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Editorial

The 22nd AFMLTA International Conference was recently held in Hobart, Tasmania, in the International Year of Indigenous Languages (2019). The conference included Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages as a major theme threaded throughout keynote presentations, special presentations, awards, social events, and as a breakout stream running through the conference.

Jane Simpson, from ANU, presented the prestigious Horwood Address, on teaching Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australia. This compelling presentation mapped the history of Aboriginal languages teaching, complexities and challenges, future prospects, and an agenda for action to increase learning and use of these languages, in consultation with the owners of the languages, and in collaboration with education departments, governments and, most importantly, local communities (see next *Babel* issue for the transcript of this presentation, and more from the conference). The Horwood Address, as readers would be aware, honours the legacy of Keith Horwood in promoting languages education in Australia, and his role in the Victorian and then national languages educators professional associations, and also in the development of the AFMLTA journal, *Babel*, which remains the preeminent languages educator academic journal in Australia. In this International Year of Indigenous Languages, it is only fitting that both the Horwood Address and a special issue (a double issue) of *Babel* focus on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages.

AFMLTA works with the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language (CoEDL) providing advice on promoting languages education, connecting with schools, universities and governments on languages teaching and learning, research, policy and practice. CoEDL investigates:

how languages vary, how we learn them, how we process them and how they evolve,... (aiming to) integrate typology and descriptive linguistics, evolutionary approaches, and studies of learning and processing across a wide range of linguistic types, with the aim of setting up a new approach to language that places diversity, variation and change at centre stage (CoEDL, 2019, see their website at <https://www.dynamicsoflanguage.edu.au/>).

CoEDL addresses four interrelated language 'puzzles' around language diversity, language learning, language processing and language evolution, and involves four Australian Universities, The Australian National University (ANU), The University of Melbourne, The University of Queensland, and Western Sydney University. The Centre is led by Nick Evans (Director) and Jane Simpson (Deputy Director), and includes more than 85 researchers, 260 affiliates and 46 doctoral students, working on more than 120 languages (<https://www.dynamicsoflanguage.edu.au/>).

The idea for a special double issue on the work of CoEDL in Aboriginal languages, in the International Year of Indigenous Languages, arose in discussions of CoEDL's Advisory

Board with CoEDL investigators. I am privileged to sit on this board, and to provide links between the AFMLTA, education schools of universities, and the language educator profession. Following these discussions, Jane Simpson was invited to present the Horwood Address, and, with colleagues Samantha Disbray and Carmel O'Shannessy, commissioned to guest edit and curate a special double issue of *Babel*, to be published in the International Year of Indigenous Languages.

What follows in this issue is the fruits of this process, a staggering body of research detailing the work of 20 authors and contributors in 10 papers, and includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, academic and teacher researchers, working in the area of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teaching and learning. The work is richly illustrated and exemplified, and provides deep insights into languages learning, use and revitalisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait languages, across the nation. In addition to the 10 papers there is a helpful glossary of terms (at the end of the issue, page 61); and a map (page 6) that illustrates the languages discussed in the papers, allowing readers to understand, critically, the places associated with the languages and communities discussed in the papers.

In the first paper, Simpson, Disbray and O'Shannessy provide contextual data on current use of and census information on Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australia, and introduce a 'languages ecology' to explain the complex linguistic and cultural landscape of communities using and learning these languages. They introduce the other papers and authors, linking them to the national curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages (ACARA, 2019), and how each paper fits within first language, language revival and additional language learner pathways, and with others in the issue.

Angelo and Poetsch, with Ryan, Hand, Schrieber and Jarrett, then discuss how Aboriginal languages teachers design school-based programs in their local language ecology, with the article capturing the unique characteristics of teachers' work across diverse language ecologies, and the common features of each setting. It celebrates teachers' achievements, and outlines the challenges they face, demonstrating ways that teaching Aboriginal languages differs from teaching other languages in Australia.

In the third paper, Disbray explores how the Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages is being realised in five jurisdictions, providing a snapshot of current practice, as well as identifying challenges in enacting the curriculum, including the need for more teachers.

McCormack, in the next paper, provides insights into her own professional learning journey as a teacher of Arrernte in the Northern Territory, with powerful insights into the

challenges, and also the important benefits, for young people, of learning their local language.

Browne investigates pedagogical approaches to increase communicative practices among multilingual students through use of multimodal tools, informed by arts practices. Language portraits and interactional language maps allow for student perspectives of their own linguistic practices to be explored and valued. The authors conclude that the use of these tools reveals the depth and variety of linguistic resources and cultural funds of knowledge that students bring to the classroom, and raises questions for the teachers and researchers about how this knowledge might be harnessed to enrich learning in multilingual classrooms.

In the sixth paper, Denise Angelo, Henry Fraser and Bernadine Yeatman discuss new languages generated through community contact, such as creoles and mixed languages, and how community language posters are being used to visualise contact language use and their vernaculars. Using a grounded translational research methodology, posters have been developed with local communities

to make tangible a community's speech variety, foster pride and ownership of the local vernacular, and provide the community with tools for informing incomers about the local language situation.

Richards and Lardy explain how they are using scant but important archival audio materials for revitalisation of Mangarrayi with the Jilkminggan community. Through repurposing archival audio resources, using Chunkbank, a repository of communicative utterances derived from audio materials, they are creating a resource for further resource development and language learning materials.

Lowe and Giacon then provide an overview of the current state of Aboriginal language programs in NSW. They focus on the teaching of the three languages longest taught in NSW schools, Gumbaynggirr, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay, providing insights into how challenges are met by communities of Aboriginal people and language activists looking to reinvigorate the languages for broader use in schools. They argue that while government has established a policy regime for

this work to occur, its implementation has, as yet, not met the aspirations of both language workers and possibly even government.

Smith elaborates an approach to Gamilaraay language and culture in university courses, describing how background materials are developed to support revival of this northern inland NSW language, taught face-to-face and online. The materials include the perspectives and voices of Gamilaraay people on Gamilaraay country, covering aspects of culture, colonisation, stolen generations, resistance, rebuilding, healing and reconciliation. Examples in the article provide useful illustrations of the resources, and how they appeal to beginner adult learners.

Finally, in the 10th paper, Bow elaborates on the process of collaboratively designing an online course to teach the Kunwinjku language (Bininj Kunwok) of the Northern Territory, using a Digital Language Shell. She argues that collaborative work in this space can serve to create new resources, teachers, students and personal connections in the learning of Indigenous languages, and that such work

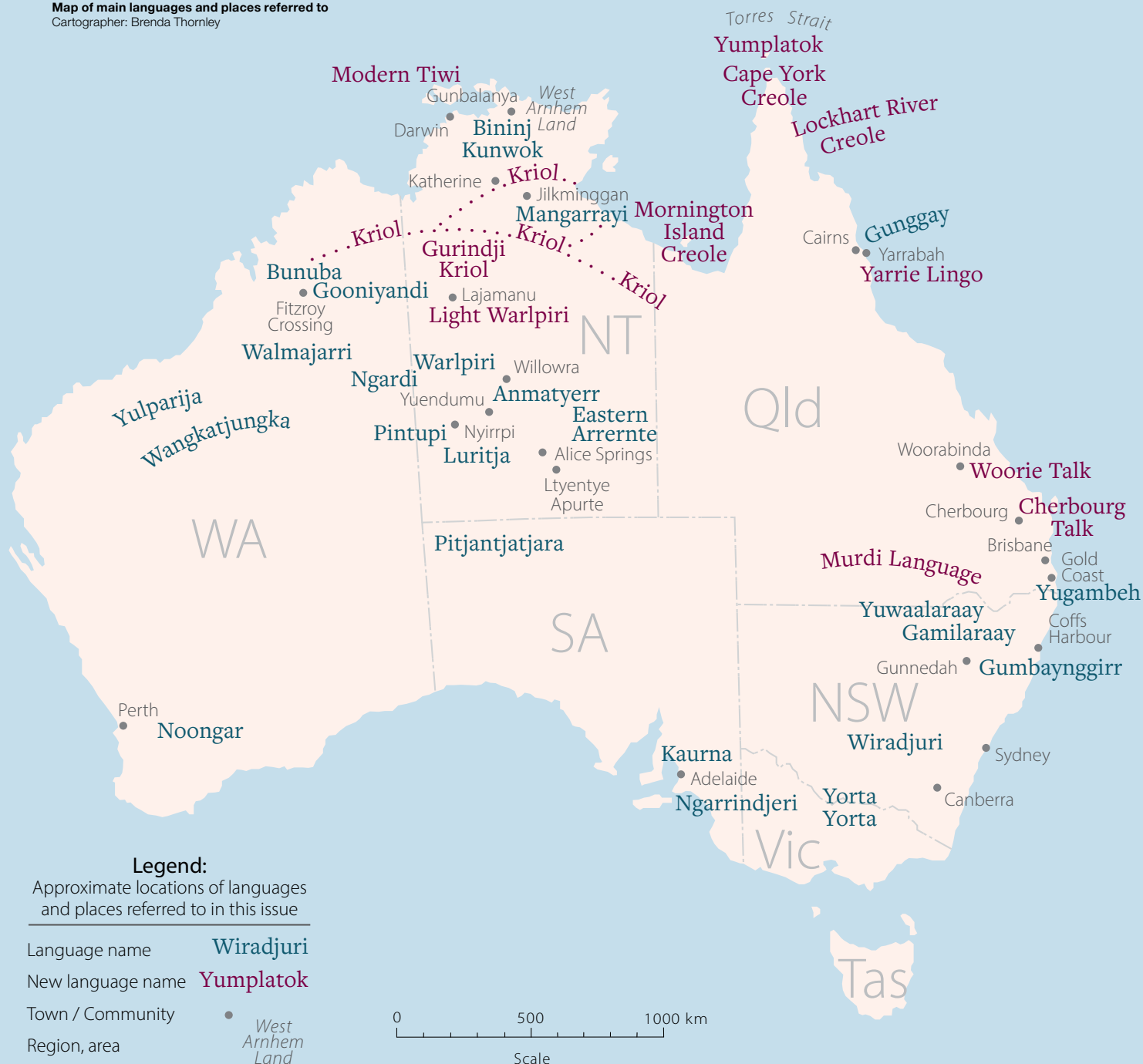
has potential to engage Indigenous language authorities and integrate Indigenous language and knowledge practices in the academic life of Australian universities.

Collectively, with papers spanning community and school language records and resource development and teaching, teacher reflections, approaches in different states and territories, and university teaching approaches, we are provided with a complex picture of challenges and opportunities for expansion of the learning of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australian schools and universities. Optimally, it would be of benefit for all young Australians (and adults) to have the opportunity to engage in the learning of one or more Aboriginal language, as their first language, community language, additional language, local language or languages of focus for different regions. The amazing, detailed and diverse work occurring in making such a realisation possible, demonstrated in this set of papers, sets the challenges for us, nationally.

Anne-Marie Morgan
University of New England



Map of main languages and places referred to
Cartographer: Brenda Thornley



SETTING THE SCENE:

ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGES LEARNING AND TEACHING

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the authors preview the papers of this double issue of *Babel*, dedicated to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, in the International Year of Indigenous Languages (2019). First languages of Australia- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages- are introduced, in relation to current use and census data, community collaboration and insights from teachers. They are described using a 'languages ecologies' approach, how their learning and teaching can be

understood in the complex linguistic and cultural landscapes of communities using and learning these languages. The Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander languages, from the Australian Curriculum: Languages, is explained, through its first language, language revival and second (additional) language learner pathways, and how these are evidenced in the papers of this issue. Each paper is explained in relation to the languages, communities and learning practices it addresses. As a collection, the papers provide perspectives across each of the language ecologies and learner pathways.

KEY WORDS

Language ecologies, curriculum, heritage language, traditional language, new language, collaboration, revival, reawakening, revitalising, reclaiming, identity, learner pathway.

ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGES

2019 is the International Year of Indigenous Languages, and this special issue is dedicated to the theme of how people learn and teach Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australia.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages are the first languages of Australia. Their importance was emphasised in 1995 by Bonnie Deegan, a Jaru woman who chaired the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (WA), the first organisation to focus on language renewal.

Language is a very big part of the culture of Aboriginal people in the Kimberley. We know who we are by the language we speak. It joins us to our past and our old people, right back to the dreamtime. It ties us to our land, and it makes us proud and strong.

Language also gives us a place in the present day. It shows all Australians that we have something to give to society, and that we have a rightful place in today's world. By keeping our language strong, we let everyone know that our lives and feelings and wishes are important, and that we are here to stay.

Most importantly, we keep our language for the future. Our children will grow up knowing where they come from, and knowing that their parents are proud to be Aboriginal Australians. And they will be able to follow the path right back to their ancestors. This will help young people to belong (Kimberley Language Resource Centre, 2011).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages are integrally linked to the lands, cultures, laws and histories of First Nations peoples. Today, these traditional languages – the languages

that have been spoken for hundreds and even thousands of years – are under severe threat. In the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2016 census, fewer than 40,000 people reported themselves as speaking a traditional Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language at home. Of the more than 300 languages spoken in 1788, only around 13 languages are still spoken by children, all in remote areas (northern South Australia (SA), central Western Australia (WA), Central Australia, Northern Territory (NT) and Cape York). Whether a language is learned by young children in the home is a measure of its level of endangerment – if it is not learned in the home, it is severely endangered. Even those learned in the home are under threat, and all traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages are highly endangered. Three traditional languages still learned by children are discussed in this issue: Warlpiri (Browne), Bininj Kunwok (Bow) and Arrernte (McCormack, and Angelo & Poetsch). In addition to traditional languages, about 40,000 people speak a 'new language' (a creole or a mixed language) such as Kriol and Yumplatok or Torres Strait Creole. These have developed since the 1788 invasion from contact between speakers of traditional Australian languages and speakers of English or other new languages. They are defined in the glossary. Yarrie Lingo is discussed by Angelo, Fraser & Yeatman, and by Nathan Schrieber, in the Angelo & Poetsch paper, which also contains Marminge Hand's discussion of Kriol.

However, most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have not grown up learning their families' heritage languages, and this is a source of sharp pain for many. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were subjected to extreme social disruption, which included massacres, death by disease, forced relocation, removal of children from their families, and intense pressure on people not to speak their own languages. Reawakening traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages is crucial for national reconciliation,

as many people have suffered profoundly from the loss of their languages. The term 'reawakening' is used by many Indigenous peoples across the world and includes the meanings of reclaiming, reviving, revitalising and renewing a language. Different programs and groups prefer specific terms. Typically, 'reclaiming', 'reviving' and 'reawakening' are the terms for processes involved when there are no first language speakers or people who remember the language, and there may be little documentation; 'revitalising' is when there are still some first language speakers; 'renewing' includes all of these.

Indigenous people have put considerable effort into reawakening their heritage languages (Hobson, Lowe, Poetsch, & Walsh, 2010). As a consequence, in the 2016 ABS Census a number of people in the south and east of Australia reported themselves as speaking an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language at home. They included 443 Nyungar/Noongar (the language of Perth and south-western WA), 432 Wiradjuri (Central western NSW), 302 Ngarrindjeri (south-east SA), 92 Gamilaraay (west and north-west NSW), 52 Yorta Yorta (Victoria), 46 Kurna (the Adelaide Plains), and 18 Yugambeh (Gold Coast area). This shows how strongly some Indigenous people feel about reawakening their languages, and the importance of teaching languages in schools, TAFE colleges and universities, and in homes and informal learning settings. In this issue, renewed languages are exemplified by Mangarayi (Richards & Lardy), Wiradjuri (Lowe & Giacon), Gamilaraay (Smith, and Lowe & Giacon), and, in Angelo & Poetsch, Gunggay (Schrieber) and Gumbaynggirr (Jarrett).

Writing systems, or orthographies, have been developed for many Australian languages, and for several there are extensive written texts. Many written texts of different levels of complexity were created by speakers in schools that either currently have, or did have, bilingual education programs (see Christie,

Bow, Devlin, & Simpson, 2014, <https://livingarchive.cdu.edu.au/>). Examples of lengthy written texts are Bible translations in several languages. Learning to read and write in the language in focus is often an aspiration for teachers and learners. Reading and writing can be a useful learning aid, and help to raise the status of the language. Nevertheless, proficiency in speaking and listening to a language is not dependent on literacy skills, but literacy is dependent on being able to speak and understand the language. This means that the primary, most necessary skills to develop are speaking and understanding. Programs differ in how much attention they pay to developing skills in reading and writing, but many focus primarily on listening and speaking.

TEACHING AND LEARNING CONTEXTS: LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES

Contexts for the teaching and learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages differ in terms of the language situation, or ecology (see Sellwood & Angelo, 2013; Angelo and Poetsch, this issue). A language ecology is the configuration of languages spoken, heard, and identified within a specific place. More than one language may be spoken in one place and individuals may use the languages to differing extents, and for different purposes. Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander languages are found in three main language ecologies, where individuals speak:

Ecology A:

A traditional Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language as their first language(s), and English as an additional language.

Ecology B:

A new language as their first language, and English, and in some places a traditional Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language as additional languages.

Ecology C:

English as their first language, and an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language as an additional language.

The language ecology of every place and community is not necessarily well understood, and this raises questions about the language learning needs of children and adults, in regard to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, and also the teaching of English. The least-well understood language ecology is ecology B, where the primary language of a community is a new language, typically a creole or mixed language (Sellwood & Angelo, 2013).

Examples of creoles in Australia (and in this issue) include Kriol, spoken in the NT and across much of northern Australia, Yumplatok, spoken in the Torres Strait and in north Queensland, and Yarrie Lingo, spoken in north Queensland (Mushin, Angelo, & Munro, 2016; Shnukal, 1991; Schultze-Berndt, Meakins, & Angelo, 2013). Kriol, Yumplatok and Yarrie Lingo are languages that have emerged since colonisation, and represent an expression of resilience in the face of extreme disruption. Creoles combine elements of several traditional languages (different groups of traditional languages for Kriol, Yumplatok and Yarrie Lingo), and elements of English. In each, many of the words are originally from English, but are influenced by the respective traditional languages so that they are pronounced differently from English and have

different meanings. The grammars of the new languages are influenced by both English and traditional languages. The result in each case is a completely new, real language that reflects the social history of its speakers and carries an important identity component.

Examples of mixed languages include Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol, both spoken in the NT (McConvell & Meakins, 2005; O'Shannessy, 2005). These combine elements of traditional and source languages in a different way from creoles, in that both vocabulary and grammar are fairly equally sourced from one traditional language (e.g. Warlpiri and Gurindji, respectively) and from English and Kriol. One clear difference between creoles and mixed languages is that creoles sometimes draw on several traditional languages, and mixed languages typically draw on only one.

Lack of understanding creates challenges for education contexts. Education staff who are not familiar with the types of languages in language ecology B may not realise that a community's everyday way of speaking is a creole or mixed language, and instead think that the speakers do not speak a real language. Sensitive work addressing this kind of misunderstanding in Queensland is explained in Angelo, Fraser and Yeatman (this issue), where collaboration between several sections of communities and schools resulted in greater appreciation of the language repertoires of the children and their families, and therefore of the students' languages learning needs.

COMMUNITY DECISION - MAKING: THE FOUNDATION OF LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

The teaching of any Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language, in any ecology, and in any setting, requires respectful negotiation between all people involved. This will include identifying individuals who are language authorities, allowing time for these authorities to consult and consider how their program should run, and developing and following protocols for managing language and local cultural sources. Choices about what language(s) should be taught, particularly in regions where there has been forced relocation of speakers of different languages, require sensitive negotiation.

INSIGHTS FROM TEACHERS: COMMITMENT AND COLLABORATION ARE KEY

Insights from teachers and researchers in this issue highlight some key approaches and themes. Recognition of the integral link between land, language and culture is central to curricula and pedagogies. The teachers show a long, deep commitment to their work, their own learning, and the need for continuous professional development. Finally, a constant theme is collaboration – between schools, communities and organisations such as language centres; between teaching staff in teaching teams; and between linguists, communities and language authorities. This emphasis recognises the importance of complementary skills. The wide-ranging collaborations between communities and schools, community organisations, academics and archives, and teacher training programs, reveal the elements in a design space that builds successful and sustained programs. Individuals in schools and universities have

undertaken long journeys as practitioners, undergoing and delivering training, and responding to issues raised by the complex contexts.

Language teachers need to understand something about the structure of the languages in order to learn and teach them. This is one of the areas of collaboration that many successful programs integrate – partnerships between first language speakers or individuals as authorities, teachers (who may be first language speakers), and linguists, for example, at universities and language centres. Some of the collaborations between individuals and communities with different roles in the learning processes have been fostered by the ARC Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language (CoEDL), a research centre involving the Australian National University, The Universities of Melbourne, the University of Queensland, and Western Sydney University. The papers in this issue reflect some of the work of the Centre.

TYPES OF LANGUAGE LEARNING PROGRAMS

In each of the three language ecologies there are potential learning settings for learners of different ages, for example, an early childhood centre, a primary or high school, a TAFE, a university; or out of school, including in a community centre and/or in the home. In each language ecology and setting, learners have different language learning needs and interests. In keeping with this, curricula and syllabi for traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages have been created with distinct language learner pathways (see Disbray, this issue). The Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages (ACARA, 2019), developed in the years 2011-2015, has three learner pathways (see Troy & Walsh, 2013, for elaboration on the development of this framework). We discuss these in alignment to the language ecologies.

Australian Curriculum: First language learner pathway

The First Language Pathway is designed for students who are acquiring a traditional language as (one of) their first language(s) (language ecology A). The programs are particularly important for maintaining the languages that are still spoken and used for a wide range of everyday contexts. Students learn more about their language, for example, complex vocabulary and language constructions, cultural knowledge, and how to read and write in the language. Carmel Ryan describes her role teaching the traditional language, Arrernte, at a remote primary school in Central Australia (Angelo & Poetsch, this issue). In some communities where traditional languages are spoken as the children's first language, bilingual education in the first language and English strives to fulfill community aspirations of educating children in both their traditional language(s) and culture(s) and the wider English culture. Browne (this issue) works with children in a Warlpiri-English bilingual education program, also in Central Australia, and focuses on the children's awareness of their growing multilingual repertoires.

Other schools may have learners from more than one language ecology. Jannette McCormack (this issue) also teaches Arrernte, but to secondary students in the urban setting

of Alice Springs. In this context, some students are first language speakers of Arrernte, but others are learning it as their heritage language, not as their language of everyday talk.

Australian Curriculum: Language Revival Learner Pathway

Journeys of language reclamation and revival can be highly successful, but are hard work (see Lowe & Giacon, Richards & Lardy, and Jarrett & Gunggay in Angelo & Poetsch, this issue). 'Reclaiming' and 'reviving' are terms for the processes involved when there are no first language speakers or people who remember the language, and there may be little historical documentation. Decisions about which language to teach are complex, and the language associated with the place where a program is delivered is often a key factor. Technically, developing programs in this pathway involves accessing archival language materials, adapting these for language learners, creating reference and teaching materials, and identifying and filling gaps in documented language vocabularies and descriptions. Learners need to be able to talk about many topics that require vocabulary and constructions that were incompletely documented. At the personal level, for teachers and community members reviving their language, it demands time and commitment to take part in revival efforts, including learning a new language (often as an adult), and learning about language teaching. Several TAFE programs have been developed to support these adult learners, as well as some university programs (see Smith, this issue).

Language (and culture) centres are often the focus of activity in this pathway. Several language centres across Australia collaborate with schools to teach programs to children and adults, and many work within their community at a local, informal level (see Richards & Lardy, this issue).

In language revival programs in schools, some of the learners may be Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, with an ancestral connection to the language. Language policy statements, such as the aims and rationale of the Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages, recognise the particular importance to these students of learning about, and learning to speak, their ancestral language(s), and the benefits in terms of wellbeing and identity. In addition, they recognise the benefits of languages learning more generally and their role in broader academic engagement and success. However, in some schools many learners of traditional Australian languages do not identify as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. The social and cultural benefits identified for this cohort include gaining insights into the locality where they live, the history that has led to language loss and the current and continued presence, efforts and aspirations of the local Indigenous people, as well as the general academic benefits of languages learning.

The benefits of language renewal teaching and learning reach far beyond simply speaking the language. In the words of Gumbaynggirr teacher, Michael Jarrett:

[Studying how to teach Gumbaynggirr]
" . . . has opened up many doors in my
Gumbaynggirr language journey across all
facets of my life and has given me back my
pride as an Aboriginal man. I am passing

on my knowledge and skills to other
Aboriginal people so they can feel the way I
feel. I feel more connected to my language,
my homeland, my people, the spirits of my
homeland and most of all to my ancestors"
(Michael Jarrett, author profile, Bellingen
Writers Festival 2016, Centre for Ecological
Learning, <http://www.cel.org.au/uncle-michael-jarrett/>).

Australian Curriculum: Second Language Learner Pathway

The Second Language Learner Pathway is for teaching traditional languages that are still spoken, to individuals who are learning them as their second (or subsequent/additional) languages (learners in language ecologies B and C). The learners may or may not be Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples, and learners might not live on the traditional country of the language. Some learners in this pathway are adults learning a language through a university course, in person (e.g. Pitjantjatjara in SA) or online (Bininj Kunwok, Bow, this issue) or both, e.g. Yolŋu Matha which is taught in person in Darwin and online. The pathway is also seen in some school programs, for example, Arrernte in Alice Springs schools (McCormack, this issue). The developers and teachers of the courses work collaboratively with local community centres and individuals to find innovative ways to teach the courses, involving first language authorities as teachers and mentors, as well as being generators of course content.

THE PAPERS IN THIS ISSUE

The issue provides perspectives on curricula and pedagogy across each of the learner pathways and language ecologies. Many of the papers represent collaborations between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous educators and researchers working in complementary roles. First, to ground us as readers in the real-life teaching and learning contexts of each language ecology and learner pathway, in Angelo & Poetsch et al., we hear the powerful voices of four experienced Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers. The paper is developed through the collective and consultative method of yarning, or conversations, and collaborative writing. Most authors are involved in The University of Sydney Master of Indigenous Languages Education (MILE) program. Carmel Ryan discusses teaching the traditional language, Arrernte, in a remote school in Central Australia (language ecology A), where there is the added challenge of unstable systemic support. Marmingee Hand illustrates how three traditional languages can be taught in one school in the Kimberley of WA, and how the new, everyday language of the community, Kriol, can be used to teach them (language ecology B). Nathan Schrieber is also teaching within language ecology B, in Queensland, and reflects on his professional development journey as a teacher-researcher and his experiences of teaching Gunggay in the community and school. Teaching in language ecology C, in NSW, Michael Jarrett discusses the Gumbaynggirr Language and Culture Nest program, and the layers of perspectives he takes and experiences in the language renewal context.

Following this, the issue moves to the national arena of the Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages. Disbray presents an overview of the curriculum and how it is being

realised in schools across Australia. The curriculum is important for a national approach to increasing the teaching and learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, and has challenges at each level of enactment, discussed in the paper.

A local, personal perspective follows when Jannette McCormack, an Arrernte-Luritja woman teaching Arrernte in Alice Springs secondary programs, in particular the VET Certificates II and III in Applied Languages, describes her professional multilingual journey and extensive experience teaching students whose learning falls into language ecologies A and C.

Also in Central Australia, working in language ecology A, Emma Browne's work brings student voices and language attitudes into the issue. Browne uses art-based research practice to support students to express their perceptions of their language repertoires. The Warlpiri-speaking primary school-aged students drew language self-portraits and language networks. In the art-work students represented their multi-modal, multi-linguistic repertoires and language functions in sophisticated ways, showing their language awareness and that they value keeping their L1 strong.

The challenges of understanding the language learning needs of students in a language ecology that is not well understood are raised in Angelo, Fraser and Yeatman's paper (language ecology B). They describe how collaborations between community members and education department staff led to greater understandings of the primary languages of the communities, where creoles are spoken as first languages, but are not officially recognised by the education system. The community teams developed vernacular language posters, engaging community members and educators in discussions, and making the new languages and their speakers visible. The education system was then in a position to better respond to learner needs.

The issue then moves to the second/additional language learner pathway, and the challenge of teaching and learning a language that no longer has first language speakers, and about which there is some, but little, documentation and few teaching resources (language ecology B). The language is Mangarrayi, a traditional language of the NT that was until recently spoken in a remote community. In this language revival/revitalisation context, Mark Richards and Josie Lardy show how an effective solution was to repurpose archived materials for language learning. Audio recordings of first language speakers become the basis of the teaching and learning of Mangarrayi, for in- and out-of-school learning. In what is a pedagogy-led approach, the digital materials are used in a scaffolding framework to support independent learning.

Also working in revival contexts, this time in NSW (language ecology C), Lowe and Giacon show how the language learning aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are acts of resistance to the legacy of colonial destruction. They reflect on some of the challenges of supporting languages programs, when little systemic resourcing and often few languages resources are available. They advocate for connections between language research, resource development, best practice pedagogies and aiming for high proficiency levels of learners.

Smith also addresses some challenges of teaching in a revival context (language ecology C), now in a university course, teaching Gamilaraay (NSW). Learners include Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander students, non-Indigenous Australians and international students. The challenge was to create more of a connection between students in the course and Gamilaraay people, since the university (the Australian National University, in Canberra) is far from Gamilaraay country. The paper describes how the research team worked with a Gamilaraay child and family centre to film people speaking the language and use the recordings in classes, bringing Gamilaraay voices into the course in new ways. The project also expanded the course content to include not only language learning, but also traditional and contemporary culture, and understandings of, and support for, the language revival process.

The final paper moves to a second/additional language learner pathway, where the language learned, Bininj Kunwok, is still being spoken as a first language on its traditional lands. In the paper Bow addresses the demands of developing a university course delivered entirely online. A major question, related to that of the Gamilaraay course, was how to provide an online course where additional language learners and first language speakers could feel connected, given that the additional language learners are in disparate locations and the first language learners are mostly in one remote location. Innovative solutions involve digital resources that draw on community expertise in flexible ways. First language speakers were integral as teachers, mentors and language authorities, and centrally involved in the production of course content. The program collates diverse types of existing materials, and personal connections are made through the on-line platform.

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Nathan Schrieber
teaching language
through dance at
Yarrabah
– Photo by
Stefanie Zingsheim,
The University of Sydney



FROM THE GROUND UP:

HOW ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES TEACHERS DESIGN SCHOOL-BASED PROGRAMS IN THEIR LOCAL LANGUAGE ECOLOGY, WITH CARMEL RYAN, MARMINGEE HAND, NATHAN SCHRIEBER AND MICHAEL JARRETT

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ABSTRACT

In the International Year of Indigenous Languages (2019), this paper highlights the work of four Aboriginal languages teachers. Their languages are among the many first languages of the Australian continent, yet the right of these languages to a place in schools has been hard-fought and they have a relatively short history of being taught in classrooms. As a consequence of past policies that caused broad language loss, and the minoritisation of their languages in education systems, the teachers' work requires a wide range of skills. Each of the teachers works in a different language ecology, and each ecology necessitates

responding to a particular configuration of languages, which impacts on the teachers' access to speakers and resources. The authors of this article are connected through their varied roles and experience in the field of Indigenous languages revival and maintenance. The teachers' contexts are unpacked through semi-structured interviews and a collaborative writing process. The article aims to capture both the unique characteristics of teachers' work across diverse language ecologies, and the common features of each setting. It celebrates the teachers' achievements, and outlines the challenges they face, demonstrating ways that teaching Aboriginal languages differs from teaching other languages in Australia.

KEY WORDS

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, Australian Indigenous languages, language ecologies, language revival and maintenance, languages teachers, languages and cultures teaching.

INTRODUCTION

This year (2019) is the International Year of Indigenous Languages proclaimed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a timely occasion for languages teachers in Australia to hear from their Indigenous colleagues about their professional work and aspirations for their languages. The United Nations declared this year not only to acknowledge the significance of Indigenous languages for their speakers, but also to raise awareness amongst the general public about how they enrich cultural diversity in the world.

Through language, people preserve their community's history, customs and traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking, meaning and expression. They also use it to construct their future (UNESCO, 2019, International Year of Indigenous Languages, <https://en.iyil2019.org/>)

In the languages teaching profession in Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers occupy a special place, not least because they are teaching the languages of this continent. In this article, we hear from four teachers about their roles in their school language programs, their community-based work, language research and resource development. We show how their work varies according to their specific language ecologies, and factors such as the different histories of uptake of each language in educational settings, the available teaching and reference materials, and the extent of accessible professional support. While there are several contextual differences, the teachers are united in their views on the profound connections between their respective languages and Country, cultures and identities.

This article first provides background information on Australian Indigenous languages and their ecologies, curriculum and resources. We then present our research methodology and hear about the context and work of Carmel Ryan on Arrernte in Central Australia, Marmingee Hand on Kriol, Walmajarri, Gooniyandi and Bunuba in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, Nathan Schrieber on Gunggay in Far North Queensland, and Michael Jarrett on Gumbaynggirr on the New South Wales mid-north coast. The article concludes by drawing out similarities and contrasts in their experiences, for a rich description of teachers' work-in-action in the various ecologies.

CONTEXT

The teachers interviewed in this article all identify as Aboriginal – which encompasses all the peoples of mainland Australia, Tasmania and other islands apart from the Torres Strait. The term 'Torres Strait Islander' refers to the peoples of the islands and seas of the Torres Strait, which lie between the tip of Cape York and Papua New Guinea, including the diaspora populations with this heritage who are now living on the mainland. The generic term 'Indigenous' still has some currency, when referring jointly to both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and cultures, but all of these general terms are less preferred when people's specific language affiliations can be used. In this article we also use the terms 'Australian' (as in 'Australian languages') and 'First' (as in 'First Nations'), to acknowledge the rightful place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, despite the difficulties our settler colonial society may sometimes display in recognising this position. Our use of the plural is intended as an explicit acknowledgement of the diversity of Australia's first peoples, their languages and cultures.

ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES

In this article, 'language ecology' refers straightforwardly to the constellations of languages and the extent they are used in a given locality. The earliest notion of 'language ecology' is associated with language planning (Haugen, 1972) and the roles different linguistic codes (will) play in a society. Over the ensuing decades it has been deployed with varied emphases, additional to the basic sense we are using here, namely which languages are represented to what extent in a particular place (see for example Hornberger & Hult, 2008; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2008; Mufwene & Vigouroux, 2012; Mühlhäusler, 2000; Willans & Jukes, 2017). The grounded concept of 'language ecology' serves as a practical and meaningful heuristic for discussing the teaching of First Nations languages because it focuses attention on the presence of multiple languages and proficiencies, and the variability of these elements and/or their configurations from place to place. In some respects, a 'language ecology' can be compared to an 'environmental ecology', but it is languages, and not elements of the natural environment, that are configured differently in each location.

Common Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language ecologies can be categorised – very broadly – according to whether, in a particular place, the predominant type of language spoken by Indigenous residents as their first language (i.e. mother tongue, acquired from birth) is a Traditional Language, a New Language or a variety of English, as in Table 1. Individuals acquire their language repertoire from the specific language resources which accord with those in their language ecology type, to the extent that opportunity and context allow.

OVERVIEW OF THREE MAIN
ABORIGINAL AND TORRES
STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGE
ECOLOGIES IN AUSTRALIA

The work of Aboriginal languages teachers responds to their respective language ecology, in terms of the target Traditional Language and often also the medium of instruction that these teachers share with their students. In this article we focus on the teaching of Traditional Languages in their respective language ecology, although there are many ramifications for students' basic right to an education that derive from the local language ecology, including how classroom learning is delivered to students who do not speak English as their first language. We first provide brief overviews of the different language elements in Table 1, before we turn to the specific situations of the four featured teachers.

TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL AND
TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER
LANGUAGES

'Traditional Languages' are those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages that have been spoken since before invasion and colonisation of Australia. Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language programs in schools typically involve a Traditional Language, rather than a 'New Language' (see below). Nowadays Traditional Languages are also commonly known as 'First Languages' (capitalisation distinguishes this term from 'first language', or 'L1', meaning 'mother tongue'). Both 'Traditional Languages' and 'First Languages' unambiguously refer to the original languages belonging to different First Nations and their lands and explicitly contrast with the New (contact) Languages spoken by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in some areas of northern Australia (see below).

Estimated numbers of pre-contact Traditional Languages vary, but are considered to have been around 250 distinct languages, although named varieties, such as dialects and clan-based varieties, may be two to three times that number. A question the authors are often asked by educators is whether these languages are really all that different, possibly because it seems like a large number, in comparison to Europe, for example. The answer is yes, Traditional Aboriginal Languages are not mutually comprehensible, nor are Traditional Torres Strait Islander Languages. In Australia, there is a large language family, called 'Pama-Nyungan', that includes many of the Traditional Languages, but they are not mutually comprehensible. This can be compared to the situation in Europe, where even closely related languages from the large Indo-European language family, such as English and German, are not mutually comprehensible. The Pama-Nyungan language family stretches from the western Torres Strait

Table 1: Overview of 3 main Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language ecologies in Australia

Ecology Type	First Language	Additional Language(s)	Recommended Language Program Types
A	Traditional Language (TL)	New Language English Dialect	TL: maintenance and/or mother tongue/first language medium ENG: English as an Additional Language
B	New Language (NL)	Traditional Language English Dialect	NL: mother tongue/first language medium and/or language awareness TL: revitalisation and/or revival ENG: English as an Additional Language
C	English Dialect	Traditional Language	TL: revival ENG: Standard Australian English as an Additional Dialect (in some settings)

in the north-east across much of the Australian continent (but excluding most of the Top End and the Kimberleys) to the furthest south-western corner. To reflect this vast area, the name, Pama-Nyungan, is composed from the word for 'person, man' *pama* in the north-east, and in the south-west, *nyunga*.

Another question the authors are often asked is about the complexity of Traditional Languages, perhaps because of an (erroneous) assumption that differences between the material culture of British colonisers and First Nations peoples might be reflected somehow in 'simpler' languages. In fact, if there were a link, it would be the other way around. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Traditional Languages are grammatically highly complex. Traditional Languages in the Pama-Nyungan language family are characterised by the use of inflectional suffixes, somewhat like Latin, with case-marking showing the various roles of noun groups in a sentence such as agent, object, location, goal, beneficiary, source, instrument, etc. Verbs typically also take suffixes to show tense, mood and aspect information. Of the languages in the school programs discussed in this paper, Arrernte, Walmajarri, Gunggay and Gumbaynggirr are Pama-Nyungan languages. The other 'non-Pama-Nyungan' language families have fewer members, and are all located in northern Australia, from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Kimberleys. These languages are just as complex, indeed many are polysynthetic with long words, composed of many parts, that are able to express an entire English sentence. These non-Pama-Nyungan language families also make a greater use of prefixes in their grammatical structures. Non-Pama-Nyungan

languages referred to in this paper are Bunuba and Gooniyandi.

Teaching any Traditional Language in settings where it is not acquired from birth as a mother tongue/first language clearly requires explicit teaching of such grammatical features, and programs factor these into their planned teaching sequences. While members of the Australian public are often aware of the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages have long oral traditions, the fact that most have developed writing systems for their languages may come as a surprise. It is not uncommon for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teachers to be fluently reading and writing their languages in the course of their daily work.

The extent to which Traditional Languages are spoken by their speech community depends on their historical and present experiences. In some situations, communities are working with historical and 'rememberer' sources to reawaken their Traditional Languages, as Jarrett describes for Gumbaynggirr and Schrieber for Gunggay. In other contexts, younger community members are working with older speakers to ensure their Traditional Language knowledge is passed on, as Hand describes for Walmajarri. In some places, every community member speaks the local Traditional Language with each other and it is the first language children learn as babies, as Ryan describes for Arrernte. In some communities, there is quite a wide diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language backgrounds, so although there will be a local Traditional Language for the particular country of that community, community members are affiliated with other languages and areas too.

NEW ABORIGINAL AND TORRES
STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGES
(CONTACT LANGUAGES)

'New Languages' are those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, such as creoles and mixed languages, which are spoken nowadays in many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander speech communities across large areas of northern Australia. These 'New Languages' have a very different history to Traditional Languages as they have developed through processes of language contact and, over time, a community-wide language shift. Due to their roots in Australia's contact history, New Languages show influence from various source languages, including English and Traditional Languages, but they differ from them at all linguistic levels and are not mutually comprehensible with them (see Angelo, Fraser & Yeatman, this issue).

Some New Languages, such as *Kriol* (spoken across northern Australia) and *Yumplatok* (also called Torres Strait Creole), have a long-term trajectory of recognition. These New Languages are spoken widely and each is estimated to have over 20,000 speakers. Much of their vocabulary is historically derived from English, so they are categorised as 'English lexified creoles'. In the case of *Kriol* and *Yumplatok*, their grammars have been described linguistically and their history is recognised. They have print-based resources in their own orthography (writing system) and they have standardised names. Interpreting services have been established in both these languages. Other New Languages, such as *Yarrie Lingo* (mentioned by Schrieber,

below) or *Lockhart River Creole* (on Cape York Peninsula), have a different trajectory of recognition. Even though they might be recognised in the local setting as the local way of speaking, some incomers and locals still might wonder if they are “proper” languages, because they are only inconsistently acknowledged, for example in school or by other services. These less recognised New Languages are not yet widely known through their standardised nomenclature, and they are often in the early stages of being represented in print. Another type of New Language, namely mixed languages, is comprised of a blend of a single Traditional Language with elements from a creole or English, like *Modern Tiwi* (Wilson, Hurst, & Wigglesworth, 2018), *Light Warlpiri* (O’Shannessy, 2008) and *Gurindji Kriol* (Meakins, 2008).

Like every language, these New Languages express the identity, history and culture of their speakers. However, New Languages are not typically taught through the mechanism of the Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander languages curriculum, although they are not precluded either. The Traditional Languages have an inherited cultural gravitas that render them the languages to be added to students’ language repertoires. New Languages are usually seen as the everyday medium of communication in the community, and they may also be recognised as an effective medium of instruction in some schools. But they are not usually taught as a target language in Australian schools - hence the asymmetry in Table 1, where New Languages do not appear in school language programs in ecologies A and C, that is, outside their own ecology.

In addition to their different histories and their linguistic makeup, many New Languages are also different from Traditional Languages because they are English-lexified - that is, a significant proportion of their vocabulary is historically derived and modified from English (see Angelo, Fraser & Yeatman, this issue). As a result, they might not be seen as autonomous languages, but rather as extensions of English. In school settings, this can obscure the fact that students are developing bilinguals who have a New Language as their mother tongue and are learners of Standard Australian English as an additional and often ‘foreign’ language (see below). The time depth of the language shift in the local speech community will determine the level of exposure that children will have to their Traditional Language(s) through their Elders. In some situations children will often hear older people speaking a Traditional Language so they are likely to develop a good understanding and some spoken proficiency, whereas in other situations, where there are fewer proficient speakers of Traditional Language(s), children will be learning them more like second languages, even though they might be their affiliatory and heritage languages.

STANDARD AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH AND OTHER ENGLISHES

Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people speak English every day, and it is often their first and main language. Standard Australian English is one way of speaking English, which is different but still a close variety to an American or New Zealand dialect of English. However, there are also Aboriginal English(es) (e.g. Eades, 2013) and

Torres Strait Islander English (Shnukal, 2001) ways of speaking which are recognisable, for example, by particular words, accents and cultural usages. These Englishes are valid, rule-governed varieties, and reflect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students’ identities.

However, in many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, Standard Australian English is not used for everyday communication because community members speak their own language, an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language, Traditional and/or New (ecologies A or B in Table 1). In these situations, the children’s exposure to English is more like that of a foreign language, meaning that it is exclusively or primarily learned and used in the classroom at school (see Browne, this issue, for students’ perspectives). People in these communities will have different levels of proficiency in English, depending on their opportunities to learn and use it. Local educators who share students’ language repertoires, as the Aboriginal Language teachers featured here, play an invaluable role in their schools due to their unsurpassed ability to communicate with students.

CURRICULUM OFFERINGS AND RESOURCES

Traditional Languages have a relatively short history of being taught in schools. Mother tongue/first languages in language ecology A (Table 1) began to be formally recognised by school systems from around the 1970s (Disbray, 2015; Gale, 1990). Second/additional language learning for revitalisation and revival contexts, such as those in ecologies B (New Language as mother tongue/first language) and C (English dialect as mother tongue/first language), began to be recognised by school systems around the 1990s.

Since 2016, the *Foundation (first year of school) – Year 10 Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages* (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2015) has been in the process of being adopted/adapted and operationalised by most jurisdictions in Australia (see Disbray, this issue). Prior to the Australian Curriculum, six of the eight jurisdictions already had syllabuses for F-10 and/or senior secondary years, developed between 1998 and 2011. These represent communities’ and their supporters’ long-term advocacy for a place for Australian Languages in school systems. Protocol guides developed in each state/territory to accompany each syllabus emphasise that programs can only be implemented with local community leadership and decision-making.

All syllabuses/curricula for Australian languages have been frameworks. That is, none of them has been language-specific. They are differentiated according to whether the learning occurs in a language revival, first or second language learning context, but not according to the specific language being taught. Teachers of better-resourced languages, for which there are specific curricula (e.g. French, Japanese) in Australia will instantly recognise that this adds a significant level of planning responsibility to the workload of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teachers. Unlike many languages, there is no guidance on the language-specific features that can be expected at each age and stage of learning for any Australian language in any ecology. First

and second language acquisition of Australian languages is an under-researched area. So knowledge of forms that are acquired earlier or later, and effective ways to order the teaching of any particular features of the language are left to local teachers’ intuitions.

Also, while teachers of better-resourced languages can follow links from each learning outcome/achievement standard, content description or elaboration of the Australian Curriculum to sources such as *Scootle* (Education Services Australia’s online bank of materials for teachers of all learning areas), there are no links to language-specific materials which develop students’ proficiency in any given Australian language. Again, teachers of other languages will immediately appreciate the load this adds to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teachers’ work. They must create all of their own resources from scratch. Small learner and speaker populations make commercial production of teaching materials less viable, or unviable. So creation of resources is most likely done by teachers themselves, each in their own local contexts.

As the experiences of the teachers highlighted in this article will show, developing teaching programs and resources for Indigenous languages is a multi-faceted task. Ideally it is accomplished with input from people with various skills and knowledge, including Elders, community members, teacher-linguists, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators. Many local school programs throughout Australia benefit from support given by teachers of other languages. While Languages teaching colleagues may not speak Indigenous languages, they contribute pedagogical expertise that makes a significant difference to the effectiveness of the programs. In addition, at the state/territory and national level, leaders in the languages teaching profession have supported framework/syllabus development by recognising Indigenous languages as part of their discipline while at the same time having a unique place and needs.

TEACHERS’ VIEWS

Having outlined the different ecologies in which the learning and teaching of Australian languages occurs, and the available curriculum offerings and resources, this article now sets out to illustrate how the work is carried out by four Aboriginal teachers. It seeks to present how teachers manage the host of factors in their particular context. We refer to qualitative data from semi-structured interviewing, or what might better be described as ‘yarning’ (explained below).

The research reported here is underpinned by existing professional relationships (of 2-16 years duration) amongst the authors. All of us have been on separate and overlapping journeys in the field of Indigenous languages revival and maintenance. Angelo and Poetsch have worked as teacher-linguists, members of local language teaching teams, and university-based researchers and lecturers, including in The University of Sydney’s Master of Indigenous Languages Education program (Hobson, Oakley, Jarrett, Jackson, & Wilcock, 2018). Through this range of roles, we have come to know and work with many teachers in various states/territories. For the purposes of this article, we approached just four of them, selected for their combined ability to represent the range of ecologies we aim to illustrate.

Each of the teachers responded to the following five topics:

1. A description of the language situation in their community (including the languages the students bring to school)
2. Their own role in the school program (e.g. the language/s they teach, how often, to which age groups, other staff involved)
3. The kind of training and support they have had (i.e. initial teacher education and in-service teacher professional learning)
4. The resources available for their languages (e.g. speakers, Elders, community expertise, teaching resources, reference materials)
5. Why teaching their languages is important (from their own point of view, for students, and the community as a whole).

These topics were selected because they are open-ended enough to stimulate conversation, and for their potential to draw out details of the ecologies. They were presented as discussion starters and in the event were points that led to richer elaboration. Each conversation (or 'yarn')

lasted 30-90 minutes, and was recorded and transcribed. One was conducted face-to-face, two were conducted via Zoom, and one by phone. Text drafted for this article was checked with each teacher, to ensure the validity of the ideas presented here and to give them the opportunity for fine-tuning or clarifications of their wording, if they deemed this necessary. Quotes from each teacher interview are presented below in italics and indented.

We are mindful that many disciplines have a long history of reporting on Indigenous people as objects of research. The tide has been turned in recent decades, through the activism of Indigenous people themselves. Research ethics have shifted the field towards publications that are more useful to, and reflective of, Indigenous purposes and ways. Indigenous academics have taken a leading role in this shift. For example, given the history of imbalance in researched-researcher power relations, Rigney (2006) called for Indigenist approaches to research which privilege Indigenous voices and views, arise out of social experiences that celebrate the courage and determination of Indigenous people to resist and survive, and focus

on the lived historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations and struggles of Indigenous Australians. In this kind of knowledge production, non-Indigenous researchers and universities take facilitative and supportive roles (Rigney, 2006, pp. 39-45).

To foreground these views, we used 'yarning' – proposed by Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010, p. 37) as an Indigenous style of conversation and story telling, also known as narrative, as a method for gathering information during the interview process and a counterpoint to the history of Indigenous peoples world-wide being 'over-researched', and in contexts where data collection is conducted through less familiar or more formal ways. As a data-gathering tool, it is most likely to be effective in research projects where the researchers have well-established relationships with the people they are interviewing. Through levels of trust, it is possible to discover and learn from Indigenous peoples' experiences and insights. 'Yarning' has gained recognition as a valid and distinct approach, and has been applied in collaborative and qualitative research approaches in the fields of Indigenous health (e.g. Geia, Hayes, & Usher, 2013) and education (e.g. Yunkaporta & Kirby, 2011).



Arrernte teacher, Carmel Ryan – Photo by Susan Poetsch



Ltyentye Apurte community – Photo by Susan Poetsch

CARMEL RYAN AND ARRERNTE

Carmel Ryan works in ecology type A (Table 1). She is an Arrernte woman who teaches her language and culture at Ltyentye Apurte on Arrernte country in Central Australia. This vibrant remote community has a population of approximately 500, with a range of local organisations and amenities and access to on-Country resources and activities, as well as town services in Alice Springs.

Arrernte is one of the fewer than 15 Traditional Languages in Australia that are spoken by all generations (Simpson & Wigglesworth, 2018). Intergenerational transmission of Arrernte is fragile though, an experience of many Arrernte heritage families living in Alice Springs, where there is a linguistically heterogeneous population including Aboriginal people with a diversity of language backgrounds. At Ltyentye Apurte, however, when children begin pre-school or school, it is their first serious engagement with English. Arrernte-speaking assistant teachers work in each classroom in the school to support student learning of

mainstream curriculum areas (e.g. Maths, Science, History), which are taught in English. All community members also speak English to some degree. Eastern and Western Arrernte are closely related and mutually intelligible.

The main language we have here is Eastern Arrernte. We do have a few other languages through intermarriages and people moving here, like Luritja, Warlpiri, Western Arrernte, Pitjantjatjara. But most people are Eastern Arrernte. That's the main language we hear spoken in the school and around the community.

The school began to include students' first language in classroom learning in various ways from the late 1970s – early 1980s (Purdon & Palmer, 2017; Reynolds, 1994). This was a time in which families had more agency and could initially exert some influence over educational pathways for their children. People of Carmel's generation were the first able to access vocational opportunities with trajectories involving first language and literacy as well as skills for operating in the dominant society (Kral, 2017).

Currently, Carmel teaches Arrernte to all students (approximately 150) in the school, both Primary and Secondary. Each year level is timetabled for two lessons per week in the Arrernte classroom. The non-Aboriginal classroom teachers join in one of these lessons each week with their students. Although the children are first language speakers of their traditional language, Arrernte educators have long been concerned about the possibility and risk of language shift. The school program is seen as making an important contribution to language maintenance.

The Arrernte program is very important for the school, the community, especially for the children to keep their language and culture strong, to speak strongly, know their culture, skin names, family and Country connections, and all about the things that are out bush. Otherwise they will just lose it completely. It's important for their identity. Me and the assistant teachers all need to teach the kids more and more each day, making it stronger.

Carmel herself, and the Assistant Teacher

(AT) in the Arrernte room, provide rich oral language input for their students. They are the grandparent generation in relation to the students in the school. As older people, and through their life experiences, they have a deeper knowledge of Arrernte land and culture, and speak a more conservative version of the language.

[In my classroom] I have my assistant teacher Mia (Mulloodad). I love working with her. We both work with language, using stronger language. We are a good team and we have cultural knowledge. She is older than me and she has more knowledge, and more stronger words. I understand what she tells me, though. And we talk to each other about it, and how we can teach the kids. Also, there is a lady in the community older than us, and we get her to tell some stories for the kids too.

Although Carmel is a proficient speaker of her language, she also has reference material to use if needed: the comprehensive Arrernte dictionary (Henderson & Dobson, 1994) and the picture dictionary (Broad, 2008) which is also available electronically, with sound files.

I do use the dictionaries sometimes with the older kids, as part of their reading skills, looking at words and sounds – so we can say Arrernte properly.

The program enriches the children's first language oral and literacy skills and cultural knowledge. Periodic bush trips supplement classroom learning. In both contexts Carmel teaches her students about Arrernte country, their community history, connections to each other and the land, and traditional stories that convey rich ecological knowledge and social mores.

Bush trips are best in the middle of the year. It's the best time for me to show them the country, and everything that is growing out in the bush. I teach about which kere [meat food] and merne [plant food] and bush medicine is in season. We talk a lot about [different parts of the country], the traditional owners, the stories for that country. ... I am the main teacher, but if it's a long trip with camping, I do have supporters. Arrernte staff and non-Aboriginal staff all help organise everything, and they come along as well. At night, we teach about the universe, planets, stars, they all have names. We tell stories about the night sky, like the Seven Sisters story, that come from the Dreamtime.

So, the land itself is a significant teaching resource for Carmel. She also makes many of her own classroom resources, and can access materials stored in the school's Literature Production Centre (LPC). The 'Lit Centre' is housed in the same building as the library and has two part-time staff members.

Well we have a Lit Centre here, and I have resources made by the ladies [who work in the Centre] and I do make my own. We mainly have posters, worksheets and stories. Some are done up in kits with themes. And sometimes we display things up on the walls for people to come and see.

LPCs were established in some remote Northern Territory (NT) schools to support local resource design and production, through collaborations between linguists and community members, during an era in which some Aboriginal languages (Traditional

and New) were utilised in mother tongue/first language literacy programs in a number of 'bilingual' school programs, from the 1970s onwards (Devlin, Disbray, & Devlin, 2017). The LPC in Carmel's community is one of only a few still operating in the NT. Resources from many LPCs are now being stored in a common digital archive, the Living Archive of Aboriginal Languages (LAAL), for posterity and to increase ease of access to them (Devlin, Bow, Purdon, & Klesch, 2015).

Carmel completed her teacher degree in the 1980s as a mature-aged student, at a time when courses with content, approaches and delivery modes more suited to students in remote locations were available, coinciding with an era of combined support for bilingual education from various sectors (Reaburn, Bat, & Kilgariff, 2015).

I did a 3-year Teaching qualification through La Trobe Uni. Later I did my 4th year through Batchelor [Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education] and completed my course that way. Ever since I started in [the field of] Education, I've been always a language teacher and I love this job. It's in my heart that I teach my language. I've always been a language teacher and I just love it.

It is also clear that bilingual schools fostered professional pathways for Aboriginal educators in the NT at this time, with 80% of Education students at Batchelor and a majority of Aboriginal school leadership coming from this context (Collins, 1999). When remote area teacher training options were reduced (Reaburn et al., 2015), a new partnership between Catholic Education NT and Charles Darwin University emerged in a program called 'Growing Our Own', which ran for several years, and through which Aboriginal teacher education students could still study in their home communities while working as Assistant Teachers (Strangeways, 2017; van Gelderen, 2017).

In addition to teacher education, early in her career, Carmel was able to access short courses designed to develop adult first language literacy and language analysis skills. The courses were designed for people who were working in bilingual schools and LPCs, among others, and were offered in Alice Springs through the School of Australian Languages, which later became the Centre for Australian Languages and Linguistics at Batchelor (Black & Breen, 2001). Carmel began to use her skills to contribute to the growing number of texts that were being produced for school programs. In subsequent years she also continued to develop those skills through her work as an interpreter and translator for major publications that took several years to produce.

I trained with [linguist] Gavan Breen in Alice Springs. We studied reading and writing and grammar. And from then on, I was also involved in the Arrernte dictionary, and translating the Bible into our language.

During her teaching career, Carmel has taught Arrernte to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in Primary and High Schools in Alice Springs. Over the years she has had access to some professional learning opportunities.

I did have some language teacher (professional learning) courses that I've been to, like workshops organised by Catholic Education for language teachers in remote schools. We were there learning

a lot and sharing ideas with each other. ... Also linguists and other teachers have supported me through team teaching. I got a lot of experiences that way, and shared my knowledge.

MARMINGEE HAND AND KRIOL, WALMAJARRI, BUNUBA AND GOONIYANDI



Marmingee Hand – Photo by Tristan McCarthy

Marmingee Hand is a Walmajarri speaker, who works on Bunuba Country in the small town of Fitzroy Crossing in the Kimberleys in Western Australia, teaching her language and supporting Aboriginal teachers of the other Traditional Languages in the school program. Fitzroy Crossing has a population of about 1200 people, and is largely a language ecology type B (see Table 1) where the majority of the Aboriginal population speaks Kimberley Kriol, a regional dialect of Kriol. Although Kriol is the mother tongue/first language of Aboriginal school-aged students, they and their families draw their identity from their affiliations with their Traditional Language(s), which provides a prime motivation for the school's Aboriginal language program. Marmingee's role in this program involves teaching Walmajarri, coordinating the other staff involved in teaching the Walmajarri, Bunuba and Gooniyandi languages, and producing teaching resources across these languages.

Like many Aboriginal people of her generation, Marmingee was raised in a richly multilingual environment. She herself speaks Walmajarri and thanks to her upbringing also knows other Traditional Languages to varying degrees. Her mother, for instance, spoke six languages: Gooniyandi, Bunuba, Walmajarri, Wangkatjungka, Yulparija and Ngardi. Similarly, there are many Traditional Languages associated with the township of Fitzroy Crossing and the surrounding area, as Marmingee explains:

The languages that are spoken by our Elders in around the Fitzroy Valley are Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Walmajarri, Nyikina and Wangkatjungka.

The movement of Aboriginal peoples in and around Fitzroy Crossing has changed the language ecology here dramatically over the years, due to the establishment of this and other towns in the Kimberleys and of the pastoral stations, missions and reserves. For example, Aboriginal peoples moving out of

the desert from the 1940s onwards added the desert languages to the other Traditional Languages represented in and around this township:

And you know all our families, the Walmajarri and the Wangkatjungka, we got put into the reserves there, the mission, because of coming in, exiting out of the desert.

Then in the 1950s, Kriol reportedly entered from the east, notably with the arrival of Kriol speakers from the former Moola Bulla station (Hudson, 1983, pp. 13-14).

The school's Aboriginal language program started in 1984 at the behest of Elders who had noticed young people's language was starting to shift towards Kriol. These Elders were associated with the local adult education centre, Karrayili (meaning 'middle aged people'), because they wanted to learn English but they also had an eye to the future of their Traditional Languages and wanted them to be supported in education systems.

I was then working at Karrayili as a lecturer/trainer when I was approached by the Karrayili council/students to implement a Language program at the Fitzroy Crossing District High School teaching the four languages, Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Walmajarri and Wangkatjungka. That was in 1984. You know, in '84 they were talking about it and they were really worried because the kids weren't learning their language. [...] It was the Elders who saw. They led the whole thing.

Marmingee understands how Elders had this foresight due to their own lived experiences of "coming in" to town to live and watching their culture change and opportunities for speaking their languages lessen. In addition to working with the school to implement Elders' vision for the Aboriginal languages program, Marmingee also worked with Elders to recognise their role as Language Specialists. She ran training through the TAFE sector so the older speakers of the four languages could be recognised as Language Specialists, could support language lessons and be paid accordingly. The school's Aboriginal Languages Program ran continuously from 1984 until 2011, when it lapsed without the support of an experienced person who understood the administrative, staffing and curriculum requirements of departments and schools, as well as community expectations and expertise.

I think it was because it was in the too hard basket [...] because people didn't greatly understand what you needed to do in order for you to coordinate a language program which ran four languages.

Mainstream systems never exactly suit local Aboriginal language contexts. A committed coordinator-type figure, with two-way know-how (i.e. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal), constantly and carefully observes community and departmental requirements, working as a go-between, always at the ready and able to "tweak" elements in order to keep the program going. Marmingee sees herself as doing a lot of tweaking. A greater match between community needs and aspirations and mainstream systems would be a boon to Aboriginal language programs.

In 2018, Marmingee was tasked to start building up the school's Aboriginal Languages Program again, and currently three Traditional

Languages are taught at the school: Walmajarri, Bunuba and Gooniyandi. To mark the recommencement of teaching Aboriginal languages in the school, Marmingee decided that the first unit was to be delivered in Kriol. She felt it was critical to raise awareness that Kriol is a proper language because it is the mother tongue of most students. Using Kriol recognised and respected students' first language and thereby positioned them as multilingual learners, plus it acknowledged the communicative potential that Kriol could fulfil as a medium of instruction in the classroom:

[...] people still have got this feeling about Kriol – it's not seen as a language in its own right, they think it's still a rubbish sort of language [...] So I used Kriol as a way to communicate with our kids, acknowledging them because that's their first language.

Since the end of 2018, the school's Aboriginal Languages Program has had five staff, including one Gooniyandi, one Bunuba and two Walmajarri teachers, as well as Marmingee who teaches Walmajarri in addition to her coordinator role. Marmingee is the only fully qualified teacher in this team. She trained as a generalist classroom teacher, but she has also completed the Western Australian (WA) Education Department Traineeship for Aboriginal Languages Teachers delivered by Aboriginal Languages Curriculum Officers Lola Jones and Colleen Sherratt. WA is currently the only state/territory Education Department to offer such a course. Marmingee has now also enrolled in the Masters of Indigenous Languages Education (MILE) at The University of Sydney (First Languages Australia, 2018). The Gooniyandi and Bunuba teachers have completed their WA Aboriginal Language Teachers course, which provides them with a 'limited registration to teach' so they are qualified to teach their Aboriginal language. The Walmajarri teachers are currently undertaking this training too.

While the increase in staffing for the school's Aboriginal languages program and the opportunities for building their capacity is sincerely welcomed by Marmingee, she sees this professionalisation as just one side of a school Aboriginal languages program. Another equally important component is ongoing engagement with community Elders who are the Aboriginal Language Specialists with cultural knowledge and community standing. Their involvement and support is critical to the sustainability of the program. Marmingee has set up and consults with a language advisory group, but ensuring a permanent place for Aboriginal Language Specialists in language programs remains a high priority.

With regard to language resources, Kriol in the Kimberleys has large numbers of mother tongue/first language speakers and its own standardised orthography. There are also resources that foster respect and recognition for Kriol by distinguishing its history and language features from Standard Australian English (Berry & Hudson, 1997). In this school, the Traditional Languages, Bunuba, Gooniyandi and Walmajarri, are fortunate to have decades worth of teaching and learning resources in their own practical orthographies. These have been carefully curated since the languages program recommenced.

But since 1984, we have so many resources that we developed over the

years, playing cards, templates for everything [...]. Last year I collated and organised them all, because I just used to go from class to class, but now at the end of last year, they gave me a space for the first time, a classroom, which is now the Language and Culture Room. We're now thinking how we can decorate it and make it welcome for older people to use it.



Local teacher made resources
– Photos by Marmingee Hand



Cissie Nuggett – Gooniyandi Teacher
– Photo by Marmingee Hand

In spite of this considerable “bank” of resources, almost all the elements of the school’s Aboriginal language program including planning, assessment and reporting still need to be developed individually for each Traditional Language in order to accommodate the relatively recent Western Australian Aboriginal Languages curriculum developed as the state version of the Australian Curriculum: Languages (ACARA, 2019).

Each Traditional Language in Fitzroy Crossing has an aging mother tongue speaker profile, especially Bunuba and Gooniyandi, but Walmajarri too. Marmingeel and the other Aboriginal languages teachers here are teaching across a language shift boundary to younger generations whose main language is (typically) Kriol. Maximising opportunities

to learn and use Traditional Languages is a challenge and requires forethought and planning, especially since respecting the students’ mother tongue, Kriol, is also an ever-present factor. One initiative has been to designate the Language Room as an Aboriginal languages-only space:

It’s about rebuilding and capacity building [. . .] So I guess what we’re doing is, when you come in the classroom (i.e. the Language Room), we don’t want to hear any English, you can say Kriol, but no English!

Marmingeel sees that the Aboriginal Languages Program in Fitzroy Crossing has multiple benefits for the students and the community. The students are using noticeably more of

their Traditional Language at home and this learning is valued, particularly as the Aboriginal Languages Program started because of community wishes. However, the benefits go much deeper than an increase in language proficiency, as students’ identity is positively reinforced through this aspect of their schooling.

I think it’s making them aware who they are, where they’re from. It’s also the history behind things, how Fitzroy came to be. And they also know the history of languages as well, so it’s also making them connected to Country and the kinship system as well. So all those kids are – from what I’ve seen – really proud.



Nathan Schrieber and Gunggay class – Photo by Stefanie Zingsheim, The University of Sydney

NATHAN SCHRIEBER AND GUNGGAY

Nathan Schrieber teaches Gunggay language and culture on Gunggay country in his community, Yarrabah, in tropical Far North Queensland, near Cairns. Yarrabah has ready access to Country – including salt and fresh-water habitats as well as land - with a population of around 2,500 people. Nathan is working in ecology type B (see Table 1) where, for historical policy reasons, residents have affiliations to over 40 Traditional Language backgrounds. The New contact Language spoken by almost everybody here is known as Yarrle Lingo (see Angelo, Fraser & Yeatman, this issue).

In our community of Yarrabah . . . the language spoken as first language by the majority of the community is Yarrle Lingo. Historically the first language of the land is Gunggay and over time that’s been influenced (from the late 1800s onwards) – initially by English when the missionaries arrived at our home. And throughout our history we’ve had different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples forcibly moved to our community, which of course meant that their languages came with them . . . Different government policies were in effect throughout this period too. So that meant there was all this transitioning of people being moved all over the place. That

includes some of our [Gunggay] families who were moved out – to Palm Island, Woorabinda and Cherbourg . . . People are still trying to track how and where all the families are linked.

As an undergraduate Primary Education student at James Cook University in Cairns, Nathan began to think about language loss and change in his own family and community, and this led to his initial research efforts for his language.

My journey with our language started 11 or 12 years ago now. During my Bachelor of Education, I reflected on why I don’t speak my First language. Elders around me had been using words. This triggered me to search the library while I was at the Uni – I thought it was as good a starting point as any. Ever since then, I have kept searching and finding documents and bringing back home all these bits and pieces of this scattered jigsaw puzzle.

After Nathan had accumulated four years of classroom experience, the Principal suggested he begin to develop a language program for all primary and high school students (approximately 400) at Yarrabah State School. Nathan was already well-known as someone interested in language and culture, especially traditional dance. He was keen to build up a language program but wanted to do so in appropriate ways.

I let the Principal know that for the program to run well, the school would need to let go of it and it would need to be built up from the community. He left it in my hands. I needed to consult with community, our Elders. They were very aware of the language situation in terms of (limited) daily use of the language and in terms of what information we had. We were faced with all these challenges.

Despite the challenges, Nathan began teaching Gunggay in 2014 – both in the community and school. Each class from Prep through to Grade 10 has one class per week. Recently one of the Indigenous Education Assistants in the school, Alfred Gray, has begun to work alongside Nathan in the teaching, research and community liaison aspects of the program. Alfred is enrolled in the Remote Area Teacher Education Program (York & Henderson, 2003), a longstanding community-based pathway for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to undertake training and studies that lead to a degree, an initiative that has been consistently supported by the Queensland Education Department, TAFE Queensland North and James Cook University for decades (while similar programs have declined in other states/territories).

My young brother, Alfred has been working with me for the last couple of years now. We are both active voices in the community, to let everybody know, and be as transparent

as possible, you know just what exactly is our work at the school, in terms of our language, culture, history and our knowledges as Indigenous people. [We are] trying to make sure that everybody in the community knows what we are doing.

Nathan's teaching is underpinned by ongoing research. This has taken him and Alfred to the Queensland State Library for residencies that provide assistance with accessing archival and linguistic materials, from that and other libraries and archives.

Being a full-time teacher and having so much to do on-the-job, the Queensland State Library residencies [coordinated by Indigenous services librarian Des Crump] enabled me to take time out from school and just concentrate on the Language. I could dig a little bit deeper, or find another piece of the jigsaw puzzle and how it fits in. I've brought stuff [that I found in the archives] back to our Elders and it'll trigger a memory for them. And we'll have a big conversation, and we could just sit there for hours. It's awesome because it generates all this conversation about our history and culture. And all that then can be turned into a classroom resource because we have that information coming directly from our Elders.

Nathan combines Elders' and community knowledge with documentary materials. As part of this process he has been able to intermittently work with Cassy Nancarrow, a teacher-linguist who has been casually employed with the Language Perspectives team in the Department of Education.

Because of her background in Linguistics, she was able to help me actually develop some resources for my school program. ... It was very helpful to meet up with someone like Cassy and her skills who could bring new knowledge, especially about the linguistic materials [for Gunggay and related languages] that I wasn't totally strong on. The way she was able to explain certain aspects of my language really expanded my level of understanding.

Nathan also completed the MILE program in 2017.

[The linguistic components of] that course, really looking at all of the things that make a language work and operate, gave me a greater understanding of language. It made me think that there is a certain level of intellect that's needed. And that's something I continually use today where I say to the kids, 'If you're learning our language you're really engaging the power of your mind, not only to speak the language but to understand how it's made up'.

Coinciding with Nathan's work on researching, learning, teaching and revitalising his language has been the rise of similar work by other communities and organisations in his region.

Since my teaching career started we've had the North Queensland Language Centre open in Cairns. They've been supportive. In 2014 the Queensland Indigenous Languages Advisory Committee held a conference in Cairns to get together people who are all working or wanting to start working on their language programs. Some people were doing community classes only, some were in schools but just doing specific Grades [not all Years in the

school]. ... Along the way I've met different people, through networking ... I found it helpful, to get my story out there and hear other stories and share ideas, beneficial not just for our Language program but also for me personally.

From archival and historical materials, from technical linguistic materials, and from Elders' reviewing of those materials, Nathan has begun to build a teaching program and create all classroom resources himself. All of the linguistic knowledge he gains, he shares with Elders and community members through weekly community classes for adults and families.

... from day 1 of our Gunggay program – and this is our seventh year – every resource has had to be developed from scratch.

Resources are developed and organised according to themes, one for each term, decided by the Elders. Materials developed for each theme are differentiated for age/stage of learning.

First term is local history – looking at our home before and after contact, trying to build a picture for our students that we have always been here, and to get the students to realise that what is around them now is not the way it has always been ... [The forced movement of people] can be confronting for some of our students, so we try to do it in age-appropriate ways and sensitive to the community. In one regard we're trying to build up our kids from the inside out and say, 'Look, this is who you are, this is your strength', and in order to do that we need to face those hard truths that make up our history. Term 2 we look more specifically at kinship. Term 3 is Gurugulu, which is our dry season. We talk about bush tucker, hunting, weather and anything that's connected to the theme of seasons. That's a really good term because we spend a lot of time outside the classroom, and working on a walking trail we're re-establishing. In Term 4 we look at arts and artefacts from Yarrabah and the wet tropics area because there's a lot of material culture that's been developed by different groups up here, things like shields, boomerangs, head-dresses. It's really handy having our Arts and Crafts Centre just down the road from the high school. We connect with them, and also look at contemporary art, e.g. photography, pottery, canvas painting, woven baskets.

MICHAEL JARRETT AND GUMBAYNGGIRR



Michael Jarrett on Gumbaynggirr Country
– Photo by Anna Thompson

Michael Jarrett teaches his language on Gumbaynggirr country on the mid-north New South Wales (NSW) coast. He is working in ecology type C (Table 1). Michael has a pivotal role in the Gumbaynggirr Language and

Culture Nest, one of five 'Nests' supported by the NSW Government which aim to support communities to increase the learning and speaking of Aboriginal languages across the state (Aboriginal Affairs NSW, 2013). The Gumbaynggirr Nest has approximately 20 participating school sites and Michael's role includes maintaining existing programs, supporting new program sites and building Gumbaynggirr community language teacher capacity to fulfil school demands.

Michael, like other Gumbaynggirr adults, has been relearning his language as an additional language, in a revival context. He grew up on an Aboriginal reserve, surrounded by countrymen, and speaking English the way it was spoken locally by Gumbaynggirr people. He heard some Gumbaynggirr spoken on occasion by an older generation, and knew many words that were woven into the community's English speech variety, but overall he had little opportunity to learn Gumbaynggirr language in his childhood. He has made it a personal goal to be learning Gumbaynggirr since the 1990s, and he makes a conscious effort to embed Gumbaynggirr language in his daily interactions. In his own lifetime, he has seen a tremendous growth in the use of Gumbaynggirr:

It's more than we could ever imagine – coming from extinction and no one speaking it, the language is now being taught in schools and being heard again in the community.

The language resources for Gumbaynggirr have been built up again with community members by accessing historical materials, including from Elders who can remember language being used when they were young, and by conducting linguistic and historical research in libraries and archives. The Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Centre has supported Gumbaynggirr revival efforts, including the research for the dictionary and grammar (Morelli, 2015), traditional narratives (Morelli, Williams, & Walker, 2016) and a children's story (Shannon & Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative, 2006), as well as producing and teaching and learning resources, such as a song CD and language workbooks (Long, 2007). Gumbaynggirr adults have supported each other to relearn Gumbaynggirr through informal interactions (e.g. through activities associated with community organisations like Muurrbay), as well as through more formal courses like TAFE Certificates I, II and III and Gumbaynggirr Language and Culture Maintenance Certificates delivered through Muurrbay. Aspects of Gumbaynggirr people's decades of ongoing efforts to revive their language have been documented (Ash, Hooler, Williams, & Walker, 2010; Poetsch, Jarrett, & Angelo, 2019; Poetsch, Jarrett, & Williams, 2018; Walsh, 2001).

When asked to discuss his work as a Gumbaynggirr teacher, Michael stresses that his identity is Gumbaynggirr, an aspect of his situation which contrasts to many non-Aboriginal languages teachers who are extremely proficient in the language(s) they teach, but they are not necessarily of that cultural group:

I am not only a 'Gumbaynggirr Teacher'. I am Gumbaynggirr. My life is Gumbaynggirr, yes, and everything I do is Gumbaynggirr.

He sees the work of Gumbaynggir language teaching and learning as a fundamentally community endeavour.

So what we do, we come together and I try to bring everyone. I really try to bring everyone together and say we all want one thing. We all want Gumbaynggir language. We've got our different ideas, we've got our different ways, but one main thing is, that we focus on, is to teach our children and our people and anyone else, our Gumbaynggir language, and that's how I work with that community.

With regard to his own language teaching and learning journey, he commenced as a childcare worker and then completed an Associate Diploma in Early Childhood Education. Subsequently, he completed a Bachelor Degree in teaching and finally obtained a Masters of Indigenous Languages Education (MILE). His approach to language teaching is eclectic, and draws from his studies and teaching experiences, but also on what he has personally observed to engage learners. Story telling and songs feature prominently in his language teaching toolkit.

I take everything from everywhere, this way, that way, and I develop a language style and put it in my own language and develop that.

I make sure that the tutors that are delivering this in schools, teach the language in a way where it's going to be fun, it's going to be exciting, and you know the children and the people want to learn. That's my role.

Language is my life. You know, linguistics I love it. I love grammar! (Laughs) I love other languages. You know, I've got ... the bug of language and communication!

The importance of teaching Gumbaynggir has many layers for Michael. He considers Gumbaynggir teaching from the perspective of personal, intergenerational and community responsibilities, as well as an aesthetic point of view.

The old people, my ancestors. That's one [reason]. And the old people who started the revitalisation up. It's important for me as a Gumbaynggir person, my children, the community, the land. To learn our language again and teach our language – it would be a shame to let this language die because it's such a beautiful language.

The connection between Gumbaynggir language, land and culture is a constant. Gumbaynggir language and culture has its roots in Gumbaynggir country, as Michael explains:

Our knowledge of land is expanding through the language program. Like, we are learning more and more about our ceremonial and creation sites and stories, plants and landscapes. I feel that learning, teaching and sharing this ancient language of my ancestors is making me stronger. And we are all filling our Gumbaynggir land with its language.

While both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students learn Gumbaynggir in schools, the language learning has particular gravitas for Gumbaynggir children and youth. Michael sees it as a potential source of inner strength they can draw on when they face adversities in life:

Because English is so dominant, we need to nurture Gumbaynggir ... Some of our children and youth are at risk of being lost in the society we are living in now. If we can show them that they have their language and culture, and give them pride in those connections, it will help them live in this world successfully, with the knowledge and confidence of their Gumbaynggir identity.

DISCUSSION

The teachers' stories are rich with insights into the processes involved in the revival and maintenance of Aboriginal languages, and the significance of this work. In this final section we draw out just some of the key points on what is common across the work of the four teachers, and what sets Aboriginal languages teaching apart from the teaching of other languages.

Regardless of the ecology in which they are operating, a number of factors unite the teachers showcased in this article. Firstly, they are teaching languages that are unique to particular locations on this continent, and that are not found or spoken anywhere else in the world. These are the languages of the land, and this fundamental connection to the land is reflected in the content of their teaching programs, both inside and outside the classroom, e.g. through local environmental knowledge and traditional stories of each Country.

The teachers operate skillfully as community insiders – they are knowledgeable about local protocols and ways of working for the language(s) in their communities. They consult with and involve the right people, especially Elders, to guide their work. The teachers also operate effectively in school systems, to manage all of the administrative requirements and potential supports that come with them. Their communities rely on them to perform this role in ways that ensure community control and direction of the programs.

In all of the ecologies, the teachers work collaboratively not only with people in their schools and local communities, but also with people from several different organisations, including Language Centres (if and where they are available), archives and universities. The necessity of being connected with a diverse network beyond the school (and school system) is due to the nature of language revival and maintenance for small language programs.

Teacher education and professional learning opportunities for Aboriginal languages have been variable across the different states and territories. They are highly sensitive to policy and funding changes, and so are often sporadic and inconsistently available. Over the past decades, each teacher in this article has received something by way of support for their Aboriginal languages teaching and learning, often organised by an Aboriginal organisation, particularly a Language Centre, or through education departmental initiatives. Many Aboriginal languages are taught in just the one school, so targeted language-specific training is quite rare, but invaluable if it occurs.

The teachers work with linguists and/or teacher-linguists who are rarely (if ever) employed as full-time personnel in any community or school situation, but who may be accessible from time to time, through a Language Centre, university or project-specific grant. Through these linguistic connections, the teachers can boost their technical

understanding of the sound and writing systems and grammatical aspects of their languages. The teachers are also connected to archives. These are sources of information on languages being revived from historical sources, and/or repositories for storing precious resources created by speakers in the past.

All of the teachers underline the significance of their languages for the present and future wellbeing of their learners and their families. The teachers are conscious that some kind of adversity is likely to be in the life experiences of their students. They consider the growing of the learners' language and culture knowledge to be a source of strength, since it can provide them with pride in their unique identity, and confidence in their place in their own, and in the dominant, society. Aboriginal languages teachers are more or less closely related to the Aboriginal students in their classes. The impact of their work, on individual learners and on the community as a whole, matters to them in personal ways.

Children and youth (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal), through their study of Aboriginal languages and cultures, are learning some of the truths of Australian history, of invasion and the long-term impacts and legacies of colonisation on languages and communities. They learn this alongside the rich knowledge of the stories and natural resources of this land. In addition to well-known cognitive benefits, the study of Aboriginal languages is building resilience, 'reconciliation' and intercultural understanding amongst peers in schools. Non-Aboriginal students of Aboriginal languages, and teachers of many other languages who have been supporters, colleagues and advocates, are valued companions on the journeys of Aboriginal teachers and their languages.

CONCLUSION

The Aboriginal teachers highlighted in this article have been researching, learning and teaching their local Traditional Languages for between seven and thirty-five years. Like teachers of many other languages, they have a deep commitment to their work. The nature of their work varies according to the vitality of the Traditional Language(s) in the local language ecology and the time-depth of language teaching in the school, but all of these Aboriginal school language programs need to generate their language specific curriculum from the generic framework they are provided with, and create their own resources. They celebrate daily achievements with their learners, and also recognise the long term, inter-generational persistence that is required for success. Aboriginal languages teachers have a knowledge base that goes beyond what might be thought of as 'language teaching'. Their language teaching requires extensive engagement with the community, particularly with Elders, and with technical linguistic and/or archival sources. Teaching their language on Country for culture is a motivation that resonates throughout their work.

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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REALISING THE AUSTRALIAN CURRICULUM FRAMEWORK FOR ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

Recognition and attention to the teaching and learning of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages has grown in the last three decades. The introduction of the Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages in 2015 (ACARA, 2019)

is an important element in a national approach to increase teaching and learning of these languages. This paper provides a current snapshot of the adoption and realisation of the Framework in five jurisdictions. The paper also identifies challenges in enacting the curriculum, such as the need for more teachers to deliver programs.

KEY WORDS

Australian Curriculum, Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages, curriculum realisation, language teaching, language policy.

INTRODUCTION

The teaching of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australian schools has been steadily increasing over the last three decades. This is particularly true in urban areas, where schools have played a vital role in local community language revival and revitalisation programs (Hobson, Lowe, Poetsch, & Walsh, 2010). Over time, most states and territories have developed local curricula to support this teaching (in Western Australia [WA], 2001; Northern Territory [NT], 2002; New South Wales [NSW], 2003; Queensland, 2010; Victoria, 2009). In 2015, the first national curriculum document, the Australian Curriculum: Languages (ACL) *Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages (the Framework)*, was released (ACARA, 2019). Based on national consultation with Indigenous educators and advocates, it offers a shared national approach to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages curriculum development and teaching, and to languages teaching and learning more broadly.

Creating a shared approach is no easy task, as the range of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, learner types and language contexts vary greatly. Nationwide, some 252 school programs operate and teach about 107 Australian languages (First Languages Australia, 2018). Language learners may range from having no prior knowledge of an Australian language; to understanding some of the language, but not speaking it; through to being competent (first language) speakers of the language. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander learners may have an ancestral connection to the language. For these students, learning a language and learning through a language may have particular personal and community significance.

With respect to the language context, some languages are being relearned by teachers and community members, some are still known and spoken by community Elders, others

are learnt as the first language of children. Language programs may run in schools located on the traditional lands of the language, or away from these lands. Some languages have been taught in schools for decades and have associated resources, others are being taught for the first time. Each language community is unique, and the authority of the community members, and their ways of knowing and teaching, are the foundation of the language program.

An additional complexity to a shared national approach is the fact that each state and territory is responsible for education provision and a range of local curricula and syllabi exist. There have been variable approaches to use of the Framework across states and territories. This paper offers a snapshot of this progress.

I refer to the process as realisation of a language curriculum, rather than 'implementation', which may signal the idea of taking a ready-made 'package' and applying it. Realisation can better capture some of the tensions, compromises and solutions involved in adoption and adaptation of curriculum.

Realisation of curriculum is a series of processes involving different actors within education systems; for example, with communities, individual teachers, groups of teachers, principals, curriculum officers, managers and policy makers. Decisions about what content to adopt, and how to do so, which year levels should be taught and how much time should be dedicated to language teaching, professional learning and resourcing all impact on teaching and learning. For classrooms, there must be an effortful process of adaptation so that the curriculum is realised in practice in specific contexts, involving specific learners.

Realisation of the Framework into a curriculum for teaching involves three layers of adaptation, and I explain them working from the broadest level of administration to the most local. As states and territories are responsible for

education, the response to the Framework by these jurisdictions is the first layer. This involves questions of how the Framework interacts with existing local curriculum, policy and resourcing. Each jurisdiction has responded with its own process of adaptation.

The second layer of adaption is from the generic Framework to the specific language, in schools, communities, and in regions, possibly with the support of language centres and other local organisations. The work of developing language-specific 'exemplars' is underway for a number of languages. The third layer is the adaptation in a specific context of the particular learner group and their teacher(s). This is the work of individual, small groups of teachers, and in some cases, community members, in a specific teaching site, using the Framework or local adapted document to scope and sequence content, and support monitoring and assessment of the language program.

This paper focuses mainly on the first layer of adaptation, by various jurisdictions. Each has responded differently, and at different paces. As a result, the realisation of the Framework into curricula varies across the country. The following section introduces the rationale and aims that sit behind the Framework and its structure. A sketch of the realisation of the Framework as used in the Northern Territory, Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia is provided. Curriculum is an important part of education infrastructure. It supports teachers to develop their teaching programs, gives students coherent, integrated learning, and provides clear and rigorous standards. Curriculum also ratifies and validates a learning area. It has the potential to promote resource creation, development and innovation.

Recognition and education program development are important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, which have been denigrated and suppressed with catastrophic effect since colonisation. There is a national commitment to redress this, and

increased, community supported teaching and learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages is one means to achieve this goal (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012). The inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures as cross-curriculum priorities in the Australian Curriculum and the launch of the Framework are intended to be practical steps, and a visible commitment to valuing these languages and cultures, nationally. However, curriculum development alone is not enough, and sits within the broader dynamics of education policy, and community commitment and agreement to creation of languages curricula. The final section concludes with a discussion of challenges raised in a report by a non-government organisation, First Languages Australia, relating to sustainable staffing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language programs.

It should also be noted that while many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students are learners of multiple languages, including English (see Angelo et al.; Angelo & Fraser, this volume), and this has significant implications for their languages learning needs, the focus of this paper is on the realisation of curriculum developed for traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages.

FIRST LANGUAGES IN THE AUSTRALIAN CURRICULUM: LANGUAGES: RATIONALE, AIMS AND STRUCTURE

The rationale and aims of the Framework recognise the unique position of the original languages of Australia and the complexity of language ecologies associated with these languages and learner cohorts. 'Language ecologies' mean the unique configuration of languages, competencies and uses in a given location or community (see Simpson et al., & Angelo et al., this volume, for a comprehensive discussion). The aims and rationale acknowledge that learning language(s) and cultural knowledge is fundamental to the identity and rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as First Nations peoples, and that this learning is important to all students. The rationale and aims also identify a role for language education programs in the task of reviving and maintaining languages.

Through learning them, all students gain access to knowledge and understanding of Australia that can only come from an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander perspective. The languages by their nature embed this perspective. Learning to use these unique languages can play an important part in the development of a strong sense of identity, pride and self-esteem for all Australian students ... The ongoing and necessary revival, maintenance and development of these languages also contribute to reconciliation. (Rationale, Australian Curriculum Languages Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages, 2019)

Like most of the existing jurisdictional curriculum documents, informed by the earlier Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (1993), the Framework has three differentiated Learner Pathways: Language Revival Learner Pathway, First Language Learner Pathway and Second Language Learner Pathway.

The Language Revival Learner Pathway is for the study of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander languages being revived by their owners or custodians, and this pathway likely applies to the largest proportion of students currently learning an Australian language. Language Revival encompasses a wide range of language types and ecologies. It takes into account variables such as:

- how much is known about and documented for the language
- the extent to which the language is used or remembered, ranging from languages no longer spoken, often termed 'sleeping', to those spoken fluently by members of the older generations
- and the extent to which the language has been reintroduced into the community of owners and custodians.

These considerations give rise to the following broad categories of language revival:

- Language Revitalisation: where there are fluent first language speakers (typically members of the older generations) but where intergenerational transmission of the language has been interrupted. Younger generations may understand some of the language and may use some words and phrases but do not speak it as their first language.
- Language Renewal: where there are a number of adult speakers who use the language to varying degrees in the community, but not for all communication with kin of all ages.
- Language Reclamation: where language revival relies primarily on historical documentation in the absence of active community knowledge of the language.

Generally, schools offering the Language Revival Learner Pathway are located broadly within the region of the lands of the language and culture for which the curriculum is being developed, sometimes in towns and cities, other times in rural and remote regions. The students may relate closely to and have varying degrees of affiliation with the language and culture, but some students may have no connections with either the language or culture.

The first language pathway is designed for students who are speakers of a language, which continues as the language of everyday communication by whole communities and across all generations. First language programs are taught in the community where the language is spoken, often with constant involvement from a variety of speakers and especially input from Elders and senior community members. With an estimated thirteen Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander languages still being acquired by children (see Simpson et al., this issue), there are relatively few first language programs.

The second (additional) language pathway is for languages that continue as the language of everyday communication by whole communities and across all generations, at sites away from the speech community. The students in second language programs are new learners, rather than everyday speakers of the language.

While the unique position of the original

languages of Australia and the role of individual, community and national identity underpins the Framework, the Australian Curriculum articulates a shared set of 'Rationale and Aims' for all languages. Currently there are specific curricula for fourteen non-Indigenous languages and a *Framework for Classical Languages*, in addition to the Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages. Several assertions about language learning inform the rationale and aims for all language curricula.

Language learning is positioned as

- extending capability to communicate and to understand linguistic and cultural systems
- enhancing analytic, reflective, creative and critical thinking, which goes well beyond learning words for things in other languages
- developing in the learner intra- and intercultural understanding and respect for diverse experiences and perspectives.

To realise these aims for all languages, the curricula and Frameworks are each structured using two Strands: Communicating and Understanding. The strand *Communicating* is framed as the use of language for communicative purposes in interpreting, creating and exchanging meaning. *Understanding* focuses on metalinguistic knowledge and analysing language and culture as a resource for interpreting and creating meaning. The strands are divided into 'sub-strands', and further differentiated, in some cases, according to a set of 'threads', which differ across languages, and pertain in some languages to oracy and literacy development, and in others to further differentiation of the sub-strand concepts (see Scrimgeour et al. 2014, for further elaboration of the design and structure of the ACL, and its differentiation across languages).

The strands are intersected by 'reflection', which is aimed at developing the self-awareness of learners as language users. Students are taught to reflect on the experience of communicating, and 'on comparative dimensions of the languages available in [their] repertoires' and those of others.

'Concepts' and 'processes' are embedded in each sub-strand and thread to further structure learning at each level. 'Concepts' are the 'big ideas', such as knowledge of language, culture and intercultural insight, and may also relate to critical, ethical questions for consideration in long-term programming, for example, shifting emphasis from 'topics' in previous curricula. Processes include communication skills, for example, listening, speaking, reading, viewing, signing, writing and performing, as well as higher-order thinking such as conceptualising, interpreting, reasoning and reflecting.

The structure of the curriculum is designed to provide an overarching unity for the teaching and learning of diverse languages nationally, including for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages. How well it suits and accommodates languages and teaching communities is yet to be tested.

The first step in following the progress of the realisation of the Framework for curriculum development is at layer one, the adoption and realisation by Education Departments in states and territories. This is considered in the next section.

ADOPTION AND REALISATION OF THE FRAMEWORK FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

This section focusses on the how different states and territories have adopted and realised Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander languages curricula using the Framework, focused on five jurisdictions: the NT, Queensland, NSW, Victoria and WA. Adoption and realisation are positioned within the language policy of the given jurisdiction, where these exist (see Kohler, 2017).

Details of the number of programs and languages taught in each jurisdiction draws on a 2018 report by First Languages Australia (FLA), *Nintirringanyi: National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Teaching and Employment Strategy* (FLA, 2018). Report recommendations on an employment strategy to sustainably staff programs are discussed in the final part of this section. The data in the report are collated recent self-reported figures from relevant Education Departments. The First Languages Australia report (FLA, 2018) is the most systematic compilation of such data since *Indigenous Languages Programmes in*

Australian Schools: A Way Forward (Purdie et al., 2008). However, detailed, systematic data on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander school language programs is not readily available. Systemic monitoring of programs could be part of the realisation of the Framework. This could be useful for determining the state of, and changes in, the teaching and learning of Australian languages over time.

Northern Territory

The current NT Indigenous languages curriculum documents are the most distinct from the Framework and the realisations of Australian Languages curricula in other jurisdictions. The NT has a long history of languages programs in schools. The *NT Bilingual Education Program* began in 1974 (Devlin, Disbray, & Friedman Devlin, 2017), and a wide range of Language and Culture programs have operated since the 1980s and 1990s (Hartman & Henderson, 1994). Language programs operate in 45 schools and in 47 languages (First Languages Australia, 2018). Programs have been guided by the *Northern Territory Curriculum Framework – Indigenous Language and Culture* since its release in 2002. Language-specific curricula

exist for some languages, with varying levels of alignment to the 2002 framework.

In 2015, the Northern Territory Department of Education set out its plan to adopt the *Australian Curriculum: Languages, producing a document Changing the conversation: A blueprint for languages education in Northern Territory schools* (Northern Territory Board of Studies, 2015). The document is a blueprint rather than a policy, with principles and strategies to improve languages delivery in NT schools, however languages are not mandated. A plan and guidelines for Indigenous Languages programs followed the blueprint in 2016 (Northern Territory Board of Studies, 2016a, 2016b). In the plan, the proposed adoption aimed to allow continuity of curriculum in the NT. A process of retaining ‘the internationally recognised work that has occurred in the Northern Territory in this field over the last forty years’, while bringing together the ‘strengths of the *Australian Curriculum Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages*’ (2016b, p. 28) began. In 2017 in a series of workshops, Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators and curriculum staff reviewed and revised the 2002 framework.



Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Island Languages

In 2018 draft curricula for five distinct Learner Pathways, reflecting the complex language ecologies in the NT, were developed. The pathways are First Language Bilingual, First Language Maintenance, Language Revival: Revitalisation, Language Revival: Renewal, and Language and Cultural Awareness. In addition, a separate document, *Culture: Cultural knowledge and content* was created. A process of trialling with selected schools is underway, with review and evaluation planned. While informed by the Australian Curriculum Languages Framework, the draft NT documents draw strongly on the previous framework, from 2002.

In the documents for each Learner Pathway, the conceptual knowledge continues to be organised by three key themes present in the 2002 framework – Country and Land, People and Kinship, and Natural Environment, which are elaborated in the Culture document. Each Pathway has three Strands for Language Content, aligned with the modes Listening and Speaking, Reading and Viewing, and Representing and Writing. These strands are the organising principle for the Achievement Standards. There are three sub-strands in each strand - *Communication, Language Structures and Features, Learning Strategies*.

Under *Communication*, there are two threads: 'Interacting'- using language to learn and talk about new things, information and feelings; and 'Language variation' - where students will develop control of linguistic structures and

features in the language. Under *Language Structures and Features*, there are three threads: 'Developing strong language'- learning to use more complex vocabulary and grammar; 'Talking about sounds'- learning how words are made up of sounds and parts; 'How texts work'- learning the ways that different texts are organised according to purpose and audience. Finally, under *Learning Strategies* there is 'Learning how to learn'- where students will develop strategies that will help them to learn effectively, through reflection on their own language repertoires and resources and those around them.

Queensland

The policy *Languages in Queensland State Schools* (Department of Education and Training, 2016b), announced in 2014, made language learning mandatory for state school students in Years 5-8, from 2015. The document which followed, *Global Schools through Languages plan* (Department of Education and Training, 2016a), states that by 2025 all state primary schools will offer a languages program from prep (the first year of school) onwards. The Australian Curriculum Framework has been ratified within this context and appears to be have growing relevance for the development of new programs and the consolidation of existing programs.

School language programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Queensland are less long-standing and widespread than

in the NT, though there is some history of bilingual education (Kretschmann, 1988). It is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of language programs in Queensland schools, as these data are not readily available. The Purdie et al. (2008) report listed only two programs in 2008, which it acknowledged was an underestimation. Information provided to First Languages Australia in 2018 was that 55 schools are “investigating, engaging with, or actively teaching Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages” (First Languages Australia, 2018, p. 72).

To date, the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages P–10 Queensland Syllabus* (Queensland Studies Authority, 2010) has guided development of some existing programs. It was designed for four program types: First Language Maintenance, Second Language Learning, Language Revival, and Language Awareness, and was structured in four Strands (Queensland Studies Authority, 2010). The first three: *Knowing and understanding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, Community connections and Communicating* map well to the Australian Curriculum Languages Framework. The fourth strand, *Indigenous Inquiry Skills*, is distinct and different. In this strand, skills are used to explore knowledge about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and communication, associated with reciprocating knowledge, deep listening, reflecting and revisiting, respectful interactions, managing and recognising community protocols and principles such as

community responsibility, lifelong learning, and cross-generational communication. Local expression and formulation of language protocols by each community are incorporated into the strand, through processes of creating and situating a living *Community Model of Knowing document* (Queensland Studies Authority, 2010). The absence of such content in the draft Framework was raised in feedback during the consultation phase (Queensland Studies Authority, 2013). Localisation in Queensland may see incorporation of aspects of this additional 'strand', at the second layer of curriculum realisation.

A range of support documents exist for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teaching (see <https://www.qcaa.qld.edu.au/p-10/qld-curriculum/p-10-aboriginal-torres-strait-islander-languages>). These include guidelines and protocols for implementation (State of Queensland, 2011a), and a Language Statement, promoting a 'three ways strong model' of teaching and learning for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students (State of Queensland, 2011b). The three ways are Traditional Languages, contemporary Home Languages (local varieties of English and creoles) and Standard Australian English. It is not clear how this approach is integrated into curricula developed guided by the Framework.

Schools, communities and educators are encouraged to develop local, language-specific programs aligned to the document, with Education Queensland providing some systemic support to these efforts (Binbi Wadyabay Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Forum, 2018). Local program development is underway in some schools (Osgarby, pers. com April, 2019).

New South Wales

NSW is the only jurisdiction to have a whole of government *Aboriginal Languages Policy*. The policy recognises the significance of languages and the importance of protecting and reviving them. The education sector is central to strategies to achieve these aims. In NSW, 100 hours of language learning in either Year 7 or Year 8 is mandated, and in other years of schooling, encouraged (Kohler, 2017). According to 2010 figures, 60 language programs were underway in 13 languages (First Languages Australia, 2018). Language programs are guided by the New South Wales *Aboriginal Languages K-12 Syllabus* (2003). The study of languages in Kindergarten- Year 6 is a component of the key learning area (KLA) of the NSW Curriculum: Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE).

The shift to the Australian Curriculum learning areas in NSW is underway and involves a complex review and mapping task. Syllabi for seven additional or community languages are in review and draft stage. Twelve new syllabi for languages are in transitional stages of implementation. The series of *NSW Syllabus for the Australian Curriculum*, published by the NSW Education Standards Authority (NESA), 'include agreed Australian Curriculum content and content that clarifies the scope, breadth and depth of learning. The Australian Curriculum achievement standards underpin the syllabus outcomes and the Stage statements for Early Stage 1 to Stage 5' (NSW Education Standards Authority, 2019, p. 3).

Objectives and Outcomes are structured into the ACL Strands Communicating and Understanding, along with the sub-strands- although some of these use different terms. For

each, the four macro-skills speaking, listening, reading and writing are emphasised.

The *Aboriginal Languages Syllabus* is currently under review and the degree of alignment to the Framework is yet to be seen. During 2018, consultation on draft directions for *Aboriginal Languages Syllabus* development was conducted, part of the first of four phases in an extensive development process. For the time being, teachers continue to use the 2003 Syllabus.

Victoria

In Victoria, language in education policy is elaborate and well-resourced, with primary school programs required to provide a minimum of 150 minutes a week (Kohler, 2017). In 2018, eight Aboriginal languages were taught to approximately 1,200 Victorian students (First Languages Australia, 2018).

From 2009 to 2015, languages programs in Victorian schools were guided by the curriculum document *Aboriginal languages, cultures and reclamation in Victorian schools: Standards P-10 and protocols* (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2009). The document was developed collaboratively by the Victorian Aboriginal Education Association Inc. and the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, after several years of extensive community consultation. The program offered two pathways- Pathway 1 provided language and culture awareness, and Pathway 2, language learning. Realising the Framework in Victoria has involved the development of a new document, the *Victorian Curriculum Foundation-10: Victorian Aboriginal Languages*, introduced in 2016. It is based on the Framework Language Revival Pathway specifically for teaching local Victorian Aboriginal languages, all of which are revival languages. The Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority website curriculum content shares terminology and structure with the Australian Curriculum.

Overall, the Victorian Curriculum aligns tightly to the Framework Language Revival Pathway. The aims and rationale of the *Australian Curriculum: Languages*, and the Framework, resonate with those in the new Victorian Aboriginal Languages curriculum, which gives local emphasis to the connected nature of language to place and communities. The document is structured to mirror the Framework, divided into the same strands, sub-strands and threads, and retains the content and achievement standards of the Language Revival Pathway.

According to VCAA, it "incorporates all the language-specific curricula published under the *Australian Curriculum*, as well as additional language curricula, to best support curriculum language provision which reflects Victorian priorities and standards" (see <https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Pages/foundation10/viccurriculum/languages/intro.aspxcurriculum>). These resources include extensive support to guide schools and communities in partnerships to establish language programs (see https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Pages/alcv/getting_started.aspx), as well as some generic teaching resources, in the form of sample units of work (see <https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Pages/alcv/sampleunits.aspx>). They require localisation in specific languages, and alignment to content descriptions and achievement standards, part of the second and third layers of realisation of the curriculum.

Western Australia

Aboriginal language programs have been running in Western Australian schools for over two decades. According to data from 2016, 16 languages are taught in 38 schools (First Languages Australia, 2018). The *Pre-primary to Year 10: Teaching, Assessing and Reporting Policy* set by the School Curriculum and Standards Authority (2016) details the requirements that all schools are expected to meet, including for language learning. Over a staggered timeline from 2018 to 2023, the policy stipulates that, at a minimum, students will study one language starting from Year 3, with language learning becoming optional from Year 9.

Previously, the Languages Other Than English [a term no longer in use] Learning Area Statement of the *Western Australian Curriculum Framework for Kindergarten to Year 12 Education* (1998) had guided programs, with local scope and sequence documents for specific languages, such as Noongar and Wajarri (Purdie et al., 2008, p. 84). The *Western Australian Curriculum* has now incorporated several AC Learning areas and, for others, the School Curriculum and Standards Authority has adopted and adapted ACARA's curriculum content and developed year-level syllabi, including for Languages.

Local contextualisation and implementation of the Languages curriculum is gradual, with a timeline extending to 2023. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, the School Curriculum and Standards Authority has developed a thorough Overview of the Framework (School Curriculum and Standards Authority, 2017) and made available the Framework *Scope and Sequence* to schools. The process of developing language-specific exemplars is detailed in the Overview (see <https://k10outline.scsa.wa.edu.au/home/teaching/curriculum-browser/languages/ac-languages/ac-languages2/aboriginal-languages>).

The Western Australian Department of Education is unique in that it has a long-standing traineeship program through in-house professional learning for Aboriginal languages speakers interested in teaching languages in schools. Successful completion of the three-year program grants graduates eligibility to apply to the WA Teachers' Registration Board for 'Limited Teacher Registration'. The development of local curriculum may take place within this broader systemic support for language teachers and their programs. The provision of this professional learning also provides the infrastructure to meet the staffing needs of existing and emerging language programs. This is taken up in the next section.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY FIRST LANGUAGES AUSTRALIA

Curriculum is an important part of the goal to increase the teaching and learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in Australian schools. The realisation of the Framework in developing curricula in locally-specific sites has highlighted the need for resourcing for teachers and for teacher education and professional learning. First Languages Australia, a national language advocacy and resource organisation, and its partners, responded with a workshop in 2016, bringing together educators from across the country, to explore the issues. The output is *Nintiringanyi: National Aboriginal and*

Torres Strait Islander Languages Teaching and Employment Strategy (First Languages Australia, 2018).

The strategy highlights five core matters. Firstly, it advocates for language teacher education at degree level and also alternative models, such as qualifications that enable registration specifically for language teaching. Secondly, teacher registration and associated remuneration issues require review and action. Thirdly, there is a need for adult community language learning programs to support communities in creating a cohort of confident speakers to become teachers. The strategy recommends as its fourth point real commitment by schools and educational systems to understanding and developing community protocols. This is crucial for respectful and supportive relationships between Aboriginal languages teachers and other school staff, schools and communities. The final area for action that the report recommends is the development of collaborative, regional partnerships between schools and language centres and relevant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations. Such partnerships have the potential for cost, resource and expertise sharing with respect to teachers, professional development, and resource and curriculum development. Without attention to these matters, the new developments in Australian Languages curriculum cannot be realised.

CONCLUSION

The sketch of curriculum realisation in five jurisdictions shows a range of responses.

The NT has revised its existing document with some alignment; Victoria is largely adopting the Framework Language Revitalisation Pathway into the Victorian Curriculum; Queensland and Western Australia are using the Framework at this stage; and NSW is reviewing and planning its courses.

The Framework provides a common rationale and basis for teaching the wide range of Australian Languages using the same curriculum structure and to the same standards as all languages taught in Australia. In all jurisdictions, the development and availability of the Framework has raised attention to, and the profile of, Australian Languages. In Queensland in particular, it appears to have contributed to an increase in the interest in programs for Australian languages.

Strategic action to address education and employment of suitable people to teach language programs is necessary to realise the affordance the Framework offers. Additionally, access to up-to-date data will enable monitoring the progress of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages teaching and learning over time.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

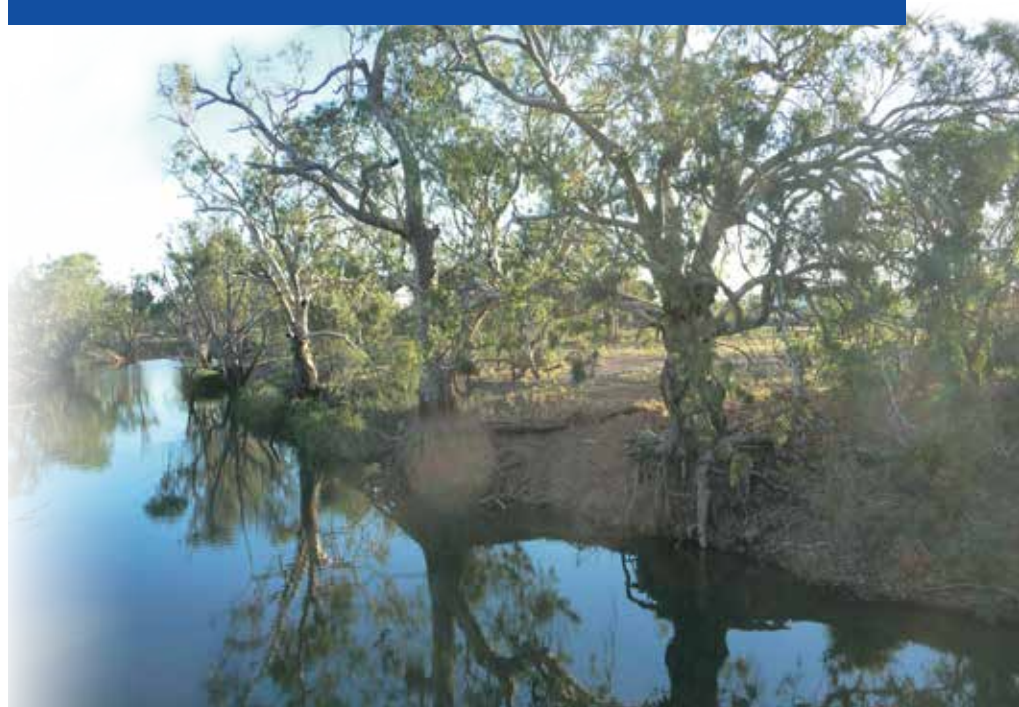
I would like to acknowledge Angela Scarino for generously taking time to discuss with me the development of the ACARA curricula for languages and the concept of realising curriculum, broadly and in relation to the Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages. I am also grateful to the reviewers of this paper for helpful suggestions. I am responsible for any errors and inaccuracies.

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ARRERNTEKE AKALTYIRRETYEKE: LEARNING ARRERNTE

Jannette McCormack, Northern Territory Education Department

ABSTRACT

Arrernte educator, Jannette McCormack, traces her professional development journey and experiences of teaching Arrernte in

Central Australian schools. She reflects on the advantages that learning Arrernte has for students as they plan their pathways into employment.

KEY WORDS

Arrernte, Luritja, literacy, curriculum, Intelyape-lyape, secondary schools, Northern Territory languages policy, Australian Aboriginal languages, First Languages.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT JOURNEY

As an Arrernte/Luritja woman in the education workplace, I bring my knowledge of my Arrernte and Luritja languages and culture, which enables me to access the Central Australian languages in this area.

My first knowledge of the written language of Arrernte was at Yipirinya School (Kral, 2017), where I worked as an assistant teacher, then later at the cultural centre at Yipirinya, where I made resources for the classroom. I was then able to join the Curriculum project where I helped to develop the Arrernte Curriculum and was able to do my teaching degree. *Intelyape-lyape* means 'butterfly' or 'moth' in Arrernte, a metaphor for an educational journey in which students grow and develop through further stages of learning.

After helping to develop the Arrernte curriculum and obtaining my teaching degree, I was then able to do a project as a researcher with the Australian Early Childhood group to follow my daughter who was in preschool at the time, to shadow her and see her learning Arrernte with family, community and school.

In 2005 I started on a program called the Accelerated Literacy Program (see Griffith University Accelerated Literacy Learning, n.d.; National Accelerated Literacy Program (2012); and Robinson et al., 2009), which was introduced into the Northern Territory schools system. While doing this I was studying for the Graduate Certificate of Accelerated Literacy, learning more about the theory, which was based on the work of Vygotsky (1962). This was interesting to me, because it gave me a link to making connections to our Arrernte ways of teaching. The background of this program was interesting too, as it was based on why our Indigenous students were failing in English through unfamiliarity with the language, particularly in the written mode. As part of my study program I also took a grammar unit, which helped me to understand the structure of English language.

ARRERNTE LANGUAGE LEARNING PROGRAMS

The Arrernte language programs delivered in secondary schools by the Alice Springs Language Centre are a recent innovation. Bilingual and part-time language programs

for Indigenous languages in Australia have traditionally been delivered in primary school settings, but have rarely been taught in secondary and upper secondary contexts. The Alice Springs Language Centre is part of the Northern Territory Department of Education and services Northern Territory Government schools, delivering language learning programs for Middle School and Secondary School aged students, including the Vocational Education and Training (VET) Applied Languages Certificate II and III in Arrernte, which is taught at Centralian Middle School and Centralian Senior College. The student cohort is largely Indigenous. Some are speakers of a Central Australian language, including Arrernte. Some are heritage speakers of Arrernte and other Central Australian languages. The language levels are diverse: from first language Arrernte speakers to early language learners. Most are also speakers of a local variety of English, as well as Standard Australian English.

The Applied Language Arrernte courses are being modified and developed according to the needs of the students. We are trying to understand our students' backgrounds. Some of the scenarios for our Assessment Tasks were more suited to urban environments. We have rewritten them to make them more suitable for our cohort of learners at Centralian Senior College.

The programs recognise the multilingual ecology of the town and region, and while Arrernte and English are the media of class instruction, we attempt to incorporate the full language repertoires of the students, including other Indigenous languages, Standard Australian English and local varieties of English. We are aware of these language learning challenges and are attempting to do groundwork by developing a strong program of Arrernte learning at Centralian Middle School.

Students need to see the purpose of the course; that is, to support them to become more functional members of their own communities. This course will enhance their life in Central Australia.

Excursions to workplaces involve speakers of Aboriginal languages and build employment pathways for students. We are enjoying support from workplaces and building partnerships that will engender respectful attitudes towards Aboriginal languages and peoples.

The Arrernte language program has been interesting to me because I hadn't worked in a high school before, only in primary schools, and it gives me an understanding of the possibilities for how the skills could be used in a workplace. This language program will open the eyes of the Arrernte community and the non-Indigenous community. They will see how we can make a language contribution to break down barriers to employment and education faced by many young people in Central Australia.

We are also trying to do more fieldwork and research with students using real-life translation experiences in our context. This means we write using different genres for use in the schools and we archive these resources. It is important to make resources for our younger students and to be role models for them. This will keep all our languages and keep our voices strong. Students are proud when they see the Arrernte translation work they produce, in schools, in the community and in the workplaces as well.

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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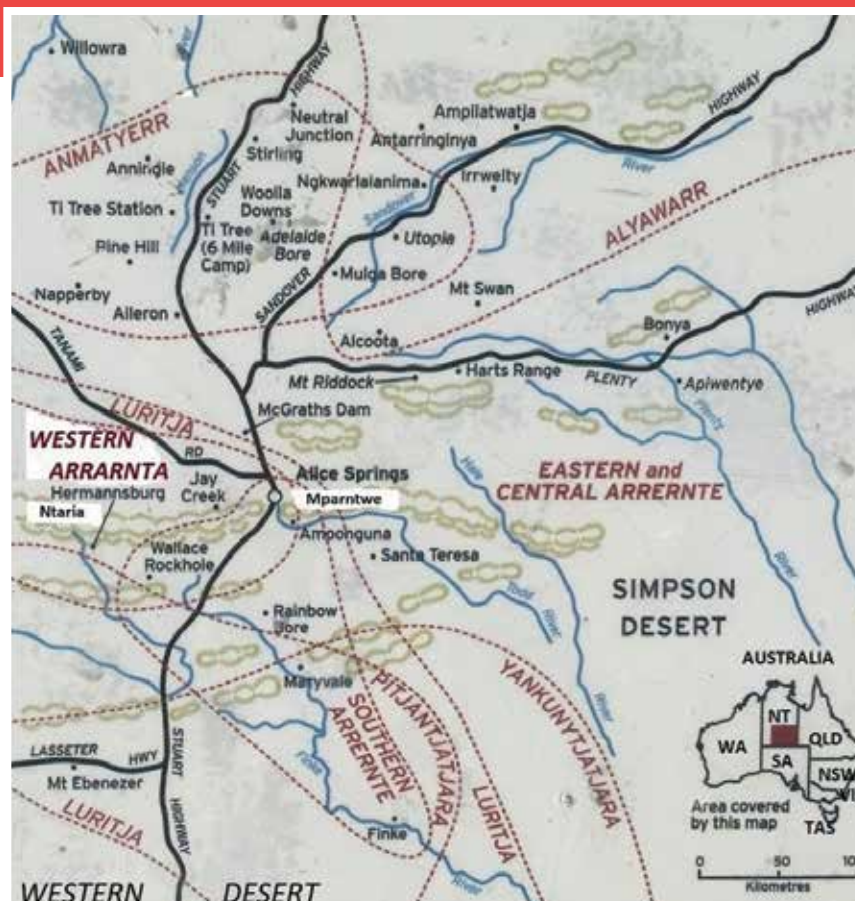


The author teaching some Arrernte Certificate III students.
Left to Right: Tiara Doolan, Shania Armstrong, Jannette McCormack, Kisha McCormack (© McCormack, J. 2019).

Map of Language Areas in Central Australia 2018
Institute of Aboriginal Development Press, Alice Springs
(Courtesy of the Institute of Aboriginal Development Press, Alice Springs).

Jannette McCormack

An Arrernte/Luritja woman who is currently teaching the Arrernte language to middle and senior secondary students. She began working as an assistant teacher, then later worked at the cultural centre at Yipirinya, where she made resources for the classroom. After that she joined the Intelyape-lyape Curriculum project where she developed the Arrernte Curriculum and completed a teaching degree. She also worked on a research project with the Australian Early Childhood group. In 2005 Jannette worked on a program called the Accelerated Literacy Program with the Northern Territory Education Department. At this time she completed the Graduate Certificate in Accelerated Literacy.



MULTIMODAL TOOLS FOR EXPLORING COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES AMONG MULTILINGUAL STUDENTS IN REMOTE CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

Emerging research on linguistic diversity and critical language awareness has highlighted the importance of understanding and affirming the complex and dynamic language ecologies (see Simpson et al., and Angelo et al., this volume) of the community in classrooms (Fairclough, 1992; Garcia, 2015; Carter, Angelo & Hudson, 2018; Ollerhead, 2018). This orientation demands novel ways of including children's perspectives on their own linguistic practices, identities and learning needs in research, policy and practice. This paper describes two arts-informed, multimodal language awareness activities: language portraits (Wolf, 2014;

Busch, 2016) and interactional language network maps (Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Prasad, 2014; Smythe & Toohey, 2009). These were used in a larger study of the way in which Warlpiri students in a remote bilingual school in Australia's Northern Territory understand and represent their diverse communicative practices. Students made strong connections between language and identity and expressed sophisticated awareness of their own language use. The tools revealed the depth and variety of linguistic resources and cultural funds of knowledge that students in a remote community bring to their classrooms and raised questions about how this knowledge might be harnessed to enrich learning in multilingual classrooms.

KEY WORDS

Multilingualism, plurilingualism, language awareness, language portraits, language networks, arts-informed research methodologies, Australian Aboriginal Languages.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Students bring a diversity of resources - cognitive, experiential, cultural and linguistic - into classrooms, in addition to complex learning needs. Traditionally, classroom-based research has involved investigation of adults' perspectives, particularly teachers' perspectives on children's language use (e.g. Corsaro, 1981; Peterson & Heywood, 2007). More recently however, an interdisciplinary body has advocated for inclusion of child perspectives in research (e.g. Belanger & Connelly, 2007; Danby, Ewing, & Thorpe, 2011; Nigro & Wolpow, 2004; Pietikäinen, Alanen, Dufva, Kalaja, Leppänen, & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2008 and a number of arts-informed tools have been developed to explore children's language ideologies and metalinguistic interpretations within broader work on language awareness, identity and learning in schools (Busch 2017; Dagenais & Berron 2001; Prasad, 2014; Wolf, 2014). Art and drawing are just one of the "hundred languages of children" (Malaguzzi, 1993, p.3) that can afford the means and time for reflection and open up conversation about complex realities. Studies using these methods have highlighted the importance of linguistic and cultural representations in language learning and use. As Castellotti and Moore (2002, p. 20) have stressed, these "representations play a crucial role in constructing identity, relationships with others and knowledge". This research has shifted focus from a proficiency-based view of multilingualism to a usage-based notion of plurilingualism, which captures the diversity of an individual's codes, their functionally distinct

varieties and varied competencies (Hornberger & McKay, 2010). This paper describes two multimodal language activities that were used in combination with biographic interviews to explore representations of communicative resources that Year 6 students bring to Yuendumu School in Australia's Northern Territory (NT).

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Yuendumu is one of four Warlpiri communities in the central desert of Australia's Northern Territory; the others are Nyirripi, Willowra and Lajamanu. Located 290 km northwest of the regional town of Alice Springs, Yuendumu has a fluctuating population of roughly 1000 people, the vast majority of whom are Warlpiri, and some are Anmatjere and Pintupi. According to the latest census (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2016), 14.5% of the population is non-Indigenous, from a variety of language and cultural backgrounds, living and working as service providers for a number of government and non-government organisations. Children in Yuendumu learn Warlpiri from birth and hear English from an early age, through interactions with service providers, and travel to Alice Springs and other communities. An increased variety and complexity of inputs from family, teachers, medical workers, television and the internet shape their receptive and productive opportunities (Simpson, 2013). Some differences in Warlpiri dialects across the four communities have been documented (Laughren & Hoogenraad, 1996) and Light Warlpiri, a contact language spoken in Lajamanu community that systematically draws on elements of Warlpiri and

Aboriginal Englishes, has been described by O'Shannessy (2005; 2006; 2011; 2016).

Yuendumu community was established in 1947 as a Baptist mission and a mission school was set up shortly after (Ross & Baarda, 2017). A government school was built in 1961 and in the 1970s a Bilingual Resource Development Unit (BRDU) began to print books in Warlpiri as people learned to read and write in their own language for the first time, and as Yuendumu joined other Northern Territory schools in delivering bilingual education (Ross & Baarda, 2017). Despite unwavering community commitment, the school's bilingual status has encompassed different levels of institutional support, resourcing and funding over the years with differing degrees of accountability and emphasis (Devlin, Disbray & Devlin, 2017). Today, Yuendumu School offers a bilingual with bi-literacy program in English and Warlpiri, to facilitate learning through two languages, co-delivered by first language Warlpiri-speaking and first language English-speaking educators (Bilingual Resource Development Unit, 2017). A Warlpiri Theme Cycle and the Australian Curriculum both inform bilingual delivery (see Disbray, 2014; Devlin et al., 2017, for more information).

STUDY DESIGN

For this study two tools - language portraits and language network maps - were trialled with a class of fifteen Year 6 students at Yuendumu School as part of a PhD project through the Australian National University. Permissions had been collected from both students and parents beforehand as part of the wider research project. The language portrait activity was

run during class time (with students working independently, but it is possible that working in class could account for some overlaps in responses) and students were invited to map all the languages, means of expression, and ways of talking that play a role in their lives on a body silhouette (the template was downloaded from www.heteroglossia.net) (See Figure 1) using position, choice of colour, extent of coloured sections, symbols and accompanying written comments (cf. Busch, 2016; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; Krumm & Jenkins, 2001). In the Australian context, the language portrait activity has been used previously by Singer and Harris (2016) to describe multilingual practices in remote Arnhem Land. Fifteen students completed portraits and could elect to participate in a short, ten-minute linguistic biography interview in any language they preferred with the researcher, and opt for it to be audio recorded or for written notes to be taken. The interviews were a key aspect of the method, to avoid over- or under-representation of meaning (Busch, 2016).

On the following day, 12 students completed language interaction networks to illustrate patterns of language use among their social networks (Dagenais & Berron 2001; Prasad, 2014; Smythe & Toohey, 2009). Students drew a large circle and arranged various actors around the circle, with themselves at the top. They then drew arrows or lines showing which language they use in conversation with each person using different coloured crayons. Students naturally expanded the concept of network to include both interlocutors and domains, and most networks included a combination of individuals (e.g. my baby cousin), groups (e.g. my school friends) and domains (e.g. the health clinic).

Six students chose to be interviewed about their language portraits and eight about their language networks. All but two students of the fourteen interviewed elected to speak in English, to accommodate the interviewer who speaks English and is learning Warlpiri. As one student explained, “its [sic] feels strange when I talk to someone in Warlpiri, but not to Warlpiri people” (CB) and it is probable that students would have felt more comfortable expressing themselves in their first language to a Warlpiri speaker. Students chose their own code name (e.g. Fortnite, CB, Jaja) and engaged in whole class discussion at the end of the activity and interviews. Analysis involved a combination of theme-based multimodal discourse analysis (Pavlenko, 2007) and biographic case study (Busch, 2017; Kramsch, 2009) to allow for detailed examination, and to illustrate common themes as well as the heterogeneity responses. In the following section, I describe some interesting trends across student portraits, networks and interviews and follow this by a case study of an individual student that exemplifies these themes.

DISCUSSION

The language portraits and networks activities were simple to facilitate and generated animated classroom discussion, prompting exploration of linguistic identities and bringing languages of the community into the classroom that might not have otherwise been addressed in learning (Cummins & Early, 2011). Rather than being bound by national categories of languages (such as English, Warlpiri or Japanese), student representations were multidialectal, multimodal and complex, including different registers, dialects, modes

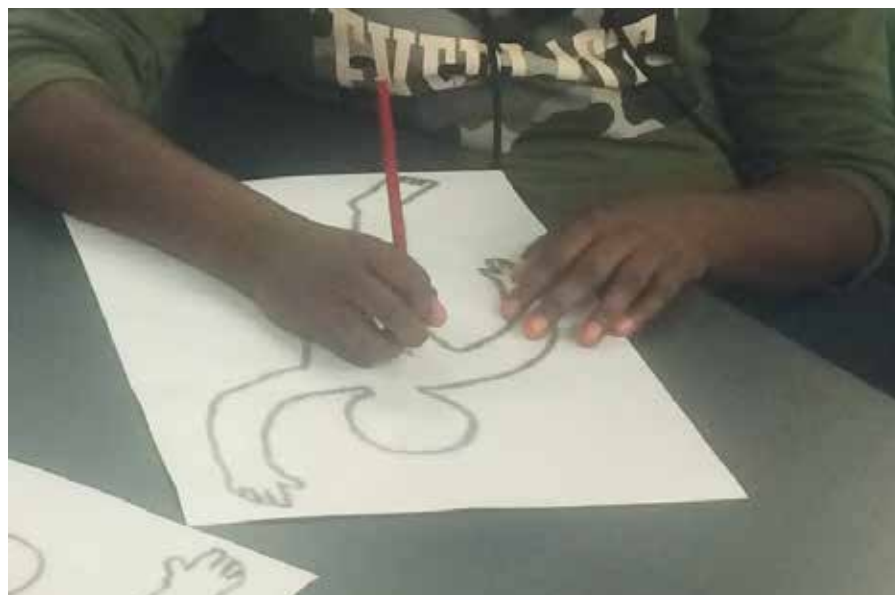


Figure 1: Language Portrait Activity

(e.g. hand signs) and even a secret language developed among peers, reflecting the social functions of language (Lave & Wegner, 1991). Two salient themes emerged: the connection between language, identity and communicative utility; and the inherent linguistic awareness expressed by the students as engaged and agentive communicators in their community.

Language, identity and utility

Student responses reflected the well-documented relationship between Warlpiri language and identity, and by extension land and spirituality (Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu, Holmes & Box, 2008; Warlpiri-patu-kurlangu Jaru, 2011). Warlpiri language was represented centrally on all body portraits. Students often placed it on their heart signalling emotional attachment, or on their legs, as a grounding device, described in their interviews in connection to the country on which they were born, walk and live on. For example, one student said, “well the legs are grey and red, red because we’re standing on Warlpiri land ... and the heart is red because I mainly talk Warlpiri outside of school” (Dami). Another explained, “I did my whole body green because I walk on Warlpiri land and grew up on Warlpiri land too.” (Fortnite, interview notes, p.1). This student wrote “land” next to Warlpiri in green in the language key attached to his portrait (see Figure 5 in Appendix A). One student included four Aboriginal languages connected to family members on his body and to an equal extent on his heart, signifying emotional attachment, “*rduku-rduku-rla karna mardani anything-nyayirni Warlpiri, Arrernte, Luritji, Pitja-pitja*” (Pitja-pitja is the local name for Pitjantjatjara, a Western Desert language), glossed as ‘In my heart I have many languages, Warlpiri, Arrernte, Luritja, Pitjantjatjara’ (Jaja) (Note that in representing this child’s speech, elements from Warlpiri are in italics, and elements from English and Kriol are in plain font).

In representations of their language networks, Warlpiri was used in the home, at school, among friends and at specific important sites. For example, one student said, “I talk to my family and it’s sometime [sic], well my ancestors, when my siblings get very naughty I talk to them”. (Joy). Students echoed a broader community value of Warlpiri

language as connected to culture and identity, and expressed concerns about language maintenance, particularly in the face of the overwhelming influence of English. One student revealed, “I don’t want to lose my Warlpiri because English is always coming to my brain” (Fortnite, Interview notes, p. 1). Another said, “[learning Warlpiri] its good. Yeah so I can remember my language” (Dami, Language Network interview).

Although included in every language portrait, English did not feature as prominently as other languages in terms of the amount of a portrait it covered, or its position. It was usually narrowly depicted on students’ eyes, mouths or brains, or shaded or dotted on larger areas outside of their bodies (see Appendix A for additional examples Dami, Joy, Kurlirra and Jaja). As one student explained, the language held in her heart was “Warlpiri. Yep. English is, like, to communicate to the person I don’t know” (CB). In contrast, in students’ language network maps, English was a significant code of communication, extending beyond the school to other places in the community such as the clinic, shops, football oval and sometimes, though rarely, the home. English was described as a way of broadening social networks beyond Warlpiri family and community, including with speakers of other Aboriginal languages, as in the example, “like, if someone, like a visitor from Papanya, came to visit us or somewhere, like Luritji people, or Pitja-pitja, first we kids, like us, we communicate to English, but the adults know, you know, how to speak. I hear, sometime I hear, my grandmother speaking Luritja and little bit of Pitja-pitja” (CB). Another, when asked about speaking Arrernte, which was included on her portrait, said, “I just listen to my nana” (Joy). These responses reflect a trend among the younger generation of shifting to varieties of English for inter-group communication among the younger generation (cf. McConwell, 2008; Vaughan & Singer, 2018). Although English featured in language networks as having numerous communicative applications in students’ lives beyond the home, this prominence was not reflected in identity construction on their portraits.

The dominance of English as the language of the school was reflected in the ways students

described their learning. One student depicted English in red on his head, for learning, “*nganayi maths-do-mani hard-work-rlangu*, think-jayi kapi mind-i-ngka-ju”, glossed as ‘for learning maths, or when we’re doing hard work as well, I think it in my mind’ (Jaja). When asked whether it’s easier to learn complex subject matter in Warlpiri or English, every student interviewed said “English” first and then added, “Warlpiri” or “both” afterwards. Most students responded in similar ways when asked this question. For example:

- “Oh English! English and Warlpiri I know, but because I learned in English since I was in Kindergarten” (CB)
- “Uhhh English? and Warlpiri, a bit?” (Joy)
- “[English] because teachers learn us to speak English” (Ronaldo, Interview notes, p1)
- “English ... and Warlpiri is good for hard learning” (Kurlirra, Interview notes, p1).

These responses reflect the hierarchy of languages in the bilingual classroom and the subordinate position of Warlpiri language in the school historically. Despite a formally endorsed and funded bilingual program, a chequered history of resourcing, documentation and implementation have meant that instruction of the Warlpiri Theme Cycle and other curricular areas through Warlpiri language has to constantly battle for a teaching and learning space (Devlin et al., 2017). The Year 6 students would have started school when a policy of compulsory teaching of English in the first four hours of the school day was introduced (see Devlin et al., 2017, for more on this policy), thus their learning of and through Warlpiri would have been sporadic and limited to the most recent three years of their schooling. Nevertheless, students associated Warlpiri in the classroom with positive feelings, such as making them feel “happy” (Dami; Fortnite), and “excited” (CB); “it makes me feel happy, exciting [sic]” (Joy). One student described the feeling of talking about Warlpiri to a group of students visiting from interstate earlier in the year, “Proud, yeah, yeah. Like showing off my culture” (CB).

Students’ language awareness

Despite geographic isolation and the relative cultural homogeneity of the community, students expressed an interest in and awareness of languages across the globe with ten different non-Indigenous languages other than English featured across the 15 portraits (a list is included in Appendix B). Of these, only three were included in depictions of daily contact in language networks (Hindi, Vietnamese, and Japanese). Despite limited proficiency and indeed communicative opportunities in languages other than English and Warlpiri, students included the other languages on their portraits for several reasons. Many students expressed an awareness of the multiculturalism amongst visiting service providers, including hearing Hindi music and Vietnamese language (referred to by two students as Chinese) spoken by families managing the local shops. Kurlirra (interview notes, p1) said she hears “Hindi at the shop but I talk in English to the shopkeeper”. Music emerged as a medium that exposed students to a broader range of languages including K-pop (Korean) and South American music (Spanish and Portuguese) that were not spoken in the immediate context of the community. Students expressed an interest in travelling to other countries, one saying that

her grandmother from Mauritius wanted her to travel to France to learn French, “my nana told us, uhm when we get, when we get 15, we go to Fr- thing, where people talk French, where’s that? (...) yeah France. We go there when we get 15 and then speak French” (Joy).

Students demonstrated competence in recognising and using different registers of Warlpiri. Seven of the fourteen students included “baby talk” on their portraits, a stylised register of Warlpiri used to infants that includes modification of phonological, syntactic and semantic features to accommodate language acquisition (Laughren, 1984). For all but one student, it was depicted on their mouths, neck and/or ears but nowhere else on their body, perhaps reflecting its very specialized uses. As one student explained, “yeah baby language, talking to my little cousin and hearing, replying back like in baby language” (CB). Students identified differences in the way they speak Warlpiri to community elders. One student reflected on English insertions and inter-generational differences in Warlpiri use saying, “Elders don’t speak English, we don’t put it in our Warlpiri with them and I don’t know all their words” (Fortnite, Interview notes, p1). Another described having more expressive freedom in switching between Warlpiri and varieties of English with her peers, “uh mixing up talking to my friends about something, anything, or my cousins, but at home uhm uhm you have to be like sensible, not to do anything wrong or say anything wrong in Warlpiri” (CB).

Warlpiri sign language is another register that featured in thirteen of the language portraits, always depicted on the hands. Known as *rdaka-rdaka*, literally ‘hand-hand’, it is a manual representation of Warlpiri language, a parallel system of communication that fulfils multiple functions in hunting, private communication, across distances, or for subjects that require a special reverence and in ritual practices where talking is forbidden, for example ritual mourning (Kendon, 1984). Students ascribed different domains to its use, most commonly citing the shop, the football oval, and Sorry Camp (a designated area where relatives live for a period of time after the death of a community member). Most students distinguished their use of hand signs in limited everyday situations: “asking for smoke” (Kurlirra, Interview notes, p1), and its use by elders at Sorry Camp to fulfill broader communicative purposes. As CB explained, “like they ... elders are getting uhm you know, weak to talk but they do the hand sign now at thing ... sorry camp”. She described her own competence as receptive and limited, “yeah I understand hand sign but not really. Little bit. ‘Cos I see people at sorry camp and elders do that”. She said she would use hand signs more when she learns them. When asked where this learning would take place, at school or in the home, she responded, “uhmm I think home or sorry camp with my family, maybe” acknowledging the socially and culturally situated nature of language learning (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Lave & Wegner, 1991).

Students noticed and discussed the Warlpiri dialects spoken in different communities. The dialect of Warlpiri spoken in Lajamanu Community and referred to by Yuendumu students as ‘Lajamanu Warlpiri’ or ‘Lajamanu style’ featured on nine portraits, and was connected to family members living in that community. During a whole class discussion, students also talked about different dialects

of English, noting that their teacher spoke “Canadian English” and how rap music from America differed from English in Australia. This interest in other languages and awareness of different dialects and ways of speaking was reinforced by positive views of language learning, such as “it’s fun” (Joy) and “it’s interesting” (Fortnite). In stark contrast to deficit discourses around students’ language practices in English-dominant classrooms in remote schools, these activities positioned students as agentive and plurilingual communicators and highlighted the wealth of their communicative resources. Reflecting on all the languages on his language portrait, one student expressed pride, “*ngurru karna-j mardani rduku-rduku-rla*, an all that body-rla karna mardani whole-lot-i-nyarra, *ngana-jayi ka*, proud-wan-i karna-ju feel-i-mani”, glossed as ‘I keep them in my heart and all those in my body and I feel proud’(Jaja). Case study 1 elucidates one student’s interpretations of her linguistic ‘landscape’ (Angelo & Carter, 2015) and the themes outlined above.

Figure 2:
CB Language Portrait



Figure 3:
CB Language Network



CB volunteered to pilot the language portraits activity with the researcher and to explain the activity to the class in the absence of their Warlpiri teacher that week. In her language portrait she included three Australian Aboriginal languages, and distinguished a dialect of Warlpiri spoken in Lajamanu, two registers of Warlpiri, “baby talk” and Warlpiri hand signs, English and two languages other than English – Hindi and Vietnamese. CB claimed spoken proficiency in Warlpiri, “Lajamanu Warlpiri” and English. CB drew symbols for *jukurpa* (Dreaming) running through her arm in red, the colour of Warlpiri, to signify its connection to ancestors and her spiritual belief system (see Figure 2). Her network (see Figure 3) depicted Warlpiri as her main mode of communication, followed by English, and this was reflected by the extent each language was represented on her portrait through the use of colour. CB included two other Aboriginal languages spoken by her grandmother, Luritja and Pitjara-Pitjara (local name for Pitjantjatjara, a Western Desert language) on her ears, because she hears them despite not being able to speak or understand them.

CB included English around her stomach, on her head, encasing the Warlpiri in her heart and outside her body. When asked why English was outside her body, particularly her head, she positioned herself as an English learner, “uhmmm cos I hear, like, the words that I know sometimes, and then I learn it at the classroom, like uhmm like, I get English into my brain so I can listen and talk more English”. When asked about the bilingual program, learning in Warlpiri and Warlpiri at school, she explained, “it’s good. Learning everything in English, maths and literacy, writing, reading and writing”. When asked what content she learns in Warlpiri at school, she mentioned body parts and cultural topics like kinship terms and *jukurpa* ‘traditional dreaming’ stories.

Her use of American rap music in a separate category to English shows an appreciation of different dialects of English, and she indicated that she uses her phone to access world music, rap being her favourite, “just to listen and relax” (CB). She summarised the activity by reflecting, “it’s good to show what I hear or what I have in my heart, which language, or what I hear, like music, what I talk to people, how I communicate” (CB). Following the activity, the classroom teacher expressed surprise at the enthusiasm with which most students approached the task, and the diversity of language practices discussed: “I didn’t know they were so interested in language and it’s exciting to hear them get excited about it. We always focus on English and Warlpiri but it’s clear students’ awareness is broader”. She said this motivated her to find ways to incorporate more language awareness activities into her practice (Year 6 teacher, 2018, Personal Communication).

CONCLUSION

This study illustrated the dynamic language ecologies in a classroom in one of Australia’s remote communities, and the types of language awareness shown by the students. The activities revealed that learners not only use a range of language forms, styles, registers and modes, but that they have the ability to critically reflect on this linguistic agility. Students used their linguistic resources to construct plurilingual identities in diverse environments, which comprised active language use and passive exposure to

language through affiliation and inheritance (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997). The language portrait and network mapping tools presented here facilitated discussion of, and thereby validated, codes and modes within the school context that otherwise might not have discursive space there. The tools offered analytical strategies for students to explore and share their experiences serving to expand the teachers’ and researcher’s understandings of diverse language practices in the community and school. For this class, these tools became a starting point for sustained discussion about the critical and creative role that these language practices play in students’ lives (Dagenais & Berron, 2001). A crucial next step is to explore ways of harnessing these to cater for this diversity in the classroom (Garcia & Baker, 2007; Carter et al., 2018).

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Student work referred to in the paper.

Figure 4:

Dami Language Portrait



Figure 5:

Fortnite Language Portrait



Figure 6:

Fortnite Language Network

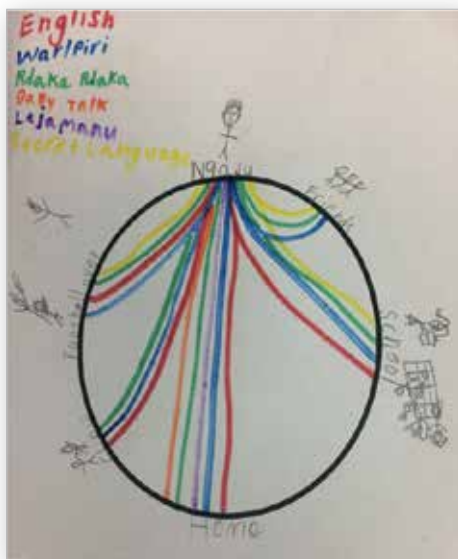


Figure 7:

Joy Language Portrait



Emma Browne

A PhD candidate at the Australian National University exploring how multilingual students and their teachers negotiate language and learning in bilingual classrooms at Yuendumu School in the Northern Territory. Her work with language teachers in remote Central Australia, Mongolia, Ethiopia and Madagascar since 2005 has sparked an interest in multilingualism, language acquisition and policy; and a passion for working with students, teachers and communities as they engage with these compelling themes in schools.

Figure 8:
Joy Language Network

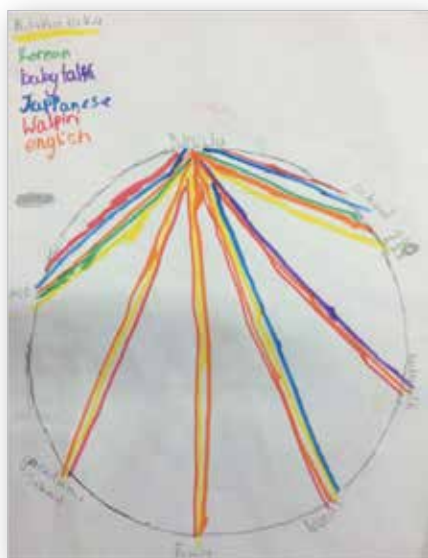


Figure 9:
Kurlirra Language Portrait



Figure 10:
Jaja Language Portrait



Figure 11:
Ronaldo Language Portrait



Appendix B

List of Languages other than English described by students in Language Portraits

1 Thai	6 Spanish
2 Vietnamese [sic]	7 Portuguese
3 French	8 Korean
4 Filipina [sic]	9 Japanese
5 Hindi	10 Chinese

List of Languages other than English described by students in their Language Networks

1 Hindi (heard at shop)
2 Vietnamese (heard at shop)
3 Japanese (spoken among other learners when attending school in Adelaide)

THE ART OF RECOGNITION: VISUALISING CONTACT LANGUAGES WITH COMMUNITY VERNACULAR LANGUAGE POSTERS

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ABSTRACT

Across Australia, language contact has shaped the languages that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people speak today. While in some communities Traditional Languages have been spoken continuously from pre-invasion through to the present day, the language use of many First Nations Australians has shifted to “New Languages”, which are contact languages such as creoles and mixed languages, or otherwise to a variety of English. Despite the extent of language contact and its effects on the day-to-day language experiences of many Indigenous Australians, there is little discourse in the public domain or in educational settings about language contact or contact languages. In public data sets they are not reliably differentiated from Traditional Languages on the one hand, nor from English(es) on the other (Angelo et al., 2019). This has profound implications

for Indigenous Australians who speak these New Languages, some of which constitute the largest languages that are spoken almost exclusively by First Nations peoples today. There is no systematic policy effort underway to work with communities to describe, recognise and name these New Languages, and consequently little tailoring of services to speakers on account of these languages.

This paper presents a grounded translational research methodology. Community Vernacular Language Posters (Department of Education [Qld], 2018), that has been developed for working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community members to raise awareness about their local contact language and about the ramifications for education and other service provision. The outcome of this linguistically-informed process is an accessible poster depicting local everyday ways of talking. Underpinning this document is the shared body of knowledge amongst community

participants that has been generated by the many consultations and inclusive discussions that have taken place due to the collaborative language research process. Often, a Community Vernacular Language Poster project has resulted in a community initiative to name their local contact language. The posters have proven a popular initiative, as they make tangible a community’s speech variety, foster a sense of pride and ownership in the local vernacular and provide the community with tools for informing incomers about the local language situation.

KEY WORDS

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander vernaculars, language contact, community language awareness, language recognition, translational research, Aboriginal English, language posters, Australian Aboriginal languages.

INTRODUCTION

In many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander speech communities throughout Queensland, where the Community Vernacular Language Posters have been produced, the local vernaculars used by the majority of people are English-lexified contact languages. These contact languages, as we will see, have developed out of language contact linked with the colonial language of English. For this reason, most of their vocabulary can be historically traced back to English and so technically they are “English-lexified”. But there the similarity ends, as all the linguistic subsystems of these contact languages, such as their phonology, semantics, inflections and phrase and sentence structures, are not those of English, and hence linguistically they constitute separate languages.

To illustrate an English-lexified contact language, Figure 1 shows a speech bubble of a child speaking a sentence from one such language in Queensland. Of the six words in the sentence, the first five have historical English derivations, but none are used as in Standard Australian English. The first word is a pronoun that does not exist in English nor can its meaning be rendered by any single English pronoun; the second is an invariant marker which goes with the third word, a bare verb, to express past tense in a manner different from English; the fourth word is a noun which in this language would be ungrammatical if used with the preposition and article that English requires to express the same meaning; fifth is an -ing form of a verb which - unlike in English - is never used with an auxiliary verb; the 6th word is

derived from an Aboriginal language. As a result of all these differences, English speakers cannot draw on their English resources to understand this sentence, to judge if it is grammatically well-formed or to formulate a correct and appropriate response in this contact language. When a contact language has arisen through a shift in usage away from all the contributing languages, is so distant

from its lexifier that they are not mutually comprehensible and is spoken as a mother tongue by the speech community, then it can be termed a creole.

The variety in Figure 1, could thus be described generally as a New Language or a contact language, specifically as an English-lexified contact language, and more precisely as an English-lexified creole.

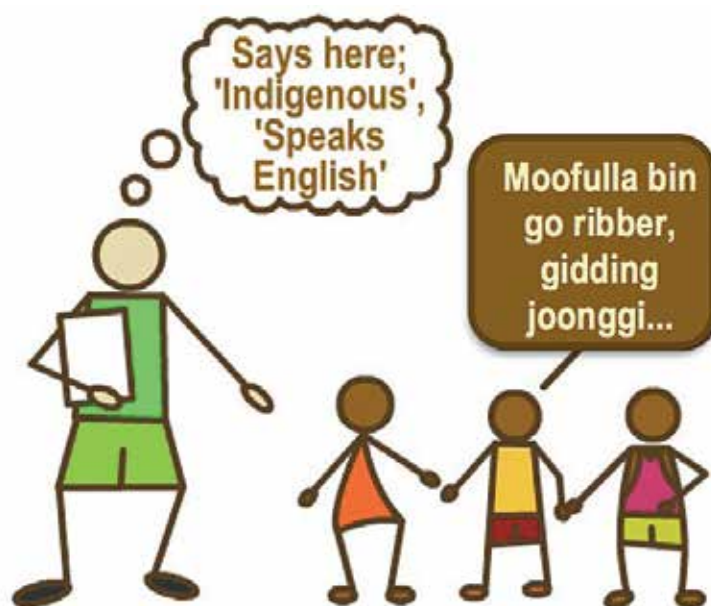


Figure 1: English versus English-lexified contact language © Language Perspectives, Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2006

Despite an on-the-ground appreciation by Indigenous communities themselves that they have their own different ways of talking (Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016), most of these English-lexified contact languages are invisible and/or unreliably attested in the trusted go-to sources about people's language backgrounds, such as the national Census (Angelo & McIntosh, 2014) or school enrolment data (Dixon & Angelo, 2014). English-lexified contact languages have been misconstrued as English in language background data (as Figure 1 suggests), but have also been mis-recorded as other contact languages from elsewhere in Australia or even overseas, or responses are not displayed at all (Angelo et al., 2019). This means there is a significant gap in the evidence base about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' language backgrounds, which adversely affects the provision of language-based services for students and their communities. Furthermore, when the majority language of a whole speech community is "invisible", then the entire picture of the local language ecology is skewed (for 'language ecology' see Simpson et al., and Angelo & Poetsch, this volume). The accurate picture of multilingual people with complete fluency in their mother tongue with (some) proficiency in a number of other languages is not apparent.

The Community Vernacular Language Poster project was therefore developed as a means of addressing an inaccurate view of the languages spoken in many Indigenous speech communities. It represents a grounded, translational and community-oriented research methodology, which literally aims to make community voices visible by depicting them exactly as they are spoken. The visualisation takes the form of a poster with speech bubbles emanating from stick figures talking in their vernacular (see further examples below). The poster development and drafting phase exemplifies a community-based research process that engages community participants with the attributes of their vernacular and their local language ecology. The project output, a local Community Vernacular Language Poster, is a tangible and engaging tool for translating participants' language awareness to an increased circle of people, including incomers into the community and outside service providers. Visualisation is a mechanism that both reveals complex linguistic matters and promotes the translation of this information between project participants and then, later, beyond this circle to others, because of its instant accessibility. The poster process encourages genuine exchanges about local language use, personal experiences, oral histories and technical linguistic knowledge.

We hope that languages teachers will find the contact language situations themselves of interest, and that the processes of developing a visualisation of language phenomena will prove inspiring for their own teaching contexts. We firstly describe the contact language context, and the rationale for the project, the invisibility of many contact languages in Australia. This is followed by a case study of a particular Vernacular Language Poster project in Yarrabah in far north Queensland, to give readers insights into an actual instance of the process. On this basis we discuss poster project outcomes – benefits, potentials and challenges – that the authors have experienced as teachers, teacher educators and/or linguists.

Before proceeding we clarify a number of terms used frequently in this chapter. We refer to 'First Nations' peoples also as 'Aboriginal' and/or 'Torres Strait Islander', indicating the two broad groupings of 'Indigenous' peoples who are the original and continuing custodians of lands, waters and islands in Queensland. The term 'vernacular', the everyday spoken language in a particular area or of a particular grouping of people, contrasts with standard languages, national languages and taught or written languages. This broad term is used in the project title 'Community Vernacular Language Posters' because each poster depicts a local way of speaking, i.e. a vernacular, no matter how else it might be categorised. The term 'contact language' emphasises that language contact processes (described in detail below) have been involved in the provenance of a particular language. 'New Languages' refers to the same set of languages as 'contact languages'. However, the term 'New Languages' specifically contrasts with 'Traditional Languages', emphasising their relatively recent provenance, but these terms also parallel each other, showing that both types are related as they have almost exclusively Indigenous speakerships. As we have seen, an English-lexified creole is a particular kind of contact language and one of its salient characteristics is that it is mutually unintelligible with English (as in Figure 1). English-lexified creoles are not English. Creoles are to be distinguished from Aboriginal Englishes and Torres Strait Islander English, which are so similar in their forms at the surface level that they are all considered dialects of English.

PROJECT RATIONALE

Language contact and New Languages in Queensland

Across Australia, intergenerational language transmission has undergone profound changes for many First Nations peoples since invasion and colonisation commenced over two centuries ago (O'Shannessy & Meakins, 2016). In Queensland nowadays, if Indigenous children are acquiring, as their mother tongue/first language, languages other than the Standard Australian English of mainstream media and institutions, then only in a small number of remote locations are these Traditional Languages. Instead of the 50 or more Traditional Languages originally spoken in Queensland (see Dixon, 1980), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children's languages are either New Languages, which are English-lexified contact languages, and/or various Englishes (Angelo, 2013; Angelo & Carter, 2015; Fraser et al, 2018; Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016; Sellwood & Angelo, 2013).

The geographical position of Queensland has led to particular trajectories of language contact, because it lies to the north of Sydney and the first sites of intensive English colonisation and settlement, and it faces towards the south Pacific, Melanesia and areas of southeast Asia. In inland Queensland, the pastoral industry entered from the south around the 1840s, bringing an English-based contact language that had developed in the early colony to the south. Pastoralists brought this contact language northwards and reached the Gulf of Carpentaria by about the 1870s (Dutton, 1983; Harris, 1986). In contrast, along the eastern coast and in the Torres Strait, language contact was largely driven by maritime-based industries (such

as sandalwood, *bêche de mer*, trochus and pearl shell) and the supply of plantation labour (Shnukal, 1988; Tryon & Charpentier, 2004). From the 1860s, these and other economic activities brought together multilingual workforces including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and people from the Pacific, Melanesia, southeast Asia, China and/or Japan. In addition, with increased intensity from the late 1800s, Queensland government policies instigated the removal of many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals, with diverse language repertoires, from their lands and islands into government Settlements or missions (see Munro & Mushin, 2016 on Woorabinda, for example).

Present day contact languages spoken by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Queensland have their origins in these contact histories. Each has developed particular characteristics due to specific constellations of local social and linguistic factors, such as the varying inputs from local Traditional Languages, the speech variety associated with historical economic activities and the extent of interactions with English speakers. In Queensland, only one contact language has a degree of recognition, Yumplatok (also known as Torres Strait Creole or Broken), which is now spoken throughout the Torres Strait and in diaspora communities in Queensland (Sellwood & Angelo, 2013; Shnukal, 2001). Other contact languages in Queensland are less recognised in the public domain, and so for instance do not appear in the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011b) standard list of languages: Lockhart River Creole (Mittag, 2016) and Cape York Creole (Crowley & Rigsby, 1979), Yarrrie Lingo, Woorie Talk and Cherbourg Talk (e.g. Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016), Murdi Language (Language Perspectives, 2011) and Mornington Island Creole (Language Perspectives, 2015).

Speech varieties that are spoken by Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people and whose surface structures are (almost) indistinguishable from English are termed in this paper as 'Englishes'. 'Aboriginal English' is a particularly pervasive term broadly applied to any and all varieties of English spoken by Aboriginal peoples across Australia. These too may have arisen from language contact processes in some places. The status of a number of Queensland speech varieties once dubbed 'Aboriginal English' (e.g. Alexander, 1968; Dutton, 1983) is being re-assessed. The diversity in Queensland of locally distinctive contact varieties does not align easily with a one-size-fits-all label, a situation revealed by the Community Vernacular Language Posters (e.g. Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016; Munro & Mushin, 2016).

Invisibility of New Languages

Although differing in make-up at the local level, New Languages and their associated language ecologies are commonplace across Queensland and need to be navigated by educators and students alike, so that Indigenous students have opportunities to achieve their potential and aspirations. Even though language contact has been very widespread across the continent and had such a defining role in shaping modern Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language ecologies, contact languages are under-represented in language data, language curriculum and national conversations about Indigenous languages generally.

Ordinary demographic techniques, such as the Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a) or school enrolment forms, ask a question such as “Does the person speak a language other than English at home?” This survey methodology is based on a necessary pre-existing condition of “language awareness”, a set of sociolinguistic knowledges surrounding speakers’ own language repertoires (Angelo, 2013). It is “language awareness” that allows, for example, speakers to understand how the history of their speech community has generated the local vernacular, how its different linguistic properties lead to a lack of mutual comprehensibility with the standard language and hence why it would be considered as a separate, and full, proper language. The extent of local community language awareness is not ordinarily considered in mainstream survey designs because most languages are already recognised and named. This is not the case with many New Languages in Queensland- and indeed Australia- at this point in time, and hence language awareness is a factor here. In addition to this language awareness “hurdle”, responses to such a survey question then require self-identification and self-declaration on the part of respondents, coupled with recognition of their responses on the part of the recipients of the information. Such standard methods may suffice, by and large, for contexts with well-recognised languages that have a standardised nomenclature and an uncontested existence. However, where language ecologies have been shaped by language contact and shift processes, there are intrinsic complexities that render the resulting New Languages impervious to these standard approaches, an obvious hurdle being the lack of a standardised name (Angelo & McIntosh, 2014; Dixon & Angelo, 2014).

Visibility and recognition is an impasse that either strips or bestows rights to speakers, rendering their language repertoires visible or invisible, and making it more or less difficult to express language-based aspirations and needs. These may include local staffing (with local speech) in high stakes services, delivering classroom curriculum through English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) methodologies, or documenting and learning Traditional Languages. In the current data-driven, evidence-based policy context, the stakes are high if data collection processes do not capture the existence of a community’s language. The recognition of a language and its speakers underpins language-informed initiatives in schools (e.g. Angelo & Hudson, 2018).

These are not trivial concerns. In Australia, the *monolingual mindset* (Clyne, 2005) takes ‘[Standard Australian] English only’ as the default position. In education, a *monolingual mindset* may keep policy makers and educators blithely unaware of other languages to such an extent that they are not considered as operative factors in students’ schooling, or certainly not consistently so. If New Languages are not recognised, then the data that might otherwise kick-start language-oriented initiatives are unavailable and impossible to collect. In this manner, the students and communities with a contact language can become the least visible in school language data, and as a consequence they are also the least likely to be the recipients of language-based initiatives. And this is despite the fact that arguably they would be the most likely to benefit from a thoughtful and thorough exploration of their linguistic resources. A

necessary condition for creole-speaking students to experience success in classrooms delivering curriculum through a lexifier language is “language awareness” (Angelo & Carter, 2015; Berry & Hudson, 1997). This involves recognising and respecting the creole as a fully complex and autonomous language, and understanding the social circumstances that generated it and now minoritise it (Carter, Angelo & Hudson, forthcoming; Siegel, 2006). It is this situation that Community Vernacular Language Posters seek to address and redress.

CASE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY VERNACULAR LANGUAGE POSTER

Process Overview

Our process for representing a vernacular language engages a broad range of community members with the idea of illustrating “how local Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people talk around here”. Vernacular language posters have been produced in collaboration between community members, one or more local schools and a linguist language researcher with the support of the Indigenous Language Perspectives team from the Queensland Department of Education and Training. Graphic design was provided by the department and mostly in-house. Likewise, printing costs have been mostly borne by the department, although direct contributions to particular poster print runs have also sometimes been made by schools or a university research partner.

Each Community Vernacular Language Poster project commences with the agreed aim of developing a local poster with community input. It utilises the services of a community-oriented linguist who has a background in working in language contact and language shift contexts and an awareness of the way creoles, dialects or mixed languages interface with education, especially their “invisibility”. A corpus of examples of interactions in the local vernacular is built up by processes such as elicitation, collecting community members’ suggestions and recording observations in the community. These examples are discussed with initial participants and an ever-widening cross-section of the local community. This process not only adds material to the existing vernacular corpus, but also drives research into community-initiated questions about matters such as local language history, personal and family language stories, language contact processes and outcomes, language services, etc. In this manner, a core group of community members who have participated actively and communicated extensively on “poster topics” develops. Iconic local visuals- colours of the earth, local scenes and landmarks- are sought and selected in preparation for the first draft of the poster. Successive drafts provide opportunities for community commentary, additions and changes. On the final draft, names of community contributors are included around the edges and a short explanation about the local vernacular and the purpose of the poster appears along the bottom of the poster, along with stakeholder logos. The Community Vernacular Language Poster is thus a communal artefact - an accessible, attractive and solid foundation for conversations about the local speech variety with people from inside or outside the (speech) community, including educators, police, doctors, etc.

At da Crick. The pilot Community Vernacular Language Poster at Yarrabah

Background

The first poster of what was to become an ongoing series (due to community demand) was At da Crick developed with the Aboriginal Community of Yarrabah in far north Queensland. The idea for the Yarrabah poster project grew from the supportive school context, which had a strong tradition of community involvement and had engaged deeply with pedagogies that acknowledged students as English Language Learners. A school leader and local Aboriginal woman, Bernadine Yeatman, was pivotal. Prior to this “poster project”, she had conducted language awareness raising activities over many years with students and teachers alike and she had observed considerable benefits. Yeatman’s language awareness initiatives were inspired by the work of Berry and Hudson (1997) from the Kriol-speaking area of the Kimberley in Western Australia. Yeatman was looking for ways to expand on this. She had been considering issues such as how the local (English-lexified) language variety at Yarrabah fitted exactly into the contact language picture of creoles and related varieties and how to enlarge the circle of community members who were engaged with the issue of the local vernacular language.

In her then capacity as a Project Officer with the regional Indigenous Schooling Support Unit, Denise Angelo provided teacher professional development at Yarrabah. Over time, Angelo was given the benefit of insights into the Yarrabah language situation from Yeatman, key Indigenous teachers, such as Denise Cedric (2014), many Indigenous Teacher Aides, Indigenous trainee teachers and Indigenous school students themselves, as well as non-Indigenous staff, such as the principal and lead teacher (at that time Terry Davidson and Erin Serdar respectively) and classroom teachers. It became clear to Angelo that the nature of the Yarrabah way of talking, its origins, its relationship to other languages, particularly English, but also to vernaculars in other communities, were all areas that warranted attention. For instance, despite Yeatman’s considerable language awareness initiatives, there was no systemic curriculum imperative to put a focus on the local language ecology, nor were there accessible resources illustrative of local language usages or local language histories.

In the Yarrabah context, then, Yeatman and Angelo both had many discussions with community members about the Yarrabah way of talking before starting the poster project. In subsequent poster projects in other locations, this collaborative, consultative relationship-building sometimes had to be undertaken from scratch.

Processes

The idea of producing a poster showing “how we speak round here” was put to a core group of Indigenous Teacher Aides. They commenced brainstorming everyday scenarios and what Yarrabah people would say together in these scenarios, such as fishing, cooking turtles, swimming, caring for babies, catching horses, climbing trees etc. Handwritten notes (rendered with adapted English spellings to show differences in phonology, morphology etc.) recorded these ideas. Yeatman’s prior work in this area had given her confidence to

remould English spellings for such purposes (Disbray & Loakes, 2013). The group keenly discussed differences in pronunciations, lexicon and some structures and produced interactive content for the stick figures' speech bubbles.

A round of meetings with this group established several community scenarios, very roughly sketched with participants, providing enough material for a first basic poster draft. An experienced graphic designer with the Indigenous Schooling Support Unit, Steve Grady, developed a variety of character styles, from which a set of simple stick figure characters were selected on the basis that they would not distract from the language and they provided a cheerful style. Characters were placed on a backdrop that depicted recognisable local features, such as the distinctive colours of the landscape or local landmarks. For Yarrabah, this included the lush green of the wet tropics, the river and horses.

From this point, the role of the language researcher for this enterprise settled into two kinds of activities: on the one hand ensuring community conversations continued and expanded, and on the other, assisting the community with relevant historical and linguistic research. Re-drafting the poster ensured that conversations about the local way(s) of speaking were ongoing. The strong and continued engagement of the community ensured both a representative sample of language use and their informed approval of the poster content. It also furthered Yeatman's wish for more community members to be involved in discussing the local language ecology. Developing the poster fostered informal discussions, as well as workshops and research. Often the research responded to particular questions from the community and/or school staff, for example, 'Is the local way of speaking a full language?', 'Why is there a Yarrabah way of speaking?', 'Where did it come from?', and so on.

Iterative drafts and deeper deliberations

The transparency of the collective eliciting and re-drafting process proved a wonderful technique for sharing and responding to interests and issues. Around twenty drafts were produced! Each new draft that was circulated was an opportunity to inform viewers about new additions and why they had been included. One new item had been prompted by participants' realisation that older people's speech was not represented on the poster: *bumbye* 'later' was an item associated with the older generation (example 1). Consideration of this variation in language use gave rise to a conversation amongst some of the Indigenous Teacher Aides about how their local speech variety had many different wordings for rendering the same meaning (examples w2 and 3). This was a response to their experiences of classroom teachers urging children to vary their word choice when writing in Standard Australian English, and sometimes mistakenly assuming that students' difficulties in this regard might be associated with their (impoverished) home language, not their level of acquisition of their second language: *bogi*, swim, dip are amongst the vocabulary items that can render English 'swim' in the local vernacular.



1	Youfulla	go	bogi	bumbye
	2PL	go	bathe	later
'You can all go and swim soon'				
2	Unna	go	swim	
	1SG.DESID	go	bathe	
'I want to go swimming'				
3	Wee-na	go	aba	dip
	1PL-DESID	go	have	dip
'We're going to go and take a dip'				

Figure 2: Going swimming in Yarrie Lingo (At da Crick Poster excerpt) © Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2009

Teenager talk was also purposefully incorporated into the poster. A younger Indigenous Teacher Aide, Allan Yeatman, raised the issue that teenager talk was not very visible in the poster. This generated considerable discussion. Teenager talk might be more volatile and become outdated (because teenager expressions come and go). Further, the way Yarrabah teenagers were talking exhibited a few salient features that differed from the introductory and generally true information about contact languages here and elsewhere in northern Australia. For example, the teenagers were using distinctive feminine pronoun forms, *she* 3SG.FEM.NOM and *er* 3SG.FEM.ACC, in contrast to many people in Yarrabah who did not. In the end, a teen love banter scenario (example 4) was included to exemplify this teenager usage, while elsewhere the poster included examples of 3SG *e*, the common gender form (i.e. masculine feminine or neuter) (example 5) used by other people.

4	I	like	er	she	alright
	1SG.NOM	like	3SG.FEM.ACC	3SG.FEM.NOM	quite lovely
	'I like her – she's kinda lovely'				



Figure 3: Yarrie Lingo: Teenagers' pronouns she/er (At da Crick Poster excerpt) © Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2009



5	Aunty	look up	dere:	e	right	on top
	Aunty	look up	there	3SG	right	on top
'Aunty look up there: she's right up the top (of the tree).' (gender indicated from context)						

Figure 4: Yarrie Lingo: General pronoun *e* (At da Crick Poster excerpt) © Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2009

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN GLOSSES

ACC: accusative; COM: comitative; DESID: desiderative, FEM: feminine; GEN: generic; INT: interjection; LOC: locative; MASC: masculine; NOM: nominative; PL: plural; PST: past; SG: singular

These deliberations are now enshrined in the poster artefact, a snapshot of community usages at a point in time, usages that will inevitably change to some extent and that will be a topic for further conversations. Fundamentally, the poster represented an opportunity for the community to collectively choose what to display about their own way of speaking. That said, it was mostly Yeatman and/or Angelo who commented on morphosyntactic properties of suggested language (e.g. the *-na* 'DESIDERATIVE' marker, in examples 2 and 3 above), as they were pre-sensitised by their prior work to such grammatical features. However, it was the lead teacher, Serdar, who first drew the group's attention to the development of the *-m* 'PAST' marker in children's speech (a contraction of the full form *bin* 'PAST'), as in example 6 below. The continued, collaborative discussions between interested participants enabled this greater engagement with linguistic forms.



6	[...]	wi-m	go roun	where	Nana	
		1PL-PST	go around	LOC	nana	
	en	u-m	play wid	Benny	en ...	
	and	1SG-PST	play COM	B[name]	and	
['...'] we went around to Nanna's (place) and I played with Benny and ...'						

Figure 5: Yarrie Lingo: children's past marker -m (At da Crick Poster excerpt) © Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2009

Naming the vernacular

The processes involved in the poster project at Yarrabah led to a name for the local vernacular. When the Yarrabah poster project started, there was no name that uniquely identified the Yarrabah contact language. As part of the process of growing understandings collectively, Yeatman dubbed the local language 'Yarrie Lingo', a name first coined and published via the *At da Crick* poster in 2009. The name Yarrie Lingo gained instant traction: "Yarrie" is a fond name for Yarrabah, and might be applied to anybody or anything commonly associated with Yarrabah, say, the "Yarrie" football team. The term "lingo" is used by Aboriginal people across much of Australia to refer to Aboriginal languages, often but not exclusively Traditional Languages.

Local language contact history

At the time of the poster project beginning, little research had been conducted into the nature of the Yarrabah speech variety. Yeatman and Angelo looked into the history of Yarrabah Mission Settlement to develop resources about the different Traditional Aboriginal and

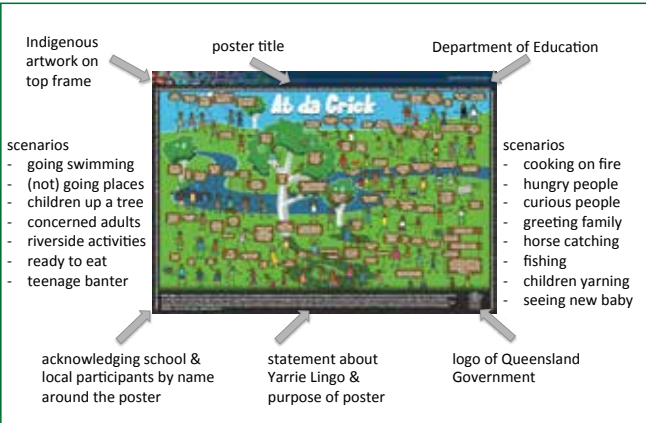
Torres Strait Islander languages that would have been brought into Yarrabah (over 40 different languages), the kinds of contact languages that would have been introduced, and the patterns of language change that were recorded or could be deduced. This material was presented back to the school and the community in different forms. Yeatman, for example, personalised this with family pictures illustrating language shift within her family. In poster projects subsequent to Yarrabah, this kind of research has often been formally included on the poster itself, and/or produced as an additional document accompanying the poster. For example, for the former government Settlements, Cherbourg and Woorabinda, which have similar histories to Yarrabah with Indigenous peoples from scores of language backgrounds, their languages were all listed around the edges of the poster in acknowledgement of this rich and diverse heritage, as well as of the consequent language contact that shaped the present day vernacular. In a different poster for the rural township of St George, the names of the languages which local Aboriginal residents

mostly affiliate to are positioned on the poster so that they hover in the sky, with the languages of the local lands printed in larger text than some of the others (a result of local conversations conducted by the project linguist Jennifer Munro).

At Yarrabah, the poster project also resulted in investigating the literature on creoles and contact languages, and investigating matters such as the surface differences and the 'distance' between the systems (i.e. between Yarrie Lingo and the Standard Australian English of the classroom). On the basis of this research, it was decided that the most accurate way of characterising the local English-lexified contact language was, specifically, as a creole. A simple paragraph along the bottom of the poster gives basic facts about Yarrie Lingo, that it is a creole, its position in the local language ecology as the main language spoken, its origins, how it differs at every level from its lexifier, English, and that speakers of English do not automatically understand Yarrie Lingo speakers fully, and vice versa.



Figure 6: At da Crick poster layout © Department of Education and Training (Qld), 2009



Acknowledgement of participants

Contributing participants were acknowledged on the poster - a design feature that reinforced the poster's validity within the Yarrabah community, with a special mention to leading community members. This feature also carried weight in Aboriginal communities beyond Yarrabah. Aboriginal people, for instance, often read participant names around the poster edges, commenting on their relationships with them before looking at the colourfully displayed language.

Benefits of expanded consultations

Well into the poster development process, drafts of the poster were purposefully released for use, for example, for in-service professional development with teachers, who received photocopies and displayed them in their classrooms afterwards. These public drafts were thus taken outside of the core working group for discussion. This cleared the way for a broader appreciation of the poster and its intent. In the (non-school) context of the health clinic, for instance, it was understood that acknowledging there was a local speech variety and recognising it with a name provided a powerful justification for training and employing local Yarrie Lingo speakers in health contexts, to ensure local clients' understanding of advice. As part of this expanded cycle of consultation and feedback, the question was raised as to whether English translations could be included, but it was considered that translation might take community ownership away. Translations might circumvent potential conversations between Yarrie Lingo speakers and others (i.e. if the "answers" were already provided) and might even undermine locals in the eyes of monolingual incomers if, for example, locals did not translate Yarrie Lingo exactly as per the given translation.

Outcomes

The Yarrie Lingo poster is accepted by community members as a fair representation of how people speak around Yarrabah. It is accessible to community members, including children, to read, but also to use for illustrative purposes to newcomers to Yarrabah, such as new teachers. A growing sense of pride in Yarrie Lingo has been fostered, with locals now referring to their vernacular through this name (see reference by Nathan Schrieber in Angelo and Poetsch, this issue). Reports came back to Yeatman of how the *At da Crick* poster had 'clicked' for people in various professions, such as ambulance, police and health, explaining why they had experienced miscommunications with clients from Yarrabah. The term *Yarrie Lingo* has continued to gain ground with well over 1,000 hits in Google nowadays across a range of school, health, academic and policy contexts (although it has not yet made it into the Australian Standard Classification of Languages [Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011a]). The poster itself has been appreciated as an object with appeal, and has been given as a gift to many visitors to Yarrabah School, leading an Indigenous Aide to quip "That little green poster has gone a l-o-o-o-o-ng way!"

DISCUSSION

The success of the Yarrabah poster has indeed gone a long way, particularly by paving the way for other Indigenous speech communities. Subsequently, such a visualisation project has sometimes been requested directly by a school which has seen the benefit of the poster

to foster language awareness discussions, sometimes from a local community member who has seen one of the posters and wanted that level of description for their own community, or sometimes through consultation with a language researcher who has been involved in other community-based projects. To date, 10 other poster projects have been completed throughout Queensland through support from the Indigenous Language Perspectives team in the Department of Education and Training, with more in the pipeline.

Community Vernacular Language Posters provide a language service to an Indigenous speech community in several ways. They serve as a conversation starter about the local language context, a forum for noticing local ways of speaking and understanding the language ecology, a motivation for research into the linguistic history of a locality and a medium for raising awareness of the validity and complexity of local ways of speaking. This provides the evidence-base that the children's mother tongue/first language differs significantly from the Standard Australian English used in service delivery, including teaching classroom curriculum. This evidence can be harnessed to foster initiatives that cater optimally for children's and residents' actual language repertoires.

Core elements that underpin the success of this Community Vernacular Language Poster methodology include:

1. Community members are involved as language informants, ongoing language consultants and endpoint users and experts.
2. A tangible, externalised and public document is created collaboratively by community participants aiming at an accurate, genuine and accessible representation of local speech.
3. The poster creation process and the final document provide a context for deep discussions of historical and current social factors that have generated the New Language and the present language ecology.
4. The rendition of typically spoken language patterns into written form instantiates the existence of a New Language, and provides material for discussing its linguistic structure.
5. The visual medium of the poster has instant impact because it is accessible in a way that academic grammatical descriptions and papers, or lengthy education-type reports or handbooks, are not.
6. The posters are recognised as patently authentic by other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, because of the listing of community participants' names, but also because of the genuine scenarios and language.

The fact that a poster gives the local vernacular a concrete presence has been a particular key to its success. The language content on the poster plants a seed of awareness as it is incontrovertible proof that a local vernacular exists. This "tangible evidence" validates the vernacular for speakers and non-speakers, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The posters speak for themselves. As Yeatman says "the power of the poster

is in its simplicity". People of all language backgrounds, professional training and levels of education respond to the posters. For local community members posters have intrinsic authenticity and witnessed authority, thanks to recognisably genuine local speech and named local community participants. On this basis, just displaying the poster has the power to bring the actuality of the vernacular to mind and to reinforce the vernacular's existence. In most community settings, this significantly changes the recognition trajectory of these vernaculars which have gained in visibility where otherwise there had been no initiative to acknowledge them.

Although perhaps of less immediate import on the community, the historical and linguistic research that has been undertaken for Community Vernacular Language Poster projects is rekindling academic interest in Queensland contact language vernaculars (cf. Mitta, 2016; Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016; Munro & Mushin, 2016; Mushin & Watts, 2016) and at an Australian level, the Queensland-wide situation is again part of the picture (Angelo, forthcoming; Meakins, 2014; O'Shannessy & Meakins, 2016). This interest may lead to detailed descriptions of the local languages and their ecologies, which in turn may inspire the provision of language-based services.

Of more immediate impact for communities is the engagement that posters generate. At a first sighting of a Community Vernacular Language Poster there is typically much laughter and discussion on the part of Indigenous viewers, and much contrasting with an own way of talking if this is not the variety depicted. Non-Indigenous viewers, such as educators or health professionals, even in their early days in a new community, can recognise some patterns of speech that they have heard spoken around them, and, thanks to the poster, feel more at ease in discussing this with locals. Such conversations, rare indeed for minoritised vernacular languages that are ignored in mainstream media institutions and services, have the potential to be transformational as they can fundamentally change erroneous (pre-)conceptions. Community Vernacular Language Posters provide a stepping-stone into an awareness of language that, it is our hope, translates into real differences for speakers of these vernaculars, such as impacting on teaching and delivery of other services and employment of like-language speakers to ensure quality communication.

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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REPURPOSING ARCHIVAL AUDIO MATERIALS FOR LANGUAGE REVITALISATION IN AN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY

Mark Richards, *The MARCS Institute, Western Sydney University*

Josephine Lardy, *Jilkminggan Community Member*

ABSTRACT

The digital revolution has provided a wealth of resources and opportunities for those interested in learning an additional language. Unfortunately this does not apply to many of the world's languages, especially those with smaller speech communities, such as Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. On the other hand documentation of these languages, often dating back many years, has left a rich legacy of materials with the potential to provide language learning opportunities.

In this paper we outline a research project undertaken with the Jilkminggan community to investigate the repurposing of archival audio recordings for language learning and resource creation through the use of Chunkbank, a repository of communicatively useful utterances derived from existing audio recordings. Using a framework based on the concept of scaffolding we show how the Mangarrayi utterances and the organisational framework of Chunkbank provide scaffolding to support comprehension and use of the utterances for language learning and resource creation.

KEY WORDS

Australian Aboriginal languages, Australian Indigenous languages, language learning, language teaching, Mangarrayi, scaffolding, language revitalisation.

INTRODUCTION

The discussion of Indigenous languages is often framed around metaphors relating to death and dying, invoking terms such as “dead” or “extinct”. It is true that in the past 200 years European colonisation has effected an enormous shift in the language ecology of Australia with the result that many Indigenous languages now have only a few, mostly elderly, speakers or are no longer spoken at all. At the same time, many communities are engaging positively with their language even when in some cases it has not been actively used for many years. In this paper we hope to give a glimpse of one such story through discussion of a language revitalisation project at the Jilkminggan community, repurposing older audio recordings to support learning of their traditional language.

BACKGROUND

Jilkminggan is a small remote Aboriginal community of about 350 people, 450 km southeast of Darwin. Half of the population are Mangarrayi people, however there is only one fluent speaker of the language living in the community, Elder Sheila Conway. Today Kriol, a language based on historical English vocabulary with a strong influence from heritage languages of the area, including Mangarrayi, is the one used by most community members in daily life. Some of the second generation or middle-aged community members can understand partially when hearing sentences or conversations on Mangarrayi recordings. They know words here and there but are unable to build full sentences unless prompted, and can get the gist of a sentence or conversation but not understand fully what is being said.

Since the early 1990s there have been a number of language teaching initiatives at Jilkminggan, mostly centring on the Jilkminggan school. Mark Richards, one of the authors of this paper, had his first introduction to the community in this period when he was invited, through the former Diwurrwurru-Jaru language centre in Katherine, to help develop Mangarrayi teaching materials. At that time there was still a small Mangarrayi speech community consisting of eight elderly speakers, providing at least some avenues for community members to engage with the language, if only passively. A number of these speakers, including Sheila Conway, took an active role in these language teaching efforts. Today, age and ill-health make it increasingly difficult for Sheila to commit to teaching Mangarrayi and, with only one fluent speaker in the community, opportunities to hear and use Mangarrayi are now severely limited. For learners of some languages, particularly the more widely spoken ones, the Internet offers the potential to access a range of audio and audiovisual resources in the target language, and even to connect virtually with members of that speech community in the absence of face-to-face interaction with speakers. Whilst there exist several published collections of Mangarrayi texts (Dirn.gayg et al., 1996) Mangarrayi language has no real presence on the Internet. On the other hand, at least 35-40 hours of recordings of Mangarrayi speakers, including Sheila Conway, are stored in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) archive in Canberra. These represent an invaluable source of spoken language for those with an interest in learning Mangarrayi.

Audio documents repatriated to a community have an inherent power by virtue of the ancestral voices contained on the recordings, even when the content can no longer be

understood. However for language learning comprehension is important, so recordings need to be managed in some way to suit this purpose. In 2016 Mark Richards, now a Western Sydney PhD candidate, renewed contact with the Jilkminggan community to explore the possibility of collaboration around the teaching and learning of Mangarrayi. After two preliminary visits, a project was formulated in which co-author Josephine Lardy, niece of Sheila Conway, has been an important community collaborator and co-researcher. As a trained pre-school teacher, she has played an important role in Mangarrayi teaching over a number of years at Jilkminggan. The project has focused on the use of “well-formed utterances” (Amery 2016) in Mangarrayi sourced from archival recordings, within domains of interest to community members, to support language teaching and learning at a beginners level, in particular through the creation of digital resources.

CONTEXT

Traditionally context and place have been important in teaching Mangarrayi:

When Auntie Sheila was able, she liked teaching language by going to the environment or ‘that country’ of a story she had told. She would say: “Let’s go to that place”. The place brings up more things easier, being in the right context to learn in rather than just sitting at the camp, there’s not much to prompt the conversation (Richards & Lardy, 2019).

In the post second world war period researchers began to explore the implications of the relationship between context and language content to develop more effective language teaching practices (Hornby, 1950; van Ek, 1975; Wilkins, 1972). They reasoned that language use is intimately tied

to the context in which it is used, thus the language functions and structures needed to successfully communicate in a given situation could be relatively easily isolated. This idea is at the heart of travel phrase books such as the Berlitz series (dating back to the late 19th century with a focus on the language learning needs of travellers). However, such an approach was soon shown to be too restrictive as the relationship between language and context of use proved to be more complex than initially thought. Wilkins proposed instead that an analysis of the content of utterances most likely to occur in a given situation would reveal language forms of most value to learners (Wilkins, 1972). This underpins the approach we are taking to Mangarrayi revitalisation at Jilkminggan.

CHUNKBANK

Through workshops with community groups in the early phases of the project we identified a number of everyday contexts in which learners wanted to be able to use Mangarrayi (Richards, Jones, Merlan, & MacRitchie, 2019). Bearing this in mind we began developing a database of Mangarrayi 'chunks' sourced from archival audio recordings available to us. A chunk can be defined as any Mangarrayi word string (phrase or sentence), including single

words that can be used to convey something meaningful in a given context. The primary purpose of the database, which we have dubbed Chunkbank, is to provide a repository of potentially useful pre-made Mangarrayi audio chunks that could subsequently be used by community members to create digital learning resources. Mangarrayi audio resources previously available in the community, especially those specifically designed for language learning, often focused on individual vocabulary items, whereas Chunkbank seeks to provide a ready bank of longer communicatively useful utterances.

We adopted an organisational structure adapted from *Threshold 1990* (van Ek & Trim, 1998) based around three parameters: topic, sub-topic and language function to help community members easily locate appropriate language related to topics of interest.

Specification of sub-topics and associated language functions within the broader topic areas was a two-way process. Initially we identified potentially useful categories with reference to *Threshold 1990*, however ultimately it was the available audio data itself that informed the categorisation. Let us consider a Mangarrayi utterance taken from an archival recording by way of example:

na-muj ngan-darlag – The bee stung me
17MR2-015-A

This utterance could be relevant to a number of different contexts. In *Threshold 1990* (van Ek & Trim, 1998 p74) we find a topic *Health & Body* with a sub-topic *Illness*. One of the language functions relevant to illness is explaining the reason for the illness. Thus the utterance could be specified using topic, sub-topic and language function as follows (see Table1):

Table 1: Specification of an utterance using Chunkbank organisational framework

Topic	Sub-topic	Language function	Utterance
Health	Illness	Giving explanation	<i>na-muj ngan-darlag</i>

This three level organisational structure was used as the basis for categorisation of Mangarrayi utterances in an Excel spreadsheet (see Figure 1). For each audio chunk, a transcription and English translation (there is currently no Kriol translation, but this would be desirable in the future) were provided hyperlinked to an mp3 file. The identity of the speaker and the original source of the recording are also provided.

Figure 1: Excerpt from Chunkbank Health & Body, Illness

Topic: Health & Body Care					
Sub-topic	Language	Mangarrayi	English	Sound File	Speaker
Sickness	Asking what's wrong	Jananggarri-ba ga-nya-murrma?	What's wrong with you?	Mang Stories Merlan 13	Sheila Conway
		ga-nya-murrma miliyn-ngangga?	Have you got a sore nose?	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn.gayg
		ngadburr-angga mob nya-mayn?	You broke your hand?/ Did you break your hand?	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn.gayg
		mulugmulug-wa miliyn-ngangga mob nva-mavn?	Did you break your nose?	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn.gayg
	Saying what's wrong	ga-nga-murrma	I'm sick / I feel sick	Mang Stories Merlan 20	Sheila Conway
		dara-nganju ga-nga-murrma	I have a sore stomach/ stomach ache	Mang Stories Merlan 20	Sheila Conway
		ga-nga-murrma dara-nganju	I have a sore stomach/ stomach ache	Mang Stories Merlan 20	Sheila Conway
		bab-naaniu lirlil naa-ma	My head hurts		
	Giving explanation for sickness	bordewg mangaya nga-jirray	Maybe I ate something bad	Mang Stories Merlan 18	Sheila Conway
		ngurlg mamayanggan	old fat	Mang Stories Merlan 18	Sheila Conway
		galiya nga-yinyi	I went (walked) a long way	Mang Stories Merlan 16	Sheila Conway
	Giving advice	yag mayawa gurrwaran-garlama medicine-gu	Go now to the doctor for medicine	Mang Stories Merlan 22	Sheila Conway
		a-nyan-wu-n a-nya-yag barnam-garlama a-nya-vu	When he has given it to you to camp and you should sleep	Mang Stories Merlan 22	Sheila Conway
	Saying what action you are going to take	jard ga-nga-jaygi-n mamaya ga-nga-yu	I'm going back to camp first to sleep	Mang Stories Merlan 14	Sheila Conway
		jard ga-nga-jaygin barnam-garlama	I'm going back to camp	Mang Stories Merlan 20	Sheila Conway

In order to explore how Chunkbank might contribute to the goal of resource creation we used a design-based methodology developed specifically for observational research in rich, complex learning environments (Bell, 2004). The language learning and teaching context at Jilkminggan is complex because it is made up of a number of interwoven strands. Those taking on the mantle of language teachers in the community are themselves learners of the language, although they still have access to support from Sheila Conway. In addition, as is the case in many Indigenous Australian language programs, external linguistic expertise is also available on an irregular basis.

As part of the research we developed a real world rather than simulated learning task (Jonassen, 2011; Spector et al., 2013) that required use of Mangarrayi audio chunks to complete. A group of community members was asked to create short scripts in Mangarrayi around the sub-topic *Sickness* within the general topic of *Health*. They would subsequently use these to create short videos that could serve as Mangarrayi learning resources. To complete the script a computer with a Chunkbank spreadsheet containing utterances relating to the sub-topic *Sickness*, as well as a digital Mangarrayi-English-Mangarrayi dictionary was made available to each group. Researcher Mark Richards provided some formal metalinguistic training (language structure and grammar) as well as offering informal support to participants. This process was filmed and documented over a one-week period.

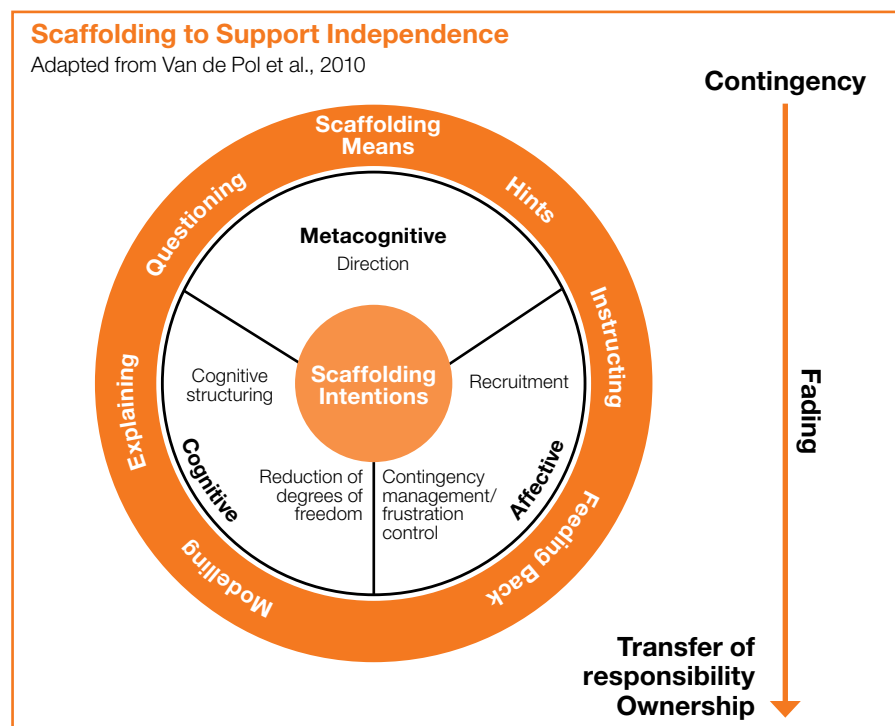
SCAFFOLDING FRAMEWORK

We used a conceptual framework developed by van de Pol, Volman & Beishuizen (2010) based on the concept of *scaffolding*, a notion widely used in education contexts today, to analyse the role that Chunkbank played in this environment. The scaffolding metaphor was originally borrowed from the construction industry by Wood et al. (1976) to describe the behaviour of an adult to support a child in solving a task by “controlling” those aspects of a task that are beyond the child’s capacity, allowing them to focus on the things they are able to do. The adult is seen as an “expert” who uses their knowledge and skills to help the child or “novice” otherwise incapable of completing the task on their own. It is contentious in the literature whether a resource itself can function as a scaffold in the strict sense. However, for some researchers digital tools can constitute an “enabling environment” (Meyer et al., 2008) to support learners through a form of mediated interaction (Moore, 1973).

Van de Pol et al. based their framework on a meta-analysis of studies using scaffolding. Crucially they identify three key elements, without which support offered to a learner cannot be strictly seen as scaffolding – *Contingency*, *Fading* and *Transfer of responsibility and ownership*. Contingency requires the support to be at or slightly above the level of the student, necessitating an assessment of learners’ current level of knowledge or skills. Fading and transfer of responsibility are related concepts. The scaffolding, as the metaphor would suggest, needs to be gradually withdrawn as the learner gains appropriate knowledge, skills and confidence and takes more responsibility for their learning. They identify five reasons you might want to support a learner, which they refer to as *scaffolding intentions* within three

domains – metacognitive (strategies for learning), cognitive (strategies for thinking) and affective (relating to attitude and emotions). They also identify six *scaffolding means* – that is, what you might do to give support (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Schema representing scaffolding framework of van de Pol et al. (2010)



In the metacognitive domain:

Direction maintenance refers to keeping the learning on target and maintaining the learner’s pursuit of a particular objective.

In the cognitive domain:

Cognitive structuring relates to the conceptual systems that students are operating with, to organise their thinking and justify their beliefs.

Reduction of the degrees of freedom entails simplification of the task for the student so it is achievable.

In the affective domain:

Recruitment refers to getting students interested in a task and helping them remain on task.

Contingency management & frustration control maintains student motivation and encourages them to work at their best, using rewards and punishments and through minimisation of frustration.

Scaffolding means:

Feeding back: giving students some kind of feedback as to how well they are performing in the task.

The giving of hints: giving students clues or hints as to how they can move forward without, however providing the whole answer.

Instructing: explicitly telling students what to do or how or why something should be done.

Explaining: providing more detailed information or clarification.

Modelling: this can include the demonstration of particular skills.

Questioning: asking students questions that require an active linguistic and cognitive answer.

Scaffolding is constituted by a combination of scaffolding intention with a scaffolding means.

The video making-task involved a number of different elements that could potentially contribute to the successful completion of the task and, as previously mentioned, Chunkbank was one of these. In the last section of this paper we will discuss firstly how we thought Chunkbank could be interpreted as Scaffolding, using the framework outlined above, before considering some preliminary findings suggesting the role it played in the Jilkminggan context.

CHUNKBANK AS SCAFFOLDING

Although the analysis of the observational data from the video creation sessions is yet to be completed, we can offer some preliminary insights. Firstly, however, we will outline four ways in which we hypothesised participants might use the Chunkbank resource during the sessions and how these could constitute scaffolding, remembering that a scaffolding strategy requires both a scaffolding intention and a scaffolding means.

1. *Reduction of degrees of freedom + Modelling*

Mangarrayi uses a range of prefixes and suffixes to convey grammatical relations. The chunks provide ready-made audio exemplars, including authentic pronunciation and stress and intonation patterns. Learners could memorise and use these to communicate at a basic level without having to learn complex grammatical rules.

2. *Recruitment + Modelling*
The voices on the original recordings from which the chunks are derived are those of respected community members, many of whom have now passed away, imbuing them with authority. This is likely to increase motivation to engage with them.

3. *Direction maintenance + Explaining*
The three level organisational structure of Chunkbank helps keep learners focused on appropriate language to communicate in a given context.

4. *Contingency (a prerequisite for scaffolding)*
In the Jilkmanggan context those taking on a language teaching role are themselves learners of Mangarrayi. Ready-made chunks of Mangarrayi are accessible to learners with limited knowledge of grammar or the structure of the language. Use of these can therefore be said to provide learning, which is Contingent - at or slightly above the level of the learner.

We used the Nvivo 12 software package designed for qualitative and mixed-method research to analyse the video data from the

sessions, which allowed us to note each time we identified a scaffolding means or intention. Our initial hypothesis suggested that one possible function of the Chunkbank resource was to model correct Mangarrayi form and usage, and preliminary analysis bears this out. By selecting one Mangarrayi utterance from each of the functional categories in the sub-topic *Sickness*, participants in the script writing sessions were able to create a simple narrative. The Mangarrayi exemplars provided models that participants could use without having to understand the grammar underpinning their structure, and the organisational structure of the Chunkbank itself gave participants direction. This can then be seen as a scaffolding strategy involving *Modelling + Direction maintenance*.

As was discussed earlier, the three-tiered specification of utterances in Chunkbank, together with an English translation were designed to support understanding of meaning and usage of the Mangarrayi utterances. Linguists use a system of notation (interlinear gloss) written beneath words and affixes in transcriptions of an utterance to give an

indication of grammatical function which can be hard to understand without specialist knowledge. In the version of Chunkbank that was used for the early sessions there were no grammar glosses provided as we were unsure whether such an addition would be helpful. Instead participants were given some explicit instruction of important metalinguistic terms and Mangarrayi grammar, in particular, verbal structure, which functions in significantly different ways from English and is central to comprehension of many Mangarrayi utterances. Although the majority of participants expressed a negative perception of grammar in surveys conducted as part of the research, they also said that they hoped to learn how to put Mangarrayi sentences together and in post-interviews expressed satisfaction at some specific knowledge they had gained. When shown a version of Chunbank with the inclusion of non-technical, colour-coded grammar glosses (see Figure 3) there was a general consensus that this would be helpful. The addition of glossing could constitute a scaffolding strategy involving *Reduction of degrees of freedom together with Explanation*.

Figure 3: Excerpt from Chunkbank Health & Body, Illness with grammar glossing

Topic: Health & Body Care					
Sub-topic	Language	Mangarrayi	English	Sound File	Speaker
Sickness	Asking what's wrong	Jananggarri-ba ga-nya-murra? What? main word Pres you sick	What's wrong with you?	Mang Stories Merlan 13 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		ga-nya-murra miliyn-ngangga? Pres you sore nose your	Have you got a sore nose?	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn. gayg
		ngadbur-angga mob nya-mayn? hand your break you	You broke your hand? / Did you	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn. gayg
		mulugmulug-wa miliyn-ngangga mob yesterday Emph nose your broke	Did you break your nose yesterday?	MR2-003-B	Amy Dirn. gayg
	Saying what's wrong	ga-nga-murra Pres sick	I'm sick / I feel sick	Mang Stories Merlan 20 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		dara-nganju ga-nga-murra stomach my Pres sore	I have a sore stomach / stomach	Mang Stories Merlan 20 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		ga-nga-murra dara-nganju Pres sore stomach my	I have a sore stomach/ stomach ache	Mang Stories Merlan 20 MR2-015-B	Sheila Conway
		bab-nganju na-miyarr-nganju garrag- head my with forehead my whole lot	my head, my forehead the whole lot is burning	Mang Stories Merlan 14 MR-015-A	Sheila Conway
	Giving explanation for sickness	borderw mangaya nga-jirray bad maybe I/it ate (Past)	Maybe I ate something bad	Mang Stories Merlan 18 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		ngurlg mamayanggan animal fat old	old fat	Mang Stories Merlan 18 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		galiya nga-yinyi long way walked (Past)	I went (walked) a long way	Mang Stories Merlan 16 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
	Giving advice	yag mayawa gurrwaran-garlama go now doctor to	Go now to the doctor for medicine	Mang Stories Merlan 22 MR2-015-B	Sheila Conway
		a-nyan-wu-n a-nya-yag barnam- will give he/you should you go camp to	When he has given it to you should to camp and you should sleep	Mang Stories Merlan 22 MR2-015-B	Sheila Conway
	Saying what you are going to take	jard ga-nga-jaygi-n mamaya ga-nga- go back Pres first Pres	I'm going back to camp first to sleep	Mang Stories Merlan 14 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		jard ga-nga-jaygin barnam-garlama go back Pres camp to	I'm going back to camp	Mang Stories Merlan 20 MR2-015-B	Sheila Conway
		a-nga-wurrbarjin-gu a-nga-ninga-n will I get better might I come	I'll come back when I feel better	Mang Stories Merlan 14 MR2-015-A	Sheila Conway
		gurrwaran-garlama ga-nga-yag	I'm going to the doctor	Mang Stories Merlan 19 MR2-015-B	Sheila Conway

CONCLUSION

A language learning context in which there are few fluent speakers of the target language represents a challenge for both teachers and learners. The teachers themselves are often also learners not fluent in the language, as in the case of the Jilkmिंगgan community. Older audio documents offer one avenue of support for the teaching and learning of Mangarrayi. However, as these documents were not created with this in mind, strategies need to be put in place to adapt them to suit the needs of teachers and learners. In this article we have discussed one approach to the repurposing of audio recordings involving the creation of a bank of shorter, communicatively useful utterances, organised around topic, sub-topic and language function, together with English translation. Preliminary results of an observational research study using this resource at Jilkmिंगgan suggest that this resource can scaffold learning, by modelling correct language usage, to support development of a basic level of communication, through strategies such as repetition and memorisation. Furthermore, feedback from participants in the study suggests that the addition of non-technical grammar glosses can help learners develop their understanding of the structure of the target language without requiring comprehensive grammatical knowledge. In this way the exemplars not only provide models to be copied, but can also function as templates that could help learners generalise learning to other contexts, allowing a higher level of language development.

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Mark Richards

A language teacher of many years' standing - French, Latin and TESOL - in adult, secondary and primary contexts. His focus has always been on developing materials and teaching strategies to engage students and help them more effectively learn relevant language content. His M.Phil project in 1994 involved the development of language teaching materials for teaching Mangarrayi, an Aboriginal language from the Roper river area, at the Jilkmिंगgan school in the Northern Territory. His current PhD research involves working with the Jilkmिंगgan community to investigate ways in which archival audio documentation can be repurposed to support language revitalisation.

Josephine Lardy

A Mangarrayi woman living at Jilkmिंगgan. Her aunt, Elder Sheila Conway, was instrumental in the foundation of the community. Josephine is a trained early childhood teacher and has worked as a classroom teacher at the Jilkmिंगgan school. In the last 20 years she has played an important role in Mangarrayi teaching projects and resource creation at the school. She is a fluent Kriol speaker and is currently working as Community 'Book Buzz' Consultant at the Indigenous Literacy Foundation for the Katherine region.



MEETING COMMUNITY ASPIRATIONS:

THE CURRENT STATE OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN NSW

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ABSTRACT

This is a brief overview of the current state of Aboriginal languages being taught in education programs in New South Wales (NSW). It provides a background to Aboriginal Languages teaching in the state and focuses on three languages with the longest history of teaching and running an extensive array of revival activities: Gumbaynggirr, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay (GY). The reflections that

we draw from these well-known programs provide insights into the challenges being met as communities of Aboriginal people and language activists look to re-invigorate their languages for broader use in schools. It is our view that the tasks that need to be put in place are complex. The authors argue that while government has established a policy regime for this work to occur, its implementation has as yet not met the aspirations of both language workers and possibly even government.

KEY WORDS

Language revival, Indigenous languages, First Nation languages, New South Wales Indigenous languages, Gumbaynggirr, Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay, Wiradjuri.

INTRODUCTION

This is a brief overview of the current state of Aboriginal languages being taught in education programs in New South Wales (NSW). It provides a background to Aboriginal Languages teaching in the state and focuses on three languages with the longest history of teaching and running an extensive array of revival activities: Gumbaynggirr, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay (GY). The reflections that we draw from these well-known programs provide insights into the challenges being met as communities of Aboriginal people and language activists look to re-invigorate their languages for broader use in schools. It is our view that the tasks that need to be put in place are complex. The authors argue that while government has established a policy regime for this work to occur, its implementation has as yet not met the aspirations of both language workers and possibly even government.

There has been sustained community attention to language revival activities since the 1990s, (Hobson, Lowe, Poetsch, & Walsh, 2010), and government policy has followed. NSW Aboriginal Affairs has supported language revival with policy co-ordination and funding since 1998. The NSW Aboriginal Languages K-12 Syllabus was published in 2003 (Board of Studies New South Wales, 2003). It provided a broad framework for teaching programs and contributed to a significant growth in the number of programs operating (Cavanagh, 2005; Lane, 2010; McNaboe & Poetsch, 2010). Language activists have made clear the need for community input and partnership/s that are established to support program development and delivery and that provide community wide advocacy that sustains long term commitments to these language reclamation efforts.

During the decade of the 1990s language revival work was being undertaken by small groups of dedicated language activists and sometimes with the support of schools and

other institutions. By and large this work was locally driven by those who were committed to the task of reclaiming the Aboriginal languages and who drove the momentum for greater support from government to aid this work. This work resulted in language teaching and sometimes in the publication of learning materials (Giacon & Betts, 1999) and other resources including songbooks and CDs. As early as 1998, the NSW Board of Studies published a small but influential text that captured these efforts to develop language programs in schools (NSW Board of Studies, 1998). These efforts were encouraged by the process of developing the first NSW Aboriginal Languages Policy and its adoption (NSW Department of Environment Climate Change and Water, 2009).

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

Colonisers across the North Americas, Pacific, New Zealand and Australia sought to destroy local Indigenous languages while local people have fought rear guard actions to retain and use as much of their ancestral culture as was possible, given the efforts that were applied to their demise (Bell, 2013). Both authors have spoken to Aboriginal people who were punished for using their language when they were children at school, or whose parents did not teach them language so that they would not be removed from their family (see also McNaboe & Poetsch, 2010).

Recently however, there has been a huge increase in the public use of and learning of



Figure 1: Yaama 'Hello' in Gamilaraay; South Tamworth Library (Giacon, 2019)

Australian languages - a welcome and long overdue change. Statistics compiled by First Languages Australia (2018) indicate the growth of language learning. In 2010 some 7,986 students from 36 schools were learning one of 13 Aboriginal languages and in 2011, 532 students had undertaken a Certificate level course in an Aboriginal language at TAFE. As part of the NSW Ochre Plan, released in 2013, Aboriginal Language and Culture Nests were established in schools, increasing the number of schools offering an Aboriginal language program to 60 by 2016. Cavanagh (2005) and Maier (2010) point out the very positive outcome of two school programs. Aboriginal languages are increasingly used publicly. For instance, Wiradjuri (and other languages) have been proudly and prominently used in Parliament (for example, by Linda Burney in 2016), in public signs, including street signage (Anderson, 2010) and in schools and TAFE.

LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION AND REVIVAL

Until around 1990, NSW Aboriginal languages had experienced almost two centuries of loss (Kikkawa, 2015; McConwell & Thieberger, 2001). Languages declined rapidly where there was a large non-Indigenous population, but were fluently spoken longer in more remote areas until the 1980s, as evidenced by linguistic recordings made by the likes of Tamsin Donaldson, Luise Hercus and others during that period.

Records were made of many languages. These have proven valuable for language revival efforts, though they vary greatly in quality and quantity. Walsh (pers. com. 2019) points out that for Yitha Yitha (southwestern NSW) only around 40 single words have been recorded. The records of the Sydney language are more extensive (see <https://www.williamdawes.org/sydneylanguage.html>). Other languages have even more extensive records. For instance, the tapes of Liza Kennedy and her fellow language speakers made by Donaldson include very complex Wangaaybuwan, often explained by Liza.

The beginnings of the 1990s appeared to be a watershed, as there was a greater level of interest in language revival efforts, starting with Gumbaynggirr, and soon after, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay (Giacon & Lowe, 2016). The early stages of language revival typically involve a small group of community members and a linguist. They work with historical sources to analyse the language, adopt an orthography and begin teaching the language. Analysis usually leads to an initial dictionary and grammar of the language, such as Grant and Rudder (2001), Ash et al. (2003), Morelli (2008), and Jones, Chandler & Lowe (2010). If research continues, these may be expanded and updated (Giacon, 2017; Grant & Rudder, 2010, 2014; Morelli, 2015; Morelli, Walker, & Williams, 2017). These works usually provide the content for language revival, and those doing the research are generally the first teachers of the language. These works all use very similar orthographies, which are close to those of many other Australian languages.

Language revival typically involves the development of new words and structures to express new concepts, such as 'computer' and to 'fill the gaps' in recorded language. Only a small proportion of vocabulary and structure of any NSW Aboriginal language has been recorded, so those gaps need to be filled. For example, while traditional greetings

were rarely recorded in the past, new ones have developed (e.g. *yaluu* and *baayandhu* for farewells in GY), using a range of recently adopted processes. Further, words were borrowed long ago for some new 'colonial' realities of occupation and control (*dhimba* 'sheep', *gandjibal* 'police' in GY), while other processes continue, such as the call for languages to establish ways of counting that are consistent with Indigenous epistemologies (Roberts, 1998).

LANGUAGE USE, TEACHING LEARNING

Communities often have the aspiration to speak their languages across generations, but they can easily feel discouraged when learning relatively simple language takes longer than expected, and fluent language can look a very distant prospect. Yet, these community aspirations emanate out of the traumas of language loss as a consequence of past policies that forcibly denied communities the right to speak and teach in their own languages (Walsh, 2005; Zuckermann, 2013), and they are linked to the community memory of when Aboriginal people were punished for using their language as children at school, or whose parents did not teach them language so that they would not be removed from their family (see McNaboe & Poetsch, 2010). The evidence would suggest that communities see language revival efforts as an act of resistance, which Fettes (1998) has defined as a counter attack against cultural subjugation, to these efforts that sought to rob Aboriginal people not only their ancestral Country, but of the capacity to use language, including through the enforced engagement with schools and the privileging of English over all languages.

While these comments are largely reflective of schools and government agencies, equally there has been a long history of some government agencies, discussed later, which have taken an active role in supporting community/school efforts to reclaim and teach Aboriginal languages (Hobson et al., 2010).

HOPES, OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

The public and frequent use of Aboriginal languages is a powerful change, a constant reminder of the rightful status of the original people of this land. It can take just one word, or a song, to powerfully convey this message. But many had hoped for much more, for conversational use of language, even to be able to put English aside for extended periods. As we know from second language learning, if fluency is the aim, this requires long periods of study, as well as the teachers, texts and other materials that support this. A particular challenge of language revival is that learners can rarely immerse themselves in language and/or access a range of oral, let alone written texts. Consequently, the task of language learning is intimately linked to the equally complex task of building a reservoir of resources that will support learning across all school ages, along with a variety of adult learning environments.

However, though these concerns are significant and telling on communities seeking to undertake work on their languages, in NSW there has been significant official government support for Indigenous languages, firstly in the area of learning languages (ACARA, 2012, 2013; Board of Studies NSW, 1998; Board of

Studies, 2003; NSW Government, 2017). The NSW government has also committed to fund six 'language nests' as part of the Ochre Plan (NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 2013) which were set up to support community and school language development in strategic locations across the state.

More recently, the NSW Government passed the Aboriginal Languages Act (2017), which, as an Australian first, set out to establish a statutory Trust to develop and enact an Aboriginal Languages Strategic Plan in support of communities' aspirations for language reclamation. These are significant policy changes that offer real opportunities for Aboriginal people across NSW to work in collaboration with educational institutions, including pre-schools, schools, TAFE and universities to support language teaching and learning and associated reclamation efforts.

However, while these policies and legislation are being put in place, there is a range of issues that also need to be addressed as either part of this plan, or beside it, to strengthen the efforts to increase linguistic research in support of community aspirations, to increase the number of trained teachers to support schools wanting to take up the challenges, and to teach any one of the over 50 NSW languages.

Currently there are few opportunities for teachers to learn the languages of NSW to the depth needed for them to then teach the language at school. There are, at present, introductory university courses in Gamilaraay (ANU and Sydney) and Wiradjuri (Charles Sturt University), but these are not easily accessible to teachers from locations where those languages are taught in schools. The Masters of Indigenous Languages Education (MILE) at Sydney University has a very good record of graduating teachers to teach a language, but it is not a program designed to teach language fluency.

This problem is not unique to NSW or even Australia, and so it is interesting that the Provincial Government of British Columbia has invested a good part of a CA\$50 million grant to have universities in the province develop and teach undergraduate and post-graduate course for both language proficiency and language acquisition (B.C. Gov. News, 2018). This issue of building a critical mass of fluent speakers was seen as vital if these endangered Indigenous languages are to survive. One attempt to make advanced learning of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages more accessible has been through the Australian Indigenous Languages Institute (AILI). The AILI is a collaboration between Charles Darwin University and ANU to develop a series of Summer School and Winter School programs to support intense language learning and related studies, starting with a small number of NSW and Northern Territory languages, and other introductory subjects. Other attempts are through online language and cultural courses, such as the Bininj Kunwok course (Bow, this issue), which is also supported by Charles Darwin University and the Australian National University.

Perhaps the most important need in NSW and all of Australia at present is a sound understanding of the processes of revival and maintenance and having realistic expectations of what is possible in language reawakening. Approaches which draws on the extensive overseas experience of revival will avoid some of the pitfalls that have seen programs collapse

as a consequence of poor language planning, under-resourcing and limited impact in schools. While teachers themselves won't be able to impact on all of these issues, experience in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Canada and parts of the United States have demonstrated that the training of language proficient teachers of local languages is essential if programs are to have a long-term impact.

There are significant risks in not getting these issues resolved and not having a clearly stated strategy in place that supports local aspirations by establishing programs that support quality language research, language proficiency, language teaching and quality resource development, including the use of robust technology solutions to aid in creating and storing resources.

A further issue needing management relates to the impact of the fragmentation in basic language work. When disparate groups of language activists work in isolation or in opposition to others' efforts, there is a significant risk of duplication of resources and of fragmentation of the language corpus. This potential issue can have considerable impact on language development and learners' language.

The issues surrounding community advocacy and support for language teaching and learning are vital, even when key decisions are held up while community debate is undertaken. It has long been argued that a successful community driven project is underpinned by robust planning, cohesion in the setting of high order outcomes and good governance (see Feez & Kirkbright, 2006). One example is school language programs. As there are many challenges in setting up a substantial Aboriginal language course in a school, strong support from the principal is seen to be essential. Programs will often fade with the arrival of a new principal, who may only have a lukewarm attachment to these ephemeral cultural initiatives, and doesn't have the knowledge or capacity to re-negotiate changes with language teachers and community advocates (Lowe, 2016).

A further issue that has been seen to stifle progress in both language teaching and learning, is that many of the teachers of NSW languages being revived only have access to a limited body of resources to support their own learning, let alone that of their students. Most if not all NSW languages are under-resourced, supported with little more than grammars and dictionaries and locally made resources. While it has been suggested that this inevitably leads to individual interpretations and local 'innovations', the bigger problem is that teachers find it difficult to keep students' interest when they are forced to reuse the same limited language materials even though students move through the stages of learning as they become more fluent.

Teachers of any one language also need regular meetings, to share resources and to discuss the many unique challenges they face, including, sustaining language development, addressing the need for quality research to support the aspirations of all language groups across the state. We further argue that greater efforts need to be taken to support language learning amongst children and adults alike, developing programs that lift language proficiency, the development of high-quality language resources and pedagogical templates to support learning, and identify

how these can be contextualised to suit local language environments. We are on the cusp of a potential revolution in the reclamation of the unique Aboriginal languages of NSW.

CONCLUSION

This brief journey across the NSW Aboriginal language landscape, identifies the enormous potential for change to occur and for language reclamation to move forward to meet the aspirations of communities. It is a time of great development and passionate interest in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. Significant programs have been developed and are being taught in many communities and schools across the state. Gumbaynggirr, Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay (GY) are being taught in preschools, primary and some secondary schools, and in several higher education institutions across NSW, and other languages are on a similar trajectory.

The changed policy landscape has the potential to usher in a paradigm shift in the government support for Aboriginal languages across the state, especially if the new state strategic plan can put in place strategies that substantively address major issues such as bringing the higher education sector to the table to support teacher training, collaborative linguistic research with local communities, and establish a funding regime that would sustain such activities. There are also the ongoing issues surrounding the research required to work with local advocates and teachers in building opportunities to develop greater language knowledge.

Language revival is in a transition between the initial phase, which involved a small group who took on many tasks including research, analysis, teaching, administration, publication and advocacy. Now a great number of people are using the materials produced by those pioneers to teach language. As the pioneers age, a new generation of language work needs to be done to supplement and move beyond these original materials so that they can underpin high order learning in Years 11-12 in school and at even greater depth in University and TAFE.

The NSW Government has committed to support its Aboriginal languages by establishing a NSW Aboriginal Languages Trust, which will develop a language strategy that has the enormous potential to shift languages to a new level by supporting the great progress already made and addressing the challenges.

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John Giacon

Has worked on Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay (GY) since 1994, in Walgett till 2005 and later in Canberra, where he completed his PhD on the languages in 2014. He has been involved in producing the GY dictionary and many other resources and teaches Gamilaraay at Sydney and ANU. He received the 2017 Patji-Dawes award for outstanding language teaching.



AN APPROACH TO GAMILARAAY CULTURE IN UNIVERSITY COURSES

Hilary A Smith, Australian National University

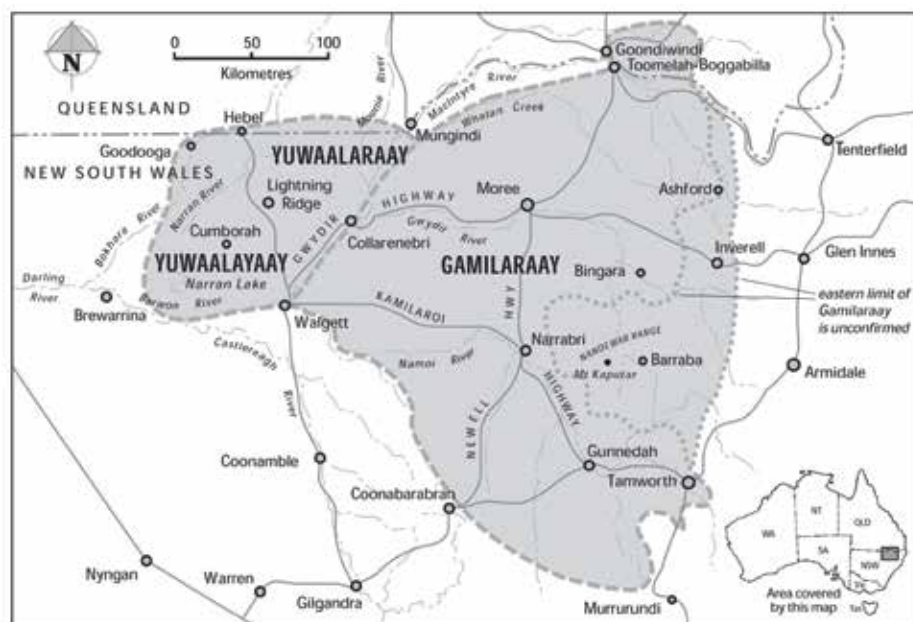
ABSTRACT

This report outlines the approach taken in developing a set of background materials to support the teaching and revival of Gamilaraay language from northern inland New South Wales. The Gamilaraay language course has been developed for university level in face-to-face mode, and recently extended to online mode. Students include

Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians as well as International students. Since the course is written and led by a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers off-country, the aim of the background materials is to include the perspectives and voices of more Gamilaraay people on Gamilaraay country, covering aspects of culture, colonisation, stolen generations, resistance, rebuilding, healing and reconciliation.

KEY WORDS

Aboriginal languages, Australian Aboriginal Languages, language revival, Gamilaraay language, Indigenous perspectives, online language learning, university language learning.



INTRODUCTION: GAMILARAAY LANGUAGE REVIVAL

The traditional Gamilaraay lands, together with related Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaalayaay lands, are in northern inland New South Wales and southern Queensland (Figure 1).

These languages are no longer used in everyday communication (Smith, Giacon and McLean, 2017), although they have high value as a sign of belonging to the particular community and land (Simpson, 2014; and see Lowe and Giacon, this issue). For example, written Gamilaraay can be seen in the names of Aboriginal organisations (Figure 2) and memorials (Figure 3), and spoken Gamilaraay is increasingly part of welcomes in formal events in schools and the wider community.

Figure 1: Approximate traditional areas of Gamilaraay and related languages. (Ash, Giacon, & Lissarrague, 2003, p. 2, permission granted)



Figure 2: Sign in Gamilaraay and English at entrance to Winanga-Li Aboriginal Child and Family Centre. Photo © Hilary Smith



Figure 3: Memorial plaque in Gamilaraay and English at the Myall Creek Massacre site. Photo © Hilary Smith

The Gamilaraay language has been taught for several years at the Australian National University in Canberra and The University of Sydney. The course has been developed for tertiary level in face-to-face mode, and recently extended to online mode.

The students in these university courses are a mix of Gamilaraay and other Indigenous Australian students, as well as non-Indigenous Australians and a small number of international students from a wide variety of countries. The course increases their understanding of an Australian language and culture, and of Australian Aboriginal languages and cultures more generally.

The major aim of the course is to support the revival of Gamilaraay language. This aim is met by resourcing the students with a formal understanding of the language in order to build a foundation for current and future teachers of Gamilaraay, based on a strong understanding of grammar and pronunciation.

The revival aim is also supported through discussion of some of the linguistic and cultural issues involved in language revival. For example, the development of new words (neologisms) is an ongoing requirement for the language to meet the demands of modern life or where words were not recorded from the last fluent speakers (see Giacon, 2014). Recent

education cases are the development of colour words for "pink" and "purple", and for flower and bush tucker (food) "gardens". A resource on Gamilaraay pronunciation (Figure 4) was developed for Winanga-Li, and is also useful for the university setting (see <http://winanga-li.org.au/index.php/home/yaama-gamilaraay/>, for further resources).

In response to feedback from students these discussions around language revival have been extended to include background to the loss of the Gamilaraay language, and the role of language revival in Gamilaraay communities.

Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay Guwaa-Ida-ya Speak !

 barran boomerang	a As in 'cut'	aa As in 'cart'	waaruu crow	
 bagay river	ay As in 'bay'	aay As in 'buy'	dhagaay yellowbelly	
 bigibila echidna	i As in 'fit'	ii As in 'feet'	giidjaa ant	
 mudhay brush-tailed possum	u As in 'book'	uu As in 'boot'	dhuu smoke	

b As in 'bin'	d As in 'duck'	dh Like 'd' but with the tip of your tongue	dj Like in 'judge'	g As in 'go'
l As in 'low'	m As in 'me'	n As in 'no'	ng* One sound as in 'singer' - not two sounds as in 'finger'	nh Like 'n' but with the tip of your tongue between your teeth
ny Like in 'onion'	r As in 'run'	rr A rolled 'r', like some Italian people say	w As in 'way', but silent before 'u' at the start of a word	y As in 'yes', but silent before 'i' at the start

* When 'n' is followed by 'g' as two sounds we put a full stop between them, and 'ng' can be followed by 'g' as two sounds. So we get 'dhanga' (heel), 'dhan.gay' (puddle), and 'dhanggal' (large mussel).

Yaama Gamilaraay! 2019
Artwork: Anthony Conlan, Daisy Jaeger.
Design: Hilary Smith
Linguistics advice: John Giacon
www.winanga-li.org.au

For details and more information, see www.yuwaalaraay.com

AMC CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE FOR THE DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE
Gunnedah Preschool
NSW Education
Australian National University
Winanga-Li Aboriginal Child & Family Centre

Revised 15 August 2010

Figure 4: Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay pronunciation chart, resource from Winanga-Li Aboriginal Child and Family Centre. Used with permission

THE GAMILARAAY VOICES PROJECT

Since the course is planned and delivered by non-Indigenous teachers out of the traditional Gamilaraay lands, we have considered it important that the course presents Gamilaraay perspectives, and have initiated a Gamilaraay Voices project to develop a set of materials for this purpose. As background we researched other online Australian language and culture courses, for example the Noongar course from Curtin University (<https://www.edx.org/course/noongar-language-and-culture>).

The Gamilaraay Voices project consists of a series of themes. For each one we provide input materials, followed by discussion questions to focus on the language aspects that have been raised. Students then write a personal reflection essay as part of their course assessment.

There are two main parts of the project, which is still being developed:

1. Existing sources

We located as many print, audio, and audio-visual materials by Gamilaraay people as we

could which referred to Gamilaraay language, as well as historical material, which included information from Gamilaraay (and Yuwaalaraay) people. These materials are in a wide range of genres including academic articles, poetry, online interviews, and video material.

Starting with the materials rather than a pre-determined set of topics was a key factor in prioritising the Gamilaraay perspectives.

We discussed the first draft with a small informal reference group of Gamilaraay university students to get their feedback, which was very supportive.

2. Filming of new material

We obtained a grant to work with the Winanga-Li Aboriginal Child and Family Centre in Gunnedah to film material on Gamilaraay country (Figure 5) to supplement the previously existing material. We have an established relationship with the centre through other language revival work, and this enabled us to follow cultural protocols of building on relationships to locate interviewees. A guided interview schedule was developed, and we visited several towns around Gunnedah to carry out interviews with around twelve

members of the wider Winanga-Li community of staff, family and friends. Interviewees included elders, adults, and children. If participants were not comfortable being filmed, their interviews were audio-recorded for use with other photographic material. Although we had originally hoped that the interviews would include more Gamilaraay language, few of those interviewed were confident enough to speak Gamilaraay in this situation.

The resulting footage has provided us with a rich repertoire of stories, which we hope will bring each of the themes alive. An example from an interview with a Gamilaraay elder is shown, along with that of his 15-year old great-granddaughter and the possum skin they worked on together. These show how the policies of colonisation prevented Gamilaraay from being passed down the generations as a spoken language, but that current positive attitudes towards Gamilaraay language are part of a renewal of cultural pride.

Figure 5: View over Gamilaraay lands east of Gunnedah. Photo © Hilary Smith





Barry Sampson

"I was born in Caroon, down near Quirindi, one of nine children. We had it very hard back in those days. Our parents couldn't teach us the language – if they were caught teaching us the language they'd be locked up, or put off the mission. So that's the reason why we never spoke our language.

"It was very hard, and I'm glad they're bringing it into the schools now, so the younger generation can learn it – so they can pass it on as they grow."

Photo © Hilary Smith



Ryli Johnson

"There wasn't much [Gamilaraay language], but my Pop would always tell me stories about how he would learn how to use language and stuff. It hasn't really been a really big aspect in our [life] growing up, because obviously we weren't born into the culture like we were back in the olden days. You just had to learn language cos that was the only way you could speak cos English wasn't around then.

"It would be amazing to learn it well cos there's so many words that you think, "Wow!" It's a big reality shock when you hear the words, and it's also great hearing when people speak it. It brings me joy and hope cos I know that's my culture."

Photo © Janine Way



"Existence" by Ryli Johnson

"[The possum skin] represented all the women, all the important aspects in my life and also the women that are involved in my life, so it was a very big eye opener for me, cos I haven't really experienced that sort of stuff before.

"The goanna is my totem, my tribe totem, and it plays a big part in my culture as well because that's where we come from, and our animal that is our spirit animal.

"My Pop he is a big aspect in my life and he has a perfect mind and he draws a lot, and he's taught me how to line the goanna up with other stuff. I've learned all the stuff from him and I sit down and talk to him about culture, like what his days were when he was little."

Photo © Hilary Smith

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The responses in the classroom-based trials of the existing source materials have been very positive, from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. The project will be evaluated more formally as it progresses. Responses from community members who took part in our filming project were also very positive, as it allowed their stories to be told and saved for the future.

We hope that this personal perspective will help in understanding the ongoing effects of invasion of land, massacres, segregated schooling, and lack of opportunity, as a means to healing and reconciliation.

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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COLLABORATIVELY DESIGNING AN ONLINE COURSE TO TEACH AN AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE AT UNIVERSITY

Catherine Bow, Charles Darwin University and Australian National University

ABSTRACT

The lack of opportunities to study Indigenous languages at tertiary level in Australia highlights the devaluing of Indigenous languages and cultures in Australia. Innovation in methods of delivery is required, to enable Indigenous language authorities to configure their own arrangements of content and pedagogy in collaboration with university academics, to comply with the different requirements of each group. Some of the identified challenges of developing university courses for Indigenous languages include shortages of resources, teachers, students, and

personal connections. This paper describes an experiment in mobilising digital technologies to develop new approaches through the collaborative design of an online university course teaching the Kunwinjku language (Bininj Kunwok) of the Northern Territory, using a Digital Language Shell. This paper argues that collaborative work in this space can serve to create new resources, teachers, students and personal connections in the learning of Indigenous languages. Such work has potential to engage Indigenous language authorities and integrate Indigenous language and knowledge practices in the academic life of Australian universities.

KEY WORDS

Indigenous languages, Australian Aboriginal languages, collaborative design, online teaching, Kunwinjku, Bininj Kunwok.

INTRODUCTION

The state of Australian Indigenous languages has been in decline since colonisation, with only a small number still being passed on to children as their primary language (Marmion, Obata, & Troy, 2014). In the education system, while there are some encouraging moves towards increased inclusion of Indigenous languages in the Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2013; Disbray, this issue; Troy & Walsh, 2013), in higher education there are limited opportunities to learn Indigenous languages. Investment in new courses requires respectful, continuous collaboration and negotiation with Indigenous language authorities, and may be hampered by the perceived shortage of resources, teachers and students. The online learning environment can reduce costs for delivery, but can also create a sense of disconnection between learners and the community of language speakers. The outcomes of the creation of a Digital Language Shell (an online template using free and open source software for presenting language resources) and a pilot course teaching the Kunwinjku language (Bow, 2017) led to the creation of a university level course developed in collaboration with the Bininj Kunwok Language Project. Kunwinjku (ISO 639-3 code [gup]) is the best-known and most documented language of the Bininj ('people') Kunwok ('language') family spoken in the Northern Territory.

This paper describes an experiment in collaboratively designing a university course to teach an Indigenous language, mobilising digital technologies for online delivery. It addresses the apparent shortages of resources, teachers and students, reconfiguring them as opportunities to promote collaborative work between language

authorities and academics as a means of creating new resources, teachers, and students. The project draws on Indigenous pedagogies and social structures to create new modes of personal connection in ways that are appropriate to the university context and the Indigenous language ecology in which the course is situated (see Angelo, Poetsch, Ryan, Hand, Schrieber & Jarrett, this issue). Indigenous collaboration is essential for any language program, and such work is urgent in relation to the endangered status of many Indigenous languages. Without the tools and means to implement collaborative language learning programs, the opportunity to learn these languages will never be made available. Awareness of Indigenous languages as an object of study requires high-level support and advocacy, as students won't seek to study something if they don't know it exists in instructed form. This project explores the affordances and challenges of collaboratively designing a university course to make Indigenous languages more visible in the academy.

The paper begins with a brief background describing the state of teaching Indigenous languages at Australian universities, and identifies some of the inherent challenges. The following section describes the development of the Digital Language Shell and the pilot Kunwinjku course, and its expansion to a university course. The next section addresses some of the perceived shortages, showing how they were overcome in this context, and the final section highlights the implications of this project for the teaching of Indigenous languages in Australia.

BACKGROUND

Indigenous languages must be regarded as a special case. They are, after all,

Australia's unique irreplaceable linguistic heritage. New ways must be found to deliver courses in and about Indigenous languages, and to deliver courses that impart skills needed for language work in the community and schools. These are life and death issues (Amery, 2007, p. 346).

The lack of opportunity to study Indigenous languages at tertiary level has been called a "national embarrassment" (Simpson, 2014, p. 57) and is of concern to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, as it highlights the widespread devaluing of Indigenous languages in Australia and their lack of visibility in higher education. Prior to 2019, of around 125 Indigenous languages still spoken (Marmion et al., 2014), there were only six language courses available for credit across Australia's 43 universities (University Languages Portal Australia, 2018). Of these six, three are considered 'strong' languages, which are still spoken by all age groups and passed on to children – Yolŋu Matha and Arrernte (taught through Charles Darwin University) and Pitjantjatjara (University of South Australia). Three other languages are in various stages of revival or revitalisation – Gamilaraay (taught through Australian National University and The University of Sydney), Kurna (University of Adelaide), and Wiradjuri (Charles Sturt University). In addition, Curtin University has developed a MOOC for Noongar language (Kickett & Forrest, 2018), but this does not appear to be currently available for credit as a tertiary course.

The history of Aboriginal language teaching programs in Australian universities since Pitjantjatjara was first offered at The University of Adelaide in 1968 has been erratic (Amery, 2007; Edwards, 1995; Gale, 2011). A large increase in the number of researchers working on Australian languages, and the shift towards

Figure 1: Screenshot of Digital Language Shell home page. © 2019



collaboration with Indigenous authorities in linguistic research, have failed to increase offerings for language teaching and learning in Australian universities (Amery, 2007). Little has changed since Edwards wrote in 1995 that "Australian universities have largely failed in their recognition and promotion of Aboriginal languages" (p. 11).

While any programs designed to teach language and culture must be led by Indigenous authorities, it is likely they will involve close ties with other agencies or individuals to realise outcomes. Collaboration with universities is a vital component for educating teachers and researchers (Giacon & Simpson, 2011; Johns & Mazurkewich, 2001), and such collaboration offers an opportunity for universities to engage with Indigenous peoples in new ways. This will yield mutually beneficial outcomes (Campbell & Christie, 2009; Fogarty & Schwab, 2012), recognising the authority of Indigenous knowledge holders in the academy, and potentially encouraging more Indigenous people to become involved in academic life.

Several issues affect the delivery of courses in Indigenous and other less widely spoken languages at university, with reasons commonly cited including lack of resources (textbooks, dictionaries, reading materials), lack of teachers (where speakers may not be educated to teach, or teachers may not be competent speakers), and lack of students (Giacon & Simpson, 2011; Simpson, 2014; Ward, 2004, 2015; Ward & van Genabith, 2003). Language teaching at universities in Australia has seen a decline in enrolments across all languages, including those considered of economic value to Australia (Dunne & Pavlyshyn, 2012; Lo Bianco, 2009). Smaller, or less commonly taught languages are rarely likely to meet minimum class size criteria (Dunne & Pavlyshyn, 2013), and economic rationalisation of university courses means only courses with large numbers are taught (Gale, 2011). This has led to collaborations between institutions to provide offerings for smaller class sizes (Kinoshita, 2018; Pauwels, 2007; White & Baldauf, 2006), with varying success.

In a review of the provision of languages other than English in Australian universities, Lo Bianco & Gvozdenko (2006, p. 138) called for "pedagogy-led technology applications" to facilitate collaboration and innovation in this sector. Computer-assisted language learning (CALL), online learning, Web 2.0 and, potentially, artificial intelligence (AI) and virtual reality (VR) technologies provide affordances such as ease of participation, communication,

information sharing, and collaboration (Godwin-Jones, 2016; Wang & Vásquez, 2012). In addition, the online environment may enable courses to be run with lower overheads than face-to-face courses, requiring fewer teaching staff and mitigating smaller class sizes (Dunne & Pavlyshyn, 2013; Ward & van Genabith, 2003). There has been an increased use of technology in language teaching for minority, endangered and Indigenous languages in recent years (Galla, 2016; Godwin-Jones, 2013; Hermes & King, 2013; Ward, 2015; Ward & van Genabith, 2003; Winke, Goertler, & Amuzie, 2010). Additional uses of CALL in endangered language contexts can help arouse interest in language, be a catalyst for literacy training, provide a forum for cultural expression, act as a vehicle for language documentation, and support language maintenance and revitalisation efforts (Ward, 2004).

It goes without saying that the issues which affect delivery of Indigenous language courses at university are not due to any deficiencies in the Indigenous languages or speakers or communities themselves. Australian languages, whether in revitalisation or still transmitted across generations, are complex and diverse, and worthy of investigation as both objects of study and means of communication. Rather than seeing the lack of resources, teachers, and students outlined here as further evidence of a 'deficit' in the Indigenous context, they should be seen as opportunities to engage more deeply in the sharing of language and culture, to strengthen, promote and support the aspirations of Indigenous communities.

The Digital Language Shell was tested through the delivery of a pilot course collaboratively designed with the Bininj Kunwok Language Project to teach Kunwinjku language and culture online. Bininj Kunwok is the name used for a chain of six mutually intelligible dialects stretching across Kakadu National Park and West Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory (Figure 2). There are around 2000 first language speakers, with Kunwinjku the most widely spoken and understood variety. The main community of Kunwinjku speakers is at Gunbalanya, 300kms east of Darwin. The school there had a short history of bilingual education in the 1970s. Currently the language is not in official use at the school, despite most Bininj children speaking the language at home.

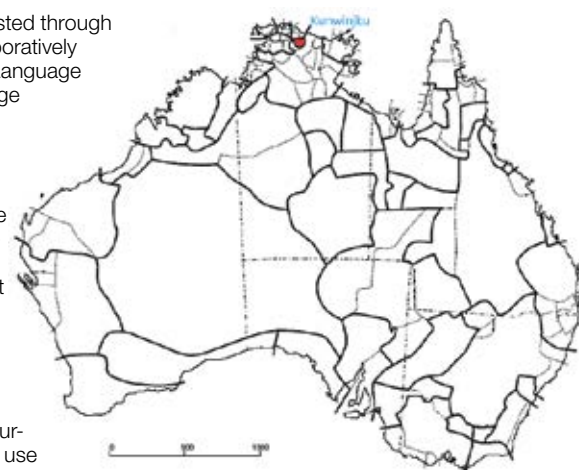


Figure 2: Map of Kunwinjku speaking area

This project offers an experimental approach, exploring innovative methods of delivery in both the online space and the tertiary education context, using collaborative design to ensure appropriate Indigenous authority over the course materials and delivery. Potential negative effects of teaching these languages online may be that the language is removed from its social context, and may become disconnected from its speech community. The approach is not restricted to the university context, but can be applied to the many alternative avenues for teaching Indigenous languages and cultures, in both formal and informal settings (schools, language centres, community groups, etc). University enrolment is lower for Indigenous students than for non-Indigenous (Behrendt, Larkin, Griew, & Kelly, 2012; Pechenkina, Kowal, & Paradies, 2011), suggesting barriers or disconnection in relation to the higher education context. There can be no assumptions about what effect new programs such as this may have on tertiary participation for Indigenous students, until the language learning opportunity is made available and supported by efforts to promote language awareness and learning.

DIGITAL LANGUAGE SHELL AND PILOT

In response to the perceived difficulties of developing new tertiary Indigenous language courses, in 2016 a team from Charles Darwin University (CDU) created a Digital Language Shell (Figure 1), an online template using free and open-source software (Bow, 2017). The aim of this project was to work with Indigenous language authorities to collaboratively design ways of sharing their language and culture online without requiring large expenditure or high level technical skills. The Digital Language Shell is built on WordPress, a free and open-source content management system commonly used for blogging and developing websites. A selection of themes and plugins were selected from the vast array available, including a learning management system for course delivery. As a WordPress.org site, hosted on a university server, it was not linked to any particular institutional learning management system, but could sit alongside or store materials that could then be copied to institutional platforms. The Digital Language Shell facilitates the assemblage of a range of digital resources that can be sequenced into a curriculum for online delivery of a language program.

The academic team collaborated with the language committee of the Bininj Kunwok Language Project to design four introductory units of ten lessons each, with learning activities encompassing cultural information, vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, useful phrases and reading. The course materials included a range of video and audio resources created especially for the course, as well as drawing on existing resources from various sources. The materials were supplemented by a glossary of linguistic terms, and an online forum to support interaction between participants and teachers. Over 100 people participated in the pilot course and gave useful and generally positive feedback on their experience (Bow, 2017). At the request of the language committee, portions of the course remain openly available for interested learners at <https://language-shell.cdu.edu.au/course/bininj-kunwok/>.

The success of the pilot program led to an invitation from the Australian National University (ANU) to extend the pilot to an accredited course for delivery over a full semester of 12 weeks. The expanded project aligned with the original project aim to increase the number of Indigenous languages available at university level. The work drew on CDU's highly successful Yolŋu Studies program (Christie, 2008; Hayashi, 2019), and CDU agreed to offer the course in parallel with ANU. Administrative issues around enrolment and assessment would be handled at local university level, and the curriculum needed to comply with requirements from both institutions. This included negotiations over academic assessment and accreditation in line with university standards and practices and with Indigenous pedagogies. There was a desire to facilitate cross-institutional enrolment and allow access for students at different universities, to support the viability of small courses. The Digital Language Shell enabled implementation across both institutions, with students enrolling in their home institution and logging in through their local learning management

system (Moodle or Blackboard) to access course materials on the Shell. Undergraduate and postgraduate versions of the course were created with the same content but with variations in the assessment tasks. Thanks to the advocacy of staff at both universities, the first presentation of the course was offered in Semester 1, 2019, with 28 students enrolled.

In addition to the creation of additional course content to expand from four units to 12, significant changes were motivated by feedback from learners in the pilot course. A new first unit provided general introduction to Australian Indigenous languages – their range and diversity, the complexity of their grammars. There was additional scaffolding for navigating the course – how each unit would be laid out, how to use the glossary of linguistic terms, how to read interlinearised grammatical examples, etc. Each subsequent unit began with a revision lesson, and new activities were incorporated into many lessons, particularly self-correcting quizzes to reinforce learning using multiple choice questions, matching activities, gap-fills, etc. Tips for language learners were distributed throughout the course, such as recommending the use of flashcards and mind maps. Learning was self-paced, with new units uploaded weekly, and no set lecture or tutorial times.

ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES

From the many challenges identified in the creation and presentation of courses in Indigenous or minority languages, three will be addressed here, plus one specific to the online context. The perceived shortages of resources, teachers and students can be seen as both challenges and opportunities in this context, plus the issue of personal connection, which can affect all online learning. This section will address how these were managed in the Kunwinjku course, highlighting the importance of collaboration between language authorities and academics.

Developing resources

The limited availability of resources is of serious concern in many Indigenous language contexts. Compared to other Australian languages, Kunwinjku is remarkably well resourced, though not in comparison with most languages taught at university level. The language is well documented with a number of linguistic descriptions (Carroll, 1976; Evans, 2003; Garde, 2013; Harris, 1969; Oates, 1964), plus a learners' guide (Etherington & Etherington, 1998). Around 140 small books produced during the short-lived bilingual education program at Gunbalanya have been digitised and made available online ('Living Archive of Aboriginal Languages', 2012; Bow, Christie, & Devlin, 2014). In addition to linguistic resources, there are various materials related to environment, culture, archaeology, mining, health and tourism, due to the region being home to Kakadu National Park and other significant sites around the Arnhem Plateau. Resources such as YouTube clips, academic articles, locally produced videos, blog posts on the Language Centre's website and other multimedia content were identified through a comprehensive audit process performed in preparation for the pilot course. These resources were examined for content to explain or demonstrate particular linguistic or cultural concepts presented throughout the course.

In addition, the team collaboratively designed new audio and video materials for the course, including cartoons, screencasts, videos of Bininj describing or demonstrating various aspects of language and culture (particularly social structures including kinship and family responsibilities) (Figure 3), recording word lists and reading aloud stories. These were edited, subtitled where appropriate (sometimes in English, sometimes in Kunwinjku) and stored on the CDU library repository, then embedded or linked from within the course. A portion of a pan-dialectal dictionary which had been under development for many years was reconfigured online in draft version, and included in the course for student use and feedback (Bininj Kunwok Regional Language Centre, 2019).



Figure 3: Screenshot of Jill Nganjmirra discussing use of skin names © 2019

Part of the collaborative design process involved team members proposing resources that could be sourced or developed. While use of digital communications technology is increasingly common across Indigenous communities in the remote Northern Territory, Bininj members of the language committee mostly use mobile phones for talking and texting, with some using social media. With minimal experience of creating multimedia resources or uploading content to web pages, much of that work was done by the academic team members. Some Bininj people became involved in the creation of new materials, with some developing skills such as transcription and translation. The Bininj team members were also interested in how these resources could be used for local purposes, such as developing vernacular literacy for adults, or to address concerns about children using less of

their traditional language in various contexts. The collaborative design of resources led to a negotiated pedagogy, which could be aligned with the learning outcomes of a university course as well as community activities.

Strengthening teachers

Bininj people have been transmitting their languages across generations, yet their authority as language teachers is not recognised in the academy. Members of the Bininj Kunwok Language Project are considered authorities for their languages, however there are currently no members of this group with tertiary language teaching qualifications. Co-designing a curriculum was a collaborative effort involving language authorities, linguists and those with previous experience learning the language. The

process involved identifying key themes built on the question of ‘What do non-Indigenous people need to know when they come to the community?’ The Bininj committee members prioritised issues of kinship (including skin names and family relationships) and safety (how to look after oneself and each other, and how to show respect for people and places). Further themes added for the expanded course included food, health, environment, art and song (Table 1), and resources were collected and selected to accompany these themes. The strong emphasis on cultural understanding within the course meant that students would not only gain language skills, but also gain meaningful cultural knowledge of a specific Indigenous group.

Table 1: Outline of topics and content for semester unit © 2019

Topic	Vocabulary	Grammar	Pronunciation	Task
Indigenous Languages	Common words & phrases	Overview	Introduction	Reading
Intro to Bininj	Skin names, animals	Simple sentence structure	Alphabet	Simple sentences
Introductions	Family terms	Past tense forms	Vowels	Introduce yourself
Family Matters	Extended family terms	Pronominal prefixes	Nasals	Introduce your family
Respect & Safety	Various	Questions & answers	h and r/rr	Q&A with partner
Food	Plants & animals, cooking	Noun classes	Retroflexes	Conversation
Time	Seasons, time words	Verbal words	Stops	Create sentences
Body & Health	Body parts	Noun incorporation	Diphthongs	Online test
Land & Nature	Environmental terms	Demonstratives	Long stops	Interlinear glossing
Art	Art practices & terms	Adjectives & adverbs	Consonant clusters	Read story aloud
Song / Music	Musical terms, instruments	Verb classes	Dialect variations	Conversation
Revision				Final assignment

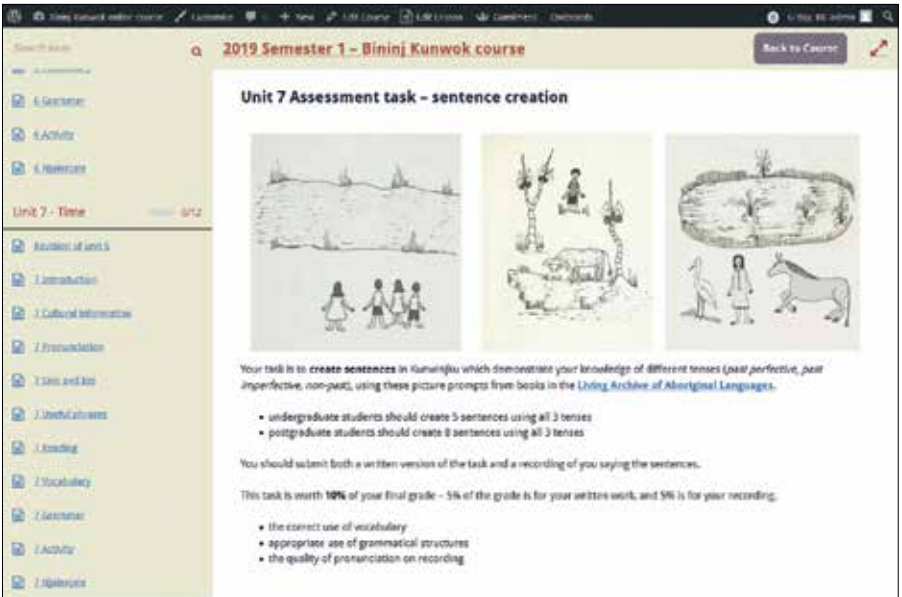
The collaborative design process enabled a focus on the Bininj committee’s determination of what should be taught, while the academic team members worked out how this content could be presented online, including sequencing of information and explanations in English. This arrangement drew on the existing strengths of the Bininj authorities, rather than requiring native speakers to learn the metalanguage of grammar or non-Indigenous methods of language teaching.

One of the key challenges of the project was balancing Indigenous pedagogies and the requirements of university accreditation (for a similar situation, see Marika-Mununggirritj, 1991). Assessment tasks were included in the pilot course, and Bininj language committee members were invited to evaluate the learners’ submissions of written sentences and oral recordings in Kunwinjku (see example in Figure 4). The initial responses of the Bininj members were uncritical, simply expressing enthusiasm for the participant’s attempts at using the language, and not wanting to find fault or give grades. Over time and with support from the academic team, they increased their willingness to identify areas for improvement. Feedback on some assessments was given orally, with the language speakers recording short texts commenting on each learner’s submissions. Not only was this quicker

than the academic team member noting their comments and later typing them into the assessment module of the learning management system, it also built personal

connection between teacher and learner, and was highly appreciated by the participants in the pilot course.

Figure 4: Screenshot Activity Unit 7. © 2019



As in many Indigenous communities, Bininj people may have health issues or family and community demands, which make it difficult to adhere to a fixed schedule of classes. Gunbalanya is cut off by road for months during the wet season, so travel is restricted. The collaborative nature of this project required flexibility, where the academic team needed to be responsive to the needs of the Bininj authorities, such as when they were available to work. A rich collection of materials in and about the language allowed the course to be delivered with no set lecture or tutorial hours, as it did not rely on the availability of Bininj teachers at specific times.

The collaborative design of this course served to develop skills among both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous members of the team in curriculum development, negotiating pedagogies, evaluating and creating resources, and assessing student work. As a consequence, the apparent lack of language teachers actually serves as an opportunity to strengthen the skills of language speakers who bring their own pedagogical perspectives to the task of language teaching and learning.

Creating student demand

The market for people wanting to learn Indigenous Australian languages may never compete with demand for better-known languages. A call for volunteer learners for the Kunwinjku pilot course in 2016 attracted over 150 applications from people across Australia and internationally. Some of these had connections to Bininj or were familiar with the area, others were generally interested in learning an Australian language. Not all would be expected to enrol in a university course, considering time commitments and costs in comparison with a free online experimental course, however the level of interest was higher than expected. The first implementation of the university course in 2019 attracted 28 enrolments across two universities, including students from a broad range of disciplines at both ANU and CDU, and two cross-institutional enrolments from other universities. Of particular note was the number of people working in West Arnhem Land enrolling specifically to take this course, and the high level of interest from government departments, health, art, environment and community development sectors wanting to strengthen relationships with Bininj people and communities. The connections between languages and knowledge practices are highly relevant across many disciplines and learning an Indigenous language opens up new opportunities throughout the academy, industry and government.

Challenging the perception that there is no market for Indigenous language courses, this project demonstrates expansion of the potential student body beyond students of languages or linguistics, attracting new students from other disciplines and from outside the university. Amery (2019) outlines the different reasons for studying Indigenous languages compared to well-known languages, yet this project shows that there are still vocational and employment motivations, particularly for languages with active speech communities, in locations with significant needs and opportunities across many disciplines. Therefore, the collaborative design of courses such as this actually serves to create new students, to the benefit of the universities and the local language community, where professionals with

familiarity with the language are highly desired by community members. Agencies involved with the Indigenous communities could be encouraged to promote language training and proficiency as part of orientation, professional development or as desirable components of job applications.

Building connections

Online language learning gives the opportunity for people in various locations to access content that may otherwise not be available to them. This appears to be at odds with Indigenous pedagogies, where knowledge is place-based and owned (Christie, 2006; Marika-Mununggirtj, 1991). The Bininj Kunwok language committee had some questions about people in other places learning their language, particularly when they noted a lack of interest in the language from non-Indigenous people working in their own region. They were very keen to share their language and culture with others, though the online setting seemed somewhat impersonal and decontextualised.

One of the ways identified to foster connection in this project was through the use of skin names. Across West Arnhem Land, as in many Indigenous communities in Australia, every member of the community belongs to a specific subsection which determines how they relate to everyone in the community (Garde, 2013; McConnell, Kelly, & Lacrampe, 2018). Two patrilineal and two matrilineal create eight named subsections known as 'skins', which determine all kinship connections. Skin names are also given to outsiders to place them in the social structure. The language committee agreed that the students should have skin names, which would allow them to talk about family and connections from a position within the society, rather than as outside observers. Several lessons in the course were designed to explore the complexity of the system and teach language related to the skin system and kinship terminology. Students practised terms of address and described relationships with their newly-formed connections in the community.

Using these local means of identification and relationship automatically created personal connections between the students and all members of Bininj society. The use of video recordings of Bininj people introducing themselves and explaining certain aspects of their culture increased the sense of connection. One learner on the pilot course commented that the videos "gave the course life and made it seem less impersonal" (cited in Bow, 2017). The importance of connection was not just on the part of the learners, but the language committee wanted to know the people learning their language. One of the assessment tasks required participants to create a video of themselves talking in Kunwinjku. Seeing and hearing the learners on video built a sense of connection and familiarity for the Bininj language authorities, enhancing the potentially impersonal online environment.

The additional challenge of connecting the students with each other was mitigated by creating assessment tasks involving pairwork and groupwork. Students formed partnerships to work on a task recording themselves asking each other questions in Kunwinjku about a picture. Students in different locations did this via phone or online conferencing. Face-to-face meetings were also encouraged for co-located students in Canberra, Darwin or West Arnhem Land to interact and practise what they were learning.

The course also included opportunities for real-time engagement with a speaker of the language via online video conferencing. A non-assessable task invited students in small groups of three or four to introduce themselves to the Bininj teacher, describe a picture, and engage in conversation about their family, all in Kunwinjku. An assessable summative task required individuals to engage in a short conversation with the native speaking teacher. For both tasks, the onus is on the student to direct the session according to a lesson plan provided to both the student and the native speaker. One of the academic team is also present, facilitating the technical arrangements and supporting both the student and teacher in the interaction, while assisting the Bininj teacher with grading. Trials of this interaction have given positive results thus far.

These activities attempt to draw on Indigenous cultural practices to reduce the sense of isolation that online students often feel. They aim to connect students across two universities and separate locations, as well as connecting students around the country to the Bininj in the speech community.

IMPLICATIONS

Despite the concerns that impact the development of courses for Indigenous languages, particularly regarding resources, teachers, students and personal connections, this project demonstrates that the process of collaboratively designing language courses can promote the creation of each of these components. Existing resources of various kinds can be reconfigured for delivery in this new pedagogical context, and the need for additional resources can inspire innovative practices to collaboratively design new materials. These can in turn serve multiple roles for the language community, contributing to language documentation and revitalisation, and promoting and sharing the language in other contexts (as outlined in Ward, 2004). The lack of qualified teachers is not only mitigated by the involvement of language authorities, but in turn provides these individuals with opportunities to develop skills in teaching, curriculum development and assessment. Collaborative design work between academics and language authorities can increase understandings about different kinds of pedagogical practices, and delivery can be facilitated through the online platform, not requiring language authorities to attend university at certain times to deliver classes.

The perceived lack of students remains a concern if universities are focused on commercially-viable class sizes, however this project has uncovered a niche, and perhaps expanding market of existing university students and graduates across a range of disciplines and institutions. In addition to students wanting to expand their understanding of Indigenous languages and cultures, there are professionals working in the Indigenous sector who are willing to invest time and money into such an endeavour. The intensive Pitjantjatjara courses run by the University of South Australia, and the emerging Australian Indigenous Languages Institute (Giacon, 2019) are also tapping into these markets. The potential for universities to attract students to such courses can serve to make universities more welcoming to Indigenous people when they see that their languages and cultures are valued. Learning an Indigenous language opens opportunities for the study

of human society, kinship (including with the environment), spirituality, governance, law, health, education, environmental knowledge and management, and many other areas. Students from across disciplines and different universities can include a unit of Indigenous language and culture into their qualification. Such courses can also provide opportunities for professional development for teachers keen to increase their understanding of Indigenous knowledges and cultures, as they seek to incorporate them into their learning areas according to the cross-curricular priority of the Australian Curriculum (ACARA, 2015; Bow, 2016). This may prompt investigation into local languages and cultures, leading to awareness and advocacy of Indigenous issues at the local level. This project opens up avenues for future study into teaching Indigenous languages, with opportunities to explore new methodological understandings in how to teach these rarely taught languages, an area which currently has very few published resources.

With regard to the lack of personal connection, this project demonstrates how the potentially isolating effects of online learning can be mitigated through incorporating Indigenous ways of connecting. The use of skin names gives students an identity in the Bininj world, and connects them to each other and to the Bininj speech community, despite geographic distance. Other activities, such as video conferencing and small group activities online, can strengthen these connections.

The use of an online template such as the Digital Language Shell can serve to mitigate some of the challenges of creating and delivering an online course from scratch. The template is freely available to other groups to use, either as a basis for an online course, or to store resources to supplement classroom-based courses. This project can serve as a model for the development of courses in other languages, and includes some resources that can be reused directly, such as a glossary of linguistic terms and a general introduction to Australian Indigenous languages. This assemblage of resources and knowledge practices for teaching language and culture in a university context (Bow, 2019) is built on a range of alliances between people, knowledge systems, technologies, institutions and artefacts, which come together in this case to create a specific language course. Each language ecology and its context involves a unique arrangement of such alliances, all of which are contingent, tentative and vulnerable to threats.

As an experimental approach, this project has many limitations. The Digital Language Shell was assembled from free and open-source tools by non-technical team members, and lacks many of the features of much more complex learning management systems used at universities. Integration of the course materials between the two different platforms used by the participating universities required replication in some cases. Assessment activities had to be created separately on each system, making marking more difficult. Students familiar with their own institution's learning platform had to adapt to a new system and create a separate login to move between the two for administrative and content matters. Currently there is only a single unit available, with no option for students wishing to develop further proficiency in this language. At the time of writing, the course is still in progress, so no evaluation is currently available. Payment

of language authorities for curriculum and resource development was provided in this case by the Bininj Kunwok Language Project, so other groups would need to find ways of ensuring appropriate payment for collaborative design processes. Following completion of the course, negotiations with the host universities and the language committee will determine future plans.

The state of Indigenous language teaching in Australian universities is poor, but there is potential for improvement. Increasing awareness of Indigenous languages in the academy, and creating opportunities to learn them can contribute towards better understanding and increased valuing of Indigenous knowledge practices. Concerns about resources, teachers, students and personal connections can be overcome through collaborative design with academics and Indigenous language authorities to promote the development of new resources, teachers, students and connections. Such collaborations will benefit the university sector, the Indigenous communities involved, and the wider population, as these endangered languages are promoted, valued and shared.

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Consent has been gained for use of each photograph used in this article.

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GLOSSARY

Term	Definition
Aboriginal	The terminology for referring generally to the original inhabitants of mainland Australia and surrounding islands except the Torres Strait (the area lying between the tip of Cape York and New Guinea). The term First Nations is increasingly used to refer to both groupings of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. 'Indigenous' may be dispreferred when the more specific term (i.e. 'Aboriginal' or 'Torres Strait Islander') is appropriate.
Aboriginal English	Aboriginal English is used to refer in very broad terms to the range of varieties of English that are used by Australian Aboriginal people. It has been used so sweepingly that it is difficult, if possible at all, to identify the limits that differentiate Aboriginal English from Standard Australian English (SAE), and some uses of the term Aboriginal English erroneously do not distinguish it from English-lexified creoles.
ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority.
additional language	A language learned in addition to one's first (mother tongue) language. Preferred term instead of 'second' language, L2 and especially 'foreign' language. Australian states and territories, and the Commonwealth no longer use 'foreign' to describe language learning, particularly in schools.
aspect	The property of a verb or a clause which indicates whether the event or activity being described has reached a point of completion or is ongoing, either in respect to the present time, or some other time frame. For example, 'She walks her dog daily' indicates an habitual aspect (i.e. an event that is repeated), whereas 'She is walking' indicates an event which is currently in progress.
Australian English	A broader term than Standard Australian English, and includes the closely related varieties of rural English and urban Englishes spoken by many Australians.
auxiliary verb	In English these are verbs like 'be, do' and 'have', when they are used in conjunction with another main verb, typically in order to mark tense. For example, in 'I am/was going', 'I do/did go' and 'I have/had gone', the main verb is 'go' and the auxiliaries provide present/past tense contrasts.
Balanda	A white person, a person with non-Indigenous heritage. Term used in Arnhem Land, Australia.
bilingual education	This term includes teaching that involves two languages. It covers different situations: 'mother tongue medium instruction', where the home language is the language of instruction; 'L2 immersion' where another language is the medium of instruction, as well as situations where either the home language or another language is the medium of instruction, and a third language is taught as a subject in the curriculum.
bilingualism	The ability to use two or more languages to some extent.
biliteracy	The ability to read and write in two or more languages.
borrowing	A word or phrase that speakers of one language use, which comes from another language. Borrowed words are sometimes called 'loan-words'. 'Kangaroo' is a loan-word from the Australian language Guugu Yimidhirr into many varieties of English.
case marking	Marking that indicates the function or role of a noun/noun phrase in a clause, such as nominative case marking for subjects, accusative for objects etc.
classroom teachers	Any educator in school settings who delivers classroom teaching. 'classroom teachers' contrasts with 'specialist teachers' who are not employed in specific positions and are expected to have training in this specialty which goes beyond usual training.
code	'Code' can be used as a cover-term for language, dialect, register or more generally, way of talking or language variety. 'Code-switching' may thus refer to switching between any of these ways of talking.
code switching	Code-switching occurs when a speaker uses different languages in different conversational turns, for example, where one person asks a question in Italian and the answer comes in English. Compare 'code-mixing' and 'translanguaging'.
contact language	A language which has formed through two or more other languages, often in a context of sudden and sustained contact between speakers of a number of languages. It is a very broad term, including creoles, mixed languages and pidgins. Present day Australian contact languages include, among others, Kriol, Yumplatok (also known as Torres Strait Creole and Broken), Gurindji Kriol, Light Warlpiri, Lockhart River Creole, Wumpurrarni English, Alyawarr English, Yarrie Lingo.
creole	A creole language is a language which has developed, often rapidly, from the contact between speakers of more than two languages and become the mother tongue of a speech community. It has properties from contributing languages but is a full and autonomous language. In Australia 'Kriol' is the name of one creole language which emerged from contact between speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages and speakers of English via an earlier bridging stage of 'Pidgin English' (see 'pidgin').
demographic	Quantifiable characteristics of populations. For school students, this could be a language background, a level of English proficiency, an ethnic group, an age group etc.
dialect	This term, unlike 'language', describes a particular relationship between two language varieties which their speakers think of as belonging to the same language.

Term	Definition
domains of use	In sociolinguistics, domains of use specify places where different languages might spoken, e.g. at home, the classroom, online, the workplace, etc.
EAL/D	English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D): Current Australian term for describing learners of English who speak other languages, or dialects of English that are so distant from Standard Australian English as to benefit from EAL/D support. EAL/D also covers a broad range of learner contexts - simultaneous with a mother tongue or subsequent, in a foreign language learning context or immersed in social usage etc. Other terms include ESL (English as a Second/Subsequent Language) and ELL (English Language Learner).
Elders	Elders are those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community members in the older generation who are recognised as cultural authorities by their communities and/or respected as rightful owners of their group's complex cultural and linguistic knowledges.
etymology	Study of the history and origin of words.
First Nations	The original inhabitants and land-holders of the Australian continent. The term recognises the different language groups as separate sovereign nations, and is increasingly used to refer to both Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
foreign language learning (now usually 'additional' language learning)	Distinguishes between foreign language learning contexts where target language input occurs only in the classroom, versus second language learning contexts where input occurs outside of the classroom, for example when shopping, or interacting with some of the other students. Some 'umbrella terms' subsume both these contexts (e.g. TESOL, EAL/D), and 'additional' languages is the preferred term to avoid 'othering' languages that learners potentially have connections with.
heritage language	A language that is associated with a person's family, which they may or may not speak, and which is usually distinct from the national language(s).
home variety, home language	A person's first language, spoken in the home.
Indigenous	In the Australian context, a term that refers collectively to both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. However, this term may be dispreferred when either of the more specific terms (i.e. 'Aboriginal' or 'Torres Strait Islander') is more appropriate. 'First Nations' is increasingly common as a collective reference to both cultural groups, but the longer expression 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' may still be recommended for some contexts.
Indigenous knowledge	Knowledge, often cultural and natural history knowledge, associated with a traditional group of Indigenous people.
interlocutor	A person who takes part in a conversation, whether as speaker, hearer, or both, in turn.
L1	First language, native language: the language(s) an infant learns from birth, from carers and community. A child growing up in a multilingual household could have more than one L1. (Note: Babel style guide prefers use of 'first language')
L2	Target language of learning; or second or subsequent language learned; a language that a person is learning after they have acquired their first language(s). Now more commonly termed 'additional' language in the languages teaching field. (Note: Babel style guide prefers use of 'additional language').
language awareness	Understandings about language ecologies and languages use. "Language awareness" is considered a necessary condition for creole-speaking students to experience success in classrooms delivering curriculum through a lexifier language.
language centre	In some parts of Australia, Indigenous languages are supported by a 'Language Centre', an Indigenous-run organisation that works with community members on activities like language courses, documenting languages, producing language resources, training in language-related areas, e.g. interpreting, documentation and teaching.
language ecology	The configuration of languages spoken in a particular place.
language maintenance	Continued use of a language, despite competition with the majority language to become the main/sole language.
language revival/ revitalisation/renewal/ reawakening/reclamation	The process of relearning and reusing a language that had been minimally used or not used. Different programs and groups prefer specific terms. Typically, reclaiming, reviving and reawakening are the terms for processes involved when there are no L1 speakers or people who remember the language; revitalising is when there are still some L1 speakers. Renewal and reawakening are general terms which cover both revitalisation and revival.
language shift	When a speech community (gradually) comes to speak another language for most, if not all its communicative and other cultural and symbolic needs.
lexifier language	The language that provides most of the words in a contact language. An English-lexified contact language is one where most words come from English.
lingua franca	A lingua franca is a common language that people who don't know each other's languages use to communicate. For example, an Icelandic speaker and a Japanese speaker will probably use English as their lingua franca.

Term	Definition
mixed language	Mixed languages are languages which arise in contact situations, and whose parts come from two or more source languages: for example having the nouns from one language and the verbs from another language. Examples in Australia are Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol. See also 'contact language'.
morphology	Parts of words and how they fit together. E.g. in English, -ing, -ed are examples of morphology.
NAPLAN	Australian Government National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy.
New Languages	'New Languages' refers to the same set of languages as 'contact languages' - those that have emerged since colonisation.
phonology	The study of the system of sounds in languages.
plurilingualism	Describes an individual's repertoire of linguistic knowledge and skills, association or agency in contact situations; also used to describe the full set of semiotic resources of individuals. It is often distinguished from multilingualism as pertaining to the individual rather than societal level, and multilingualism also used in the sense of 'many and separate'; whereas plurilingualism encompasses 'translanguaging, or moving across languages and cultures, as is usual practice in speakers with diverse linguistic resources.
polysynthetic	A polysynthetic language is one characterized by words having the sense of an entire sentence. For example, in Murrinh-Patha (an Australian language spoken near Wadeye, N.T.) the word banhingkardunungintha means 'We two will see you'.
proficiency	When applied to 'second language proficiency', this term describes the general underlying ability of the learner in the language being learned.
register	A register is a style of speaking used for a particular communicative situation. E.g. in formal settings English speakers are likely to use formal registers. In languages such as Warlpiri, there are registers linked to respect, avoidance, and for speaking to babies.
Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA)	The process of acquiring a second dialect.
source languages	In language contact situations, the languages which contribute to a new contact language are termed the source languages.
Standard Australian English	The range of prestige varieties of English spoken in Australia, used by governments, universities, schools, etc in most formal published documents and formal speech.
standard language (?not variety)	A standard language is one for which norms of usage have developed, typically because it is used in institutions of a nation state, such as schools, law-courts, hospitals and dealing with government agencies.
Torres Strait Islander	Torres Strait Islanders live on the islands of the Torres Strait, the expanse of water separating the north-eastern tip of the Australian mainland from the island of New Guinea. Nowadays approximately 20 of these islands are inhabited and over the past 50 years or so many Torres Strait Islanders have migrated to the mainland, creating large diaspora communities especially in Queensland, the north-eastern state of Australia. Nowadays, an English-lexified creole, Yumplatok, is the most common language of Torres Strait Islanders.
Traditional Languages	Australian languages spoken by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people prior to colonisation, or the directly descended varieties spoken today. Also called heritage languages, First Nations' Languages, and other terms. The term is used to describe a type of language; individual languages have specific names.
translanguaging	The process of making meaning and gaining understanding and knowledge using resources from two or more languages. Translanguaging is centred on the internal perspective of the speaker rather than socially/politically defined language boundaries, or on where changes of code occur with respect to the structure of the sentence. In education it refers to an approach that makes use of the different 'codes' or diverse semiotic resources students bring to the classroom to ensure they understand the content, can express themselves fully, and can include diverse linguistic perspectives.
variety	A conventionalised way of speaking by a community.
vernacular	The vernacular is the everyday spoken language of a particular area or of a particular grouping of people. It usually contrasts with standard languages and national languages.
Yumplatok (aka Torres Strait Creole, Broken)	The name of the English-lexified contact language that is spoken by Torres Strait Islanders living on the islands of the Torres Strait and in diaspora communities on the mainland. The name, 'Yumplatok', created by its speakers, literally means 'our language' and is gradually ousting the most widely known term 'Broken', while 'Torres Strait Creole' is a more academic name. Yumplatok belongs to the Melanesian family of creoles, that also includes Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Bislama in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands Pijin.



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