term *High English* is used in the Kimberley by Aboriginal people to refer to Standard English as it is used in literature and by those whose speech is not adjusted to the local Kimberley idiom.

As the steps to teaching pronouns are followed, children should gain automatic control of the English pattern and will be equipped to code switch automatically. The effect will be cumulative in that, as one proceeds, more vocabulary will be included and previously learned structures repeated and reinforced.

- * Focus on Kriol should be in terms of contrast and proceed from the known to the unknown.
- * Focus should be on oral work to teach the new English forms.

- * Modelling of the English forms is most important. Repetition by the teacher *cannot be overdone* because this is the way children will hear the English and be able to work out the way English forms are used.
- * Opportunity must be given for children to hear the English forms and respond to them.
- * While the focus is on oral language students should, where appropriate, keep two separate dictionaries and make ongoing dictionary entries. Some words will be suitable for this where a meaning can be given such as the three English words *he*, *she* and *it*, which all equate with one Kriol word *im*. However, the contrast between *she* and *her* in English cannot be described easily for Kriol speakers, nor can words such as *bin* (Kriol) which is a tense marker and equates with the *ed* in the English word learned, so they will not be appropriate as dictionary entries.
- * Local subject matter only should be used. It is asking too much of the children in the early stages to extend their knowledge of Kriol to apply it to new ideas and concepts as well as new language.
- * Both Hudson (1983) Part 2, and Sandefur (1981) give detailed meanings of Kriol words, sentences and stories; however, Hudson deals with a dialect at Fitzroy Crossing while Sandefur deals with a Northern Territory dialect. Some differences can be expected at other places.

TEACHING NOTES AND SUGGESTED IDEAS

Introductory Lessons

In presenting the idea of lessons that focus on Kriol, the introductory lessons will be crucial if students are to have a positive attitude to the program. The early lessons could include such things as discussions of the benefits and value of having more than one language. Examples could be used of countries in which people learn more than one language at school and of migrants in Australia who speak English while retaining their own home language(s). Some children may be able to volunteer that their parents or grandparents know more than one language (older Aboriginal people are often multilingual).

Motivational activities could include counting from 1 to 5 in other languages (e.g. Italian, French, etc.), learning greetings or a nursery rhyme in English and in other languages. Such exercises

can be found in primary school syllabi in social studies, language arts and especially in multicultural education materials.

The following program divisions are not intended to indicate time allocation. Teachers will need to spend more than one session on each objective.

SECTION ONE : WORD STUDIES

OBJECTIVES

1. *To distinguish the difference between Kriol and English vocabulary.*
2. *To define orally the different meanings of Kriol and associated English nouns.*
3. *To define orally the different meanings of Kriol and associated English verbs.*

Example: *Drown* in both languages means that something is immersed in liquid. The English word includes the meaning that a person immersed dies, whereas the Kriol word does not give any information about the resultant state of the person immersed.

Suggested words for early lessons

drown	bullock	rock
goanna	tree	good
bad	trouble	Hilux
cheeky	language	station
camp	plum	peanuts
chook, fowl, chicken	paddock	coat

Suggested Approach

Treat the list of words above and as children become aware of what is required, they should be encouraged to suggest their own words and identify differences in definition. Teachers must be alert in normal conversation with the children to listen for words that may have different meanings from the English word.

Example: When children are using the word *station*, their meaning set is quite likely to be the Kriol meaning, but the teacher hearing the same word is imposing his own meaning set on it.

NOTE: Focus is on MEANING; spelling is not important at this stage.

SAMPLE FORMAT

Teacher presents the word for discussion orally.

Example: *station*.

Teacher asks: "What does this mean?"

Child: "Place where the manager lives."

T. "How far does it go?"

C. "The shed, garden, Aboriginal camp."

T. "Is it station at the main road where you turn off?"

C. "No."

T. "Is it station at the stock camp?"

C. "No."

T. "Is it station at XX bore?"

C. "No."

T. "Let's write down what *station* is. I'll try first.
Station is the buildings around the manager's house
on a cattle station. Is that right?"

Children are then given the opportunity to agree, disagree
and make suggestions or amendments to the definition.

T. "Now I'll give you the definition of the English
word *station*. It means 'all the land that is
called by the name of the station, including the
hills and bores and rivers. Everything inside the
boundary fences'."

The children know that XX station extends to the boundaries
but the meaning package of the Kriol word *station* may not
include this.

Follow-up activities

Older children - Enter the word and each definition in their
Kriol dictionary and in their English dictionary.

Younger children - Draw a picture for each meaning in their
Kriol dictionary and English dictionary.

Games - such as bingo, matching English words and pictures.

SECTION TWO: USING WORDS IN SENTENCES

OBJECTIVES

4. To demonstrate orally appropriate use of associated nouns in English sentences and Kriol sentences.
5. To demonstrate orally appropriate use of associated verbs in English sentences and Kriol sentences.
6. To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the word level using both English and Kriol.

Example: Kriol sentence to illustrate the Kriol word *dran*:

Dijan kid bin dran la riba tidei.

Meaning of the Kriol sentence:

This child went under in the river today - (probably while swimming and the child is still alive.)

English sentence to illustrate the English word *drown*:

A child drowned in the river today. (Implying that the child is dead.)

NOTE: At this stage do not attempt to discuss words like *bin*, *blanga*, *got*, or abstract terms such as *like* or *want*, because they are grammatical or abstract words and will be difficult to define.

Suggested Approach

All children make up sentences in Kriol to illustrate the use of the Kriol word and in English to illustrate the use of the English equivalent.

Example: Kriol sentence to illustrate the Kriol word *station*:

Mela bin go la station

English meaning of Kriol sentence:

We went to the station homestead.

English sentence to illustrate the English word *station*:

The station is very big and goes from the river to the hills.

Other activities could include compiling comic captions, advertisements and labels orally in each language.

It is to be expected that after a format such as this (Sections One and Two) has been used for several lessons the students will start suggesting words for discussion. Some words will appear to be the same in both languages but this will usually *not* be the case. The teacher should explore all words and try to find even the most subtle differences. Ideas for words can be found in Hudson (1983) Part 2 and Sandefur (1981).

SECTION THREE: MEANING IN THE SENTENCE

OBJECTIVES

7. *To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the sentence level using both English and Kriol.*
8. *To demonstrate orally the ability to express the same meaning at the story level using both English and Kriol.*

Sentence example:

Kriol sentence: *Wi bin go langa riba got modika.*

Meaning: We went to the river by car.

Here the focus is on the way words go together rather than on the meaning of individual words. The English past tense verbs such as *went*, *broke* and *drove* are particularly hard to learn because past tense is shown in Kriol by the word *bin* without changing the verb form, e.g., *bin go*.

Story example:

Kriol Sentence: *Mela bin go store en mela bin bayim mit, en mela bin kambek en kukum, en mela bin idim den.*

Meaning: We went to the store and got some meat. Then we came back, cooked it and ate it.

Connecting words are not used in the same manner in Kriol as they are in English and it is important that the variety of conjunctions in English be taught. Literal translation of the Kriol *en* into English as *and* would produce poor examples of English. However, it is not a poor example of Kriol to have frequent use of *en*.

Translation between Kriol and English may seem a daunting prospect for the teacher but any who understand the children's

speech are actually silently translating from Kriol to English as they interpret children's spoken language. Teachers will find the following references to be of assistance for these lessons: Hudson (1983), Sandefur (1981), and Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm (1982).

NOTE:

1. These lessons must be planned and provide ample and repeated opportunity for teacher modelling and student practice and reinforcement. The teacher is probably the only person who is in a position to give Kriol speaking children correct and repeated exposure to spoken English.
2. Teachers are advised not to modify their spoken English to approximate the children's language. Children probably have a degree of comprehension of English but will never attain correct usage if the model is not consistent.

SUGGESTED APPROACH

Teacher presents a picture of a local activity, landmark or event to elicit oral descriptions of the picture in Kriol. The teacher then provides a High English translation and models it for the class. The class then repeats with the teacher and individuals are heard and corrected.

NOTE: The teaching point of this lesson is the *High* English. The children *cannot* be expected to provide the English form.

Practice at switching from Kriol to English and vice versa could be drilled in unison first and later around the class individually.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

- Tape recorder - listen to English sentence and provide Kriol translations which may then be recorded. (Language Master cards could be used. Appropriate rhymes can be translated into Kriol, e.g. Ten Green Bottles, Five Little Ducks.
- Country and Western songs may provide appropriate content for translation exercises.
- Teacher-as-Learner, where the class helps the teacher by recording Kriol sentences for the teacher to translate into High English. These can later be used for translation activities.
- Sequencing jumbled stories in a story.
- Beat-the-clock question-answer quizzes.

It may be helpful to introduce areas which will be associated with each language, e.g. a Kriol corner and an English corner; a Kriol mat and an English mat. By physically moving to the language area designated, children can associate the linguistic switch with the kinetic. Games can be developed around this theme. This should be continued throughout the program.

As an aid to learning, consistently different colour coding for each language should also be used where any written work is employed by the teacher and/or students, as this will further highlight code switching.

For those uncertain about translating Kriol into English, *examples of Kriol sentences with their English translations* can be found in Hudson (1983) and Sandefur (1981). It should be noted, however, that these works are based on different dialects, and so examples should not be lifted for use in the classroom. Kriol examples for classwork *must* come from the students.

SECTION FOUR: GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES

For objectives 9-12 which deal with grammar, due to regional variations, teachers will have to consult appropriate references (see below). Generally speaking, Kriol speakers will be using pronouns which are quite different from those used in English and teachers are cautioned to check the following table with reference material dealing with their local situation.

<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>KRIOL</u>
I	ai (pronounced as English I)
he	
she	im or i (pronounced e)
it	
	yunmi (you and me)
	mindubala (me and him)
we	mibala (me and them)
	wilot (you all and me)

If teachers continue with this program it is suggested that the steps and approach outlined for objectives 1 - 8 be continued, as consistent formatting will further help students learn correct and appropriate Standard Australian English usage and help avoid language interference.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES GUIDE

two-way radio conversations	poems	stories
photographic exercises	language master	video
radio broadcasts	comics	cartoons
poster labels	role playing	drama
telephone conversations	interpreting	masks
matching card games	choral speaking	songs
matching picture and label	tape recordings	puppets
sports commentaries	picture talks	rhymes
continuous stories	listening activities	Chinese whispers

CONCLUSION

Small scale trials have been carried out using the concept of code switching between Kriol and English. One such trial at Yiyili Aboriginal Community School in 1984 is described in Hudson (1984b). Another was conducted at Warrimbah annexe of the Kulkarriya Community School by Susan Hanson. In her report (unpublished) she says -

Tangible results were gained within two weeks of the commencement of the program. The children...began self correcting both in an oral and a written form. They were also correcting each other and using the terms 'English' and 'Kriol' when discussing what they should write and when they were reading."

Schools and teachers interested in trialling such a program should contact the authors for further suggestions and ideas exchange.

TERMINOLOGY

Kriol - The name Kriol has been used in the Northern Territory since 1976 and is the orthographic spelling of *creole*. It has since been used in the Kimberley to refer to the creole of the west which is a dialect of that in the Northern Territory. It is also known as *pidgin English* and often referred to in derogatory terms.

Standard Australian English - The term *Standard Australian English* refers to the speech of English speaking Australian backgrounds and which is used as the medium of instruction in Australian schools.

High English - Aboriginal people in the Kimberley who speak Kriol (or an Aboriginal English dialect) use the term *High English* to refer to Standard Australian English. In contrast, they often refer to Kriol as *Blackfella talk*. The choice between using High English or Blackfella talk can have important social implication. (See Hudson, 1983:16).

Code Switching - The ability of people who know more than one language or dialect to switch between these language varieties according to the requirements of the situation. For example, a person may use one language at home and when talking to family, and a different language when at school and among peers. Code switching can occur within one language as when English speakers adjust their speech from formal to informal styles.

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