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ABSTRACT
              Three articles on the orthography of Australian
Aboriginal Kriol include: "Aspects of Developing a Writing System
with Particular Reference to the Revision of the Kriol Orthography";
"A Guide to the Kriol Writing System"; and "A Resource Guide to
Kriol." In the first two papers, issues of dealing with orthography
in a language such as Kriol are discussed, the basis on which
orthographic decisions have been made is explained, and questions
still to be dealt with are presented. Issues include accommodating
the continuum between light and heavy Kriol and the fact that it is
an English-based creole spoken in an Aboriginal culture. The third
paper describes available materials in and about Kriol. (MSE)

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WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series B Volume 10

PAPERS ON KRIOL: THE WRITING SYSTEM AND A RESOURCE GUIDE

John R. Sandefur

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PREFACE

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Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines
Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in
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technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis
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S.K. Ray
Series Editor

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INTRODUCTION TO

SERIES B VOLUME 10

Developing an orthography and writing system for a
particular language is perh;)s the most difficult and
sensitive task a linguist may encounter. Not only must he
deal with the interpretation of raw data, but he must also
take into consideration the emotional and psychological
aspects of writing a person's language. People feel very
strongly about the way their language is written. When
working in a language such as Kriol, the problems are
magnified due, in part, to the continuum between 'light'
and 'heavy' Kriol and the fact that it is an English-
based creole spoken in an Aboriginal culture. In the first
two articles of this work paper, the author discusses some
of these issues, explains the basis on which decisions have
been made, and presents some of the questions still to be
dealt with.

The last article is a resource guide giving a description
of materials available in and about Kriol. Also included
are references dealing with various aspects of Kriol as
well as a bibliography of books published in Kriol.

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by John Sandefur

ASPECTS OF DEVELOPING A WRITING SYSTEM
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE REVISION OF THE KRIOL ORTHOGRAPHY

John Sandefur

0.   INTRODUCTION

Two main prerequisites for the establishment of a bilingual
program in the Northern Territory in which initial literacy
is to be taught in an Aboriginal language are (1) an
approved orthography for the language and (2) availability
of written materials from which to teach (McGill 1980:7).
The orthography, of necessity, must precede the written
materials. O'Grady and Hale (1974:5), however, have
recommended that a finalized orthography should not be an
indispensible condition or qualification of a bilingual
program.

Kriol has been used in a bilingual school program since
1975, although the production of written materials did not
begin until 1976 and the full implementation of the program
until 1977 (Meehan 1981). Part of the delay in the
implementation of the program was due to the need for
careful consideration of the approach to be taken with
Kriol literacy and certain aspects of the Kriol
orthography.

In many respects the development of an orthography for
Kriol is the same as for any other Aboriginal language.
Kriol does, however, have some unique features which appear
to be problematical. Sharpe (1974:20), in an early report
to the Bilingual Education Consultative Committee, pointed
out that 'there is no denying that there are problems in
devising an orthography' for Kriol.

Most of these problems are related to the 'continuum'
nature of Kriol. Kriol is a creole language that has
remained in contact with the languages from which it
developed around the turn of the century (Sandefur 1981b).
It is technically classified as an 'English-based' creole
in that English, which was the culturally dominant language
from which it partially developed, has contributed the bulk
of the lexemes or vocabulary of Kriol (Sandefur and
Sandefur 1979).

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Kriol has continued to be influenced by contact with the languages from which it developed. This is most easily seen in the phonology of Kriol. Sandefur (1979) has described the phonology of Kriol in terms of a continuum of sounds with an Aboriginal type sound sub-system at one end and an English type sound sub-system at the other. The Aboriginal type sub-system, for example, contains no phonemic contrasts between voiced and voiceless stops, nor between stops and fricatives. The English type sub-system, however, shows contrasts between all of these. In other words, the former has the one phoneme /b/ whereas the latter has the four phonemes /p/, /b/, /f/ and /v/. Kriol speakers in the Northern Territory generally refer to the 'Aboriginal' end of the continuum as 'heavy Kriol' and the 'English' end as 'light Kriol'.

The two end sub-systems are connected by a series of implicationally related 'levelling' patterns. The end result is that a given word may be pronounced several ways. Although most speakers tend to have a few 'preferred' pronunciations out of the total possible, every speaker utilizes several of the variants. Sharpe (1974) tells of a nurse at Ngukurr who abandoned an attempt to learn Kriol because it varied so much. On first appearance it seems that there is no logical system to the variation in pronunciation of words, but in fact the variation is based on some very logical and precise relations between the contrastive sounds of the two end sub-systems. There is, however, one 'external' conditioning factor: the etymon of the Kriol word, especially if it is an English word, determines the route of variation a phoneme in a given word follows along the continuum between the heavy and light contrasts.

No Kriol speaker can be placed at a single point along the phonological continuum. Instead, every fluent Kriol speaker controls a range of the continuum (Sandefur 1983a). It is normal to find in a single stretch of speech words that have been pronounced with heavy phonemes as well as words with light phonemes. It is also very common for a given word to occur in several variant forms from the same speaker in the same conversation. For no speaker does the extreme set of light contrastive phonemes function as the psychologically contrastive system. For a few speakers, however, the heavy set of contrastive phonemes appears to function as the main psychologically contrastive system.

A stretch of speech consisting primarily of the contrasts of light Kriol or the contrasts of heavy Kriol is generally

considered by Kriol speakers as not being 'proper Kriol'.
Likewise, speakers whose range on the continuum tends to be
restricted towards one of the ends of the continnum are
often considered not to speak proper Kriol. Proper Kriol
centres on the middle range of the continuum, although it
also includes some contrasts from both ends of the
continuum.

Developing an orthography for Kriol has to take into
account the variation that is inherent in the unique
continuum nature of the language. This presupposes an
adequate linguistic analysis of the language. As Sjoberg
(1966:264) has pointed out, 'to create a scientifically
based orthography one must FIRST have a clear grasp of the
language's phonology, grammar, and vocabulary'. The
problem, however, is that no linguistic theory devised to
date can adequately describe the variation of such a
continuum. 'The static idiolectal linguistics of the 1960s
is rapidly waning, and most linguists now concede that
variation must be accounted for in any adequate theory, but
there is still no agreement on how to describe the variable
speech behavior of even one speaker, let alone an entire
community of speakers' (DeCamp 1977:16).

Most of the other 'problems' that Kriol has with regard to
developing an orthography are those which other Aboriginal
languages have as well. These problems include those
related to the three 'lects': dialect, sociolect, and
idiolect. Kriol is spoken as a main language by an
estimated 20,000 Aborigines in some one hundred and fifty
Aboriginal communities scattered over an area that covers a
million square kilometres (Sandefur 1983c). Because of the
isolated nature of the communities throughout that area,
Kriol has developed a number of dialects. Only three of
these dialects have thus far received much research
attention (Ngukurr: Sandefur 1979; Bamyili: Steffensen
1977, Sandefur 1979; Fitzroy Valley: Fraser 1974, Hudson
1981). In developing an orthography, dialect differences
must be taken into account: 'When different dialects
present a multitude of different forms it is necessary to
make some choices if there is to be any unity of visual
impression and if the same printed materials are to be
widely used' (Nida 1963:26).

In addition to the geographical dialects, there are also
variants of Kriol which some would call social dialects or
sociolects. Some social groupings, which do not
necessarily conform to geographical groupings, speak
different varieties of Kriol. Some of the most significant

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of these social groupings for Kriol are based on age.
Kriol, like all living languages, is changing: 'Fixity in
language is essentially a metalinguistic construct in the
minds of speakers. But though speakers construct for
themselves 'a language' which is fixed and regular,
empirical research has established that the state of 'a
language' at any point in time is a product of a number of
(often competing) ongoing historical processes' (Sankoff
1980:139).

The Kriol that the older people speak is different from the
Kriol that the middle aged people speak which in turn is
different from the Kriol that the children speak. An
orthography must take into account the sociolects or
variation in language between these social groups.

There is also the problem of idiolects. No two speakers of
any language speak exactly alike. No two speakers have
exactly the same grammar. No one really knows how
individuals who do not talk exactly the same way can
nevertheless communicate. Linguistics and associated
fields of study have yet to provide conclusive insights in
this area. 'We have not the foggiest idea how the
individual fits into the linguistic community' (Hobson
1973:164). How then can an orthography take account of
idiolectal variation? This question remains unanswered.

1.   THE KRIOL ORTHOGRAPHY

The development of an orthography for Kriol began in 1973
shortly after the announcement by the Commonwealth
Government of the bilingual education policy. A small
amount of work had been done in 1967 at Ngukurr by Mary
Harris (then of the Church Missionary Society) and Margaret
Sharpe [nee Cunningham] (then of the Summer Institute of
Linguistics [SIL]), but nothing was done in the intervening
period and the current Kriol orthography has little direct
connection with their work.

Work on the orthography was carried out in 1973 initially
by John Sandefur (of SIL), with an increasing amount of
involvement by Sharpe (then no longer with SIL). From 1973
until the end of 1975, the orthography was developed by
Sandefur and Sharpe with Kriol speaker involvement limited
to testing.

In 1976 two Kriol speakers, David Nangan:golod Jentian
(then a schoolteacher at Bamyili) and his brother Danny

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Marmina Jentian (then head of literature production at
Bamyili), became involved in the orthography development.
Nangan:golod had had some linguistic training at the School
of Australian Linguistics [SAL] as part of his teacher
training, and Marmina was being taught by Sandefur to edit
Kriol texts for publication.

By mid 1976 several Kriol speakers from the Ngukurr school
had also become involved in the orthography development
under the direction of Warren Hastings (then a school
teacher with some linguistic training). Sandefur and
Hastings were encouraging Kriol speaker involvement in the
orthography development and coordination between the
Bamyili and Ngukurr dialects. At that time it was not
known by the white establishment that Kriol was spoken as a
major language outside the Bamyili/Roper River district,
hence only these two dialects were being given
consideration.

In September of the same year David Zorc of SAL became
involved. During that month, ten Kriol speakers from
Ngukurr studied linguistics under Zorc and others, four of
whom were working specifically on the Kriol orthography.

In November 1976 a concerted effort was made to sort out
some of the problems with the orthography and coordinate
orthography development between Ngukurr and Bamyili. SAL
and SIL cooperated with the Bamyili and Ngukurr schools in
holding a four week Kriol writers' course. The course was
held on site at Ngukurr under the direction of Zorc. Six
Kriol speakers from Bamyili, including Marmina, and six to
nineteen (the daily attendance being irregular) from
Ngukurr participated.

1.1   THE 1976 KRIOL ORTHOGRAPHY

The majority decisions of the participants at the Kriol
writers' course established the conventions of the current
'official' Kriol orthography. This orthography gives near
maximum representation of significant sounds but allows for
underdifferentiation in spelling.

There are 38 letters and digraphs in the orthography: 27
consonants, 7 vowels, and 4 diphthongs. There are 16
consonant letters: b, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s,
t, w and y; and 11 consonant digraphs: ly, ng, ny, rd, rl,
rn, rr, rt, sh, th and tj. These are shown on the chart on
the next page.

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There are 7 vowels represented in the orthography, 2 with diacritics. These are also shown on the chart below.

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=================================
                VOWELS
---------------------------------
          Front  Central  Back
---------------------------------
High        i               u
Mid         e      e:       o
Low        e/a     a        o:
=================================
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There are also 4 diphtongs:
- <u>ai</u> low central to high front
- <u>oi</u> mid back to high front
- <u>ei</u> mid front to high front
- <u>au</u> low central to high back

CONSONANTS

	Bi-labio	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alve-olar	Retro-flexed	Alveo-palatal	Lamino-palatal	Velar	Glottal
vcls Stops	p			t	rt		tj	k	
vcd	b			d	rd		j	g	
vcls Affricates						tj			
vcd						j			
vcls Fricatives		f	th	s		sh			h
vcd		b	th	s		s			
Nasals	m			n	rn	ny		ng	
Laterals				l	rl	ly			
Rhotics				rr	r				
Semi-Consonants	w				r	y			

(NB: 'vcls' means the sound is voiceless; 'vcd' means it is voiced.)

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In addition to the letters and digraphs, five spelling conventions were decided upon:

1. Words can be spelt the way one speaks, regardless of dialect, idiolect or range on the continuum: 'we' *mibala* at Bamyili, *melabat* at Ngukurr, and *mela* at Elsey; 'sleep' *jilib, jilip, silip, slip* heavy to light range on the continuum.

2. Proper nouns can be spelt as in the original language
or as pronounced in Kriol: *Roper River ~ Ropa Riba;
Katherine ~ Gajarran; Injai ~ Hodgson River ~ Hadsan Riba*.

3. Words commonly used in forming compound words should be
spelt consistently: *taim* 'time', *dinataim* 'lunchtime,
noon', *longtaim* 'a long time ago'; *dei* 'day', *deitaim* 'day
time', *tudeina* ' right now'.

4. Reduplication of a word can be indicated either by
doubling the word or by placing a 2 at the end of the word:
olmen 'old man', *olmenolmen ~ olmen2* 'old men'; *shabala*
'sharp', *shabalashabala ~ shabala2* 'very sharp'; *wok* 'to
walk', *wokwok ~ wok2* 'walking'.

5. Capitalization and punctuation are basically as
practised in English.

1.2   ETYMOLOGICAL VS. PHONEMIC ORTHOGRAPHY

As was pointed out above, the vocabulary of Kriol is
'based' largely on English. Eighty or ninety per cent of
words in Kriol were initially borrowed from English. While
some words taken into Kriol from English have remained
unchanged, the vast majority have changed at least in their
pronunciation, but often in meaning and use as well.

Because such a large portion of the Kriol lexicon has been
borrowed from English, a choice had to be made between two
types of orthographic systems which could have been
developed for Kriol. One was an etymological orthography
in which words would have been spelt in Kriol as they are
spelt in the languages from which they were borrowed. The
other was a phonemic orthography designed to fit the sound
system of Kriol itself. It was the latter type that was
chosen.

The advantage of an etymological orthography would have
been that people who are literate in English could possibly
find it very easy to read and write Kriol--especially
whites.

The disadvantages, however, far outweighed the advantage:

1. All the problems inherent in learning to read English
because of the way English is spelt would have been carried
over into Kriol. For example, in English we do not use the

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principle of one symbol-one sound relationship. As a
result, [f] may be spelt five ways, as in life, rough,
half, cuff, and graph.

2. An etymological orthography for Kriol would have added
additional mismatches between sounds and symbols, such as
the sound [g] in the following Kriol words: /grajim/ 'dig'
would have been scratch-him, /gajim/ 'get' would have been
catch-him, and /gidim/ 'get' would have been get-him.

3. Not only would the problems of reading English have
been carried over into Kriol, but the problems of learning
to spell would also have been carried over. 'To cling to
the etymological principle would naturally offer very
little practical advantage. One cannot expect the users of
a language only to be able to spell correctly with the use
of a dictionary' (Voorhoeve 1963:69).

4. Advocating an etymological orthography for dialects of
English may be acceptable. Flint (1968:8) notes that
'variation in intelligibility [of Aboriginal English] is
due more to phonological than to lexical and grammatical
differences'. Dutton (1969:20) likewise notes that Palm
Island 'Aboriginal English has the grammatical and lexical
structure (except for minor differences . . .) of standard
Australian English. Phonologically, however, it has
characteristic features which affect its intelligibility
for the non-Aboriginal Australian listener.' Kaldor and
Malcolm (1981:44) similarly note that 'some varieties of
Aboriginal English resemble very closely or are identical
with "White non-standard" Australian English'. Kriol,
however, is much further removed from English than are
Aboriginal dialects of English, with greater grammatical
and lexical divergency from English than dialects of
English have. The confusion that would have arisen from
etymological spellings are easily seen with Kriol verbs.
For example, the Kriol word skeilimapbat in a certain
context refers to the regular weighing of a female infant.
An etymological spelling would be certain to obscure the
meaning: scale-him-up-about.

5. More important than linguistic considerations are
sociolinguistic ones. What are people's attitudes to the
written form of the language? Etymological spellings have
been used in popular writings such as Jeannie Gunn's Little
Black Princess and Douglas Lockwood's I, The Aboriginal.
Such an orthography would support the erroneous view that
Kriol is a debased, broken, or at best, quaint variety of
English. It is interesting to note here that the first

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attempts to write down the French-based Creole in Haiti
used an etymological spelling system which was later
replaced with a phonemic orthography (Valdman 1968:319).

The advantages of a phonemic orthography over an
etymological orthography are readily discernable:

1.   A phonemic orthography which is designed specifically
to fit Kriol avoids the problems involved in trying to make
the language 'fit' the system of another language.

2.   A phonemic orthography avoids the carry over into Kriol
of the inherent problems of the English system.

3.   A phonemic orthography is in line with the basic
principle of maximum representation of speech and thus
leads to an easier road to literacy.

4.   A phonemic orthography reduces negative sociopolitical
implications by not making Kriol appear as if it were a
broken English.

5.   A phonemic orthography aids in clearly differentiating
English and Kriol to Kriol speakers, thus avoiding
confusion for young readers.

There appear to be, however, some disadvantages of a
phonemic orthography:

1.   Many whites do not seem to like the idea of a phonemic
orthography since it makes Kriol more difficult for them to
understand.   (In actual fact, however, a phonemic
orthography helps reduce the chances of misunderstanding by
helping the reader not to interpret in terms of English
vocabulary meanings.)

2.   With a phonemic orthography, people have to be taught
to read.   Even most Kriol speakers who are fluent in
English literacy cannot fluently read Kriol in a phonemic
orthography until they have spent some time learning how to
do so.   In other words, an English reader has to learn the
symbol-sound relationship particular to Kriol.   (With an
etymological orthography, however, there would be a lot of,
if not more, relearning or transferring to do for a person
to read Kriol with Kriol pronunciations and intonations
instead of English ones.)

3.   There are problems with a phonetic orthography because
of the continuum nature of Kriol.   The Kriol word for

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'snake', for example, can be pronounced five ways: *jineg*, *jinek*, *sinek*, *sineik*, and *sneik*. How then should it be spelt?

1.3   SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR A PHONEMIC ORTHOGRAPHY

Several considerations were kept in mind in developing the 1976 Kriol orthography. Leeding and Gudschinsky (1974:27) had pointed out that an orthography 'should be chosen to make learning to read as easy as possible for the beginner and also to allow the experienced reader to skim and to read new material smoothly'.

It seemed that the development of an orthography for Kriol because of its continuum nature would be dependent upon answering the questions: What 'point' on the continuum should be selected as the 'norm'? Which heavy to light variety of speech should be the 'standard'?

Because of the understanding of the Kriol continuum at the time and the diversity of sociolinguistic backgrounds of Kriol speakers, another question had often been raised: What segment of the population should the orthography be slanted towards? Should it be slanted towards children and those adults whose speech had undergone little 'levelling' towards the light end? It was thought that if this were done the orthography would result in confusion from underdifferentiation of phonemes for bilingual speakers and those whose Kriol had undergone a high degree of levelling. On the other hand, if it were slanted towards literate bilinguals whose Kriol had undergone a high degree of levelling, it was thought that speakers with little levelling (particularly nonliterates) would have had difficulty with reading due to overdifferentiation of phonemes.

On the subject of overdifferentiation and underdifferentiation, Smalley (1963a:10-11) had noted that 'overdifferentiation, when consistently applied, does not usually present a serious reading problem, at least if it is not too extensive. The reader can usually be taught more than one symbol for the same pronunciation. The greater difficulty with overdifferentiation for the native speaker comes in spelling . . . underdifferentiation of the phonemic structure of the language causes a reading problem if the distinctions which are ignored or confused carry an important functional load. If they do not, or if

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context helps to carry the load, underdifferentiation may
not be at all serious . . . some underdifferentiation may
be not only permissible but desirable in practical
orthographies.'

An alternative to the establishment of an orthography based
on a given speech variety was to develop an orthography
which was basically capable of handling a full
differentiation of sounds used in Kriol, thus allowing
Kriol writers to write as they spoke.

Sharpe (1974:20) had suggested that 'it may be quite
workable in any case to allow more freedom of spelling in
[Kriol] than in English in advanced reading
materials--after all it is only comparatively recently
(post-Shakespeare) that standardised spelling irrespective
of pronunciation has become such a custom in English (and
this custom is happily violated by good authors
representing dialect differences on paper).' (For an
English example of this, see Xavier Herbert's Poor Fellow
My Country. And indeed, the standardisation of spelling in
English is not yet complete. The Macquarie Dictionary
gives the following words, for example, with alternate
spellings: didgeridoo ~ didjeridu; standardise ~
standardize.)

A literate, according to Gudschinsky (1973:5), is a person
who 'in a language that he speaks, can read and understand
anything he would have understood if it had been spoken to
him; and who can write, so that it can be read, anything
that he can say'. Most Kriol speakers vary along a wide
range of the continuum, both in speaking and hearing. It
was thought that they should also be able to control the
same range in reading.

Although Kriol involves continuum variation, what Balint
(1973:13) said regarding regional dialectal variation of
Tok Pisin was noted: 'I have always disagreed with those
Pidgin scholars who believe in the strict standardization
of Melanesian Pidgin orthography. It seems to me that the
most practical and at the same time scientifically feasible
method of recording the various spoken forms of the
language is through strict adherence to a general phonetic
principle. This principle is quite simply the faithful
recording in writing of all regional dialect variants of
the language.'

As was noted above, the orthography that was decided upon
by the participants in the Kriol writers' course does

indeed allow for variation along the continuum as well as between dialects.

1.4   THE NEED FOR A REVIEW

Since 1976 further development of the Kriol writing system has been mainly in terms of the practical application of the orthography. The design and production of the Bamyili School primer workbooks by Dorothy Meehan were in strict keeping with the 1976 orthography decisions. Likewise, materials published by SIL and The Bible Society were edited by Sandefur in accord with those decisions.

Kriol writers themselves, however, while being encouraged to abide by the orthography decisions, have not been forced to do so. Kriol students at SAL, for example, in being taught the principles of phonemics, have practised what they were being taught on their own language. The analysis and resultant orthography that different students have come up with have not necessarily been in agreement with the 1976 decisions.

In addition, Kriol writers at Bamyili School, who have produced the majority of the published material in Kricl, have been finding some aspects of the 1976 decisions problematical. Some of the problems involve the balance between overdifferentiation and underdifferentiation of the phonemic contrasts in Kriol. For example, for most writers the distinction between the mid back and low back vowels, symbolised by o and o: respectively, is not psychologically contrastive. As a result, many writers are not sure when they should use o: instead of c. Some are consciously aware that they 'should' be using o: and thus inconsistently 'sprinkle' a few throughout their writings. On the other hand, a few symbols represent several sounds which are psychologically contrastive, such as the letter b which represents both the stop [b] and the fricative [v]. Some Kriol writers have found the lack of certain letters in the 'official' Kriol orthography frustrating, while others have ignored the 1976 decisions and have used the 'missing' letters.

The 'discovery' in 1979 (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980) that Kriol is spoken in the Kimberleys has resulted in the need to reconsider the orthography decisions of 1976. Those decisions were made with consideration being given only to the Ngukurr and Bamyili dialects of Kriol. The other

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dialects of Kriol need to be taken into account and the
orthography reviewed.

A study of the Fitzroy Valley dialect by Hudson (1981)
indicates that few changes are needed in the existing
orthography to make it efficient for that dialect. Most of
the changes suggested to account for that dialect are, in
fact, the same changes needed to resolve the problem areas
experienced by the Bamyili writers.

Informally some writers and editors are beginning to make
those changes in the materials they handle. No body of
Kriol writers and teachers/linguists has, however, met to
make any 'official' changes in the Kriol orthography.
[NOTE: See the postscript.] The teachers/linguists involved
in Kriol literacy and literature production are hesitant
about convening such a body until more research has been
done on the other dialects and until there are Kriol
speakers from those other dialects with reading and writing
experience who can participate as members of such a body.

2.   THE GOAL OF ORTHOGRAPHY DEVELOPMENT

Whether we are involved in the creation of an orthography
for a language which has never been written, in the
development of a new orthography to replace an old and
unused orthography, or in the revision of an existing but
inadequate orthography, it is essential to realize that the
task at hand is a very complex one which is by no means
easy.

What exactly is the task?

It is useful at this point to make a distinction between
the orthography and spelling. Most writers use
'orthography' synonymously with 'writing system' to include
all aspects of the graphization (to use Ferguson's term
(1968a:29) of language. For example, Nida (1963:23) refers
to 'alphabets (systems of writing)' and Voorhoeve (1963:61)
to 'spelling, or "orthography"'. A few writers, however,
make the distinction that is useful here. The Prague
School (Garvin 1974:421), for example, points out that 'the
codification of the orthography . . . deals on the one
hand with an orthographic system, on the other hand with
its implementation in detail (that is, for individual
words)'. Grimes (et al 1963:114) uses more familiar terms
when he talks about the development of 'an alphabet with
spelling rules'. This distinction between orthography and

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spelling rules is reflected in the 1976 Kriol orthography decisions by the inclusion of the five spelling rules listed earlier.

For the remainder of this paper I will use the term orthography in the restricted sense of the graphization of phonemes. In layman's terms I would refer to this as the alphabet with the understanding, however, that it includes digraphs and not just letters, as well as punctuation which symbolizes suprasegmental phonemes such as stress and intonation. I will use the term spelling rules to refer to the application of the orthography to individual words. Collectively, the orthography and spelling rules form the writing system.

The development of a writing system is a form of language planning. 'Language planning is deliberate language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes' (Rubin and Jernudd 1971b:xvi). Haugen (1966) has shown that in order to be productive, language planners--in our case, writing system developers--need to be clear about their goals and the strategies to achieve them lest attempts at changing language start an avalanche that may get out of hand.

Speech and writing systems are both codifications of language which can be used to communicate the same messages. Powlison (1968:74) points out, however, that there are two basic differences between them which must be kept in mind as we work from one to formulate the other. Each system uses a different medium for communication, each with different potentialities. Speech conveys meaning through sound, reading through sight. Assuming the message of both is the same, the brain has to put the same interpretation on the two distinct kinds of information fed into it. A written message is much more limited in the supplementary help it can give the receptor than is speech. Help can be built into a written message by such means as word-pictures, photographs or illustrations, but these are much more limited than a speaker's gestures. On the other hand, a written message does not need the redundancy that speech requires because it does not have to compete with noise. This difference in required redundancy shows up in oral versus written discourse structures.

One of the main areas of language planning is language standardization. Standardization is 'the process of one

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variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout
the speech community as a supradialectal norm--the 'best'
form of the language . . . ' (Ferguson 1968a:31).
According to the Prague School an orthography should
contribute to the stability of the standard form of a
language: 'the <u>stabilization</u> of <u>standard pronunciation</u> is
the job of orthophony . . . [and] the <u>stabilization</u> of <u>the
grammatical</u> <u>structure</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>standard</u> <u>language</u> . . . <u>is</u>
enhanced by . . . its [orthographic] codification . . . '
(Garvin 1974:422).

Bolinger (1975:468) points out that 'speech is prior to
writing not only historically but also genetically and
logically.' Genetically we know that speech comes first
because blind children have no difficulty in learning to
speak but deaf children have great difficulty in learning
to read. Shutting off the channels of sight has little
effect on acquiring language, but shutting off the channels
of sound is almost fatal to it. Logically we can see that
speech has primacy because all well-developed writing
systems 'cut in' at some point on the stream of spoken
language. That is, some writing systems, such as English,
are alphabetic, keying their primary symbols to distinctive
sounds; some, such as Japanese, are syllabic, keying their
symbols to syllables; others, such as Chinese, are
logographic, keying their symbols to words.

A writing system, then, is formulated, in a sense, out of
speech. The Prague School would have the writing system
ploughed back into the speech system to help stabilize the
speech system. The Prague School does recognize, however,
that 'evolution is unavoidable; the codifying effort should
not try to arrest this evolution by artificially and
uselessly maintaining or even introducing archaic forms
. . . ' (Garvin 1974:422).

Most of us who are involved in developing writing systems
for Aboriginal languages for use in bilingual programs have
probably given very little thought to the function of the
writing system in the terms of the Prague School. Our
definition of the task of writing system development has to
a large degree focused on the development of literacy
skills. We tend to see the goal of writing system
development more in the terms of Cochran (1977:9): 'When a
language has a good alphabet, people learn to read more
quickly. If they do not have to struggle with words spelt
strangely then they can really learn to enjoy reading books
and writing stories in their own languages.'

What is a good writing system? Unfortunately there is no
simple answer.

According to Powlinson (1968:76), 'the obvious goal of
orthography formulation is to create an efficient means of
writing a previously unwritten language'. 'Above all,'
says Bauernschmidt (1980:12), 'it should facilitate
accurate and efficient communication of information in
written form.' Fishman (1977:xv) notes, however, that 'the
creation of writing systems is significant only insofar as
it leads to the acceptance and implementation of writing
systems'. According to Bauernschmidt (1960:13), 'one test
of a good orthography is that the speaker of the language
be able to learn to read and write it. Or to put it
another way, the orthography must be teachable.' Nida
(1963:23) notes, however, that 'it is not what is easiest
to learn, but what people want to learn and use which
ultimately determines orthographies'. Gudschinsky (1968:3)
argues that 'if the end point of what we are doing is for
people to be able to read, then the ultimate test of
everything is whether or not it can be read'. Pike
(1947:213, 215) observes, however, that 'people can be
taught to read any alphabet (1) provided ample time is
given and (2) provided they desire to read strongly enough
. . . A good alphabet with no motivation will not be read;
a poor one with good motivation will allow the absorption
of much learning even by people who find reading
difficult.'

There are five major factors involved in the development of
a writing system: linguistic, sociological, psychological,
pedagogical and practical. Weaver (1980) points out,
however, that there is much disagreement on the relative
importance of these factors. Linguistic factors are
'fundamental to the shaping of any orthography--setting the
first requirement . . . [but] narrowly linguistic factors
are much less important than socio-cultural ones' (Sjoberg
1966:264, 273). Venezky (1970:256), however, disagrees:
' . . . while socio-cultural factors must be considered at
some point in the design of a practical writing system,
these are subordinate to the linguistic, psychological, and
pedagogical variables . . . '

Gralow (1981:8) claims that 'in the past few years the most
important development in the science of orthography design
has been the widespread realization that sociolinguistic
considerations seem to be "the most crucial" of all

considerations'. The importance of sociological factors is
not a new idea. Thirty years ago Burns (1953:85) observed
that 'social pressures have inevitably far greater
influence in the choice of an orthography than the appeal
to linguistic accuracy'. Similarly fifteen years ago
Shacklock (1967:30) noted that 'various kinds of
sociological factors may be even more important than the
linguistic factors in developing an acceptable, usable
orthography'.

In practice, of course, what we strive to do is find the
balance between the various factors. 'This practical
alphabet should be chosen in such a way as to obtain an
acceptable balance between phonemic principles and general
sociological situations' (Pike 1947:208). Somewhat
similarly, Gudschinsky (1973:117) implied the necessity of
a compromise: 'It is never possible to devise an acceptable
orthography in a social vacuum, apart from social premises.
Major languages always impinge on minor languages and often
force the orthogrphy of the latter to something less than
ideal.'

No one would deny the fact that a thorough understanding of
the phonological system of the language is indispensable in
devising a good writing system. An accurate analysis is
the essential first step. But the importance of
sociological and psychological factors over purely
linguistic ones cannot be denied. As Gralow (1981:9) has
observed, 'obviously, if an orthogarphy is not used, it is
worthless. If the orthography is not acceptable to the
native speakers of a language, they will not want to read.'

As we have seen there is disagreement as to what
constitutes a 'good' writing system and which factors are
most important in devising a writing system. The two are,
in fact, inextricably bound together. If linguistic
factors are considered most important, a good writing
system is one which closely reflects the phonological
structure of the language by providing a symbol for each
phoneme. If psychological factors are most important, a
good orthography is the one which most closely reflects the
native speaker's reaction or attitude toward the structure
of his own language. If sociological factors are most
important, a good writing system is one which is acceptable
both to the speakers of the minority language and to
speakers of the official language, especially those
involved in education and language planning. If
pedagogical factors are most important, a good orthography
is one which is easy to teach to a nonreader and also

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provides the easiest possible transfer of reading skills
between the minority language and the official language.
It is seldom that practical factors, such as the ease of
typing and printing, are considered most important. These
different factors often conflict with each other, and most
writing systems are compromises among them (Hollenbach
1978:52).

Probably the most widely used set of criteria for an
adequate orthography is that given by Smalley (1963b:34):

> 1. Maximum motivation for the learner, and
> acceptance by his society and controlling groups
> such as the government. Occasionally maximum
> motivation for the learner conflicts with
> government acceptance, but usually the learner
> wants most what is considered standard in the
> area.
>
> 2. Maximum representation of speech. The
> fullest, most adequate representation of the
> actual spoken language is, by and large, the
> ideal. There are a few points of exception here
> . . .
>
> 3. Maximum ease of learning. Many writing
> systems have failed . . . because they were
> essentially too complicated for a learner.
>
> 4. Maximum transfer. Here we refer to the fact
> that certain of the alphabet or other written
> symbols will, when learned, be applicable to the
> more rapid learning of the trade or colonial
> languages in the area. Thus, if a new learner
> learns a certain pronunciation of a certain
> symbol in his own native language, and if he can
> use that same pronunciation with the same symbol
> in the trade or national language, this is a case
> of transfer. If, however, the same symbol is
> used with different value in the other writing
> system, that transfer cannot be made.
>
> 5. Maximum ease of reproduction. Typing and
> printing facilities are a consideration, although
> they are not of first importance.

One of the problems, of course, is how to measure
'adequacy' in an absolute, objective way. In
Powlison's (1968:76) terms, one measures the

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'efficency' of a writing system, a very important
measure of which is 'the degree to which it is
used by the people for whom it is designed.'
Powlison provides four 'characteristics' of an
efficient writing system. These overlap
Smalley's criteria, and like Smalley's criteria
can only be measured in relative terms:

'To be efficient, a writing system must first of
all be acceptable to the speakers of the
language, those who should become the writing
system's principal users . . . it must be
readable by them . . . it must also be able to
communicate a message to its readers as
unambiguously as possible within the limits of
acceptability and readability . . . [and the]
fourth characteristic . . . is simplicity'
(Powlison 1968:76, 80).

3.   EVALUATING THE KRIOL WRITING SYSTEM

3.1   CHOICE OF SCRIPT

Langacker (1968:62) has pointed out that writing systems
differ in two fundamental ways. They differ in their
choice of symbols (e.g. English, Greek or Russian
letters), and, more importantly, they differ in the kinds
of units the symbols designate (phonemes, syllables or
words). The Roman alphabet, which is the one English uses,
was selected for Kriol.

The selection of the Roman script for the Kriol orthography
was a wise one, for several reasons. Cotterell (1978:10)
has pointed out that 'fluent reading takes place primarily
through the recognition of wholes . . . We seem to do this
through the recognition of word silhouettes. We
differentiate these silhouettes from one another either by
their length or by the various projections of the letters.'
Square scripts, such as Hebrew and Ethiopic, are difficult
to read because they present a poor silhouette. The Arabic
script presents a good silhouette without the vowel signs,
but it loses the silhouette when the vowel signs are
printed. The lower case Roman script presents a good
silhouette because some of the letters remain between the
two guidelines, some project above and some project below.
As a result, the lower case Roman script is excellent for
literacy purposes, but anything written totally in upper

case loses the silhouette and becomes difficult to read. A good silhouette contributes greatly to the readability of an orthography.

Nida (1963:23) has pointed out that 'alphabets (systems of writing) are largely cultural matters, and the value of existing systems of writing which may be known to the people in greater or lesser degree must be taken fully into consideration . . . ' Powlison (1968:76) notes that 'the dominant culture itself may insist that any writing systems developed for culturally dependent groups must conform as closely as possible to its own, but the people of the dependent culture themselves will also want this, unless . . . ' The Kriol speakers who were involved in developing the Kriol orthography in 1976 were exposed to other types of script, but none of them were given serious consideration. No one from the dominant (i.e. white) culture has insisted that the Roman script be used, though with few exceptions it has been assumed that it would be.

The selection of the Roman script for Kriol meets Smalley's criterion of maximum motivation. In his discussion of this criterion, Smalley limits himself to the question of whether or not the orthography being developed should be in the script of the national language. 'I think there can be no question as to the soundness of the basic principle of motivation in the direction of the prestige language of an area . . . This, I feel, is the most important consideration in a practical orthography . . . Without it people may in time turn against a writing system as they become more sophisticated in the culture patterns around them' (Smalley 1963b:36-37).

3.2   THE USE OF UPPER CASE

Even though the Roman script was selected, there was concern among Kriol speakers that Kriol should not look like English but should have an identity of its own. This was one of the major factors in the rejection of an etymological writing system. Kriol speakers have not, however, been game to venture too far from the Roman script as used in English. For example, Cotterell (1978:10) argues that 'if you use the Roman script it may be advantageous to leave out capital letters altogether. There is no reason why you have to start a sentence with a capital letter or use capital letters for nouns, just because we do.' Indeed, Smalley (1963a:3-4) points out

that upper case letters are unrelated to speech and writing systems that do not distinguish between capital and lower case letters work perfectly well. If the use of upper case letters was eliminated, Kriol would have a more efficient writing system. It would be easier to teach and easier to learn, as there would be only half as many symbols to cope with.

Smalley (1963a:3-4), however, warns that 'Roman orthographies without capitals for minority languages in which the speakers feel cultural insecurity may contribute to the rejection of the system. It appears to them as being substandard, less than completely identified with the prestige writing system.' Unfortunately, Nida (1963:23) is right in his comment that 'when efficiency and cultural prestige are pitted against one another, the latter almost always wins out in the end. It is not what is easiest to learn, but what people want to learn and use which ultimately determines orthographies.'

The capitalisation rule for Kriol established in 1976 states that upper case is to be as practised in English. Some of the English conventions, however, are not being followed in Kriol. For example, the first person pronoun *ai* is not capitalised as is the English I, and some writers capitalise the common noun 'name' of personified animals (e.g. *Keinggurru*) whereas English normally would not (e.g. kangaroo). The use of upper case in Kriol to mark contrasts in meaning (e.g. *dedi* vs. *Dedi* for 'human father' vs. 'heavenly father' and *God* vs. *god* for 'true God' vs. 'false god') is of doubtful significance to Kriol speakers. Here again, however, pressure from the dominant culture may demand such usage. No standard of usage has yet emerged, but the rules of upper case usage will need to be clearly elaborated to assist in the development of a more unified approach to the formal teaching of writing.

3.3   DIACRITICS AND SPECIAL SYMBOLS

Because of the concern that Kriol should not look like English, the Kriol participants at the 1976 course made several decisions in which Kriol did not follow English conventions. One of these decisions was the optional symbolisation of reduplication by the figure $\underline{2}$, as it is normally symbolised in Malay (Smalley 1963a:8). For example, the Kriol word for 'talking' can be written *toktok* or *tok2*. This symbol, however, has not been used very widely and probably should be dropped, at least from

published material intended for a wide audience. Because it is not used in English, Kriol speakers learning to read Kriol without formal instruction by transferring their reading skills from English find it a hinderance. Unless a person is formally taught what it means, it tends to remain a peculiar puzzle to the reader.

No rule has been specified regarding the writing of a reduplicated word as one word or as two words. The tendency has been for shorter words to be written as one word (e.g. reduplicated *bogi* is written as *bogibogi*) whereas longer words have tended to be written as two (e.g. reduplicated *shabala* as *shabala shabala*). Many readers stumble over the longer words when they are written as one. A suggested rule would be to write one and two syllable words as one word when reduplicated and words with three or more syllables as two words when reduplicated (e.g. *tok* and *bogi* would be *toktok* and *bogibogi*, whereas *shabala* would be *shabala shabala*).

Another non-English decision was the option in cursive writing of indicating the 'tail-n' [ŋ] as either ng or ŋ. The cursive 'tail-n' has not, in fact, been used very often. As with the symbol 2, this is probably due to the need for the symbol to be formally taught, and as the vast majority of Kriol readers to date have 'taught themselves' to read Kriol by transfer from English, it will proabably remain mostly an unused option. The cursive 'tail-n' is not used in published material because of the practical problems relating to Smalley's fifth criteria of maximum ease of reproduction.

Cotterell (1978:13) points out that an orthography must be produceable: 'Of course your typewriter can be modified to cover a range of several hundred different symbols which are all available on presses all over the world. But beware. Do not go beyond the signs that are available, because if you do your books will not be printed.' Bowers (1968) speaks of this produceable or practical aspect of the orthography as 'human consumability'. In order to be humanly consumable an orthography 'should be capable of being typed conveniently (without too much back-spacing for diacritical marks) on a standard typewriter suitably adapted, and of being printed at reasonable cost' (Bowers 1968:395). With the exception of the cursive 'tail-n', all symbols in the Kriol writing system are available on normal typewriters.

Several other uncommon characters were considered at the
1976 course, but these were dismissed mainly because they
were not available on normal typewriters. There was,
however, a decision to make use of one diacritic on two
vowels, the diacritic being symbolized by the colon or
'double dot' (:). Several 'above the letter' diacritics
were considered but not accepted because of the need to
back space and hence slow down production. The double dot
diacritic necessitates carriage shifting and hence is not
ideal, but its frequency of occurrence is low and thus
slows production only slightly.

The use of the two vowels with the double dot diacritic
(/e:/ and /o:/) has caused much difficulty. The
distinction between /o/ and /o:/ appears to be
psychologically significant to very few Kriol readers and
writers. Many of the writers know they 'should' be using
o:, but they do not know when to use it instead of o. As a
result there tends to be a random sprinkling of o:'s
throughout their writings. To self-taught transfer
readers, the diacritic has no significance; if anything, it
acts as a hindrance to their reading. It is recommended,
therefore, that o: be dropped from the orthography as it
serves very little useful purpose.

The use of the e:, however, presents more of a problem.
The e: represents the mid central 'schwa' vowel which is
psychologically significant to many Kriol speakers. The
use of the diacritic to symbolize the vowel, however,
constantly causes reading and writing problems, largely due
to its non-English familiarity. A person has to be
specifically taught how to use it before it can be
mastered, but because relatively few Kriol readers have
received formal instruction it tends to be a puzzle. Many
Kriol writers also continue to have problems with its use.
Interference from the English spelling system indicates
that it would be more effective to use the letter r in
place of the double dot. This is because most of the
English etymons of the Kriol words which contain the schwa
vowel are spelt with a vowel plus r (e.g. 'church' and
'world'). If such a suggestion is followed through, with
the double dot being dropped in favour of r, a study would
need to be made to determine which vowel is best used with
the r. Probably, different vowels will need to be used
with specific words, depending firstly on the alternate
heavy pronunciations of the word in which the schwa vowel
is not used (e.g. wark for 'work') and secondly on the
vowel of the English etymon (e.g. worl for 'world').

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3.4   THE PHONEMIC PRINCIPLE

Though some consideration was given to using a script other
than the Roman script for Kriol, no consideration was given
to anything other than an alphabetic system. The
experience of everyone involved in the development of the
writing system for Kriol had been limited to alphabetic
systems. We unconsciously assumed, as Cotterell (1978:11)
so aptly stated it, that the 'Roman script is good because
it has letters, not syllable symbols.' In actual fact, the
Roman script can be used for a syllabary system of writing,
but the complexity of Kriol syllable patterns and the large
inventory of phonemes, especially in the light sub-system,
would make a syllabary unwieldy. It would be in direct
conflict with Powlison's simplicity characteristic of an
efficient writing system.

Powlison (1968:76) draws a distinction between the types of
symbols used in an orthography and their respective values.
In other words, in developing an orthography for an
Aboriginal language we may select the Roman script over an
Arabic script or syllabary, but what values will we assign
to the various Roman letters?

Smalley (1963a:7) claims that 'it seems clear that a
writing system which represents the phonemic level (whether
on a syllabic or alphabetic basis) is the most efficient
basic system because it requires the learning of the fewest
symbols to represent the full range of speech.' The
phonemic principle which underlies all adequate writing
systems is this: every distinctive sound is represented by
one symbol and only one in the writing system (Smalley
1963b:38). This is vastly oversimplified, but the point
involved is basic. Phonetic writing reflects all the
minutia of sound difference which a highly trained ear can
detect, whereas phonemic writing represents with the same
symbol all of the different phonetic variety which function
as the same unit in the sound system of the language. The
mother tongue speaker of the language reacts to the
phonemes primarily rather than to all of the phonetic
variety (Smalley 1963a:6).

The difficulty with Kriol, as pointed out above, is the
continuum nature of the phonological system. Linguists
have yet to develop an adequate theory of variation in
language which can handle the analysis and description of
creole continua, and it is impossible to describe the sound
system of Kriol in terms of a static set of phonemes. It
is desirable for the orthography to symbolise every sound

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In her analysis of the heavy sub-system of the Fitzroy
Crossing dialect, Fraser (1974) gives a contrast between a
series of short and long vowels. The Kriol orthography,
however, makes no distinctions for length. Nida (1963:27)
has noted that 'advocating the omission of diacritics to
mark tone and stress and length may seem like linguistic
heresy to some persons. Actually it is not. We simply
need to recognize that for the speakers of a language it is
not necessary to mark everything which is meaningful.' In
terms of a practical orthography, Hudson (1981:26) has
pointed out that a five-vowel system without distinctions
for length appears to be adequate for the Fitzroy Valley
dialect of Kriol.

The 1976 Kriol writers' workshop decided upon the use of
four diphthongs. Continued production of Kriol written
materials, however, have indicated a need for some
additional diphthongs. The study by Hudson (1981:26)
supports this conclusion. It is suggested that three
additional diphthongs be recognized (namely, /ou/, /oa/ and
/ua/).

If the above suggested changes are incorporated, the Kriol
vowel orthography would then be as given on the chart
below.

```
=================================================================
              SUGGESTED KRIOL VOWEL ORTHOGRAPHY
   -------------------------------------------------------------
               Front      Central      Back
   -------------------------------------------------------------
   High          i                      u
   Mid           e                      o
   Low                       a
   -------------------------------------------------------------
               ai   low central to high front
               ei   mid front to high front
               oi   mid back to high front
               au   low central to high back
               ou   mid back to high back
               oa   mid back to low central
               ua   high back to low central
=================================================================
```

Very little attention has been given to stress in Kriol.
The 1976 course made no mention of it, nor do any
statements on the Kriol writing system include stress.
This is due partly to the fact that those of us who have
been working on the development of the Kriol writing system

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come from a writing tradition that does not mark stress.
Indeed, Hollenbach (1978:53) has pointed out that one of
the problems of marking stress is 'a shortage of available
symbols in official languages that use a Roman alphabet'.
If stress needs to be marked, how should it be done?

Fortunantely, in Kriol there appears to be no need to mark
stress. The general tendency in Kriol is to place stress
on the first syllable of words (e.g. *'nogudwan* 'bad,
useless'). Some words retain the stress pattern of the
English etymon, especially words in which an initial
cluster has been avoided by vowel insertion (e.g.
bi'langgit 'blanket'). Other words alternate between
stress on the first syllable and the stress pattern of the
English etymon, again especially words in which an initial
cluster has been avoided by vowel insertion (e.g. *'silip ~
si'lip* 'sleep').

3.5   TESTING A WRITING SYSTEM

A writing system that is based on the phonemic principle,
as was pointed out above, depends upon a thorough analysis
and understanding of the structure of the language in
question. Linguists, however, too often tend to undertake
the analysis and subsequent devising of an orthography by
themselves. Cochran (1977:11) points out that 'at a time
when there are an increasing number of people receiving
advanced formal education in countries where there are
languages as yet not reduced to writing, or are written
inadequately, it is important that nationals become
involved in the designing of alphabets for their own
languages wherever possible; expatriate linguists should
not make all such decisions.'

The need for mother tongue speaker involvement in the
development of a writing system too often shows up after
the system has been devised by an outsider. Shand
(1972:13), for example, provides an analysis of reading
problems in a language in the Philippines that were 'due to
the fact that our phonemic analysis and orthography do not
reflect the actual structure of the language in certain
respects . . . ' Arsjo (1981:8) reports a similar
innacurate analysis and orthography in a Papua New Guinea
language which they were alerted to because of problems
that occurred, not in reading, but only in writing: 'Why
didn't the initial phonemic analysis indicate any of these
things? Part of the problem was undoubtedly our inability
to hear accurately . . . The people's feelings should have

Gudschinsky (1970:24) further notes that a question which should be raised when the adequacy of an orthography is being discussed is the method used in teaching: 'It is almost certain that some orthographies which appeared to be too difficult for people to learn to read were not really too difficult at all. The problem lay in the method with which reading was taught . . . In any testing program, reading errors must be correlated with teaching methods as well as with orthography changes.'

In testing the orthography of a Papua New Guinea language, Arsjo (1981:7) found a marked division of opinion between the people who were literate in the language only and those who were also literate in Pidgin and/or English. The testers concluded that the best people to test were the monoliterates rather than the multiliterates because 'they will be in the majority for some time to come.' This is the opposite from the situation with Kriol. The vast majority of Kriol readers are biliterates, having first learnt to read English in school and then taught themselves to read Kriol by transfer. That is likely to remain the major trend with Kriol for a long time to come unless education departments seek to raise the rate of literacy by utilising Kriol. The important Kriol speakers to test are those who speak Kriol as their primary language, preferably those who speak it as their mother tongue. Those who speak it as a second language should also be tested, but the results of their tests should not carry as much weight in revising the writing system as those of first language speakers.

Hollenbach (1978:59) has cautioned that 'different people have reacted in quite different ways to orthographical decisions we made, even though all were native speakers. I would therefore further urge people involved in orthography design to check with several people. It is also well to remember that people often tell you what they think you want to hear, rather than what they themselves think.'

Jones (1978:2) provides a report of an orthography conference in Brazil that 'arose out of the increasing bilingualism of the group coupled with increasing literature in their Kura language. Most of the people learned to read and write Portuguese before they learned to read and write Kura, and in areas of uncertainty each person was making his own adaptation of Portuguese orthography to the Kura written language.' One of the exciting results of the conference was the realisation by the participants that their language, 'while different from

Portuguese, is more valuable to them because it more accurately expresses the way they think. As they realised that the orthography of Kura could be planned to write their language more accurately than Portuguese is written, they became even more proud of their language' (Jones 1978:2).

One of the benefits of the 1976 Kriol course was that the Kriol participants improved their reading and writing skills through the detailed discussions about the orthography. A greater benefit, however, was that the Kriol participants became very possessive about their language and in many cases dogmatic about their decisions. They openly expressed the attitude that Kriol was their language, that they knew more about it than we white linguists did, and that therefore what they decided carried more weight than what we suggested. The Kriol writing system, while involving white teachers and linguists in its development, is the property of Kriol speakers.

3.6   CONSIDERATION FOR TRANSFER

One of the main problems that Kriol has is the lack of prestige. Many speakers of the language, including those who speak it as their mother tongue, do not express pride in the language. Elsewhere (Sandefur 1979, 1981a) I have pointed out that this is not unexpected from people who have a long history of having their language berated, both officially and unofficially, by whites, with many school children being punished if caught speaking it.

It is usually thought best for a writing system to be designed to enable easy transfer both from and to the national language, especially if the language has low prestige. Bendor-Samuel (1981:24-25) points out that a 'situation calling for careful judgment is that of a community where a number of members have gained some literacy skills in the national language, and where the written form of the mother tongue has very low status. Sociolinguistic factors may cause people to choose to read the Scriptures in the national language with very poor comprehension, rather than in their low-prestige mother tongue with full understanding. In such cases a literacy program designed to raise the status of literature in the mother tongue may well be justified even though a number of community members have already been taught basic reading skills. Such programs will probably focus on the

development and distribution of vernacular literature,
rather than on teaching people how to read.'

Most of the discussion about transfer potential of an
orthography in the literature, however, deals with transfer
from the mother tongue to the national language. 'The next
principle to which we want to give consideration is the
principle that, having learned to read his native language,
a reader should be able to learn to read the trade or
national or colonial language of the area with as little
difficulty as possible in the transference of the value of
the symbols' (Smalley 1963b:44). 'The typical view of
missionaries today seems to be that one should choose the
alphabet that is used for the national language of the
country and the spelling conventions should be such that
they would provide an easy transition to the national
language' (Ferguson 1968b:259). The only Kriol readers who
have transferred from Kriol to English have been the
children who have come through the Bamyili Kriol bilingual
program. All others to date have transferred from English
to Kriol, and the vast majority for a long time to come
will be in this category.

The concept of transfer is based upon the observation that
'once literacy is obtained in one language, there is rarely
trouble in obtaining it in another language with a similar
type of writing system' if the reader also speaks that
language (Berry 1977:7). The conclusion usually drawn is
that 'the alphabet should conform as closely as is
practicable to the trade language' (Pike 1947:212).

In Australia, however, there has also been a general
consensus that there should be a uniformity of
orthographies for Aboriginal languages, thus promoting
transfer between Aboriginal languages. In the early stages
of the development of the Kriol orthography, the primary
concern was for maximum transfer from Kriol to English.
This was because the focus for the moment was the
development of a writing system to enable the establishment
of the Kriol bilingual programs in the Bamyili and Ngukurr
schools. Some consideration was also given, however, to
transfer between Kriol and other Aboriginal languages
because of the cultural emphasis of the bilingual programs.
One aspect of teaching culture was having traditional
language classes. It was desirable that children be able
to transfer their reading skills from Kriol to the
traditional languages.

Transfer from English to Kriol has only recently been given consideration. As adult literacy has begun to be brought into focus, it has been realised that many Kriol speakers can already read English and the number going through school is increasing. In order to achieve wide-spread Kriol literacy with the least difficulty and expense, it is essential to make transfer from English to Kriol as smooth as possible.

When it comes to trying to design a writing system that will provide maximum transfer from one language to another, 'there are always difficulties because of the fact that no two languages are really alike' (Smalley 1963b:45). In the case of two traditional Aboriginal languages, the differences between them may be minimal so as to cause no problems. On the other hand, there may be significant phonemic differences between dialects of the one language to cause major problems. The problem of dialect differences, however, is not generally considered to be a problem of transfer. Rather, as Smalley (1963b:40) points out, it is often a question of the maximum representation of speech. In general, Smalley (1963a:10) advocates the principle of greatest diversity: 'overdifferentiation may be required for certain dialects of a language in order to accommodate a writing system to more than one dialect'. It is this principle of overdifferentiation that problems of dialect differences often have in common with problems of transfer between languages.

The problems of maximising the transfer potential for a minority language orthography are of several types. The first, which is related to the problem of dialect differences, is the mismatch between the allophonic variants of the phonemes of the two languages. For example, in English the voiceless stop /t/ has two allophones, aspirated and unaspirated ([tʰ] and [t]) respectively, whereas the voiced stop /d/ has only the one form ([d]). It would be possible in another language for the aspirated variant [tʰ] to be an allophone, not of the voiceless stop /t/, but of the voiced stop /d/.

A more common problem with English, however, arises from the fact that the English orthographic system contains more than one symbol for a single phoneme. The general principle guiding the selection of a symbol or grapheme is to choose the most common one with the least distributional restrictions (Hollenbach 1978:53). For example, s would usually be chosen over z or c for a voiceless alveolar sibilant. When there is no symbol without distributional

restrictions, sometimes more than one symbol may need to be chosen to represent the one phoneme.

The English vowel system is especially complex in this area. It is because of the English complexities that the Kriol orthography has essentially followed the recommendation of Leeding and Gudschinsky (1974:29) that the five symbols used in English [but not necessarily with their English values] be used . . .' Problems in transition into English cannot be avoided because of the two distinctly different vowel systems. Use of the recommended symbols, however, will make reading in the vernacular as easy as possible and should help to keep problems to a minimum when transfer is made to English.' This has aided transfer between Kriol and traditional languages, though relatively few Kriol speakers make that transfer. Problems Kriol speakers may experience in vowel transfer from Kriol to English are basically the same as those experienced by speakers of other Aboriginal languages, with the solutions to the problems being similar. The main problems, however, are in the transfer from English to Kriol.

Interference problems are especially noticeable with reading of the Kriol u and a, particularly in one syllable words. For example, bat is often incorrectly read as 'bat' instead of 'but', and but as 'but' instead of 'boot'. A possible solution to this interference problem would be to partially shift the Kriol vowel symbols around, with the addition of an extra vowel. If this were done, a would symbolize a low front vowel [ ] instead of the low central vowel /a/; u would symbolize the low central vowel /a/ instead of the high back vowel /u/; and oo would be used to symbolize the high back vowel /u/. This would, however, lead to further complications with some of the longer words. It may be that simply using oo in place of u for the high back vowel would be the best compromise. A shifted vowel system has not been formally tested, and most informal discussions about a shift have been negative.

If a move were to be made in this area of making Kriol vowels much more like English vowels so as to facilitate transfer, a closer examination would need to be made. Grimes et al (1963:117) have, for example, recommended the following symbolisation for several African languages based on the regularity in English: ee as in the English word bee; ay as in play; eh for the sound in bet (e not being acceptable as it would be read as the sound in be); a as in carpet; aw as in lawn; ow as in know (o not being

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acceptable as it would be read as the sound in pot or to);
and oo as in boot. One of the problems with such a system,
as Grimes et al (1963:118) notes, is that it is not a very
economical use of space. With smaller books this may not
matter, but with large volumes, such as books of the Bible,
it becomes a significant factor.

The complex problems of maximising the transfer potential
of an orthography arise when the orthography of the
national language provides no exactly equivalent symbol for
a phoneme in the minority language. Hollenbach (1978:53)
discusses four possible ways to resolve such problems. The
first is to combine existing symbols into new digraphs or
trigraphs. The same sequence of symbols should not
otherwise occur in the minority language and preferably not
in the national language either. She says this is usually
a good solution sociologically and one that does not hinder
the transfer of reading skills. A second solution is to
assign a new sound value to a symbol in the national
language orthography that is not otherwise needed in the
minority language. This solution, however, may cause
interference in the transfer of reading skills. A third
solution is to introduce a symbol or diacritic that is not
part of the national language orthography. This solution
tends to be good for transfer, but it is not very good
sociologically. A fourth solution is to omit contrasts
found in the minority language. This solution, she says,
is good sociologically but not phonologically and sometimes
causes pedagogical problems because of the lost
information.

Smalley (1963b:49), like Hollenbach, discourages the use of
invented symbols, pointing out that such symbols destroy
'much of the character of the resemblance to the model
language'. When an invented symbol has to be used, it
should be readily distinguishable from the symbols already
in use. The use of diacritics is often the recommended
solution. Normally diacritic marks are placed so as to
make them as conspicuous as possible. Nida (1963:29)
points out that the Roman script is generally read along
the tops of the letters, not along the bottoms. Therefore,
with the Roman script, diacritics are usually placed over
the letters they modify. In some situation, however, they
may need to be made as inconspicuous as possible. This has
been the case, for example, with the Mesquital Otomi people
in Mexico who 'suffer from considerable cultural insecurity
and . . . are quite sensitive about such language
problems. The closer their language conforms to the
general appearance of Spanish the more are they likely to
be interested in reading it . . . ' (Nida 1963:29).

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The Kriol orthography makes use of a combination of
solutions, trying to strike a balance between maximising
the transfer potential to English and yet conforming to the
recommendations for uniformity among Aboriginal languages.
Kriol phonemes that are common with English make use of the
English symbol with the least restricted distribution. For
example, the phoneme /f/ is symbolized by f, not ph nor gh.
It should also be noted that in keeping with the English
usage, the digraph th is used in Kriol to symbolize both
the voiced and voiceless interdental fricative. Where the
sounds of Kriol are common with other Aboriginal languages,
but not English, is most noticeable in the use of digraphs.
While this aids transfer to traditional languages, transfer
from English to Kriol in some instances is hindered.

Kriol makes use of digraphs in common with other Aboriginal
languages for the retroflexed phonemes /rt, rd, rn, rl/,
the alveopalatal phonemes /tj, ny, ly/ and the flapped or
trilled rhotic /rr/. The retroflexed phonemes do not occur
in English, but the digraphs do (e.g. 'fort', 'bird',
'burn' and 'girl'). Two of the alveopalatal phonemes,
however, do occur in English, but because they are not
considered significant sounds they do not have their own
symbols (e.g. the first nasal in 'onion' and the lateral
in 'million'). Similarly, the flapped rhotic occurs in
some dialects of English but does not receive special
attention. Though all of these digraphs tend to cause some
problems in the initial stages of transfer, only the
alveopalatal /tj/ causes critical problems. Its appearance
is very non-English, especially when word initial. This
symbol, unlike the others in the Kriol orthography, alters
the image of the light Kriol word in relation to its
English etymon such that good readers often hesitate. For
example, 'church' is *tjetj* and 'children' is *tjildrin*. A
possible improvement would be to use the digraph ch instead
of tj. The main disadvantage of ch is that it introduces
the letter c. In teaching nonliterates, its use would
introduce complications as c has no meaning apart from its
use in the digraph. The other approach would be to simply
eliminate the tj and underdifferentiate the
voiced-voiceless contast, using j for both.

3.7   VARIABILITY AND STANDARDISATION OF SPELLING

The unique difference in the Kriol writing system from
other writing systems is the variability of spelling along

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the continuum. This provides for a wide range of stylistic possibilities for Kriol writers who have literary feeling. In addition, the variability of spelling, which is consistent in sound-symbol relationship, allows for the development of initial reading materials in specific dialects. As Nida (1963:26) points out, the problem of having one dialect of a language as the model for the 'literary dialect' of the language shows up 'in attempting to teach people to read a dialect which is not their own. Accordingly, it is wise to provide primers and some introductory materials in the specific dialect in question. Once the person has learned what reading is, he can then with much greater ease make the adjustment to another dialect.' The Kriol variability of spelling rule, in fact, allows for the preparation of materials geared to the idiolects of individual students. As Genat (1976:44) points out, 'the material given for reading should approximate the reader's oral language as closely as possible'.

In addition, the variability of spelling should eliminate the need to spend hours of time teaching spelling. Once people learn the orthography with its consistent sound to symbol relationships, they can spell the way they speak. It should make the pedagogical task easier, especially as compared to English: 'The reason we can get along with five vowel symbols in English for our horribly complex vowel system is that we can force children to stay in school long enough to teach them' (Smalley 1963b:42).

There has been, however, much opposition to the variability of spelling--though all the opposition I am aware of has come from non-Kriol speakers. Mother tongue English speakers, who come from a tradition of standardised spelling, do not know how to cope with variability. Somewhat similarly, those of us who are involved in the ongoing task of compiling a Kriol dictionary have difficulty in knowing how to handle the variability.

Some standardisation has, in fact, been taking place with Kriol. There is a noticeable trend among Kriol writers not to use the full range of variability available to them and present in their own speech. An extreme example is the demonstrative pronoun 'that'. With its short, long and longer forms, it can be pronounced in some twenty-four different ways (a few examples: *jat, dat, dadan, tharran, jarranwan*). Only half a dozen of the potential twenty-four written forms occur with any frequency in written work. In the design of initial reading material, the concensus of

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all teachers has been that a selected standard must be chosen with variability introduced at a late stage in the reading scheme. The standardised spelling of individual words in the Bamyili literacy kit was based primarily on common pronunciations of the children which were acceptable to the adult literacy workers. There has also been strong pressure--and here again it's been from whites, including manuscript typists!--to be consistent in the spelling of words within a given book. In other words, 'that' may be spelt as *jat* in one book and as *dat* in another book, but the pressure has been against allowing both *jat* and *dat* to occur in the same book.

I suspect that pressure from the dominant culture (i.e. from whites) will continue to be applied for the standardisation of spelling in Kriol. White teachers who attempt to encourage Kriol literacy, both reading and writing, among their students usually have difficulty in knowing how to cope with the variability. I would suggest that some standardisation of Kriol spelling should be undertaken to enable such teachers to cope and thus continue to encourage Kriol literacy. I would not suggest, however, that variability completely be eliminated, nor am I suggesting here that Kriol grammar should be standardised. That is to say, I am not advocating prescribing rules for correct and incorrect usage of grammar. What I am suggesting is that just as there are rules that specify the use of the symbols in the Kriol orthography, there is a need to elaborate the rules regarding the spelling of Kriol words and also the use of punctuation. The 1976 decisions did in fact speak to both of these areas: spell as you speak, and punctuate as practised in English. Observations of Kriol reading and writing over the last six years, however, clearly indicate the need to elaborate on the 1976 decisions.

Most of the literature on developing writing systems does not deal with the problem of such wide-ranging variability, mainly because few creoles had received orthographic attention until recently. Voorhoeve (1963) provides us with a discussion of a restricted problem of variability in Sranan, a creole language in Surinam. For various reasons, such as quickness of speech or emphasis intended by the speakers, vowels can be elided or lost. The problem is how to spell words in which vowel elision takes place. One solution 'might be sought in a set spelling of the words according to the pronunciation at a moderate speed. Then, however, the spelling becomes difficult to learn. A dictionary would constantly have to be consulted.

Moreover, in this way the language loses its stylistic flexibility, because it is the use of double forms which is so important stylistically, and is absolutely indispensable to the rhythm of the sentence. Besides, the pronunciation also changes with the degree of emphasis and the position in the sentence, even where the speed remains constant. So an arbitrary choice would have to be made between the double forms anyhow. This solution should therefore be rejected' (Voorhoeve 1963:65).

Kriol does not have an exact equivalent to the Sranan double form problem, but it does have several similar ones. Words that have an intervocalic 'd' are often pronounced, especially in quick speech and among children, as a flapped 'r' (e.g. *gadim* ~ *garrim* 'have'). Every word, then, that has an intervocalic 'd' has a double form. In addition, some words that have an intervocalic 'r' likewise have a double form with a flapped 'r' (e.g. *spirit* ~ *spirrit* 'spirit'). This does not mean, however, that every flapped 'r' is the second member of a double form (e.g. *burrum* 'from' is never **burum*). When full variability is practised, one does not know whether the underlying form of the *rr* is a *d*, an *r* or the *rr*. The standard form for the main entry in the Kriol dictionary should be the one with the underlying or stable form (i.e. *gadim*, *spirit* and *burrum*). The selection of these as the standard form also provides for the economical use of space in larger books.

Valdman (1968:321-324), however, has argued for Haitian Creole that standardisation of spelling is a prerequisite to the launching of a literacy campaign. He cites, as an example, the failure in both the McConnell-Laubach and Faublas-Pressoir writing systems to 'normalise' the five variant forms of the third person singular pronoun by a single underlying standard form. He argues that 'the normalization of variant forms of individual Creole morphemes and the selection of a single written form for each morpheme is the least difficult of the steps toward the development of a Creole standard . . . the interests of the Creole-speaking majority of Haiti can be advanced and the development of the country enhanced only if the vernacular is raised in prestige and dignity. Now that linguists, by detailed analysis of its structure, have demonstrated that Creole is indeed a full-fledged language, and now that a workable orthography that does not jar the sensitivities of the literate elite has been given offical recognition and is widely employed, there remains the task of codifying the language so that its speakers are given a set of conventions dealing with pronunciation (really,

In Papua New Guinea, Samarin (1960:219) notes that 'there seems to be more consensus among those who have anything to do with Pisin than in Haiti, and, in fact, some writers talk about "the standard orthography" [in the generic sense including spelling] . . . But there is still disagreement, as in Haiti, as to how closely spelling should imitate Standard English, such as *aluvim* for what is spelled *helpim* 'to help' . . . '

In the initial stages of the development of the Kriol writing system, consideration was given to a writing system in which Kriol words would be spelt very similar to and in many cases identical with their English etymons. Thompson (1976) recommends such a system for Lockhart Creole. In his system the creole word for 'write it down' could be spelt as *writim down*. Such a system was not selected for Kriol, basically for the same reasons as given earlier in the section regarding an eytmological writing system. However, with the phonemic system that Kriol has, it is often possible to spell words very similar to English. This is the case when the English spelling is very similar phonemically to the light Kriol pronunciation. For example, 'help' can be pronounced and written as *helpim*. A desire for English similarity would standardise on that spelling for the word. Most Kriol speakers, however, do not consider *helpim* to be 'proper' Kriol and would thus reject that spelling as the standard spelling. The 'proper' and more common form would probably be *album*.

Hudson (1981:20) has followed the principle used for Bislama, the lingua franca of Vanuatu: 'for those phonemes where there is no generally accepted realisation . . . the form of the cognate in the language from which the Bislama root was derive, is followed' (Camden 1977:ix). This means that the form selected for the standard spelling would be the pronunciation that is in general use by a broad range of Kriol speakers. Where there is no predominant pronunciation, however, the phoneme from the assumed English etymon would be used. For example, in pronunciation if both *album* and *elbum* are equally common, then *elbum* would become the standard form since its English etymon is 'help'. Likewise, *alabat* would be selected as the standard form over *olabat* since its English etymon is probably 'all'. There is, however, a strong sociological arguement against such a principle: Kriol is not English and Kriol speakers do not want it to look like English. If standard Kriol forms are selected on the basis of the spelling of the English etymons, then written Kriol will look more like English. Extensive testing needs to be

carried out to determine whether the standard form should
be in the direction of English or away from English.

Standardisation of spelling involves the application of the
orthography to individual words. This 'must be carefully
worked out and as far as possible it should be simple,
clear-cut and consistent. Here again the phonological
structure of the word and the need for morphological
differentiation should be the determining factors, and not
the phonetic structure. The introducton of unusual
spellings for purely historical reasons is to be avoided'
(Garvin 1974:421). Smalley (1963b:41) stresses the
importance of consistency, although the use of some
arbitrary spelling to reduce homonymy may be benefical.

Probably the most important principle to be kept in mind
while working out standardised forms is to keep the rules
simple, clear-cut and consistent. This would mean no
arbitrary spelling standards, although there is one good
argument for some arbitrary spellings: to reduce the number
of homonyms in the language and thus potentially reduce
misunderstandings of the written word. There is potential
ambiguity in Kriol, for example, between 'soak' and 'choke'
if both are spelt *jogim*. To reduce that ambiguity, 'soak'
could be spelt *sogim* and 'choke' *jogim*. Rumsey (in press)
has pointed out that Kriol already has a number of
grammatical and lexical ways of reducing the potential
homophony of English borrowed words. Textual clues
normally prevent misunderstanding due to homophony and most
of these textual clues would likewise carry over into
written Kriol. Arbitrary spelling standards should not be
introduced just for the sake of reducing the number of
homonyms, but should be considered used only for sets of
homonyms which continually cause problems to readers.

Part of the standardisation process is selecting among the
multitude of different forms from among the dialects of a
language. Nida (1963:26) points out that 'on the whole, it
is not advisable to "make up" an artificial dialect. Such
attempts are rarely, if ever, successful. It is best to
choose that dialect which (1) is the culturally dominant
one, (2) is the most regular in grammatical formations, and
(3) is most easily understood by the other dialects. At
times it is impossible to find all these requirements met
in a single dialect, and so some compromises must be made.'
He goes on to point out, as noted earlier, that while
readers often gain 'amazing facility' in the use of a
literary dialect which is different from their own spoken
dialect, problems often emerge in the initial reading
stages.

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The degree of standardisation being recommended in this
paper does not reach the level of which Nida speaks. We
are still in the initial stages of developing Kriol
literacy and literature. A standardised literary dialect
as such is still in the future. What we need now are some
suggested standards which will enable Kriol speakers to
more easily write in their own dialects and to write in
such a way as to allow readers from other dialects to
easily read their writings. The main difficulty at present
is that we do not know enough about dialect differences,
especially with regard to differences in the frequency of
occurrence of phonemes and speaker preferences. For
example, the Roper dialect of Kriol has a preference for
the voiced series of stops over the voiceless ones. Both
series are used, but the voiced are more frequent. In
addition most Roper speakers consider the voiced and hence
heavy pronunciations to be 'proper.' Though both *gugum* and
kukum 'cook' are in everyday use, *gugum* is the prefered
form. The preference in the Kimberleys tends to be the
opposite; that is, the voiceless series is prefered over
the voiced. Contrary to Sandefur and Sandefur (1980:34),
the same appears to be true for the Bamyili dialect.
Though some attempts can be made now to select standard
spellings, a finalised standard should only be made after
more dialect research is coupled with extensive experience
by Kriol speakers from all of the dialects in reading and
writing.

Another problem relates to differences in forms due to the
speed of speech. Nida (1961:125) recommends that the best
solution is to write those forms which occur most
frequently in the moderate or possibly moderate-to-slow
speech, for three reasons: (1) A person learning to read
will read slowly, and it is to his advantage to have forms
which approximate the speed at which he will be reading.
(2) If the material is to be read aloud publicly, forms
which approximate moderate speed will be easiest to read.
(3) The changes from slow forms to fast forms of speech are
usually automatically conditioned, and a person reading the
fuller form is more likely to automatically shift into the
faster form than the reverse.

This principle of Nida's supports the suggestion above that
the standard form for words involving the change in fast
speech of an intervocalic 'd' or 'r' to the flapped 'r'
should not be the form with the rr. In this particular
instance, the change in speed resulted in a switching of
phonemes. Most changes in Kriol due to fast speech result
in the loss of phonemes or syllables, and hence result in

the shortening of the word. The most obvious example is probably the loss of the final m̲ on transitive verbs: *kilim* 'hit, kill' often becomes *kili* in fast speech. Following Nida's principle the standard form would include the final m̲.

Quick speech also results in contractions in Kriol. For example, *bin oldei* 'past tense always' sometimes becomes *binli*; *melabat andi* 'we will' sometimes becomes *melabandi*; *bin andi* 'past tense intention' is often *bina*. Virtually all Kriol readers whom I have observed have rejected the contracted written form, even though they use the contracted form in their own speech. The only contracted form which appears to be universally acceptable is *imin* or *ibin* for *im bin* 'he/she past tense.' This contracted form appears to be acceptable because the uncontracted form virtually never occurs in speech. I would suggest that except for *imin/ibin* the uncontracted form be the standard in writing.

There are a few cases in which a syllable within a word is elided. For example, the pronoun *yundubala* 'you two' is sometimes pronounced *yunbala*. This is part of the 'shortening' process that appears to have been in operation in Kriol between generation levels for a long time (e.g. notice how the pronoun for 'we' has been shortened from *melelabat* to *melabat* to *mela*). With some words the shortened form may be established alongside the longer form and thus both need to be selected as standards (e.g. maybe both *yundubala* and *yunbala* should be standard forms). In other cases, however, the shortened form or forms are not generally accepted as legitimate or 'proper' forms. For example, it appears that the shorter forms of *lagijat* 'thus', namely *laijat* and *la*, would not be acceptable as standards. With such words the standard form for use in writing would be the longer form (in this case, *lagijat*). The longer form could, of course, be read with the shorter pronunciations.

Nida (1963:24-25) says that it is generally not a good practice to use 'silent' letters, letters for which there are no sounds. It may be, however, wise to preserve elided vowels in the written form of words, though vowels should not be indiscriminately added. There are, he says, two essential requirements for writing elided vowels: '(1) their automatic loss in easily definable positions (this does not justify the arbitrary writing of a vowel for some grammatical reason) and (2) the insistence on the part of the speakers of the language that such vowels should be

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added.' On this last point he notes that we still lack an adequate understanding of the psychological factors involved.

Vowel elision is most noticeable in Kriol in word initial consonant clusters as one moves from heavy pronunciation to light pronunciation. Historically as words were borrowed from English, consonant clusters were avoided by the insertion of a vowel, the deletion of a consonant, or both (e.g. 'sleep' became *silip*, 'stone' became *ton* and 'straight' became *tarreit* respectively). The inserted vowels are elided in light Kriol and the consonants reinserted (e.g. *silip* becomes *slip*, *ton* becomes *ston* and *tarreit* becomes *streit*). It would be ideal to apply a rule of standardisation that writes all such words either with the vowel or without the vowel, but the words are regarded differently by Kriol speakers. For example, though *silip* is heavy with regard to the inclusion of the vowel, the word is considered to be 'proper' as compared to *slip* which is light. The standard form would need to be *silip*. On the other hand, *tarreit* is considered to be heavy by most Kriol speakers and *streit*, the form with the vowel elided, is considered to be 'proper'. Therefore, *streit* would need to be the standard form. Every word which occurs with elided vowels needs to be considered individually on the basis of speaker usage and preference.

There are a number of 'special' related problems. One is the interpretation, for a written standard, of diphthongs and semiconsonants. For example, should the word for 'house' be written as a one syllable word with a diphthong (i.e. *haus*) or should it be written as a two syllable word with a semiconsonant (i.e. *hawus*). Extensive testing needs to be done to determine which of the two alternatives is the predominant perception of Kriol speakers. Hopefully, one rule of standardisation can be applied to all such words instead of having to consider each word individually.

Related to this problem is what to do with transitive verbs in which the root ends with a vowel. For example, should *bai + im* 'to buy' be *baiim*, *baiyim* or *baim*? There appears to be a definite preference for *dum* 'to do' over *duim* and especially *duwim*. The preference for 'to show', however, appears to be *shoum* over *showum* and *shom*. Hopefully, however, extensive testing will indicate that one rule of standardisation can be applied to all such words.

Another problem relates to the spelling of words that have a syllabic 'n' or 'l'. Some of these words have alternate

pronunciations which insert a vowel and thus eliminate the
syllabic nature of the consonant. For example, 'turtle'
can be either *tetl* (with the syllabic 'l') or *tetul* (with a
vowel and non-syllabic 'l'). Similarly, 'garden' can be
pronounced either *gadn* (with syllabic 'n') or *gadin*
(without). Some words, however, do not have alternate
forms. For example, 'little' is always *lil* (or *lilwan*,
etc.), with the second 'l' being syllabic. It is never
litil. Every such word will need to be examined
individually. A possible rule for standardisation,
however, is that words with a syllabic consonant that forms
a consonant cluster (e.g. *gadn*) should be written with the
vowel and normal consonant so as to avoid the unusual
consonant cluster it would otherwise form. Syllabic
consonants that follow a vowel (i.e. come after a CV
syllable) would be written as a syllabic consonant (i.e.
without an added vowel), thus avoiding potentially
ambiguous vowel clusters (e.g. *lil*, not *liil*).

Three other problems which warrant consideration are
initial <u>h</u>, geminate consonant clusters and the verbal
suffix -<u>ing</u>. Kriol words whose etymons begin with an 'h'
may be pronounced with or without the 'h'. For example,
'hear' can be either *hirrim* or *irrim*; 'house' either *hawus*
or *awus*; and 'happy' either *hepi* or *epi*. It would be ideal
for a single standardisation rule to be applied to all such
words. Unfortunately, however, usage and preference
indicate that words will need to be given individual
consideration. With the first example above, *irrim* is by
far the most common form and is considered to be more
'proper' than *hirrim*. It would, therefore, be the choice
for a standard form. With the second example, both *hawus*
and *awus* are commonly used. More testing would need to be
done to determine which would be the preferred standard
form. With the third example, *hepi* appears to be the most
preferred form and would thus be the standard form.

Two spelling rules are already in operation for geminate
consonant clusters. Clusters within syllables, such as the
'double' letters of English (e.g. as in 'boggy'), are not
used in Kriol (i.e. 'boggy' is spelt *bogi*, not *boggi*).
Clusters across syllable boundaries within a simple words,
however, are written as a geminate cluster. For example,
'finger' is spelt *bingga*, not *binga*, because of the
syllable break (i.e. *bing-ga*). The problem area which
needs standardising is how to write clusters across
syllable boundaries between words joined as compound words.
For example, should *nait* and *taim* ('night') be written as
naittaim or *naitaim*? The solution at first glance seems

obvious: the words should simply be joined together with
the clusters written as clusters. For many Kriol speakers,
however, *naittaim* is not perceived as two words joined
together. It is perceived as a unified whole. When asked
to pronounce the word slowly to indicate the syllable
break, it is often *nai-taim*, not *nait-taim*. A closer
examination needs to be made of all such words to determine
where the majority of Kriol speakers perceive the syllable
breaks to be. The words, on an individual basis, would
then come under one or the other of the two existing
spelling rules.

The third problem is very restricted in scope. It relates
to the spelling of the verbal aspect suffix '-ing'. It
occurs in two forms in speech, as -<u>ing</u> and as -<u>in</u> (e.g.
woking and *wokin* 'walking'). In general the longer form
(-<u>ing</u>) tends to occur more frequently at the end of a word
(as in *woking*), whereas the shorter form (-<u>in</u>) tends to
occur more frequently when the suffix is followed by
another suffix (as in *wokinabat* 'walking around'). A
closer examination of these tendencies needs to be made to
determine whether or not they form an adequate basis for a
standardised spelling rule.

There is much we do not understand about the psychological
aspects of bilingualism. Voorhoeve (1963) notes that
speakers of Sranan have learnt through the teaching of
Dutch to make certain distinctions which are functional in
Dutch but not in Sranan. The Sranan speaker now hears
these distinctions, however, in Sranan even though they are
non-phonemic. The spelling of Sranan has to take this into
account with the result that 'a certain amount of
'Dutchifying' is therefore desirable' (Voorhoeve 1963:62).
In Aboriginal languages, a certain amount of 'Anglicising'
may be necessary. Smalley (1963b:39), in recognising the
need for making concessions because of influences from the
national language, says that the importance of such
influences lies in the functional load they carry. They
are less serious if they are in the area of low functional
load than if they are in the area of high functional load.
The writing of items which carry a low functional load can
often be omitted, though Gudschinsky (1970:23) warns of the
combined functional load becoming critical if more than one
item is omitted. [For a discussion of the concept of
functional load, see Powlison 1968.]

Some aspects of 'Anglicising' Kriol spelling have already
been discussed. Because the vast majority of Kriol readers
are also English readers, interference between the two

languages needs to be reduced as much as possible. While
troublesome words need to be examined individually, many of
them cause interference because they are identical in
written form to a different English word. For example, the
Kriol word for 'top' can be pronounced either *top* or *tap*.
The latter form tends to be more frequently used and would
thus seem the best choice for the standard form, but it
sometimes causes problems because it is identical in form
to the English word 'tap'. The choice of *top* for the Kriol
standard for 'top' would therefore probably be a wiser one.
Some troublesome words are not so easily handled. For
example, the Kriol word for 'sheep' is *ship*, which is
identical to and often misread as the English word 'ship'.
An almost identical example is the Kriol word for 'sheet'.
Unlike the *top/tap* problem, there is no alternative vowel
used in common pronunciations. Such words need to be
observed closely and if found to cause critical problems,
then it may be that arbitrary spellings should be used as
the standard forms.

Some English words cause interference to the reading of
some Kriol words because their visual images or silhouettes
are very close yet slightly different. For example,
'sugar' is *shuga*, and 'television' is *telavisha*. With both
of these sets of words, if s were used instead of sh, the
Kriol and English silhouettes would be virtually identical.
If the standard forms were *suga* and *telavisan*, interference
from the one language while reading the other should be
minimised. The selection of the s spellings would in fact
be the selection of heavier, though much less common,
pronunciation forms. As one approaches the heavy
phonological sub-system, the /sh/ phoneme becomes an
allophone of the /s/ (and ultimately /j/) phoneme. The
'arbitrary' spelling of the 'sh' sound as s in such words,
therefore, has a phonological basis.

The spelling of numbers presents a problem. Numbers up to
about twelve commonly occur with the suffix *-bala*.
Occassionally higher numbers also occur with the suffix. I
would suggest that numbers up to ten be spelt out (e.g.
wanbala, faibala, tinbala; also *wan, faiv, tin*), whereas
the higher numbers should be written in numerical fashion
(e.g. 15000, not *fiftin thausand). The lower number
could optionally be written out in numerical fashion as
well (e.g. 1, 5, 10). In those cases where some of the
slightly higher numbers have the suffix included, a
combination form may be more efficient than a fully spelt
out form (e.g. instead of *fiftinbala*, write *15bala*).

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Another problem area which standardisation of spelling must take into consideration is that of morphophonemics. Nida (1963:26) speaks of the principle of 'unity of visual impression' which means that 'when the sounds of contiguous words affect each other in purely automatic ways, there may be some distinct advantage in preserving the basic form of the word rather than writing it in a number of different manners.' Gordon (quoted in Bauernschmidt 1980:19) provides the following rule of thumb: 'If allomorphs are grammatically conditioned they probably should be written phonemically; if they are phonologically conditioned they should be written morphophonemically.' In the latter case the morpheme maintains the same shape in all environments. Gudschinsky (1970:25) points out that the morphophonemic writing of function words is supported by the view that such words should be read by sight rather than sounded out. However, when important morphological distinctions are obscured by the neutralisation of phonemic contrasts, the underlying form of the morphemes rather than the phonemic form that is actually pronounced should in general be written (Gudschinsky 1970:22).

The only major area in which morphophonemics affects Kriol is in regard to the vowel of the transitive verb suffix. The underlying form of the suffix is -im. The preceding vowel of the verb, however, tends to affect the vowel of the suffix. If the preceding vowel is a back vowel, the suffix vowel is usually the high back vowel (/u/). If the preceding vowel is a high front vowel, the suffix vowel is generally the underlying high front vowel (/i/). If the preceding vowel is a mid vowel, the suffix vowel tends to be a mid or central vowel (/e/ or /a/). Because the suffix syllable is unstressed, however, the suffix vowel often become a non-distinct front or central vowel (/i/, /e/ or /a/). The most convenient standardisation rule would be to use the underlying form (-im) in all cases. Informal observations indicate, however, that the form -um is often preferred for use with verbs in which the preceding stressed vowel is a back vowel. There seems to be no predominant form among the front and central vowels. Kriol writers, seemingly indiscriminately, use all three forms (-im, -em and -am). I would suggest that -im become the standard form for use with verbs in which the preceding stressed vowel is a non-back vowel, and -um become the standard form with back vowels.

Another major area for consideration in standardisation is
that of loanwords. Solutions in this area depend in part
on when borrowed words are considered to finally become the
'property' of the borrowing language. Nida (1963:28) says
'words which have been borrowed by the indigenous languages
so long ago that people are quite unaware of where they
came from' should be written in the spelling system of the
indigenous language, whereas recent borrowings or newly
introduced words should be spelt in the system of the
dominant language. Bauernschmidt (1980:19), however, says
that 'words which have become obviously integrated into the
vernacular are spelled with the vernacular orthography.
Words with only one or two at the most phonological changes
might be better written as in Spanish since they would look
almost like Spanish anyway.'

The Prague School (Garvin 1974:421) recommends that 'the
spelling of foreign words, particularly common ones, should
not follow an orthographic system different from that used
for domestic words . . . On the other hand, it is neither
desirable nor useful to adapt international terms to the
domestic spelling system and by this change in their
written shape introduce a strange graphic pattern which
isolates them from their international connection . . . '
According to Ferguson (1968b:259), 'the Soviets have
generally preferred to have Russian loanwords spelled in
the minority language just as they are in Russian
regardless of the discrepancies in pronunciation or
orthographic conventions . . . Russian practice in this
respect has now shifted . . . ' Wurm (1974:213) says
regarding Tok Pisin that 'until recently, ad hoc solutions
have prevailed, but current developments favour
re-phonemicised spellings' of newly introduced words of
English origin.

Leeding (1982:5-6) recommends loanwords be spelt in the
orthography of the borrowing language, arguing that
'English-derived loanwords in Aboriginal languages are both
ours and theirs. Difficulties have largely arisen because
non-Aboriginals tend to claim these words only as their own
and Aborigines have not been aware that, like in all other
languages, borrowed words can be claimed as their own. The
spelling of these words can, therefore, be in their own
graphemic system. The ability to read and write in English
need not then be a prerequisite to being able to read and
write in the vernacular . . . The argument that, as
Aborigines must learn to spell English words eventually in

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their education programme and that they may as well spell
them that way from the beginning, overlooks what
consequences this has for the Aborigines' self-image. It
infers that English spelling is superior in some undefined
way to vernacular spelling, and that English-speaking
people are somehow superior to vernacular-speaking people
. . . '

The decision as to how to spell loanwords ultimately lies
with the speakers of the minority language. Bauernschmidt
(1980:19) reports of a poll taken among Amuzgos school
children in Mexico. Their unexpected answer was: 'If a
Spanish word has been taken into our language then it's our
word and we want it spelled like our language.' As a
result, all loanwords are now spelt as they are pronounced
in Amuzgo.

Kriol, being a relatively new language, is composed totally
of loanwords, most of which have been borrowed from
English. A policy of spelling loanwords in Kriol as they
are spelt in the languages from which they were borrowed
would, therefore, result in an etymological writing system.
The general policy for Kriol should be to spell loanwords
in the Kriol writing system, not the writing system of the
etymological language.

It should be remembered that Kriol is not unique in
borrowing words from other languages and spelling them in
its own orthographic system. English does the same. For
example, with the following 'English' words, note that not
only have they been borrowed from other languages, but they
are not spelt in English as they are spelt in the other
languages. (The transliterated forms are taken from *The
Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.)

English	Origin	Transliteration
beef	(Old) French	boef
turban	Persian	dulband
bamboo	Malay (via Portugese)	mambu
tea	Mandarin	ch'a
potato	Spanish	patata
chocolate	Aztec	chocolatl
bayou	Choctaw	bayuk

There are some situations, however, where it may be
advisable to allow 'exceptions' to the rule of spelling in
the Kriol orthography. In written instructional material
that makes reference to forms written in English (e.g. a

ballot), it may be advisable to use the English spelling of words which the Kriol speaker will be handling. This could be done in several ways, such as:

> *Dei gibit la yu peipa kolum ballot-paper.*
> or *Dei gibit la yu peipa kolum belatpeipa (ballot-paper).*

The second form is probably preferable, especially when the English spelling contains letters which the Kriol orthography does not have (i.e. c, g, x and z). The problem also applies to words borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages. For example, words which contain a glottal stop or an interdental stop should normally not be written in Kriol with the unfamiliar usage of h and dh respectively. It may be that the writing of local traditional language words could be in the writing system of the traditional language when the material is for local use only, but for material intended for use throughout the Kriol country it would be best to avoid such loanwords.

Related to the problem of loanwords is the question of how to spell names. A person's name is very much a personal thing, and the general rule is not to change the spelling of a person's name unless the person himself decides to change it (Bergman 1979:16). There is, however, an international precedent for changing one's name. In English my name is John. Though I can insist that it remains John everywhere I go, the Mexican version of my name is Juan and the Russian version is Ivan. In other words, the spelling of a person's name depends, to a degree, on the country in which a person is and the language of that country. When a person is in Kriol country using Kriol, he should be able to spell his name in Kriol.

It is often said regarding biblical names that one should maintain the English spelling of common names but transliterate the uncommon names. The problem, however, is in determining which are common and which are not. Not only so, but transliteration is no small task. If transliterations of uncommon names are not to be stumbling blocks to readers, a consistent transliteration system based on a thorough analysis of the relationship of the sound system needs to be worked out (Doble 1963). It was noted in the list of English loanwords given above that the English spelling is not a transliteration of the original word. The more uncommon biblical names which are spelt in Kriol as a literal transliteration of the English form have often been observed to cause reading difficulties. Kriol

names need to be examined more closely and a consistent but
dynamic transliteration system accordingly established,
even if the visual image of the Kriol form of the name no
longer resembles the English form.

Other types of proper nouns, such as the names of towns or
government departments, present another problem. How, for
example, should Hodgson River and Department of Social
Security be spelt in Kriol? The argument is often put
forward, as was noted above, that the English spelling
should be used because Kriol readers will have to know the
English spelling when dealing with those English entities.
It is instructive to note, however, that English does not
operate by that rule. The 'official' abbreviation for the
Russian states is USSR in English, but in Russian it is
CCCP. The language of Germany in English is spelt German,
but in the language itself it is spelt Deutsch. If you are
writing for an English audience, you write USSR and German
respectively. If, however, you are writing for Russian or
German audience, you should write CCCP and Deutsch
respectively. I would suggest that it be the same for
Kriol. If you are writing for an English audience, the
spelling should be in English. If, however, you are
writing for a Kriol audience, the spelling should be in
Kriol, not English. This, in essence, parallels the use of
spoken language: if the audience is white, English is
appropriate; if the audience is Aboriginal, Kriol is
appropriate. (For a more detailed discussion of the
spelling of loanwords and names, see Sandefur 1983b.)

3.9   PUNCTUATION

In developing a writing system for a language, little
thought is usually given to the area of punctuation.
Punctuation includes not only the conventions which we as
English speakers consider as punctuation (full stop, comma,
question mark, exclamation mark, colon, semicolon, hyphen
and quotation marks), but also symbols which indicate other
grammatical or thought units (such as space, indention,
upper case and italic type). Punctuation symbols usually
indicate suprasegmental features of a language (such as
stress, tone and intonation) or the boundaries of certain
kinds of gramatical units rather than phonemes or morphemes
(Smalley 1963a:8).

In common with other areas of the writing system, an
imperfect system of punctuation can confuse or mislead the
reader. A thorough understanding of the syntactic system
of a language is basic to devising an efficient system of

punctuation (Nida 1961:129), though Samarin (1963:161) points out that 'in the history of writing, all punctuation conventions have been at their best only partially indicative of what actually happens in the spoken language'.

According to Nida (1961:127) there are two principles in devising a punctuation system: (1) the simpler the punctuation, the better it is; and (2) 'regardless of anything else, such punctuation should be consistently used'. A corollary of Nida's first principle is: use only that punctuation which is essential for preventing misinterpretation of the written word. These principles need to be kept in mind in developing punctuation conventions for Kriol.

Cotterell (1978:12) says there are two basic uses for punctuation. The first is to indicate a sentence class. If there is a grammatical indication (e.g. an interrogative particle) which makes it quite clear that the sentence belongs to a certain class (e.g. a question), then it is unnecessary to use an additional symbol. If there is no such grammatical indication, then a specific punctuation symbol is needed. The second basic use is to indicate the completion of a phrase, clause or sentence. In some instances there is a means in the language of indicating the completion of a thought sequence (e.g. intonation) which shows up in the written form of the sequence (e.g. in tone marks) such that specific punctuation is not necessary. If, however, there is no way by which the reader can be assured that he has come to the end of a whole thought from the written words, then some kind of punctuation is valuable. Cotterell adds that whatever symbols are chosen for punctuation should be unambiguously visible. The full stop (.) and comma (,) are examples of potentially visibly ambiguous symbols, especially when using poor quality paper or duplicating methods.

Three symbols are currently being used in Kriol to indicate sentence class: exclamation mark (!) for exclamatory type sentences and interjections; question mark (?) for questions; and full stop (.) for normal statements and normal commands. This usage follows the English convention. Intonation appears to play a more important role in Kriol than in English, but there appears to be no simple means of symbolising the various intonation patterns in writing. The end punctuation used in Kriol is the same as that used in English, namely the full stop (.), with the

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beginning of the next sentence beginning with an upper case letter. Kriol differs from English, however, in its 'definition' of a sentence. A sentence in Kriol can consist of an extremely long 'string' of independent clauses joined by a conjunction (usually _en_). Such constructions may be considered ungrammatical in English, but they are fully grammatical in Kriol.

Cotterell's second use for punctuation is sometimes referred to as the indication of juncture. Juncture also includes the division between words. Nida (1963:24) has pointed out that phonetically there are often no borders between 'words'. In normal speech several words may be pronounced as though they were a single unit. Beck (1963:156) points out that even mother tongue speakers of a language cannot always easily decide on matters of word separation in their language unless they have a comprehensive understanding of the structure of the language.

Normally word juncture is indicated by a space. In some special instances the 'loss' of word juncture is indicated by a hyphen (e.g. in the phrase 'an English-based creole'). Maintenance of the visual image of words is psychologically important. Indicating word juncture at the wrong place can be disconcerting for the reader. Note the awkardness of _Englishbased creole,_ or _un gentle man li ness_ for _ungentlemanliness_ in English. At present, juncture is indicated in Kriol by space, and there appears to be no advantage in changing that practice. There are some words, however, which need to be examined more closely to determine where Kriol speakers perceive the juncture to be (e.g. should 'hit each other' be _kilimgija_ or _kilim gija_?).

Junctures between phrases and clauses are often indicated by commas, semicolons and colons. Voorhoeve (1963:66-68) points out that with commas one has to decide if they are to be used to indicate the structure of a sentence or to indicate pauses. In other words, should commas be used to indicate the end of grammatical units or the end of phonologically significant units? In many cases, of course, the two occur together. It is generally recommended that commas be used chiefly to indicate phonological pauses in the sentence (Voorhoeve 1963:68 and Nida 1961:127). The importance of indicating pause is pointed out by Samarin (1963:161). Pauses, and the intonation patterns with which they are connected, are intricately involved with meaningful contrasts in speech.

'Intonational puns' in English readily indicate this:
compare 'Look on the road ahead'. with 'Look on the road,
a head'.

The use of the comma in Kriol has yet to be fully
specified. I would suggest that it be used to indicate the
end of phonologically significant units rather than
grammatical ones. I would also suggest, however, that it
not be used for all phonologically significant units, but
only for those which are psychologically significant to
Kriol readers and essential for correct decoding of the
written word. More study and observation is needed to
determine which units are psychologically significant and
essential.

The use of semicolons and colons depends upon the structure
of the language. Nida (1961:128) notes that semicolons are
useful in languages which combine independent clauses in a
paratactic manner (e.g. 'It is late; I must go.') If such
combinations of independent clauses do not occur, then
usually full stops are used. Colons can be used for a
variety of odd jobs, such as indicating direct quotations
if quotation marks are not employed. Kriol could make use
of the semicolon in the context that Nida notes. I would
recommend, however, in an effort to keep the punctuation
system as simple as possible, that semicolons not be used
unless the use of the full stop in those contexts causes
incorrect decoding. The use of the colon for punctuation
in Kriol is not recommended, especially while it is being
used as a diacritic on the vowels.

Junctures between sentences are generally indicated by full
stops and capitalisation of the first letter of the next
word. There are, of course, variations to the use of full
stops depending on the intonation patterns and sentence
structure of the language. It is generally assumed that
questions, for example, will all be indicated by a question
mark at the end of the sentence. Nida (1961:127-128)
points out, however, that 'if the language indicates
questions by a special order of words or by some particles
in the sentence, then it is not necessary to employ a
question mark . . . ' In Kriol, for example, content
questions contain a question word at the beginning of the
sentence and one class of yes-no question contains a
question tag at the end of the sentence. The use of a
question mark with these constructions is therefore
redundant.

With the second class of yes-no question in Kriol, however,

the use of a question mark is absolutely essential. With
this class of question, there is no question word or tag
nor is there any change in word order. The only thing
which distinguishes it from an ordinary statement is a
special intonation. A question mark is therefore necessary
to indicate the special intonation. At present the usage
of the question mark in Kriol follows English practice,
that is, a question mark is placed at the end of the
question. In Kriol, however, the question intonation
begins well before the end of the sentence. Many readers
do not realise the sentence is a question until they reach
the end of the sentence in their reading. By that time it
is too late for them to read it with a question intonation.
As a result, they have to go back and reread the sentence.
One possible solution to this problem would be to follow
the practice in Spanish of placing a question mark at the
beginning of the sentence as well as the end.
Unfortunately, however, as Nida (1961:128) points out, 'the
pressure of the national language usage may compel the use
of the question mark regardless of actual need'.
Bauernschmidt (1980:18), for example, recommends the use of
question marks for languages in Mexico to follow the
Spanish usage if for no other reason than it makes 'the
vernacular look more like Spanish'.

The use of quotation marks can be problematical, especially
when discourse structure allows for quotes within quotes or
when the distinction between indirect and direct quotes is
not clear. Quotes within quotes are not very common in
Kriol and thus not a major problem. The main problem in
the use of quotation marks in Kriol is the lack of a clear
distinction between indirect and direct speech. It is very
common for indirect speech to 'turn into' direct speech
without it being clear when the transition is made. The
end of direct speech, however, is usually distinct. In
other words, there is little problem for writers and
editors to know when to close the quotes, but there is
often great difficulty in trying to decide where the
beginning quote marks should go.

It may be that quotation marks are not needed in Kriol at
all. Both Nida (1961:129) and Cotterell (1978:13) point
out that quotation marks are unnecessary when the language
has a special formula or special particles to introduce a
direct quotation. Kriol has several special formulas to
either introduce or indicate the closure of a direct
quotation (e.g. *Imin tok*, . . . or *Imin lagijat.*). These
quotation formulas, however, are not used to mark all
direct quotations. Needless to say, direct speech and the

use of quotation marks in Kriol needs more study.

Every language is different, with no two languages having
identical systems. The structure of the language for which
the writing system is being devised (in our case, Kriol)
needs to be objectively analysed and a punctuation system
devised for it. The system of the national language (in
our case, English) should not simply be imposed upon the
minority language. As Cotterell (1978:13) points out,
punctuation features are needed in a writing system, but
they should be 'related to the way in which the language
works. Use only what is needed and NO MORE. Do not use
[punctuation] signs simply because we use them in English
. . . Use punctuation thoughtfully and visibly, but be
quite sure that it is used only when necessary.'

4.   BEYOND THE WRITING SYSTEM

The development of an orthography and a set of spelling
rules is not an end in itself. One of the measurements of
the efficency of a writing system discussed earlier is the
degree to which it is used by speakers of the language. We
want to go beyond the writing system itself and see Kriol
speakers reading and writing and developing their own
literature. The ultimate goal is not a writing system but
confident literate people with positive self- image and
pride in their own language and literature.

The road to achieving these goals involves more than just
an orthography and a set of spelling rules. Smalley
(1963b:44) has pointed out that 'in the matter of ease of
learning, a great deal has to do with other factors than
the orthography itself. Among them, a primary one is the
program of literacy education which is carried on. With
proper primers, carefully graded materials, and interesting
reading matter ease of learning is considerably enhanced,
independently of the difficulties which may be involved in
the writing system.'

Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that some 20,000
Aborigines scattered across one million square kilometres
of North Australia speak Kriol, there is only one program
currently in operation in which all the elements needed for
the obtainment of the above mentioned goals are
present--the Kriol bilingual school program at Bamyili
(Sandefur 1982). It is clearly evident that the Bamyili
program is helping not only the children but also the
Aboriginal adults involved in the program to develop

confidence in themselves. There is a need in almost one
hundred and fifty other Aboriginal communities for Kriol
literacy programs to be implemented (Sandefur 1983c).

There is also a need for the expansion of the existing
Kriol literature. Although there are now some three
hundred published titles in Kriol, the body of literature
as a whole is very restricted. The majority of the titles
are children's books. It is important that a body of adult
material be developed in the near future. The range of
literature must also be broadened. As McGill (1980:36) has
noted, 'it is important to new readers that their
literature embraces at least the same range of styles as
their spoken language does. Later they may develop
distinctive written styles. In the meantime any
restriction of literature to anecdotes/stories alone should
be seen as crippling to literacy.'

What Cotterell (1978:2) noted regarding north Africa is
applicable to Kriol: 'We have long passed the stage where
we produce primers and readers which are patterned on
children's books written in English . . .   Therefore we
must find out what the people are interested in, and our
books must zero in on that kind of interest.' We must go
beyond what is available in English and in the children's
classroom and find out what kind of literature the
community as a whole is interested in and begin to produce
it. Without doing so, the literary potential of Kriol will
never be fully realised.

5.   SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS FOR KRIOL

A number of changes in the Kriol writing system have been
suggested in this paper. I have two main motives for
suggesting these changes. The first is the desire to
resolve the difficulties which Kriol speakers have been
observed to have with reading and writing Kriol. The
second motive is the desire to make it as easy as possible
for Kriol speakers literate in English to transfer or
extend their reading skills to Kriol without the need for
formal instruction.

The significance of this second motive should be noted, for
it has an important influence on the direction changes in
the Kriol writing system will take. In the changes I have
suggested in this paper, my focus has been upon the easy
transfer of reading skills. This is very much in contrast
to focusing upon the ready display of the distinctiveness

of Kriol. In other words, my major concern in making these suggested changes is not to make Kriol appear as un-English as feasible but rather to make it as easy as possible for English-reading Kriol speakers to extend their reading skills to include Kriol, hopefully without the need for much, if any, instruction. It should also be noted that my focus is upon easy reading rather than writing. That is, I hope writing will be easy, but I consider writing to be secondary to reading.

The suggestions I have made fall into three groups: those which deal with orthography, those which deal with punctuation, and those which deal with spelling.

5.1   ORTHOGRAPHY

Eight main changes to the orthography have been suggested:

1. The consonant letter v should be added to symbolise the voiced labiodental fricative /v/.

2. Consideration should be given to eliminating tj either by using the consonant digraph ch in those words which have a ch in the English etymon, or by using j in place of tj.

3. The 'double dot' vowel diacritic should be eliminated, with the o: versus o distinction being eliminated and o alone being used.

4. The e: distinction should be maintained by 'vowel plus r'; i.e. eliminate the double dot and use r in its place.

5. Three diphthongs (ou, oa and ua) should be added.

6. The '2' character symbolising reduplication should be eliminated.

7. Eliminate the use of the cursive 'tail-n'.

8. Consideration should be given to shifting some of the vowels, in particular using oo instead of u for the high back vowel.

5.2   PUNCTUATION

Punctuation conventions for Kriol have never been fully specified. Five main suggestions have been made in this paper:

1. Punctuation should only be used when it is necessary and punctuation rules should be kept simple.

2. Colon and semicolon should not be used for punctuation in Kriol.

3. The comma should be used to indicate psychologically significant phonological units, not analytical grammatical units.

4. Consideration should be given to using a question mark at the beginning of 'intonation' type yes-no questions in addition to its use at the end of questions.

5. Consideration should be given as to whether or not quotation marks are necessary in Kriol.

5.3   SPELLING

One of the main suggestions made in this paper has been that Kriol spelling be standardised. It is not recommended, however, that absolute standardisation be undertaken. Rather, it is recommended that standardisation be in terms of partially restricting variability. In other words, some variability of spelling should be maintained as a stylistic device for expressive writing and for the preparation of dialect specific initial reading materials. On the other hand, some standardisation of spelling should be established in order to provide a unity of word image in written material intended for use throughout the Kriol country.

The main spelling rules suggested in this paper are:

1. Words should be spelt consistent with the orthography of Kriol.

2. Words with one or two syllables should be written as one word when reduplicated, whereas words with three or more syllables should be written as two words when reduplicated.

3. Closed classes of words should in general be restricted to no more than one long and one short standard written form.

4. Contractions should not be written, with the exception of *imin/ibin*.

5. The larger numbers should be written in numerical fashion, whereas the smaller numbers can be written in either numerical fashion or spelt out.

6. The transitive verb suffix should be written in full, either as -im or -um.

7. Words with an intervocalic 'd' or 'r' should be written with the underlying d̲ or r̲ rather than the quick speech r̲r̲.

8. Standard spelling of given words should be based on the most common form across dialects, but where no form clearly predominates, then the English etymon form should be favoured.

5.4   LAYING DOWN THE LAW

The suggestions made in this paper are not binding on anyone. They are not intended to be taken as law. Rather, they are my thoughts on potential ways of improving the Kriol writing system so as to make Kriol literacy and literature more easily accessable to the thousands of Kriol speakers scattered throughout the outback of North Australia.

I trust that Kriol readers and writers, as well as the Europeans working with them, will think about my suggestions in the light of their experience and observations such that we can interact together and improve the Kriol writing system for the benefit of those whose language it is.

6.   POSTSCRIPT

Since writing this paper, several developments regarding
the revision of the conventions of the Kriol writing system
have taken place. In October 1982 a two day-seminar
looking at the question of orthography revision was held at
Bamyili School. Participants were limited to literacy
workers and teachers involved in the school's Kriol
bilingual program and two SIL workers. The paiticipants of
the seminar decided that a number of changes should be
made. (For details, see the report to the N.T. Department
of Education entitled 'Kriol Workshop, Bamyili October
28th-29 1982'.)

I then circulated to a few select people several word lists
incorporating some of the changes arising from the Bamyili
seminar. Comments on the word lists were received from
Yiyili/Fitzroy Crossing, Halls Creek and Bamyili.

In May 1983 a nine-day Kriol Bible translation conference
was held in Halls Creek. Each day a session was given over
to Kriol literacy and issues relating to orthography and
spelling conventions. Participants in these sessions
included Kriol speakers from Ngukurr, Halls Creek, Yiyili
and Fitzroy Crossing, as well as SIL workers from Ngukurr,
Halls Creek and Yiyili/Fitzroy Crossing. Most of the
decisions made at the conference were in agreement with the
decisions made at the Bamyili seminar the year before,
although there were a few differences. (For details, see
the report to the SIL entitled 'Kriol Spelling Conventions,
May, 1983'.)

The details of the revised conventions of the Kriol writing
system have been set out in *A Guide to the Kriol Writing
System* elsewhere in this volume.

NOTE

I am indebted to Joyce Hudson and Kathy Gale for their
comments on an earlier draft of this paper. It should be
noted, however, that this paper expresses my own personal
viewpoint with which neither Joyce nor Kathy fully agree.

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A GUIDE TO THE KRIOL WRITING SYSTEM

John Sandefur

0.   INTRODUCTION

The Kriol writing system, like the writing system of every
language, consists of two parts. The first part is the
orthography, or what is popularly referred to as the
alphabet, and the second part is the spelling rules. This
guide is therefore divided into two parts, the first
dealing with the Kriol alphabet and the second with
suggested Kriol spelling rules.

1.   PART 1: THE KRIOL ALPHABET

Strictly speaking, the alphabet is simply the set of
letters that are used in writing a language. The alphabet
itself says nothing about the sounds that the letters
represent, nor does it say anything about the combinations
of letters that are used to represent some sounds.

The Kriol alphabet uses the same script or style of letters
that English uses. Kriol does not, however, use all the
letters of the English alphabet. The Kriol alphabet has
only twenty-one letters. It does not have the letters c,
g, v, x and z.

The alphabetical order for Kriol is the same as English.
The Kriol alphabet, therefore, is: a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i,
j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y.

1.1   THE ORTHOGRAPHY

The term 'orthography' refers to the letters or
combinations of letters and the sounds they represent. In
the Kriol orthography, each sound is represented by one and
only one letter or one combination of letters. Kriol
differs from English in this respect, for in English one
sound may be written in several different ways.

For example, the 'k' sound can be written five different
ways in English. It can be written with a k as in 'kill',
with a c as in 'call', with a ck as in 'back', with a ch as
in 'school', or with a q as in 'queen'. In Kriol, however,

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the 'k' sound is always written with a k̲ as in *kilim*. Or
take the 'sh' sound. In English it can be written ten
different ways, but in Kriol it is always written with the
s̲h̲ combination of letters.

The orthography is composed of consonants and vowels.
These can be divided into two types: 'simple' consonants
and vowels, and 'digraph' consonants and vowels. With
simple consonants and vowels, a given sound is represented
by a single consonant or vowel letter. With digraphs, a
given sound is represented by a combination of two letters.

1.1.1   SIMPLE CONSONANTS

Simple consonants are the single letters b̲, d̲, f̲, g̲, h̲, j̲,
k̲, l̲, m̲, n̲, p̲, r̲, s̲, t̲, w̲ and y̲. The sound that each of
these simple consonants represents in Kriol is the same as
the 'basic' sound that the letter represents in English:

b̲	as in	'book'
d̲	as in	'daddy'
f̲	as in	'family'
g̲	as in	'good'
h̲	as in	'house'
j̲	as in	'jump'
k̲	as in	'kill'
l̲	as in	'look'
m̲	as in	'money'
n̲	as in	'nail'
p̲	as in	'paper'
r̲	as in	'run'
s̲	as in	'song'
t̲	as in	'today'
w̲	as in	'wind'
y̲	as in	'yes'

Particular care should be taken with g̲ and j̲ so as not to
confuse them. The 'g' sound is 'hard' as in 'good' and the
'j' sound is 'soft' as in 'jump', but because the name of
the letter g̲ starts with the 'j' sound, there is a tendency
to want to write g̲ in some places where j̲ should be
written. For example, 'giraffe' in Kriol is *jiraf*, not
*giraf.

The letter j̲ is used to represent two sounds in Kriol. In
addition to the English 'affricate' 'j' sound, it also
represents the Aboriginal language sound known as a 'voiced
lamino-palatal stop'. To many people, these two sounds are

indistinguishable.   The letter h is also used, in some
dialects of Kriol, to represent a second sound known as a
'glottal stop'. This sound only occurs in a few words that
have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages.
Although the glottal stop is not considered to be a sound
in English, we do occasionaly use it. For example, when we
say 'uh oh' we usually cut off the flow of air between the
'uh' and the 'oh' with a glottal stop.

The letter b, likewise, is used to represent two sounds in
Kriol. In addition to representing the 'b' sound, it is
also used to represent the 'v' sound.

The letter s, in addition to representing the 's' sound, is
also used to represent the 'zed' sound as in 'zip' and the
'esh' sound as in 'measure'. Neither of these two sounds,
however, is very common in Kriol.

It should be noted that with all simple consonants in
Kriol, the single letter is used to represent the sound.
In this respect Kriol differs from English, for English
often uses 'double letters' or 'geminate clusters' to
represent a sound. For example, the double ll is sometimes
used instead of the single l to represent the 'l' sound, or
a double ss to represent the 's' sound. This never happens
in Kriol.

1.1.2   CONSONANT DIGRAPHS

Kriol has eleven consonant digraphs: ly, ng, ny, rd, rl,
rn, rr, rt, sh, th and tj. Most of these digraphs
respresent only one sound, but two of them (th and tj)
represent more than one sound. Three of them (ng, sh and
th) are also digraphs in English and the sounds they
represent in Kriol are basically the same as those they
represent in English. The sounds these latter three
represent are:

           ng   as in   'sing'
           sh   as in   'ship'
           th   as in   'three' and 'there'

The use of the digraph ng in Kriol differs in some respects
from its use in English. Unlike English, ng can occur at
the beginning of a word in Kriol. More importantly,
however, it should be noted that in Kriol ng does not
become an n when it occurs before a g or k as it does in
English. For example, the words 'finger' and 'bank' in
Kriol are written *bingga* and *beingk* respectively, not
binga and *beink*.

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The digraph th, in addition to representing the voiced and voiceless 'th' sounds as in 'there' and 'three', is also used, in some dialects of Kriol, to represent the non-English sound known as an 'inter-dental stop'. This sound occurs in a few words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages as well as in a few words (e.g. *tharrei* 'that way') borrowed from English.

The digraph tj is used to represent two sounds, one of which is the English 'ch' sound as in 'children'. The other sound it represents is the Aboriginal language sound known as a 'voiceless lamino-palatal stop'. Particular care should be taken with this sound because it can easily be confused with the j sound.

The digraph rr is used to represent the 'trilled' 'r' sound, such as one hears in the Scottish dialects of English. This sound is more prominent in some dialects of Kriol than in others and varies with the 'd' sound (e.g. *garra* 'future tense' in some dialects and *gada* in others).

The digraphs ly and ny are used to represent 'alveo-palatal' sounds. The ly represents the 'll' sound in the English word 'million', and ny represents the 'n' sound in the English word 'onion'. These sounds are not particularly common in Kriol and mainly occur in words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages.

The digraphs rd, rl, rn and rt are used to represent 'retroflexed' sounds. Although the same combinations of letters are used in English, the sounds these Kriol digraphs represent do not occur in English. These sounds are not particularly common in Kriol and mainly occur in words that have been borrowed from traditional Aboriginal languages.

1.1.3   SIMPLE VOWELS

Simple vowels are the single letters a, e, i, o and u. All of these letters represent more than one vowel sound. This means that the phonetic vowel sounds are 'underdifferentiated'. Very few Kriol speakers, however, perceive all of the phonetic vowel sounds as being distinctive or significant. The underdifferentiation of the Kriol vowel sounds, therefore, is not significantly critical.

The letter a represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'father', 'cup' and 'car'.

The letter e represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'elephant', 'apple' and 'bird.

The letter i represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'bean' and 'bin'.

The letter o represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'hole', 'hall', 'rod', 'cause' and 'born'.

The letter u represents the underlined vowel sounds in 'book', 'boot' and 'sue'.

1.1.4   VOWEL DIGRAPHS

Kriol has five vowel digraphs: ai, au, ei, oi and ou. Unlike the 'simple' vowels, each vowel digraph represents only one vowel sound. The digraphs are designed in relation to their sounds in such a way that they essentially function as 'blends' or 'glides' of the simple vowels.

The digraph ai represents the vowel sound in 'fight', which is essentially a blend of the 'a' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph au represents the vowel sound in 'town', which is essentially a blend of the 'a' and 'u' sounds.

The digraph ei represents the vowel sound in 'eight', which is essentially a blend of the 'e' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph oi represents the vowel sound in 'boil', which is essentially a blend of the 'o' and 'i' sounds.

The digraph ou represents the vowel sound in 'road', which is essentially a blend of the 'o' and 'u' sounds.

1.1.5   COMPLEX VOWEL SOUNDS

In addition to the simple vowels and vowel digraphs, there are a few vowel sounds that require special attention.

A few Kriol words contain a 'u' vowel sound that has an 'i' sound before it as an 'on-glide'. Instead of writing the on-glide with the letter i, however, it is written with the

letter y. For example, the word for 'few' is written *fyu*.

More common are Kriol words that contain the 'oa' sound as in the word 'door' or the name 'Noah'. This sound has been interpreted in Kriol as being two sounds with a 'w' sound acting as a transition between them. In essence, the 'w' sound is functioning as an on-glide to the 'a' sound. As a result, the 'oa' sound should be written as *owa*, as in *dowa* and *Nowa*.

Related to the 'owa' convention are verb roots that end in a vowel and have a suffix that begins with a vowel. These two vowels coming together in print often cause confusion through distortion of the visual image of vowel digraphs. As a result, where there is a transitional 'w' or 'y' sound, this should be indicated in print by including w or y as an on-glide. For example, *bai* + *im* 'to buy' should be written as *baiyim*. If such words are pronounced slowly, the 'y' or 'w' can be heard. A rule of thumb here is that if two vowels come together which are not one of the digraphs listed above, then a 'y' or 'w' should be inserted.

1.2   SUMMARY

Here is an alphabetical summary of the Kriol orthography:
        a as in 'father', 'cup' and 'car'.
        ai as in 'fight'.
        au as in 'town'.
        b as in 'book', sometimes as in 'video'.
        d as in 'daddy'.
        e as in 'elephant', 'apple' and 'bird'.
        ei as in 'eight'.
        f as in 'family'.
        g as in 'good'.
        h as in 'house', sometimes 'glottal stop'.
        i as in 'bean' and 'bin'.
        j as in 'jump', also 'voiced lamino-palatal stop'.
        k as in 'kill'.
        l as in 'look'.
        ly as in 'million'.
        m as in 'money'.
        n as in 'nail'.
        ng as in 'sing'.
        ny as in 'onion'.
        o as in 'hole', 'hall', 'rod', 'cause' and 'born'.
        oi as in 'boil'.
        ou as in 'road'.

<u>p</u> as in 'paper'.
<u>r</u> as in 'run'.
<u>rd</u> is a 'retroflexed-d'.
<u>rl</u> is a 'retroflexed-l'.
<u>rn</u> is a 'retroflexed-n'.
<u>rr</u> is a 'trilled-r'.
<u>rt</u> is a 'retroflexed-t'.
<u>s</u> as in 'song', sometimes as in 'zip' and 'measure'.
<u>sh</u> as in 'ship'.
<u>t</u> as in 'today'.
<u>th</u> as in 'three' and 'there', sometimes 'inter-dental
        stop'.
<u>tj</u> as in 'children', also 'voiceless lamino-palatal
        stop'.
<u>u</u> as in 'book', 'boot' and 'sue'.
<u>w</u> as in 'wind'.
<u>y</u> as in 'yes'.

1.3   PUNCTUATION

In addition to the letters and digraphs, the orthography of
Kriol includes five punctuation symbols: full stop, comma,
question mark, exclamation mark and quotation or speech
marks. All of these are used in Kriol essentially the same
way as they are in English. The thing to keep in mind,
however, is that punctuation is intended to make accurate
reading easier and should therefore be used primarily to
indicate phonological or 'breath' phrases and clauses
rather than purely grammatical or 'analytical' ones. In
general, punctuation should be kept to a minimum and only
used when really necessary.

Special care needs to be taken with stories that include
dialogue. When the speaker changes, it is helpful to
indicate this by starting a new paragraph, especially when
the text contains no words that specifically tell the
reader that the speaker has changed.

2.   PART 2: SPELLING RULES

The most basic spelling rule in Kriol is that a person
spells the way he or she speaks. This is especially the
case with new literates doing experience writing. There
is, however, a need to control the number of spellings used
in materials designed for the initial teaching of reading.
The basic rule for controlled spelling is that within a
given primer or book the variation in spelling of a

particular word should be restricted to one or at most two forms.

2.1   STANDARDISED SPELLING

Standardised spelling should be used in materials produced for widespread distribution among Kriol speakers of different dialects. It should be noted that both controlled and standardised spelling refers only to the writing of Kriol. They are not intended to prescribe the pronunciation of Kriol in free speech or in reading.

There are two aspects to standardised spelling. The first is the general rules that govern standardisation; the second is the application of those rules to specific words. Details of the second aspect are beyond the scope of this guide, although some of the standardised spellings currently being used in the Kriol bible translation project are given below in the appendix.

Ten basic rules for the standardisation of spelling are presented below. It should be noted that these rules are suggested rules. They are still in the developing stage and may be modified as more Kriol speakers gain experience in reading and writing their language.

2.1.1   RULE 1: SLOW AND FAST SPEECH

Some variation in pronunciation in Kriol is related to the speed of speech. Fast speech often causes the 'loss' of sounds, thus resulting in forms that are shorter than the slow speech forms. The general rule for standardised spelling is to select those forms which occur most frequently in moderate or slow speech.

For example, the final m̲ on transitive verbs is often dropped during fast speech. The standardised written forms of such verbs should include the final m̲. As a specific example, take *dalim* 'tell'. It is often pronounced *dali*, but the standardised written form should be *dalim*.

2.1.2   RULE 2: CONTRACTIONS

Fast speech sometimes results in the 'contracting' of two or three words into one word. In most contractions, sounds are lost as well as the 'space' between the words. In

general, the standardised written form should be the non-contracted form. For example, in the Roper dialect, *melabat andi* 'we will' sometimes becomes *melabandi*, and *bin oldei* 'past tense habitual' sometimes becomes *binli*. The standardised forms should be *melabat andi* and *bin oldei* respectively.

There is, however, a set of contractions which are exceptions to the general rule. The expression *im bin* 'he/she/it past tense' is virtually always contracted to *imin* or *ibin*, depending on the dialect, in slow speech as well as in fast speech. The standardised written form in this case, therefore, should indicate the contraction. Because the eastern dialects almost universally use *imin* and the western dialect *ibin* and neither form predominates overall, the standardised written form should probably be *imbin*. This contraction takes place due to the *bin* being unstressed and following the one syllable pronoun. It is recommended that *bin* plus the other one syllable pronouns (i.e. *yu*, *dei*, *wi* and *ai*) also be written in their contracted forms (i.e. *yubin*, *deibin*, *wibin* and *aibin*).

2.1.3   RULE 3: LONG AND SHORT FORMS

Some words have developed a number of long and short forms. The general rule of standardisation is to allow both a long form and a short form.

For example, the locative preposition has three forms: *langanda*, *langa* and *la*. The first form tends to be archaic, but the last two are commonly used in everyone's speech. Somewhat similarly, the possessive or benefactive preposition has four forms: *blanganda*, *blanga*, *bla* and *ba*. The first form tends to be archaic, the last one tends to be restricted to children in a few dialects, but the middle two are commonly used in everyone's speech. The standardised written forms in both cases should be the two most common forms, *langa* and *la* and *blanga* and *bla* respectively.

Short and long forms should not be confused with contractions. Contractions are basically related to variation in pronunciation caused by the speed of speech, while short and long forms are not. For example, *laijat* 'thus' is shorter than *lagijat*, but it normally only occurs in fast speech. It is, therefore, a shorter contracted form of the longer uncontracted form. The two are not short and long forms in the sense used here.

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Likewise, short and long forms should not be confused with
the shorter and longer written representations of alternate
pronunciations of words. Some heavier pronunciations tend
to have shorter written representations than do lighter
pronunciations. For example, *jabala* 'sharp' is shorter in
its written form than the lighter *shabala*. Phonetically,
however, they have the same number of sounds. Such shorter
and longer forms are not short and long forms in the sense
used here.

2.1.4   RULE 4: REDUPLICATION

When a one syllable word is 'doubled' or reduplicated, the
reduplicated form should be written as one word. For
example, the reduplicated form of *tok* 'talk' should be
written *toktok*.

When a two syllable word is reduplicated, the reduplicated
form can be written as either one word or two. For
example, the reduplicated form of *bogi* 'bathe' can be
written as *bogibogi* or *bogi bogi*.

When a word with three or more syllables is reduplicated,
the reduplicated form should be written as two words. For
example, the reduplicated form of *shabala* 'sharp' should be
written as *shabala shabala*.

When a one or two syllable word has multiple
reduplications, the multiple reduplicated form should be
written as a series of separate words. For example, the
multiple reduplicated form of *wok* 'walk' should be written
as *wok wok wok wok wok wok wok*. (It should be noted that
the number of times the word is written depends on the
particular effect intended by the writer.)

2.1.5   RULE 5: EXTENDED WORDS

A Kriol story teller will often 'hold on to' or 'string
out' a word to create a particular effect. Normally the
story teller does this by lengthening or 'extending' a
vowel in the word. The convention for indicating this in
written form is to write the extended vowel three times
followed by a 'double' or long hyphen. For example, the
extended form of the 'negative' word *najing* would be
written *naaa--jing*.

Sounds, such as those made by animals, while very similar

to extended words, differ in several ways. Normally they
are used in the sense of a direct quotation of the sound
made; usually the extended sound is at the end of the word
instead of the middle; and sometimes a consonant instead of
a vowel is extended. Such extended words should be written
with the first letter capitalised and the extended sound
indicated by repeating the letter several times but without
any hyphens added. For example, the sound a bullock makes
could be *Mmmmm*.

2.1.6   RULE 6: SUFFIXES

Kriol makes use of a number of suffixes, some of which have
several alternate forms of pronunciation. As a general
rule, one form should function as the standardised written
form.

Take, for example, the word for 'time', which can function
as an independent word or as a suffix. When it functions
as an independent word, it is often pronounced *taim*. When
it functions as a suffix, however, it may be pronounced
taim, *daim* or *dam*. The general standardisation rule is to
use only one of those variants in print. In this case, the
standardised written form should probably be *taim*.

The transitive verb suffix, however, is an exception to the
general rule. With transitive verbs there is a degree of
'vowel harmony' between the last vowel of the verb root and
the vowel of the transitive suffix. A high back vowel in
the verb root 'pulls' the suffix vowel towards it. For
example, with the verb for 'cook', the *u* in the root pulls
the vowel in the suffix to a *u* also, thus producing *kukum*.

Three forms of the transitive verb suffix are therefore
used in standardised writing. With verbs whose final root
vowel is a high back *u*, the suffix should normally be spelt
um. With verbs whose final root vowel is a low central *a*,
the suffix should normally be spelt *am*. In all other
cases, the suffix should be spelt *im*.

2.1.7   RULE 7: NUMBERS

All numbers can be written in numerical fashion rather than
being spelt out. The higher numbers should always be
written in numerical fashion. For example, '15000' should
<u>not</u> be written as **fiftin thausan*.

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Lower numbers can be written in three ways. They can be
written in numerical fashion (e.g. '3'); they can be spelt
out (e.g. *thri*); or they can be spelt out with the
'nominaliser' suffix *bala* attached (e.g. *thribala*).

2.1.8   RULE 8: LOANWORDS AND NAMES

Virtually all Kriol words were initially borrowed from
other languages. This means that virtually all Kriol words
are in essence loanwords. The general rule for the
spelling of all words, including so-called loanwords, is to
spell them in the orthographic system of Kriol, not in the
language they were borrowed from. In general, this
includes names as well.

A person's name, however, is a very personal thing. As a
result, the general rule needs to be qualified. A person
should be allowed to spell his or her name the way they
want it to be spelt.

It should be kept in mind that just as there are contexts
in which it is appropriate to speak English instead of
Kriol and vice versa, so there are contexts in which it is
appropriate to write in English rather than *Kriol* and vice
versa. For example, a letter to a Kriol speaker can be
written in Kriol, but the envelope should be addressed in
English since it is written for the English speakers who
work in the post office.

Somewhat similarly, in certain types of literature it may
be advisable to include the English spelling of key words.
For example, in instructional material on withdrawing money
from a savings account, the English word 'name' should
probably appear somewhere in the text since the person will
meet up with that word when he goes to withdraw his money:
e.g. *Yu pudum yu naim weya im tok 'name'.* 'Sign your name
where it says 'name'.'

2.1.9   RULE 9: STANDARDISATION OF SPECIFIC WORDS

The standardised written form of specific words should
reflect the pronunciation that is in general use by the
broadest range of Kriol speakers. For example, the Kriol
word for 'store' can be pronounced *jop* or *shop*. The latter
pronunciation is clearly the most commonly used. The
standardised written form, therefore, should be *shop* since
it reflects the predominant pronunciation.

Where there is no predominant pronunciation, the standardised written form should probably reflect the pronunciation that is closest to the pronunciation of the word in the language from which it was borrowed. For example, both *jilip* and *silip* are very common pronunciations of the word for 'sleep'. Neither pronunciation is clearly predominant. The standardised written form, therefore, should probably be *silip* since it more closely reflects its English 'etymon' or 'cognate'.

2.1.1C   RULE 10: AD HOC SPELLINGS

One of the most basic rules in the standardisation of spelling is to be consistent. There are, however, occasions when circumstances suggest that the consistency rule should be broken. There are, for example, a few cases where interference from English suggests that the standardised written form of a Kriol word should be an irregular spelling.

One such case is the word for 'cannot'. In Kriol that word is pronounced *gan* or *kan*. These spellings, however, are often misread as 'can' because of the visual similarities between the Kriol and English words. The result, of course, is a total misinterpretation of the text. In order to prevent such misreading, the standardised written form of the Kriol word for 'cannot' should be *kaan* and for 'can' it should be *gin*.

2.2   SUMMARY

As noted earlier, the ten spelling rules above are not hard and fast. These rules have grown out of the observations and experiences of a variety of people who have been involved in various aspects of the development of Kriol literature during the past ten years. Although these rules will inevitably undergo revision as Kriol literature continues to mature, it is hoped that they will meet the current need for a guide to the standardisation of Kriol spelling for those presently involved in Kriol literacy and literature production.

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NOTES

I am indebted to Kathy Gale, Annette Walker, Joyce Hudson, Eric Roberts, and the Kriol writers they checked with, for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this guide. Everyone, however, does not totally agree with its contents. The contents, therefore, reflect my own view, though on every point I have tried to incorporate the majority view.

For a more detailed discussion of the writing system of Kriol, see 'Aspects of Developing a Writing System with Particular Reference to the Revision of the Kriol Orthography' elsewhere in this volume.

For more discussion on spelling loanwords and names, see 'Those Pesty Loanwords' by John Sandefur in READ 18.1:16-21, April 1983.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains a selected list of riol words which indicate the standardised spellings currently being used in the Kriol translation of the Bible. This list represents about one-third of the total number of different Kriol words which presently occur in the translation. Basic English glosses have been added to each of the words listed here.

Many words in Kriol are formed by adding suffixes to a root word. The standardised suffix forms used in the Kriol translation include the following:

-ap	up
-at	out
-bala	(adjective/noun suffix)
-bat	(continuative aspect)
-bek	back
-dan	down
-in	(progressive aspect)
-kain	kind, sort
-kainaba	kind of
-mob	group
-oba	over
-of	off
-ran	around
-said	side
-taim	time
-wan	(adjective/noun suffix)
-wei	way, (manner)

In most cases when a suffix is added to a root word there is no change in the spelling of either the root word or the suffix. With such words only the root word is normally listed below. In some cases, however, the addition of a suffix may result in a change in the spelling of the root word or in the addition of a vowel between che root word and the suffix. Words (that occur in the translation) in which such changes take place are included in the list below.

The standardised form of 'time formulas' used in the Kriol translation is to spell the time formula as one word. For example, 'in eight days' is spelt *eitdeitaim*, 'in nine months' is spelt *nainmantstaim*, and 'on Friday' is spelt *Fraideitaim*.

Here then is the standardised Kriol spelling list currently being used in the Kriol Bible translation project:

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abam	to have
adbala	hard, loud
afta	afterwards
aftanuntaim	afternoon
aftum	to pursue
agamin	to argue
agri	to agree
ai	I, eye
aibin	I + (past tense)
ailibala	early, morning
aiyan	iron
album	to help
am	arm
andanith	under, underneath
andasten	to understand
andimwei	to chase away
anggajip	handkerchief, veil
anggul	uncle, mother's brother
anloudim	to unload
ansrim	to answer
antop	above, on top
apendan	up and down
apset	to be upset
askim	to ask
atsaid	outside
baba	brother, sister
badaflai	butterfly
bagi	pram, chariot
baibul	Bible, biblical
baidim	to bite
baiyim	to buy
bak	to buck
bakit	bucket
bambai	later
bandul	bundle
basdam	first, in the past
bat	but
baudan	to bow down
bausheid	bough shade
bed	bed
bedfren	enemy
bedlak	misfortune
bednyus	news of a death
beibi	baby
beig	bag
beikinpauda	leavening agent
beingk	bank
bek	back
bekbon	back, spine

bekwei	backwards
beldim	to beat, to whip
beli	valley
belt	belt
beptaisim	to baptize
berd	bird
bern	to burn
bernim	to burn
berriyim	to bury
besmeit	close friend
bi	to be
bidim	to beat, to win
bif	meat
bifo	before, first
bigbala	big
bigibigi	pig
bigiswan	very big
bigmen	important man
bigmob	many
bigneim	important or famous person
bigsheim	to be embarrassed, to be shamed
bigshok	surprise
bigsik	to be very sick
bikos	because
bildim	to build
bilib	to believe
bilibamob	believers
bilibong	billabong
biligen	billycan, small container
biligout	goat
bilim	to feel
bilimap	to fill
bin	(past tense), bean
bindiyai	prickles, thistles
bingga	hand
binij	to finish, to die
binijim	to finish, to complete
binji	stomach
bisi	to be busy
bisitim	to visit
bitjamen	bitumen
biyain	behind
blad	blood
blainwan	blind
blandim	to hide, to plant
blanga	for, of
bleim	blame
bleingkit	blanket
blekwan	black

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blendibala	plenty
blowim	to blow
blowin	to be blowing
bobala	poor
boda	border, boundary
bodam	bottom
bodi	body
bogi	to bathe
bogiwan	boggy
boi	boy, male
boks	box
boksimap	to collect together
boldan	to fall
bolurrum	to follow
bon	bone
bonaro	bow and arrow
boniwan	skinny
born	to be born
bornim	to give birth to
bos	boss
bosimran	to boss
bout	boat, ship
brabli	very
braitwan	bright
braja	brother
brajagija	bothers to each other
brambi	wild horse
bred	bread
breigawei	to break away
breigim	to break
brida	breeder animal
bridabat	to be breeding
bridap	to multiply
bridim	to breed
brik	brick
bringimap	to bring
brokenhat	to be broken hearted
brom	from
bukumdan	to book down, to charge
bul	bull
bulap	to be full
buligi	cattle
bush	country region
bushis	bush, leaves
but	boot
butleis	boot lace, shoe string
daga	food
dagat	to eat
dai	to die

dakbala	dark
dalim	to tell
damba	unleaven bread, damper
dedi	father, father's brother
dedwan	dead
dei	they, day
deibin	they + (past tense)
deibreik	daybreak
deigidawei	to remove, to take away
deigim	to take
deilait	daylight
deitaim	day time
deset	desert
det	that
detaim	that time
detkain	that kind, that sort
detlat	those
detmatj	much, many
detmob	those
detsaid	that side
deya	there
dibuldibul	spirit
difrinwan	different
digim	to dig
dijan	this
dina	lunch
dinataim	noon, lunchtime
dis	this
disaid	this side
dish	dish
diskain	this kind, this sort
dislat	these
dismob	these
distaim	this time
doda	daughter
dodawinlau	daughter-in-law
dog	dog
dokta	doctor
dongki	donkey
dowa	door
draimap	to dry
draisisan	dry season, drought
draiwan	dry
draiyinap	to be drying up
dram	drum, large container
drangginbala	drunk
drangk	to be drunk
draun	to be drowned, to be submerged
draundim	to drown, to submerge

dregli	soon
drim	dream
drimin	to dream
dringgim	to drink
dringk	drink
droim	to draw
du	too
dubala	two
dum	to do
dumaji	because
duwit	to do, to obey
ebri	every
ebribodi	everybody
ebridei	everyday
ebrijing	everything
ebritaim	everytime
ebriwan	everyone
ebriwei	every way
ebriweya	everywhere
eingri	to be angry
einjul	angel
eitbala	eight
eldiswan	oldest
en	and
eni	any
enibodi	anybody
enijing	anything
enikain	any kind, any sort
enimo	any more
enimul	animal
enitaim	anytime
eniwan	anyone
eniwei	any way
eniweya	anywhere
erdim	to hurt
faib	five
faibala	five
faidim	to fight
faindat	to find out
faindim	to find
fait	to fight
faiya	fire
faiyadram	firedrum
faiyastik	firestick
faiyawud	firewood
fan	mock, tease
fathawinlau	father-in-law
feis	face
femili	family

femiliwei	to be pregnant
feswan	first
fetwan	fat
feyago	good chance
fid	feast
fidabat	to be eating
fidim	to feed
fish	fish
fishamen	fisherman
fishing	to fish
fishnet	fishnet
fladwoda	flood
flai	to fly
flaibat	to be flying
flawa	flour
flout	float
fobala	four
fogedabat	to forget
foget	to forget
fogud	for ever
folt	fault, wrong
fosim	to force
frait	fright
fraitin	to be afraid
fraitinim	to frighten
frant	in front
fren	friend
fri	free
frut	fruit
ful	to be full
fulwan	full
fut	foot
fotwok	to walk
fyunal	funeral
gabaditaim	mid-morning, mid-afternoon
gabman	government
gadin	garden
gardi	(interjection)
garra	(future tense)
garram	to have, with
geit	gate
gejimap	to reach
gel	girl, female
gep	gap, space
gerrim	to get
gibit	to give
gibitawei	to give away
gidap	to get up, to wake up
gidat	to get out

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gidawei	to get away, to leave
gidin	to get in, to arrive
gija	(recriprical) to each other
gin	can, (emphasis)
git	to get
gita	guitar, harp
go	to go
gol	gold
golagija	to get angry with each other
goldinwan	gold
gospul	gospel
gout	goat
goutyad	goatyard
gowakros	to cross
gowan	go away
gowap	to go up
gowat	to go out, to exit
gowei	to go away, to depart
gowin	to go in, to enter
gowindan	to be descending
graindim	to grind
gras	grass
grashopa	grasshopper, locust
graun	ground
grebum	to grab, to take hold of
greibyad	grave, cemetery
greip	grape
greiptri	grapevine
grejwan	grey
grendoda	granddaughter
grenfatha	grandfather
grensan	grandson
gridibala	greedy
grinwan	green
gro	to grow
growap	to mature
growim	to grow
growimap	to raise
growin	to be growing
gudbai	goodbye
gudbala	good
gudbinji	happy, pleased
gudei	good-day
gudfren	close friend
gudinaf	satisfactory
gudluk	good fortune
gudmen	good man
gudnyus	good news
gudsmelwan	perfume, sense

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gulijap	near
hadrok	to talk persuasively
haf	a portion
hafamat	to divide
hafwei	part of the way
hagam	to hug
haibala	high, important
haiding	whipping
hambag	to harrass
handrid	hundred
hanggri	to be hungry
hanta	hunter
hanting	hunting
hantingmen	hunter
hap	harp
harriyap	to hurry
hasbin	husband
hat	heart
hatjamp	to be surprised
hau	how
haubat	how about
haumatj	how much
haumini	how many
haus	building, house
hebibala	heavy, advanced pregnancy
hebin	heaven
hed	head
hedboi	headman
hedbos	head boss
heding	to be going to
hedmen	headman
heidim	to hate
heingimap	to hang up
helo	hello
hendimoba	to turn over control of
hendulum	to control
hepi	happy
hepin	to happen
heriwan	hairy
het	hat, crown
heya	hair
hil	hill
hip	pile
hipap	to pile up
hipbon	hip
hipimap	to pile up
hitim	to hit
hol	hole
holat	all, everyone

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holdim	to hold
hon	horn
hos	horse
hotsisan	hot season
hotwan	hot
hu	who
idim	to eat
if	if
igin	again
im	he, she, it, his, hers, its
imbin	he/she/it + (past tense)
imselp	himself, herself, itself
imtiwan	empty
imtiyim	to empty
indit	isn't it?
insaid	inside
insek	insect
irrim	to hear, to obey
irrol	ear
isiwan	easy
iya	here
jadimap	to close, to encircle
jaldu	that's all
jamanjim	to accuse
jamp	to jump
jampa	jumper, coat
jandap	to stand up
jeilhaus	gaol, prison
jejol	that's all
jelas	to be jealous
jigibala	disrespectful, poisonous
jimejim ·	to destroy
jinggibat	to think, to consider
jingginabat	to be thinking
jis	just
job	job
jukdan	to bend down
jukjuk	chook, rooster
julumap	to entice
julurrum	to swallow
jus	juice
jusum	to squeeze the juice out of
kaan	cannot
kaburrumap	to cover, to bury
kad	cards
kadim	to cut, to circumcise
kaf	calf
kala	colour
kaliko	material, tent

kam	to come
kaman	to come
kamap	to come up
kamat	to arrive
kambek	to return
kamdan	to come down
kaninbala	tricky, cunning
kantri	country
kantrimen	countryman
kap	cup
kapa	copper
karrakros	to cut across
kau	cow
kaundim	to count
kaunsal	council
kaunsala	councilor
keib	cave
kemp	camp
kempinabat	to be camping
kemul	camel
kerriyim	to carry
kid	child, children
kila	beast for slaughtering
kilim	to hit, to kill
king	king
kipgon	to continue
kipum	to keep
kis	to kiss
klaimap	to climb
klaud	cloud
klebabala	wise, clever
klinim	to clean
klinsheib	to shave
klinskin	unbranded
klinwan	clean
klos	clothes
klosimap	to close
kolbala	cold
kolsisan	cold season
kolum	to name, to refer to as
kot	to judge
kout	coat
krai	to cry
kraul	to crawl
kreinggibala	foolish
krik	creek
krim	cream
kripulum	to make cripple
kristjin	Christian

kro	crow
krosim	to cross
krosimoba	to cross over
kroswei	from side to side, width
krulwan	to be cruel
kuk	cook
kukin	to be cooking
kukum	to cook
kultaim	evening
kwaitbala	quiet, peaceful
kwikbala	quick
labda	must
laf	laugh
lagijat	thus, like that
laib	alive
laibala	alive
laif	life
laigi	similar to, like
laikim	to like
lain	line
lait	light
laitimap	to light
laitining	lightening
laiya	lie
laiyan	lion
laiyawan	lying
laiyinbala	lier
lakiwan	fortunate
langa	to, at, in, by
langgus	language
larram	to let
larramgo	to release
lasnait	last night
laswan	last
lau	law, to allow
laumen	person knowledgeable in the law
lebdensaid	left side
lebinbala	eleven
lebul	equal
leda	letter
leidan	to lay down
leidanabat	to be laying down
leig	leg
leik	lake
leimbala	lame
leisiwan	lazy
leitbala	late
lenabat	to learn
lenimbat	to teach

leprasi	leprosy
leprasimen	leper
libdimap	to lift
libin	to be dwelling
libum	to leave
lida	leader, ahead
lidim	to lead
lif	leaf
lilbala	little
lilbit	little, small amount
lilboi	young boy
lilgel	young girl
lilwail	short while
lisid	lizard
lisin	to listen
lisinbat	to be listening
loda	many, lots
lodan	down stream
lokinap	to lock
longtaim	long time
longwan	long
longwei	far, distant
loud	load
loudid	to have a load
loudumap	to load
luk	to see, to look
lukabat	to seek, to look for
lukaftum	to mind, to look after
lukaran	to look around
lukbek	to look back, to respect
lukinat	to observe
lusum	to lose
mad	mud, plaster
mai	my
maidi	mighty
main	my, mine
maindim	to care for, to mind
maitbi	may
majurrumap	to gather together
mak	mark
makam	to mark
makaran	to harrass
mami	mother, mother's sister
mani	money
mantin	mountain
marluga	old man
mas	must
masta	master
maus	mouth

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medisin	chemicals, medicine
medrim	to murder
meigidat	to come to understand
meigim	to make
meikim	to be heading to
meikshuwa	to make sure
meit	friend
meitap	to befriend
men	man
merrit	to marry
mesinja	messenger
mi	me
mibala	us
midap	to meet together
midim	to meet
midul	middle
miksap	to mix up, to join together
miksimap	to mix up, to join together
milk	milk
milwoda	deep water
mindimap	to sew
mindubala	us
minyu	us
misat	to miss
miselp	myself
misteik	to make a mistake
miting	meeting
mobeda	better
mokim	to mock
moning	morning
mowa	more
mubabat	to move
mun	moon
naf	enough
naif	knife
nait	night
naitaim	night
naitwotj	nightwatch
naja	other
najakain	other kind
najalat	others
najamen	other man
najamob	other group
najasaid	other side
najawei	another way
najing	no, nothing
najawan	other, another
nakam	to hit
nakap	to be tired

namba	number, letter
nambawan	first
natwes	to be not worth it
neba	(negative)
neigidbala	naked
neil	nail
neilimap	to nail up
neim	name
neimim	to name
nek	neck
nekleis	necklace
neks	next
neksdei	next day
nenigout	goat
nes	nest
nesim	to cuddle, to nurse
nildan	to kneel down
nili	nearly
no	(negative)
nobodi	nobody
nodisim	to notice
nogudbala	bad
nogudbinji	upset, unhappy, displeased
nois	sound, noise
nomeda	in spite of, it's immaterial
nomo	(negative)
nos	nose
noum	to know
nyubala	new
nyus	news
nyuskeriya	messenger, gossip
oba	over
ofring	offering
oil	oil
ol	all
ola	all
olabat	they
olagija	forever
olaran	all around
olaseim	just like
olataim	all the time
olawei	all the way
olbala	old
oldei	always
olgamen	old woman
olgolgamen	old women
olmen	old man
oloba	all over
olredi	all ready

oni	only
opinap	to open
opinim	to open
opining	opening
opinwan	open
orait	alright, all right
owim	to owe
padi	party
pailimap	to pile up
pak	park
panishim	to punish
panjim	to hit, to punch
pasawei	to die
pasimran	to pass around
pawa	power
pedik	paddock
pei	pay
peibek	payback
pein	pain
peindim	to paint
peipa	paper
peiyim	to pay
peiyimbek	to pay back
pek	pack
pekbeig	packbag
pekimap	to pack up
peksedul	packsaddle
perrish	to be starving
pijin	pigeon
pikimap	to pick up
pikimat	to select
pila	pillow
pinat	nut, peanut
pini	small coin
pipul	people
plei	to play
pleimbat	to play
plein	plain
pleis	place
plisboi	policeman
plismen	policeman
prais	price
pramis	promise
pramisim	to promise
prapa	correct, proper
prei	pray
preiya	prayer
present	present
prisana	prisoner

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pruf	proof
pudum	to put
pulum	to pull
purdibala	pretty
purdiflawa	flower
pushum	to push
puwa	poor
rabish	rubbish
rabum	to rub, to spread
rafhendulum	to treat harshly
raftaim	rough time
rafwei	roughly
raidabat	to write about
raidan	all the way down
raidap	all the way up
raidaran	to ride around
raiden	right
raidenmen	offsider
raidim	to ride, to write
raiding	riding
raidoba	right over
raitbek	all the way back
raitful	completely full
raitwan	right, correct
raitwei	correctly
ran	to run
ranat	to run out, to deplete
ranawei	to run away
rau	argument
raugija	to argue
redi	ready
redwan	red
reig	rag
rein	rain
reinbo	rainbow
reindiya	deer
reinjis	ranges, hills
reinwoda	rainwater
reken	to think, to reckon
rekenabat	to be thinking
reshan	rations
riba	river
ribasaid	beside the river
ribesbek	to go backwards
ribon	rib
ribsaid	beside a person
ridim	to read
rijim	to chase after
rileishan	relative, relation

rili	really, very
ring	ring
ringimap	to erect
risan	reason
rispek	to respect
ritjbala	rich
ritjmen	rich man
rolimap	to roll up
ron	own
rong	wrong
ronselp	ownself
ronwan	own
ronwei	own way
roud	road
roup	rope
ruf	roof
rum	room
rutjimat	to dig out, to pull up
sabi	to know, to understand
said	side
sain	sign
sambala	some
sambodi	somebody
samtaim	sometime
samting	something
samweya	somewhere
san	son, sun
sangidap	sunrise, east
sangidapwei	easternly
sangodan	sunset, west
sangodanwei	westernly
sanrais	sunrise
sanraisaid	easternly
sapa	dinner
sebinbala	seven
sedisfaid	to be satisfied
seduldan	to settle down
sedwan	sad
sei	to say
seibum	to save
seim	same
seimdei	same day
seimkain	same kind
seimtaim	same time
seimwan	same one
seimwei	in the same manner
sekanbos	second in charge
sekanwan	second
selim	to sell

selp	self
selpselp	individually
sendim	to send
sengraun	sand
serramoni	ceremony
serramonimen	person knowledgable in ceremonial matters, priest
shabala	sharp
shain	to shine
shainim	to shine on
shaiyof	to be wary of
sheigin	to be shaking
sheik	to shake
sheiken	to shake hands
sheim	shame
shepad	shepherd
shiftim	to shift
ship	sheep
shirrim	to shear
shok	surprise
sholda	shoulder
shopmenija	storekeeper
shotbala	short
shoum	to show
shugabeig	wild honey
sid	seed, grain
sidan	to sit, to dwell, to live
sidanbat	to be sitting, to be dwelling
sidpat	seed
sigrid	ceremonially restricted
sikbala	sick
siknis	sickness
siksbala	six
silba	silver
silip	to sleep
silipiwei	sleepily
sing	to sing
singat	to call
singim	to sing
singinatbat	to be calling
singulwan	single
sista	sister
siyim	to see
skai	sky
skedadat	to be scattered
skin	skin
skiniwan	skinny
skrab	scrub, bushes
slobala	slow

smel	fragrance
smelim	to smell
smok	smoke
smokiwan	opaque
sneik	snake
snikiwan	sneaky
sobawan	sober
sofwan	soft
sokum	to soak
soldiwan	salty
solja	soldier
solt	salt
solwoda	saltwater, sea
song	song
sori	sorry
sowa	sore
spadidwan	spotted
spel	rest
speshalwan	special
speyawan	spare
spilim	to pour
spirit	spirit
spirrim	to spear
spit	spit, to spit
splidap	to divide
splidimap	to divide
spredabat	to spread out
spredat	to spread out
spredimat	to spread out
spring	spring
springwoda	spring water
sta	star
stadimof	to start off
stagiba	storekeeper
stak	to be stuck
stakboi	stockman
stakmen	stockman
stakyad	stockyard
stap	to stop
stapam	to stop
stapbek	to stay behind
stat	to start
stedap	to be angered
stedibala	steady
step	stairs
stik	stick
stikinat	to protrude
stil	still
stilim	steal

stilinbala	thief
stingkinwan	smelly, decomposing
ston	stone
stonim	to throw stones at
stori	story
stowa	store
straipwan	striped
streidawei	immediately
streinja	stranger
streitbala	straight
streitinim	to straighten
strendid	to be stranded
string	string, sinew
stripidwan	striped
strongbala	strong
supsup	stew
swet	sweat
swetgidap	to sweat
switinimap	to flatter
switsmelwan	sweet smelling frangrance
taidap	to be tied up
taim	time
taimap	to tie up
taitwan	tight
tatjam	to touch
taun	town
teibul	table
teilim	to follow behind
teinggulimap	to tangle up
teingks	thanks
teingkyu	thanks
tenaran	to turn around
tenawei	to turn away
tenbala	ten
tenim	to turn
tenimran	to turn around
tenimwei	to turn away
testim	to test, to try
tharran	that
tharrei	that way
thestiwan	thirsty
thribala	three
thru	through
tidei	today
til	until
timba	timber
timperap	to become angry
tin	tin
tinait	tonight

ting	thing
tisim	to tease, to mock
titja	teacher
titjim	to teach
tjagidawei	to throw away
tjakam	to throw
tjakol	charcoal
tjeinjim	to change
tjeisimap	to chase
tjens	chance
tjetj	church
toiwan	artificial
tok	to say, to talk
tokabat	to speak about
tokinabat	to be speaking about
tomiyauk	axe
top	top
trabul	trouble
trai	to try to
traib	tribe
traim	to try
trebulin	to travel
trebulinabat	to be travelling
tri	tree
tridim	to treat
trikibala	tricky
trikim	to trick
trip	trip
trubala	true
tufeis	hypocritical
tugeja	together
tul	tool
tuleit	too late
tumatj	too much
tumeni	too many
tuth	tooth, teeth
twelbala	twelve
twistimran	to twist around, to confuse
wai	why
waif	wife
wail	wild, upset
wain	wine
waitwan	white
wajameda	why
wal	well
wanbala	one
wanda	to want to
wandim	to want
wanim	what

wanmo	again
wanmob	unified
wansaid	beside
wantaim	one time
wanwei	one way
washim	to wash
wed	word, message, story
wegan	wagon
weib	wave
weidabat	to wait for
weigimap	to wake up
weijis	wages
weik	to be awake
weist	to be wasted
weistim	to waste
weit	to wait
wek	to work
wekim	to work, to operate
wekinboi	male worker, disciple
wekingel	female worker
wel	well (of water)
wen	when
werrim	to wear
werrimon	to put on
weship	to worship
wetinim	to make wet
weya	where
wi	we
wibin	we + (past tense)
widogel	widow
wikwan	weak
wilat	we
win	to win, to beat
windo	window
wip	whip
wisul	whistle, trumpet
wit	wheat
witnis	witness
woda	water
wodabeig	waterbag
wodahol	waterhole
wodrim	to water
wok	to walk
wokabat	to be walking
wokaran	to walk around
wokinabat	to be walking around
wokinstik	walking stick
wokpas	to walk past
wonim	to warn

wordei	(interjection)
wordo	(interjection)
wori	to be concerned
woriyin	to be concerned
wot	what
wotabat	what about
wotaim	what time
wotbla	why
wotfo	why
wotjim	to watch
wotkain	what kind of
wotrong	what wrong
wujan	which
wujawei	which way
wuliwan	wooly, hairy, furry
wuman	woman
yan	gossip
yangbala	young
yangboi	young boy
yanggel	young girl
yangiswam	youngest
yangmen	young man
yangwan	young
yet	yet
yiya	year
yu	you
yubala	you
yubin	you + (past tense)
yumob	you
yundubala	you
yunmi	we, us
yuselp	yourself
yusum	to use
yuwai	yes

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A RESOURCE GUIDE TO KRIOL

John Sandefur

0.   INTRODUCTION

This resource guide is divided into three sections. The
first provides a brief description of the available
materials in and about Kriol.   The second section is a list
of references dealing with various aspects of Kriol.   Each
of these references is commented on in the first section.
The last section of this resource guide is a bibliography
of the books in Kriol which have been published to date.

1.   DESCRIPTION OF KRIOL MATERIALS

Kriol has been fairly extensively documented, although much
research remains to be done.   [For a survey of literature
on other varieties of English-related Aboriginal speech
throughout Australia, see Sandefur (in press).]   Initial
surveys to determine the status and virility of Kriol were
carried out by Wood (1972) and Sandefur (1973a, 1973b) in
the Roper River area.   More recent surveys to determine the
extent of Kriol have been carried out by Sandefur and
Sandefur (1979a, 1980) in the Kimberleys; Sandefur,
Gumbuli, Daniels and Wurramara (1980, 1982) in Queensland;
and Glasgow (in press) in the Barkly Tableland area.
Additional information on the extent of Kriol is included
in Sandefur (1983c).

A brief general sketch of the grammar of Kriol is provided
by Sharpe (1983).   The Ngukurr dialect has been very
briefly sketched by Sharpe (1975), Sharpe and Sandefur
(1976, 1977), and Sandefur (1981b), with the phonology,
morphology and syntax of the Ngukurr and Bamyili dialects
more extensively described by Sandefur (1979).   Syntax and
reduplication in the Bamyili dialect has also been
described by Steffensen (1977a, 1977b, 1979a).   Aspects of
the phonology and syntax of the Fitzroy Valley dialect have
been described by Fraser (1974, 1977a), verb structure by
Hudson (1982), and aspects of grammar and semantics more
extensively described by Hudson (1983a).   No practical
analytical materials for use in the classroom are yet
available.

The continuum nature of Kriol has been discussed by
Sandefur (1982a, 1982b, 1983a). A study of speech
variation in the social context has been made by Jernudd
(1971). Sections of Davidson (1976, 1977), Fraser
(1977a), Hudson (1983a), Sandefur et al (1982) and Meehan
(1983) are also relevant to variation. Linguistic change
in Kriol through time has been briefly discussed by
Sandefur (1975, 1981d). Aspects of the changing function
of Kriol has been discussed by Sandefur (1982c, 1982d), and
the Aboriginality of Kriol has been argued by Sandefur
(1981a, 1981f) and Roberts and Sandefur (1982). McConvell
(1983) provides a set of hypotheses regarding creolisation
in North Australia. The relation of Kriol to other
English-based languages and dialects currently spoken by
Aborigines is briefly discussed by Sandefur (1983d). Most
of the relevant information in all of these items has been
included in Sandefur (1983c).

Comparison of Kriol with traditional Aboriginal language is
provided by Richards and Fraser (1975), Hudson (1977,
1983a), Sharpe (1983), and in part by Sandefur (1979).
Comparison with English is provided by Sharpe (1974b), and
in part by Sandefur (1979).

The historical relation of Kriol amongst South Pacific
pidgins and creoles is discussed by Clark (1979), with
other aspects of history provided by Hudson (1983a),
Sandefur (1981d, 1983c) and Harris (1981). Sandefur
(1981d) gives a brief overview of the history of Kriol. In
the near future a detailed account by John Harris of the
early development of Kriol in the Northern Territory should
be available.

Kriol word lists have been compiled by Sharpe (1976a),
Fraser (1977b), Sandefur and Sandefur (1979b), Hudson
(1981) and Sandefur (1983f). A study of homophony is
provided by Rumsey (in press), an example of lexical
expansion by Steffensen (1979b), a brief look at the Kriol
word marluga by Sandefur (forthcoming), and a brief comment
on Kriol colour terms by Hargrave (1982). The only readily
available 'dictionary' of Kriol is Sandefur and Sandefur
(1979b). Compilation of a fuller dictionary, which will
incorporate all of the above items, is currently being
undertaken. Computerised printouts will hopefully be
available in the not too distant future.

A brief survey of the use of Kriol in education is provided
by Sandefur (1982e) and Harris and Sandefur (1983), with a
more detailed discussion provided by Sandefur (1983c).

Recommendations and submissions for education programs
using Kriol have been made by Sharpe (1974a), Steffensen
(1975), Thompson (1976), Davidson (1977), and Hudson
(1983b). A discussion of the literacy component of the
Bamyili School Kriol bilingual education program is
provided by Meehan (1981), and an evaluation of the program
by Murtagh (1979, 1982). An evaluation of the Kriol
writing system is provided by Sandefur (1983e), with
various aspects of the system being described by Sandefur
(1983b, 1983f). Readers interested in the use of Kriol in
education are referred in particular to Meehan (1981), and
those interested in writing Kriol are referred in
particular to Sandefur (1983f).

The need for translating/interpreting services in Kriol is
provided by Brennan (1979). Aspects of the Kriol Bible
translation project are discussed by Sandefur (1981e) and
Rivers (1982). Annual reports of work being undertaken in
Kriol by the Summer Institute of Linguistics are provided
by SIL (1980, 1981, 1982).

Before the Bamyili School Kriol bilingual program was
established, there were no published books in Kriol.
Bamyili Press has since published over 200 titles in Kriol.
In addition, over 80 titles have been published by the
Summer Institute of Linguistics, Wycliffe Bible
Translators, The Bible Society, the School of Australian
Linguistics and others. Although near the end of 1983
Kriol could lay claim to having over 300 published titles,
in addition to numerous one-off books, Kriol literature
production is still in its infancy. The vast majority of
the titles published thus far are directly related to the
Bamyili bilingual program and church related ministries.
As Davidson (1977:21) has pointed out, one of the great
lacks is adult literature. For adults interested in
secular material there is very little to read in Kriol.

A bibliography of the Kriol literature published to date is
included at the end of this resource guide. While many of
the older titles are now out of print, there is a fairly
large selection of Kriol titles currently available from
Bamyili Press, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and The
Bible Society. Secular titles include traditional stories,
experience stories and Kriol translations of classic
children's stories. Biblical titles include story books,
comic books and scripture. In addition to books, Bamyili
Press puts out a local 'newspaper' which includes items in
Kriol. Many of these items can be purchased from their
respective publishers, the addresses of which are given
below.

A Kriol language learning course for people desiring to learn to speak Kriol has been prepared by Sandefur and Sandefur (1981). This course, consisting of a manual and six cassettes, is available from the Summer Institute of Linguistics for $20.

Over fifty video programs in and about Kriol have been produced by WBT Media Australia. These include: *Kriol Kantri*, a forty episode series of half-hour programs in Kriol based on the 'Playschool' and 'Sesame Street' concepts; a ten minute *Kriol Kantri* promotional program; *Skul Gadim Kriol*, a twenty-five minute program in English on the Kriol bilingual program at Bamyili School; *Schools of the Roper*, a fifteen minute program in English and Kriol on the Ngukurr and associated outstation schools; *Thri Biligut* and *Thesdi Sen Brog*, two programs, ten and five minutes respectively, of Queenie Brennan from Bamyili reading two Kriol books; *Nalawan Spiya*, a ten minute program in Kriol of Brian Dan Daniels from Ngukurr talking about spears and traditional culture; *Buk Blanga Kriol*, a ten minute program in English on the production of Kriol literature; *Cinderella Comes of Age*, a ten minute program in English on SIL's role in the Kriol Bible translation project; *Roper River Church Service*, a twenty minute program mostly in Kriol of a church service at Ngukurr with a sermon by Michael Gumbuli; *Wallace and Dorothy Dennis*, a ten minute program of a Kriol scripture reading and short teaching; *Costello Outstation Testimonies*, a twenty-five minuted program in Kriol of several testimonies from Christians at one of Ngukurr's outstations; *Bamyili Church Service and Testimonies*, a twenty-five minute program mostly in Kriol of a church service at Bamyili with a sermon by Nero Timothy followed by several testimonies; and *Cain and Abel*, a five minute program in Kriol of Rosy Milingwanga from Bamyili telling a Bible story.

A number of Kriol cassettes are also available. Most of these are biblical in nature and are available from the United Aborigines Mission. They include songs, sermons and teachings in Kriol as well as the reading of Kriol scriptures, Bible story books and Bible comics. There are also a few secular Kriol cassettes available, mostly from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The secular cassettes are mainly the reading of published Kriol books.

Most of the above mentioned items are available from their
respective publishers/producers or through local agents:

Bamyili Press   secular books and curriculum
PMB 25
Katherine N.T. 5780
phone 089-75 2502

The Bible Society   biblical books
P.O. Box 39061
Winnellie N.T. 5789
phone 089-85 1096

Kimberley Kriol Centre   assorted materials
P.O. Box 157
Halls Creek W.A. 6770

The School of Australian Linguistics   some materials
P.O. Batchelor N.T. 5791   and training
phone 089-76 0026

The Summer Institute of Linguistics   assorted materials
P.O. Berrimah N.T. 5788
phone 089-84 4488

United Aborigines Mission   biblical cassettes
P.O. Box 926   video programmes
Geraldton W.A. 6530
phone 099-21 4996

Wycliffe Bible Translators   biblical materials
P.O. Berrimah N.T. 5788
phone 089-84 4488

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Wokabat La Ngukurr [Walkabout at Ngukurr]. (Stories by 16
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Materials in the Bamyili Literacy Kit include 56 Indicator
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Units 1-6:

Kriol We:kbuk Bla Ridimbat [Kriol Workbook for Reading].
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Bigwan Bush Enimul [Big Bush Animals]. (Story reader).
    Bamyili Press. 1979. 14 pp.

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Lilwan Bush Enimul [Little Bush Animals].   (Story reader).
        Bamyili Press.   1979.   14 pp.

Units 7-12:

Kriol We:kbuk Bla Ridimbat [Kriol Workbook for Reading].
        Bamyili Press.   1979.   30 pp.

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Jad Lil Jingabred Boi Im Ranran [That Little Gingerbread
        Boy Is Running].   (Reader).   Bamyili Press.   1979.   5
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     Bush]. (Reader). Bamyili Press. 1979. 5 pp.

Dijan Lil Donggi Nomo Gadim Mami En Dadi Bobala [This
     Little Donkey Has No Mother and Father, Poor Thing].
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Sambala Skulkid Deibin Ol Go Gadim Skul Bas [Some School
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    Poor Thing]. (Reader). Bamyili Press. 1979. 5 pp.

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    (Reader). Bamyili Press. 1979. 5 pp.

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MAILANGKUMA, Mary. *Ketfish, Barramandi Bn Sneik* [Catfish,
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Ducks!. Bamyili Press. 1980. 12 pp.

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   (Reader). Bamyili Press. 1980. 5 pp.

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   to Eat]. (Reader). Bamyili Press. 1980. 5 pp.

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Wanbala Lilboi Imin Luk Jad Binstok En Imin Klaimap [A
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