Language Practices of Indigenous Children and Youth

The Transition from Home to School

Edited by
Gillian Wigglesworth,
Jane Simpson and
Jill Vaughan

Palgrave Studies in Minority Languages and Communities

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Worldwide migration and unprecedented economic, political and social integration in Europe present serious challenges to the nature and position of language minorities. Some communities receive protective legislation and active support from states through policies that promote and sustain cultural and linguistic diversity; others succumb to global homogenisation and assimilation. At the same time, discourses on diversity and emancipation have produced greater demands for the management of difference. This series will publish new research based on single or comparative case studies on minority languages worldwide. We will focus on their use, status and prospects, and on linguistic pluralism in areas with immigrant or traditional minority communities or with shifting borders. Each volume will be written in an accessible style for researchers and students in linguistics, education, politics and anthropology, and for practitioners interested in language minorities and diversity.

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CANADA

Watson Lake
Kaska

Clearwater River Dene Nation
Dene Sųłiné

Lac Courte Oreilles
Ojibwe reservation
Ojibwe

UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA

Hopi reservation
Hopi

BRAZIL

Tekoá Marangatu
Guaraní

MALAYSIA
Semai

Yirrkala

Tiwi Islands
Tiwi

DARWIN

Yolŋu Matha

Ayawarr
Ayawarr English

ALICE SPRINGS
Arrernte

Lajamanu

Wanjirpi
Warlpiri

Willowra

Yuendumu

Nyirrpi

Northern
Territory

Queensland

AUSTRALIA
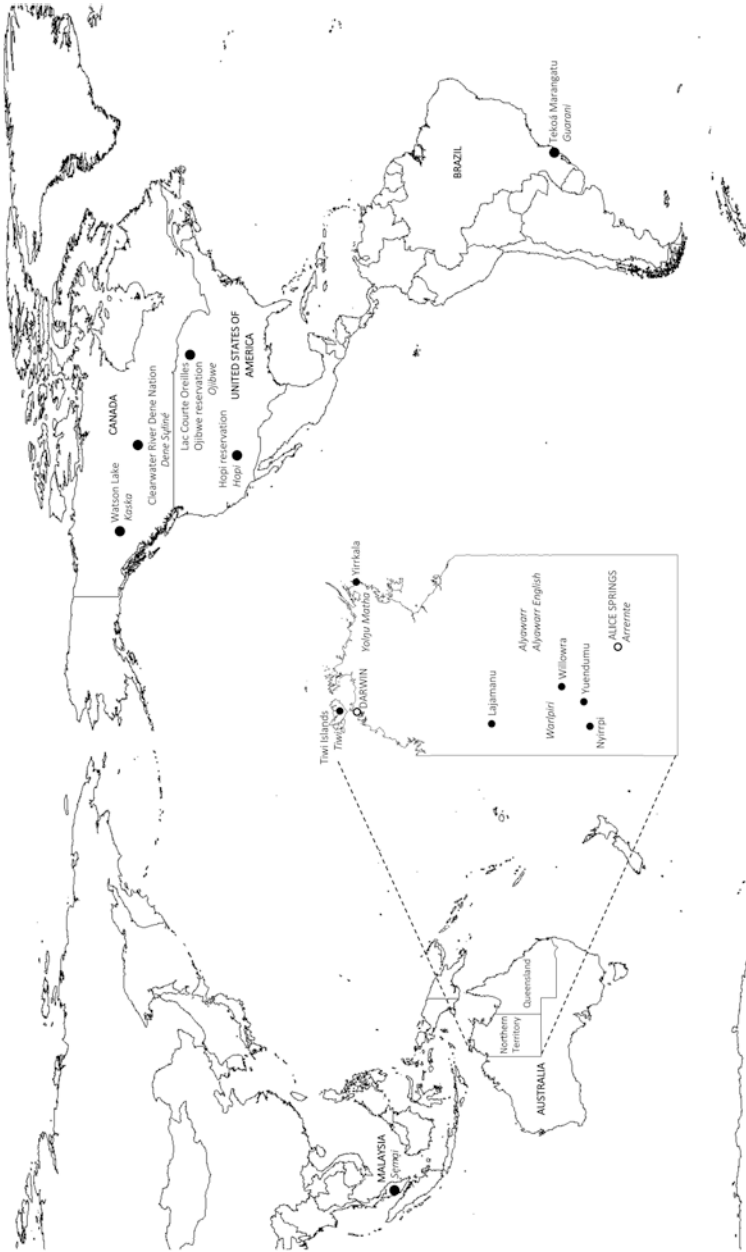
Locations of languages and communities discussed in this book. Map: Jill Vaughan

This volume is dedicated to all the children who have to learn a new language when they begin school.

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Contents

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Michelle Haskins Michelle Haskins is a Lac Courte Oreilles tribal member who has attained both her bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Minnesota Duluth. Her training and licensure in Elementary Education (K-8) with a minor in Ojibwe Language has provided the skills necessary to teach in various capacities. She has been actively engaged in the progression of a healthy and productive community in LCO for nearly 20 years by serving on several boards, committees and volunteering. Her lifelong aspiration and commitment is to help her community to become fluent speakers of a precious gift known as Ojibwemowin. Michelle's professional experience has been acquired over a decade of teaching in Ojibwe immersion school settings in Wisconsin and Minnesota. She has been fortunate enough to work in public, charter, and BIA schools from early childhood to higher education providing her with the abilities to adapt curricula for target audiences. Her personal experience in the Milwaukee public schools as an adolescent has been very influential in her determination to make a difference in the lives of others. However, it wasn't until she returned to Lac Courte Oreilles that she realized that revitalizing their language is their greatest hope for the continued existence of the Ojibwe culture.

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Abbreviations

AAE	African American English
ABL	Ablative
ACARA	Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority
ACLA	Aboriginal Child Language Acquisition
AHS	Aboriginal Head Start
AITSL	Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership
AlyE	Alyawarr English
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BIITE	Batchelor Institute for Indigenous Tertiary Education
CAUS-PRES	Present Causative
CDI	Communicative Development Inventory
CRDN	Clearwater River Dene Nation
CRDS	Clearwater River Dene School
CTEP	Cree Teacher Education Program
D1	First Dialect
D2	Second Dialect
DESLAS	Dene Sųłiné Language Acquisition Study
DET	Department of Education and Training (Queensland)
DTEP	Dene Teacher Education Program
DTIP	Dene Transitional Immersion Program
EAL/D	English as an Additional Language/Dialect
EQ	Education Queensland
ERI	Early Reading Intervention

ESL	English as a Second Language
FAFT	Families as First Teachers
FNUNIV	First Nations University of Canada
FUNAI	Fundação Nacional do Índio
FUT	Future
GLMM	Generalised Linear Mixed Model
HRSCATSIA	House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs
IK	Indigenous Knowledge
IMP	Imperative
IMP-EMPH	Imperative Emphasised
JHEOA	The Department of Orang Asli Affairs
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LAAL	Living Archive of Aboriginal Languages
LFN	Liard River First Nation
LPC	Literacy Production Centre
MLTC	Meadow Lake Tribal Council
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy
NP	Noun Phrase
NT	Northern Territory, Australia
NT DoE	Northern Territory Department of Education
NTDET	Northern Territory Department of Education and Training
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
PLC	Professional Learning Community
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present (tense)
QLD	Queensland
SAE	Standard Australian English
SAL	School of Australian Linguistics
SAmE	Standard American English
SDA	Second Dialect Acquisition
SESAI	Secretaria Especial de Saúde Indígena
SIASI	Sistema de Informação da Atenção à Saúde Indígena
TESOL	Teaching English as a Second or Other Language
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WCCS	Wisconsin Common Core Standards

WDPI	Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction
WMELS	Wisconsin Model Early Learning Standards
YCS	Yirrkala Community School
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

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Going to School in a Different World

Gillian Wigglesworth and Jane Simpson

Introduction

Every year across the world, at around the age of five, children move from home, preschool or kindergarten to the whole new world of school where they will, for the next 10–12 years, be engaged in education. Their families and societies hope that this will provide them with the skills to become fully functioning adults and to enter the world of work. Many of these children will have spent their early years in communities where only one language is spoken, in 'monolingual contexts'. Others will have grown up in communities where more than one language is spoken, in 'multilingual contexts'. In many cases children will nonetheless have learned to communicate proficiently in the language they will encounter

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once they enter the school system. For other children, however, this will not be the case. Young children from migrant backgrounds may well not speak the language of their first school experience, even though they may be living in a community where the dominant language is also the language of education. In rich countries like Australia, the USA and Canada, such children will often receive additional support for learning the language of education, and migrant children will often be very successful in their adult lives. Another group of children for whom the language of schooling may present linguistic challenges are the children of the original inhabitants of the land, but for whom colonization, in its many forms, has frequently resulted in dispossession of their land, their culture and their languages.[1] Where this has occurred, it has often been at the expense of local indigenous languages and cultures, often in contexts of language change and loss, where new mixed languages or creoles may have developed, but where the language of schooling is generally the colonially imposed language.

Compared to migrant children living in communities where the language of education is widely used, Indigenous children often face an additional challenge in their education because they live in remote communities where the language of education is not spoken widely and where there are often limited resources in the school context to support their language development. The very notion of formal classroom-based teaching and of a specialised role of 'teacher' may place constraints on those communities as they attempt to maintain their social values and knowledge in the context of the impact of the dominant society's values (Hermes and Haskins, Chap. 5, this volume). It is these Indigenous children's experiences and challenges that we focus on in this book as we explore what it means for Indigenous children to move from home to school under these circumstances.

To put this into a wider context, the 20th edition of the Ethnologue catalogue—published each year on International Mother Language Day—lists 7099 languages spoken across the world (www.ethnologue.com). However, while many have large numbers of speakers, about half of these have fewer than 5000 speakers (Harrison 2008). Many of these small languages are the indigenous languages of subsequently colonised lands, including, among others, Australia, Canada, the USA, China, the

Russian Federation, Brazil, Chile and the other colonised nations of South America. In these countries, the Indigenous children may speak one of these small languages, but the language of the country is one of the major languages—as in the contexts of the countries mentioned above where English, French, Mandarin, Russian, Portuguese or Spanish have become the national languages. Where this is the case, Indigenous children may be growing up in a community which speaks a language different from the mainstream language (e.g. English or Spanish), as a result of which they may begin in the local school system without a good knowledge, or indeed any knowledge, of the language of education and may come from a society that differs significantly from the mainstream.

In addition, the languages the children speak are often highly endangered (see Jung et al.'s account of rapid shift in Dene-speaking communities, Chap. 3, this volume). This presents particular challenges, in terms of both linguistic and cultural differences: Nicholas, Chap. 12 (this volume), gives moving testimonies from people growing up in Hopi-speaking families who found the transition to school difficult and puzzling, and switched to speaking English. It also raises issues around whether or not schools should maintain the children's first language and to what extent. This is because it is crucial to also note that these children are the future custodians of the languages they speak—if children are not learning the language, the strong likelihood is that the language will cease to be spoken within a generation or two. This also has profound effects on the children's ability to engage in their cultural community: Nicholas notes the 'sense of vulnerability as non-speakers of Hopi' that her participants felt.

The linguistic ecologies in these contexts, which were frequently traditionally multilingual, are often made complex in different ways as a result of contact with the colonizer languages. Chapters in this volume cover a range of these complex situations, from traditional and endangered languages such as Dene communities in Canada (Jung et al, Chap. 3 and Meek, Chap. 13, this volume), Ojibwe (Hermes and Haskins, Chap. 5, this volume) and Hopi in the USA (Nicholas, Chap. 12, this volume), Semai in Malaysia (Kral and Renganathan, Chap. 14, this volume) and Warlpiri (Disbray and Martin, Chap. 2, this volume) and Arrernte in Central Australia (Poetsch, Chap. 7, this volume) to the new languages which have developed in the contact situation, arising from the need for

communication in early contact days (Wilson et al, Chap. 6, Dixon, Chap. 11, Angelo and Hudson, Chap. 9, and Fraser et al, Chap. 10, this volume). This discussion of new languages is a particular feature of this volume. These range from new lingua francas, to creoles (languages which have developed from the contact between a local language and a language of wider communication which typically provides much of the lexicon), to mixed languages (where both languages contribute to the grammar and lexicon) (e.g. modern Tiwi, Wilson et al, Chap. 6, this volume), to non-standard varieties of the language of wider communication or of the local language (e.g. 'broken Dene' or 'Chiplish', Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume) or some indeterminate variety (Angelo and Hudson, Chap. 9, this volume, Fraser et al, Chap. 10, this volume). What type of contact language is spoken will depend on local circumstances. Mixed languages are more likely to arise in remote settlements, often emerging through the children's language (see, e.g. O'Shannessy 2012, 2013) or through pervasive code-switching (Meakins 2011, 2013). Non-standard varieties of the national language are more likely to be used in more urban areas. The situations are often made even more complex by the multilingualism which occurs in these communities (see Dixon, Chap. 11, this volume; Wilson et al, Chap. 6, this volume), with children using the resources of various languages in communication, blurring the distinctions between the languages, as currently discussed in the translanguaging literature (Garcia and Li Wei 2014; McSwan 2017).

The Classroom

When a child enters a classroom for the first time, they are embarking on a new interactional venture. The classroom is probably quite different from their home; it is filled with strangers: a group of strange children and one or more strange adults. These strangers have different roles and responsibilities, different reasons for being in the classroom and different expectations of the child. The child has to learn how the teacher expects them to behave and how other children expect them to behave. This takes place against a background of what their families expect them to learn

from going to school. These expectations may be implicit or made explicit in the language of instruction.

For children who don't speak the language of instruction, it is a harder task to learn what is expected of them in the classroom. They have to learn how to talk to the teacher and how to talk to the other children. But there is not just one type of talk. Classroom talk ranges from chit-chat (one-on-one or in small groups), to classroom management by the teacher, to task management (whether by the teacher or by children in groups), to discussion of curriculum concepts at a more abstract level. These ways of talking are associated with different vocabulary and sentence structures. In some classrooms, they may be associated with different languages or dialects; children may use a home language or dialect with each other, but be expected to use the language of instruction when talking with the teacher. Children may draw on various codes that they master to different extents, through 'translanguaging' as Feller and Vaughan (Chap. 8), and Poetsch (Chap. 7) discuss, making the most of the linguistic resources at their disposal to convey their ideas.

Children will vary as to how well they master the different types of classroom talk. At one end there may be the studious child who understands what the teacher is saying, but cannot make friends among the other children. At the other end, there may be the class clown who gets on very well with the other children and jokes a lot to cover up for not understanding what the teacher is saying. Teachers will also vary in how well they understand the children's language and how they deal with it: from those who do not understand what the children are saying, to those who accommodate to the way the children are speaking, to those who make efforts to model and scaffold the language of instruction.

Every classroom will also be influenced by the relationships between the groups that speak the dominant language and those that speak the minority language. As children grow older, they become more conscious of these differences. Does it feel like a betrayal of the group to begin speaking the dominant language? Does it feel like mockery or like 'slumming it' to speak the language of the minority group? Does the desire to fit in with other children determine how children speak, whether they use their home language more, reject their home language or the language of instruction or whether they feel comfortable going between the languages?

This may lead to what Inge Kral (p.c.) has called 'pretty girl' syndrome, whereby in the early years of school, little girls in particular want to please their teacher. They talk with the teacher, and so they learn more about the teacher's way of talking, and their mastery of the language of instruction improves. But later on, they want to talk more like their peers, and so they reduce their exposure to the teacher's way of talking and accommodate more to their peers.

Little is known about children's classroom discourse in these remote communities, and this lack is addressed by several chapters in this book. Wilson et al. provide a detailed grammatical and lexical analysis of the speech of two 4-year-old Tiwi girls (chosen from recordings of ten children) in a kindergarten classroom environment. It reveals code-switching and also the methodological difficulties of determining what are the codes the children use and so whether code-switching is taking place. They conclude that in the classroom context, the children use a language with fixed syntactic rules (notably word order), but use lexemes from three source languages: Modern Tiwi, Kriol and standard English. In other words, this appears to be a case of translanguaging where the children are drawing on all the resources available to them to communicate.

Poetsch (Chap. 7, this volume) analyses the conversations of two Arrernte girls, aged 7;4 and 8;3, in a maths lesson on probability. She discusses three types of purpose for their talk: organising the task, carrying out the task and off-task chit-chat, and she also looks at patterns in teacher-child and child-child interactions. These show the fluidity with which the children can move between Arrernte and English and use their linguistic resources to carry out tasks. She argues, however, that peer support is necessary in part because the teacher has to use English for conveying the content of the lesson. This peer support is also discussed and found to be essential in Feller and Vaughan's discussion of a Guarani classroom.

As Angelo and Hudson (Chap. 9, this volume) argue, a classroom is 'a complex fieldwork site', and this is well demonstrated in Feller and Vaughan's account. Understanding what happens in the classroom requires a sophisticated ethnographic approach and respectful engagement with teachers as well as students.

Language Development Through Primary/ Elementary School

Children develop their language skills during the first few years of school. They start school able to converse fluently on basic topics in their first language(s) (Cummins 2000), but there are many more advanced linguistic skills which continue to develop during the first few years of school. In the primary-school years, English-speaking children are learning more about the functions of various linguistic devices including pronouns, determiners and demonstratives, and are additionally learning how to use more complex syntactic structures such as embedded structures/clauses. At the same time, they begin to organise longer spans of utterances into narratives along with developing their ability to use language for metaphor, jokes and riddles. In this period, the method of conjoining sentences in English shifts from coordination to subordination and embedding, and children learn to use language more economically. Concurrently, their metalinguistic awareness develops (i.e. their ability to think and talk about language), and at the same time, they are learning to read and write. In addition, the school situation makes demands of children in terms of their pragmatic skills, such as being able to enter into a conversation, to respond to highly specific questions, to be able to deal with talk about talk (text-related or ideational language) and to learn from reading. Further, not only is their vocabulary developing at a rapid rate, but children in these years also have to become more precise in their word usage because greater precision is expected. Thus, as children enter school, their language skills continue to develop. All children, however, face a further challenge: they must learn an additional code, the language of literacy.

Language and Literacy

For many centuries, the major focus in schooling around the world (China, Japan, Korea, Europe and its colonies) has been on teaching children to read and write. Literacy has become so bound up with schooling

that in politically monolingual countries such as Australia, little distinction is made between learning the language of schooling and learning to read and write. This can create difficult situations for children who don't speak the dominant language when they enter school. They may be incorrectly assessed as failing to learn to read and write, when in fact they haven't yet learned enough of the dominant language to be able to read and write in it. Other difficulties are encountered by children who speak a contact language which is related to the dominant language. The similarities in vocabulary between the contact language and the dominant language (e.g. both languages using the words 'dog', 'horse' and 'cat' for the same animals) may lead their teachers to believe that the children understand the dominant language better than they in fact do.

In preschool reading activities, widely recognised as an important preliteracy activity (see, e.g. Heath 1983; Haden et al. 1996), we have found that Australian Indigenous caretakers interact with small children in these communities in very similar ways to those that have been identified elsewhere (Moses and Yallop 2008). However, these activities are taking place in the context of their home code, whereas in the school situation they will be conducted in Standard Australian English.

In sum, in many schools, children who don't speak the language of instruction must learn that language, must learn the concept of written codes and the purposes of literacy and must learn to read and write in the language of instruction. Occasionally, however, literacy in the home language is provided, and this can be beneficial, as Nicholas (Chap. 12, this volume) shows for a young woman who found that learning to write Hopi helped her transcribe language material that her parents provided her with. Literacy can be learned in and out of school activities, as Kral and Renganathan (Chap. 14, this volume) show with a digital filming project that generated interest among Semai young people in learning to write their own language.

Consequences for Teaching and Learning

There is now relatively widespread agreement within the literature on bilingual education that children coming to school with another language are advantaged by receiving the first few years of their schooling in

their first language and learning literacy skills initially in this language (although this is tempered by the need for well-trained teachers, appropriate curricula and courses). Such programmes include the Ojibwe immersion programmes in Wisconsin, USA (Hermes and Haskins, Chap. 5, this volume), the transitional-immersion programme developed for Dene Sųłiné children of communities in Saskatchewan, Canada (Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume), and the Yolŋu Matha bilingual curriculum of a school in Arnhem Land, Australia (Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume).

Unfortunately, mother-tongue medium instruction is far from the norm. Even where the value of the home language is recognised by the school, it may simply be through a few language-enrichment lessons (Poetsch, Chap. 7, this volume), rather than content teaching through the mother tongue. Mother-tongue medium instruction faces numerous obstacles, from the monolingual mindsets of various governments (Hermes and Haskins, Chap. 5, Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume) to parents themselves worrying that it will hamper their children's acquisition of the dominant language (Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume).

The Dene Sųłiné programme is fortunate to have a number of fully bilingual teachers. But even in other Dene communities, lack of bilingual teachers is an obstacle to running programmes. In many communities, most teachers come from outside the community, and do not speak or understand the community language. This requires more long-term investment in giving local people opportunities to become teachers, as the First Nations University of Canada and the University of Regina are doing through a Dene teacher education programme (Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume). In the meantime, it requires a good system of teaching in teams where at least one person speaks the community language and one person speaks the language of instruction (Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume, Feller and Vaughan, Chap. 8, this volume). However, the cost of this may be prohibitive in some school systems.

A second problem arises from the fact that often there is no good description of the local language and no resources for outsider teachers to learn the language. Having to learn a language without the backup of written materials is hard for many people whose previous language-learning experience relied on such materials. This lack of good descrip-

tion is particularly acute with contact languages and non-standard varieties of the dominant language. There may be, as Angelo and Hudson note, no easy way of finding out what languages are spoken in the community. If there is a description of a contact language, there is often a tendency to generalise. So, in Australia, people sometimes use descriptions of Aboriginal English and creoles from one area, and generalise from these to areas that may be thousands of kilometres away, without realising that the obvious similarities mask some profound differences in grammar. Finally, similarities in lexicon between the contact languages and the language of instruction may mislead outsiders into thinking that communication with the local community is better than it actually is.

The outsider wanting to learn an indigenous language has also to consider the local people's attitudes towards outsiders learning their language. In many remote Indigenous communities in Australia, outsiders are welcomed in learning the language, provided they recognise the language as the historical and cultural property of the community. However, this is not true of all endangered language communities; for example, some Towa/Jemez-speaking pueblos in New Mexico have discouraged writing down their languages and imparting them to outsiders (Pueblo of Jemez Walatowa 2017). In the case of new contact languages and non-standard varieties of the dominant languages, there can be serious difficulties with outsiders using them. Communities can have ambivalent attitudes towards the new languages, viewing them on the one hand as their own way of talking and on the other as 'rubbish' versions of the standard language. In such cases, outsiders using them may be seen as claiming unwarranted intimacy with the community or even as mocking the community's way of talking.

Lack of outsider language-learning resources often goes hand in hand with a lack of resources for teaching children in the language. This can be exacerbated by lack of standardisation of small languages, making exchange of language material between communities harder because time must be spent on localisation (as with Dene communities, Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume, and also with Yolŋu communities, Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume).

A third problem arises with communities where more than one traditional language is spoken. Which one should be used in the school? Can

the school support the use of more than one language? The controversies that can arise from this situation, and attempts at resolving it, are discussed with respect to the use of Gumatj at Yirrkala school (Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume).

Finally, in communities where language shift is happening, there is increased pressure on schools to enter into language reclamation and language maintenance activities. In part this is happening because, as Meek (Chap. 13, this volume) points out, the strength of the family environment as the place for language development is being eroded in wealthy countries by children's access to electronic devices like phones and computers.

We now turn to specific aspects of teaching and learning:

- Diagnosis of children's language skills on entry
- Assessment of children's progress on learning the language of instruction and on learning content
- Designing a curriculum which helps children enrich and develop their home language
- Teaching the dominant language in an explicit way which strengthens children's ability to use it to grasp curriculum concepts
- Designing a curriculum which draws on their community's knowledge and skills

These are discussed individually in the following sections.

Diagnosis of Children's Initial Language State

When children enter school, the people who work with them need to know what language skills they come with, so that they can build on this foundation. This may mean recognising that, while the children haven't mastered the standard language of instruction, they do have skills in more than one language, in 'translanguaging'—in using the resources of more than one language to good effect. People find it fairly easy to tell when children don't understand the language of instruction if they speak a traditional language which has quite different words and grammatical struc-

tures from the language of instruction. But this is much less easy in the case of children who speak non-standard varieties of the language of instruction or contact languages which derive in part from a variety of the language of instruction. Such children may be 'invisible L2 learners' (Angelo and Hudson, Chap. 9, this volume). Diagnosing the initial language state of such children means teasing apart the children's knowledge of their home language from their mastery of the standard language of instruction (Wilson et al, Chap. 6, this volume).

Assessment of Their Progress

Progress should include progress both in learning the language of instruction and in the understanding of the curriculum content. This is only possible, however, if teachers are aware of what the children's language resources are when they begin school, if teachers understand enough of how the dominant language works in order to be able to teach it explicitly and if teachers are conscious of potential language difficulties when teaching the curriculum content. Angelo and Hudson (Chap. 9, this, volume) provide a guide for assessing the understanding of content through discussion. First and foremost, it requires the teacher to provide opportunities for the student to talk about the content. The content may vary in how far removed it is from the here-and-now of the conversation. The discussion may vary as to who leads it—student or teacher. The student's discussion may range from brief repetition of key sentences to much deeper explanations of the content. The teacher will need to consider how to enrich the language of the discussion through getting the children to answer questions, to give brief descriptions, and through providing feedback through comments and repair.

Assessing progress in learning a heritage language is an important area, often neglected as a result of lack of time and resources. Meek (Chap. 13, this volume) describes tasks for assessing knowledge of nouns, but also knowledge of the complex verb morphology of Kaska Dene, and shows that frequency of use appears to be a driver in determining which forms children learn.

Designing a Curriculum to Help Children Enrich and Develop Their Home Language

Hermes and Haskins (Chap. 5, this volume) provide an example where assessment actually works against promoting home language. Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) proper names are sacred, they place their bearers in relation to other community members and are given in important social ceremonies. But they are often long names (compare 'Niiyaandiwed' with 'John'). Children will therefore take longer to learn to write their names, but they will then be evaluated against peers with short names, who can be expected to learn to write their own names more rapidly. The cumulative effects of such seemingly small differences can easily mount up. Meek (Chap. 13, this volume) shows how, when school curricula are not developed and fossilise into routines such as constant flash card use, this can lead to the assumption that children's potential to learn the language has plateaued.

Explicit Teaching of the Dominant Language to Strengthen Children's Ability to Grasp Curriculum Concepts

The curricula of formal schooling require that children learn to talk about abstract concepts. Some of these concepts, such as probability and safety, may be expressed in significantly different ways in different languages: for example, English uses a mixture of adjectives ('likely'), nouns ('probability'), adverbs ('probably') and verbs ('could', 'might') to express these ideas, whereas some Indigenous Australian languages use auxiliary and verbal inflections along with particles to carry out similar functions. Poetsch (Chap. 7, this volume) argues for the importance of giving more preparation time in team teaching for developing an understanding of the lesson contents in the first language of the children. Angelo and Hudson (Chap. 9, this volume) discuss the difficulties a child around 5 years old has in answering his teacher's questions about the concept of 'safety' even after it has been the focus of 6 weeks of daily class activities and discussion.

Designing a Curriculum Drawing on the Community's Knowledge and Skills

When communities feel that their ways of life and traditional knowledge are under threat from those of the dominant society, there may be a strong impetus to incorporate aspects of traditional knowledge into the school curriculum. This may be a consequence of developing teaching materials—what should the contents of those teaching materials be (Disbray and Martin, Chap. 2, this volume)? Can the existing resources in the dominant language be refashioned, as in the case of Ojibwe teachers drawing perspectives from European stories such as 'The Three Little Pigs' (Hermes and Haskins, Chap. 5, this volume)? The story has various motives which make the content more directly relevant to the children's experience, including the community's rights to pass on their knowledge, the value of that knowledge for science and history, and the belief that it will improve the engagement of the children and their families in the school and so improve their overall educational outcomes.

Many communities see 'language as cultural practice' (Nicholas, Chap. 12, this volume), where language is an integral part of cultural practice that a child acquires on the way to becoming an adult member of their society. Developing a 'two-way curriculum' that brings in these cultural practices takes considerable time and effort, as well as involvement from community members, but it is essential if the curriculum is to be staged and expand children's knowledge, rather than being repetitive. Examples include the *Garma* curriculum (developed within the Yolŋu communities of Arnhem Land (Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume)), and the Arandic *Anpernirrentye* and Warlpiri *Ngurra-kurlu* frameworks in Central Australia (Disbray and Martin, Chap. 2, this volume).

'Two-way' learning styles are also possible in communities attempting to regain their traditional languages. Meek (Chap. 13, this volume) shows how a new register of Kaska Dene was created by bringing together learning and teaching styles within family interaction with school teaching styles. This allowed children to participate actively in speaking their heritage language.

Taking Charge of the School

Government control of education means that the infrastructure, people and resources for teaching may be unaffordable for small remote communities. But government control often also comes along with restrictions on who can teach what and how. What can be taught is a vexed question. Feller and Vaughan (Chap. 8, this volume) note how a non-Guarani-speaking teacher struggled to work with the mandated mainstream curriculum. Kral and Renganathan (Chap. 14, this volume) find that the Malaysian national curriculum does not meet the needs of Orang Asli Semai-speaking children. Hermes and Haskins (Chap. 5, this volume) show how the requirement that all schools train students to meet 'Wisconsin Common Core Standards' conflicts with Ojibwe people's ideas about what is important for students to do and learn. They problematize the idea of universal knowledge. Another example was the sudden decision by the government of the Northern Territory of Australia to adopt a 'first four hours in English' policy from 2009 for all government schools (Morales et al, Disbray and Martin, Chap. 2, this volume). Some communities have taken control of schools for their children, in part to ensure that their children are taught in their first language and to follow a curriculum which they believe better reflects their values. An example is the Clearwater River Dene School (Jung et al, Chap. 3, this volume). Others have managed to achieve a halfway position, with influential local advisory groups and school councils, as in Arnhem Land (Morales et al, Chap. 4, this volume).

Out-of-school learning is also a reality in some communities; Kral and Renganathan (Chap. 14, this volume) show that engaging young people in projects that interest them can encourage substantial learning of language, cultural knowledge and literacy.

Translanguaging

Developing a two-way curriculum may make communities, educators and linguists consider the role of translanguaging as they grapple with three aims: to help the children develop the knowledge and skills expected

in the curriculum, to help the children master the language of wider communication, and to enrich and develop the children's mastery of the home language and extend it into new domains of conversation. The best way to teach the children the content of the curriculum may be to incorporate translanguaging into the linguistic repertoire. But the best way to develop the children's mastery of languages, whether of the home language or the language of wider communication, may be through planned and staged language instruction and use, which may involve greater immersion in the target language. As well, without effective professional development for discussing, teaching and creating expanded ways of talking about new things (science, technology, political systems, etc.), people may contract the domains in which they use their home languages. Thus there is potential for conflict between supporting translanguaging, supporting enrichment of home language and supporting mastery of the language of wider communication. It will be important to work out an appropriate balance because if the balance is not right, tensions over schooling will develop between communities and government agencies. Creative resolutions will be needed.

This Volume

This volume is focused around a range of approaches pertaining to the school contexts through which children manage this major change from a home environment to the school environment and the approaches that are adopted by different schools and communities to encourage the maintenance of the children's home languages. The chapters included here explore the challenges of the different codes the children bring from home, the demands made of them in the school, and how these affect their ability to manage and fully participate in the school environment. The volume is thus loosely structured around a series of questions variously addressed in the chapters. In this respect, we consider what range of languages, and to what level of proficiency, the children have in the languages they bring to school and how this repertoire changes as they move through the schooling system. We also consider the kinds of speech events the children participate in, at home and in

school, what linguistic codes they use and how well they are able to participate linguistically in the classroom. Our overarching focus is on how the languages the children speak before school and throughout their schooling impact on their ability to participate fully in the classroom during the school years.

The volume is a step towards developing solutions which address the complexity of the issues facing Indigenous children and children from language minorities as they make the transition from home to school. This is a transition millions of children across the world make as they move from home to school. While this change constitutes a significant adjustment for any child in every continent in the world, for many children there is also a significant linguistic challenge: the language (or languages) the child has learned at home is not the language of the school environment. Sometimes this is because the children come from immigrant backgrounds where the language of the community to which they have moved is different from their home language; in other cases the children come from indigenous communities in countries where the language of education is different from their home language or languages. For the first group, the children from immigrant backgrounds, the transition is somewhat eased by the fact that for the most part, the language of their surrounding community is the same as that of the school—they are in a second language context. For Indigenous children, however, the situation is often not like this because the children live in a community where their home, rather than their school language, is spoken in the community. This means that they are effectively living in a 'foreign' language environment where their only access to the standard language of the country in which they live is at school, where input is limited and comes almost exclusively from teachers.

Indigenous languages across the world are disappearing at a rapid rate. Some Indigenous children continue to learn a traditional indigenous language as their first language, while in other communities new mixed languages or creoles are emerging. In many of these situations, when children enter the formal education system, they will encounter the dominant language of the country for the first time. Some may be able to attend a bilingual school, but more usually they will enter a school in which education is entirely in the dominant language and they are expected to learn

this language by immersion only. In many cases, the children do not achieve the same level of success as their peers who speak the national language as a first language and are schooled in it. Their poor performance is often attributed to differences between their home language and the school language, but this claim has not been substantiated in empirical studies of the languages the children speak.

This volume explores the experiences of Indigenous children from the age of four, in Australia and around the world, as they make transitions from home to school and as they move from their home language to mastering the dominant language of the country. The chapters profile a range of different communities and sociolinguistic contexts but in each address how the linguistic environment of the school maps onto the local language ecology of the community. The Australian contributions represent research in a range of largely remote Aboriginal Australian communities. The language ecologies of these communities vary greatly, and the classroom contexts are equally linguistically diverse. The chapters span communities where a local creole variety is dominant and others where one or more local indigenous languages are used. The international contexts are equally varied. Core themes across the volume include the ways in which communities manage the transition from home to school; language choice in the classroom and how languages pattern across interlocutors and interactional contexts; sociolinguistic aspects of the interactions of children (and their teachers) in and across the arenas of classroom, playground, home, and out-of-school activities; and how children adapt to the speech events and speech acts used in classrooms.

This volume follows up on a number of themes raised in the book produced by the first phase of the Aboriginal Child Language Acquisition project (University of Melbourne and Australian National University), *Children's Language and Multilingualism: Indigenous Language Use at Home and School* (Jane Simpson and Gillian Wigglesworth, 2008, London: Continuum), a publication that has proven valuable and useful for educators and academic audiences alike. In this volume, each chapter begins with a broad conceptualisation of the issues to be addressed before moving on to discuss a specific case study taken from the Australian or international context.

Understanding the issues at stake in these transitions requires methods from different disciplines including linguistics, education, applied linguistics and anthropology. The chapter authors include researchers and language professionals from these disciplines who understand the issues and have practical experience in indigenous communities. They discuss the topics in the light of empirical findings from a broad range of indigenous communities and language backgrounds. The findings on the relationships between home language, school language, school performance and language policy are increasingly topical as educators and policy makers around the world grapple with the layered complexities that have to be addressed.

This volume comprises four sections. Part 1 addresses the ways in which school programmes and curricula may or may not reflect the language ecology of the local community, or respond to community demands and desires; Part 2 examines the complexities of code-choice in the multilingual classroom; Part 3 considers the challenges and implications when children's home language and the language of the classroom are closely related—in such cases the distinction between codes may not be recognised and the target may not be explicitly taught; and Part 4 explores language use as cultural practice among Indigenous children and young adults.

Notes

1. In Australia and Canada, these are sometimes referred to as 'First Nations languages'. In Canada they are also known as 'Aboriginal languages'. In Australia 'Aboriginal languages' refers more specifically to languages spoken on the mainland and Tasmania, excluding languages of the Torres Strait, while 'Indigenous languages' includes all these languages.

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Part I

Curriculum

2

Curriculum as Knowledge System: The Warlpiri Theme Cycle

Samantha Disbray and Barbara Martin

Introduction

In contexts across the world, recognition of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and its importance, in particular to science and sustainability, has become increasingly prominent (Bohensky et al. 2013; Inglis 1993; Johnson 2012; Roué 2006). According to the UNESCO 'Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems' website, societies from all parts of the world possess rich sets of experience, understanding and explanation:

> Local and indigenous knowledge refers to the understandings, skills and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings. For rural and indigenous peoples, local knowledge informs decision-making about fundamental aspects of day-to-day

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life. This knowledge is integral to a cultural complex that also encompasses language, systems of classification, resource use practices, social interactions, ritual and spirituality. These unique ways of knowing are important facets of the world's cultural diversity, and provide a foundation for locally-appropriate sustainable development. (UNESCO 2016)

Indigenous educators and advocates have promoted IK in education, with its value defined in terms of indigenous rights and improved educational and well-being outcomes for Indigenous students and communities, as well as fostering linguistic and bio-ecological knowledge (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Bates et al. 2009; Battiste 2002; Little Bear 2009; Semali and Kincheloe 2002). In line with the UNESCO depiction of IK, many characterisations of these diverse and complex knowledge systems stress their local and holistic nature and detail multiple strands of social, cultural, metaphysical, ecological knowledge and lived practice (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Haami and Roberts 2002; Maurial 2002; Roué and Nakashima 2002; UNESCO 2016; Walsh et al. 2013).

In Central Australia, the interconnected nature of traditional and contemporary knowledge has been explored in work by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars and practitioners. Fiona Walsh, Veronica Dobson and Josie Douglas have explored the Arrernte socio-ecological system in the context of Natural Resource Management (2013). The Arrernte are traditional owners of the lands surrounding, and on the site of, Alice Springs, which is the main population centre in Central Australia. The authors of this work, including Arrernte elder Veronica Dobson, propose an 'Anpernirrentye framework', which encompasses social relationships among humans and 'connections between plants, society, country, and laws and all things' (Walsh et al. 2013, p. 6). The three major interrelated domains of an Arrernte worldview are represented in the framework: Apmere (Country), Tyerrtye (People) and Altyerre (Dreaming, Creation time). They explain: 'Anpernirrentye is not only about human social relationships because plants and animals are related to Aboriginal people through the same social system that classifies and structures relationships among human individuals' (p. 6). They seek to make clear relationships between plant and animal species and the Arrernte people, which have, until recently, rarely been of interest to European scientists. In earlier

work, Mary Kemarre Turner depicted a complex mapping of Arrernte knowledge (Turner 2005). Finally, in their elucidation of Warlpiri 'Ngurra-kurlu', a template of Warlpiri culture, Pawu-Kurlpurlurnu et al. (2008) describe a system that represents the 'five key elements of Warlpiri culture: Land (also called Country), Law, Language, Ceremony, and Skin (also called Kinship)' (p.1). Their template of Warlpiri culture promotes Warlpiri pedagogy, identity and self-esteem, community and country well-being and effective ways to work with Warlpiri people.

The curriculum developed for teaching Warlpiri language and culture in four schools in Central Australia, the Warlpiri theme cycle, is the focus of this chapter. The Warlpiri theme cycle has developed over four decades through the Northern Territory (NT) bilingual education programme. Despite changes to education policy over the decades, Warlpiri educators continue to advocate for, develop and structure their teaching pro-grammes around the theme cycle (Devlin et al. 2017; Nicholls 2005; Simpson et al. 2009). Educators, elders and community members in the four Warlpiri schools, which make up the 'Warlpiri Triangle' (see Fig. 2.1), have worked on the development of local curricula to teach their children Warlpiri language and cultural knowledge in school. The three-year cycle covers 12 themes or knowledge domains, central to Warlpiri land, lan-guage and law (shown below in Fig. 2.3). It is designed to be taught over a student's schooling life, from early childhood to secondary years, as the students take part in a cycle of ever deeper learning in each domain. With four themes each year, the cycle is mapped to the NT school year, which is divided into four terms. In this, the theme cycle replicates traditional ways of learning and knowing but is adapted to the rhythm of non-traditional contemporary schooling. Though the domains of learning are separated out for the purposes of the curriculum, they nevertheless remain inextricably connected.

The Four Warlpiri Communities

The Warlpiri communities, Yuendumu, Nyirripi, Willowra and Lajamanu are located in the arid Tanami region of Central Australia in the NT (see Fig. 2.1). They are separated by hundreds of kilometres and each has a
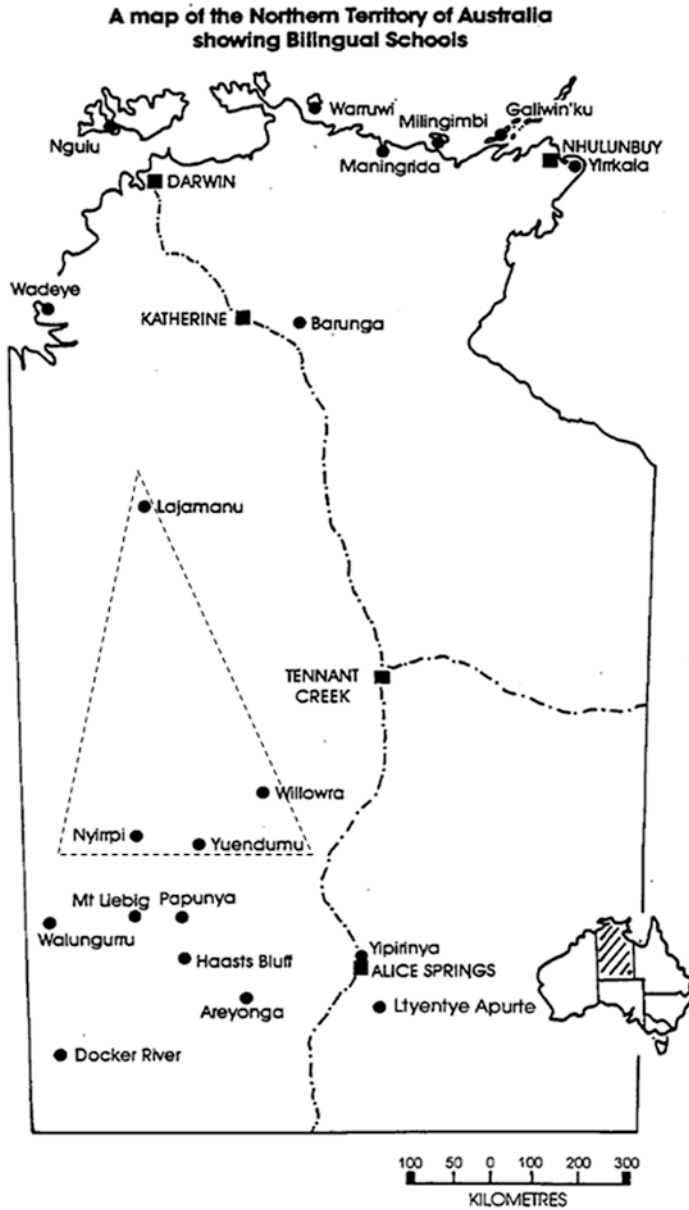
Fig. 2.1 Map of the Warlpiri Triangle, in relation to Alice Springs and schools with bilingual education programmes in 1990 (Northern Territory Department of Education 1990, reproduced with permission)

unique history. However, they are connected by family (Musharbash 2008), mobility, language and culture: they are part of a Warlpiri unity. As Warlpiri educators wrote in 2008:

> Nganimpa-rlalu jintangku Yapa Warlpiri manu wangkami jinta jaru, Warlpiripatu kurlangu Jaru. Nganimpa yungurnalu waja-waja mardarni maninja wangurlu nganimpa-nyangu jaru manu culture. Nganimparlu yungu-rnalu tarnngangkujuku mardarni pirrjirdi-nyayirni tarnngangkujuku.
>
> We are one Warlpiri people and speak one language. We don't want to lose our language and culture. We want to keep it going and we want to keep it strong. (Northern Territory Department of Education 2008, p. 2)

This unity is also expressed through regional Warlpiri initiatives such as the Warlpiri Triangle in the context of the Northern Territory bilingual education programme, Pintubi Anmatjere Warlpiri Media and Communications Association (PAW media undated), the Warlpiri Youth Aboriginal Development Corporation (Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation 2015) and the Warlpiri Education and Training Trust (WETT) (Central Land Council undated).

Yuendumu, with its current population of over 800 Warlpiri people and a total population of approximately 1000, was established in 1946 as a ration station. In 1947 it became a Baptist mission and was declared an Aboriginal reserve in 1952 and administered by the Native Affairs Branch of the Australian Government. The reserve became an Aboriginal freehold land under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976 and the land and area became the Yuendumu Aboriginal Land Trust area. Yuendumu was one of the first NT schools to take up bilingual education in 1974.

Willowra is a smaller community with a population of approximately 450. It began as a residential area on a cattle station, and the Willowra pastoral lease was purchased by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs on behalf of the local Indigenous people in 1973. Five years later a land claim to Willowra was lodged under the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act 1976 and in 1983 the traditional owners were granted inalienable freehold title to their country (Vaarzon-Morel and Wafer 2017). The bilingual programme began in 1977.

Lajamanu, located in the far north semi-arid part of the Tanami region has a population of around 800. The Warlpiri community was established here in 1949, when a number of families were moved from Yuendumu by Native Affairs. Twice over the next two decades, people walked the 700 km south back to Yuendumu, only to be returned to Lajamanu (Lajamanu community members 1984). Since then Warlpiri have made this community their home. In 1980 the Lajamanu Council was established, the first Community Government Council in the NT (Remote Area Health Corps 2009). Its bilingual programme began in 1981 (Nicholls 1998, 2001, 2005).

Nyirripi is the smallest Warlpiri community, with a population of approximately 250. It was established in the late 1970s, and after persistent campaigning by the residents of this outstation, a school was established in the early 1980s, with support for its bilingual programme provided from Yuendumu. In all four communities, Warlpiri is spoken among all age groups, although in Lajamanu, children learn a new Warlpiri variety: Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2008, 2011, 2015).

Indigenous Language and Knowledge in Education in Australia

The NT bilingual education programme was established in 1973, an important move in recognising and fostering Indigenous languages in education (Devlin et al. 2017). Today, Indigenous languages and knowledge are taught in many schools across Australia, to Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, through language revitalisation and second language and bilingual language maintenance programmes (Disbray 2015; Hobson et al. 2010). In response to revitalization efforts across the country in the 1980s and 1990s, the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (1993) was developed to support the range of language teaching settings, and varied learner profiles, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. A number of states drew on this to develop curriculum documents (Government of South Australia 2001, n.d.; Northern Territory Department of Education and Training 2002; NSW Board of Studies

2003; Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority 2009), and locally, individual language groups have designed their own programmes to teach their languages (Hartman and Henderson 1994; Hobson et al. 2010). In 2015, the Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages (Australian Curriculum n.d.) was launched as part of the new national curriculum. Its implementation and impact is yet to be seen (Disbray 2015, 2016).

The NT Bilingual Program

The Warlpiri theme cycle was created in the context of the NT Bilingual programme, which ran as an official programme from 1974 until 2008 (Simpson et al. 2009), and was reinstated in 2015. Some 25 schools in remote communities in the NT operated programmes and were important sites for the development of local curriculum and pedagogy (Marika 1999; Marika-Munggiritji and Christie 1995; Marika-Mununggiritj 2002), literature in Aboriginal languages (Gale 1992, 1994, 1995, 1997) and Aboriginal teacher training (McTaggart 1999). The programme was established after the newly elected Labor Federal Government's call to 'launch a program to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages' (Department of Education 1973) and sparked a period of remarkable creativity, educational engagement and innovation (Disbray 2014). The revitalisation and assertion of cultural knowledge and practice, repressed under the previous assimilationist era, fed into local goals for bilingual education in the NT. By 1989, Christine Walton and William Eggington reflected that:

> Many Aboriginal teachers and community members have found bilingual education not only a preferable model of education for their children, but also a means whereby they have been able to take their rightful place in the schooling of their children. They see it as a vehicle for self-determination and a means whereby they have been able to incorporate their languages and cultures into the school in order to make the school an instrument of language and culture maintenance, rather than destruction. (1990, p. ix)

Formal western-schooling was still relatively new when the bilingual programme began. In some communities, mission schools had been present for as long as 40 years, in others, less than 20 years. Many of the Indigenous teaching staff in the programmes were among the first or second generation of adults to experience non-Indigenous education. Only a handful of Aboriginal languages were used as literate languages, generally limited in these few instances to church literacy. Few adults were literate in English or their traditional language(s). In many sites, the first step in establishing a bilingual programme was to develop orthographies for literature production and literacy teaching and learning. Going out to places of significance on traditional country with elders and recording their stories and knowledge was an important aspect of early vernacular literacy production.

Indigenous researcher and bilingual educator Dr Marika (1999) provided a professional and personal reflection on vernacular literacy research and production and its role in developing Indigenous pedagogy at Yirrkala school in east Arnhem Land (see also Marika-Munggiritji and Christie 1995). Marika reflected on how language resources were developed collaboratively, with elders, educators and other community members, often with the assistance of linguists and teacher linguists. The materials document Yolŋu knowledge including cultural knowledge, such as land tenure, ceremonial life, social practice and organisation, local history and dreamtime stories; knowledge of the natural world, such as plants, animals, ecosystems; as well as hunting, tracking and resource use. Educators skilfully wove these themes into the local curricula, incorporating science, maths and social science along with language and literacy outcomes. Examples of such local pedagogy and integrated curricula include 'Galtha Rom' and 'Garma maths lessons' at Yirrkala School (see Morales, et al, Chap. 4, this volume). Others include 'Dhanarangala Murrurinydji Gaywanagal', later 'Gattjirrk' at Milingimbi School (Tamisari and Milmilany 2003).

The inextricable link Marika observes between the development of vernacular literacy and teaching materials, teacher education and community involvement in bilingual schooling and the development of Indigenous curriculum and pedagogy is also evident in other

locations. In Central Australia, in addition to the Warlpiri theme cycle, Yanangu [Aboriginal] educators in the Pintupi-Luritja region (Papunya, Haast's Bluff, Mt. Liebig and Kintore, see Fig. 2.1) were also committed to the development of local curricula to reflect and teach core knowledge through their bilingual education programs. According to teacher linguist Neil Murray at Walungurru (Kintore) in 1987:

> The singular most encouraging thing is to witness the emerging concern (and ultimately responsibility for)—by the Yanangu teachers for curriculum development. That they are actively embracing and translating what is essentially a whitefella concept (a difficult one at that) is more to their credit. This has been particularly engendered by the RATE [Remote Area Teacher Education] program and more recently due to the visit by Kevin Keeffe [a former teacher at Papunya school, who] in conjunction with the Yanangu staff produced a booklet which defines their major concerns and interests. A copy of the booklet is included with this report. The booklet suggests a means of devising and identifying curriculum through an Yanangu frame of reference. (Northern Territory Department of Education 1987, p. 45)

The bilingual programme provided a context and a forum for Indigenous educators to discuss, develop and implement local curriculum over time. In the case of the Warlpiri theme cycle, this exploration and development is ongoing.

The Warlpiri Theme Cycle

> Old people told us what to put in the Warlpiri cycle. We worked every time with elders, about what we should teach the kids, in different parts of the school. Jukurrpa [stories, Dreamtime stories], jurnarrpa [made objects], what food, everything. In SACE [South Australian Certificate of Education] workshops and at Warlpiri Triangle and sometimes Jinta Jarrimi they help us and so they can help us to teach kids. (M. Kitson, Warlpiri Educator at Willowra School, 2014, Transcript SD022)

Early Development and the Themes

When the bilingual programmes began, there was no explicit plan to develop a curriculum as such. A core task was to develop Warlpiri literacy materials to begin teaching children to read in Warlpiri. In 1975 only a handful of books had been printed. Initially, 'paste-over' books, in which the text in existing books (in English or other Indigenous languages) was covered with a piece of paper with Warlpiri text, were used. These paste-overs and translations of English books were a quick way to make books. However, staff in the Warlpiri schools were committed to producing Warlpiri stories in Warlpiri language and developing a bi-literate and bicultural programme, with texts reflecting local knowledge and local experience. A very rich and unique collection resulted. Knowledge from elders and community members was recorded, transcribed and edited. Line drawn illustrations with traditional icons, symbols and designs used in body painting and sand drawings accompanied the texts. Some of the earliest books were accounts of the Dreamings (foundational narratives) for the important sites on Warlpiri country. Others were texts on land, flora, fauna, material culture as well as contact history. By 1980, there were over 100 Warlpiri publications and by the mid-1990s over 600. There are now over 700, including community newsletters, which provide a broader function for literacy outside of the school setting. The books are grouped by theme, and for many, songs have been developed, providing bundles of themed resources.

Linguist Mary Laughren was employed to support the Warlpiri bilingual programmes in 1975. In her 1983 report in the Annual Reports of Specialist Staff in Bilingual Schools she wrote:

> Much of my time is spent with literature production – aiding literacy workers and teaching assistants to improve their reading and writing skills, checking Warlpiri texts for spelling and punctuation errors, English translations and so forth. Literacy workers are now typing directly into the computer, thus allowing for the easy editing of texts and the flexible layout of books. (Northern Territory Department of Education 1983, p. 62)

One output from this early literacy production work was the development of a Warlpiri-English dictionary under Mary Laughren's stewardship. It became clear that the dictionary should reflect Warlpiri semantic classifications which could form the basis for curriculum development:

> Since the dictionary entries give a lot of information about each word – grammatical category, semantic domain, definition of meaning, range of meanings, English glosses, idioms in which the word is used, synonyms, antonyms, words of similar meanings, many example sentences as well as the English glosses, I believe that it provides teachers and others with a most valuable source of information on which to draw for curriculum development. Entries from fauna, for example, contain oral essays composed by Warlpiri people describing the animal in question – its appearance, habitat, behaviour, whether edible or not, how it is prepared for human consumption, ritual affiliation. Animals are compared and contrasted with other animals of a similar kind. Warlpiri classification is clearly indicated in the dictionary entries. (Mary Laughren in NTDET 1983, p. 62)

In the 1980s, the programmes began to consolidate (Disbray and Devlin 2017). More Aboriginal educators took up and completed teacher training. With their growing expertise, they were able to approach their teaching more as a 'programme' and to understand the role of planning and curriculum, and formal work began on developing a Warlpiri curriculum. In 1984 and 1985 in a set of workshops at Lajamanu, with school staff, community members and elders, along with some educators from the other communities, came together to discuss what boys and girls at different ages should be taught and how. The domains or themes they identified included kin, ceremony, edible plants, (meat) animals, the human body and country. In the documents they created, they wrote that men should teach boys knowledge of country and artefacts and ceremonies, and women should teach girls about gathering foods, and their ceremonial significance and visual representations [kuruwarri]. Learning in and out of classrooms was proposed, in the school grounds and at places of significance on Warlpiri country, with multiple generations of Warlpiri. The documents became part of the school policy (Lajamanu School 1984, 1986; Nicholls 1998).

The following year, staff and community members at Yuendumu started to develop a secondary program to have approved as a Certificate of Education course by the South Australian Board of studies. Educators, elders and community members from Yuendumu, Willowra and Nyirripi went out in family groups over a number of trips and then in workshops developed themes and content for units of work. Although the programme was never approved as a secondary programme, it became an important part of the primary and post-primary programmes in the four schools. The themes are schematised as in Fig. 2.2.

With more development through the 1990s, the cycle was fine-tuned. Gradually, the three-year cycle (Fig. 2.3) emerged, initially at Willowra, and by 2000 it was adopted by all four schools to structure the Warlpiri programmes (Northern Territory Department of Education 2004).

At the annual planning and professional learning workshop 'Warlpiri Triangle', which has been in place since the early Warlpiri maths workshops in the 1980s (Warlpiri Literature Production Centre 1984; Warlpiri Triangle Mathematics Workshops 1987), educators, elders and commu-
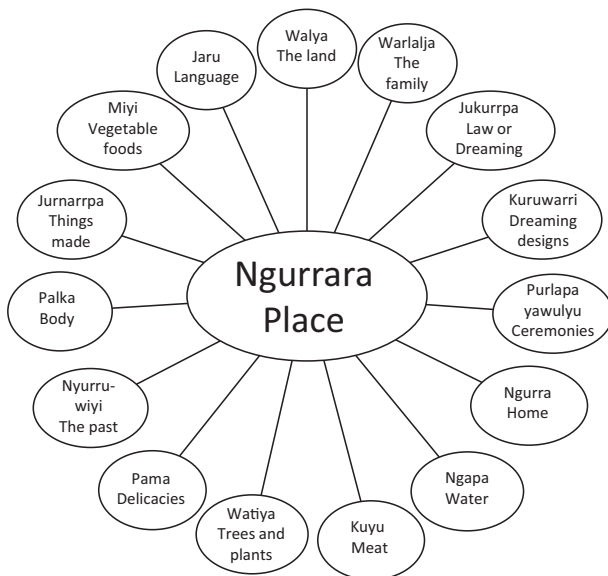
Fig. 2.2   Organisation of Warlpiri curriculum content in 1989 curriculum

Term Year	One	Two	Three	Four
One	Ngapa *Water*	Watiya *Trees & plants*	Jurnarrpa *Possessions, belongings, tools, artifacts*	Yuwulyu, Purlapa & Juju, *Women's ceremonies, men's ceremonies & monsters*
Two	Palka *Body*	Warlaja *Family & kin*	Kuyu *Meat animals*	Jaru & Rdaka-rdaka *Language & hand signs*
Three	Jukurrpa & Kurruwarri *Stories & designs*	Nyurru wiyi *History*	Ngurra & Walya *Country & home*	Miyi *Plant food*

Fig. 2.3   Themes and structure of the Warlpiri theme cycle—1999 to present

nity members dedicate time to plan curriculum and lessons. In the early 2000s, a term-wise workshop began, the Jinta Jarrimi workshops ['coming together'] in order to provide more frequent professional development opportunities and to further develop the curriculum cycle. The planning and development process for the theme cycle reflects not only the Warlpiri knowledge system but also the Warlpiri pedagogy underpinning the school programs, with its intergenerational, interconnected and recursive nature.

Warlpiri Knowledge, Pedagogy and Curriculum

Barbara Martin reflects on the interconnections between themes in the modern three-year curriculum cycle and Warlpiri ways of being:

> Every theme is connected to every other theme. It's hard to pull apart because they are connected, but we can focus on one part, one relationship at a time, step by step for children at school, and still teach connections. It is just as people have many connections and different roles in relation to each other at the same time. In each theme there are Kirda and Kurdungurlu because everything, plants, animals, food, has a ritual/ceremonial link.

The Kirda relationship to country is inherited from a person's father's side or from their father's father's side, while Kurdungurlu rights derive from their mother's father. Kirda are sometimes described as 'owners' of specific tracts of land and Kurdungurlu have been described as the 'managers'. However, both Kirda and Kurdungurlu imply ownership, though they fulfil different functions and ceremonial roles, 'based on a principle of radical complementarity, involving an elaborate system of checks and balances' (Nicholls 2016).

> Even though we are teaching about warlaja [family] or ngapa [water] theme, it is connected to everything, to law, people, land, country, Jukurrpa [Dreamtime/Stories], songs. And each theme flows to the next one, from ngapa [water] to watiya [plants and trees], watiya to jurnarrpa [artefacts], jurnarrpa to yawulyu and pujali [women's and men's ceremony].

This resonates with Walsh, Dobson and Douglas' depiction of the Arrernte Anpernirrentye framework described above. The framework can be understood as a 'free-rotating multidimensional form where domains and elements shift and enlarge according to the context. However, the framework appears static on the two-dimensionality of paper [yet] each element could be expanded to illuminate deeper understandings' (Walsh et al. 2013, p. 18). Walsh, Dobson and Douglas offer the example of a plant species with healing and health values that indicate further relevant elements such as one's spirit, causes of sickness and healing remedies. They emphasise that Indigenous ecological knowledge studies often focus at the microscale on such rich detail. While at this level, researchers can lose sight of the full array of interconnections between knowledge domains that are embodied; the Anpernirrentye framework provides a novel mesoscale conceptualization that emphasises connectivity. Similarly,

the Maori mind maps described by Roberts (2012) emphasise complex relatedness between people and the natural world. These mind maps encode ecological knowledge for utilitarian purposes and also socially, to position oneself within the world.

Barbara Martin explains a similar positioning in the world, key to Warlpiri ways of being and teaching:

> We are talking about living culture 'warnkaru' it's alive in the country and in each person. There are proper ways to act and live and move in places, that show that everything is connected – law, land, country, songs, people. When we are on country, the right person or right skin[1] must call to the spirits, we call it 'wintaru' – calling to the spirits'. I remember it from my uncle. When I was very young, one night, when the sun went down, we arrived at a place to camp out and hunt. He called out, 'we come with respect, we bring our kids to learn here, we've come to teach them, don't harm us, look after us' 'Don't harm or frighten our kids' – it's like talked song, or a singing talk that way of calling out – we call to the spirits, to the 'mirlarlpa'. We have to have respect for the country, we have to respect everything, know who the traditional owner is of a place or land, the Kirda [land owner, ritual custodian]. Kirda is responsible for songs, country, law, kurruwarri [designs associated with Dreamings], and then Kurdungurlu [the ceremonial servant and worker role], they have to help organise law, ceremony, Dreaming and help the Kirda – singing and painting, cooking, making shelters. They work together, and with 'warlaja' too, family, and they have to ask for them to look after us when we are out hunting, hunting kuyu or miyi (meat or vegetable foods). This is how we teach children Warlpiri culture, with respect.

We can show this by looking at one theme, ngapa (water). This is a very important domain of knowledge in arid Warlpiri country. Water places and rain feature significantly in law and ceremony. Warlpiri educators teach very young children the names of water places – rivers, rock holes, flood outs and soakages and common animals that live there. They choose a set of focus books so that children can learn both literacy and content. Children learn contemporary Warlpiri songs, in which important knowledge is embedded. Songs also help children to learn new words and ideas and are fun.

In addition, classes are taken out to different places close to the community for water theme work. Throughout the year, elders take part in bush trips and overnight country visits, to explain the places, sing the place and tell stories. Middle aged family members come too, to learn from elders and take part in teaching children. Going out with family on country is central to learning in the school programs. The Jukurrpa [Dreaming], the songs, the knowledge is out on the country. Educators and community members go as *Kirda* and *Kurdungurlu*, the 'right' people must go—the Jangala and Nangalas go as *Kirda*, with Jampijinpa and Nampijinpa as *Kurdungurlu*. On country visits, the children are painted up by family with the designs for their skin group and role, and hear the traditional songs associated with places, stories and Dreamings. In these ways, intergenerational knowledge sharing is alive and enacted through the theme cycle.

After an excursion or country visit, the children revise what they have learnt by writing photo captions and recounts often through a group-negotiated text to make a class big book. Students at different levels write their own stories, or photo captions, because the theme study is designed to be the platform for teaching Warlpiri literacy. The words in the focus text, song lyrics and class big book provide a word bank, and literacy-learning activities such as cloze worksheets and games such as Word Bingo consolidate their literacy skills. Sometimes there are excursions to the community arts centre for children to learn more about the *kurruwarri* [paintings], and this links traditional knowledge to contemporary culture, practice and enterprise.

Older children learn more important traditional stories for water places and they learn which families are responsible for specific places. In this way, students move through the theme cycle over time. When students first learn a theme, they learn it at a simple level. After three years, they learn about the same theme, and having learnt about other parts of Warlpiri knowledge, they can engage with deeper knowledge and make connections to the previous themes. This reveals the recursive nature of the theme cycle. Just as traditional knowledge sharing takes place over ceremonial cycles over time, with novices learning more at subsequent phases, so children learn deeper and deeper knowledge through the school programme. The same pedagogy is applied for all themes, whether the focus in the theme cycle is on plants, artefacts or stories.

Long-term Warlpiri Educator Tess Ross explains the connective nature and the esoteric complexity of the Jukurrpa, the knowledge at the heart of the curriculum she, Barbara Martin, and other Warlpiri educators have developed:

> The Jukurrpa links us up with all the other tribes around and even far away, as the Dreaming travels on into other language areas (…) Jukurrpa gives us connection to whatever is our Dreaming: for example, it might be goanna, kangaroo, fire, water, stars or any other natural thing. If we are Janganpa Jukurrpa we are possum Dreaming, we are the place of that Dreaming, Yuendumu hills, we are the Kirda, that means we are the owners and we own the designs, kuruwarri, the ceremony, we dance for this Dreaming and we own the songs and the country. We get our Dreaming from our fathers and our father's fathers. We are born with it. Everything is Jukurrpa, but we don't always know what it is. Sometimes people learn it from dreams. Everything has always been here, but Jukurrpa is always making it change. (Ross and Baarda 2017, p. 249)

Practical Benefits

The theme cycle has a range of practical benefits. By organising the Warlpiri programme through it, there is always a clear direction for teaching, irrespective of the priorities for the Education Department or individual principals at a given time. Further, there is no risk that the same material is repeated. Students learn about each important area of knowledge, in a staged fashion at an ever more complex level. The theme cycle also allows for peer learning among students in the school, as older children can help reinforce what younger children are learning because they are all learning the same theme. With a shared theme for the term, classes can be grouped if necessary. This ensures the continuation of the teaching programmes at times when there are few teachers or resources dedicated to the Warlpiri programme. Further, coordinated teaching can take place through whole school activities such as bush trips, country visits, culture nights and elders programs, with all year levels learning about the same theme, just at a different level of complexity. Teachers and

assistant teachers learn together from elders and plan together in a united and coordinated way within their school. Finally, teaching from the Warlpiri theme cycle across the four schools means that if children move between schools, they will all learn about the same key content.

The theme cycle and the term-wise workshop staff attend are crucial to a coherent regional Warlpiri education programme. One large workshop takes place each year: the 'Warlpiri Triangle' workshop. The workshop report generated from this serves as both a record of the workshop and a planning document. In the other three terms, there are smaller workshops, Jinta Jarrimi workshops [*jintajarrimi*—come together]. These are attended by a smaller group, who share the planning and learning back at their respective schools. The workshops exemplify intergenerational and traditional Warlpiri knowledge-sharing practices, which have underpinned the creation, development and ongoing planning and elaboration of the theme cycle. At each workshop the same protocols and routines are followed: welcoming by the host community, sharing from individual schools, planning with elders, sessions with a particular professional learning focus, song writing, group reading and raising concerns from individual or all schools and seeking strategies to manage these. Planning for the next term's theme work draws on previous material but is always prefaced by a restatement of previous planning for the theme. Educators and elders discuss what is important for this domain of knowledge, what children should know, who and how it should be taught, before the specific planning for the next term is undertaken. In these planning processes are cycles of restatement, and expansion, which are in turn reflected in the theme cycle and pedagogy.

A Future for Warlpiri Teaching, Learning and Bilingual Education

The Warlpiri schools are part of the Northern Territory Department of Education, which staffs the schools and provides the policy for their operation. Ultimately, Warlpiri control of their schools and the teaching and learning programme is limited. Policy implementation is always

mediated in an interaction of top-down and local forces, a source of potential strength and vulnerability of the programs. Even under the once strong NT bilingual programme, individual school programmes were subject to local decision-making, with the attitude and practice of the individual principal key to the vitality of the programme (Disbray 2016; Hoogenraad 2001; Ross and Baarda 2017). This situation remains.

In 2008 the NT government introduced a policy decreeing that the first four hours of every school day be taught in English, undermining the already beleaguered bilingual programme (Devlin et al. 2017; Nicholls 2005; Simpson et al. 2009). However, in the four Warlpiri schools, efforts were made to continue teaching Warlpiri, albeit with reduced support from school principals for some time. In 2015, a manager for the bilingual programme was appointed reflecting renewed tolerance, although the current NT Department of Education strategic plan does not endorse bilingual education, and no policy is in place to guide or safeguard it (Disbray 2016). In the Warlpiri and other schools, trained Indigenous teachers are now few, due to the withdrawal of the well-resourced teacher training programmes in the 1980s and 1990s. Recently, younger educators have been increasingly taking up employment in schools, particularly Yuendumu and Nyirripi, injecting new energy and strength to the programmes (Pers. com Kim Omar, NTDoE, March 2016). The immediate future for the Warlpiri programmes is promising at a local level in some of the schools, and there appears to be at least tacit support from the Education Department.

A further future-oriented development was the creation of an electronic database in 2014 to safe keep Warlpiri teaching and learning materials. Funded largely by WETT, a Warlpiri mining royalties fund, this on-line repository, 'Warlpiri Pina-jarrinjaku' stores and allows distribution of materials across the four sites. The database is structured around the theme cycle and stores a range of materials from workshop reports, planning templates, songs and syllabi, though more materials are yet to be added. It is hoped that this resource might augment existing planning and programming practice and provide a backup should there be any interruption to the regional planning workshops.

A further digital technology important for supporting language teaching programmes is the Living Archive of Aboriginal Languages (LAAL),[2]

created at Charles Darwin University (Christie et al. 2014). It already houses thousands of texts created in NT bilingual education programmes and other literature production contexts. A large portion of the Warlpiri collection will be stored and made available from the LAAL database.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described the Warlpiri theme cycle, its development and the domains of Warlpiri knowledge. We have argued that the processes of knowledge reproduction in its development, domains and pedagogies reflect and enact this living IK system, responsive to the contemporary context of schooling in the four Warlpiri communities. In both its development and teaching in schools, the theme cycle is intergenerational and recursive, core elements of Warlpiri knowledge sharing. Embodied in the theme cycle are multiple strands of social, cultural, metaphysical, ecological knowledge and lived practice, which characterise this local IK system. In developing, advocating for and continuing to use this theme cycle, Warlpiri educators[3] seek to raise their children as modern, bilingual, bicultural, strong and knowledgeable citizens:

> First language doesn't get in the way; it helps to make education strong. And schools are important places for keeping our languages strong. Warlpiri language has a future. It is important for building the future leaders of our communities. It is important for pathways to jobs, like managing our lands and using our cultural heritage, in tourism and arts. (Minutjukur et al. 2014, p. 160)

Notes

1. 'Skin' is a classificatory moiety system. There are eight skin groups, with eight male names and eight female names. Every Warlpiri person has a skin name through their mother and father. This links all Warlpiri through as classificatory kin, such as mother and father and also husband and wife,

and so the skin system prescribes relationships between people. Patri- and matrimoiety groups are linked to places, sites and Dreamings belonging to a skin group. Many other Aboriginal groups across Australia share similar skin systems, and so it is possible to establish classificatory kin relations with others.

2. Visit http://laal.cdu.edu.au/.
3. To see this paper presented by Warlpiri educators Valerie Patterson Napanangka and Sharon Anderson Nampijinpa at the 2014 Garma Festival, visit https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fdCboHjkk5w.

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3

Language Transition(s): School Responses to Recent Changes in Language Choice in a Northern Dene Community (Canada)

Dagmar Jung, Mark Klein, and Sabine Stoll

Introduction

Among the indigenous languages of North America, Dene Sųłiné, a Dene language spoken in northwestern Saskatchewan, is the dominant language in the communities of the village of La Loche and the Clearwater River Dene Nation (CRDN). Out of a combined population of 3400, more than 90% speak Dene Sųłiné. Their strong adherence to the First Nation's language alongside English represents an exceptional situation in the Dene language family, if not in the wider Canadian First Nations languages context. Until very recently, Dene Sųłiné-speaking students would be monolingual when entering the school system. To ease this challenge, the Clearwater River Dene School introduced a Dene Sųłiné transitional immersion program (DTIP) in 2007.

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In this chapter, we present and discuss the language ecology in the two communities, including the specific school program(s) and approaches, the broader views encountered in the community on language maintenance and use at the school, and action being taken by the community to strengthen local language education. The changing language ecologies of the communities and especially the young generation are discussed, mentioning youth language and code-mixing as part of the current language choice. We also provide a background to the academic context of a specific linguistic research project in which the communities are collaborating on the topic of Dene Sųłiné first-language acquisition.

Language, Situation, History

Typically, nowadays, North American languages are no longer transmitted to the children. Of the 329 languages that we know were spoken at the time of contact on the North American continent, fewer than 50 continue to be acquired as a mother tongue by children (Goddard 1996). How the current renaissance of languages undergoing language revitalization might change this overall bleak picture for the better remains to be seen. In Canada, the detrimental impact that the forced residential school system had on life, culture, and language cannot be overstated.[1] Over 150 years, Indian residential schools affected the lives of more than 150,000 children, who were often forced to live away from their home communities for long periods of time and to give up the use of their language and culture, resulting in the current language shift being initiated and propelled by the school experiences of the older generations. The impact has only now begun to be acknowledged politically, and by the wider Canadian society, as evidenced in the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015.

The Dene (Athapaskan) language family is no exception to loss of intergenerational language transmission. Only a few remote Northern communities still use Dene Sųłiné as the dominant everyday language. The Dene Sųłiné language (formerly known as Chipewyan) is spoken in Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories, Manitoba as well as Alberta. It belongs to the Dene language family, which is currently still spoken in

the Western and Central part of Canada, and in the United States in Alaska, the Pacific Coast, as well as the southwest. Geographically it represents the largest language family in North America. Its closest relatives are Dene (Slave) and Tłįchǫ in the Northwest Territories.

According to the Canadian census (Statistics Canada 2012, Langlois and Turner 2014), Dene Sųłiné is the fourth largest Aboriginal language in Canada, with about 11,860 speakers reported. The actual total number of speakers of Dene Sųłiné is somewhat lower, since also speakers of related Dene/Slave languages were included to some extent (*Dene* is the common word for 'people, person, man' in the Dene/Athapaskan language family). The three largest Aboriginal languages in Canada according to 2011 census are Atikamekw (Cree/Algonquian), Innu/Montagnais (Cree/Algonquian), and Inuktitut (Inuit language family).

Language use has declined in many Dene communities, but there are also places with a strong language background. Among them, the following Dene Sųłiné communities show a very high number of Dene Sųłiné mother-tongue speakers:

1) Northern Saskatchewan: Black Lake First Nation with 1040 out of 1070 residents, Hatchet Lake First Nation with 1165 out of 1251 residents
2) Northwestern Saskatchewan: CRDN: 720 out of 778 residents, La Loche 2300 out of 2611 residents (Statistics Canada 2012)

In these communities, the language situation is distinct from most other neighboring places where language revitalization efforts have had to start from the basics because children have no language competence in the Aboriginal language at all or a very restricted passive knowledge learned through interaction with their grandparents. Dene is still spoken by most of the community, is heard everywhere, and almost all children have at least some understanding of it. As a result, in Clearwater River and La Loche, the Dene Sųłiné language needs strengthening right now, rather than a reintroduction of the language, with the goal of keeping Dene Sųłiné language use strong enough to maintain a form of stable bilingualism with respect to the intrusion of the English language.

Historically, the area around La Loche was a place of very early contact between White fur traders and the Aboriginal people. The first local contact occurred in 1778 when Northwest Company explorer Peter Pond established the Portage of La Loche as a major trade route from Hudson Bay (Churchill) to the Peace River and Mackenzie River territories to the West. The portage involved carrying the boats, as well as the trade goods, for 20 km from Lac La Loche to the Clearwater River that flows west into the Athabasca River in Alberta. Goods such as flour, sugar, guns, and ammunition were transported to the west, and furs and pelts were transported back east. The portage was used until 1883 when the Hudson's Bay Company decided to relocate its major transport route.

Alongside the influx of the trading companies, the Catholic Church also established itself in the area. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), a Catholic missionary order, began visiting outposts and sites from 1845 on, and from 1895 created a permanent presence at La Loche. According to the 1906 census, there were four settlements around Lake La Loche, with missionary records reporting a Dene population of 307. Around the middle of the last century, the population of La Loche slowly changed its location from the west side of the lake to its present location on the Eastern shore when the store, the church and its school moved across. In 1963 the first highway was built to reach La Loche, connecting it to the southern centers of the province.

The CRDN was established in 1979. CRDN is part of Treaty 8, one of the eleven numbered treaties that the Canadian government used to settle/obtain land rights with the Aboriginal peoples from 1871–1921 in exchange for the provision of education, health services and limited reserve land. Nowadays La Loche is home to the largest Dene Sųłiné-speaking community, and self-identifies as a Dene (and Metis) community, with a 95% Aboriginal population.

Schools and the Dene Transitional Immersion Program

The two neighboring northern Dene communities introduced here are bilingual, with Dene Sųłiné still being the mother tongue of the majority of people, and English the dominant national language, as well as language of education, which is becoming increasingly widely spoken by the young generation. The schools at CRDN and La Loche differ in their interaction with the local language ecology, for example, the degree of inclusion of Dene Sųłiné as a medium for instruction. This is to some extent conditioned by their organizational structure. The school at La Loche is part of the provincial school system of Saskatchewan and belongs to the Northern Lights School Division, while Clearwater River Dene School (CRDS) is an autonomous on-reserve school overseen by the Chief and Council of the CRDN who act as the school board. CRDN is part of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) consisting of nine First Nations (four Dene communities and five Cree communities) in northwestern Saskatchewan. It is federally funded with additional resources provided by MLTC and CRDN.

Some differences result from the distinct affiliations of the schools, financially as well as organizationally. There is considerably less funding per student at a federally funded institution, that is, on-reserve schools that are covered by a so-called treaty, such as CRDS. In 2015 funding per student at provincial schools was nearly twice that of federally funded places. On the positive side, First Nation's schools can operate more freely with support from their school division and their local school board. This allows for an easier inclusion of bilingual education, though supported by less money. Bilingual education in Canada is strongly supported by the government, unfortunately so far only for French and English programs. Bilingual programs pertaining to Aboriginal languages (spoken by First Nations, Inuit, or Metis) are not on equal footing. Provincial schools, that is, state-funded public schools, have better financial and organizational resources, but decision-making processes, for example, in favor of bilingual education or an immersion program take longer and typically meet more obstacles. In the case of state schools, province-wide curricula

have to be adhered to, making the inclusion of classes taught in Dene as the medium of instruction considerably more difficult to implement than in an autonomously working school such as CRDS.

The CRDS combines preschool, elementary school, and high school in one building with a combined student population of about 240. The La Loche community school has a considerably larger student body, with the Ducharme Building (K–6) housing 500 students and the Dene Building high school with about 350 students. The student population is almost one-third of the overall population of La Loche and reflects the young average age of the community; the overall population in La Loche under 18 is 1045 (Statistics Canada 2012). Parents and students have the choice between either CRDS or La Loche community school, with 10 km between the communities.

The locally governed school in Clearwater River introduced a Dene transitional immersion program (DTIP) in 2007 in response to the language (and consequently wider learning) problems children faced when starting preschool and school without adequate knowledge of English. Children who entered school were monolingual in Dene Sųłiné at that time, and the school was faced with the question of how to transition to English as a second language most effectively. A strong foundation in the first language (Dene Sųłiné) was seen as a precondition to successful second language (English) learning. The DTIP is comparable to the bilingual step model as practiced in Australia (cf. Morales et al. 2015; Morales et al. Chap. 4, this volume).

When CRDS created the DTIP, the school based the design on Krashen's (1991, 1999) sheltered classes approach. A key component here is the connection between the language of instruction and the subject matter taught: instruction is content-based, using grade-level appropriate language. (Second) language development is intertwined with academic subject matters. Krashen has been a long-time advocate of the benefits of bilingual education approaches which focus on the first language or mother tongue of the students. The following design features were considered most important for the Dene program:

- Background knowledge and subject matter teaching through the first language until proficiency is reached to follow subjects in the other language

- Provision of literacy in the first language
- The provision of comprehensible input in English through ESL for beginners
- Sheltered subject matter teaching for intermediate students

The program was implemented as outlined in Fig. 3.1:

Children older than three are accepted into the Head Start class; children in the nursery are at least four years old, and kindergarten houses five-year-olds. In preschool, kindergarten, and grades 1 and 2, students learn in the Dene language most of the time. Grade 3 is a transition year with half of the subjects delivered in Dene and half in English. After grade 3, the language of instruction is mostly in English, while core Dene instruction is taught up to grade 12.

All teachers and other professional staff members in levels K–3 are fully bilingual, mother-tongue speakers of Dene and fluent in English,

Grade	Subjects taught in Dene	Subjects taught in English
Head start	All subjects	
Nursery	All subjects	
Kindergarten	All other subjects	Oral English (15 min) Physical Education (45 min)
Grade 1	All other subjects	Oral English (30 min) Physical Education (45 min)
Grade 2	Dene Language Arts, Math, Science, Social Studies	English Language Arts, Math, Social Science, Physical Education
Grade 3	Dene Language Arts, Health, Art, Math	Engl. Lg. Arts, Math, Social Studies Science, Physical Education
Grade 4	Core Dene	All other subjects

Fig. 3.1 Dene transitional immersion program

and have full literacy skills in Dene and English. In addition to the basic program, there are guided reading programs in Dene and English. A fluent Dene Sųłiné teacher conducts Early Reading Intervention in Dene. As support for the Dene teachers and support staff, a professional learning community has been formed.

The goals of the DTIP were stated as follows:

- Community leaders and elders want for their children to succeed 'in two rapidly changing worlds'.
- Students are expected to be bilingual in Dene Sųłiné and English.
- They should be aware of their unique identity as Dene.
- Their academic success should be at least on par with provincial assessment for learning results.

The outcomes with regard to provincial testing results were astounding. Provincial testing was implemented in 2007, so the students had been taught in English-only until that time. The second test was administered four years later in 2011, and the students who participated were the first to come out of the Dene Sųłiné immersion program. There were significant improvements between 2007 and 2011:

2007:

- 0% of students scored at adequate level in reading (Grade 4).
- 5% of students scored at adequate level in math (Grade 5).

2011:

- 47% of students scored at adequate or proficient level in reading in all areas tested; 100% on reader response portion of test (Grade 4).
- Students scored at or above their provincial counterparts in all areas of the math test (Grade 5).

Especially remarkable were the testing results for reading, since the test was (of course) administered in and for English. The students had only

started English language arts and English reading in grade 3, as opposed to the student cohort tested in 2007 who had been taught only in English up to that time. The introduction of mother-tongue education combined with a transitional bilingual program has proven to be key in students' success. (In 2012 the province abandoned their student assessment for learning testing scheme, so no further comparative data are available).

There were further positive and important outcomes of the program for the community: students were more confident and student effort had improved. Students' guided reading levels improved in both Dene Sųłiné and English and in 2011 were more in line with the expected grade level, as outlined in the school effectiveness report for the school by Tetu and Bouvier (2012). For the report, students, parents, teachers, support staff, and elders were interviewed about their experiences and to assess school effectiveness in general and the DTIP in particular. There was a very strong agreement across the groups that 'the school provides opportunities to celebrate the Dene culture' (Tetu and Bouvier 2012, p. 34). In order to strengthen Dene culture, it was suggested that 'immersion' be considered at upper grade levels, as well as more culture camps, additional staff development about Dene education, and cultural matters as well as a greater presence of elders (2012, p. 34f.). Most parents/guardians also agreed that 'we are satisfied with how much the students are learning about the Dene Sųłiné language' (74%), with stronger agreement (84%) about Dene culture. One member of the parent/guardian group noted that what they like best about the school was that: 'Kids also are learning about their Dene culture, write in Dene Sųłiné for work, use the symbols, work in Dene language' (2012, p. 42). Alongside the many positive voices about the Dene Sųłiné program, some concern was voiced about the challenge of expanding the program into higher grades, especially with regard to the lack of adequately trained staff (see also below in the Challenges section).

In reaction to the general improvement of student performance after the introduction of the DTIP, the positive impact of the Dene Sųłiné language curriculum was noted by neighboring Dene communities in the region. These communities have experienced the effects of language shift among the younger generation to varying degrees, and the communities typically have generally no school-aged children with knowledge of Dene any more.

Even at La Loche, where the majority of the population converses in Dene, the comparatively stronger language retention among children at Clearwater River is noted and attributed to the impact of the Dene immersion program at the school. One specific positive perception about the school with the DTIP was that parental engagement was observed to be higher at CRDS, because parents talk in Dene with the teachers and can therefore engage better and on more equal terms with the teachers than at an English-based school. One participant in a community survey describes the sentiments resulting from the language barrier:

> There seems to be a lot more parent involvement at Clearwater Dene School because of the Immersion program. If parents at La Loche felt valued maybe they would be much more inclined to come in to the school. When parents come into the school they speak to the EAs [= educational assistants] because they speak Dene and are from the community. Parents may feel intimidated by their imperfect English language use. (Cottrell and Pelletier 2014, p. 16)

As a consequence of the success at CRDS, La Loche decided to start community consultations about the degree of language instruction desired at their schools. As of 2017, no bilingual education has been implemented at the school level, except a designated Dene language class. Dene Sųłiné is not used as a medium of instruction. The outcome of the consultation process with the community of La Loche showed an overwhelming support for a Dene Sųłiné language instruction program, as detailed by the community consultation draft report that Cottrell & Pelletier conducted in 2014. With regard to the general introduction of Dene Sųłiné as a medium of instruction, the community showed overwhelming support. However, two desiderata were formulated as an outcome:

1) The language immersion program should be of high quality and well prepared to national and international standards.
2) The program should at the same time adapt to the unique local needs, for example culturally informed resources.

Although in the community there is an overwhelming support for choosing the Dene Sųłiné language at school, respondents also had doubts about or obstacles to the further use of the language:

> The young parents do not see the value or the benefit of keeping the Dene language. The Dene culture is not as present in 2014. The older generation does not pass on the skill sets of the traditional economies. For instance, today young people don't learn how to build their own houses. They don't go on the land anymore and they are happy to buy their food from the store. Because they hear English on the television they think it is better and they don't take the time to teach their children how to speak Dene. (Dene elder, quoted in Cottrell and Pelletier (2014, p. 18f.))

> Based on their prior experiences many Dene parents feel that their children will not finish school if they teach their children Dene. It is because they did not finish grade 12, or weren't able to find a job, or were limited to working in the mines. Parents don't understand children learn concepts in Dene and transfer it to another language. Someone needs to communicate to the parents that the students are not just learning the language but they are learning common concepts as well. We need to teach the students the major concepts if they are going to be successful in high school. (Dene teacher, quoted in Cottrell and Pelletier (2014, p. 19))

Despite some dissenting opinions, the community school decided to explore the implementation of a Dene language program. Two main obstacles for implementing the program within the provincial school district became evident: the lack of qualified teaching staff and the lack of resource materials in Dene.

Challenges

Dene Resources

Dene Sųłiné has no entrenched tradition as a written language. Early religious writings and translations by the missionaries and priests from the

Catholic and the Anglican Church were written in modified syllabics (comparable to Cree and Inuktitut syllabic writing). Some Dene elders still know how to read and write syllabics, but this writing system has otherwise fallen out of use. Modern Dene Sųłiné writing is similar to the alphabetic orthographic representations of other Dene languages. There are minor differences between the dialects in the symbols used for representation of letters, such as the phonemic vowel 'epsilon e' [ɛ~ə] spelled as <ë> or <ɛ>, or just plain <e>, and <hh> vs. <x> for the voiceless velar fricative.

The availability of resources for the language is made more difficult by the diversity of Dene Sųłiné dialects and varieties. Since the Dene communities are geographically distant, and have undergone language change resulting in dialect differentiation, the sharing and exchange of educational material is not as straightforward as one would hope. This leads to the time-consuming fact that materials have to be localized by school staff. The standardization of the local variety of Dene Sųłiné is not completed yet, which leads to further uncertainties and inconsistencies in spelling. In other words, written resources are not easily obtainable.

The general lack of Dene language resources is even more serious when adequate school materials that contain grade-based educational resources are considered. The teachers and staff at CRDS have developed their own materials as the program went along, but it is still difficult to keep up with changing lesson plans and curricula.

One further contentious point for language programs is the question of orality and literacy, with respect to how much time should be spent on developing these capacities. Traditionally, Dene is an oral society, as everybody in the community will point out. How strong should the focus on literacy be within the curricula? Is an oral communicative competence central, or the written one? Local opinions diverge on this issue, and it also permeates the discussions between parents and teachers on how to evaluate student's progress regarding Dene fluency and/or competence.

Dene Teacher Education Program (DTEP)

In response to the urgent need for Dene resources, CRDS (with the MLTC) and the provincial schools with the Northern Lights School Division decided to go ahead with the implementation of a university-

level program for teacher education with a Dene language focus. The stated goal is to provide education in and about the Dene language from preschool up to university level. By collaborating with the First Nations University of Canada (FNUNIV) in Regina, and the University of Regina who already offers a Bachelor of Education program with a Cree language focus on-campus, the newly designed Dene teacher education program (DTEP) was able to start classes in 2016. The four-year program leads to a B.Ed. with a special focus in Dene language.

A major distinction from previous programs is the location: DTEP is taught locally in CRDN and La Loche. This set-up enables parents to attend university classes without having to leave or move their families to the city and without the living costs associated with that move. The current students come mainly from CRDN or La Loche or another neighboring Dene community. The classes with a Dene language and Dene education focus are ideally taught by local Dene experts with M.Ed. or M.A. degrees, with both Dene and English as the media of instruction. Other classes are taught by visiting instructors from FNUNIV either in person in intensive seminars or in the future via video-conferencing.

The first year of DTEP has been so successful that the school districts have decided to try to extend the program also to Cree-speaking communities and implement a local 'C'TEPs (i.e. Cree Teacher Education Program) for the Cree-speaking First Nations of the school districts. Another northern Dene community has also voiced an interest in hosting a local DTEP to provide much-needed Dene-teaching staff for the remote schools in Dene territory. It should be emphasized that the Clearwater River First Nation, the MLTC, and the Northern Lights School District were willing to invest substantial sums to pay for the establishment of the program.

If the program's success continues throughout its course of four years, there will be 25 trained bilingual teachers ready to work in schools in 2020 to relieve the lack of qualified Dene Sųłiné language teachers. The community school of La Loche will be able to establish a local immersion program with sufficient staff in the higher grades as well. Teachers who have completed their B.Ed. and are already certified for Dene Sųłiné language instruction may be able to profit from a new Master's program in Education with a Dene Sųłiné language focus that is under discussion now. The Master's program would bring the opportunity for advanced training in bilingual education to the community.

Language Choices

The implementation and success of DTIP and DTEP demonstrate that the Dene language has long been a central concern for the Dene Sųłiné communities. Ten years ago, the introduction of Dene Sųłiné as the medium of instruction was intended to facilitate learning at school as well as to ease the transition to English in school later on. At that point in time, almost all young children in the Clearwater River Dene Nation still understood Dene Sųłiné because of their socialization with grandparents and the wider family. However, the situation has now changed to some extent.

During the last decade, Dene Sųłiné language use among the young seems to have declined rapidly in La Loche. In their qualitative and quantitative survey of 235 households in 2014, Cottrell & Pelletier found that only 14% of those identified as the youngest members of the household were fluent in Dene Sųłiné (2014, p. 8). As was noted above, people are aware that language retention is stronger in CRDN than in La Loche. Language shift can at present be observed in children aged five to ten who have decided to stop speaking Dene Sųłiné, and will respond only in English, even though they are fully bilingual. This points to the relationship between, and the importance of, language socialization, language revitalization, and children's agency (as described for a different Northern Dene language by Meek 2007, 2010).

The attitude toward Dene Sųłiné as the main primary language to be used at school is in fact very positive, with a sense of pride, at least among the adult population of the village. As one community member commented in the survey:

> Young people will never lose their language if they communicate in both English and Dene. We have received compliments from other communities about the number of our children who speak the Dene language. Having two languages will give our students an advantage in life and in the work force. (Cottrell and Pelletier 2014, p.15)

The survey also asked whether participants supported the instruction of their children in the Dene Sųłiné language and what their reasons were for this. 99.1% of respondents supported Dene Sųłiné instruction at

school, with the most important reasons given as 'to speak with my elders' (96.9%), 'to keep our culture alive' (96.4%), and 'to feel more a part of the community' (77.4%). Dene Sųłiné is needed for communication with the elders and in contexts perceived as 'traditional'. The contexts that were least mentioned as reasons to learn Dene Sųłiné were 'to speak with my children' (80%) and 'to speak with my friends' (57.4%). The last two responses give reason to be concerned about the future transmission of the language since it is the younger generation voicing these views.

For the general community, it may be tempting to assume that the schools will now be responsible for passing on the language to the children. Alternatively, as in other places in the world where minority languages are competing with dominant languages, some parents are not convinced that a Dene immersion program is positive for the children. They worry about their children's English language proficiency and in general about the usefulness of Dene Sųłiné in a modern world. This attitude has prompted teachers to suggest that parents will have to get involved in supporting the use of the Dene Sųłiné language (Tetu and Bouvier 2012).

The Dene language, or *the* local variety of Dene, is of course a simplified notion. There are a range of Dene varieties within 'the local language'. There are small distinctions between family idioms based on historical movements and there are intergenerational differences which distinguish the speech of generations. And there is a variety of Dene, usually called 'slang' by the community which has negative connotations. This variety or code is used by teenagers and younger parents and is thus also being passed on to the younger generations. Some community members have voiced concern over the perceived youth language:

> [They] are speaking broken Dene. They have combined the two languages to make a new language. "Chiplish". Students are proficient only in one language. The stronger the English student the weaker their Dene. The higher they are in Dene the lower they are in English. (La Loche community member, in Cottrell and Pelletier 2014, p. 19)

This quote, besides mentioning the mixed language 'Chiplish' (< Chipewyan English), also exemplifies the attitude that bilingualism can-

not lead to a good language competence in both languages, but rather that one language will create obstacles for the other language. In this view, some community members prefer English as the main language for instruction assuming that it leads to better language development.

There are certain emblematic phrases that are associated with the mixed code. Examples that get cited by teachers or other Dene adults consist of an English lexical stem combined with an inflected Dene Sųłiné auxiliary verb, for example *sit anële!* 'sit down', or *eat anële!* 'eat!'. The repertoires of older speakers do not contain this analytic construction. The 'traditional' way would be to use a synthetic inflected verb form such as shénëtị '(you sg.) eat!'. The expression in the mixed code makes use of the Dene Sųłiné verb 'do thus'. Other common attributes of this young speech variety are shortened versions of Dene verbs, combined with free mixing of English lexical expressions. In a study of texts in a related Dene community, Wiens (2014) described code-switching at various levels across constituent units. The mixed code spoken by the youth in La Loche and the CRDN has progressed even more.

One other Dene (Athapaskan) language shows very similar changes with regard to language repertoires, the linguistic structures affected, and speaker evaluation of this variety: Navajo (Diné Bizaad), which is the language with the highest speaker number in North America (170,000 according to US census data, representing almost half of the total speakers of Native American Languages in the USA). A study by Schaengold (2004) describes the use of *Navajo* in young bilingual speakers (what Schaengold calls 'Bilingual Navajo'). Speakers, for instance, use a combination of an English lexical stem plus a reanalyzed Navajo verb as auxiliary. In this way, a student would say (*computer) use áshłééh* 'I'm using a computer' instead of the fully inflected verb *bee naashnish* ('I'm working with it') (2004, p. 53). In a small survey, some students reported that they learned the mixed code they are using from their parents, suggesting that the use of these frames had been around at least since the 1980s. Schaengold hypothesizes that the 'mixed code itself has a greater chance of maintenance than other forms of code switching, because of its favourable social evaluation (2004, p. 79)'. A similar point is made by Field (2009) for Navajo, who sees code-mixing and code-switching as positive force in language maintenance, a point contested by some elders who

speak Navajo or Dene in a less mixed, traditional way. Field also emphasizes that all speakers, young or old, enact multiple social roles, which may entail the use of multilingual repertoires. The changes observed in Dene and Navajo may be the norm in language contact situations. In communities where bilingual mixing is prevalent, such changes are very common and sometimes indeed lead to language change resulting in a mixed language (Muysken 2007). Mixed languages are, however, not a necessary result of such bilingual situations. As demonstrated in a large-scale quantitative study on language contact in Chintang (a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in Nepal) where community-wide bilingualism has been the norm for centuries, language mixing is prevalent, but the two languages have not merged into one mixed language (Stoll et al. 2015). The type of contact situation discussed here, of an indigenous language with a national dominant language such as is the case between Dene and English, might result in a faster dynamic toward change or shift. It remains to be seen if the more mixed code that younger speakers use now is already conventionalized and entrenched as the 'standard' future variety of Dene.

In order to learn more about the current language ecology, data from the new Dene Sųłiné language acquisition study (DESLAS, started in 2015),[2] which is documenting language use at home, will be analyzed. The primary goal of this study is to document how Dene is learned as a mother tongue, be it in a monolingual or multilingual context. To this end, children are recorded in monthly intervals at home with (and by) their families over the course of one year. The set-up for the study includes a variety of natural settings, chosen independently from the researchers by the recording family, and thereby capturing the language ecology of children growing up learning Dene Sųłiné.

The documentation in homes also provides insights into how children and adults use their Dene and English repertoires at home. We hope to understand how peer-to-peer communication is enacted between children or adults, and if or how code-mixing or code-switching is used in these differing social interactions. We have already observed how a child changed the preferred language at home from Dene Sųłiné to English, and then back again! The longitudinal approach allows us to observe these changes of use in the linguistic repertoires in the language of two-

to five-year-olds. The observations are continuously discussed with CRDS and the Dene language experts in the community. The results may hopefully add to what we know about the current state of language practice at home and contribute to answering the central question of how the youth can be actively involved in language strengthening activities with the younger children.

Notes

1. Updated reports by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are published at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (www.nctr.ca).
2. DESLAS is conducted collaboratively with CRDS, under the guidance of the Dene Language and Culture Committee. It is part of a larger research project 'Acquisition devices in maximally diverse languages: min(d)ing the ambient language (ACQDIV)', based at the University of Zurich (http://www.acqdiv.uzh.ch/en.html) that enlists a collaborative approach to investigate mechanisms of first-language acquisition in ten languages exhibiting maximal diversity in a number of grammatical features. The goal of this study is to learn about the underlying principles of language acquisition that are independent of the structure of a language. The ACQDIV database includes nine further corpora beside Dene Sųłiné that have been chosen for their diverse linguistic traits: Cree, Inuktitut, Chintang, Russian, Turkish, Sesotho, Japanese, Yucatec Mayan, and Indonesian (Moran et al. 2016).

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4

From Home to School in Multilingual Arnhem Land: The Development of Yirrkala School's Bilingual Curriculum

**Gemma Morales, Jill Vaughan,
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Introduction

The Northern Territory of Australia comprises a vast network of complex intersecting language ecologies (e.g. Mufwene and Vigouroux 2012; Meakins 2014), encompassing over 100 Australian Indigenous languages (NT Gov. 2016), as well as a wide range of contact languages: creoles, mixed languages and varieties of English. The region's 1.35 million square kilometres is also home to some 245,000 people, around 70,000 of whom are Indigenous (based on 2011 data (ABS 2016)). Wilson (2014) reports that 65% of Indigenous people in the Territory use an Indigenous

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language as a home language, with the proportion much higher for those in remote communities.

Indigenous children live, learn and communicate within 'shifting *langscapes*' (Angelo and Carter 2015): linguistic contexts that have been shaped by extensive language contact and language shift. Furthermore, many are born into families and communities where English has little or no presence. And yet for the vast majority of Indigenous children, entering the school system means contending with an English-only or English-dominant environment. This is a result of a nexus of factors, including the apparent 'invisibility' of Indigenous children's linguistic repertoires (especially for speakers of contact languages (see McIntosh et al. 2012; Sellwood and Angelo 2013)) and a broader 'monolingual mindset' (Clyne 2008) in Australia, reflected in most top-down national and state language policies.

Such linguistic juxtapositions are by no means particular to the Australian context; similar situations and consequences for Indigenous education are observable in many parts the world (see, e.g. Romero-Little et al. 2007). This is in spite of the acknowledged right of each child to be educated in his/her own language, as recommended by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child,[1] the positive outcomes for children's sociocultural well-being (Biddle and Swee 2012; Marmion et al. 2014; People Culture Environment 2014) and the proven efficacy of many programmes incorporating home language(s) for eventual literacy and numeracy outcomes (see, e.g. Baker 2011; Siegel 2007).

School responses within the context of these discourses and policies have varied, and this is what we concern ourselves with in this chapter. We present an exceptional case in the Territory—a school that has succeeded in maintaining its long-standing bilingual programme in spite of great pressure from many factions to move towards a mainstream English-only model. We first discuss the history and current reality of bilingual policy and education in the region, before turning to Yirrkala School itself. We draw on a set of interviews conducted in 2015 and 2016 with a range of community members intimately involved with designing and implementing the local school curriculum, as well as on various community-based publications spanning several decades. We use these to

articulate local perspectives on the role of language and culture in the classroom and the journey of two-way education in Yirrkala.

The interviews were conducted by the first author, a non-Indigenous researcher/linguist who spent a total of 12 months onsite conducting research at Yirrkala School. The second author is also a non-Indigenous linguist working on multilingualism and linguistic variation in Arnhem Land. First-hand information comes from the chapter's third author, who is a Yolŋu community member as well as the Yirrkala School principal-in-training.

Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory

Policy and Practice

In the Northern Territory, government policy has both at times created space for, and at other times firmly excluded, Indigenous languages from the schooling system. In the 1970s and 1980s, such top-down approaches empowered the classroom as a site for fostering community language use. However, the tendency in recent years has been towards the explicit or indirect dismantling of existing bilingual programmes and the continued privileging of English-language instruction; as Nicholls (2005) describes it, 'death by a thousand cuts'. We do not provide a detailed discussion here of the history of bilingual policy and education in the Territory; we refer the reader to the numerous excellent accounts that exist already (e.g. Devlin 1995, 2011; Disbray 2014, 2015a, b; Devlin et al. 2017; Gale 1994; Harris 1995; Harris and Devlin 1999; Simpson et al. 2009; inter alia). Instead we include a short description of the trajectory of bilingual policy in the region over the last four decades in order to situate the discussion of the local Yirrkala context that follows.

In 1972 a bilingual education initiative was announced in the Northern Territory by the federal Whitlam government. In the initial years, the programme was rolled out across 24 schools, with each developing language and literacy resources in community languages, and with staff receiving support from the Australian Department of Education (NT

Division) and, from 1979, the NT Department of Education (Devlin 1995; Disbray 2015a). Many of these programmes continued into the following decades, but the ideological space within which top-down policies were shaped shifted significantly over time. In the 1970s, the genesis of bilingual programmes emerged naturally from a broader global discourse of Indigenous rights and empowerment, although by the following decade, community language use in the classroom was largely framed in policy as a means by which to achieve better English literacy (McKay 2007).[2] As the bilingual programmes developed, interest in Aboriginal-language literacy and teacher training grew. This need was met by teaching programmes offered by Batchelor College (now Batchelor Institute for Indigenous Tertiary Education (BIITE)) and literacy courses at the School of Australian Linguistics, through which training was provided in the creation of teaching materials and curricula in Indigenous languages (see Black and Breen 2001). The 1990s, however, saw a severe decline in the number of trained Indigenous teachers, including those proficient in teaching literacy in their own languages. This was in large part due to a reduction in Indigenous training from BIITE, who had provided such important in-community training and support.

The late 1990s also saw a backlash from certain camps within the government and the education system: for many, the connection between vernacular-medium instruction and English literacy was difficult to understand, and the bilingual programme was seen to be expensive, requiring extra materials and staffing (in fact, the programme had already been broadly neglected and under-resourced). In the face of strong community support for the programme, however, the government commissioned a review, whose results were presented in what is known as the Collins report (Collins 1999). The report supported the programme's continuation and recommended increased training and support for teachers. It also recommended a 'rebranding' of the programme as 'two-way learning'. The government acquiesced to this name change, but to nothing further. Indeed, a number of programmes were shut down during this period, typically at the behest of school principals rather than community (Simpson et al. 2009). Furthermore, the programmes that remained were now mostly 'transitional' programmes rather than genuinely 'two way'. Transitional programmes do not aim to develop home

language and culture; rather, they use the home language in the early years as a tool to facilitate content learning and second-language acquisition. The home language ceases to be used for schooling once students have gained control of the second language (Baker 2011).

A yet more severe turn occurred in the following decade, with the 2003 Ramsey report calling into question the value of Indigenous language literacy and voicing concerns about children's English skills. The 2008 decree from the then Northern Territory Minister for Education that 'the first four hours of education in all Northern Territory schools will be conducted in English' (Scrymgour 2008), effectively undermining the possibility of any truly bilingual programme, represents the unfortunate consequence of this 'deficit discourse' (Vass 2012). In an attempt to justify the decision, Scrymgour presented data from the NAPLAN[3] national benchmark testing, which had been first administered that year, but this has since been shown to be incomplete and flawed evidence (Devlin 2009; Dixon 2010). In spite of the national, government-commissioned *Our Land, Our Languages* report in 2012, which recommended that 'state and territory governments […] provide adequately resourced bilingual school education programs for Indigenous communities from the earliest years of learning' (HRSCATSIA 2012, p. 4), the subsequent Wilson (2014) review of Indigenous education made no provision for Indigenous languages or bilingual education as part of its long-term recommendations.

Although the First Four Hours policy was scrapped in 2012, the damage had been done. A year later only eight schools in the Territory reported running a bilingual programme for more than two hours a week, with a further 17 incorporating some kind of Indigenous language programme (Wilson 2014, p. 115). This number was down from 60 total programmes in 2011 (including bilingual programmes, but largely language and culture programmes)[4] (HRSCATSIA 2012).[5]

Curriculum and Local 'Langscapes'

Shifting bilingual education policy and the privileging of English-medium instruction mean that the complexities of community language

ecologies are typically not reflected in the formal design of classroom practice in non-bilingual programmes.[6] While children may bring diverse linguistic repertoires with them to the classroom, educators tend to understand the space as monolingual. Thus there may be a mismatch between children's home and community language(s) on the one hand, and the medium classroom information is transmitted in, and through which learning is expected to be assessed on the other (Angelo and Carter 2015, pp. 6–10). This is not to say that teachers are to blame for these challenges. By and large teachers are not prepared adequately for the complexities of their students' linguistic repertoires and needs, as very few are trained in teaching English as an additional language and many arrive at schools unaware of the local language ecology. Yet it is within this challenging pedagogical context that teachers are expected to prepare children for standardised tests which do not adequately acknowledge their diverse language backgrounds in measuring achievement (Angelo 2013). To further complicate matters, many teachers working in a remote community will stay only for a year or two before moving on (Collins 1999, p. 75).

The general picture, then, is that top-down policy and the realities of the classroom are very often at odds with local discourses and language ideologies, which may value the teaching of community languages in schools alongside English. Curricula have been subject to criticism for not reflecting and incorporating local epistemologies. Prominent Indigenous educator and advocate Dr Marika commented:

> I question whether current trends in Australia regarding curriculum and assessment, particularly the national profiles and the benchmarking process, are inclusive of other knowledge systems and languages and find them lacking. (Marika 2000, p. 46)

As Disbray (2015a, p. 10) notes, the prospect of incorporating more 'place-based perspectives' is daunting to policymakers who desire one-size-fits-all approaches that can be rolled out state-wide. And yet in spite of top-down pressures to replicate a Western, English-only curriculum, a number of schools have found or created spaces for multilingual and multicultural recognition and learning, demonstrating that educators and local stake-

holders can, and do, exert their agency to resist dominant paradigms and acknowledge community priorities. Indigenous Language and Culture programmes (developed as a 'learning area' in the Northern Territory Curriculum Framework (Disbray 2015b) but not enshrined in policy) are employed in a number of schools, although they vary significantly in their implementation. Programmes may involve planned teaching, albeit of not more than a few hours a week, bush trips foregrounding important knowledge and language, and other cultural activities and instruction. A small number of schools, however, have succeeded in maintaining fuller bilingual programmes. In the following sections, we introduce one such programme: Yirrkala School in northeastern Arnhem Land has succeeded, within the historical trends we have seen, in continuing with their bilingual programme, even without appropriate funding and support.

Yolŋu and Yirrkala

Arnhem Land is a region located in the northern tip of the Northern Territory of Australia. The Indigenous people inhabiting the northeast of this region are known as Yolŋu. Yolŋu continue to follow the belief systems and *rom*[7] that were passed down to them by their ancestors. They have a complex system of society-wide relationships, including a classificatory kinship system. Everyone and everything in the Yolŋu world is allocated to one of two patrimoieties: Dhuwa and Yirritja. Dhuwa people belong to Dhuwa land, speak Dhuwa languages and perform Dhuwa ceremonies; Yirritja people are responsible for Yirritja land; they speak Yirritja languages and perform Yirritja ceremonies. Dhuwa and Yirritja are two halves of one whole. For example, Yolŋu must marry a member of the opposite moiety. The moiety groups are further divided into smaller family groups called clans. Each clan has its own language, homeland, totem, traditions, ceremonies, songs, creation stories, and dances. Yolŋu inherit their clan and moiety from their father.

It is critical to know one's place in this complex system, as membership in these groups governs how Yolŋu relate to one another and to the rest of the world. For example, when a Yolŋu passes away, clan of their mother's mother is responsible for carrying out specific ceremonies. Each

Yolŋu child must understand this rich and complex system of cultural knowledge, rights and responsibilities to be a fully functioning member of the community. An individual's social position within this cultural matrix is not merely ideological; it is lived and actively negotiated every day. Language is fundamental to these processes, as both the means and an end goal of socialisation processes (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011). As Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs, Yirrkala community leader and co-author of this chapter, pointed out in June 2016, 'without our language, everything is meaningless'.

Yirrkala's Language Ecology

Yirrkala is a very remote[8] Indigenous community in northeastern Arnhem Land, 25 km southeast of the mining town of Nhulunbuy and 700 km east of Darwin. The Methodist church established Yirrkala mission in 1935, bringing together different clans of Indigenous people from the Yolŋu bloc. A homelands movement, whereby clans moved back to their original lands to live in smaller, more traditional communities (Yirrkala Literature Production Centre 1991), gained traction in the 1970s, although the region's first homeland community, Gapuwiyak, had been established in 1948. Currently, the population of Yirrkala ebbs and flows as people live partly in the community and partly on their original home-lands. If all members were present at one time, the population would be around 800.

Yolŋu Matha

Yolŋu Matha (YM) is a pandialectal cover term encapsulating approxi-mately 30 language varieties spoken by Indigenous people in northeast-ern Arnhem Land. *Yolŋu* refers to the people while *matha* means 'tongue/language'. Each clan has its own variety of YM, with many named after the proximal demonstrative, that is, the clan-specific word for 'this' or 'here'. Although the different varieties of YM might, in linguistic terms, be considered dialects of the same language, the social reality for speakers

is that these are separate languages. The different clan languages are mutually intelligible, distinguished largely by grammatical morphology and some minor lexical differences (Amery 1993, p. 47). Although there are two different branches of YM languages, shared features, as well as consistent contact between speakers of different clan languages, ensure mutual understanding between their speaker communities.

The result of this bringing together of different clans is that many distinct varieties of YM are spoken in Yirrkala, with speakers of at least 18 different YM clan languages currently residing in the community[9] and several others no longer spoken. In Yirrkala, Gumatj and Djapu have the largest speaker communities among these clan lects, and another four have more than 20 speakers. The rest have between one and five speakers. There is a further YM dialect, Dhuwaya, spoken by all community members regardless of clan affiliations (see discussion below). Although English is not a daily language, many Yirrkala community members have some proficiency due to the schooling system and the community's close proximity to Nhulunbuy; competence levels vary from very limited to relatively high.

Tradition dictates that children should learn their mother's and maternal grandmother's languages at a young age. As they become young adults, they begin learning their father's language—their own clan language. Learning one's esoteric clan lect is a crucial step in becoming strong in Yolŋu identity; it is through the acquisition of this language that Yolŋu learn about their *rom* and culture. They learn about their songs, their land, their ceremonies and cultural responsibilities. Through their language they learn how they are connected to different clans and different lands: 'It was not until I spoke in my own language, Rirratjiŋu, that my view of the Yolŋu world became more meaningful' (Marika 2000). Yolŋu also learn to identify an interlocutor's clan affiliation by their speech, which allows them to determine their relationship with one another (Yirrkala LPC 1991).

Currently, however, all children are acquiring Dhuwaya among their main languages, and many continue to speak it during adulthood. Dhuwaya is different from the rest of the YM varieties in that it has no clan affiliation: it is spoken by members of all clans. It is a koine language—a variety that has emerged from prolonged contact between

speakers of different dialects[10] of the same language, and in this case originating at least in part from community baby-talk registers (Amery 1993, p. 55). All of the varieties contributing to the emergence of Dhuwaya are YM languages, and hence Dhuwaya comprises features from the different contributing clan lects. The process of koineisation tends to involve various processes of simplification (Siegel 1985), and Dhuwaya is indeed somewhat simplified (or, arguably, regularised (see Amery 1993, pp. 53–55)) in comparison to the clan languages (e.g. compare Dhuwaya's four verb conjugation classes to Gumatj's eight and Dhaŋu's nine).

Dhuwaya is widely referred to as a lingua franca, as it was originally used as a common language in the community. Amery (1985) objects to the use of this terminology as the term 'lingua franca' designates a variety needed for successful communication between speakers of different languages. He argues that Dhuwaya was never needed to facilitate communication amongst different clans since the YM languages are mutually intelligible. Instead, Dhuwaya was created out of a social need 'to stress solidarity within the peer group' (Amery 1985, p. 128). As such, he prefers the term 'communilect', as Dhuwaya is only spoken in Yirrkala and its surrounding homelands.

Community members are therefore typically multilingual. Language choice in any given situation is dependent on a complex of factors, including interlocutor, domain and activity. Speakers may choose to speak their own language with everybody, although clan lects are most often spoken at home and with other members of the clan. Yolŋu also acquire the clan languages of other family members (certainly of their mother and grandmothers, but frequently also others) and will use them accordingly. While most Yirrkala community members continue to practice multilingual traditions, many younger Yolŋu are shifting towards more frequent use of Dhuwaya. The age at which people acquire their own clan lect is rising, creating changes in the home environment as an important site of language maintenance. This has led to concern among the older generation:

> You have to like, look at yourself you know, and say "I'm a Djapu woman, my language is Dhuwal, it's about time I have to speak my own language

cause my grandmothers keep on telling me that I'm 31 years old and I'm still not speaking my own language, I'm still speaking Dhuwaya". (*Lirrina Munuŋgurr*[11] *interview*, November 2015)

[Y]ou've got young people growing up as parents speaking Dhuwaya who should be speaking two other languages… in addition to Dhuwaya. (*Leon White*[12]*interview*, November 2015)

She was the first Yolŋu linguist over at Galiwin'ku and she's a Wangurri lady […], speakers talked about her lamenting the fact that kids were growing up not speaking their clan languages […] [T]raditionally children would be growing up speaking their mother's language and their father's language, not just their father's language so it's really an important issue. (*Leon White interview,* November 2015)

Furthermore, within this complex language ecology, English is also used whenever speaking to non-Indigenous people who don't speak YM.

Language and Curriculum at Yirrkala Community School

History of Yirrkala's Bilingual Program

Yirrkala Community School (YCS) was established as a mission school in 1939. At first, YCS was English-only[13] with the use of children's home languages banned at school (Marika 2000). For many in the community, this linguistic barrier undermined existing local epistemologies and prevented real community engagement in the school programme:

[T]he missionaries didn't realise that when they stopped us speaking Yolŋu language in the school, they were stopping our way of thinking. (Marika-Munuŋgiritj et al. 1990, p. 37)

The use of English made it difficult for Yolŋu children to understand what was happening in school since prior to the invasion of the missionaries, Yolŋu had had minimal contact with Europeans, and hence little exposure to English (Amery 1985).

The missionaries did, however, produce written materials in YM.[14] Joyce Ross, a missionary linguist, had been translating Bible literature and hymns into Gumatj in the early 1970s. Thus, when the bilingual education initiative was launched, Yirrkala School stood out as a feasible location to initiate a bilingual programme: an orthography existed, the language had already been written down in church literature, a local linguist was available and community leaders were supportive of the idea. As a result, a team of linguists, educators, and community members made a concerted effort to develop the bilingual programme.

A major early challenge involved choosing which of the YM varieties would be the language of instruction. Gumatj emerged as the best choice for the bilingual programme for both practical and political reasons: Gumatj had already been studied and used in writing, and the language was understood by most members of the community. Moreover, the Gumatj were the traditional landowners of much of the surrounding area and among the most populous and powerful clans in the community (Yirrkala LPC 1991). The community understanding was that literacy skills in Gumatj would be easily transferable to other clan lects (Amery 1985, p. 10).

Gumatj literacy and curriculum materials then needed to be created, but this task proved challenging due to a lack of resources. The Literature Production Centre did not yet exist, and there were perhaps only two Yolŋu literate in their own language at the time. Furthermore, there was the significant challenge of harmoniously integrating the two languages' distinct ways of talking about and classifying the world into one curriculum and expressing orally transmitted stories into a written format. For the Yolŋu teachers, this was a brand-new experience:

> When we started biling. Ed the teachers found it hard to understand enriching first language. They had all been taught in a second language and teachers taught about another world. It took a while before they realised what we were on about – a completely new concept but once they caught

on they loved it. (*Beth Graham personal communication (email)*, February 2016)

As a result, the process of formulating well-written resources reflecting natural language use, and reshaping the curriculum to incorporate Gumatj, took the better part of the following decade. It was made possible only through constant cooperation between Yolŋu and non-Indigenous teachers and support from Yolŋu elders.

The use of Gumatj at the school, however, had always been contentious for both political and linguistic reasons. As already discussed, children learn culture and law through their own language, their mother's language and their grandmother's language; language is a core aspect of Yolŋu identity. While parents for the most part consented to their children speaking Gumatj, many were concerned about it threatening the use of other clan lects:

> [A] lot of the people who live here are not Gumatj, and so when you start to tease it out, they could accept that Gumatj was used but they didn't want it sort of replacing their own language. (*Leon White interview*, November 2015)

However, since Yirrkala had always been a community in which multiple related languages co-existed in a complex language ecology, Gumatj's new status as a school language did not override entirely the existing dynamics of multilingual repertoires in contact. As a result, issues also arose due to the differences between the language used in the Gumatj readers and the language that children, and sometimes even teachers, were using. Reports soon emerged that children were experiencing difficulties with the language differences, particularly with the suffixes, and so while the school continued printing materials in Gumatj, teachers informally used Dhuwaya in the classroom, especially in the early years (Amery 1985).

In the mid-1980s, linguist Rob Amery came to Yirrkala to study and document Dhuwaya as a particularly linguistically interesting result of contact phenomena. In his interview, Leon White recalls how Amery's work encouraged the community to talk about what the children were

actually doing with language (i.e. developing Dhuwaya as a primary/first language) and to consider this variety as legitimate and worthy of attention. Moreover, by this time, classroom teachers, who had been reporting that the Gumatj stories were not always succeeding in engaging the students' attention, began to request more literacy resources in Dhuwaya, the variety they were all using every day.

The school council[15] discussed the use of Dhuwaya as a good alternative for the bilingual programme. It was a 'neutral' language in that it did not belong to a specific clan, and its use corresponded with the principle that children should be initially educated in the language they know best (Amery 1985) (see §1). It was also believed that using Dhuwaya at school would prevent further language change, as the variety would be subject to further codification and standardisation processes. Since Dhuwaya was understood to be 'the closest to […] the baby talk, the lingua franca that the kids had sort of developed', many feared that it was a transitional stage towards 'further creolisation of Yolŋu Matha' (*Leon White interview*, November 2015), seen as an unfavourable outcome (Amery notes that this concern is unfounded (1993, pp. 52–55)).

In 1987, Dhuwaya was established as the language of instruction (Yirrkala LPC 1991). Contention remains, however, over the use of Dhuwaya at school. Many Yolŋu still worry that the younger generation will not acquire their own clan language, and for some, Dhuwaya feels inappropriate for an academic setting:

> That was one of my *nhawi*[16], arguments, because they have changed it to Dhuwaya and when I went to school everything was full-on Gumatj and it was more…how can I explain it? It was more, you had more challenging. […] [Gumatj] is strong and it's more sort of…I think the way it's structured, in a way it's more of an academic way of language speaking. […] [I]t was more powerful than Dhuwaya…[Gumatj] is more like Standard Academic English. *(Banbapuy Whitehead*[17] *interview,* November, 2015)

For some teachers and community members, the ideal outcome would be the introduction of multiple clan languages to the classroom (*Banbapuy Whitehead interview,* December 2015), but it would be difficult to incorporate these into the curriculum due to limited funding and a shortage of qualified Indigenous teachers.

'Aboriginalisation' of the School

While older community members were on the whole pleased with the incorporation of YM language in the curriculum (*Beth Graham interview*, December 2015), many were not satisfied with the 'Balanda'-oriented[18] nature of many aspects of the school. Firstly, the school was heavily under Balanda control, and the non-Indigenous principal held sway over every decision regarding how the school was run (Marika-Munuŋgirtj et al. 1990). Furthermore, despite local efforts, the curriculum still focused almost entirely on Balanda knowledge and worldviews, with Yolŋu values and ways of knowing often undermined by the Western-dominant curriculum (Marika et al. 1990). Community leaders expressed a desire to restructure the school to incorporate a Yolŋu-oriented curriculum, one that would focus on community needs by building on topics deemed important by elders for fostering a strong Yolŋu identity (Marika-Munuŋgiritj et al. 1990).

In 1984, two groups were created with the intention of finding ways to exert Yolŋu control of the school (Marika-Munuŋgiritj et al. 1990; Stockley et al. 2017). The first, the Yolŋu Action Group, consisted of all Yolŋu staff at YCS regardless of position: administrative, clerical, ancillary, linguistic and teaching staff (Marika et al. 1990). This working body met weekly and made decisions regarding the day-to-day issues of the school (indeed it was at the instigation of this group in 1987 that Gumatj was changed to Dhuwaya as the language of instruction at the school). The second, the Nambarra School Council (now called Yambirrpa School Council), was made up of Yolŋu school staff from YCS and all homeland schools, as well as community members from all clans. The Council met several times a year and oversaw all major decisions across the schools, with the intention of ensuring that schooling respected Yolŋu beliefs and was in line with Yolŋu aspirations (Yirkala LPC 1991).

Together, these two groups formed an 'Aboriginalisation plan', with the ultimate goal of gaining complete ownership of the school for Yolŋu community members. School staff worked with community elders, writing down their ideas of how the school should run and what should be included in the school curriculum:

I knew that there was layers and layers of deep intellectual knowledge that we already had in the world that is connected to the land and our ancestors. We developed a Both Ways approach to education at our school that still exists today and I believe in the importance and relevance of embedding this way of learning, this way for our children. (*Yalmay Yunupiŋu*[19] *presentation*, December 2015)

By 1988 the School Council's new constitution was officially accepted, marking the formal introduction of 'two-way' education. This new paradigm was designed to ensure that community language and epistemologies would take equal centre stage, producing:

Yolŋu students who are balanced in both worlds: strong in their Western knowledge and English and strong in their own identity, cultural knowledge and language. (Yirrkala LPC & Yolngu Action Group 2011)

Yirrkala's Response to the 'First Four Hours' Policy

The 2008 decree that 'the first four hours of education in all Northern Territory schools will be conducted in English' (Scrymgour 2008) led to the closure of most extant bilingual programmes across the NT (see §2.1). While government funding was not pulled entirely, the Department of Education actively pushed English-only literacy tests, strategies, and programmes in the wake of this policy. This was met with great disappointment and frustration in the Yirrkala community:

[W]e, the old people, would be saddened by such an approach because our language comes from within the very essence of our being. It makes us who we are. (*Interview with D. Marika,*[20] *'Going Back to Lajamanu' Four Corners,* September 2009).

Language is the key to our education. It's us, it's a mirror of our soul and when you look into a mirror it's you, so that's what language is. (*Banbapuy Whitehead interview*, November 2015)

Nevertheless, in what had rapidly become a hostile policy context, the bilingual programme at Yirrkala continued to run. The government revoked all personnel and resource support for the school's bilingual programme, and yet the school remained steadfast in their goal of educating Yolŋu children to be strong in their language and culture, through YM language as well as English. The importance of English instruction was not undervalued, but Yolŋu did not want general Australian culture to replace Yolŋu culture in an assimilationist manner, and for some community members, the First Four Hours policy was understood to be merely the latest instantiation of a larger project to westernise Indigenous people:

> They want to try to westernise Yolŋu people. They want to leave us in a mainstream culture like a white man. That is a difficult part for us. We don't want to live in that. We want to live in two worlds that we are comfortable and that's one things our government are trying to close the gap to bringing us into a mainstream culture, into a mainstream world. And that is important that we as Yolŋu people need to be very strong in our own right identities. (*Interview with D. Marika, 'Going Back to Lajamanu' Four Corners*, September 2009)

School and staff members argued that the policy would hinder children's scholastic success because of their unfamiliarity with the language. '[I]t's important for children to be able to understand and compare because children, if we teach them in one language all the time, English, the children will be bored and children will never get attention to that. The language is very strange to them' (*ibid*). In a letter to Scrymgour, one Yolŋu teacher wrote:

> We have been told we are not to use our students' first language, only English. Well, I already know that the children won't understand what I'm saying, they will laugh at me, and they may even misbehave because they'll be bored and won't know what the lesson is about. So perhaps I will cheat and use some Yolŋu Matha – what will happen then? Will I have my mouth washed out with soap like in the mission times? Or will I have to stand on one leg outside the classroom? Or perhaps I will lose my job? (Y. Yunupiŋu 2010)

The First Four Hours policy was finally dismantled in 2012, but this has not brought much relief for many who work tirelessly to defend bilingual education:

> One of the obstacles I've experienced in the continual politics that stands between bilingual programs, it brings me so much trauma and stress, and adds more strains and more pains. So often, our energy goes into defending the programs rather than improving them. I am an advocate for bilingual programs and I believe they are a good method to teach. They encounter Both Ways learning and shift the power balance and can empower Yolŋu teachers to contribute their knowledge. (*Y. Yunupiŋu presentation*, December 2015)

Indeed, the policy threat to bilingual education remains. The 2014 government-commissioned Wilson report advocates English-only instruction (leading in part to a ministerial decision to roll out direct instruction[21] in remote schools) and recommends that all secondary students be sent to boarding schools in regional centres, further evidence that in attempting to 'close the gap', the government risks further undermining local community priorities and language maintenance.

Yirrkala Community School Today

Yirrkala School continues to run a two-way programme, incorporating both Yolŋu and Western language and knowledge systems throughout the curriculum. Community elders use *gaṉma* as a metaphor for the programme: a place where a current of water from the sea (non-Indigenous knowledge) meets a current of water from the land (Yolŋu knowledge). At this place, the two 'currents engulf each other, flowing into a common lagoon and becoming one' (Marika 2000, p. 47).

The school currently encompasses a 'Families as First Teachers' (FaFT) programme,[22] preschool, primary school and secondary programme. It also offers extensive support to the nine homeland schools in the surrounding area. Around 100 students are enrolled across three classes in the primary school (Transition/Year 1, Years 2–4 and Years 4–6) and a further 90 in three secondary classes (Years 7/8, Years 8/9, and Years

10–12). This structure changes depending on the school's needs, students' attendance, the progression of students and staff changes (Yirrkala LPC 1991).

YCS aims to follow a bilingual step model where there is a strong emphasis on Dhuwaya instruction in the early years that decreases incrementally over time. Conversely, English instruction increases as students' progress through their educational journey (see Fig. 4.1). Thus, while literacy is initially introduced in Dhuwaya, beyond Year 9, instruction is given largely in English. Implementation of the step model may be adversely affected by class groupings (with different year levels in one class) and team teacher attendance (sometimes low due to cultural events and community obligations).

At present, the preschool is led by a qualified Indigenous teacher who is able to deliver both the English and Yolŋu programme. Often, preschoolers' parents come to school to support their children. All primary classrooms have both a Yolŋu team teacher and a non-Indigenous classroom teacher who provides support in delivering the Dhuwaya programme. Team teachers in turn support the classroom teacher by facilitating communication when needed (Yirrkala LPC 2014). A Yolŋu team teacher delivers the primary school art programme. Secondary classrooms do not have Yolŋu team teachers, partly due to limited funding but also because of the transitional step-model nature of the programme. However, a Yolŋu secondary tutor splits her time between the Year 7/8 and Year 8/9 classrooms, teaching YM literacy (at least two hours a week) and maths in each classroom. The Year 10–12 class does not have an allocated Yolŋu teacher, but YM activities are included in their curriculum as much as possible. Year 10–12 students also participate in a three-day clan language workshop every school term (Fig. 4.1).

The two-way curriculum incorporates a number of innovative programmes developed by YCS. *Galtha*[23] *Rom* lessons focus on vital cultural and developmental knowledge, and are delivered by elders in language in a more traditional setting (e.g. hunting, collecting paper bark) (Gale 1994; Marika-Munuŋgiritj 1990). The *Garma*[24] Maths curriculum has been developed to incorporate both Yolŋu knowledge systems and Western concepts (Ŋurruwutthun 1991; Watson-Verran 1992; Marika 2000). The Yolŋu section of the programme encompasses two aspects:

	Lessons in Yolŋu Matha	Conversion to hrs/mins	Lessons in English	Conversion to hrs/mins
Year 7	20%	1 hour 5 mins	80%	4 hours 15 mins
per day				
per week		*5 hrs 25 mins*		*21 hrs 15 mins*
Year 6	20%	1 hour 5 mins	80%	4 hours 15 mins
per day				
per week		*5 hrs 25 mins*		*21 hrs 15 mins*
Year 5	20%	1 hour 5 mins	80%	4 hours 15 mins
per day				
per week		*5 hrs 25 mins*		*21 hrs 15 mins*
Year 4	50%	2 hours 40 mins	50%	2 hours 40 mins
per day				
per week		*13 hrs 20 mins*		*13 hrs 20 mins*
Year 3	60%	3 hours 10 mins	40%	2 hours 10 mins
per day				
per week		*15 hrs 50 mins*		*10 hrs 50 mins*
Year 2	70%	3 hrs 50 mins	30%	1 hour 30 mins
per day				
per week		*19 hrs 10 mins*		*7 hrs 30 mins*
Year 1	80%	4 hours 15 mins	20%	1 hour 5 mins
per day				
per week		*21 hrs 15 mins*		*5 hrs 25 mins*
Transition	90%	4 hours 50 mins	10%	30 mins
per day				
per week		*24 hrs 10 mins*		*2 hrs 30 mins*
Preschool	95%	3 hours 50 mins	5%	10 mins
per day				
per week		*19 hrs 10 mins*		*50 mins*

Fig. 4.1 The bilingual education model at Yirrkala School (School Day: 5 hours 20 minutes; School Week: 26 hours 40 minutes; Preschool: 4 hours/day, 20 hours/week)

gurruṯu, the complex systems of kinship that connect individuals and clans to each other; and *djälkiri* ('foot/footprint'), an individual's connections to the lands and waters their ancestors passed down to their clan. In the Garma curriculum, *gurruṯu* is connected to maths (namely expressions of recursion), while *djälkiri* is connected to space/location.

All classroom resources required to run the two-way curriculum are produced by Yirrkala School's Literature Production Centre (LPC). Available literacy resources include ordered readers, storybooks, story sequencing cards and vocabulary cards. School staff are in the process of creating iPad literacy training apps and iBooks in Dhuwaya. Classrooms are colourfully decorated and equipped with a wide range of Dhuwaya resources including alphabet wall cards, informative posters, and gurruṯu (kinship system) charts. Literacy worker staff positions are crucially filled by native Yolŋu speakers.

Yolŋu continue to take control within the school. The 2016 staff list includes 19 Yolŋu staff members, the same number as non-Indigenous staff members. Yolŋu fill all kinds of staff positions: teaching, linguistic, administrative, clerical, ancillary and janitorial. A Yolŋu principal-in-training works alongside a non-Indigenous principal. The teacher-linguist is a senior Indigenous woman who works closely with Yolŋu teaching staff on the curriculum delivery. A Yolŋu senior cultural advisor ensures correct cultural protocols are followed for any events occurring at the school and acts as a family representative in the school. The Action Group continues to meet weekly to discuss day-to-day matters of the school, and the School Council meets each term.

Yirrkala community members have worked hard to keep their language at school, and yet government budget cuts have time and time again resulted in the loss of vital staff members. The school lacks resources critical to the successful full implementation of a bilingual programme; this is in large part attributable to the continuing debate about the effectiveness of bilingual schooling (see §2), which is persistently deaf to academic research findings that demonstrate the efficacy and necessity of such programmes.

Conclusion

Yirrkala School has long existed in the crossfire of conflicting local, national and policy discourses. The range of top-down strategies intended to control and measure language use in schools has been fundamentally shaped by a 'monolingual mindset', deficit discourses and a broader assim-

ilationist project in turn. As a result, state and federal government policy has routinely, and increasingly, undermined local priorities in cultural education and the maintenance of Indigenous languages more generally.

Yet while bilingual education policy has vacillated according to the vagaries of public and political ideology, local community priorities in Yirrkala have consistently privileged the importance of multilingualism and first-language(s) literacy and their rightful place in the classroom. The community has been vocal in the face of threats to bilingual education and has gone to great effort to express their dissent in a positive light, for example, through the 'Don't cut off our tongues' campaign (1998–99) and the community event in April 2014 celebrating two-way education, designed in part to attract media coverage. Yolŋu have become increasingly 'media savvy' and are using these tools to effectively advance their local language policies and ideologies on a wider stage (Waller and McCallum 2014).

The two-way journey has been a constantly negotiated process that has had to be responsive to the needs of and changes in local language ecology. While it has not always been possible to achieve community-wide consensus on all decisions, the collaboration has been remarkable in its success in engaging in *galtha* to construct *gaṉma* together. In recognition of these achievements, on International Mother Tongue Day 2016, the prestigious International Linguapax Award[25] was given jointly to the Yambirrpa School Council and Yolŋu Action Group for their work in bilingual education in Yirrkala. The committee summarised their decision with these words:

> These institutions carry on the struggle initiated more than 40 years ago by the community elders to convey the cultural and linguistic heritage of their people through bilingual teaching programmes in Yolŋu, in steady decline since 1980 due to government action.[26]

Notes

1. Among many other UN recommendations detailing the legal and ethical basis for first-language education (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2015 for a summary) is the following example:

   Article 30 of the Convention establishes the right of the indigenous child to use his or her own language. In order to implement this right, education in the child's own language is essential. […] [I]ndigenous children shall be taught to read and write in their own language beside being accorded the opportunity to attain fluency in the official languages of the country. Bilingual and inter-cultural curricula are important criteria for the education of indigenous children. Teachers of indigenous children should to the extent possible be recruited from within indigenous communities and given adequate support and training. (para. 62, General Comment No. 11 (2009) *Indigenous Children and their Rights under the Convention*)

2. Although even in the 1970s for many within the Education department, the intention behind bilingual education was really only to foster transitional English literacy (see, e.g. Watts and Gallacher 1964). On the ground, however, this focus was developed (with the support of the specialist bilingual support staff in the Darwin office) to become a broader and richer 'two-way' programme encompassing bilingual and bicultural curricula and goals. We thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this to our attention.

3. 'National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy'—a standardised national test taken by all children in years 3, 5, 7 and 9.

4. These 60 programmes included '26 first language maintenance programs, seven to nine language revitalisation programs, 11 language renewal programs, 11 second language learning programs and two language awareness programs', as well as nine schools delivering 'two-way or step programs offering home language learning programs' (Areyonga, Lajamanu, Maningrida, Milingimbi, Numbulwar, Shepherdson College, Willowra, Yirrkala, and Yuendumu) (HRSCATSIA 2012, p. 90). Note while these numbers account for all 154 NT schools, the 2013 numbers reflect a total of 97 schools that responded to a departmental survey. As Wilson (2014, p. 115) notes, it is difficult to get comprehensible and accurate recent data on the topic.

5. In this short account, we acknowledge the importance but do not fully address the central role of the complex power structures at play both within the Education department and at the local school level, and nor do we discuss the fundamental impact of the attitudes and actions of school principals and non-local teachers. Too often local Indigenous teachers are disempowered within such structures. See insights in, for example, Devlin (2009), Marika (2000), Simpson et al. (2009), Yunupiŋu (1990).

6. Although of course bilingual programmes may not mirror exactly the local language situation.

7. *rom* means ceremonial law or customs.

8. Yirrkala is classified as 'very remote' according to the Australian Standard Geographic Classification (ASGC) Remoteness Structure (http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/home/remoteness+structure).

9. Ḏätiwuy, Djapu, Dhuḏi-Djapu, Djambarrpuyŋu, Marrakulu, Narraŋu, Gumatj, Gupapuyŋu, Maŋgalili, Munyuku, Maḏarrpa, Dhaḻwaŋu, Rirratjiŋu, Gälpu, Wangurri, Golumala, Djaŋu, Warramiri and Ŋaymil.

10. Recall that the different YM varieties, while socially considered different languages, can be considered dialects in linguistic terms.

11. Lirrina Munuŋgurr is a Djapu woman who graduated from the Dhuwaya-English programme and currently has two children enrolled at YCS.

12. Leon White is currently the principal of the Yirrkala Homeland Schools. He is a non-Indigenous community resident who has worked as an adult educator and with Yirrkala and the homeland schools since 1974. During his time in Yirrkala he has worked as a homelands visiting teacher, a Batchelor College lecturer based in Yirrkala, the Arnhem Regional Manager, the principal at Yirrkala Community School and repeatedly as the principal of all the homelands schools.

13. Amery (1985, p. 8) notes that early attempts were made to incorporate YM in the curriculum, but these were stymied at the time due to the lack of an adequate orthography.

14. The information on this process, and the early days of bilingual education, presented in this section was largely provided in personal interviews in November 2015 and February 2016 with Beth Graham, a former non-Indigenous teacher at Yirrkala who was appointed bilingual coordinator when the bilingual programme was being created. Where information is sourced elsewhere, this will be acknowledged.

15. The school council consists of Yolŋu community members from Yirrkala and all of the homelands centres. See section "'Aboriginalisation' of the School" for more information.
16. *Nhawi* is a Yolŋu term meaning 'whatchamacallit'.
17. Banbapuy Whitehead is a Ḏätiwuy woman who is currently a senior teacher at YCS.
18. Balanda is a term Yolŋu people use when referring to white people, particularly of European descent.
19. Yalmay Yunupiŋu is a Rirratjiŋu woman who is currently the teacher-linguist at YCS.
20. D. Marika, now deceased, was the former chairman of the Yambirrpa School Council.
21. Direct instruction is a set of US-developed approaches to learning whereby teachers follow pre-packaged scripted lesson plans and students are grouped according to achievement (see, e.g. Adams and Engelmann 1996; Hattie 2009).
22. Families as First Teachers is a government programme offered in remote communities to help parents support the early development of children aged 2–4.
23. *Galtha* refers to the process of working together to reach an agreement.
24. *Garma* refers to a ceremony/place where different people join to make decisions together.
25. Awarded by Linguapax, a non-governmental organisation 'dedicated to the appreciation and protection of linguistic diversity worldwide' (http://www.linguapax.org).
26. http://www.linguapax.org/english/what-we-do/linguapax-award.

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5

Unbecoming Standards Through Ojibwe Immersion: The Wolf Meets Ma'iingan

Mary Hermes and Michelle Haskins

Introduction

In this chapter, we focus on how the State of Wisconsin (Midwestern USA) presents barriers to our own indigenous knowledge production. Enacted through state policy, students are required to meet Wisconsin Common Core Standards (hereafter referred to as WCCS or Standards), which specify what students should know and be able to do in the classroom. We show how these standards are in direct conflict with Ojibwe worldviews. Focusing on examples from teaching literacy in an Ojibwe immersion kindergarten classroom, we ask: In what ways does the State enforce curriculum structures in opposition to the content knowledges and structures that are being articulated from the indigenous language and culture of the Ojibwe people? Our narrative of teaching suggests

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ways in which a system of inequality is held in place by the standards that are allegedly promoting equity.

One idea that underpins the Common Core Standards[1] in the US curriculum is that our subjectivities, that is, our "identities" as Americans, are either assimilated or authentic. In this chapter, we look for alternatives to this binary. In appropriating the terms "teacher" and "standards," we reject the ideological stance that we are either "white" or "Ojibwe" by refuting the categories to begin with. We are Anishinaabe, which is a fluid, living culture with a vibrant language that is being used creatively on a daily basis. Why would we want to define, name, and enumerate the ways we create and recognize knowledge? This is simply not the way we are. The White American-based standards follow this practice in an attempt to conceal ("these are universal standards") and curate the myth of "diversity" ("it is good for everyone"), thereby controlling which knowledges, and so which identities, are produced and legitimated in the economy. Knowing certain Discourses[2] will make you money, while the capacity to create in other Discourses will not. This economic regulation through subjectivities is well understood theoretically. However, in this chapter, we want to detail this knowledge.

By examining examples of how standards are coupled with "common sense" expectations and work through teachers, parents, and the State apparatus, we explore how standards and the "common sense" approaches that are indexed by them represent a particular worldview, but not a universal one. This claim directly refutes the neoliberal language used to describe the standards as universal, all-inclusive, and for all Wisconsin people. In other words, this example shows clearly how one of the mechanisms of state control, the educational standards, is an expression of invisible whiteness, or more generally, racism.

While considering a very specific example of this, situated in an Ojibwe community in northern Wisconsin, USA, these standards are being moved politically toward national standards. Enforced by testing and teacher education, we perceive this as a threat to all local Indigenous communities.

Common Core Standards Are Not Common to All

According to the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (WDPI), the skills acquired as a result of implementing WCCS will better prepare students for postsecondary education as well as the workforce by means of disciplinary literacy (read: English) acquisition:

> In Wisconsin, disciplinary literacy is defined as the confluence of content knowledge, experiences, and skills merged with the ability to read, write, listen, speak, think critically, and perform in a way that is meaningful within the context of a given field. (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2011a, p. 18)

WDPI further asserts that "English Language Arts instruction builds an understanding of the human experience" (p. 23). *English* (a particular language) is used synonymously with reading, writing, speaking, and listening. This monolingual prejudice makes the multitude of home languages and indigenous languages invisible or perhaps already dead.

To first understand precisely where and how there is a conflict, we must ask from what epistemological viewpoint do these standards originate. And if this knowledge is from a particular epistemology, then how could these standards become culturally responsive after they are in place? Throughout the WCCS, culture is referred to as something that comes in from time to time, under the "universal" framework. For example:

> The following statements provide guidance for how to ensure that the WCCS provide the foundation for learning for every student in Wisconsin, regardless of their unique learning needs … Students in Wisconsin: 7. Come to understand other perspectives and cultures. (p. 14 and 24)

Here we see the problem of claiming that first, the standards are for every student, and second, that "other" cultural perspectives can be understood from this point of view; in other words there is still one perspective from which all others are understood. This inequity, or overlay of an Anglo-

American indexicality, is how White cultural ideas are positioned as universal. Anglo-American discourses are positioned as the ones that produce knowledge, while all "others" are positioned as the subjects.

Like a group of individuals from any nation, we (Indigenous people generally and Ojibwe specifically) are comprised of individuals who make infinite and complicated decisions about who they are as individuals while still maintaining membership of a sovereign nation. Historically and contemporarily, we have a distinct point of view that is different from the current settler-colonial nation. It is this distinction that is important to describe in detail, as the idea of *diversity* has come to mean so many things; it has become convoluted with skin color, race, or even cultural practices from before colonization. Yet all of these categories (skin color, race, culture) are categories constructed by and through colonialism.

"We," the authors, are both Indigenous women who have been involved with the immersion school we write about in different ways. I (Mary/Waabishkii-miigwan) am of mixed Native American (Dakota), White (mostly Irish), and Chinese (Toysan) heritage. I am a longtime community member at Lac Courte Oreilles (LCO) Ojibwe reservation, and I speak Ojibwe. Since I do not qualify for "enrollment" or citizenship under the current constitutional rules, in some sense I am an "undocumented immigrant" to the Ojibwe nation. My primary involvement was with the startup of the immersion school, Waadookodaading, where I served as the director for the first 5 years. For the past 20 years, I have simultaneously balanced my community language efforts with my bill-paying efforts and so have enjoyed being a professor at the University of Minnesota. I (Michelle/Bimijiwanikwe) am an enrolled member of the LCO Band of Ojibwe and also have Oneida, Stockbridge, and Arapaho blood that runs through my veins. I spent my childhood years living on some of these other tribal Indian reservations and in the city of Milwaukee. My public school experiences solidified my decision to become an educator as "my people's truths" were omitted or skimmed over in the public school setting. I was invisible and was made to work harder than my Anglo-American peers just to prove that "we," "the Indians," are still here

in North America. My intent, by returning to LCO as a young woman, was, and still is, to give back to my people and to honor the elders who made profound sacrifices for our continued existence. I have chosen to go back to our original instructions prior to European arrival and learn my Native tongue, as our Ojibwe language is where our cultural identity is housed. This intricate means of communication is the medium that I have used to teach kindergarten for over 9 years.

One of our traditional indigenous ways of identifying differences while still understanding the fluidity of markers has been language. Like many Indigenous people all over this Mother Earth, we listen to the particular sounds animals make to know where they are from and what our relationship to them might be, knowing that they do not need us to survive as we need them. Our word for language itself is the same for all animals' sounds: "inwe" or "she makes a characteristic call" (Ojibwe People's Dictionary[3]). These sounds can be recreated, additional languages learned, or appropriated, and exchanged with other groups. With endless creative variation, along with a stable enough way to identify a place of origin, language is remarkable in its ability to be fluid and stable at the same moment.

Prior to becoming the target of cultural genocide, speaking many languages or even distinct varieties of Ojibwe was a way to identify the particular place and group or groups a person was from. The immersion school we write about, Waadookodaading, is one of a handful of Ojibwe immersion schools surrounding the Great Lakes that is attempting to co-opt the ideas of education as defined by the state and recreate school structures to allow us to decide and prioritize the knowledge and skills we want our young people to have. While acknowledging we hold many identities in one body, we also acknowledge the need to make Whiteness visible. This means employing strategic essentialism (Spivak et al. 1996) as a temporary means of fixing cultural identities in order to do some sorting out. That is, while we write about an Ojibwe epistemology and how it is at odd with the White or Euro-American epistemology in the standards, we recognize that these are not neat or fixed categories in themselves.

Theoretical Framework

The problem of curriculum as enclosure has been identified as a structural and conceptual problem in creating deeper changes toward decolonization in the US educational system (Hermes 2005a, b; Richardson 2011; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). Native American and allied scholars have argued that culturally based curriculum has failed to make deep inroads in changing an institutional structure that has been and still is used in centrally defining identity through a colonial institution. This happens, in part, because when attempts to add representations of cultures are added to existing structures of thought in US schools (e.g., adding indigenous cultural content to the existing tribal and public school frameworks), the conceptual frameworks act as a container, on one hand fulfilling the "duty" of being culturally responsive and on the other *containing* the knowledge-building power of non-white peoples. Furthering the idea of a container from curriculum to standards, we argue in this paper that the WCCS, by claiming to not be from any cultural viewpoint or specifically situated epistemology, acts to contain all "other" cultures.

White philosophical and academic traditions are used to frame knowledge and yet are described as universal and inclusive. They do this by not providing any specific epistemological origin and thereby claiming an "objective" standpoint. Much like the "god trick" in the science disciplines (Haraway 1988, p. 581), we teachers become engaged in *one grain size smaller* (i.e., making the content to meet the standards) and so we do not see the biased framework that supports the content. It becomes invisible. It is the big top that the circus is under, and we the teachers are already focused on the performance, so why would we notice the tent? We know that knowledge is constructed *from somewhere* and cannot appear from outside that which an agent already knows; there is always an epistemology framing our knowledges. The way knowledge is constructed takes on a particular flavor, and there is no such thing as a universal point of view. The WCCS derive from somewhere, more Eurocentric than anything and therefore cannot be universal. The claim to be neutral and unbiased is the claim of coming from what Mignolo refers to as the "zero point epistemology" (Mignolo 2009). The position of the all-knowing knower is not com-

ing from nowhere; rather, it is a manifestation of Anglo-American domination. "In the nineteenth century culture was a concept used by Europeans to explain the customs of the people in the territories they came to conquer and populate" (Duranti 1997, p. 23). Here the "knower" is the European, and the people who are beginning to be understood by them are outsiders, or "others" (Said 1978), understood through the tools of anthropology. "Culture" (i.e., the people who make up the culture) is the "object" of study, distinct from the researcher. In this Eurocentric view, the claim of a zero-point epistemology is the position that allows a researcher to claim objectivity, or lack of bias, while at the same time legitimating his or her study. This approach is identified as problematic in many postcolonial and postmodern feminist works (see, e.g., Said 1978; Haraway 1988; Harding 1986): the researcher is the only actor with agency. In linguistics, for example, this is how our Indigenous languages are "objectified." Richardson puts it this way:

> [T]he theoretical and philosophical foundations of curriculum act as forces which continuously eclipse the conceptual, theoretical and philosophical forces of Aboriginal intellectual traditions…. (2011, p. 333)

The positionality at work here is a direct parallel to the treatment of indigenous cultural knowledge in the schools. Both of these positions depend on the zero-point epistemology to make the cultural bias of the standards (or the positionality of a researcher) invisible.

The systemic positioning of individuals, teachers and students, from diverse languages and epistemologies is a particular type of orientation. We know from a convergence of fields around the study of Indigenous languages that language itself orients us in deeply different ways (Evans 2002). The interaction between languages, participant structures, and social participation within schools creates even stronger orientations. Often described as discursive practices, zero-point epistemology orientates a teacher to make some pedagogical choices appear to be normal, or "common sense."

Think for a moment what happens when we are called "teachers." As Butler (following Althusser) points out, performativity theory suggests that just as a person becomes a thief when a police officer calls "stop

thief!" (Butler 1993), we are *in that moment* formed as subjects. In schools, when we are hailed as "students" or "teachers," the enormous discursive power of the State is brought to bear in this single utterance. In being recognized in this way, our identities are entangled in an American English framework of thinking, which goes unnamed. We can complain about the particular content we must teach, but the structural racism embodied in the standards is not visible. Recognized as teachers, part of our identity is implicated in this hailing, making resistance difficult. Butler writes of the impossibility of the choice: "it cannot summarily be refused but neither can you follow in strict obedience," (84, p. 1993) In this space, the teacher's choice is enforced through the discursive practices of the school and community (testing, evaluation, promotion). Here, the teacher's move to subvert the standard is an opportunity to resist and appropriate that standard. Many Ojibwe immersion teachers, and likely other Indigenous teachers as well, are masters at this discursive move. As one Ojibwe immersion teacher said, "I can take a speck of dust, make a lesson that meets five standards ***and*** has a cultural teaching in it" (April 2014 Workshop, Waadookodaading). Appropriating and subverting the language of the standards, rearticulating the skills from the WCCS under a framework of indigenous knowledge and values, is the work teachers grounded in Indigenous languages, but situated in settler-colonial places, must do. This epistemic disobedience has brought us to the edge of discursive limits and placed an unfair burden on our efforts.

Last, we raise a problem to think through as we consider the Ojibwe immersion kindergarten class. Related to an essentialist problem in writing about cultures in schools, in trying to identify a specific epistemological origin in the WCCS, it seems as if we are in the "this not that" game. We are not from a single, fixed, or unified culture (this is an impossibility in our minds), and it would be strange to claim that we do not speak English or work within the US capitalist economy or even that we don't want our children to be able to compete to get into colleges. While this could be understood as hegemony participation (i.e., we agree to our own subjugation in exchange for economic gains), here we need a much more nuanced idea of cultures, power, and identity. How do we account for competing, overlapping, and sometimes *sleeping* discourses in our

curriculum while trying at the same time to decenter the apparently universal, but actually White American ways of knowing? How do we at once fight for our sovereign right to draw on our own genealogy of knowledge, while at the same time not denying that we too have been successful in and through US schooling in English? And last, how could this be articulated in a set of (local) standards, which are authored by our own Indigenous nations and do not force us into a corner, as if the last 500 years did not happen? To ground the exploration of these problems, following are examples from Bimijiwanikwe's Ojibwe immersion classroom. The examples include three ideas: naming, stories, and time in an immersion school setting.

Indigenous Naming

Historically, in order to be considered *human*, Indigenous peoples of North America were issued English names during the boarding school era. This was a part of a US federal policy of assimilation that was explicitly intended to eradicate any language or identity of being indigenous. But our Anishinaabe names breathe our identity. These names are sacred and are "Spirit" given. So when the standard expectation is to write your name in an academic setting, these Ojibwe children are relating letter knowledge and phonemic awareness for language arts content to their cultural identity. The elements of sacredness and spirituality are far removed from the White American norm of writing their name repeatedly in a single day, when they may not yet have the fine motor skills to successfully complete this task.

Early experiences define children's assumptions and expectations about becoming literate as they learn that reading and writing are valuable tools. Long before children can exhibit reading and writing production skills, they acquire basic understandings of concepts about literacy and its functions. For example, look specifically at the Wisconsin Model Early Learning Standards, Performance Standard: C.EL.1: Develops ability to detect, manipulate, or analyze the auditory parts of spoken language. (*This includes the ability to segment oral language into words, syllables, or phonemes independent of meaning.*)

Here, it provides specific examples of what the expectation looks like in the classroom.

- Child can clap syllables in his/her name and other names, e.g., Tam-my (two claps); Bill (one clap); Me-lis-sa (three claps).
- Child can tell the number of syllables in a word, "My name has two parts, Bob-by" (while clapping for each part).
- Play games with words by clapping the number of syllables in the child's name, favorite toys, other objects, animals, and plants. "How many claps are in your name Tammy?" (WMELS 2011, p. 56).

Anishinaabe students' names are often longer than their Anglo-American peers, yet performance scores are compared to at both state and national levels, but these students have verified that it is possible to find balance in both worldviews (Reyhner and Johnson 2015). In many cases, these students have exceeded the national standard without any formal English instruction at all.

However, writing the Anishinaabe name, for example, Niiyaandiwed (Nee-yawn-di-wade) is 12 letters long. Contrast that to writing Bill, Bobby, or Tammy, where minimal time and fine motor skills are needed to successfully meet the standard, and be prepared to then perform the concept or task which demonstrates competency of a given skill being taught in the classroom. Kindergarten students at the Ojibwe immersion school spend the first 6 weeks participating in cross-curriculum activities to assert their identity. Writing their long Ojibwe names, over and over in one day at the top of each paper, can be physically too difficult and emotionally contradictory to the positive identity work.

The ceremony that is conducted when an Anishinaabe name is given invokes all of the universal creation to know and understand just who you are and your purpose for being here. This very dignified act defines who you are and signifies your place in this world. So when a child is seen at the table with a long face or is seen exhibiting body posture interpreted as negative because they must write their name, it must be recognized that meeting state standards which demand writing your name can obstruct the intent of Ojibwe language revitalization efforts for early learners.

This uniform expectation results in destroying the element of pride and dignity embellished in the sacred ceremony given to the Anishinaabe people. When such identity characteristics are prevalent among an indigenous culture, specific adaptations must be made for their success. Anishinaabe students' physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual well-being is far more critical than the development of any academic skill set in order for them to be confident in who they are. The adaptability and resiliency presented as a result of successfully writing their names is an ever-powerful reminder of the strength and courage our ancestors have so valiantly demonstrated to us over the years of historical ethnocide and institutional oppression. Although the writing of your name is not specifically stated in the WCCS, it is an expected norm never identified or laid out. It is an embedded Anglo-American expectation of academia.

Stories: *Aadizookaanag* (Traditional Ojibwe Stories) and Three Little Pigs

One of the WCCS standards specifically identifies range, quality, and complexity of student reading skills, K–5 through children's literature. The types of genres used to gauge advancement include adventure stories, folktales, legends, fables, fantasy, realistic fiction, and myth (p. 57). The story of the Three Little Pigs is a fable used widely in nearly all preschool and elementary schools, a story that perpetuates a message about the wolf which is contrary to the attitude most Indigenous people across the Americas have toward wolves. These kindergarten students engage in storytelling and book-reading activities with embedded Ojibwe heritage values. The literary concepts are anchored in hands-on literacy activities. This method was very effective. It fostered a love for reading and storytelling, probed students to think critically about events and purposes of stories, and promoted and solicited Ojibwe language use. For example, we read the story of the Three Little Pigs; upon completion of this activity, the students discovered that it was a story retold to ensure that the fear and hatred toward wolves lives for generations through Euro-American

fairy tales because early settlers feared the loss of livestock brought to North America.

Students were asked to reflect on whether or not wolves are bad and were asked why they thought these stories were being told. One student, Wezaawaabinesii,[4] raised his hand, waited to be called upon, and said, "*Mii wenji nishkaadizid ma'iingan* [That is why the wolf is mad]." A second student, Waabanangokwe, raised her hand shaking with enthusiasm. I called on her and she said, "*Eya' mii wenji bakaded* [Yes because he is hungry]." Makade-makwaa student had not raised his hand, but I wanted to know what his thoughts were. He said, "prolly because he's bad." Nibaa-giiziis chimed in without being called on and said, *"Gaawiin! Gimikwendaan ina Bimijiwanikwe gii-ikido awesiiyag omaa ayaawaad dabwaa niinawind* [No, remember when the teacher said the animals were here before we were]?" Although Nibaa-giiziis' construct Ojibwemowin was not grammatically correct, I accepted the response. I was looking for deeper meanings and interpretive knowledge on why the students thought the story was written. I did not make corrections in speech nor did I recast in this utterance.

Ogimaawabiikwe raised her hand and waited to be called on. When she was given an opportunity to speak, she said, *"Ma'iingan wa'aw Bimijiwanikwe's doodem* [Wolf is the teacher's clan]." I responded by saying, *"Ma'iingan ogikendaan gichi-niibowa, gichi-gikendaasod* [Wolf knows a lot, as he is really smart]. *Wenipanad da-amwaadwaa gookooshag miinawaa bizhiikiwag, agiw miigaazosigwaa Chi-mookomaaniwan awesiinid* [It's easy to eat pigs and cows as those European animals have no way of fighting].*"* The sixth student said, "Oh yeah! *Nimikwendaan gii-piidoonaawaag bizhiikiwag* on those *gichi-jiimaanings mewinzha* [I remember they brought the cows on ships a long time ago]." I said, *"Mii gwayak, ishwaaso daso-giizisag booziwag da-bi-izhaawaad omaa Anishinaabe akiing* [It took several moons/months to get to America on a boat]." Wezaawabinesii said, *"Ma'iingan nindinawemaagan* [Wolf is my relative]." I reinforced his statement by saying, *"Gidebwe, Ma'iingan gindinawemaaganaanig* [You speak the truth, the Wolf is our relative]." I asked the students again, *"Aaniin dash awiiya gaa-tibaajimowaad yo'o Niswi-gookooshag* [Why was the story of the Three Pigs told]?" Waabanagokwe said, *"Ganabaj…Aaniin ge-ikidoyangiban* to make people

be scared of *Ma'iingan* [Maybe…How do we say, to make people scared of the Wolf]?" The students did not see wolves as being bad, and they did indeed need to be respected for their intellect and Wolf's role in our creation story. Students also identified how the wolf helps to keep balance among the lifecycle and should be especially respected as a brother of the Anishinaabeg.

The kindergarten students applied and evaluated social studies content to the materials presented in language arts as they recalled historical events making their own discernments. These students' emerging cultural knowledge was revealed through further classroom discussion and completion of story maps where the students wrote the name of the story, the author, and drew pictures to illustrate the story setting, characters, and the sequential events that took place in the story.

Time: Food Cycles and Calendars

Another significant conflict identified with the WCCS is the current Gregorian standard calendar within which the academics are framed. Rather than the typical 12-month calendar, perhaps indigenous education could follow the 13-moons lunar cycle where each moon is appropriately *named* and identified by what is taking place in nature. Indigenous immersion education and its educators creatively adapt what has currently been presented as a tool for Anishinaabe language restoration, another versatile skill to maintain balance in this fast-evolving world. It is in following the natural progression of the seasonal gifts of harvest that the Anishinaabe have survived by having spiritual acknowledgement of "who" the Creator is and that we are related to all living beings. Paying homage to our Creator and our ancestors is done through ceremonial rites of passage and other cultural practices that are determined by the universe. Ojibwe people respond to the universe by migrating, gathering, and cultivating indigenous knowledge from season to season as a way of life, rather than ravaging and exploiting the resources just because they can be exploited.

The Director of Waadookodaading prefaced a classroom visit with this: "We respond to the food cycles of the season," indicating that while

following a Gregorian calendar, we also have an entirely different way of viewing time—one that is not determined by a square on a page but by what is actually happening in the environment. The immersion school schedule is determined by when the fish are spawning, the sap is running, and the rice is ready to harvest. The ability to read the environment is more important, in this case, than blindly following a predetermined date. Responding to the Earth, and gathering foods that are ready, means that the overarching school structure is shaped by these activities *as well as any* literacy, math, or any other academic skills that can be covered while also carrying out these activities.

Discussion

In the above examples, we see that through the awareness of the teachers and staff at the immersion school, students are made aware of multiple orientations and are learning flexibility and adaptability while traversing different cultural discourses. Although the standards are meant to create an umbrella containing all "other" cultures, the *normalized epistemic disobedience* practiced by the Indigenous people creates moments that directly contradict some of the expectations which are tied to the invisible whiteness. In these examples, writing personal names repeatedly, villainizing the wolf (story of the Three Little Pigs), and the Gregorian calendar are all seemingly normal standard practice for schools which is revealed here as Eurocentric or institutional racism enforced in the standards.

What if learning is more about a situated and distributed response to a problem, rather than compliance to a system that we can recognize is incongruent with our indigenous heritage? (Medin and Bang 2014; Hutchins 1995). Certainly, the understanding of at least two different cultural systems of orientation and creating curriculum that satiates both as evidenced in enacting curriculum through the medium of an endangered Indigenous language are heuristic efforts. And yet this is normal everyday expectation Indigenous language immersion teachers carry. Surely this is a prime example of adaptive reorganization within a complex system.

In the first example, the English written word is about individual ownership, repeated often during the school day. Writing your name signals both English and the written word as the individual owner of the intellectual work on the paper. This is in direct conflict with Ojibwe naming protocols, which place us in relationship to other people, a clan, and/or a place. Ojibwe names exist in a web of people, not to signify individual ownership but to place your own identity among many others. Names act to strengthen community and to remind you as a person your relations in the community while honoring your ancestors whose bones went back to the earth. One of the Ojibwe words that is still commonly used in all-English contexts is *niiyawen'enh,* or my namesake. The morphemes of this word acknowledge the physical and spiritual exchange that takes place at the time of the ceremony when the name is given.

In the second example, of the English folktale of the Three Little Pigs, European settler-colonial values around agriculture are reflected and reinforced. Humans are valued over all other animals, domestic animals are indexed as different from wild animals, and a hierarchy is set in relation to the human-centric paradigm. The written version of a folk story is named in the Wisconsin Model Early Learning Standards as an example of diversity of texts. However, this story is a reification of Anglo-American traditions, completely neglecting the rich oral storytelling traditions of the Ojibwe. The implication from this as a housing tale is that anyone who lives in a dwelling made of anything other than brick is inferior.

Lastly, in the calendar example, we see that the skill of following what is written and fixed is valued over an ability to be responsive to the natural world and its cycles. Time is abstracted from the rest of nature and is set by humans. In an Ojibwe paradigm, paying attention to nature to determine what it is time for is a valued skill. It is interpretive, fluid, and based on a combination of understanding complex natural systems.

Conclusion

Indigenous people, and Native American teachers in particular, are good at adapting, inventing and subverting, as evidenced by our continued thriving despite colonialism. However, in this chapter, we have untangled

the strands of discourses in teaching to show how concepts emanating from the Ojibwe language itself do not coincide with the "normalized" expectations of standards, thus presenting evidence that these standards are not universal or without a cultural bias and, at least, may be offensive to the Indigenous residents of the place the settler-colonials call "Wisconsin." At worst, these standards are an example of institutionalized racism.

Returning to Butler's theory of performativity, we could say that the teacher is acting in a way that is intentionally "unbecoming," meaning that in her subjectivity as a teacher, she has created an alternative to either being eclipsed by the standards *or* completely rejecting them (or even rejecting being a "teacher"). In her "unbecoming" she not only alters her own subjectivity but "potentially… alters the very law that hails the subject into being" (Bunch 2013, p. 40). Enacting our Indigenous languages is rich with opportunity for unveiling the colonial structures we inhabit. Without rejecting everything we are and have learned as "colonial" through disobedience to these encompassing, hegemonic practices, we make a space to reappropriate and reclaim and, in the process, change the very laws and "hails" that have bound us to particular ways of being.

Our deep attention to linguistic and cultural differences is powerful; it has the power to transform a settler-colonial system that we are deeply embedded in and that is on the brink of being positioned as an international global standard for education. Our deeply rooted commitment to diversity must pay attention to what the differences are and what they stand for, lest we lose the capacity to see what has become invisible to many. Diversity of perspective comes from millions of years of human evolution and language adaptation, and we are only now beginning to become aware of its significance. Transparent structures that claim to be universal are a first step in seeing what linguistic diversity has to offer us.

Notes

1. http://dpi.wi.gov/english-learners/effective/common-core,   Accessed 27/10/2016.

2. Here we use the capitalized form of Discourses following James Gee (2015), Discourses refer to all the many different ways groups of identities are expressed. These are "tool kits" or semiotic domains or subcultures.
3. http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/, Accessed 27/10/2016.
4. The names of students here are pseudonyms.

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Part II

Multilingual Repertoires

6

Code-Switching or Code-Mixing? Tiwi Children's Use of Language Resources in a Multilingual Environment

Aidan Wilson, Peter Hurst, and Gillian Wigglesworth

Introduction

The ways in which children learn and develop their languages in the multilingual Tiwi Islands off the north coast of Australia do not accord with many of the theories around bilingualism and code-switching. These children use Modern Tiwi as a lingua franca, but both English and Kriol, an English-lexified creole, are also commonly spoken. The children utilise a basic, fairly uniform, grammar alongside a repertoire of language-specific features which they draw upon freely. Such versatility is particularly useful in shaping language for an audience which itself has differing abilities in each of the languages.

The Tiwi Islands consist of two large inhabited islands, Melville and Bathurst, and nine smaller, uninhabited islands. They lie in the Arafura

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Sea, 80 km north of Darwin, the capital of the Northern Territory of Australia. Prior to European settlement, the islands were inhabited by Indigenous Australians, the Tiwi people, who were culturally and linguistically distinct from their nearest neighbours in the north of Australia. Traditional Tiwi, a polysynthetic language isolate, was spoken across the islands, but since their settlement in the early twentieth century, Traditional Tiwi has gradually lost many of its complex, polysynthetic features. What has emerged is a morphologically simplified version of the language called Modern Tiwi (Lee 1987).

Today, the language situation on the islands is complex, as in many places in Indigenous Australia. Indigenous Tiwi children grow up in a linguistic environment in which several languages are spoken. Their family is likely to speak Modern Tiwi at home, but family members will also speak at least one variety of English, either Standard Australian English, Aboriginal English or an English-lexified creole. They may even be proficient in several varieties and switch freely depending on the interlocutor. English is spoken in urban contexts, in the larger townships on Melville and Bathurst, which have relatively large non-Tiwi populations. Thus, by the time Tiwi children begin attending preschool at the age of three, they have already been exposed to a mixture of distinct, although structurally similar, languages.

This language ecology has evolved because, despite their proximity to the mainland, the Tiwi people were almost completely isolated from any other people—Indigenous or otherwise—and hostile to outsiders until the early twentieth century when a Roman Catholic Mission was established. As a result, Traditional Tiwi developed without contact from its closest relatives in mainland Australia, and now cannot be demonstrated to be related to any other Australian language, and is considered an isolate. The last fluent speakers of Traditional Tiwi died in 2012 (Wilson 2013), and the language is no longer in everyday use. The modern version of Tiwi, which is now spoken on the islands, is characterised by a dramatically simplified morphological verb compared with the extremely complex verb exhibited by Traditional Tiwi (Wilson 2013). Its syntactic structure exhibits features similar to English, with an SVO (subject, verb, object) constituent order.

Due to a relatively successful bilingual education programme that ran from the late 1970s until 2008—when the Northern Territory government mandated an English-only education system for the entire territory (see Simpson et al. 2009 for a detailed discussion of this)—almost all Tiwi people of high-school age and above are functionally bilingual in Modern Tiwi and at least one form of English, varying from a basilectal creole variety through to Standard English. The basilectal variety has many features in common with Kriol, the English-lexified creole language spoken in many parts of the mainland Northern Territory, and they may be mutually intelligible, although the Tiwi creole exhibits many local features as a result of its Tiwi substrate influence. Modern Tiwi is the most widely spoken and commonly heard language on the islands. It is the language of most Tiwi households and is the first language of Tiwi children, but is rarely spoken by the non-Indigenous population of the islands, including most doctors, teachers and government employees. Given that most Indigenous Tiwi adults are competent in some variety of English, any interaction involving a non-Tiwi person will take place in English. Tiwi children, therefore, are surrounded by multilingual speakers who have differing competencies in each of these languages.

The extent to which speakers in multilingual contexts integrate their multiple language competencies sits on a continuum. At one extreme is diglossia (Fergusson 1959) where speakers confine different languages to wholly separate domains of use. At the other end are blended languages where speakers can draw freely upon words, morphology and syntax from the different language competencies to which they have access. A degree of code-switching and code-mixing in interaction is inevitable. Definitions of code-switching and code-mixing vary, but code-switching is generally taken to involve speakers using different languages in different conversational turns, while code-mixing occurs when speakers use more than one language within the same turn. Code-mixing itself can vary in degree, ranging from lexical borrowings to, for example, syntactically complete noun phrases (NPs) from two languages, related by a predicate from a third. In general there are practical limitations to the extent that two unrelated languages can mix. For example, although lexical items and, to an extent, morphology from different languages can be used within a

single turn, the blending of syntactically complex expressions—such as the position and formation of embedded subordinate clauses or different relativisation strategies—at the phrasal and clausal levels would quickly become incomprehensible. Various researchers have attempted to develop theories that predict and constrain the nature of code-mixing, but there is some dispute as to what constitutes valid data (e.g., see the discussion below and Jake et al. 2002, 2005; MacSwan 2000, 2005a, b). This same criticism is even more relevant for our own corpus: given the age of the children, we must expect speaker errors, and interpreting their grammatical judgements would be problematic. Nevertheless, there are situations whereby utterances can become so mixed that characterising them as code-mixing might not adequately describe them.

In this chapter we examine a situation that could potentially promote much tighter links between different languages—the speech of young multilingual children. What makes this possible for the children of the Tiwi islands is the relative simplicity of the syntactic structures they use. For example, in the corpus examined in this chapter, a consistent SV(O) word order was observed in nearly all utterances—regardless of the language they used, and there was relatively little bound morphology and only the simplest subordination. We argue that this gives rise to many contexts in which children could draw freely upon the lexicons and morphology of different language stocks to create a blended language—one whose syntactic simplicity and lexical plurality is a virtue as it lends itself to comprehensibility to most hearers, regardless of their proficiency in any one of the source languages.

Background and Methodology

In this chapter, we examine the language used by two 4-year-old Tiwi children in a kindergarten classroom environment. The classroom teacher is a monolingual English speaker, and the assistant teacher is fluent in both Modern Tiwi (hereafter simply "Tiwi") and Kriol and has some competency in English. Tiwi parents also take turns spending time in the classroom.

The children were video-recorded by the first author playing in self-selected groups of between two and five in a corner of the classroom that was fitted with a camera and a microphone. The recording equipment was not hidden, but after some initial interest, the children appeared to forget it was there and began behaving naturally. Intervention from the author was deliberately minimised to ensure naturalistic interaction and language use throughout the data collection. Over ten hours of recordings were collected over a two-month period. Individual interactions within these recordings range from just a few seconds to around ten minutes. The videos were transcribed with the help of Tiwi speakers who are familiar with the children.

In the analysis of code-switching data, researchers can disagree as to what counts as code-switching and what counts as a language error by the speaker. Such judgments assume that the researcher has knowledge of the speaker's linguistic competence—an assumption we cannot maintain given the age of our speakers. As such, we have avoided using grammaticality judgments and elicitation—the data we analyse below is drawn only from the corpus of spontaneous child-driven conversation.

The Children

Of roughly ten children represented in the corpus, several were excluded for reasons such as their reticence to interact with others or their not being long-term members of the community and thus not being representative of Tiwi children. Of the remaining children, two in particular, Shani and Kendra, were selected for our case study as they were highly represented in the corpus in a variety of interpersonal contexts—they interacted with a number of other children—and their linguistic backgrounds make them jointly representative of the entire class.

Shani
Age: 4;1
Sex: Female

Shani is a proficient speaker of both English and Tiwi. Her mother is highly educated, and both Shani and her mother previously lived in Darwin which has contributed to Shani's English proficiency. Her Tiwi is also very good, and she is able to separate her languages with ease. She is a dominant character in the classroom, often telling other children what to do. She also exercises her power over other children frequently by excluding certain children from an activity or reserving a particular toy for her own use. She is the most highly represented child in the corpus.

Kendra
Age: 3;9
Sex: Female

Kendra has only lived in the Tiwi Islands and her language input is almost entirely Modern Tiwi. She is also a very talkative child who communicates with ease in Tiwi, although somewhat less easily in English. Kendra is also very highly represented in the corpus with very high rates of Tiwi in her language.

The Recordings and Analysis

The entire corpus was transcribed, and the language of these two participants was analysed, drawing upon approximately 200 sentences from each child (about a third to a half of the available data). This data was used to develop an understanding of the children's lexicon, morphology and syntax.

One of the methodological difficulties we faced was determining what language a particular word belonged to. For example, in (1) below, the word "shop" is clearly of English origin:

```
(1)   kama   ja     want-im   do-im   ka    shop
      INT    2sg    want-C    do-C    at    shop
      "Why do you want to do it at the shop?"      (Shani-285)
```

However, the word "shop" almost certainly forms part of a child's natural acquisition. As such, calling the word English is overly simplistic. Since Tiwi children are still acquiring language from speakers having differing proficiencies in each of the three languages, and given the lexical

similarities and borrowings between them, our approach was to analyse the data first as it is spoken and only subsequently did we try to determine the language origin of words used.

To determine the language or languages being spoken, we examined word order with respect to the head-word of phrases. For example, if phrases have a different word order when their head verb or noun is a word of Tiwi origin when compared to a word of English origin, we could argue that speakers have access to two different codes. In fact, we found that word order changes very little whatever the apparent source language of the words used. Following work by Myers-Scotton (1993) we also examined functional words or functors to see if we could determine a matrix language. Functional words (such as many determinatives and demonstratives) are "words which essentially serve to mark grammatical properties" (Radford 2007, p. 5). Again we found that the apparent source language of the functional words used had little effect on word order. For example, in the noun phrases below, the word order is always noun-final, whatever the apparent source language of the words:

```
(2)  a.   anginjila    pwaja        ("your money")
     b.   that         money
     c.   your         pwaka        ("your sister")
     d.   nga          baby         ("our baby")
```

In this context we hoped to determine how children integrated their source languages in a naturally occurring language context through an examination of the lexicon, morphology and syntax.

A Syntactic Description of the Children's Language

Lexicon

A review of the data revealed that speakers were not wholly unconstrained in the language they used. For example, verbs were overwhelmingly drawn from English/Kriol (e.g., *swappim*—"swap," *wantim*—"want,"

buyim—"buy," *peepingat*—"peek at," etc.).[1] Likewise count numbers are generally English in their origin. On the other hand, nouns may be drawn from any language (English or Kriol: girl, coin, money; Tiwi: *pwaja*—"coin," *pularti*—"milk," *pwaka*—"sister," etc. See section "Noun Phrases"). Pronouns (see section "Interrogative Pronouns"), both personal and interrogative, are generally drawn from both languages, as are demonstratives (for the most part—see section "Demonstratives") and negators (see section "Negation"). There are few examples of adjectives, but what examples there are suggest they are drawn from both English and Kriol also.

Morphology

In this section we present the findings of our analysis of the morphology used by the two children. We categorise our findings into nominal, pronominal and verbal morphology. Of particular interest is the pronominal morphology where Tiwi pronouns have both bound (and sometimes reduced) and free forms.

Nominal Morphology: -s Plural Morpheme

The *-s* English pluralisation suffix occurs very infrequently in the corpus. In most examples it is used with boy or girl:

```
(3)  ... waya     juwa   girl-s...
         okay     only   girl-pl
     ".... okay, only girls (in here)"          (Shani-561)
```

Note that although *-s* is rare, it is only seen to occur with non-Tiwi nouns. In many situations, the *-s* morpheme is not used, suggesting it is optional:

```
(4)  here   buy-im    two     drin
     here   buy-C
     "Here, buy      two     drinks"             (Kendra-268)
```

Pronominal Morphology

Pronominal forms in Traditional Tiwi are considerably more complex than in Modern Tiwi, both in their form and function. Free pronouns in Traditional Tiwi inflect for four persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 1/2) and two numbers (minimal and augmented). They are also further marked for a range of additional meanings (see Wilson 2013 for a fuller description). Modern Tiwi by contrast has a simplified system of free personal pronouns where the entire pronominal system has been refunctionalised from a minimal/augmented system to a singular/plural system (Lee 1987, p. 103; Smith 2008).

The Modern Tiwi pronoun system is therefore structurally more similar to that of English than to Traditional Tiwi. Both English and Modern Tiwi exhibit three persons and a singular/plural number contrast. Additionally, pronouns can be affixed to verbs when functioning as subjects and to nouns when functioning as possessors. Consider the distribution and form of the 1st person pronoun *ngiya* – "I" in (5) and (6) below:

```
(5)   ngiya     laik-im     awungwani
      1sg       like-C      like.that
      "I like (doing) it like that."              (Shani-218)

      negiya-punay
```
```
(6)   1sg-husband ngi-laik-im Justin Bieber ngiya-punayi
      1sg-like-C  Justin Bieber 1sg-husband
      "I like Justin Bieber, my husband!"         (Shani-220)
```

As is clear in (5) and (6), the phonological binding of *ngiya* to the verb is optional, and when bound to a verb or noun, a pronoun's form may be reduced. In (6) we see *ngiya* functioning as a possessor—phonologically bound to the possessee. However, pronouns can also stand apart as in (7):

```
(7)   anginjila    pwaja    palinyini
      2sg.m        coin     sistergirl
      "your money, sistergirl"                    (Shani-215)
```

In section "Possession," we discuss the distribution of these pronouns in possession constructions in more detail.

Verbal Morphology

The verbal morphology used by the children is not complex. The corpus reveals one productive Kriol suffix, *-im*, and two other possibly productive English candidates: *-n't* and *-ing*.

Verbal Suffix -im

Many verbs have the *-im* suffix, a feature of Kriol, which for these speakers acts as either an optional indicator of a complement (usually an object) or alternatively functions pronominally as an object. When a verb has a complement, the *-im* suffix appears to be optional—compare (8) and (9) below:

```
(8)   grab    her     waya
      grab    3sg.f   ok
      "Grab her ok!"                          (Shani-417)

(9)   grab-im    nginja    mwarringa ...
      grab-C     2sg       daughter
      "Grab your daughter!"                   (Shani-542)
```

However, it might be the case that in Kriol the suffix is obligatory, whereas for English, it is omitted. In other words, it is possible in (8) above, that *grab* is English, whereas in (9), *grabim* is Kriol. There is some evidence for this in (10) below where "fight" and "tell" are both transitive verbs with overt objects, but only "fight" carries the *-im* morpheme. This might be indicative of code-mixing within a sentence, as the second clause is closer to Standard English:

```
(10) ajirri  fight-im  ngiya  I    tell  my        brother
     neg     fight-C   1sg    1sg  tell  1sg.poss  brother
     "Don't fight me! I'll tell my brother..."      (Shani-225)
```

However, in (11) below, we could expect (given the context) that both verbs come from the same stock—here it appears likely that the *-im* suffix is optional:

```
(11)   open    clos-im
       open    close-C
       "Open, close (it)"                              (Shani-014)
```

Note that when the *-im* suffix is present, as in (12), an overt object or complement is not required:

```
(12)   aga    put-im    ka    pocket    pocket
       hey    put-C     in    pocket    pocket
       "Hey! put (it) in (the/your) pocket!"         (Shani-097)
```

Possible Verbal Suffix -ing

The *-ing* suffix is very rare in the corpus. Nearly all instances of its use appear to either be frozen (13) or in a fixed expression (14). Note that auxiliary *be* in (14) is optional and is also very rare in the corpus:

```
(13)   … nuwa    peepingat    awungaji    tami
         2pl      peek         there       right
         "You peek there (out the window), right."  (Shani-133)
```

```
(14)   what    (are)    you    doing?
       INT     be       2pl    do-ing
       "What (are) you doing."                     (Shani-024/025)
```

Possible Verbal Suffix -n't

The *-n't* suffix (indicating negation) is very rare and only occurs on the lexemes "don't" and "can't":

```
(15)   ... don't touch                             (Shani-038)
```

```
(16)   can't rip it                                (Shani-056)
```

There is only one instance of "can" appearing without *-n't* in the corpus suggesting that *-n't* has not been analysed as a bound morpheme by the children.

Syntax

In this section, we investigate whether the speakers make substantial changes to the word order of their utterances depending on the origin of the words they use.

Characterisation of Syntax

In terms of gross word order, the children used SVO word order with head-final NPs. Examples (17) and (18) illustrate a transitive and ditransitive construction:

```
(17)   I      scann-im   bread
       1sg    scan-C     bread
       "I scan the bread"                       (Shani-067)

(18)   give    ngiya     change!
       give    1sg       change
       "Give me change!"                        (Shani-273)
```

Identity (see (19), (20)) and locative (see (21), (22)) constructions are formed, almost uniformly, without the use of a copula:

```
(19)   who     ja-naringa
       INT     2sg-mother
       "Who is your mother?"                    (Shani-028)

(20)   she       my         sister …
       3sg.f     1sg.poss   sister
       "She is my sister"                       (Shani-191)

(21)   here    my     money
       DEM     1sg    money
       "Here is my money"                       (Shani-056)

(22)   arra     naki
       3sg.m    DEM
       "here it is"                             (Shani-214)
```

Subject pronouns can optionally be fused to the front of a verb. Given that the same form of the pronoun is used (though occasionally reduced), and that word order is not substantially changed, the word order might be characterised as SVO or Spro-VO. This difference is contrasted in (23), (24) and (25) below where *ngi-* is a phonologically reduced form of *ngiya* – "I":

```
(23)  … ngi-laik-im    Justin    Bieber …
       1sg-like-C
       "I like Justin Bieber"                (Shani-220)


(24)  ngiya    laiki  ...
      1sg      like
      "I like (him)..."                      (Shani-222)


(25)  kiyi   ngiya   ringimup   my       sister
      then   1sg     ring.up-C  1sg.poss sister
      "then I ring up my sister"             (Shani-190)
```

For the few verbs of clear Tiwi origin, word order remains unchanged. Here, Shani is referring to a shared living space:

```
(26)  arra      payipayi   kapi-nuwa   tami
      3sg.m     sleep      with-2pl    right
      "He's sleeping with you lot, right?"   (Shani-513)
```

The language origin of noun phrases and pronouns has no influence on their position within the clause. Representative sentences are shown below. Note especially the ditransitive examples in (31):

```
(27)  kiyi   ngiya  ringimup   my       sister  Courtney
      then   1sg    ring.up    1sg.poss sister  Courtney
      "Then I ring up my sister Courtney"      (Shani-190)


(28)  you    want-im    baby
      2sg    want-C     baby
      "You want the baby"                    (Kendra-398)
```

```
(29)  ja    count    ngiya
      2sg   count    1sg
      "You count me (too)"                    (Kendra-245)


(30)  she   bin    takimiji   ngiya ...
      3sg.f  PST    run.over    1sg
      "She ran me over (on her bike)"         (Shani-112)


(31)  a.    Give   her      pularti
            give   3sg.f    milk
            "Give her milk"                   (Shani-543)
      b.    give her that money now           (Shani-007)
      c.    ja    give   ngiya   warra   pwaja
            2sg-  give   1sg     DEM     coin
            "You give me that money"          (Kendra-267)
```

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are mainly from Tiwi, although there are some examples
derived from English:

```
(32)  ja    payipayi   with   naki   pillow
      2sg   sleep      with   DEM    pillow
      "You go to sleep with this pillow"      (Kendra-529)


(33)  kapirra   yinkiti   niki
      INT       food      DEM
      "Whose food is this?"                   (Kendra-123)
```

Although Tiwi *naki/niki* is preferred for proximal demonstratives (as in
(32) and (33)), some examples with English *this* do exist, as in (34):

```
(34)  kapi   this   side
      on     DEM    side
      "on this side"                          (Shani-485)
```

For distal demonstratives, either Tiwi *awarra* or English *that* can be
used. Where English *that* is used, the head N tends to be from English

lexical stock (such as in (36))—although there are rare examples of English *that* co-occurring with a Tiwi head N (e.g., (37)):

```
(35)  a.    Awarra    cubby cubby    house
            DEM.m
            "That cubby house"                    (Shani-075)
      b.    … awarra majatawini
            DEM.m     policeman
            "...  that policeman"                 (Kendra-315)

(36)  don't   touch-im   that's   you   baby ...
      NEG     touch-C    DEM-be   2sg   baby
      "Don't touch him! That's your baby..."      (Shani-111)

(37)  what-s    that    jakulani
      INT-be    DEM     turtle
      "What's that turtle?"                       (Kendra-025)
```

Finally, in a few examples where Tiwi demonstratives are used, they can occur after the head noun rather than in the DEM+N word order typically seen in the data. This inverted word order is not observed with English demonstratives:

```
(38)  laik-im    baby    awarra …
      like-C     baby    DEM
      "(he) likes that baby"                      (Kendra-375)
```

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogatives used by the children provide excellent examples of blended language. Their utterances are rich in interrogatives, both from Tiwi and English. Many of them (see (41)–(43) below) are used interchangeably with no discernible impact on word order:

```
(39)  a.    Kamini    ngiya    number...
            INT.m     1sg      number
            "What's my number?"                   (Kendra-136)
      b.    What you want?!
            "What do you want?!"                  (Kendra-117)
```

```
(40)  a.     Kapirra    want-im    play    holey
             INT        want-C     play    holey
             "Who wants to play holey?"              (Shani-315)
      b.     who        ja-naringa?
             INT        2sg-mother
             "Who is your mother?"                   (Shani-028)

(41)  a.     where you?
             "Where are you?"                        (Kendra-054)
      b.     maka    ju-pwaka,        cry
             INT     2sg-sister       cry
             "Where is your sister? Crying."         (Kendra-008)
```

"When" is rarely used in the corpus—*karri* is preferred:

```
(42)  karri  baby  owl  im   go   mwaliki...
       INT    baby  owl  3sg  go   bathe
       "When the baby owl has a bath..."            (Kendra-110)
```

In the entire corpus, only the Tiwi interrogative, *kama*, was used to question reasons—*why* does not occur:

```
(43)  kama  ja   want-im   do-im   ka   shop
       INT   2sg  want-C    do-C    at   shop
       "Why do you want to do it at the shop?"      (Shani-285)
```

In contrast, to question manner, only *how* was observed. The example below uses *how* functioning as a determiner, but other children used it as a full interrogative pronoun:

```
(44)  how many     ngiy-ab-im-ana?
                   1sg-have-C-question
       "How many do I have?"                        (Shani-146)
```

Finally, there is a Tiwi suffix *-ana* which is derived from a Traditional Tiwi interrogative enclitic (Wilson 2013, p. 62). This suffix can attach to phrase-final nouns or verbs to convert the entire utterance into a question, as in (44) above, and can freely attach to words of any origin:

```
(45)  you     want    that    money-ana?
      2sg     want    DEM     money-question
      "Do you want that money?"              (Kendra-407)
```

In nearly all utterances, the syntactic structure of the clauses is fixed. However, there are a few cases of possible evidence of syntax being blended to accommodate multiple lexemes from different languages. For example, in (46) below, interrogative pronouns from both English and Tiwi are used in a locative construction. Interestingly, the English pronoun is formed with the verb *be*—a rare occurrence for these speakers, whereas the Tiwi locative interrogative pronoun *maka* is fused to a pronoun:

```
(46)  where's  mak-arra     bandaid
      INT'be   INT-3sgm     bandaid
      "Where is the bandaid"               (Shani-050)
```

Noun Phrases

Complex NPs (those which include more than one word) have a syntactic structure that mirrors the English order of determiner, modifier and head—regardless of the lexical stock being used (although note rare counter examples such as (38) above). The bracketed NPs in (47) and (48) below are exclusively formed from Tiwi and English lexemes, respectively:

```
(47)  ja    give   ngiya    [warra  pwaja]
      2sg   give   1sg       DEM    coin
      "You give me that money"              (Kendra-267)
```

```
(48)  Give   kurijipa   one   [money   chocolate]
      give   Chris      one   money    chocolate
      "Give Chris one chocolate coin"        (Shani-073)
```

Speakers can use words of different stock within NPs as well. In (49) below, *pwaka* "sister" is the head of the NP with the determiner *your*. However, in (50) Shani uses a Tiwi possessor with an English head noun:

```
(49)  ngiya   savim   naki   for  [your    pwaka]
      1.sg    save.C  this   for  2.poss   sister
      "I save this for [your sister]"           (Shani-440)


(50)  pwaja    [ nga    baby ]
      coin     1pl      baby
      "money (for) [our baby]"                  (Shani-409)
```

Similarly, in (51), Shani uses a Tiwi adjective to modify an English noun:

```
(51)  here   arrikulani   money
      here   big.m        money
      "Here is big/lots of money"               (Shani-072)
```

Sentence (52) is interesting as it shows how two semantically equivalent expressions in different languages (*pwaja*—"coin change" and the equivalent noun in English) are being used to form a new compound noun:

```
(52)  give   me    change pwaja
      give   1sg   change coin
      "Give me change!"                         (Shani-266)
```

Finally, pronouns from either Tiwi or English can be used, apparently interchangeably:

```
(53)  I can't breathe, ja can't breathe
      "I can't breathe, you can't breathe."     (Kendra-051)
```

Possession

Possession constructions are formed by the apposition of two nouns—the possessor and the possessed:

```
(54) awi  nyirra  mind-im  mind-im  nyirra-mpwaka
     hey  3sg.f   mind-C   mind-C   3sg.f - sister
     "Hey!, she minds her sister."              (Shani-436)
```

When Tiwi pronouns occur in possession constructions, they are usually form-identical to their free counterparts (as in (57)). However, they can be reduced and phonologically bound to the possessee as in (58) below:

```
(55)   anjirrayi   ngi-mpwaka
       DEM         1sg-sister
       "That's my sister"                            (Kendra-030)
```

When English possessors are used, both possessive pronouns (such as "my") and regular pronouns are used:

```
(56)   ngiya   ringimup   my        sister   Courtney …
       1sg     ring.up    1sg.poss  sister   Courtney
       "I ring up my sister Courtney"                (Shani-190)
```

```
(57)   checkimat    there   you    pocket
       look         DEM     PRO    pocket
       "Check your pocket there"                     (Shani-484)
```

Speakers can use pronouns from either language in possession constructions, as the near minimal pair below, spoken in sequence, demonstrates:

```
(58)   give    me    injila    hand
       give    1sg   2sg       hand
       "Give me your hand"                           (Shani-055)
```

```
(59)   give    me    your       hand    awungwarra
       give    1sg   2sg.poss   hand    here
       "Give me your hand here"                      (Shani-056)
```

Verb Sequence

While there is insufficient evidence to support the existence of a syntactic verb phrase consisting of the verb and its complements, there is evidence for the development of a fixed-order grouping of inflectional verb ele-

ments. This sequence, which is similar in order to its English/Kriol counterpart, is schematised in (60):

```
(60)   Verb Sequence:     (NEG) (AUX) Verb
```

The negator element can be either English or Kriol in origin (see section "Negation"), and the auxiliary can be either *raydi*—"allow," *can't* or *should*. All express deontic modality:

```
(61)   awi   nuwa   karluwu   raydi   come   awungwarra
       Hey   2pl    NEG       allow   come   here
       "Hey! You're not allowed to come here!"     (Kendra-332)

(62)   Shani     you     should     grab-im     baby
       PN        you     should     grab-C      baby
       "Shani  you should grab the baby"          (Kendra-389)
```

Negation

Verbal negation is accomplished through the use of either Tiwi *karluwu* or *no/not*:

```
(63)   ja     karluwu     raydi     ask     her
       2sg    NEG         allow     ask     3sg.f
       "You are not allowed to ask her."           (Kendra-407)

(64)   no,     payipay     not     mek-im     noise
       IJ      sleep       NEG     make-C     noise
       "No, (she's) sleeping, don't make noise"    (Kendra-420)

(65)   no-ku     after     school     tami
       NEG-go    after     right      TAG
       "(we) won't go after school right?"         (Kendra-71)
```

As these examples illustrate, the language origin of either the negator or the verb it modifies have no effect on its syntactic position. In (66), the negator *ngajirri* is used in the same position—however it is limited to imperative clauses:

```
(66)   … ngajirri    look      ngiya …
          NEG         look.at   1sg
          "... don't look at me ..."            (Kendra-211)
```

Within an NP, *no* can also function as a determiner:

```
(67)   no      biscuit    today
       NEG     biscuit    today
       "No biscuit today"                        (Shani-126)
```

Discussion

Lexicon

For the most part, the children use Tiwi and English/Kriol words interchangeably. English functional words tend to be associated with other English lexemes, although this is by no means a rule, and there are numerous and widespread counter examples as discussed above. This same tendency of collocating words of the same stock was observed for Tiwi functional words as well. This supports the view that the language the children speak cannot be considered a truly homogeneous blend of their source languages, especially as their choice of verbs is largely constrained to English/Kriol. However, in most other respects, speakers draw upon words from English/Kriol and Tiwi in a largely unconstrained manner, choosing an English/Kriol lexeme or its Tiwi counterpart freely (e.g., see (57) and (58)).

Morphology

As noted above, most verbs used by the children were of English or Kriol origin, but it was not possible to use the *-im* morpheme as a diagnostic to identify a candidate verb as being English or Kriol in most instances. This is because the morpheme may be optional in the children's version of Kriol or because it might be used as a register feature, suffixed to verbs to make them more Kriol-like. Only a limited number of verbs had Tiwi origins, and of these verbs, only *kunyani* "pretend,"

awani "fight" and perhaps *yoyi* "dance" might be expected to be able to take the *-im* suffix because the other verbs used were intransitive. Nevertheless, the fact that these verbs haven't been recorded with the *-im* suffix suggests that speakers can differentiate between Tiwi and non-Tiwi verbs.

It has long been recognised that children as young as two, when raised in a multilingual environment, are able to distinguish between words from different language stocks based upon their phonemic properties (Meisel 1989; Paradis 2001). As such, we would expect our speakers to retain language-specific morphology—and to an extent this is what we observed. For example, Tiwi pronouns in possession constructions were more likely to be bound forms when the word to which they attached was also Tiwi. Given that speakers are aware of the different word stocks, such behaviour is not unexpected. However, the etymological origin of any particular word does not have a profound effect on its associated morphology—and hence its usage. This is because most bound morphemes carrying functional information can also stand freely. That is to say a prefix can also stand unchanged as a pre-head modifier with exactly the same function, and these free morphemes can be used with lexemes from any word stock. This factor, combined with both the scarcity of bound morphemes, and the optionality of those that are used, limits the use of morphology as a means of differentiating the languages.

An analysis of the morphology shows that, to a limited extent, speakers are aware that the different lexemes they use can come from different languages. However, the impact of the ways in which morphology affects how speakers structure their language is almost non-existent, as morphological choice causes no gross changes in either word order or meaning. In other words, morphology does not act as significant motivation for speakers to compartmentalise their languages.

Syntax

While it might be tempting to consider English as the substrate for the children's language given the undeniable influence of English (e.g., in SVO word order, head-final NPs and the development of a fixed order of

verbal elements), there are also very stark syntactic differences between the children's language and English such as zero-copula identity and locative constructions and appositional possession constructions. Interrogative and negated constructions are also formed quite differently from their English counterparts. Some of these features are probably reflective of the young age of the children, and we can expect that as they age, a more fully developed system for expressing tense and other verbal grammatical categories will emerge. However, other features are likely to be more stable; for example, the possession, identity and locative constructions are both expressive and rigid in their formation.

Summary

In understanding how these children use their language, two alternatives present themselves. Firstly, the children could be speaking one language with many borrowings; alternatively the children could be code-mixing—that is, each clause can be assigned a matrix language, but within each clause, there may be borrowings or entire phrases from another language inserted.

These options have been discussed extensively with respect to adult speakers. Code-mixing theories aim to provide limits to what we might expect to see, and not see, in language mixing. MacSwan (2000) critiques many of these in detail and observes that some theories of code-mixing require a "third grammar" (e.g., Poplack 1980, 1981; Joshi 1985). By this he means that the interaction of the source languages is dictated by a third grammar that controls how the languages may be mixed. MacSwan dismisses these theories on the basis of scientific parsimony (in this case, that a theory explaining code-mixing without using "third grammar" is preferred).

Other theories posit a matrix language for a particular sentence which constrains how other languages may be utilised. For example, Di Sciullo et al. (1986) argue that the language of the complements of a phrase must match their syntactic head. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that the matrix language dictates the word order of a sentence/phrase and requires that functional morphemes be drawn from the matrix language while content words can be drawn from any language.

We set out to determine the extent to which these children have integrated their source languages through an examination of the lexicon, morphology and syntax of their language. Overall, a picture has emerged of a language with quite different properties from those discussed above. We found a language with a consistent syntactic structure that borrows lexemes (both lexical and functional) relatively freely from all its source languages. The view we take is that the children's linguistic repertoire draws upon all three languages—conditioned by awareness that some features are more English-like, Tiwi-like and Kriol-like. This view is not incompatible with work by MacSwan (2000) who claims that there is no matrix language (contra Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, 2000), arguing instead that "Nothing constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars" (MacSwan 2000, p. 43). That is to say, unless the grammars of the source languages clash with respect to, for example, word order or complementation, any kind of variation may be allowed.

One of the benefits of MacSwan's model of code-mixing is that it does not need to be modified to account for code-mixing used by children acquiring language in a multilingual environment. In fact, it predicts that early in acquisition, code-mixing by children should be more pronounced. As their grammars become more complex, and thus more likely to clash, opportunities for code-mixing should become more limited.

One of our key findings is that the lexical stock of any particular word has little impact on syntax (in the sense that word order is largely insensitive to the origins of the words used). It is not just that words from different languages are used. Rather, speakers can draw upon lexemes carrying functional information such as pronouns (both anaphoric and interrogative), demonstratives, adverbs and prepositions from either Tiwi or English/Kriol almost without limitation, and the source language of the lexeme they choose has virtually no impact on syntax. For example, possession, negation, identity and interrogative constructions are formed identically, regardless of the word stock of the lexemes used in their construction. For children acquiring related languages (such as Kriol and English) or children who employ similar word orders (such as for all three languages) and with limited morphology, we believe that the sort of blending that we have observed supports MacSwan's model.

Conclusion

By drawing upon lexical, morphological and syntactic evidence, our view is that the two children who are the focus of this study use a language with fixed syntactic rules, but one that utilises lexemes from any of the source languages. Speakers are aware that these lexemes come from different lexical stocks. However, in speakers' utterances, lexical choice is mostly free in two senses. Firstly, most lexemes have an equivalent in all the source languages—and aside from verbs, a speaker can choose freely between them. Secondly, their choice of lexeme, whether English/Kriol or Tiwi, has, at most, very minor syntactic and morphological implications (at least at this stage in their language acquisition). If we consider the mixing of codes in a multilingual environment as a continuum, our speakers are unusual in that they are nearer to the extreme of code-blending. That this is possible is due to the relatively simple (although age-appropriate) syntactic structures they have developed and the fact that they have preserved and used equivalent lexemes from multiple languages.

The data we have observed is in line with the work of MacSwan (2000), who argues that code-mixing is constrained only by conflicting requirements of the source languages. Given the syntactic similarity of the languages at this stage of acquisition, the limited morphology and maintenance of key functional lexemes across all three languages, speakers have available to them a range of forms from only partially demarcated languages. This leads to an extensive multilingual repertoire of linguistic strategies. It is predicted that as the grammars differentiate, code-mixing will be more limited and more clearly defined. Note that beyond these syntactic constraints, there will be additional requirements dictating which variant of a word (in terms of word stock) speakers will use at any given moment. Equivalent lexemes and morphology from different languages are best understood as variants speakers can choose from, and their particular choice is likely to be conditioned by social and pragmatic factors such as audience design, context and individual identities.

The two children in this study demonstrate a capability with language which tends not to occur in contexts without community multilingualism. The children whose language we examined draw on their language

resources with competence and confidence and are able to use a wide range of different lexemes and morphology in their conversations. It is clear, then, that the children come into the preschool classroom with access to multiple language resources. However, once they arrive in the classroom, the expectation is, increasingly as they go through the formal school system, that they will learn and use Standard Australian English. Yet as this study has shown, their linguistic repertoire is wide and varied upon arrival. It is important, therefore, that those who work with children who have these language skills understand the extent of the language abilities they already have and build upon this already very strong foundation.

Notes

1. The *-im* ending is a Kriol suffix, usually analysed as a marker of transitivity. See discussion in section "Verbal Suffix -im" below.

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7

Languaging Their Learning: How Children Work Their Languages for Classroom Learning

Susan Poetsch

Introduction and Background

This chapter is a window on the classroom language use of children in a small, remote Aboriginal community in Central Australia. The study centres on two students in a Year 1–2 Maths lesson taught in English in the school in the community. The recording reveals the languages in the children's repertoire and indicates how they use them to converse and learn with each other, their peers and teacher. It is by moving between their languages with interlocutors with proficiencies in different languages that they are able to actively engage in the set task and make sense of the lesson. The data shows them to be *languaging* their learning, consistent with Swain's (2006, pp. 95–98) definition of this term: producing language to understand, problem solve and make meaning.[1]

In this community Arrernte is the first language (L1) of most adults and is preferred for most purposes with other Arrernte speakers. There may be differences in the way older adults speak Arrernte compared with

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younger adults, however this has not yet been investigated. Most community members also speak English with varying degrees of proficiency, especially when communicating with the small number of L1 English speakers in the community. English spoken by Arrernte adults includes non-standard features, which may indicate the second language (L2) nature of their productions or may represent features of an English contact variety, such as those described in Harkins' (1994) work with Arrernte and Luritja people living in the regional town of Alice Springs. For the purposes of this chapter, the main point is that English plays a small but complex role in the language ecology of the community. Children receive English input from L1 English speakers (mostly their teachers) and also hear some English spoken by their family and community members.

Capturing the linguistic proficiencies of children in this community is of significance given the endangered status of many Australian languages (Marmion et al. 2014) and recent research on children's language which has documented a shift from traditional languages to mixed languages (e.g. McConvell and Meakins 2005; O'Shannessy 2008, 2011; Meakins 2008). Further, to maximise schooling success, it is important to understand how these children use their linguistic skills in the classroom to navigate instructions, negotiate meaning and learn content in lessons delivered in their L2.

Bilingual education and English language instruction, surprisingly, remain contested topics in Indigenous education in Australia. The following range of views has existed on how children like the ones in this chapter might or should maintain their traditional languages and cope with English-medium lessons. English-only proponents advocate that they learn and produce English best simply by being taught through it (e.g. Northern Territory Department of Education 2009). Domain separation proponents advocate that they speak their traditional language when learning Aboriginal knowledge, and English when learning mainstream curriculum subjects in 'two-way' schooling contexts, as an ideal way of achieving the primary goal of traditional language maintenance (e.g. Harris 1990, 1991). More functional views suggest the children would vary their language choice not according to domain but rather for expressing different social meanings and that a lack of domain separation does not necessarily lead to language shift (e.g. McConvell 1991, 2008).

Best practice bilingual education models have demonstrated the importance of maintaining the children's L1 and supporting them with English as an additional language/dialect (EAL/D) teaching strategies, and advocate that children receive L1 input as and when needed during mainstream curriculum lessons (e.g. Collins 1999, pp. 127–131; Devlin 1997; Silburn et al. 2011; Lee et al. 2014). Translanguaging researchers (see also Chap. 1) have shown that students and teachers in well-supported bilingual programmes use both languages as a matter of course, whether in L1- or L2-focused lessons (Creese and Blackledge 2010; García 2009, 2014; Lewis et al. 2012; Williams 2002).

The classroom discourse in this chapter enables an examination of the languages and strategies children in a remote community use to learn in a mainstream curriculum lesson taught in their L2. It also provides an opportunity to gauge the vitality of the children's L1. The analysis sheds light on questions such as: What are some characteristics of the Arrernte and English produced by these children in this context? How do they use their languages to participate in a lesson task? How successful is their learning? How could it be made more effective for them?

School Context

The school in this study has had a long-term involvement (since the late 1970s) with bilingual education. However due to a multiplicity of complex factors ranging from local to national, the current situation has departed from using the students' L1 as a medium of instruction for most mainstream curriculum delivery. This is also the case in a number of remote schools, where the children's L1 is now more likely to be delivered as a stand-alone subject and less likely to be systematically integrated into teaching across all curriculum areas (Disbray 2015).

Each class has four 45-minute lessons per week in Arrernte, taught by qualified Arrernte teachers and assistant teachers. They centre on kinship, bush foods and medicines, traditional narratives, spirituality, art and L1 literacy skills. Also each class goes on a bush trip periodically, for opportunities to learn on country. The remaining teaching time each week is English-medium and dedicated to L2 literacy, numeracy and mainstream curriculum subjects.

The significance of students' L1 in this and other remote schools is acknowledged by employment of local assistant teachers to interpret teacher talk. The school recognises their crucial role and employs 1–2 assistant teachers for each class. However their interpreting role can be exceptionally difficult, if the subject matter is unfamiliar to them or cannot straightforwardly be translated with established terms in Arrernte. It is rare for assistant teachers to receive support (e.g. from linguists and researchers) to carefully plan the language that may be needed to explain mainstream curriculum concepts in children's L1 (Lee et al. 2014, pp. 47–72; Wilkinson and Bradbury 2013).

The teacher and assistant teacher in this chapter plan together as much as possible each day/week, to co-deliver lesson content. However, their joint planning occurs through their own initiative and time rather than being expected or cultivated at an operational level. So, many lessons are delivered in English only, such as the one presented here.

Lesson Overview and Data Collection

The main participants in the recording are two focus children, their teacher and peers. The focus children are girls: C1 aged 7;4 and C2 aged 8;3. Both were familiar with the researcher and had also participated in other recording sessions outside school. The teacher, at the time of the recording, had 2 years' experience. As part of her pre-service training, she completed specialised courses on teaching Science, though none on EAL/D. She spends long hours on all aspects of her work, is dedicated to her profession and is well-regarded by colleagues and the community.

The recording was made with a video camera on a tripod, an external microphone on the floor near the focus children, and a lapel microphone on C1 which picked up both children's voices during the pair activity. This recording was selected from a number made because the teacher was open to research in her classroom as a way of informing her understanding of the children's learning; her lesson plan was creative and engaging and stimulated spontaneous oral language production. A significant limitation of the recording is that, as it happened, C1 and C2 did not interact with the Arrernte assistant teacher in this lesson.

The assistant teacher and I were also in the room. She is a local community member with many years' experience in the school. She has a 3-year Diploma of Teaching and worked as a class teacher in the past. During the recording she assisted several other children but not the C1-C2 pair. I set up the equipment and repositioned it to focus on C1 and C2 at different stages of the lesson. At those times they spoke briefly to me (mostly about the equipment). Otherwise, I was in another part of the room working with other pairs.

The lesson consisted of the five steps summarised in Table 7.1. The intended learning outcomes were determined by content descriptions from the Statistics and Probability Strand of the Mathematics curriculum (ACARA 2012):

- Year 1: *Identify outcomes of familiar events involving chance and describe them using everyday language such as 'will happen', 'won't happen' or 'might happen'.*
- Year 2: *Identify practical activities and everyday events that involve chance. Describe outcomes as 'likely' or 'unlikely' and identify some events as 'certain' or 'impossible'.*

Table 7.1 Lesson and activities

Step	Minutes	Duration	Activities
1	1–4	4	Warm up: settling in, stretching exercises and a game of Simon Says
2	5–12	8	Lesson introduction: teacher-led input to whole class, introduction of materials and modelling of task; teacher assigning pairs of learners to work together
3	13–28	16	Pair work: including two occasions of teacher time with the C1-C2 pair. As each pair finished, they moved around the room and talked with others who were still completing
4	29–33	5	Lesson conclusion: teacher-led review with whole class
5	34–36	3	Warm down: class song as transition to next lesson
		Total 36	

The pair task consisted of cutting out and categorising 12 pictures on worksheet 1: *snow*, *lunch box*, *dinosaur*, *rain*, *rainbow*, *night*, *dog*, *a teacher*, *fishing*, *football training*, *pool* and *shop*. The children were instructed to talk with their partner to categorise each illustrated thing/event according to the likelihood of it occurring in their community. The three categories were *won't happen/impossible*, *might happen* and *will happen/certain*. Once a pair agreed on a category for each picture, they glued them onto worksheet 2, which had a column for each category (see Fig. 7.2).

This and all recordings in the broader study were transcribed and discussed with adult L1 Arrernte speakers who worked in the school and were familiar with the children, and with reference to the main description of the language (Wilkins 1989). This study did not aim to analyse code-switching behaviour. Rather it focused on languages produced and how these were used for learning. The unit of analysis was conversational turns/clauses (see Appendix for details).
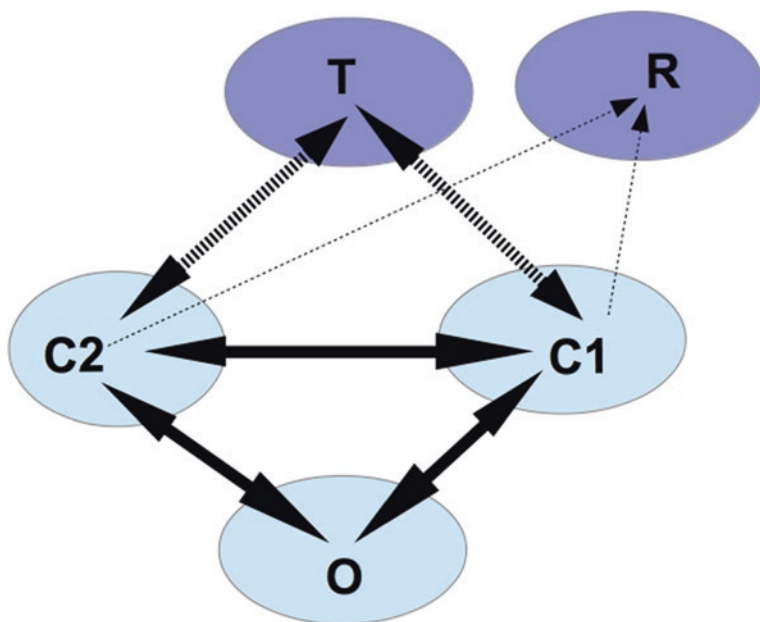
Fig. 7.1   C1-C2 micro social network

Figure 7.1 represents the focus children's interactions in the recording—with each other, their teacher (T), other children in the class (O) and the researcher (R). The analysis in the remainder of this chapter describes how often, with which interlocutors and for which purposes C1 and C2 drew on their languages to learn.

Languages

C1 and C2 produced turns/clauses in Arrernte, English and an Admixture of Arrernte and English.

Arrernte

The majority of the Arrernte-only turns/clauses in the recording were well-formed, with no English or English contact variety influence, as in (1). Some included words for which there is no obvious synonym in Arrernte, and **borrowing** could reasonably be expected, as in (2). Some borrowings are more established, are included in the Arrernte grammar (Wilkins 1989) and/or dictionary (Henderson and Dobson 1994) and are considered to be incorporated into Arrernte now, as in (3).

(1) C1 to C2   kele nhenhe the arrerne-me
                 ok this 1sgA put-PRES
                 ok I'm putting this one (placing dinosaur picture with others
                   to be sorted)
(2) C2 to C1   unte are-ø **swimming pool** akwenhe lyete
                 2sg see-IMP swimming pool ASSERT today
                 you see the swimming pool definitely (is open) today
(3) C1 to C2   nhenhe-yaye Susan-**thayete** are-ø-aye
                 here-draw.attention Susan-side look-IMP-EMPH
                 look here on Susan's side (telling C2 to sit near where the
                   camera was set up)[2]

This definition of an Arrernte-only turn/clause is thus broad. It recognises that Arrernte spoken by all generations naturally includes some material derived from English or an English contact variety.

English

English-only turns/clauses included standard and non-standard features. Informal spoken forms were expected in this context and were produced by the teacher too, e.g. 'gonna' in (4) and (5). Also, since participants referred to items and events that both speaker and hearer could see or had mentioned previously, many turns were not 'complete sentences' but can still be considered standard English, as in C2's response in (5).

(4) C2 to T: it's gonna be open today (referring to the swimming pool)
(5) T: ok certain, well so where are you gonna put that (picture of a shop)?
     C2:   first one (in the first column, in the 'will happen' column)

Non-standard English turns may reflect learner progress towards acquisition of more Standard English forms (Dixon 2013), as in C1's turn in (6). The non-standard forms in (7) could be attributed to C1's L2 learning trajectory or equally be considered as consistent with the way English is generally spoken in the community.

(6) C2 to T: and and swimming pool it be open
     C2 to T: it's gonna be open today
(7) C1 to T: yeah Chloe Chloe (getting T's attention). Me, Maria, Lisa and Ruby was jumping on/an' um/em trampoline. But I bin come back with Ruth to um [placename].
                   And I seen one rainbow over there, little. And one big rainbow over that side.

Overall the definition of English-only turns/clauses is broad. It recognises that they can be short responses and that the children in this study are exposed to both standard and non-standard/contact varieties in the process of acquiring English as their L2.

Admixture

Admixture turns/clauses are neither extensive nor insignificant in the data, accounting for 12% of the total produced by each focus child. Of

the three kinds of turns/clauses, they are comprised of the most diverse range of constructions. Generally they consist of Arrernte and Standard English as in (8) or Arrernte and **non-standard (learner or contact variety) English** as in (9). Unsurprisingly, some of these turns contain English temporal markers (e.g. *then, after*) and conjunctions (e.g. *so, or, but*), as in (10), which are likely to be adopted in language contact situations (Thomason 2001; Wilkins 1996). There are also tokens of tensed English subject pronouns as in (11) and negatives as in (12).

(8)   C1 to C2:   wemeye nhenhe can be in the middle
                  some.one/thing this can be in the middle
                  these ones can be in the middle
(9)   C2 to C1:   no iltye ngkwinhe **move-eme-ø**
                  no hand 2sgPOSS move-tr-IMP
                  no move your hand away
(10) C1 to C2:   cos arrpenhe mape akwenhe mpwepe-nge ane-tyenhe
                  because other pl ASSERT middle-ABL be-FUT
                  cos the other ones will be in the middle
(11) C2 to C1:   alakenhe-antaye, we'll alakenhe ake-rle
                  like.this-too we'll like.this cut-GenEvt
                  like this too, we'll cut it like this
(12) C1 to O: don't nhakwe are-rle
                  don't there(dist) look –GenEvt
                  don't look over there (at the camera)

Overall Admixture utterances involve some kind of intra-turn/clause switch but maintain the integrity of each of the main codes.

All Turns

Table 7.2 shows that C1 and C2 most frequently produced English, followed by Arrernte and Admixture turns/clauses. The high frequency of English is attributable to the English-medium lesson (Arrernte and

Table 7.2 Number of turns/clauses produced in each code

	English	Arrernte	Admixture	Other	Total
C1	85 (44%)	54 (28%)	23 (12%)	30 (16%)	192
C2	94 (51%)	38 (21%)	23 (12%)	29 (16%)	184

Admixture dominate recordings made outside school) and to two inter-actions between C1, C2 and their monolingual English-speaking teacher in step 3 of the lesson which comprised a significant portion of the tran-script (see Table 7.1).

When their teacher is not addressed, nor an over-hearer of their conversa-tion, C1 and C2 produce mainly Arrernte and Admixture turns. These are their preferred codes when speaking with each other and peers, though the children do also produce some English-only turns amongst themselves.

Communicative Purposes

Three main communicative purposes, illustrated in (13)–(21), emerged from a review of all turns/clauses in the recording: organising, on-task and off-task.[3] These purposes partially correspond with ones proposed by authors who have worked on functions and registers of classroom discourse (Cazden 1988; Christie 2002). For example, organising turns correspond to Christie's 'regulative register' for overall directing and sequencing of classroom activity, while on-task turns correspond to Christie's 'instructional register' through which lesson content is taught and learned (Christie 2002, pp. 3, 10).

However, there are also notable differences in the analysis in this chap-ter. Firstly, it includes turns/clauses in which it is the children who (attempt to) regulate their own, their peers' and teacher's behaviour. Secondly Christie (2002) and Cazden (1988, pp. 54, 150–153) do not analyse off-task talk, though they do acknowledge the common occur-rence of various kinds of student behaviours and talk that do not contrib-ute to lesson goals. While Christie and Cazden focus on English-speaking students' language use, this investigation of the children's linguistic reper-toire and the vitality of their L1 made off-task turns an important consid-eration, alongside the other two types.

The purpose of organising turns was to arrange materials and direct people, as in (13)–(15). They include utterances for clarifying and follow-ing teacher instructions, deciding where to sit, who's doing what in the learning task.

(13)   C1 to C2:   I'll nhenhe ake-rle
                      I'll this cut-GenEvt
                      I'll cut it
(14)   C2 to C1:   unte glue-eme-ile-me
                      2sg glue-tr-CAUS-PRES
                      you're gluing
(15)   C1 to C2:   no you got help (you have to help me).

The purpose of on-task turns was to engage with the lesson content and complete the task, as in (16)–(18). They include utterances for discussing pictures, giving or changing an opinion, agreeing and disagreeing.

(16)   C2 to T: because we know it's everytime Wednesday, Thursday,
                        Friday
                      (explaining the pool opening days/times; therefore this
                        picture belongs in the *will happen* column).
(17)   C2 to T: because we got no dinosaur in here this community.
                      (explaining why this picture belongs in the *won't happen*
                        column)
(18)   C1 to C2:   eh arrangkwe-ewe nhenhe-nge ware ane-tyenhe
                      eh no/not-EMPH+ here-ABL just/only be-FUT
                      eh no (the rain) is only gonna be here
                      (disagreeing and explaining why the *rain* picture belongs
                        in the *will happen* column).

The purpose of off-task turns was to talk about matters peripheral to the task, as in (19)–(21). They include social talk, as in (19). They also include attempts to get other children to go away or not copy, as in (20) and (21), which are not organising turns because they are not related to the lesson content.

(19)   C1 to C2:   but ayenge akwenhe after school akwenhe ayenge town-
                        werne alhe-me
                      but 1sgS ASSERT after school ASSERT 1sgS town-ALL
                        go-PRES
                      but I'm going to town after school.
(20)   C1 to O: don't nhenhe are-rle
                      don't here look/see-GenEvt
                      don't look here [at our worksheet]
(21)   C2 to T: they wanna just copy us mob

Table 7.3 Number of turns/clauses produced for each communicative purpose

	Organising	On-task	Off-task	Other	Total
C1	46 (24%)	69 (36%)	47 (24%)	30 (16%)	192
C2	43 (23%)	80 (44%)	32 (17%)	29 (16%)	184

Table 7.3 shows the proportions of turns produced for the three main purposes. C1 and C2 are clearly more involved than not involved in the lesson, since both organising and on-task turns (and a proportion of the 'other' turns) are related to the lesson.

The children did not exhibit a strong association of particular codes with particular purposes. They moved fluidly between Arrernte, English and Admixture for the three purposes, as evident in (13)–(21) and as excerpts in the remainder of this chapter will illustrate.

Understanding and Talking About Lesson Concepts

Having described the ways C1 and C2 drew on their linguistic resources and used them for various communicative purposes, this section examines connections between language and learning.

Figure 7.2 represents the pair's completed worksheet, after discussions with each other and their teacher. This finished product demonstrates

Fig. 7.2 Categorisation of pictures onto probability by C1 and C2

their essential understanding of key lesson concepts. No picture could be considered incorrectly placed, though *rain* and *rainbow* might arguably be better assigned to the same category.

While the children demonstrated understanding of key concepts, a separate question is how they expressed and explained their thinking and learning. The excerpts below illustrate ways their learning emerges through organising and on-task turns, in English with their teacher and Arrernte and Admixture with each other. (Off-task turns will be less relevant here.)

Teacher-Child Interactions

The teacher played a key role in guiding the learning and providing the required English input. From the range of strategies she employed, she was evidently sensitive to communicative needs of L2 learners, e.g. acting out and drawing images to convey meaning, scaffolding and revising, recasting and extending learner utterances. Two main patterns were evident in teacher-child interactions: information jointly constructed by teacher and children (as in excerpt 1) and information constructed more independently by children (as in excerpt 2).

Excerpt 1 shows teacher-guided construction of knowledge and simultaneous modelling of English. She presented the concept *might happen* through a series of connected ideas to form an explanation (lines 7, 9, 11): it's not football season, but our local team sometimes still practises on the oval, so it might happen. The children were not required to produce such clauses independently, only to confirm or deny them (lines 8, 10). This kind of co-construction of concepts and scaffolding of language was common in the recording. It occurred in teacher interactions with the whole class (as in excerpt 1) and also in teacher interactions with the C1-C2 pair.

Excerpt 1

| 1 | T: | what about, oh here's an interesting one, football training. Is it certain or impossible, or-? |
| 2 | C1: | certain |

3	T:	certain?
4	C1:	no, might happen
5	C2:	m-m-might happen
6	T:	maybe, do you think, might?
7	T:	is it football season at the moment?
8	class:	no
9	T:	it's not football season, but sometimes do our footy players practise?
10	class:	yeah
11	T:	sometimes we see them on the oval, so I think that's might happen.

Excerpt 2 shows a different pattern in teacher-child interaction. Here the teacher spent time with the C1-C2 pair, discussing their completed worksheet. She did not scaffold the language for them (as in excerpt 1) but instead asked questions in ways that required them to formulate their responses more independently.

Excerpt 2

1	T:	ok so tell me about these ones (pointing to the 4 pictures in the *won't happen* column: *dinosaur*, *rainbow*, *snow*, *fishing*)
2	C1:	um it don't happen
3	C2:	they don't any, too many these (pointing to the 4 pictures)
4	C1:	this not in our community (pointing to the *dinosaur* picture)
5	T:	what is it?
6	C1:	it's in long way, this thing
7	T:	what is it?
8	C2:	it's a dinosaur
9	C1:	dinosaur[4]
10	T:	ok, what else?
11	C2:	it's a rainbow
12	C1:	and this don't and this don't come to this house (pointing to the *snow* picture). It only just the rain comes.
13	C2:	snow won't come for here
14	C1:	and just the thing, and sun get out
15	C2:	rain (providing C1 with the word she means by 'thing' in line 14)
16	T:	ok but we don't have snow
17	C1:	mhm
18	C2:	yeah
19	T:	ok what's this?
20	C1:	ah a water (referring to the river in the *fishing* picture)

21	C2:	we don't have ocean but we don't have fish, only them on the shop in the fridge
22	T:	oh so we can't go fishing around here
23	C1&C2:	yeah
24	T:	ok
25	C1:	or we got just go long way to have a fishing.

Excerpt 2 shows C1 and C2 understood lesson concepts. However, their responses to teacher questions (lines 1, 10, 19) are characterised by English language learner features (lines 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 25). These turns/clauses indicate many word and sentence patterns not yet mastered which would benefit from overt teaching, e.g.:

- Lines 1–3: Both C1 and C2 have understood the concept *won't happen/impossible*, but their ability to communicate this could be enhanced through class practice of constructions to state opinions, e.g. 'I don't think they will happen' or 'We think these ones are impossible'. C1 uses 'it' for plural referents, while C2 correctly uses 'they'. The form 'it' for 'one' and 'they' for 'more' could also be pre-taught.
- Lines 12–18: both C1 and C2 know *snow* is impossible in their community. However, while C2 knows the word *snow*, C1 doesn't until peer-tutored. Teaching all vocabulary items for the pictures before the pair task, and practising some multi-clause constructions, would provide students with the skills to express their learning through their L2, e.g. 'We have rain and sun, but the temperature is too warm in our community, so snow is impossible here'.

These suggestions are not comprehensive but illustrate how L2 teaching can be embedded in English-medium lessons.[5] Ideally teachers would receive support for ways to plan a target set of vocabulary items and constructions for EAL/D learners to hear and produce in lessons. Such an approach has been used in professional development workshops in schools in Queensland with high enrolments of Aboriginal children who are not L1 English speakers: teachers are guided to plan not only what they want students to *know* and *do* in Maths lessons but also what they expect students to *say* (Angelo 2006).

Child-Child Interactions

When the teacher was not a participant in the interaction, C1 and C2 produced organising and on-task turns in Arrernte, Admixture and English. These child-child interactions were characterised by peer support (as in excerpt 3) and frequent use of expressions and gestures reflecting the shared nature of the materials and task (as in excerpt 4).

Excerpt 3 occurred at the beginning of the pair task. In line 1, C1 showed she knows that cutting out the pictures is necessary. In line 2, C2 was holding the scissors and started the task. In lines 3–4, C1 tried to deduce what they had to do with their materials and stated what they did not have to do, i.e. not write their names on worksheet 1 (since that sheet of pictures would be cut up and would not be the final product of their learning). In line 5, C2 demonstrated the first step in the task for C1. C1 watched her cut out the first picture and in line 6 asserted she knew what to do. However, that turn was unfinished and omitted any detail of what needed to be done with the three pictures. In lines 7–9, C2 produced a series of clauses, uninterrupted by C1, explaining the task requirements using the *pool* picture as an example. By the end of this excerpt, C2 had led C1 to a clearer understanding of both the logistics and concepts involved. Through demonstration she helped C1 understand what they needed to do and the concept of *will happen/certain*.

Excerpt 3
1 C1:   yanhe ake-ø-aye
           that(mid) cut-IMP-EMPH
           cut that
           (referring to worksheet 1)
2 C2:   you wait, me first
           (starting to cut out the pictures on worksheet 1)
3 C1:   oh we must be gotta do-
4 C1:   not not name, not name
5 C2:   alakenhe-antaye, we'll alakenhe ake-rle
           like this-too we'll like this cut-GenEvt
           like this too, we'll cut it like this
6 C1:   I know, three-pele wemeye nhenhe mape-
           I know three some.one/thing this pl
           I know, these three things here-
           (pointing to the first column of three pictures that need to be cut out)

7   C2:   hey nhenhe unte are-me? nhenhe unte are-me?
            hey here 2sg see-PRES here 2sg see-PRES
            hey you see here? you see here?
8   C2:   you arrerne-rle nhenhe-ke, unte are-ø swimming pool akwenhe lyete
            you put-GenEvt here-DAT 2sg see-IMP swimming pool ASSERT today
            you put [it] here, you see swimming pool is definitely open today
            (pointing to the *will happen* column)
9   C2:   you first wan
            you first one
            you first one
            (pointing to first column on worksheet 2, the *will happen* column)

Excerpt 4 illustrates how C1's and C2's turns rely on both participants' ability to see and manipulate the materials, e.g. they referred to the *snow* and *shop* pictures using *nhenhe* 'this/here' and *yanhe* 'that/there'. In lines 1–2, C1 placed the *snow* picture in the *will happen* column, without explanation. In line 3, C2 disagreed and also gave no explanation. In lines 4 and 6, C1 accepted that C2 was right. In lines 5 and 7, C2 gave her opinion about the *shop* picture simply by placing it in the *will happen* column, without overtly providing a reason. The C1-C2 discussion of *snow* and *shop* illustrates their tendency not to expect each other to state reasons for their opinions (though C1 does give a reason why *snow* should be in the *won't happen* column in line 8). By contrast the teacher was more likely to ask them for more extended explanations, as in excerpt 2.

Excerpt 4
1   C1:   ok certain
            (placing *snow* picture in *will happen/certain* column)
2   C1:   or ah kwene-thayete-ke arrerne-me?
            or ah under-side.of-DAT put-PRES
            or put [it] under?
            (moving *snow* picture from beside to under the word *certain*)
3   C2:   no-o, shoulda put-
            (telling C1 not to put *snow* picture in *will happen* column)
4   C1:   no, nhenhe-yaye
            no here-draw.attention
            no, here
            (moving *snow* picture to *won't happen* column)
5   C2:   nhenhe eh
            this/here eh
            [it goes] here eh
            (placing *shop* picture in *will happen* column)

6   C1:   nhenhe-ke-yaye
             this/here-DAT-draw.attention
             for here
             (touching *snow* picture in *won't happen* column)
7   C2:   yanhe arrerne-tyeke
             that(mid) put-PURP
             put that one
             (touching *shop* picture in *will happen* column)
8   C1:   cos arrangkwe akwenhe
             because no/nothing ASSERT
             because there is none
             (touching *snow* picture in *won't happen* column)

Summary of Findings

The children in this study made full use of their languages throughout the lesson. Although English dominates the classroom setting, their home language is a strong part of the ecology within it. They moved fluidly between Arrernte, English and Admixture turns/clauses for three main (organising, on-task, off-task) purposes. Interlocutor was a better predictor of code choice than communicative purpose. Even though the children produced English most frequently, and used English with each other, they preferred Arrernte and Admixture in peer-peer interactions.

A qualitative look at patterns in teacher-child and child-child interactions showed ways the children selected from their linguistic resources to successfully complete the central task of the lesson. In teacher-child interactions, they participated in teacher-led jointly constructed English. In response to more open-ended questions from the teacher, they constructed English more independently. Although their answers were accurate, their L2 production skills needed more support. Child-child interactions were characterised by peer tutoring and use of short-hand expressions such as 'this here' and 'that there' in favour of more detailed explanations in their L1.

Admixture turns/clauses in the data included both verb and nominal forms from both Arrernte and English. This can be contrasted with children's language in a comparable remote Aboriginal community where children have created a mixed language (Light Warlpiri) which is systematic and predictable in its structure, separate and different from its source languages, with the verb system from English/Kriol and the nominal

system from Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2008, 2013). The small data set discussed in this chapter is a preliminary indication that the Arrernte children in this community may not (yet) be shifting to English nor creating a mixed language. This needs to be confirmed with more data in the context of the broader research project.

Discussion and Conclusions

To return to the context and possibilities raised in the introduction to this chapter, the discourse analysed here suggests greater evidence for translanguaging than domain separation, not only as natural linguistic behaviour of these bilingual children but also as a necessary means for them to maximise their learning. In schools with bilingual programmes where the teacher speaks both languages, he/she can translanguage as needed, to ensure efficient learning and effective development of L1 and L2 vocabulary and constructions relevant to the topic and concepts in any given lesson. By contrast, the data here has shown the role of peers to be comparatively more important for facilitating understanding of lesson expectations and content, since the teacher does not speak the students' L1 and the assistant teacher is not always immediately available to all students.

While the teacher designed and delivered an effective lesson, and C1 and C2 were successful learners of the concepts in this lesson, to assume they will always be able to understand all lessons throughout their school years is problematic. It would be beneficial to revitalise approaches which involve teaching through L1 and targeted EAL/D instruction, and implement such approaches through collaborations involving Aboriginal staff in schools, community members, teachers, school systems, EAL/D consultants, teacher-linguists and researchers. Such strategies and collaborations have received diminished policy, funding and systematic support, despite their suitability for meeting the linguistic and educational needs of children in remote contexts (Devlin 2011; Hoogenraad 2001; Nicholls 2005; Simpson et al. 2009; Wilkins 2008).

Teaching mainstream curriculum content to young learners in remote schools is challenging since they are in the early stages of acquiring English. However, as these children progress through schooling, the gap

between their L2 proficiency and the curriculum will widen. Although they are likely to continue to use peer support strategies, in later school years, there will be further challenges: curriculum content becomes more removed from learners' immediate experience, and designing tasks based on concrete materials becomes more difficult for the teacher. For example, in the Statistics and Probability strand of the current Mathematics curriculum (ACARA 2012), the content descriptions for Year 6 are:

- *describe probabilities using fractions, decimals and percentages*
- *conduct chance experiments with both small and large numbers of trials using appropriate digital technologies*
- *compare observed frequencies across experiments with expected frequencies*
- *interpret and compare a range of data displays, including side-by-side column graphs for two categorical variables*
- *interpret secondary data presented in digital media and elsewhere.*

This is the content that the teacher, C1, C2 and their peers will face in 4–5 years. The teacher will be expected to teach such skills, and the children have a right to develop them. This chapter provided data which showed that learners need to draw on all of their linguistic resources to learn and that use of L1 and EAL/D approaches is needed to maximise their learning of specific curriculum content and the associated English language skills.

Appendix

The data was transcribed in ELAN, an annotation tool developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Conversational turns/clauses in the lesson recording were the unit of

analysis in this study. Production of different turn/clause types is summarised in Tables 7.2 and 7.3.

Some turns were verbless and consisted of single words or short phrases in response to previous interlocutor turns, e.g. 'um, in the cities'. Single-word utterances were counted only when they were substantial, formed part of a series of linked turns and showed comprehension of the interaction and ability to keep it going, e.g. 'certain' and 'yeah' and in (22).

(22) T to C1 & C2: What are the chances that you're gonna see Nick?
                     Will happen, certain,
                     or might happen, or impossible?
      C2 to T   Certain.
      T to C1 & C2: Certain. You, do you always see Nick every day you
                     come to school?
      C1 & C2 to T: Yeah

Some turns included verbs. For turns with more than one verb, each clause was analysed separately, e.g. excerpt 3 turn 8. In this chapter, and the broader research project, each verb is of interest since research in similar remote communities, where children have created formally mixed languages, has found verb morphology to be an indicator of shift from traditional language production (e.g. McConvell and Meakins 2005; O'Shannessy 2008, 2011; Meakins 2008).

Some turns were analysed as 'other'. Although non-verbal communication, back channelling, interjections and similar turns all make important contributions to effective communication, the focus of this investigation was children's use of Arrernte and English. So 'other' was created as a separate category, to recognise and count:

- non-verbal responses, e.g. (nods)
- non-word turns, e.g. (squeal), shshsh (C2 to O who was interrupting C2's conversation with T), uh-uh-uh-uh (C2 rhythmically bouncing body while sitting) and ba-be-ba-be-be (C1 blowing into microphone)
- *um*, *mhm* as stand-alone turns, where it wasn't possible to determine whether they were Arrernte or English

- sing-song/chant turns, e.g. eleye-bele-be-were (C1 singing into microphone); class-chorus countdown to complete activity, i.e. 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0!
- turns which consisted only of names of people in photos, e.g. C2: Matthew! Spelling aloud to write name on worksheet, e.g. M-A-R-I-A.

Notes

1. The recording discussed in this chapter was made during one of my PhD field trips to the community. It is also part of the Aboriginal Child Language Acquisition Project (ACLA) 2011–2015 Australian Research Council Discovery Grant DP0877762. Data is stored in the ACLA Project archive.
2. All interlinear gloss abbreviations follow those in the Arrernte grammar (Wilkins 1989). The ones that appear in this chapter are 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, A = agentive (subject of a transitive verb), ABL = ablative, AFTER = afterative, ASSERT = assertion, CAUS = causative, DAT = dative, EMPH = emphatic, EMPH+ = strong emphatic, FUT = future, GenEvt = generic event, IMP = imperative, PAST = past, pl = plural, PRES = present, PROP = proprietive, PURP = purposive; QUOT = quotative, REMEM = remember (previously mentioned), S = subject of an intransitive verb and tr = transitive.
3. Each of the three communicative purposes mapped to the same range of possible speech act types, e.g. organising, on-task and off-task turns, could all be imperative in form.
4. Earlier in the lesson, C1 had similarly stated that dinosaurs belonged in the *won't happen/impossible* column because there are none in the community. Rather than introducing the concept of extinction immediately, and diverting C1 and C2 from the task and concepts that they were successfully working on, the teacher suggested to the pair that their class learn more about dinosaurs in another lesson soon.
5. ACARA (2013) provides a teacher guide for making the standard curriculum more accessible for EAL/D learners; however, it does not specifically address the needs of Aboriginal L2 English learners in remote communities, and it is not a substitute for EAL/D training and professional development.

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8

Language Practices of Mbya Guarani Children in a Community-Based Bilingual School

Nayalin Pinho Feller and Jill Vaughan

Introduction

Although it is not known exactly how many Indigenous groups existed in Brazil at the time Europeans arrived in the 1500s, estimates of native inhabitants range from two to four million individuals, belonging to more than 1000 different groups (FUNAI 2013). The extermination of many Indigenous peoples in Brazil by armed conflicts, epidemics and social and cultural disorganization are depopulation processes that cannot be addressed without an analysis of the internal characteristics and history of each of these societies. This is not within the scope of this study but deserves the attention of the reader (see, e.g., Oliveira 2004; Pissolato 2006; Yanomami 1998). Currently, there are about 150 languages and dialects spoken among the Indigenous groups of Brazil, yet linguists have

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estimated that approximately 1300 different languages were spoken in the sixteenth century (Ricardo 2000). Today, the Brazilian Indigenous population is around 900,000, distributed among 240 Indigenous groups ('*etnias*' in Portuguese), representing 1.4% of the total Brazilian population, with 57% living inside Indigenous Lands and the remainder living mainly in urban areas (IBGE 2010). The Indigenous population growth rate is at present higher than the non-Indigenous population growth rate, and there are several language revitalization projects underway to safeguard the region's linguistic heritage (see, e.g., Cunha 2008; Ferreira da Costa 2013). Nevertheless, there is extreme urgency to protect these cultures and languages as the Brazilian government and local farmers continue to displace Indigenous peoples from their native land and push them into urban areas.

The Guarani live in a territory that includes regions in Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina, and their language belongs to the Tupi-Guarani branch of the Tupian language family. The Guarani account for some 68,500 people in Brazil (Siasi/Sesai 2014), 6500 in Argentina (CTI/ Grünberg 2008), 78,359 in Bolivia, (INE/Bolivia 2001) and 41,200 in Paraguay (CTI/Grünberg 2008). Three groups subdivide the Guarani: the Kaiowá, Mbya and Ñandeva. These groups are culturally and sociopolitically similar, but differ in the variety of the Guarani language they speak, in how they practise their religion and in how they use technologies in the environment. The Mbya Guarani, our focus in this chapter, number between 6000 and 7000 (IPOL 2011) in Brazil. Even though the Guarani have been constantly displaced from their original lands, they continue to be a resilient group, and their language is not considered to be endangered.

This research took place at Tekoá Marangatu, a Mbya Guarani Indigenous reservation located in Cachoeira dos Inácios, a community in Imaruí, a very small town in the southern part of Brazil. The *aldeia*[1] ('reservation/community') has adapted in many ways to the introduced way of life: they have television, cable, cell phones and electricity. At the same time, they deeply value the traditional teachings shared from generation to generation, and stories about how they became the Guarani people are taught in the **opy**, their prayer house (De Sousa 2010). Stories are shared daily through teachings conveyed to younger children in the Mbya

Guarani language. Thus, the language is spoken mostly in the home and in community contexts, while Portuguese is reserved for use within the bilingual school and in interactions with non-Guarani speakers (although speakers are free to speak both languages in most environments, except in the **opy**).

This research investigated how young Mbya Guarani children's emergent literacies are mediated by their lived experiences in different contexts, thus influencing their bilingual, biliterate or bicultural development. There is now a significant body of work exploring the lives and experiences of Indigenous children within their families and communities (e.g., Azuara and Reyes 2011; Dennis 1940; De la Piedra 2006; Luykx 1989; Romero-Little 2004; Tassinari et al. 2012). Within Brazil, researchers have in recent years begun to study the socialization processes of Indigenous children in the home context (e.g., Feller 2015; Sobrinho 2010; Tassinari 2011; Vasconcelos 2011). Most of these studies, however, do not systematically focus on the early years of schooling and the socialization processes that characterize this time. This constitutes an important gap in the research, as the educational history of Brazil's Indigenous peoples is one of compulsory experiences in mainstream formal schools and curricula.

> *A escola entrou na comunidade como um corpo estranho, que ninguém conhecia. Quem a estava colocando sabia o que queria, mas os índios não sabiam, hoje os os índios ainda não sabem pra que serve a escola. E esse é o problema. A escola entra na comunidade e se apossa dela, tornando-se dona da comunidade, e não a comunidade dona da escola. Agora, nós índios, estamos começando a discutir a questão.*
>
> The school entered the community as a foreign body, which no one knew. The individual who was putting it there knew what he wanted, but the Indians did not know. Today the Indians still do not know what is the purpose of the school. That is the problem. The school enters the community and takes possession of it, becoming the owner of the community, and not the community as the owner of the school. Now, we Indians, are starting to discuss this question. (Kaiagang, as cited in Freire 2004: 28)

Schools have historically not considered, and in some cases have explicitly ignored, how these young children learn prior to entering the classroom. This chapter provides a small contribution towards redressing this

imbalance, in investigating the ways in which the bilingual school in Tekoá Marangatu supports (or does not support) the development of the Guarani language.

This study builds on previous studies of the language socialization practices of various Indigenous peoples in Latin and South America in order to understand how the Mbya Guarani children draw on their Guarani language skills, cultural knowledge and identity to learn and operate in the context of a mainstream classroom. Language socialization refers to the interactive process through which 'novices' are socialized to be competent members of a group or community. Children are socialized both *through* language and *as* language users. A key goal of language socialization research is to discover 'the social structurings and cultural interpretations of semiotic forms, practices and ideologies that inform novices' practical engagements with others' (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012: 1). De la Piedra (2006) studied the literacies and oral language of Quechua children in the Peruvian Andes. She examined how the hegemonic Spanish school practices failed to value oral Quechua and, simultaneously, how the elementary students resisted that oppression of their native language through writing in Quechua and through the use of Quechua as their peer language. Tassinari (2011) noted that research on Indigenous children in Brazil has started to take the perspective of the child as an agent in the production of knowledge. Furthermore, Marqui (2012) used the Guarani child as a central agent in exploring how Guarani learning and teaching processes might be included in the differentiated instruction offered by the school. There has been little study, however, of the ways in which young Indigenous children's socialization processes influence their bilingual, biliterate or bicultural development in Brazil.

Two important theoretical perspectives underpinning this research are the concepts of 'translanguaging' and 'emergent bilingualism/biliteracy'. Translanguaging is a distinct epistemological position on bi/multilingual practices that emerged from work on bilingual education, originally in the 1980s and 1990s (see, e.g., Williams 1994) and then was more fully developed in recent years (see, e.g., Baker 2011; García 2009). It refers to 'the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge' through two or more languages (Baker 2011: 288) and is fundamentally centred on the internal perspective of the speaker rather

than socially/politically defined language boundaries (Otheguy et al. 2015). A translanguaging approach has particular value in the classroom, as it acknowledges that bilinguals are not 'two monolinguals in one' but rather have their own unique linguistic configurations (e.g., Grosjean 2010). Translanguaging encompasses (but is not restricted to) practices referred to elsewhere as 'code-switching', 'code-mixing' and so on but differs fundamentally in its core assumption that a bilingual individual's linguistic resources make meaning in ways not clearly assignable to one 'code' or another. In this study, translanguaging allows us to approach the communicative capabilities of the children as a full set of linguistic and symbolic resources, rather than two parallel mechanisms, as well as to cast their bilingual practices in a positive light. We will see that children and teachers deploy the full extent of their linguistic and cultural resources to communicate meaning, but that there are also times when children are highly sensitive to the boundaries between codes and to the individual linguistic needs of their interlocutors.

The theoretical framework is further shaped by the concepts of emergent bilingualism/biliteracy. Reyes (2006) uses the term 'emergent bilinguals' to describe 'young children (ages three to five years) who speak a native language other than English [in Reyes' study] and are in the dynamic process of developing bilingual and biliterate competencies […] with the support of their communities (e.g. parents, school, community)' (2006: 268). In Reyes' study, teachers resisted the imposition of English, and with the use of both Spanish and English in the classroom community, children were able to develop early bilingualism and biliteracy even without writing conventionally in either language. Following Edelsky (1986) and Moll et al. (2001), Reyes understands 'emergent biliteracy' to be:

> the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages. From a sociocultural and transactional perspective, the term also encompasses the children's use of their cultural and linguistic experiences to co-construct meaning with parents, teachers, siblings, and peers in their environment. The children's emergent understanding of how to approach and represent ideas in writing is socially constructed and supported by the adults and expert writers around them. (2006: 269)

This definition of emergent biliteracy helps us understand the processes young children experience, independent of their background, when learning two languages simultaneously and validates the efforts to promote this development from an early age. Bilingualism and biliteracy should further be considered as a dynamic endeavour, not a static one (Vygotsky 1978). Vygotsky recommends that researchers should situate bilingualism within concrete situations while studying children's development and take into account the whole aggregate of social factors (e.g., individual personality, context) that influence the development of bilingualism: 'being bilingual must be studied in all its breadth and in all its depth as it affects the whole mental development of the child's personality taken as a whole' (Vygotsky, cited in Rieber 1997: 259). The lens of emergent bilingualism/biliteracy fundamentally informs the holistic view taken in this chapter in examining the role of language(s) in the lives of young Mbya Guarani children.

Methodology

This study employed two types of qualitative research methodologies: participant observation (Heath and Street 2008; Seidman 1998) to gather data both in a first-grade and a third-grade classroom in the bilingual school, and narrative inquiry (Schaafsma and Vinz 2011) to guide the analysis of interviews with community members and school staff. These methods were used to engage with the following overarching research questions, which formed part of a larger PhD research project (Feller 2015):

1. How do Guarani children draw on their Guarani and Portuguese language skills, cultural knowledge and identities to learn in the context of a mainstream classroom/school?
2. In what ways does the bilingual school support or hinder these young Indigenous children's bilingual, biliterate and bicultural development?

   The chapter's first author (Feller) entered the *aldeia* as an 'outsider' (Brayboy and Deyhle 2000), hailing from a town one hour to the south of the community. She spent six months immersed in understanding the

way the reservation worked. Feller is a native Portuguese speaker, which is the dominant language in Brazil and widely spoken at the reservation. Therefore, although she could communicate with many community members, this positioned her as a speaker of 'the other' language (Tassinari 2011) and limited her ability to understand day-to-day conversations in Guarani. Translation and linguistic analysis were made possible through the assistance of a native Guarani speaker. While the dynamics of many important language and literacy practices were thus able to be captured, it is acknowledged that this is limited by the researcher's own cultural and linguistic positionalities.

The School and Community Contexts

The research data was collected in the *Escola Indígena de Ensino Fundamental Tekoá Marangatu* (*E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu*), a bilingual Guarani-Portuguese school coordinated by the *Gerência de Educação da Secretaria de Estado do Desenvolvimento Regional de Laguna* (GERED—a governmental institution that oversees schools in the region). At the *Escola Indígena*, around 50 Indigenous children[2] receive education to become bilingual, biliterate and bicultural citizens of their community. A fundamental characteristic of this *aldeia* is that it supports a bilingual school for children from 5 to 17 years old, as well as an adult education programme. These children speak Guarani as their first language, both in the home and in wider community contexts. However, because the school is located at the heart of the reservation and children have constant access to it, they also come into contact with the Portuguese language from a very young age (e.g., due to the constant contact with non-Indigenous teachers and visitors to the *tekoá*, in addition to their visits to the town centre in Imaruí). Children enter school at five years old (pre-K), and once they begin first grade, they have formal instruction in Portuguese only. Guarani is frequently spoken in all environments.

Connection with the community was established in July 2013 through an informal conversation with an Indigenous teacher (Eduardo[3]) and followed up the next year at the school with the *cacique* (chief), Floriano da

Silva and the school principal (Eleane Silveira). It was decided the researcher would be placed in both first and third grades and observe a teacher named Eduarda, whose first language is Portuguese. Eduarda knew a few Guarani words but was not able to speak fluently. Each of the classrooms also had a bilingual monitor, who functioned as a bridge between Guarani and Portuguese. The researcher spent six months at the school, observing each classroom for three/four days each week (three months of participant observation only and three months of in-depth data collection). She also participated actively in the classroom community by helping children to do their tasks and by listening to the stories they had to share, thus observing the way that children interacted with language and the environment around them. Because the biliterate and bilingual development of the children was very dynamic, their everyday routines and practices were documented across a variety of settings (classroom, P.E. classes, recess etc.). The researcher took descriptive fieldnotes, photographed the children's activities and collected audio and video samples of activities both inside and outside the classroom.

Since 20 December 1996, under the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* (Law of Directives and Bases of National Education), Indigenous schools in Brazil have been guaranteed access to bilingual education. This includes providing any resources required to ensure that children learn the national language, Portuguese, but also implies that they should be able to develop and use their home language, for example, Guarani, in the school context. The *E.I.E.F. Tekoá Marangatu* provides weekly Guarani language and literacy classes that take place from first through fifth grade. While this explicit instruction constitutes only 45 minutes per week, Guarani can be (and is) freely spoken in any environment within or outside of the classroom context. The bilingual monitor working in each of the elementary classrooms supports the non-Indigenous teacher in delivering the content from the national curriculum and is responsible for teaching the Guarani language class. All non-Indigenous teachers are from white, low- or middle-income, Portuguese-speaking backgrounds. Each elementary classroom has one teacher for all subjects (taught by Eduarda in the first and third grades) in addition to an arts teacher (Mariana), a P.E. teacher (Sara) and a bilingual monitor (Bruno in the first grade, Fabiano in the third).

The establishment of the role of the Indigenous monitor in the 1970s was among a range of achievements resulting from a push for Indigenous sovereignty in public policies around Indigenous schooling in Brazil. Based on the initiative of Indigenous peoples in the constitutional process of the 1980s, the Federal Constitution in 1988 secured important rights for their groups, including the right to a differentiated school. The Constitution recognized that 'their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions' (Article 231) and 'the use of their mother tongues and their own learning processes' (Article 210) were the rights of Indigenous people in Brazil. That is, it guaranteed Indigenous people the right to teach in their own language, with pedagogical processes that make it possible to learn according to their culture. According to the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* (FUNAI), Indigenous peoples have the right to specific, differentiated, intercultural, bilingual/multilingual and community education, as defined by the national legislation that underpins Indigenous Education. The *Fundação Nacional do Índio* is the official indigenist organ of the Brazilian State, responsible for promoting the rights of Indigenous peoples in the national territory, guaranteed by the 1988 Constitution. In practice, however, the government leaves it open to each school to define how to differentiate the instruction for their own Indigenous students, and FUNAI does little to help in this process.

The role of bilingual monitors or interpreters has been widely discussed in the literature in Brazil, both positively and negatively (see, e.g., Cunha 2008; Monte 2000). These monitors act in conjunction with non-Indigenous teachers to deliver the content to Indigenous children in bilingual schools. While in the 1990s, these monitors were widely used, they are rarer today in schools in Brazil, since Indigenous teachers hired by states and municipalities have largely replaced the old monitors.[4] This change, celebrated as a breakthrough and a conquest for Indigenous peoples, has not affected all schools in Indigenous territories in the same way. In the case of the bilingual school at Tekoá Marangatu, there are no qualified Indigenous teachers to replace the monitor/non-Indigenous teacher combination. Thus the bilingual monitors Bruno and Fabiano are of extreme importance for the language development of the children, both in the Guarani classes they run and in their facilitation of the comprehension of more general classroom content. Children are therefore given

significant exposure to oral Guarani in the school modelled by the monitors, other adults and their peers.

This study features observations of children from six to ten years old. All children were from the reservation and spoke Guarani as their first language and Portuguese as their second. No non-Indigenous students attend the school. First grade comprised nine students: one boy (Bernardo), and eight girls (Sabrina, Santa, Sielen, Melissa, Juliana, Janaina, Fernanda and Virginia). They met in the afternoons. Six students made up the third grade: three boys (Gabriel, Ricardo and Mateus) and three girls (Anita, Gabriela and Kayane). They met in the mornings. While the sampling was in part determined by the *cacique*'s decision that the research would be limited to these grades, this meant that the study could observe the children in their first years of schooling. This provides a window into these children's early socialization into the schooling structure and the formal learning of Portuguese, as well as into their emergent bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism.

Data Selection and Analysis

The data collection focused on capturing the literacy practices of the children both inside and outside the classroom context. This included:

1. *Fieldnotes*: Detailed fieldnotes were taken on each school visit, encompassing visits to both classrooms three to four times a week over a period of three months. Notes were made about the literacy events and socialization practices in which children spoke both Portuguese and Guarani. The time in the recorder was noted next to each entry to triangulate with the later transcription. The notes were cross-analysed with the lead teacher's daily notes at the end of each day.
2. *Audio and video recordings*: Audio and video recordings of literacy events were made both inside and outside of the classroom setting. The recorder was usually placed on a desk near the researcher. Sometimes one of the children would ask to 'keep' the recorder and thus it was placed on one of their desks instead. Because the intention was to observe children engaged in natural behaviour, they were not usually asked to perform any specific tasks, although sometimes a

teacher would invite them, for example, to tell stories. Occasionally the children also wanted to 'speak to the recorder' in order to tell stories or just to listen to their own voices. Thirty-six audio recordings were collected in the first grade and 41 in the third, totalling about 60 hours of audio recordings. In addition, 25 video recordings were collected, totalling about 35 hours.[5]

3. *Pictures of literacy events and socialization practices*: According to Saville-Troike (2003), physical objects can aid in adding questions: 'Many of the physical objects which are present in a community are also relevant to understanding patterns of communication' (93). Whenever possible, pictures were taken of children's interactions with different texts, with their peers and with the different environments in which these events occurred. Pictures were also taken of children's literacy practices, such as writing and art work. Around 500 photos were taken in this period.

4. *Informal interviews*: To supplement the observations, five informal, audio-recorded interviews were conducted with important knowledge and stakeholders. These included the former and the current *caciques*, who contributed information about the history of the community and the language ideologies that permeate the day-to-day lives of community members. The coordinator of the Guarani language classes and one of the bilingual monitors were also interviewed, both of whom are also fathers of children in the bilingual school. They described how they elaborated instruction in the Guarani language and discussed their language beliefs as parents. The final interview was with the non-Indigenous teacher, Eduarda, who explained her views on language and literacy and how she adapted the classroom for the Indigenous children. These interviews were guided by a basic set of questions but took different directions depending on the participants' individual experiences and interests. Information from these interviews is used throughout the chapter to highlight local views of children's needs and experiences in comparison to what was observed first-hand in the classroom and out in the community.

Data from fieldnotes, transcriptions and photographs were first categorized according to speaker, setting and emergent topics and then anal-

ysed using open coding to find common themes in the realm of the children's bilingual, biliterate or bicultural development and their socialization processes. From the themed transcriptions specific literacy events and socialization practices were selected to compose larger domain clusters (Azuara 2009; Reyes and Azuara 2008; Reyes et al. 2007). These domains (Table 8.1) are composed of literacy events and socialization practices that highlight how language was used for different purposes by the participants in that instance.

Although seven domains were identified, the following were used for data analysis in the broader study: Daily living routines, Values,

Table 8.1 Domains of data analysis

Domain	Description of literacy events and socialization practices
Daily living routines	Practices that are part of the socialization process of Indigenous children in the specific group, e.g., doing chores at home (cooking, washing clothes)
Values	Practices that are part of the cultural values, cosmology and religion of Guarani people, e.g., respect as a core value for the community
Nonmainstream forms of literacy	Literacy practices that involve more than the traditional view of literacy as reading and writing, e.g., dance, art or games
Content teaching through formal or informal instruction	Teaching of language and literacy through direct instruction in all content areas (Portuguese, history, science, geography and math) and in the Guarani language class
Storying	Practices involving the telling of stories, either through reading aloud by the teacher or the children or by oral storytelling
Peer activities	Practices that involved a peer relationship, e.g., modelling by older/younger peers (peer guided) or copying from peers
Translanguaging	Practices where children or adults used their bilingual resources in meaning-making, shaping experiences and gaining understanding and knowledge (Baker 2011). Translanguaging practices may be embedded in and constituted by a range of multimodal symbolic practices (e.g., drawing)

Nonmainstream forms of literacy, Peer activities and Translanguaging. In this chapter, we focus on how first- and third-grade Guarani children engaged in translanguaging and looked to their peers in making the sociolinguistic and sociocultural transition from home to the school context.

Translanguaging and 'Transculturing' in the Classroom

This section presents an overview of different literacy events (Heath 1982) and socialization practices that comprise the bilingual, biliterate and bicultural development of the young Indigenous children at the Tekoá Marangatu bilingual school. Specific examples of socialization practices and literacy events are used in this section to demonstrate how the children were able to navigate different activities and interactions using resources from across their bilingual and bicultural repertoires—in other words, how they engaged in translanguaging as they made sense of the world around them.

Knowledge of Guarani Language and Culture

Children moved easily between the Guarani and non-Guarani knowledge and activities they encountered inside and outside of the classroom, demonstrating their knowledge of culture, values, religion and cosmology.

One morning in the third-grade class, the researcher was told that Anita's father was the **karai** or medicine man. Teacher Eduarda asked out loud what the word **karai** meant. Ricardo and Gabriel discussed among themselves in Guarani, trying to find the meaning of the word in Portuguese. Ricardo suddenly exclaimed: '**karai** – *encima do sol, embaixo de Deus*' ('**karai** – over the sun, under God'). Beyond simply providing a translation equivalent in Portuguese, Ricardo was able to use his bilingual and bicultural resources to communicate the concept of the **karai**.

On another occasion, teacher Eduarda was teaching the first-grade children about legends in Brazilian folklore. When she asked the children if anyone knew what *Boitatá* meant (referring to a mythical snake),

Sabrina replied '*cobra fogo*' ('fire snake', in Portuguese). *Boitatá* is a compound derived from the Guarani words **mboi** 'snake' and **tata** 'fire', and this translation required both an ability to analyse the component meanings of the proper name *Boitatá* in Guarani and some mastery of Portuguese. For a first-grader only recently introduced to Portuguese in the classroom, this demonstrates significant emerging bilingual and biliteracy skills.

Children also made real-life connections to the texts they saw and heard in class. On seeing that the researcher was reading a literacy book about the local Guarani way of life one afternoon, Santa (first grade) asked what it was. The researcher responded, '*eu vou ler sobre o modo de vida Guarani*' ('I am going to read about the Guarani way of life'). Santa responded with, '*eu sou Guarani*' (I am Guarani). Although the exchange was entirely in Portuguese, Santa could unpack what it meant to be Guarani and identify herself with this category.

Throughout the visits to the first-grade classroom, the children would often sit next to the researcher and draw in her notebook if they were done with their activities or wanted to do something else. Once they were finished, the children would be asked what they had drawn, and they used resources from both languages to describe what their drawings represented. A number of children drew water-related images, such as Sabrina's picture of the waterfall, which is located in the heart of the reservation, in Fig. 8.1.[6] In discussing the picture, Sabrina tried to teach the researcher some Guarani words relevant to her story (e.g., **kuaraá** 'sun' and **uirá** 'tree'. She approached this by using the Portuguese syllabic method that she had been exposed to in the classroom (Ferreiro and Teberosky 1982),[7] whereby the teacher would sound out two letters together at a time, as in the example *bola* ('ball'), spelled *bo-la*. When the researcher then tried to say the Guarani words out loud, Sabrina would correct her pronunciation, for example, emphasizing the nasality of **uirá** ('water')—by separating the vowels **ui-rá**—that the researcher's attempt had lacked. This was a source of much amusement for the other children, who would repeat the words and laugh. All recognized that the words were not correct Guarani when pronounced with the researcher's Portuguese phonology. During this exchange, Sabrina demonstrated not only her bilingual knowledge of both Guarani and the Portuguese syllabic
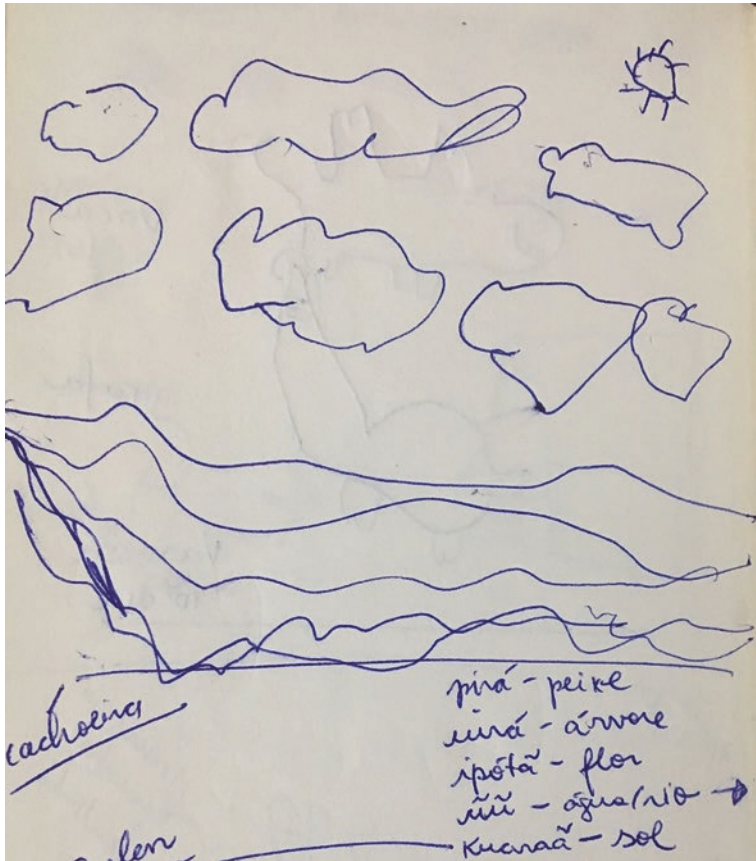
Fig. 8.1 Sabrina's portrait of the waterfall

system but also her bicultural understanding of the position of the researcher as a Portuguese-speaking outsider.

The children's drawings also demonstrated their knowledge of the core socialization activities in their community which scaffold literacy and language development. For example, Janaina's drawings depict scenes in which she and her older brother are playing **toli-toli**, a traditional game (Fig. 8.2) and in which she visits a nearby town (Garopaba) where she had seen the ocean for the first time (Fig. 8.3). A large waterfall runs across the reservation, and the water is used for both practical and
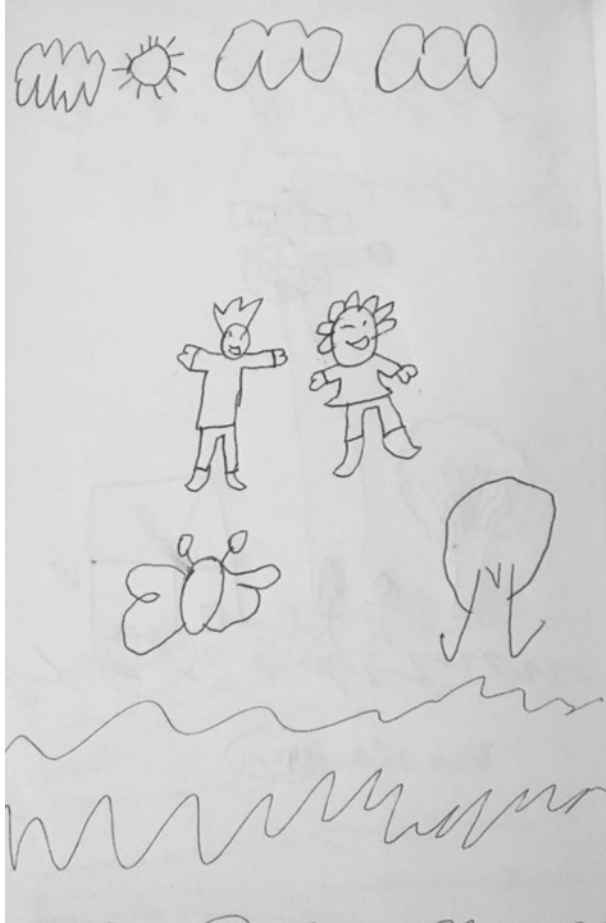
Fig. 8.2 Janaina's drawing of her common play activities at home

recreational purposes. The children go swimming there, especially when it is too hot to do other physical activities. In her discussion of the first picture, Janaina specified that on that particular day it was very **acú** ('hot'), recognizing that activities at the waterfall are weather-dependent in the community. These drawings are examples of home and community socialization activities that the children transformed into forms of literacy and language development on a daily basis during their time at the bilingual school.
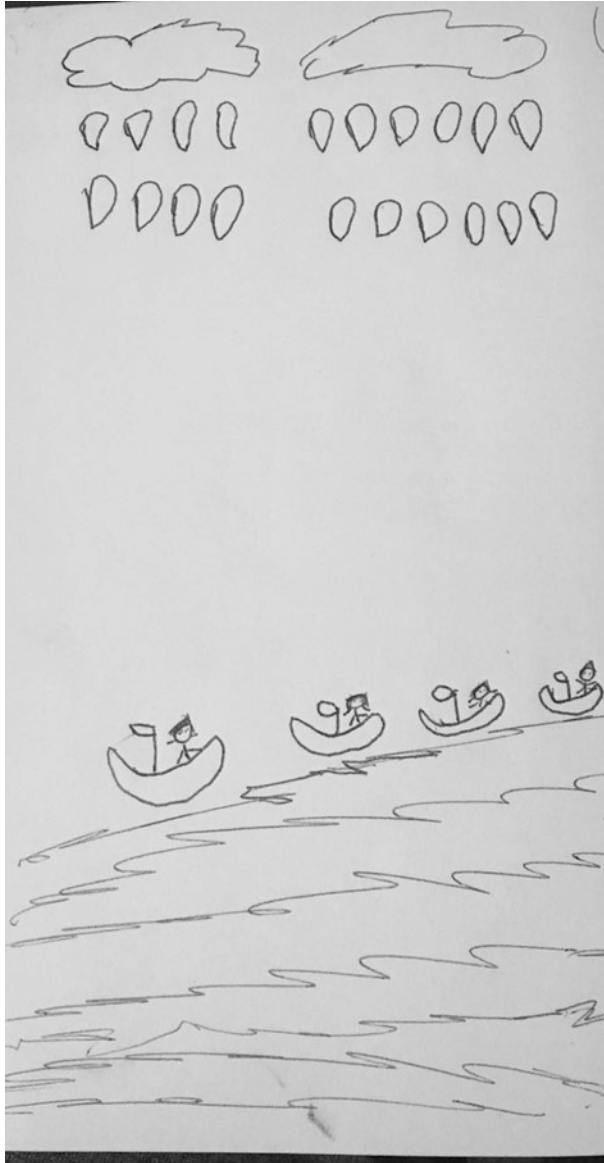
Fig. 8.3 Janaina's drawing of her visit to the ocean with her family

The children in these interactions used their knowledge of Guarani language and culture to facilitate content both for the researcher, their teacher and their peers. These examples support a view of emergent bilingualism and emergent biliteracy that is aided by the bicultural understandings of the children and where children's stories and the dynamics of their cultural, social and institutional environments are intrinsically related to literacy (Moll et al. 2001). While bilingual and biliterate children have access to two linguistic and cultural systems, these children can be said to further 'have access to two different ways of defining and using literacy according to its purposes and context of use' (De la Piedra 2006: 385).

Manipulating Multilingual Repertoires

While interactional turns in the classroom were sometimes either entirely in Portuguese or Guarani, both children and teachers frequently used words and phrases from both languages in clauses otherwise in the other language. These examples fall within the broad set of practices referred to as translanguaging, although they represent particular occasions when resources associated with one code or another give access to distinct ways of making meaning or particular strategies for scaffolding learning. In this way, these examples reflect the benefit of a translanguaging approach for recognizing and valuing the unique possibilities of bilingual students' linguistic and symbolic resources.

In the third- and first-grade classrooms, both the children and the bilingual monitors made use of certain Portuguese words within predominantly Guarani clauses. This was especially frequent in school- or play-related discussions and contributed to making meaning of the classroom context. Typical examples of school-specific vocabulary used include *borracha* ('eraser'), *folhinha* ('worksheet'), *lápis* ('pencil'), *faquinha* ('handmade sharpener'), as well as the names of content areas, like *ciências* ('science') or *língua materna* ('mother tongue').[8] This last phrase was even used by the children during Guarani language classes to refer to their Guarani notebooks. Portuguese vocabulary typically inserted during play included *senha*[9] ('password'), *vendinha* ('small market'), *futebol*

('soccer') and *pega-pega* (tag). There are a number of possible motivations behind the use of these single words or phrases. In many cases, however, they refer to context-specific concepts or concepts related to the dominant 'outside' culture that the children would not likely have encountered at home or around the community, and thus may not know in Guarani.

The children used various strategies to help their peers with the curriculum content at hand, and would frequently rely on Guarani to share knowledge. During a Portuguese grammar class, Sabrina taught Melissa how to write the word '*cuca*' ('head') by saying 'C **a'e gui** U' ('C and U') using the Guarani conjunction, but again drawing on the syllabic method utilized by teacher Eduarda when teaching words in Portuguese.

Third-grade teacher Eduarda also often inserted Guarani words in her Portuguese while teaching. While the role of the Indigenous monitor was in part to interpret her speech for the children, in the third grade, the monitor was often absent and so Eduarda resorted to her limited knowledge of Guarani words to aid the children's understanding. She used **a'e gui** ('and') frequently and said that she had started to use it when she heard monitor Bruno using it with the children. She also used Guarani numerals on occasion, such as in this example where she is providing directions on a spelling test: '*Você vai procurar no texto* **mokôi** *palavras com acento agudo e* **petêi** *palavra com acento circumflexo*' ('You will look for **two** words with acute accent and **one** word with circumflex accent in the text').

The use of Guarani numerals within Portuguese clauses was widely attested among both students and teachers. On one occasion, Melissa said, '*eu errei. Eu não fiz* **petêi** *linha*' ('I did it wrong. I did not leave one line'), using the Guarani word for 'one' while walking away to fetch an eraser. On another occasion, Eduarda was copying a *cantiga* (rhyming song) for the *Festa Junina* (June Festival) on the blackboard while the children painted a worksheet related to the text. She read the text aloud, using the syllabic method to teach how to say each word in Portuguese. Bilingual monitor Bruno explained in Guarani what they were expected to do. When Eduarda asked, '*quantas estrelas temos aqui?*' ('how many stars are there') and Bruno translated into Guarani, some of the children answered, '**petêi pô** *de azul*' ('five blue ones', using the Guarani phrase

for 'five'). A complex and varied set of motivations drive these insertional-type translanguaging practices, with children and teachers skilfully responsive to local contexts and to the linguistic needs and knowledge states of their interlocutors. In all cases, however, the speakers demonstrate the dynamic and strategic use of their bilingual repertoires.

Language Facilitation in the Classroom

We have seen that Eduarda used a small set of Guarani words in order to help children understand the tasks within the classroom. While on occasion this undoubtedly contributed to the children's comprehension, the role of the bilingual monitor was crucial to the development of the children's bilingual skills. The following examples demonstrate some of the different ways that Bruno performed this role in the first-grade classroom.

In the Portuguese class one afternoon, the children undertook an activity in which they had to combine syllables to make up words (e.g., *me-la-do* 'honey', *mo-lha-do* 'wet', *mo-lho* 'sauce'). Sabrina asked Bruno to look at what she was copying to check for accuracy. As Bruno read the words in Portuguese, he intersected them with explanations in Guarani of how to complete the activity. In this way, Sabrina both gained further understanding of the task at hand while also learning the proper pronunciation of the Portuguese words.

Similarly, when Janaina had difficulty in relating a syllable that was being discussed (*mu*) to the written morpheme that included it in a phrase (*mula-sem-cabeça* 'the headless mule'), Bruno and Sabrina combined their efforts to help Janaina better understand. Bruno gave an explanation in oral Guarani, while Sabrina pointed to a syllable 'cheat sheet' hanging above the blackboard and said '*mo-ran-go*' ('strawberry') (i.e., using a different syllable but still exemplifying the connection between the syllabic approach and the word form).

On another occasion, Bruno used the children's Guarani competence to scaffold their acquisition of Portuguese mathematical knowledge. While it was common for teachers and students to use Guarani lexemes to express numerals within Portuguese clauses, the reverse also occurred during a math class. Bruno was helping children individually while they

were doing a math activity where they had to solve addition problems. In this case, he explained the activity using oral Guarani but inserted Portuguese numbers, thus framing the new content in a way that was manageable for the young students. This was just one of numerous examples where Bruno used the children's existing competences, including, importantly, their burgeoning Portuguese vocabulary and grammatical structures, to scaffold their acquisition and learning. Bruno appeared highly sensitive to the children's individual linguistic needs. He saw his role as not simply providing a word-by-word translation of what Eduarda said, but rather as enriching and explaining the content so the children could develop their own linguistic skills, 'because they will know on their own this way' (pers.comm., 1 December 2014).

Discussion

Translanguaging provides a useful reframing of the ways in which bilinguals engage in multiple discursive practices in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds. Crucially, this approach is speaker-centric and predicated not on discrete languages or varieties as has typically been the approach, but rather 'on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable' (García 2009: 44), thus refuting the notion of a 'true' or 'balanced' bilingual (Grosjean 2010; Váldes 2003). Translanguaging also acknowledges that the flexible use of bilingual practices mediates learning for the bilingual learner and challenges the monolingual bias which can view bilingualism and language mixing practices from a deficit perspective (see, e.g., Clyne 2005; García 2009). In this study, children and educators used a range of linguistic and cultural resources in order to understand and communicate the concepts and skills being taught in the classroom.

The translanguaging approach captures the full set of communicative tools that bilinguals have at their disposal to scaffold further learning. This has the potential to enrich our understanding of core constructs such as cross-linguistic transfer, which can be a highly positive developmental learning strategy (e.g., Baker 2011; Cummins 2007) and Vygotsky's 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD) (i.e., 'the distance between the actual developmental level […] and the level of potential

development […] under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky 1978: 86). Of course, if students do not understand the language in which they are being taught, it will be extremely difficult for them to construct meaning and learn effectively. Therefore by making use of the full range of their bilingual meaning-making resources, children are able to expand their thinking and understanding. Teachers and students have the opportunity to build on their strengths and acknowledge the realities and complexities of their own linguistic practices in order to improve teaching and learning.

In this study, drawing proved to be an important activity in connecting the children's broader socialization with their classroom learning and in furthering their literacy and language development. Sabrina and Janaina's images (Figs. 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3) connected to important daily community activities around the waterfall and in the community. In Marqui's (2012) study of another Guarani community school, she argues that these kinds of socialization practices should be seen as their own forms of literacy, and the drawings demonstrate how children use different forms of language and literacy to describe their experiences or 'funds of knowledge' (González et al. 2005). The children translanguaged both through sharing their stories and drawing pictures about their experiences. In this way, drawing may be viewed alongside verbal language as a symbolic medium through which children express themselves and communicate, just one of the 'hundred languages of children' (Edwards et al. 1993), and included in a broad understanding of translanguaging practices. In their stories about the drawings, the children used both their Guarani and their developing Portuguese competence, demonstrating both the use of their entire meaning-making repertoires, as well as their sensitivity to the linguistic needs of individual interlocutors. The children (and teachers) also inserted single words or phrases from Portuguese into predominantly Guarani speech, and vice versa, for a range of strategic and creative reasons. In some cases, the vocabulary was context-specific (school- or play-related) or lacking in an equivalent in the other language, while at other times, the switch was made to scaffold the acquisition of new knowledge and skills (e.g., Bruno's use of Portuguese numerals in math class).

The examples described in this chapter are in line with a view of emergent bilingualism and biliteracy that is bolstered by the bicultural orientations of the children. In De la Piedra's (2006) study, teachers used the syllabic method to teach Spanish to the Indigenous children, and Eduarda used the same method here to teach Portuguese. In both studies, the use of these teaching pedagogies aided in the bilingual/biliterate development of the Indigenous children and provided them with a further tool to communicate their knowledge. First-grader Sabrina taught the researcher, a non-Guarani speaker, how to spell Guarani words through the Portuguese syllabic system, showing not only her bilingual knowledge but also her bicultural understanding of the position of the researcher as an outsider. Pérez and Torres-Guzmán (1996: 54) use the term biliteracy to express 'the acquisition and learning of the decoding and encoding of and around print using two linguistic and cultural systems in order to convey messages in a variety of contexts'. This definition of emergent biliteracy helps us understand the processes young children engage in when learning two languages simultaneously and demonstrate how children like Sabrina can connect to Portuguese text through both oral Portuguese and Guarani in order to make sense of the content at hand.

The data contains various instances of the children being able to explain aspects of Guarani language and culture to the researcher and their non-Indigenous teacher, for example, in the discussions of the **karai** and of *Boitatá*. Compared with earlier generations, these children live in a community which is more strongly dominated by Portuguese influences, and yet they still possess vast knowledge about what it means to be Guarani and can make use of that knowledge in different ways in the classroom setting. In these examples, the children showed their rich bicultural knowledge by being able to both translate the literal meanings of the words as well as communicate their cultural significance. They used resources from both languages and drew on their own funds of knowledge (González et al. 2005) to act as agents in their own learning development (see, e.g., Marqui 2012; Tassinari 2011). These examples demonstrate the process of becoming bicultural (Nicholas 2009) as the children develop their emergent bilingual competencies (Reyes 2006).

The Role of the School and the Bilingual Monitor

Schooling is a significant part of what Indigenous scholars in the USA and in Brazil have been trying to contextualize in the face of years of colonization. Understanding the role that the bilingual school plays in the Tekoá Marangatu community was a key aspect of this study. As a political construct, everything that happened in the community had to go through the school, where the *cacique* spent most of his day as part of the administration. The bilingual school has brought many mainstream practices into the reservation, and the presence of non-Indigenous teachers is one of them. These non-Indigenous teachers are considered outsiders to the community, even though some of them have been working at the school for more than eight years. All of these individuals—the bilingual monitors, the elders who work on the community committee, the non-Indigenous teachers, the *cacique*, the non-Indigenous principal and so on—contribute to a complex set of conflicting influences on how the bilingual school is preparing the children to become competent bilingual, biliterate and bicultural citizens of their community.

We have seen several examples of the ways in which the bilingual monitor, Bruno, translanguaged skilfully in order to help children in the first grade understand the mainstream curriculum content. In discussion with the researcher, Bruno commented on his dynamic role as bilingual monitor, which was influenced by his own experiences of growing up bilingually and attending school as an Indigenous student:

> Yes, I work this way [i.e. not just providing translations of the teacher's speech], because it is not good that the teacher says something and I translate word by word, share everything she says, because this way I will already be helping them learn faster then it is best to only explain because they will know on their own this way. […] I learned on my own. […] It's because when I was, when I studied there in Rio Grande do Sul [as a child], there was no interpreter and it was all non-Indigenous. And because I did not know [much Portuguese], I had to think, think. Then I would ask the teacher only once [if I was correct]. He did not say word by word. Then I was thinking, thinking, and then I learned. (pers.comm., 1 December 2014)

There are a number of layers in this excerpt. Bruno used multiple ways of understanding the context around him as a child at school since his teachers were all non-Indigenous. He learned how to better translate from one language to the other by thinking deeply about the concepts he was being taught, and he has used this strategy (i.e., explaining through the way that children think) to help the first-graders understand the content both in Portuguese and math classes. Although Bruno has an explicit strategy in teaching the children, the monitors at the bilingual school do not receive any formal training in pedagogical practices regarding the bilingual and biliterate development of the children. While Bruno participated and engaged the children in learning both languages in the first grade, in the third grade, the children were much less supported in this way and commonly did not receive even basic language interpretation.

The disparity between the approaches taken by the educators and monitors points to a lack of training by local supervisors and also a lack of instruction from federal authorities. The processes of teaching and learning, core precepts of the new national Indigenous education policy, have proven to be the most difficult to incorporate into local school experiences (Marqui 2012).

In general, there is a need for more research and better understandings of how teaching and learning can emphasize and support different cultural ways of being, especially with regard to Indigenous groups (Seeger et al. 1979). The problem is compounded by the fact that pedagogical materials are designed in and for mainstream schools, which are typically Western and urban and which cater to a 'literate' (narrowly-defined) audience (Marqui 2012; Sobrinho 2010). An effective approach to Indigenous education must take into account the fact that these children already possess the resources to become competent bicultural individuals and build on their existing strengths (González et al. 2005) rather than separating teaching and learning into 'mainstream' or 'Indigenous' dichotomies.

The findings of this research support the view that Indigenous ways of being and living are an integral part of these children's learning processes and that they should not be left out of the discussion of children's (bi) lingual, (bi)literate and (bi)cultural development. The findings are less clear, however, on whether the bilingual school in Tekoá Marangatu fully

supports this development. Bruno, both as a member of the community and as a bilingual monitor, used the resources he had access to in supporting the children's learning. Teacher Eduarda also used strategies that allowed the children to use multiple modes of literacy and language practices in the classroom, but she still struggled with having to follow a mandated mainstream curriculum. Similar situations were recounted in studies by Sobrinho (2010) and Marqui (2012).

Conclusion

While it is broadly accepted that literacy development starts before schooling in literate societies (Ferreiro and Teberosky 1982; Goodman 1986, 1996), this assertion is still fragmented and limited in relation to young emergent bilingual Indigenous children. We still know little about how literacy develops for this specific population of children. This research supports the findings of other studies that describe Indigenous communities in Brazil as primarily oral societies; however, it also supports the view that young, Indigenous children are emergent bilingual and biliterate individuals. In this study, the children drew on their Guarani language skills, cultural knowledge and identity to learn in the context of a mainstream classroom and school.

The *modo de ser e viver* (way of being and living) in this Indigenous community was intrinsically linked to how community members connected with Guarani identity and how they have adapted to the ways of living on the reservation. 'Being Guarani' has many facets—including religion, ways of thinking and cosmology—and the children in this study reflected their own identities as Guarani through different linguistic choices and practices.

The role of peer interactions was crucial in the bilingual and biliterate development of the children. Modelling occurred in both younger-older peer interactions and in adult-child interactions, as children acted as 'mediators of literacy' (De la Piedra and Romo 2003). Siblings in this community also acted as mediators of literacy. Children took on the role of teachers by teaching and showing their peers how to do specific activities in school-related practices. These activities included learning language

and literacy-related content through formal and informal activities, often scaffolded through translanguaging practices.

In *Honoring Our Own: Rethinking Indigenous Languages and Literacy*, Romero-Little comments:

> Today Indigenous peoples worldwide are deconstructing Western paradigms, including the classic constructs of literacy connected to alphabet systems, and articulating and constructing their own distinct paradigms based on Indigenous epistemologies and rooted in self-determination and social justice'. (2004: 399)

While Kaiagang's quote in the introduction highlights the foreign nature of mainstream schooling, this chapter has demonstrated that Guarani children shape that structure in their own ways. Despite the power and influence of the dominant Portuguese society and schooling system, this Mbya Guarani community maintains and asserts its distinct cultural and linguistic heritage and unique literacy practices, even among the youngest generations in the community in the early days of their classroom experience. If fostered, the Guarani language can take a much larger role within the school context and thus further these children's development. There are many ways in which teachers and other stakeholders can work towards accomplishing this goal, but developing training for classroom bilingual monitors is a crucial first step in helping children become bilingual, biliterate and bicultural individuals in their Indigenous communities.

Notes

1. To distinguish the Portuguese and Guarani languages, Portuguese words will be italicized while Guarani words will be represented in bold type. Proper nouns will be excluded from this practice.
2. This number reflects students enrolled from first through eighth grade, excluding high school and adult education.
3. Teachers' and children's names are pseudonyms to protect their identity. The names of the Indigenous teacher Eduardo, the chief and the school principal were not changed to give them voice in the process of writing.

4. In order to teach at public and private schools in Brazil, teachers need to have completed an undergraduate degree. Thus, Indigenous monitors (without degrees) are only allowed to be in classrooms if accompanied by a lead teacher (with a degree). When these monitors receive their degrees, they become Indigenous teachers, thus replacing the combination of lead teacher plus monitor.

5. Project data and documents are archived at the University of Arizona, College of Education.

6. The words written on the image are the researcher's—they are keywords from the children's stories in Guarani and Portuguese.

7. As children construct their own hypotheses or theories about writing, they go through a stage called the 'syllabic period' (Ferreiro and Teberosky 1982). According to Ferreiro and Teberosky's constructivist perspective, children start to understand that writing stands for language, and thus they start to represent the syllable. During this period, 'the child will come to … the syllabic hypothesis, according to which every written letter corresponds to a syllable of the word' (Ferreiro 1983: 287). In order to spell a word, a child will count the number of syllables in a word and then write as many letters as there are syllables.

8. We do not discuss here whether these kinds of practices should rightly be considered as borrowings rather than more flexible code-switches or translanguaging. See, e.g., Lipski (2005), Pfaff (1979) and Poplack (1988) for discussion.

9. During playtime in the classroom, the boys and girls from third grade were constantly playing *vendinha* ('small market'). *Vendinha* is what the community calls the small market located at the entrance of the reservation. Going to the store is a daily activity for the children and part of their socialization practices into the trade world. The word *senha* ('password') was used when they needed to use a credit card to make their purchase or to access the computer to enter a purchase.

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Part III

Contact Languages

9

Dangerous Conversations: Teacher-Student Interactions with Unidentified English Language Learners

Denise Angelo and Catherine Hudson

Introduction

Classroom teachers direct and manage highly complex, multi-layered social contexts for the benefit of their students' learning. Language is one important element of the diversity which each of the 25 or so young individuals might introduce into Early Childhood classroom settings (Preparatory Year (Prep) to Year 3) in terms of their language backgrounds and proficiencies, including in Standard Australian English (SAE). However, in English-medium classrooms, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) students who speak an English-lexified contact language are often not visible to their teachers as second language (L2) learners of SAE (Angelo 2013; Angelo and Carter 2015). This factor can profoundly affect students' classroom learning experiences by its cumulative impact: if L2 learner characteristics go unrecognised, L2 learning needs go unaddressed, which in turn disrupts L2 learners' uptake of

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classroom curriculum. Classroom "insufficiencies" are perpetuated when "mainstream" classroom curriculum, pedagogy and assessment are delivered to L2 language learners without differentiation, as though such learners were in fact first language (L1) SAE speakers with full, age-appropriate fluency in SAE.

In this chapter, we provide an analysis of a teacher-student interaction which was undertaken to assess a classroom topic taught in Prep, the first formal year of schooling. This analysis is accompanied by a rich description of the multiple layers of contextual "invisibilities" surrounding the interaction in order to show how little substantial information exists to guide teachers in settings that are (unbeknownst to them) linguistically complex. Some of this information gap remains to be filled by linguists whose training actually endows them with language analysis skills, so we can see how this situation poses significant challenges for generalist teachers regardless of their years of teaching experience. Through our analysis of the one-to-one interaction, we reveal how the student's L2 learning trajectory might be far from clear from the classroom teacher's perspective and that evidence of student curriculum learning, at least of an expected kind, is not forthcoming. As we will see, there is little in the interaction that necessarily alerts a (non-specialist) teacher that the child is not a poor learner but actually a speaker of an English-lexified contact language and only at an early stage of acquiring Standard Australian English, the medium of classroom instruction. This research therefore casts light on how, even in Prep, the first year of school for children turning five, a teacher's perception of a student's uptake and/or demonstration of classroom curriculum learning can be influenced by what the student is able to produce orally about classroom topics. As identification and assessment of English language learning needs often default to non-specialist classroom teachers who are tasked with differentiating pedagogy for their students' benefit, the situation revealed in this chapter has significant policy and classroom ramifications in the many areas where English-lexified contact languages are now spoken. In the first section of this chapter, we describe the linguistic and educational research context in which the interaction takes place, and this is followed by the interactional analysis and discussion.

The Research

Yet Another Look at "Invisibility"

This chapter seeks to add to the research a description of a further aspect of the invisibility which shrouds schooling for Indigenous students with "English-lexified contact languages". English-lexified contact languages are relative newcomers to Indigenous Australian language ecologies: they are called "contact languages" as they have arisen through sociolinguistic processes associated with language contact, shift and loss caused by colonial disruption of existing Indigenous language ecologies. They are "English-lexified" because most of the lexical forms (vocabulary) are historically derived from English, whereas the bulk of the rest of the language system is not: phonology (sounds), semantics (meanings), syntax (structures) and pragmatics (usages). Sellwood and Angelo (2013) have illustrated how multiple factors serve to reinforce the invisibility of such English-lexified varieties. Their actual linguistic make-up, namely, their English-related lexicon, can work to obscure their fundamental differences from English and from each other. Furthermore, Sellwood, herself a speaker of Yumplatok, the English-lexified contact language spoken in the Torres Strait and diaspora communities, explains that she was an invisible L2 learner for her teachers which gave her a poor self-image regarding her own academic abilities. We seek to show why a classroom teacher might not recognise either linguistic signs or the behaviours of students such as Sellwood to be indicative of L2 learners and/or understand how this manifests in ramifications for classroom learning. A number of studies demonstrate how obtaining and interpreting information about English-lexified contact languages is problematic for existing national Census and state school systems (e.g. Angelo 2013; Angelo and McIntosh 2014; Dixon and Angelo 2014). Indeed, some teacher guidance documents acknowledge this possible lack of demographic data for L2 learner identification purposes (namely, that this learner cohort will generally not be identified by their language background on enrolment) and propose the alternate identification pathway of classroom-based assessment (Department of Education Training and Employment

(DETE Qld) 2013). However, the L2 learning trajectories of this learner group in mainstream curriculum contexts are far from fully understood (see, e.g. Dixon 2012), adding further layers of complexity to this "invisibility". These complexities notwithstanding, classroom teachers are expected to shoulder the responsibility for identifying, assessing and successfully teaching these students.

The Project

The interview data presented in this chapter comes from a semi-rural, Far North Queensland school where Indigenous students comprise about a third of the school population. The teacher-student interaction was recorded under the auspices of *Bridging the Language Gap*, a project in which the authors were part of the delivery team. This statewide, cross-sector project conducted in 87 State and Catholic schools developed teacher capacity and conducted research on identifying, assessing and teaching Indigenous learners of English as an Additional Language/Dialect (EAL/D). Amongst other project activities in school classrooms, teachers recorded their discussions with individual students about a current classroom topic, serving the purpose of assessing student learning as well as providing material for later professional development discussions with a staff member responsible for mentoring them about English language learners. The early childhood trained teacher in this study, a mature age graduate still early in her teaching career, was in the beginning stages of the in-school coaching and professional development as part of the project. The young Aboriginal student, who speaks with his teacher in the interview, is in the authors' assessment at an early level of (Standard Australian) English, speaks an unnamed and un-researched English-lexified contact language and, on enrolment, was not identified as an EAL/D learner and has therefore not been assessed with an EAL/D proficiency tool. The interview is conducted primarily on the topic of Safety, an early years curriculum topic, which has been the focus in this Prep classroom for several weeks.

Harnessing the One-to-One Interaction

This chapter follows in the footsteps of "The Silence of the Frogs" (Moses and Wigglesworth 2008), a study based on a transcript of teacher-pupil interaction that adds a rare linguistic and paralinguistic focus to earlier studies illustrating communication breakdown in Aboriginal classrooms (see, e.g. Christie 1985; Harris 1984). Moses and Wigglesworth carry out a close analysis of whole class "dysfunctional" discourse in an English-only classroom of Kriol-speaking students. In that situation, the standard Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) classroom exchange structure (initiation by teacher, response by students, feedback by teacher) does not hold, which leads the authors to focus on the need for comprehensive training to assist the teacher in understanding her students as L2 learners and in using appropriate cultural models of classroom interaction. The present study adds another linguistic study of a transcript to classroom research, but in a one-to-one teacher-student interaction, rather than a teacher-class group interaction. This removes the (cultural) group dynamic focus which in general is accompanied by a cultural educational interpretation. A close analysis of a one-to-one interaction changes the focus and enables an examination of the complexities of an L2 language learning situation where standard L2 theory, tools and training are generally not tailored to the needs of speakers of unacknowledged-undescribed-unnamed contact languages, where language assessment issues of identification and classification are complexified for teachers and where, whatever their L2 proficiency level, students are taught the mainstream curriculum by generalist classroom teachers and assessed according to their year level. This situation is made even more pedagogically difficult because students with the language background of an English-lexified contact language may constitute only a proportion of the students in the class, as is the case in the interaction analysed in this chapter.

Constructions of Aboriginal Students in the Classroom

Additionally, in this study the young Aboriginal student with an English-lexified contact language background does not fit with some generalisations

about Aboriginal school learners (such as cultural use of silence, aversion to direct questions, avoiding eye contact), and this further enables a focus on the role of language in the interaction. The student here initiates questions and engages in this curriculum assessment conversation whole-heartedly for the entire time, even taking the lead at some points. As his behaviour does not automatically invoke *over-generalised* accounts of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal styles of interaction and learning, cultural behaviours can be put to one side as an explanation for the difficulties encountered in this interaction. This is perhaps timely. Moses and Yallop (2008, p. 31) note the ethnographic accounts of Philips (1972) and others of the 'silent' Indian child and non-Indian teacher exchange strategies and the subsequent construction in Australia of the non-verbal Aboriginal learner (Christie 1985; Harris 1984; Nichol 2005), a construction that was promulgated in education training materials, including a cultural aversion to direct questions, which are a characteristic component of Australian classroom teaching routines. The Moses and Yallop (2008) and Moses (2009) studies of preschool age Aboriginal children and their caregivers find no evidence to support the notion that Aboriginal people feel little obligation to answer questions. Rendle-Short and Moses (2010) found that *between children* the requester expected a response. Gardner (2010) found that *between adults* questions usually received a response. The samples are small, but they raise the tendency to overgeneralise findings about Aboriginal learners *en masse* as learners who all share particular (and "other") behaviours. This can obscure the fact that there are differences between Aboriginal students who speak English and those who do not.

New Contact Languages and the Local Language Ecology

Standard Australian English is the official medium of instruction in Queensland, but this is not necessarily a language spoken proficiently by all Indigenous children on starting school (Angelo and Carter 2015). The language ecologies of many Indigenous families and communities in this

state are nowadays dominated by English-lexified contact languages, a "langscape" yet to be thoroughly explored by linguists (see Angelo 2013; Hudson and Angelo 2014). In these language ecologies, it has been shown that "who speaks what" is not always easily accessible (Angelo and McIntosh 2014; Dixon and Angelo 2014), so information about students' language backgrounds is not at teachers' finger tips, and they are not alerted to students' possible L2 learner status through such simple mechanisms. The situation in the semi-rural town of Far North Queensland where our classroom interaction takes place is not straightforward, and this is fairly typical of Queensland's post-contact language ecologies. The present day Indigenous "community" (not a unitary category) consists of people affiliating as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander from a wide range of backgrounds: Some Indigenous residents have traditional local or regional connections, while others who hail from further afield may be recent arrivals or may have long-term historical associations with the area. Many locally affiliated Indigenous people here have strong links with the local mission and/or other nearby missions, but some do not. Of those who do, many lived under state control until the 1970s, but some families met requirements to live outside missions, thereby being exposed to more assimilatory pressures over more generations (see Angelo and Carter 2015 for an overview). Although traditional languages are no longer learnt as first languages by children here, nor spoken regularly amongst Indigenous residents, efforts have been directed to the revitalisation of the local traditional Aboriginal language. From a local Indigenous point of view, requesting "language background" information would imply traditional languages such as this. There is no simple way of knowing, at this stage, what language varieties are spoken in the community, such as by asking locals, checking a reference book or going online. However, on the basis of ongoing community consultations here and in similar situations, we can say that various lects are likely to be represented, resulting from language contact and language shift processes. School or national Census data provide little clarification, and so, by default, here as elsewhere in most of the country, classroom teachers, local Indigenous staff and their students might be the only researchers into local vernaculars.

Great Expectations: Current Developments in Educational Policy

Classroom Teaching and the Role of Language

According to the national Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) 2011), the central tenet of classroom teacher Professional Knowledge (Standards 1 and 2) is to convey curriculum content concepts, skills and behaviours through appropriate, differentiated and meaningful teaching strategies. To accomplish this, generalist classroom teachers are "expected" to be alert to, amongst many other learner attributes, students' linguistic backgrounds, their levels of (standard) English acquisition and suitable pedagogical responses. At the state level, where school policy and curriculum implementation occurs, there are now general statements about Indigenous language ecologies (Department of Education Training and Employment (DETE Qld) 2011) and about Indigenous students amongst other ethno-cultural groups as possible L2 English learners (Education Queensland (EQ) 2002). EAL/D assessment documents are also available (Department of Education Training and Employment (DETE Qld) 2013). Despite such awareness and expectations about recognising and responding to Indigenous L2 English learners, the current education context only sporadically recognises English language (as separate from literacy) as a medium of instruction, engagement and performance (Angelo 2013; McIntosh et al. 2012). Pro-language messages (e.g. EAL/D proficiency levels, complex contact language backgrounds) are sporadic and inconsistent in the schooling domain and are overwhelmed by the unremitting cascade of non-language messages (e.g. phonics teaching, sight words, reading levels). The result is that, for schools and teachers, language-oriented processes can be less visible, seem of less importance and/or appear problematic or in conflict with other accountabilities (e.g. attendance, performance in National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN)), which impedes their uptake into this professional community of practice (Dixon and Angelo 2014; Sellwood and Angelo 2013).

Prep Curriculum

The Queensland Early Years Curriculum (Queensland Studies Authority (QSA) 2006) used in Prep and for the subject area in this study, like all other Australian and Queensland curriculum documents, is written for English-speaking teachers to deliver to English-speaking children. It acknowledges student diversity, including their language backgrounds (p. 2), but proffers no specific guidance about their L2 learning profiles and meeting their L2 learning needs. Teachers are encouraged to track student development and curriculum learning by maintaining a student folio which includes observations, notes from conversations, images, recordings and so on. Teachers are not encouraged to develop specific assessment tasks but rather to harvest the learning context and interactions for assessment purposes (p. 85). The conceptual framework which assists teachers to assess student achievement directs them to consider the generality of student understandings (as opposed to purely personal responses), the support needed to engage with knowledge and the application of knowledge in different contexts (p. 87). On the topic of Safety, in the *Health and physical learning* strand about *Making healthy choices* (the topic of the assessment interaction in this study), the learning statement reads: "Children build a sense of wellbeing by making choices about their own and others' health and safety with increasing independence" (p. 64). Each learning statement has suggestions for planning and interacting. All of these curriculum requirements and advices have been followed by the teacher in this interaction.

The Interaction

Setting

A recorded and transcribed teacher-student interaction provides the data for illustrating our contention that assessment conversations about classroom topics might not entirely satisfy curriculum expectations nor clearly establish a student's L2 language learner needs. The approximately seven-minute audio recording about the current classroom topic, Safety,

was made by the Prep teacher herself with an Aboriginal student in the classroom before school. Harnessing out-of-classroom time is a normal part of teaching in primary schools, and the timing of this interaction doubtless contributed to the teacher and student not being interrupted or distracted by others. The interview was an informal assessment of the kind often conducted in Prep, closely matching curriculum advice. The teacher aimed to assess the extent to which the student had understood the curriculum topic, not to assess the student's language capacity for conveying this understanding. The interaction took place after six weeks of (daily) class-directed and child-generated play-based work which revolved around revisiting a text enjoyed by the children to discuss, depict and enact Safety scenarios suggested through this text (e.g. at the beach, a fire, crossing the road, a storm aftermath etc.).

Steps

This particular one-on-one, teacher-student assessment interaction was selected as it unequivocally demonstrates the engagement of both teacher and student in a "conversation enterprise". It reveals outgoing people, who are well-disposed to each other, who know each other in school and out in the community, feel comfortable and swap lead roles in the conversation. It encourages a reading that goes to the language quotient of the interaction, rather than a reliance on received wisdom about Aboriginal education and student/teacher power relationships, issues of identity, cross-cultural dynamics and perceptions of quietness or shyness, discourse and pragmatic differences such as question asking and so on. Once selected, the entire interaction was closely transcribed and timed, with pauses (of 0.02 seconds and over) noted and employed as a basis for dividing each participant's turn into units, which were then numbered. Substitutions have been made for personal and other identifying information. Next, the interaction was divided into stages characterised by topic, which are switched via "transitions", usually, but not always, teacher initiated (see Table 9.1 for an overview of the entire interaction). The conversational moves within these stages were then examined to explore the cause and effect sequences in conversation and the factors

Table 9.1 Overview of teacher-student interaction

Stage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Curriculum	n/a	S says "about safe" & T prompts for more	S gives book information not safety statements	S saw lifesaver boat save someone; not explicitly linked to safety	S uses book & holiday content; final safety comment is from T	S names & models floating devices (noodle, surfboard)	S answers all questions, not directly asked about safety & doesn't proffer this	S answers all questions, incl. naming emergency services & potential victims in picture
Context	Items on Ts desk	"Classroom topic" (no concrete items involved))	Class book	Class book & S's own experiences	Class book & S's own experiences	Shared local knowledge & mime	Class book	Class book
Content	Elicits name, purpose or comment	Seeks class topic & asks for elaboration	Asks S to recall book character's words & to name "life savers"	Asks S what he saw at the beach in the holidays	How lifesaver boats operate (in book & in S's experience in the holidays)	S explains swimming (safely?) at the local river	Has S describe "lollipop" man, his job & other activities on page	Elicits nature of event, services on site & fate of people on page
Lead	S	T	T	T	T (at first), then S	T (at first), then S	T mostly	T mostly
Mode	Question & answer	Question & answer with probe	Question & answer	Question & answer	Question & answer, with short retell in the middle	Question & answer & acting	Question & answer	Question & answer; S also makes comments & clarifies
Transition	T laughs & says S's name	T affirming & moves to class book	T prompts S about holiday trip to beach	T uses fillers: unclear what S's statements mean	S asserts he hasn't ever got drowned, switching topics	T praises S's efforts	T turns to another page	School bell rings & other students enter room

Key: T: Teacher, S: Student

that characterise each, promoting or preventing it. A constant through-out our exploration was maintaining the visibility of the classroom teaching and learning context, and the curriculum assessment intent of the interaction. From this focus on whether the teacher herself would believe that the student had met the curriculum assessment during this interaction, we found the following five interactional framings to be a useful initial analytical guide:

- *Curriculum Assessment.* The teacher's purpose of curriculum assessment is repeatedly attempted during this conversation. She attempts to provide opportunities for the student to express the concepts she has in

mind and which from her perspective have been taught and practised, both formally and in play contexts.

- *Context*. The items under discussion are either concrete and, in the here and now, less immediate but shared (such as taught classroom concepts, community-based experiences etc.), or else more removed, such as (non-shared) holiday experiences.
- *Content conveyed*. The nature and extent of the information exchanged ranges from brief labels, reproducing classroom safety messages, describing the appearance of a book character, to (attempts at) explaining a beach incident.
- *Conversational lead*. The participant who "leads", perhaps by asking a question, establishes the current topic. Generally, when the teacher leads, the student (eventually) flounders, vice versa when the student leads.
- *Conversation mode*. These conversational moves are typified by question and answer, brief recounts/descriptions and comment, repairs or feedback. Note that this is not equivalent to the Question/Answer/Feedback of classroom exchange structure (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), which is not apt here as this conversation is not particularly successful at requesting and delivering classroom curriculum knowledge. However, politeness and encouragement strategies figure prominently here and are expected behaviours associated with early childhood teacher behaviour (Brown and Levinson 1978; drawn on by White 1989).

Three extracts from the interview which occur sequentially, though not in direct succession, have been selected for in-depth discussion here (see Table 9.1, Stages 1, 2 and 4).

Dangerous Conversations about Safety

Whadda You Call with That? (Excerpt from Stage 1)

This stage concerns concrete items in the shared visual field of the participants. It sets a conversational tone where the student actively leads. Such an exchange disrupts preconceptions of standard teacher-student conversational relationships where a teacher generally fires the questions, not

the student. This provides some evidence that the student has an easy relationship with the teacher. It also shows the student to be inquisitive, animated and highly observant. He initiates questions about the teacher's old phone, the newly appeared microscope and the purpose of a pack of drinks. This stage of the interaction is supported by the "here and now" of the speech context, where the questions and answers are in reference to what both can see. In this context, the student's non-SAE features do not disturb the interaction. We can imagine, from the point of view of the teacher wishing to discuss and assess curriculum content, that this would be perceived as a good start with communication proceeding well, although not yet about the classroom topic, Safety.

Whadda you call that? (stage 1 excerpt)

T.1   -1 This is that special… (0.46)
        -2 Ummm (0.03)

S.2   -1 Whadda you call with that? (0.04)

T.3   -1 Oh, I got it the other day. (0.87)

S.4   -1 Where, where you ol phone? (0.15)

T.5   -1 Oh, I've still got that. (0.04)

S.6   -1 What is [whorriz] that? (0.25)

T.7   -1 Don't, that- (0.14)
        -2 Oooh that's special! (0.89)
        -3 THAT IS a microscope. (0.02)
        -4 We'll get that out soon. (0.24)
        -5 Would-ya like that? (0.8)
        -6 So that, I'll teach you what it does, I'll show you. (0.97)

S.8   -1 Ay, what is alla sofdrink- (0.27)
        -2 -drink- (0.91)
        -3 - for? (0.33)

Transition 1

T.9   -1 [Laughter, deep breath] (0.03)
        -2 Colin-

S.10   -1 Ay, whad is this for? (0.77)

At the morpho-syntactic level of this interchange, however, there are clues that for the student, there are interacting systems of language at play and that SAE is not what the child is generally speaking, as in Example 1 below. While "whadda" could be the same as the rapid, informal speech pronunciation that SAE speakers often produce, as indeed the teacher does in the next extract (Example 5), "with" is definitely non-standard. Possible SAE templates for "Whadda you call with that?" in SAE would be "What do you call that?" or "Who do you call with that?" Neither matches the student's output.

> S2   -1 Whadda you call with that? (0.04)

Example 1 (from stage 1 box above)

Example 2 from the same exchange provides another of these morpho-syntactic clues.

> S4   -1 Where, where you ol phone? (0.15)

Example 2 (from stage 1 box above)

The false start tells us nothing, as natural speech is full of such repetitions. However, again at the morpho-syntactic level, the copula "is" and the possessive form "your" which occur in the SAE template, "Where is [or: where's] your old phone?", are not present in the student's utterance. Given that communication has proceeded successfully in this face-to-face, shared context, it is unlikely that the teacher would be particularly alert to small spoken morpho-syntactic differences. The speed of her responses indicates no significant problems on her part. The student continues, but with just a couple of minutes before school starts, the teacher segues to the classroom topic. As a chatty conversational exchange about visible items, stage 1 works, with information cheerfully sought and given. Using the student's name (anonymised here) and a slightly more serious tone of voice (T9.2), the teacher

indicates her intention to proceed to more weighty matters: her curriculum assessment.

Stay Way from Fire? (Excerpt from Stage 2)

This second extract provides such a marked contrast to stage 1, that the entire stage 2 interaction is reproduced here, bar the transition at the end. The teacher appears to proceed with the conversation according to an "implicit language assessment" of the student's general communicative abilities, believing she will have the same easy time asking the student about the classroom topic as in the foregoing interaction (i.e. stage 1). It seems that she receives no alerts about the need to approach this in any way other than to continue in this chatty question and answer mode, precisely as the Prep curriculum encourages Early Childhood Educators to do, an approach that works, by and large, for L1 English speakers.

Stay way from fire. **(stage 2 excerpt)**

T.11	-1	Colin… (0.9)
	-2	What I would like you -love you to do: (0.02)
	-3	Can you tell me some- some things about what we are learning? Can you tell me-
S.12	-1	We learn about safe. (0.22)
T.13	-1	We're learning about safe. (0.05)
	-2	Whadda-you know about safe? (0.85)
S.14	-1	Stay away from da fire. (0.02)
T.15	-1	Awww, YOU are very good! (0.03)
	-2	That's right: Stay away from the fire. (0.34)
	-3	What else are we learning? (0.07)
	-4	What else do we know about the- (0.57)
	-5	Fire and what about BEING safe? (0.53)
S.16	-1	Uummm, ooom, ooom, oom, oom, owww [singing slightly] (4.14)
	-2	Stay way from fire? (0.17)

In Example 3, the teacher asks the student directly about what they have been learning in class, obviously expecting that he can answer this question.

> T.11 -3 Can you tell me some- some things about what we are learning? Can you tell me-

Example 3 (from stage 2 box above)

The student, with the appearance of confidence and excitement to demonstrate his classroom learning, interrupts his teacher with the immediate response shown in Example 4:

> S.12 -1 We learn about safe. (0.22)

Example 4 (from stage 2 box above)

In Example 5, the teacher confirms the student's response by repeating it. She then makes a request for an expansion, respectfully utilising his own wording "safe", rather than the derived nominal "safety" that would be the more common in this sentence template:

> T.13 -1 We're learning about safe. (0.05)
>   -2 Whadda-you know about safe? (0.85)

Example 5 (from stage 2 box above)

The student responds again, less rapidly than before, with a different and—it would be fair to say—somewhat unexpected response:

> S.14 -1 Stay away from da fire. (0.02)

Example 6 (from stage 2 box above)

As we can see in Example 7 (T.15 1-2), the teacher positively acknowledges this response from the student, but it is not what she is looking for.

In response to her general question, she was not seeking a practised safety message for a specific context (e.g. somebody in unsafe proximity to a fire), although the class had indeed practised giving many "safety messages" for dangerous scenarios. The teacher makes affirming comments (T.15 1-2), then attempts to get a more general response (T.15 3-5). She is trying to steer the student to talk about the general area of instruction, bridging from the fire to "BEING safe", indicating a hierarchy of importance to the general idea of "safe" rather than to "fire". At some level, the teacher is beginning to respond to the fact that this interaction is not proceeding in the manner she had expected: She softens the "know" question by eschewing the direct form of address "you" (see T.13 -2 from Example 5) and using a more distributed "we" (T.15 -4), possibly for face saving purposes.

> T.15 -1 Awww, YOU are very good! (0.03)
>   -2 That's right: Stay away from the fire. (0.34)
>   -3 What else are we learning? (0.07)
>   -4 What else do we know about the- (0.57)
>   -5 Fire and what about BEING safe? (0.53)

Example 7 (from stage 2 box above)

There is a huge pause of over 4 seconds following the teacher's reoriented request in the last lines of Example 7 above. Example 8 shows how the student is now not so sure, but the teacher waits for him. He eventually tries again (S.16 -2), reusing the pre-packaged message produced before (cf. Example 6), but with question intonation to indicate his uncertainty. His response, though repeated and formulaic, is also slightly less SAE-like than in Example 6.

> S.16 -1 Uummm, ooom, oooom, oom, oom, owww [singing slightly] (4.14)
>   -2 Stay way from fire? (0.17)

Example 8 (from stage 2 box above)

The teacher affirms the student's response and then shifts to using the familiar class book on safety or student's own lived experiences for the

remainder of the interaction (see Table 9.1). This move appears to reflect a realisation on the part of the teacher that the student's repeated answer indicates a limit of some kind has been reached. However, it is again doubtful that the teacher would recognise that a few rather small morpho-syntactic clues could be indicative of a big language difference, sufficient to pose a barrier to student learning (e.g. use of adjective "safe" instead of noun "safety" in S.12 -1, non-use of the definite article before "fire" in S.16 -2). Her decision to discuss the class book and the student's personal experiences is likely to be the result of her feeling that the curriculum content is proving surprisingly hard for the student, not that this student is demonstrating behaviours indicative of an early level of SAE learning.

Somebody Got Take Them Down (Excerpt from Stage 4)

Between *Stay way from fire* and the excerpt from stage 4 examined in this section, the teacher takes the student through some pictures in the familiar class book about Safety (in stages 3 and 4 see Table 9.1). She alights on the beach scene in the book and invites the student to make a connection between the illustration and something she knows the student experienced in the holidays. She takes the conversation to the safety flags, then the student takes the lead and moves to informing the teacher about seeing lifesavers at the beach.

Somebody got take them down (stage 4 excerpt)		
T.17		[Continuing from transition]
	-1	Did YOU SEE big flags like that? (0.02)
S.18	-1	[Non-verbal affirmation]
T.19	-1	Did you?!
S.20	-1	Yeah, I saw da lifesaber wen aht. (1.34)
T.21	-1	What were they doing? (0.26)

S.22	-1	They b' grab one person. (0.51)
T.23	-1	Did they?! (0.76)
	-2	What was wrong with the person? (0.81)
S.24	-1	Somebody got take them down. (0.82)
Transition		
T.25	-1	Really... (0.72)
	-2	Were they okay? (2.0)
	-3	Goodness gracious... (0.31)

The interaction begins smoothly with the student volunteering that he had seen lifesavers (S.20 -1), the teacher asking a follow up question (T.21 -1), the student responding (S.22 -1)—comprehensibly, but non-standardly, and the teacher expressing surprise and asking for more information (T.23 -1-2). The student is operating on the sure ground of his own lived experience (and not shared by the teacher) and is keen to impart what he saw. However, this exchange founders when the student produces Example 9 which his teacher does not understand.

S.24   -1 Somebody got take them down. (0.82)

Example 9 (from stage 4 box above)

From an SAE perspective, the student's sentence in Example 9 does not parse. For example, the auxiliary "got" could be the passive auxiliary (in informal speech), in which case the past participle "taken" would follow, and there would be no direct object, as in "Somebody got taken down". On the other hand, "got" could be a modal element, like "got to" but expressing past obligation in SAE would usually involve a template such as "Somebody had to take them down". This sentence does not follow SAE morpho-syntactic constraints, despite all items being etymologically English, exactly as we would expect of an English-lexified contact language and/or L2 interlanguage. So, it is the teacher who flounders this time, rather than the student as in the previous sequence.

The teacher experiences difficulties because she knows these words, but they do not combine into a sentence she understands. She lacks shared knowledge or experiences with the student which might have otherwise have increased her ability to interpret the intended meaning of this non-standard sentence. The teacher does not advise the student that she is not sure what he has said (and there is no evidence of him asking her what she means anywhere in the entire interaction either). Instead, it appears that she feels obliged to keep up the semblance of a smooth conversation, presumably for fear of causing/showing embarrassment through her lack of comprehension. Example 10 shows how she extricates herself from this exchange via "fillers", such as back-channelled feedback (T.25 -1), a (rhetorical?) question (T.25 -2) and an expression of empathy (T.25 -3).

T.25   -1   Really… (0.72)
       -2   Were they okay? (2.0)
       -3   Goodness gracious… (0.31)

Example 10 (from stage 4 box above)

In this excerpt the student once again appears confident and in the lead. His assurance stems from conversing on secure subject matter of which he is sure, having experienced it not through the classroom language of SAE but through his own eyes and through the family vernacular via any comments or discussions of the incident he might have had with them during their holiday outing. But this contrasts disturbingly with *Stay way from fire* where the student appears very limited in his grasp of classroom curriculum and of "spoken" language. Regardless of the relative loquaciousness of the student in this excerpt, his teacher still has not captured the kinds of information and explanations she was expecting for curriculum assessment purposes: She has had a recount of a beach incident, not entirely understood on her part. The student has given her a specific and personal anecdote rather than a generic statement about beach safety. As we saw earlier, the conceptual framework of the Early Years curriculum directs teachers to seek the generalised not personalised as a sign of student development.

Classroom Curriculum Assessment and the Conversation Trap

The extracts illustrate that the student is an alert, active, communicative learner; that he has an easy relationship with his teacher and that the teacher is a model of a respectful, warm and encouraging Early Childhood professional who is delivering and assessing classroom curriculum entirely according to the Early Years Curriculum. In addition, the teacher has provided six weeks of hands-on, play-based experiences, enactments of safety scenarios, and familiarisation with the class text and has attempted to provide many opportunities for the student to express the concepts she seeks. And yet the interaction provides the teacher with the disappointing, and objectively unlikely, data that the student is able to convey only limited information about "Safety"; that even with the aid of the familiar book complex exchanges are not possible; that there has only been limited understanding of the curriculum content.

The data in this study strongly suggests to us that the student is as yet at an early level of L2 proficiency in SAE, albeit with the seemingly enhanced communicative ability typical of the L2 learner with an English-lexified language background (see Hudson and Angelo 2014). That he uses more language more successfully in one stage versus another in this interaction has to do with the contextual support which scaffolds his attempts at speaking (as his L2 resources are so limited as to preclude assembling and bringing to bear much by way of meaningful, self-generated, stand-alone SAE utterances). The consistent underlying early level of L2 proficiency of this student is revealed throughout the different stages of the interaction, but in different guises due to these contextual factors. As we see, his English-lexified L1 and his interactional skills (from home), his outgoing nature, his great relationship with his teacher and her supportive style all enable him to express himself to a surprising degree as an early L2 learner of English.

The Early Childhood teaching strategies for encouraging talk on this topic that succeed with L1 English-speaking students (in as much as ample opportunities are provided for them to express themselves about Safety, and hence they do so) not so surprisingly miscarry with a student at early levels of English proficiency. Joint visual attention to concrete items or

book illustrations is the most effective means of establishing the conversational ground, otherwise negotiating this linguistically proves difficult, and mutual comprehension is often lost. Both student and teacher are caught in a trap by the chatty conversational exchange of the Early Childhood assessment context. The augmented communicative ability in SAE of the English-lexified contact language background has created a situation for the participants from which it is hard to escape and which will more than likely trick the teacher into making curriculum assessment judgements which do not include the role of language.

Concluding Remarks

Standard Answers

Understanding how teachers actually experience the expression of mainstream curriculum learning by speakers of English-lexified contact languages is pivotal for addressing the "invisibility" that cloaks this learner cohort. The close analysis of this teacher-student interaction illustrates how L2 learners of English can appear just to have attained nonoptimal curriculum learning outcomes: the curriculum assessment does not, of itself, necessarily provide classroom teachers with any insight into a student's L2 proficiency, as in their eyes, they are first and foremost assessing curriculum learning. Any difficulties in the conversation can be put down to what the student has not learned. With no recognition of students' L2 learner status, there is no rationale for modifying assessment strategies. And where L2 learners are wrongly positioned as L1 speakers of the classroom language this obviously circumvents developing and implementing supportive L2 learning practices, building in further marginalisation of them as curriculum learners.

The specialist fields of linguistics and Teaching English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL) that might be looked to for "answers" in this context can be curiously silent on the classroom realities of (non-specialist) teacher accountabilities, mainstream curriculum requirements, system processes and departmental policies. Identifying language backgrounds for school data purposes, for instance, involves designating a student's first

language/variety/dialect. However, the mosaic of English-lexified contact varieties across the Australian continent is, at this point in time, linguistically under-researched, with description and standardised nomenclature lacking and much yet remaining to be clarified about their relationships to each other, to SAE or to other Englishes. Clearly, teachers, schools and departments cannot simply harvest this as pre-existing knowledge.

The typical Australian school sector TESOL context also differs markedly from that of Indigenous education (see, e.g. discussions in Angelo and Carter 2015; Hudson and Angelo 2014). Historically, TESOL has generally been focussed on students with "distinctive" overseas language backgrounds (as opposed to English-lexified), who have been relatively easily identified through demographic information (language background, country of parents' origin etc.). In terms of theory and practice generally, the international and Australian TESOL field is yet to truly come to grips with the particular practical and knowledge-based challenges besetting teachers of speakers of English-lexified contact languages, such as the "semi-transparency" of English, the paucity of English input in remote communities and socio-cultural issues involved in the loss of heritage languages but speaking an unrecognised vernacular (but see discussions and strategies in Angelo and Carter 2015; Department of Education, Western Australia 2012).

Indigenous L2 learners of English have only relatively recently been included in Australian school-based L2 assessment tools. Although these tools are ground-breaking internationally, they are dependent on professional development. Where a non-specialist (and indeed high-turnover) teacher workforce is delivering mainstream curriculum in linguistically complex and un-/under-described terrain, then such tools clearly require iterative cycles of high quality professional development based on exploratory investigations of the local language situation and a real appreciation of language assessment in mainstream curriculum contexts. Without such targeted professional input, the indicators for early levels of L2 proficiency in school-based L2 assessment tools (e.g. DETE 2013) tend to be interpreted by non-specialists as the ability of English-lexified contact language speakers to participate in some informal chats (cf. stage 1 above: the items on the teacher's desk). Again, without specific training, non-specialist teachers can construe students' apparent "success" in a chat as

indicative of their general level of proficiency for classroom learning purposes. Untrained classroom teachers are not aware that an interaction which does not obviously smack to them of L2 learning might nevertheless have some features (e.g. non-standard morpho-syntax) which signal that a student could have an early L2 level of SAE proficiency (Hudson and Angelo in prep).

A modicum of communication, then, will not lead generalist classroom teachers to interrogate an assumption that a student is an effective speaker of SAE, but it might cause them to wonder whether the student is an effective classroom learner. The "small" signs (i.e. morpho-syntactic divergences from SAE templates) of early L2 learning for students with English-lexified contact language backgrounds can easily be overlooked. The fact that some communication has occurred counters stereotypical conceptions of early L2 learners, but allows for conceptions of inadequate classroom learning. In this manner, early L2 proficiency data for this cohort of L2 learners can be misconstrued as a reflection of a general ability to understand classroom curriculum. Again the early L2 learning needs would be left unmet.

"Answers" from the education field which prioritise the teaching of literacy and/or academic language are also problematical. This study shows the propensity for students' uptake and/or demonstration of classroom curriculum learning to be mediated from the earliest years through spoken English proficiency, thus adding another piece of evidence against simplistic "literacy-as-if-you-already-speak-English" (Dixon and Angelo 2014, p. 222) assessments and interventions. Many have noted the literacy-centric lens through which Indigenous student achievement is currently viewed in school improvement policies and programmes and how this obscures the growing language repertoires of multilingual Indigenous students (e.g. Angelo 2013; Dixon and Angelo 2014; McIntosh et al. 2012 etc.).

Furthermore, this study opens up the need to reconsider discussions of the social-academic language divide in L2 educational research, especially as applied to generalised L2 learning trajectories (Hudson and Angelo. 2012). The student in this study has L2 resources in SAE that are generally at an early level but with a greater apparent communicative ability typical of the L2 learner of English with an English-lexified language background

(see Hudson and Angelo 2014). Differences in student output across the stages of this interaction are not ascribable to the social or academic language but to the presence of contextual support necessary in L2 acquisition for establishing the conversational groundwork and serving as the initial means of accessing the subject matter (e.g. own experience, book etc.). Prioritising "academic language" would be insufficient, and possibly counterproductive, because the extracts illustrate that the student does not yet have the very "basic" underlying structures of SAE, the morpho-syntax, the same structures requisite for both social and academic language.

For many, "answers" should lie in L1 (mother tongue) medium or bilingual programmes. Space does not allow for a thorough discussion of this point, but suffice it to say that although for us support for students' L1s and additive multilingual approaches are indispensable and in principle might suggest bilingual programmes, such programmes are not unproblematic. They are not easily operationalised with English-lexified L1s which lack recognition, status, standardisation and even nomenclature: if anything, local Indigenous views would, instead of L1 medium and bilingual approaches, usually support the standard and the traditional languages being taught in their school, not the vernacular(s). Additionally, in the many heterogeneous linguistic contexts, such as this semi-rural school, it is unclear which L1 would be the instructional medium or included in bilingual programmes. Here, Indigenous students comprise approximately a third of the school population, and they do not all have (exactly) the same L1. At this stage, it is questionable whether L1 English speakers who form the majority language background would be welcomed to learn the local contact language (if there were just one), let alone whether the community would wish it to be used as an instructional medium for L1 speakers.

Final Words from the Complex Fieldwork Site of the Classroom

Given the qualifications about these "answers", let us return again to the classroom. This study has shown that "inherited" Early Childhood teacher-student interactional practices, that is, those visible and emulated behaviours derived from this professional community of practice, assist the interaction to

be relatively successful at a conversational level but not particularly at the curriculum level or the language assessment level. From our own classroom teaching experiences and our involvement with teacher training, we know that, without ongoing guidance, it is highly unlikely that a classroom teacher will conclude from even multiple experiences of such interactions that they are indicative of students who are learners of (standard) English. We also know that it can be difficult for classroom teachers to grasp both the extent and the precise manner in which an L2 learner of the medium of instruction is affected in their ability to fully understand, engage with and/or express classroom curriculum content. Classroom situations are awash with all manner of material taught but understood to varying degrees by students after all.

This situation requires the need for comprehensive, thoughtfully staged, ongoing and practical professional development for teachers working in linguistically complex classrooms where they are, essentially, given research, development and application responsibilities (unheard of in most enterprises). As we have shown, there are plentiful linguistic "clues" in this classroom exchange to indicate—to the initiated—the student's likely English language learner status. Yet were these linguistic clues to be perceived as language learner features, and were they then to be understood as indications of learning needs sufficient to significantly disrupt student learning, they would not of themselves somehow lead teachers to becoming fully conversant with all pedagogical and assessment ramifications. And most certainly none of these understandings would automatically translate into an ability to confidently develop and implement differentiated curriculum, pedagogy and assessment practices suited to English L2 learners with contact language backgrounds.

As practitioner-trainer-researchers, we make the point that much of this information (for instance, what is the L1 language background of the student in this interaction? how do teachers assess these learners' English proficiency?) has not been researched by specialist fields. And closely related to this, we appeal for a commitment to engage deeply and respectfully with the classroom as a complex fieldwork site. Similarly, we appeal against overly generalised advice about Indigenous education, TESOL approaches, language awareness or cross-cultural initiatives which may be too simplistic for this context: the research claims on which such advice rests need to be fully interrogated. A focus on continuously operationalising sophisticated

information and responses with classroom teachers is the nub of what works in this space. Potentially all interactions in the classroom can serve to inform classroom curriculum assessment. It is clear from our analysis of the teacher-student interaction that there is little to alert the classroom teacher, unambiguously, that this student is anything other than someone with a somewhat complex learner profile: bright, engaged and outgoing but difficult to understand on occasion and not always getting the main point of curriculum learning. The idea that he could be experiencing disruption to his communication and classroom learning, due to his present stage of L2 proficiency, would not present itself.

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10

Dis, That and Da Other: Variation in Aboriginal Children's Article and Demonstrative Use at School

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Introduction

In many Australian Indigenous communities today, the home language of school children is neither a traditional language nor is it a standard or close-to-standard variety of English. Rather, the dominant community language is an English-based variety born out of sustained contact between Indigenous Australians and English-speaking colonists— typically called a creole language or a variety of Aboriginal English. Children in these communities often enter school with little prior exposure to Standard Australian English (SAE), and so, like children from other non-English-speaking backgrounds, they must learn a new language variety in order to properly access curriculum content and ultimately to gain the necessary skills to fully participate in mainstream

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Australian society. This chapter looks at how a group of children in one of these communities use and learn one subsystem of SAE during the first three years of compulsory mainstream schooling.

Teachers and academics have long recognised that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in Queensland who do not speak SAE as a first language will need to learn it in order to succeed at school (e.g. Flint 1968; Flint 1976; Angelo 2006). Children are expected to both comprehend and produce Standard Australian English in increasingly sophisticated ways as they pass through school, thereby creating opportunities for employment, further education and social inclusion more generally (Wigglesworth and Billington 2013). However, although programmes have been developed within the Queensland Department of Education and Training to raise awareness of language differences between home and school and to incorporate explicit teaching of SAE in Indigenous classrooms, there remains little systematicity in the approaches that are taken by schools and teachers to provide explicit SAE teaching to Indigenous children statewide (Sellwood and Angelo 2013).

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in Queensland live in towns, cities and communities where traditional languages are no longer spoken. They usually speak an English-based variety at home, either a creole language (such as Cape York Creole—Crowley and Rigsby 1979), a variety of Aboriginal English and/or sometimes SAE. In communities where the home variety has a high degree of both actual and perceived similarity to SAE, the fact that children in these kinds of communities are often not already proficient in standard varieties of English, and must learn SAE as an additional dialect, can be obscured. For example, children in this schooling environment may not receive targeted second language teaching support of the kind that is offered to children from language backgrounds that are more distinctly different from English (McIntosh et al. 2012). Work on these language varieties in Queensland, including their relationships to SAE and one another, is ongoing (e.g. Sellwood and Angelo 2013; Munro and Mushin 2016; Mushin et al. 2016), although as Meakins (2014) notes, there has historically been limited linguistic work in this area. Students speaking these varieties may be further disadvantaged by a lack of language awareness of the systematic differences between varieties among teachers, educational institutions

and the wider community. This may lead, for example, to misinterpretations of children's actual understanding of curriculum content. Even when teachers are made aware of the systematic differences between home and school language varieties, they usually lack time, expertise and resources to explicitly teach SAE as a new variety (Angelo 2006). Without explicit teaching of English as an additional language or dialect, children largely only have access to the language in the form of 'exposure' through their teacher and teaching materials. This exposure may be reinforced outside of school only through Australian media, where content may reflect American or British varieties, or through intermittent interactions with other Standard English-speaking people.

State Schools policy under the Department of Education and Training in Queensland requires teachers to support English as an Additional Language or Dialect learners to acquire SAE (Queensland Department of Education Training and Employment 2012),[1] which is defined by ACARA (2014) as '… the variety of spoken and written English language in Australia used in more formal settings, such as for official or public purposes, and recorded in dictionaries, style guides and grammars.' The 'P–12 curriculum, assessment and reporting framework' policy of Queensland State Schools includes the statements:

[teachers and schools are required to…]
(1.1) (d) Use Standard Australian English as the basis for teaching, including the teaching of spelling.
(1.2) (j) Provide for students learning English as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D) by:
identifying and monitoring their development of English language proficiency using the Bandscales State Schools (Queensland) for English as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D) learners.
supporting their learning informed by English as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D) learners.

At the school from which our data was obtained, both the Principal and senior staff stated that they understood the need for students to learn English in order to access the curriculum and assessment that is delivered in English. However, in the approximately 70 hours of classes recorded

for this study, we found very little evidence of explicit English language teaching through the first three years of schooling.

As the children we have recorded for this study speak a variety of Aboriginal English at home (Gardner and Mushin 2013), we have considered their use or non-use of SAE in the classroom over time as indicative of *Second Dialect Acquisition* (SDA), which, as Siegel (2010, pp. 169–174) argues, shares features with the ways in which children may acquire the school language variety as a new *language* (i.e. a form of Second Language Acquisition) but differs from SLA in some important ways, including general attitudes towards and awareness of the students' home varieties and their features.

Most studies of SDA in the classroom, however, involve children who have moved away from their first dialect (D1) speaking communities to a place where most people speak the second dialect (D2) at home and school (e.g. where a Canadian child migrates to England and attends a British school where most children speak British English at home and school—see Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007; Siegel 2010). In studies such as ours, where children are schooled in SAE within their D1-speaking community, and where most children speak D1 at home, but most teachers do not, we might expect further differences.

Dixon's (2013) study of an English-instructed school in a small, central Australian Aboriginal community illustrates one aspect of the challenge facing teachers who are working with Aboriginal children acquiring SAE as an additional dialect. For example, she shows how it can be difficult for a D2-speaking teacher to know when the children are attempting the D2 and when they are using their D1, especially in cases where the D1 is undocumented (Dixon 2013). She argues that if teachers only observe what students are producing in terms of whether it is SAE or not, they will miss when students are attempting, but not attaining, their target variety, that is, moving through an interlanguage. She also shows that there are some forms and usages found in the home language of the children she describes that were *never* recorded in her classroom corpus and quite different patterns of variation for the two different contexts (Dixon Chap. 11, this volume). The difficulty in identifying when children are speaking their D1 and when they are attempting the D2 is less of a problem when the children's home variety is perceived by teachers systemati-

cally to be a different language, than when teachers lack awareness of systematic differences. It also differs from contexts where the D1 children are the minority and where the other children share the D2 with the teacher and curriculum expectations.

Berthele (2002) has shown that social networks and prestige of language varieties may affect D2 acquisition. Students who were born and grew up in an Aboriginal community and who then attend that community's school spend almost all of their lives in their D1 social networks and have relatively low motivation to acquire the D2 as an additional language variety. The main D2 speaker they regularly interact with would be their teacher, who, in Payne's (1980) terms is 'peripheral' to the network: less likely to influence or be influenced by the dialects spoken by those around her (there are other D2 speakers in communities like these, including shopkeepers, doctors, nurses, police, chaplains). Yet SAE is the language of 'mainstream' Australia, widely used in media and public discourse, and the prestige of SAE is usually recognised by Indigenous community members who expect children to learn SAE as part of their schooling. The positive view of SAE as the language that children should be acquiring, not only for school but for inclusion in mainstream Australia, should be a motivating factor in promoting children's acquisition of the D2 in school, the environment where the children we recorded encounter SAE most regularly.

Another factor shown to be relevant to the success of SDA is the extent to which children learn to control variation in forms across a range of contexts (Berthele 2002). In classroom contexts teachers might hope that their students will attempt to use SAE during English literacy and other school subjects and tests performed in and through SAE. In addition, students will change their language use when speaking with different types of interlocutors: those who share the students' D1 and those who only know the students' D2 (Trudgill 1981).

In summary, there is an official imperative in Australia for children to acquire SAE and use it in the classroom, and wider community expectations that learning SAE is part of a school education. However, in schools where Indigenous children speak a variety of Aboriginal English as their first language, teachers may lack resources for explicitly teaching SAE. This includes a lack of awareness that such teaching is even required,

the challenge of ascertaining when and whether children are targeting SAE, and limited training around what to do to support these language learners.[2] Do we find evidence that children increase their use of SAE over time? If so, this would be evidence that mainstream classrooms like those recorded in this study are capable of supporting language and dialect learning without modification. If not, educators should seek out effective language teaching methods to support students to learn and learn through SAE at school.

In this study we investigate whether children increased their use of SAE forms in classrooms over three years of early schooling and the contexts in which SAE forms were more likely to occur. Our results provide evidence of the ways that children were or were not acquiring SAE over this period. Our focus was on all language use in the classroom, regardless of addressee, and regardless of whether it concerned curriculum content or not. The analysis we present here is, however, constrained to the use of one grammatical subsystem: articles and demonstratives (a subset of 'determiners'). Determiners are highly frequent in both the home variety of children in this community, and in SAE, and so provide a useful starting point for understanding the use of SAE by these children.

More generally, this chapter represents the first attempt to investigate the acquisition of SAE as an additional dialect in the Australian Aboriginal context by focusing on whether and to what extent children used SAE determiners in their classroom discourse over their first three years of school. Our focus on the first three years of school is deliberate, as this is a period where we would expect at least the development of the use of SAE as a school language, even if they do not use it with their peers. We suggest that if there is no evidence of increased use of SAE from school entry to Year 3, then it would be much more difficult to introduce the more sophisticated uses of SAE required in later years, thus compounding the educational disadvantages facing non-SAE-speaking Australian Indigenous children.

Our results are both somewhat counterintuitive and revealing. Contrary to our initial expectations, they show little evidence of significant increase in the use of SAE articles and demonstratives over the study period. Indeed, as we report below, there appears to be a *decrease* in SAE article and demonstrative use in the third year. Our results also show a

clear demarcation of contexts in which SAE forms are more likely to be used. This raises questions about whether children are in fact acquiring skills in SAE as an additional language variety or whether they have simply learned to use their best approximation to SAE while conducting literacy and related school-based tasks.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: In the next section we outline the language variety and language ecology of the community and school that participated in this study, including the use of article and demonstrative forms, and we also outline the key hypotheses that formed the basis of our coding strategies for the quantitative analysis and outline our quantitative approach; we then, present the results of our quantitative analysis; and in the final section we discuss implications of these findings for understanding how young speakers of a variety of Aboriginal English acquire (or do not acquire) Standard Australian English in their early years of school.

Data and Hypotheses

The Recordings

The data we have used in the analysis come from a larger corpus of regular classroom activities recorded at a community school in Queensland (QLD) between February 2011 and November 2013, conducted over 12 visits (one visit a term for three years).[3] The full corpus consists of nearly 70 hours of video and audio recordings of three cohorts of children from Prep[4] to Year 3 (ages four–seven). Some of the recorded sessions were group work, others were whole class teaching and others included individual work. Many types of activities and topics were recorded, including science classes and cultural activities, but the curriculum's heavy bias towards literacy and numeracy made these kinds of activities the more usual subject of the recordings.

The classes consisted almost entirely of Aboriginal students from the same Queensland community. Almost every student wore an individual lapel microphone plugged-in to a digital voice recorder. Video was recorded using two digital cameras fixed on tripods that captured the

whole room and showed the orientations and positions of the students as they moved around, and gave some clearer images of what they were working on or doing during the sessions.

The home variety of children in this community is a local variety of Aboriginal English that had its origins in twentieth-century contact between nineteenth-century QLD Pidgin, colonial English varieties and QLD traditional Indigenous languages (e.g. Mushin et al. 2016; Mushin and Watts 2016). The home variety is considered by most of its speakers to be a variety of English, albeit a deficient or 'rubbish' variety. For this reason, children have historically been enrolled at school as speaking English at home, even though these children have typically had minimal exposure to Standard Australian English—the language of instruction (Gardner and Mushin 2016). Note that, unlike the language ecologies surrounding many other schools in Queensland, the home community of the students in this study seems to be somewhat homogenous: i.e. most Aboriginal people in the local area use the same variety for most communicative purposes most of the time.

Determiners in SAE and D1

A substantive study of uptake of SAE in the community school we have recorded should ideally include a range of linguistic forms for which we can establish systematic variability between SAE and home variety forms and functions (e.g. Mushin and Watts 2016). As linguistic description of the home variety is still underdeveloped, we have selected one frequently occurring grammatical feature—the class of determiners—that is both phonologically and syntactically distinct between the students' home variety and SAE.

In SAE, determiners include the words which serve to delimit reference in a noun phrase and occur in initial position in a noun phrase. They include articles (*a/an*, *the*), demonstratives and quantifiers such as *this*, *that*, *all*, *some*, *many* and so on. As function words, they indicate old and new information (e.g. *the dolphin* presupposes that an addressee can already identify which dolphin is being talked about, while *a dolphin* does not presuppose identification), number of participants (*a dolphin*

refers to only one dolphin) and can also mark generic categories (*a/the dolphin is a mammal* = dolphins are mammals).

As essential tools for tracking participants and delimiting reference, they are foundational not only for sentence construction but also text cohesion. Correct use of determiners in oral and written work is taught as part of the Australian National Curriculum for English from the first year of school. For example, they are part of the first set of 'sight words' taught to children in early literacy. This early literacy work however scaffolds what is assumed to be the SAE use of determiners in talk at the time of school entry, transferring children's existing oral capacities to the production of written and oral texts.

In this study we have limited our analysis to the SAE articles (*a/an* and *the*) and demonstratives (*this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *there*, *here*) and non-use of a determiner in a noun phrase (*ø*), only as there were insufficient uses of other determiners to warrant statistical analysis. The corresponding non-SAE forms included in this study were: *ø*, *one*, *da*, *dem*, *dis*, *dat*, *das*, *dere*, *and ere* (see Fraser (2015) for a more detailed description of determiners in the home variety).

The articles and demonstratives we have examined also neatly encapsulate the problem of perceived mutual intelligibility for this type of SDA context, where the superficial similarities in many of the forms (e.g. *da/the*, *dat/that*, *dis/this* etc.) make the learning task appear to be one of simple phonological substitution, whereas the reality is that each of these forms has a different function and distribution in the students' home variety than it has in SAE.[5] For example, when a student in this study asks a peer *Who da girl dere la?*, where the particle *la* indicates that the speaker is drawing the hearer's attention to something new to be jointly attended to (Gourlay and Mushin 2015), we can see that *da,* rather than serving a tracking function to mark shared knowledge between speaker and listener about the identity of 'the girl', was in fact introducing the referent as new information, better translated to the SAE 'that' than 'the' (i.e. introducing and selecting a specific girl, new to the discourse). Simple post hoc phonological substitution would lead an SAE listener to misunderstand the knowledge state of the student; when these misinterpretations exist in nearly every sentence passing between teacher and student, they can add up to cause larger, still hidden problems with

communication. A more detailed study, along the lines of Nicholls (2016), including data recorded in the students' homes, would be required to build up a more complete understanding of the functions of each determiner in the students' first language. Furthermore, we do not assume that each article and demonstrative exhibits the same degree or kind of variability, as presumably this would depend on the extent of overlap between SAE and the children's home variety with respect to individual morphemes.

Pine and Lieven (1997) show that by the age of four, children learning English as their first and only language from birth use the determiner system in a mostly adult-like way. There are still a few ongoing non-adult uses (Warden 1976, Warden 1981), but under the criteria used to define SAE and non-SAE determiners in this chapter, children with English as a first language at and above this age would be using adult-like English determiners 100% of the time or very near to it.[6]

Second Dialect Acquisition studies tend to focus on the change in use of a particular feature or class of features over time, such as our analysis of determiners here. However, Prince (1987) and Foreman (2003) demonstrate for Yiddish and Australian English, respectively, that closed-class words are less likely to include D2 variants than open-class words, in spite of their relatively higher frequency. Prince (1987) describes the changes in five vowel productions of Yiddish folk singer Sarah Gorby, who increased her use of her D2 (Standard Yiddish) variants in her recorded songs over several decades, gradually lowering the proportion of D1 (a regional variety of Yiddish spoken around Kishinev) variants used. Comparing the proportion of D1 to D2 variants across open- and closed-class words showed some significant effects for three of the four relevant vowels: the singer was more likely to use D2 variants in open-class words. Foreman (2003) found a similar result in her study of 34 North American immigrants to Australia: closed-class words were less likely to include D2 phonological features than open-class words. Our study examines the production of closed-class words in the D2 of a group of children. We further narrow the notion that different word-classes will have different trajectories of acquisition by looking at whether a particular subclass of determiners (specifically the indefinite articles *a/an*) are more likely to be used in an SAE-like way by our participants.

Hypotheses

The overall goal of this investigation was to establish whether children from one Aboriginal community showed evidence of increased SAE use over three years of schooling and whether there were systematic contexts in which any changes in SAE use were observed. Because we have observed that children in this community have variable exposures to SAE outside of their schooling, we expected individual variation between the selected students, and this was factored into the statistical analysis. We also considered, after initial observations, whether SAE articles and demonstratives were used uniformly by children or whether there was a higher rate of use of the indefinite article *a/an*, which would be evidence that this form, unlike the others, is the same across the two varieties.

We also considered the context in which articles and demonstrative were used. If students are acquiring SAE as a D2 school language (i.e. the language used for school activities), we might expect students to increase their use of SAE in talk directly related to curriculum activities. In particular we hypothesised that SAE forms were most likely to occur in literacy activities such as reading aloud or repeating teacher prompts as these are direct responses to SAE input associated with written language and a large part of the early literacy pedagogy used in the recorded data and related observations at the school. An increase in SAE article and demonstrative use in literacy tasks or other school-related tasks could, however, be evidence of increased skills in literacy, rather than SAE as a mainstream language variety per se. If children were acquiring SAE not only as a D2 school language but also as the variety of mainstream Australia, we might expect more usage when addressing SAE speakers they encounter, such as their teachers, as an accommodation to the more prestigious variety (cf Trudgill 1981).

We developed four hypotheses to test these factors:

H1   Students use more SAE with their teacher than with their peers.
H2   a. Students use more SAE during all classroom learning activities than when talking about personal matters.
        b. Students will use the most SAE during literacy activities.

H3   Students increase the overall use of SAE over time, particularly in learning activities.

H4   Students are more likely to produce SAE indefinite articles in an SAE-like way than the other articles and demonstratives included in this study.

Method

In order to test these hypotheses, we selected six individual children from the same class over the three years. These were selected on the basis of who produced the most determiner tokens regardless of whether they were SAE or non-SAE forms. By tracking six children over three years, we were able to gauge whether there was evidence of increased usage of SAE forms and whether SAE was more likely to be used by children in some domains for certain purposes than others. An increase in SAE usage is not categorical evidence of language learning: students may be gaining *confidence* as speakers rather than *ability*. We took the amount of SAE used to be an indicator both of a child's recognition of SAE as the appropriate language to use in a given domain in the school context, and evidence that they had the ability to use the language, either as a result of overlap between home and school varieties or learning the language of the school. By limiting the analysis to these six children, it was possible to more completely account for individual variation in the data set; students who produced fewer tokens do not have a clear profile of determiner use, so could skew the results. The number of children, however, is sufficient to take into account differences in the baseline number of SAE forms children already used at the beginning of Year 1.

The six students we selected used a total of 1629 tokens over the three years in the data recorded. A 'token' was a single production of one of the 18 forms in the subset of articles and demonstratives listed above. This count is commensurate with similar studies and thus provided us with a foundation for testing the four hypotheses.

We analysed the variation in determiner use based on what was SAE and what was not. We considered SAE to be the Target Dialect (D2) for the students examined in this study, since it is explicitly described as the

target variety in policy documents in the Queensland Department of Education, Training and Employment (2012) and is the language that the students will need to produce for standardised testing throughout their schooling, as well as for later success at university and various work-places.[7] We were not able to positively claim that non-SAE use was indicative of home variety use as we lack a comparable database of home language; in fact, Dixon (Chap. 11, this volume) gives reasons to suspect that we are unlikely to glimpse the full richness of the students' home language usage in these kinds of classroom recording.

To address hypotheses 1–4, all tokens were coded by the first author for:

Dependent variable

SAE determiner   (Y)es, (N)o

Was the token pronounced and used in the same way that a first language SAE speaker would use it when speaking SAE?

'Yes' indicates that the student used an SAE form that, in the context, also matched an appropriate SAE syntactic distribution to form a grammatical sentence. 'No' could indicate that the form used was non-SAE (i.e. a non-standard pronunciation) or that a form was used in a place in the sentence that we would not expect to find from a fluent SAE speaker, or both.

Examples:
SAE-like sentence, including definite articles:
The lyrebird lives in **the** forest.
Sentence essentially repeated from teachers' writing on the board. Note that depending on conversational context, the first 'the' may not be appropriate, if, for example, the preceding discourse had not introduced the lyrebird. The context of the whole discourse was known and examined for all coded tokens.

Non-SAE article *form*:
Dey givin us fella **da** broken one.
Determiner found where we would syntactically expect 'the', pronounced 'da'

Non-SAE article *function*:
Somebody wants you on **a** phone.
SAE form of 'a' correct, but we would expect 'the' in this situation.

Non-SAE *form* AND *function*:
Miss, you was in **da** black car.
SAE would use 'a' in the context where the student is talking about bumping into teacher on the weekend in her car which is black, rather than selecting from a set of different coloured cars visible at the time or owned by the teacher, or talking about a car the conversational participants have shared knowledge of. More than simple phonological substitution, this 'da', along with example 3, shows the student may have a different underlying distribution of da/a/ ø, which does not map directly onto the SAE distribution of the/a/an/ ø.

Independent variables

Addressee: teacher, peer

Was the utterance containing the token addressed to a teacher or to a peer?

The category 'teacher' was also used for the few tokens addressed to one of the researchers present in the classroom and for SAE-speaking teacher aides. The category 'peer' was used for all students in the class, and one teacher aide from the community who had a less structured and formal (i.e. more peer-like) relationship with the students, seemed to share their D1, and was certainly using non-SAE utterances with them most of the time. We omitted tokens recorded as part of self-talk as there was no clear addressee and not enough tokens in this category to generate statistically significant results (see Fraser 2015 for a longer discussion of determiner use in self-talk).

Activity: literacy, organising, personal, classroom

What kind of activity was the utterance about or what kind of activity were the interlocutors engaged in while speaking?

Interactions were observed for a range of purposes during many types of activity in the classroom. These were divided into:

- Personal: speaking about topics not related to school, for example, what they did on the weekend, going fishing, gossip and so on
- Organising: interacting to organise classroom objects, space, or needs, but not directly on school-related topics, for example, arranging to borrow an eraser from a friend or asking the teacher for permission to go to the bathroom
- Classroom: working on classroom activities as mandated by the teacher, including colouring in, maths problems and so on
- Literacy: either directly reading from a book, paper, or the board, or writing and reading aloud. This category covered activities where the teacher made the expectation to use a particular way of talking and writing clearest

Year   2011, 2012, 2013

During which of the three years was the token uttered?

Target   a/an vs. other

In the communicative context, would the SAE equivalent of the form used be 'a or an', or would it be one of the other 'targets' included in the study?

We included this variable because of the overall higher rate of SAE uses of *a/an* in positions where an SAE speaker would use them. The few clear non-SAE uses are mostly null and occasionally *da* and even *the*. Possible reasons for this are briefly touched on below, but more descriptive work on the students' D1 is needed before this can be appropriately explained. We posit that, unlike other related varieties, the students' D1 *does* include

a determiner *a* (but not *an*), so the higher rate of SAE-like use is due to overlap between the two varieties, rather than acquisition. This variable is therefore required to avoid skewing the statistics towards a false appearance of successful SAE acquisition; students may not have learned this as a new SAE form, it might just happen to already exist in their D1.

Random variable

Speaker: one of six different children from the same class

The statistical model we applied to the data was a generalised linear mixed model (GLMM) with logistic link function (glmr; glm2 package in R)[8] (Marschner 2011). The GLMM analysis is appropriate for data in which the dependent variable is binary, that is the determiner used is either SAE or not. The use of a logistic link function is necessary when the independent variable levels are categorical, that is Y/N, teacher/peer, literacy/organising/personal/classroom, rather than a numeric range. The GLMM analysis, like other multilevel logistic regression models, also allows an analysis of the effect of individual variables as well as the combined effect of variables at their different levels. This was important for this dataset since the combined effect of addressee and activity gave one of the most significant results (see results). This analysis also takes into account both fixed and random effects in one procedure. In particular, the specification of 'Speaker' as a random effect means the model takes into account that speakers disproportionately contribute to the data under analysis (with differing numbers of tokens) and that individual speakers behave more like themselves than other speakers.

Results

The results show that five of the six students had quite similar overall rates of SAE article and demonstrative production, somewhere around 20–30% of total article and demonstrative use, but one student produced considerably more (over 60% of total use). This is illustrated in Fig. 10.1, which
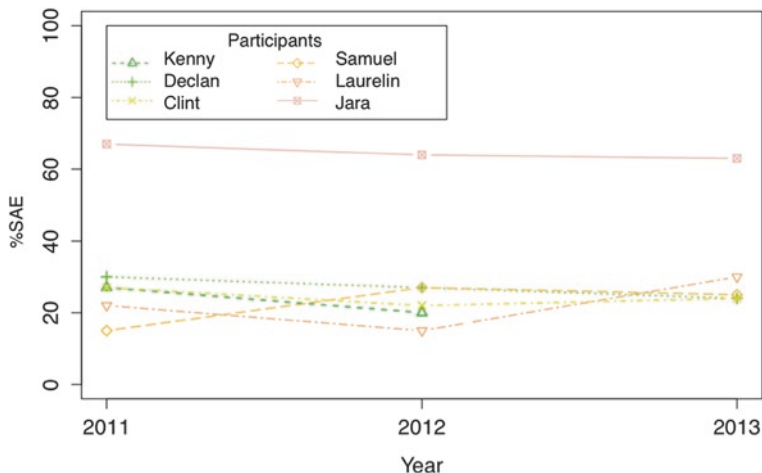
Fig. 10.1 Individual variation in overall production of SAE articles and demonstratives over time (Note that one student left at the end of 2012, which is accounted for in the statistical model. The names are pseudonyms)

plots the amount of SAE article and demonstrative use over the three years of the study. Note that none of the six students significantly increased the amount of SAE use over the period of the study. This first result therefore shows no evidence of further D2 acquisition of articles and demonstratives beyond the starting point for each child. However, this result does not show whether there were changes in the ways that children used SAE determiners over the course of their schooling, even if the overall frequency did not change. These are the results we consider next.

The GLMM method compares variables and combinations of variables to a baseline condition or 'intercept'. A positive z-value indicates that the students were more likely to produce an SAE token given a particular set of factors compared to this baseline, while a negative z-value indicates that they are less likely to do so. Table 10.1 shows the output of the GLMM analysis for all variables, with the significant results in bold. The p-value shows whether the result is significant or not.

These results show that children are not significantly more likely to use SAE with teachers than with peers (when activity is taken into consideration) or with any particular classroom activity. However, children are

Table 10.1 Output of GLMM analysis on 1629 tokens of determiners

	Estimate	Std. error	z-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1.0839	0.3676	2.949	p < 0.001
Addressee (teacher)	−0.6306	0.657	−0.96	0.337135
Activity (organising)	−0.3559	0.2105	−1.691	0.09087
Activity (classroom)	0.3861	0.216	1.787	0.073858
Activity (literacy)	0.209	0.3217	0.65	0.515835
Year (2012)	−0.2752	0.1472	−1.87	0.061415
Year (2013)	−0.654	0.1956	−3.344	**p < 0.001**
Target (other)	−2.4357	0.1788	−13.619	**p < 0.001**
Teacher:Organising	1.7334	0.7056	2.457	**p < 0.05**
Teacher:Classroom	0.82	0.6911	1.187	0.235416
Teacher:Literacy	2.1734	0.7491	2.901	**p < 0.001**

significantly more likely to use SAE articles and demonstratives when they are talking to a teacher during literacy ($p < 0.001$) and organising activities ($p < 0.05$). They are also significantly *less* likely to produce SAE in their third year of school (p<0.001) and when they are **not** using *a* or *an* (negative *z*-value, $p < 0.001$). The model accounts for a good amount of variation (R^2=0.35) and performs significantly better than a model which does not account for Activity and Addressee as a combined effect (ANOVA, $p < 0.001$).

The four significant results support hypotheses 1 and 2 outlined above, and we interpret the rest of the results as evidence against hypotheses 3 and 4. These results showed that students did use significantly more SAE articles and demonstratives during specific kinds of literacy-based classroom activities than other types of activities, but only when directing their utterances to their SAE-speaking teacher (H1 and H2). Equally, the students usually addressed their teacher in the same way they addressed their peers; this only changed during those specific, targeted, literacy-based activities. There was no evidence that their tendency to use SAE articles and demonstratives increased over time in any of the four activity types or when speaking with their teacher (H3). These children were also significantly more likely to use SAE *a/an* appropriately than any other 'target' SAE determiner form (H4).

H1: Students Use More SAE with Their Teacher than with Their Peers

The first hypothesis predicted that students would be more likely to speak with their teacher using SAE articles and demonstratives than with their peers, following Trudgill's (1981) findings that people tend to accommodate to the dialect of their interlocutor, particularly in cases where the dialect itself or its speaker has a higher status. We would predict that students tend to accommodate to the teacher's use of the prestige SAE variety, while peer interactions remain predominantly in the home variety that they would use with those same peers outside of the school.

On the surface it appears that the students we observed did accommodate to teacher's SAE because they used more SAE when talking to the teacher than talking with peers. However, when the relative proportions of each activity type are taken into account, the result was not significant. The only activity where children did in fact use more SAE with the teacher than peers was in literacy activities, which are prejudiced towards SAE use by virtue of their focus on written forms of English.

H2: Children Are More Likely to Use SAE Forms When Engaging in Curricular Activities

H2a: General classroom learning activities and literacy activities were not significantly more likely to be conducted using SAE articles and demonstratives than classroom organising activities and general non-school-related conversations.

H2b: SAE articles and demonstratives were more likely to be used in literacy activities than in other kinds of classroom activities but only when addressed to their teacher.

These findings support the notion that children learn to associate SAE forms with learning to read and write, rather than more generally

as a variety of language to be used in 'formal' contexts, such as the domain of the classroom. The students in this study regularly used non-SAE forms and utterances to discuss classroom concepts with one another and with the teacher and to manage the day-to-day business of the classroom, for example, 'Dis suppose to be big ay when we colour it in then ay'.[9]

There is further evidence that these students were aware that they were required to use a different language variety during certain activities through the way they practise using SAE even when not performing for the teacher (e.g. during on-task self-talk; see Fraser 2015: 50). We argue that they are tending to use SAE more during literacy tasks because they are simply performing certain taught structures within it to get the particular classroom activities 'right', rather than understanding it as a distinct language variety and approaching the activity as a language learning task. For the teacher, this means they might have a false impression of students' levels of SAE proficiency if they only examine this through the lens of reading and writing. Successfully performing the earlier levels of these tasks by rote (e.g. as sight words) does not prepare these children to apply the linguistic knowledge that ought to underpin these productions when they are required to build on them for more complex linguistic structures in later years, such as the selection of an appropriate determiner for text cohesiveness.

H1+H2: Children Are Most Likely to Use SAE Forms When Addressing Teachers During Curricular Activities

Although children were not significantly more likely to use an SAE determiner with teachers than with peers, or in any particular classroom activity, they were more likely to use an SAE determiner when they were speaking to a teacher during literacy activities and to a lesser extent in organising activities. This is illustrated in Table 10.2.

The combined effect of addressing a teacher in literacy and organising activities is shown in the plot in Fig. 10.2. Figure 10.2 shows that children

Table 10.2 Combined effect of activity and address on the use of SAE determiner (significant levels **bolded**)

Activity	Addressee	Use of SAE determiner					Total
		N			Y		
Personal	Peer	251	75%	83		25%	328
	Teacher	18	78%	5		22%	23
Organising	Peer	273	79%	73		21%	339
	Teacher	96	65%	52		**35%**	137
Classroom	Peer	150	63%	87		37%	219
	Teacher	202	65%	110		35%	279
Literacy	Peer	48	60%	32		40%	78
	Teacher	51	34%	98		**66%**	135
Total		1089			540		1629
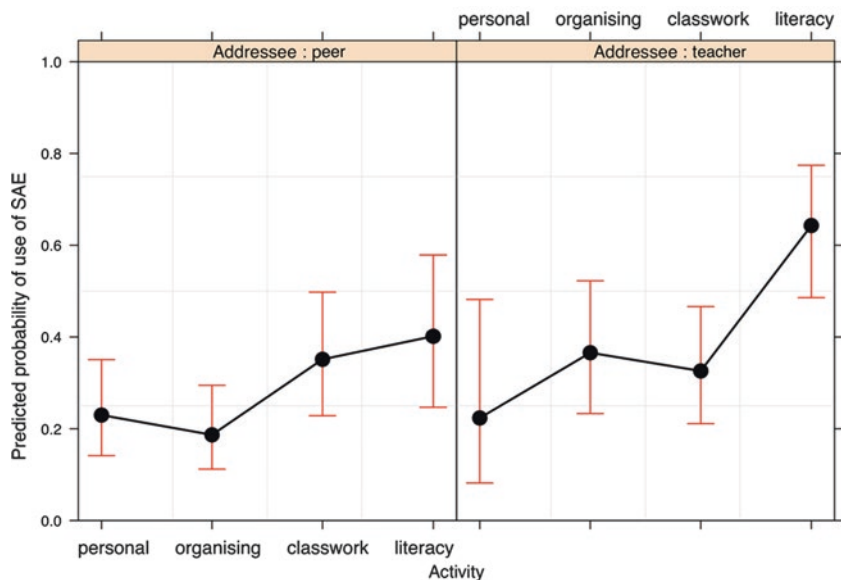
Fig. 10.2 Predicted probability of the use of an SAE determiner according to addressee and activity

use similar numbers of SAE forms when they are addressing either a peer or teacher when they are undertaking personal activities or classroom activities but are more likely to use the SAE form when they are talking

to a teacher in organising activities and literacy activities. This in turn supports the notion that SAE forms used by the six children, regardless of how much SAE competence they started with, are mostly associated with skills in reading and writing, and provide little evidence that SAE is being used by these children as a formal spoken variety, even when speaking with teachers.

H3: Children Will Increase Their Use of SAE as They Progress Through School

While the overall proportion of SAE and non-SAE article and demonstrative productions remained relatively steady over the three years of this study, when target form, addressee and activity are taken into account, the analysis showed that these children produced significantly fewer SAE articles and demonstratives in the third year of this study (2013) in comparison to the preceding two years (2011–2012).

The results in Table 10.1 show that there was a significant decrease (negative z-value, $p<0.001$) in the rate of use of SAE articles and demonstratives in 2013 when compared to 2011. There was also a measured decrease from 2011 to 2012, but the p-value was below the threshold for significance. The relevant lines of Table 10.1 are repeated here:

	Estimate	Std. error	z-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1.0839	0.3676	2.949	p < 0.001
Year (2012)	−0.2752	0.1472	−1.870	0.061415
Year (2013)	−0.6540	0.1956	−3.344	**p < 0.001**

The notion of 'acquisition' in Second Dialect Acquisition implies change over time. The shift from a state of non-knowledge of a second dialect and its domains of use to the fluent application of its rules and systems is the abstract end-goal of the process, which policies and school-intent explicitly desire these students to achieve. Our results indicate that the students did not seem to have progressed in a measurable way towards SAE fluency during Years 1 and 2. The students used some SAE articles and demonstratives not found in their home variety,

along with some others that may be present in both their home variety and SAE, but the frequency with which they used any of these SAE forms as opposed to their non-SAE counterparts did not increase over the three years of this study.[10]

The evidence thus suggests that dialect acquisition has not taken place and that the students we tracked have simply learnt a few very specific features (such as 'use *th* instead of *d* for *the*, *this* and *that*') and some frames (e.g. '**The** cat *sat* on **the** mat.' becomes '**The** lyrebird *lives* in **the** forest.') to be used when performing literacy activities. The type of teaching that takes place around literacy activities is more targeted to these very specific targeted forms and frames, so is not necessarily generalised into wider contexts. It requires the student to extrapolate the SAE determiner system from their limited exposure to the variety. This supports the claim we made in the introduction that students in Australian Aboriginal communities are schooled in a very different context to the successful dialect learners described in other studies of SDA in the classroom. This context does not afford them enough access to the target variety for them to be able to learn and use it as needed.

This was unexpected because, if anything, we might expect that children would increase their use of SAE as a school language variety while they were at school. A decrease in SAE use by Year 3 could be a sign that as children were developing their social identities over the three years of the study, which may have strengthened their use of their home variety across all contexts, rather than shifting towards the standard variety. Alternatively, from a language acquisition perspective, it is possible that the students were going through normal processes of language learning, which include important stages of experimentation that can result in less English-like surface forms than earlier stages, where they produce mostly correct surface forms based on simplified underlying rules (Selinker 1972). In either case, it is evidence that the exposure to SAE through their teacher and class materials experienced by these children over three years did not influence them to shift their language use towards that variety.

H4: Children Are More Likely to Produce SAE Indefinite Articles Than Other Kinds of Determiners

The results showed that children are significantly less likely to appropriately use a SAE determiner if the expected SAE equivalent in the context of the utterance is not *a* or *an* (i.e. *the, this, that, those, these, here, there*).[11] The initial observation in the data led to the addition of this variable to mitigate falsely skewing of the overall production rate towards SAE over non-SAE and allows us to examine the conditions on the production of this article. This difference in the use of target SAE determiner is visually demonstrated in the mosaic plot below where non-SAE determiners other than *a* and *an* form the largest square (bottom left square) (Fig. 10.3 and Table 10.3).

Our results show that students were far more likely to produce *a/an* in the same syntactic positions with the same pronunciation as fluent SAE speakers would than they were for the other 'target' forms. Research into similar and related varieties tells us that we should expect this kind of
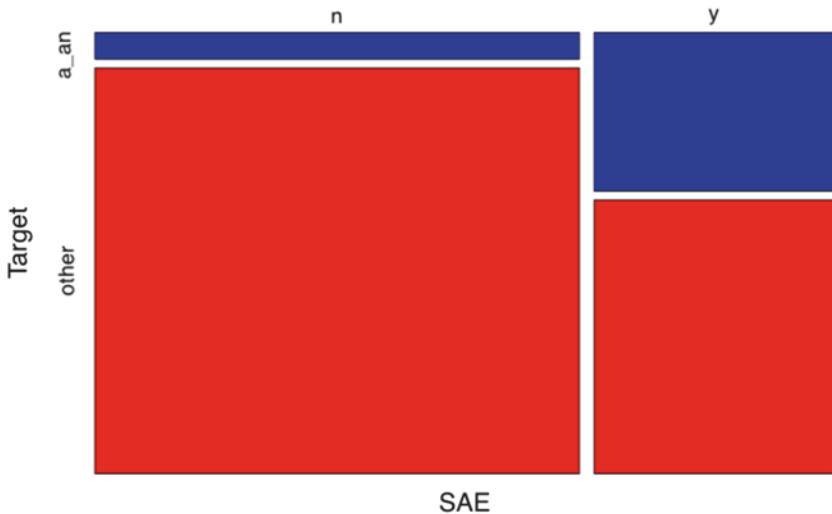
Fig. 10.3   Use of a SAE determiner according to 'a/an vs. other'

Table 10.3 Use of SAE determiner according to a/an vs. other (significant level bolded)

	Use of SAE determiner				
	N		Y		Total
a/an	67	25%	198	75%	265
Other	1022	**74%**	342	26%	1364
Total	1089		540		1629

Aboriginal English variety to use either nothing (ø) or *one* to fulfil most of the functions of the English indefinite article, which matches the patterns during the 'most non-English' utterances in this corpus. The simplest explanation for the high rate of success with the form *a* in our study would be if it *is* included in the D1 repertoire of forms, but the different conditioning for its appearance and the absence of the phonologically-conditioned *an* variant account for the 25% non-SAE productions. A fair proportion of the non-SAE uses of the other articles and demonstratives is accounted for by pronunciation difference (e.g. *da* being used where an SAE speaker would use *the*), so it could be the case that the determiner systems of these two varieties 'overlap' syntactically and semantically. This would strengthen the argument that very little acquisition has taken place, as other than in teacher-targeted literacy activities, almost all SAE determiner use is accounted for by the overlap between the two varieties. This kind of discussion awaits a more complete description of the home language variety of these students, in concert with the ongoing work on the school language use corpus.

Discussion and Conclusion

Teachers in Queensland schools currently operate in an evidence-driven environment, so are expected to plan units and classes that cater for the various educational needs of their students based on the best available evidence. This chapter is the first longitudinal, quantitative study of the acquisition of SAE as an additional dialect by Australian Aboriginal students in a classroom context. We have demonstrated that simply applying mainstream, best-practice literacy

teaching that assumes students are already proficient in SAE has not led to any measurable language learning for these students. We argue that without achieving this base level of proficiency in SAE in the early years, it would be much more difficult to introduce more sophisticated uses of SAE required in later years, thus compounding the educational disadvantages facing non-SAE-speaking Australian Indigenous children.

Ultimately, this chapter highlights again the need for young speakers of Aboriginal English varieties to be actively supported throughout their schooling to learn the standard variety used in their classrooms for learning and assessment. We have shown here that daily exposure to SAE through direct interaction with their SAE-speaking teachers and teaching materials over three years of this study was not enough to shift these students' use of articles and demonstratives towards SAE forms and functions beyond what they already used at the beginning of Year 1. However, they seem to have already grasped that literacy work does involve the use of particular SAE forms applied to the written/reading aloud context. Our data provide no evidence that these children were aware of the importance of using SAE as a language variety outside of the literacy context, such as for talking about the curriculum content which is also written in and taught through SAE. As there was very little material recorded in the corpus that showed explicit language awareness teaching, or the significance of differentiating the two varieties for better acquisition of SAE, we have no way of assessing how aware the six children were (either tacitly or explicitly) of SAE as a distinct, rule-governed linguistic system to acquire and use.

Effectively learning SAE during the primary school years prepares students for the language and content demands of the high school curriculum and also gives them a better chance at accessing the jobs, services and public discourse that generally advantages speakers of SAE in mainstream Australian society. SAE is needed to access both learning and assessment across all areas of the curriculum, not just for literacy tasks. Our study only shows these students are *not* learning SAE through the largely undifferentiated mainstream curriculum. Teaching SAE only as the language

of literacy does not offer enough opportunities for use and practice and therefore for students to acquire it proficiently even for that purpose. Students need targeted and explicit language teaching practice that takes into account their own language background, and supports them to learn both SAE and curriculum content over the course of several years of schooling.

Notes

1. As the research was undertaken in 2010-2013, we quote the policy of the time. The current policy is very similar in substance.
2. Most pre-service teacher training in Queensland currently does not include subjects on teaching English to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander EAL/D learners, with the exception of James Cook University, which includes a compulsory subject for Bachelor of Education students titled 'Teaching English as a Second Language to Indigenous Students' [which the first author has worked on as support staff for over the past four years]. Queensland University of Technology is adding a similar course to the core subjects of their Bachelor of Education degree in 2016. There has been in-service training at different levels available through the Language Perspectives team (see: http://indigenous.education.qld.gov. au/school/language-perspectives/Pages/default.aspx) for several years, but only recently has this become a departmental policy priority state-wide, and continues to be intermittent and limited in reach. The EAL/D Hub will add to the self-guided in-service training available in this area when it is launched in 2018.
3. The school is not named in accordance with our ethical clearance protocols.

4. In Queensland, Prep is currently the first year of compulsory formal schooling, available to students aged four years and six months and above. This year is also referred to as 'Foundation' across Australia.

5. Although all of these forms likely exist in the home variety of these students, not every use of these forms correlates with its probable syntactic and functional use in the home variety. Similarly, not all of the SAE target forms described above are consistently used in appropriate SAE syntactic frames. Like Dixon (Chap. 11, this volume), we assume that the students are using an interlanguage at times, or otherwise approximating SAE, but it is quite likely that that they are using their repertoires of language very differently outside the school context.

6. Whether we should expect students learning English as an Additional Dialect to have command of these words by the age of seven or eight would depend on the dialect-learning factors mentioned above, including the amount of effective teaching. Even if we should not expect students to have reached this stage after four years of developmental language learning, the current system certainly *does* implicitly and explicitly expect these students to have full command of SAE, including determiners, as they are needed to succeed in NAPLAN, access the National Curriculum, and high English proficiency is described above as both State Schools' policy and the stated goals for this school.

7. We note that there was very little evidence of any active or explicit teaching of SAE articles and demonstratives in the recorded data, or of very much SAE language teaching at all, so the students may not actually have had a clear idea of what the 'Target Dialect' might be.

8. http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/glm2/glm2.pdf.

9. The documentation work of the D1 variety is incomplete, so we cannot say whether these uses are representative of that variety or an interlanguage used in the classroom.

10. An alternate explanation is that these students *are* acquiring SAE articles and demonstratives, but choosing not to use them for reasons of identity and motivation. This is by far the more complicated explanation of the data, for two reasons: (1) There are contexts (i.e. literacy activities while addressing the teacher) where students *do* seem to be actively targeting SAE forms, or at least be aware that they are expected to perform in a particular way, yet they do not increase their rate of production of these forms over the three years. This would require that

during these activities they have *just enough* non-SAE identity activated during these utterances to choose not to use the forms almost exactly one-third of the time, even while they are increasing their underlying representation of the forms incrementally over the three years. (2) The data used for this chapter is entirely based on the students' productions in the classroom, so we are measuring their acquisition in terms of what they produce, attempting to avoid too heavy a reliance on explaining the state of grammatical systems in the mind, or extrapolating into identity-states. We don't deny that these are significant factors in language use, but when we describe acquisition, it therefore must be in terms of what the student *does* produce, which naturally includes both their ability to accurately form the grammatical structures and pronunciation of the target variety and their social choices about when, where and how to use the new variety.

11. This is very similar to testing phonology (th-initial vs. others) or looking at articles vs. demonstratives. Running models with these variables yield less significant results, although the explanation for why *a/an* is more likely to turn up as SAE must include both phonological and grammatical arguments.

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Alyawarr Children's Use of Two Closely Related Languages

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Introduction

Australia is home to many Indigenous contact languages. These are languages that have their roots in the blending of Indigenous languages and English. They tend to contain a lexicon that is largely derived from English (though the meanings of many words might reflect Indigenous perspectives) and an underlying grammar that shows signs of both English and Indigenous language patterns. The variety that emerges through this process of blending is entirely unique, although with recognisable (though perhaps not always obvious) traces of the contributing languages. Several of these contact varieties have been named and documented, but there is good evidence of a substantial number of languages that are yet to receive this kind of formal treatment (see Angelo and Hudson, Chap. 9, in this volume).

Across the many different contexts and sites for second language acquisition (childhood or adulthood, minority or dominant language, informal

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or formal learning context) we know comparatively little about how children who have one of these contact languages as their mother tongue subsequently learn the kind of standard English that is the medium of instruction in Australian schools. When the contact variety is apparently similar to English, is the existence of shared words and patterns ultimately a help or a hindrance?

A modest amount of international research has demonstrated that small differences between the first (L1) and second (L2) languages may be the most challenging for language learners, particularly if the differences do not generally or obviously impede communication (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998). For example, Spears (1982) discusses a distinct use of *come* in African American English (AAE) where it can be used as an auxiliary verb to express indignation or negative evaluation, as in the following sentence (p. 854):

(1) We sitting there talking, and he come hitting on me for some money.

In this example, 'he' is one of the people already 'sitting there talking', so this use of *come* is not describing motion towards the speaker. Rather, this use of *come* displays the speaker's disapproval at being asked ('hit on') for some money. The difference between this use of *come* and its use as a regular main verb of motion could be easily missed by speakers of Standard American English (SAmE), particularly because either interpretation (that the person asking for money was already sitting down or not) is largely immaterial to the larger point being made. These kinds of differences, where the same or similar word form has (some) subtly different functions in related languages, have been called 'camouflaged' language features (Spears 1982).

For speakers of Australian contact languages, there is also potential for camouflaged forms to remain unnoticed, impeding complete acquisition of Standard Australian English (SAE). On the other hand, Australian contact varieties share much of the same lexicon and, to some extent, grammatical patterns as SAE, and so speakers do not necessarily start from scratch when learning SAE. In other research contexts, it has also been demonstrated that there can be an acquisitional bonus when the L1 and L2 share structural similarities. For example, speakers of Kriol (an

Australian contact language) do not need to learn a new basic word order the way speakers of Japanese do when they learn English.

However, to say that this is a 'bonus' in the case of contact language speakers may be a red herring, particularly if the apparent similarity of contact languages to English results in their speakers being overlooked as learners of SAE. This is precisely the case for many Australian Indigenous children (as several of the other papers in this volume attest). Even when their status as learners of English is recognised by schooling systems, they may remain undifferentiated from other students learning English as a second language (ESL) (i.e. those who speak a first language that is unrelated to English, such as a traditional Aboriginal or foreign language). For example, while ESL students in the Northern Territory of Australia nominally have their needs reflected in two specialised milestone and curriculum documents (*NT Diagnostic Net* and *Northern Territory Curriculum Framework: ESL Early Childhood and Primary Learners*), these are intended for use with all ESL students regardless of language background or learning context. In other words, speakers of contact languages are expected to travel the same pathway, with the same kinds of pedagogical approaches and assessment as other ESL students.

In the neighbouring jurisdiction of Queensland, there is ongoing development of specialised tracking tools (called 'bandscales') that seek to more directly cater for Indigenous learners of English who first speak a contact language as their mother tongue. Hudson and Angelo (2014) describe in detail the rationale and iterative process that has unfolded. The project team responsible has directly grappled with ways to reflect teachers' direct experience which suggests that Indigenous contact language-speaking students might travel a different pathway from other ESL students. For example, one bandscale indicator identifies the level at which these students' progress in learning SAE can tend to stall:

Some students, e.g. students who speak creoles, may plateau at level 3 in listening because of the lack of understanding that the language they speak is not SAE. That is, it may be erroneously assumed by both student and teachers that the students are SAE users and therefore they 'should' be able to understand what is being said in the classroom. (EB_EP_Levels1-4_ Implications, cited in Hudson and Angelo 2014, p. 56)

Note that this plateauing is directly attributed to the similarity of the L1 creole (a type of contact language) to SAE. This prevalence of shared and 'camouflaged' language features is approached as an issue of 'apparent transparency': that is, English appears clear or transparent to learners because of the similarities with their L1, and the language produced by students appears to teachers to be reasonably good SAE, though it might largely be L1. Multiple descriptors and supporting information within the bandscale documents alert teachers to the possibility that students may appear more proficient than they actually are because of this apparent transparency (Hudson and Angelo 2014, p. 55).

However, Hudson and Angelo (2014, p. 56) acknowledge that 'thoroughgoing incorporation of transparency beyond "mistaken L2 proficiency" has yet to be accomplished.' That is, beyond being aware that apparent transparency interferes with students' and teachers' perceptions, we actually know very little about the impact this has on the English that is produced at different stages of acquisition. Do students use their L1 in the first days of schooling and gradually modify it to become more like English? What parts of language get modified first? Are there parts of English that get missed altogether and is this related to how 'camouflaged' or 'transparent' they are?

This paper closely examines several potentially camouflaged language features in the early years of schooling, with the aim of firstly determining if there are differences between children's use of these features in the home and at school. I will then consider the nature of these differences and the extent to which camouflaging or transparency might explain them. A further important point of departure for the present study is the fact that for all ESL learners in Northern Territory schools, there is little space for the L1 in everyday classroom practices (the exception to this being the bilingual and formerly bilingual schools). Most research has also had a L2 focus, so we likewise know little about the development of the L1 contact language across the early school years. By providing a rich description of the language use of early school-aged children, in both home and school contexts, this study responds to these concerns and aims to make inroads into this complex territory.

Context, Data and Method

The setting for this study is in the middle of Australia's arid, central cattle-droving region. It is a small community of around 100–150, mostly Alyawarr, Warlpiri and Kaytetye people on land excised from the surrounding cattle station. Here the children speak a language variety which displays elements of the traditional Arandic language Alyawarr, Kriol and English. It is not immediately comprehensible to native speakers of English. After some consultation with adult speakers, I refer to this variety as Alyawarr English. The traditional languages mentioned are all spoken in the community by older folk (middle-aged and above). Several adults are proficient in Kriol via marriage relationships. SAE is also spoken by adults of all ages to varying degrees, though it is my impression that this language is not commonly used at home. When the children of this community enter formal schooling,[1] they encounter an environment in which SAE is the language of formal assessment. They will experience various Englishes as the medium of instruction. During the span of fieldwork for this research, students experienced teaching staff who were first and second language speakers of (Australian) English as well as speakers of South African English. They are further aided in their learning by teaching assistants who speak Alyawarr or Alyawarr English, and also SAE.

Data for this study come from the corpus of recordings made for the Aboriginal Child Language Acquisition 2 (ACLA2) project,[2] a longitudinal study of the interaction of home and school languages in Aboriginal communities. This project has several other field sites and multiple aims. The design of the recording schedule was focused on capturing naturalistic language use in a range of different home and school contexts. School recordings followed the normal flow of the class day and captured a variety of classroom activities. A range of teachers and other education personnel appear in the corpus. Home recordings were generally aided by toy sets provided by the researcher. These sets were chosen to maximise the opportunity for peer-to-peer verbal interaction (e.g. Knight battle set, doctor's kit, Guess Who game, pocket doll set, cash register set). I and another adult research assistant from the community were present,

though we sat at a little distance to the children. The sessions generally took place in the front yard of the senior Alyawarr woman who oversees the project, or another shady, quiet spot in the community where children like to play. The Alyawarr corpus consists of 100 hours of video recordings, from which I have drawn from 44 recording sessions, equal to around 25 hours of transcribed interaction. For the present study, data was contributed by nine participants (five girls, four boys) across three time intervals of six months. The youngest participant was 5;4 at the first recording; and the oldest was 8;5 at the last recording.

One of the challenges for teachers needing to assess their students' SAE proficiency is that they often have little information about the contact language mother tongue. This makes it extremely difficult to determine the extent to which a child might be simply using her mother tongue, or attempting something more English-like. Studies with access only to classroom language data replicate the same conditions. In both cases the language produced by children tends to be described in terms that focus on the extent to which it is 'not target' (with the 'target' often defined in terms of standard descriptions which reflect use by native-speaking adults). There are two key, interrelated limitations of this approach. Firstly, it does not describe the learner's language on its own terms and will therefore likely fail to observe some of the rules or patterns that learners are actually adhering to, even when these do not match target norms. For example, the following sentence (2) (from Klein 1995, p. 53) could receive a lot of correction; in particular neither of the verbs ('do' and 'go') is in the past tense. However note the use of 'Punjab' (meaning something like 'When I was in the Punjab') and 'before' to signal the relevant prior time/location. The systematic use of such markers (at the beginning of sentences, denoting a shift in time reference from the preceding clause) is a noted feature of adults' beginner English (Klein 1995).

(2) Punjab, I do agriculture farm. Before I go, 75, in the arab country.

The idea that learners are systematic, even in their use of non-target language, has been an important concept in the study of second language acquisition. Selinker (1972) first introduced the term 'interlanguage' to refer to non-target language produced by learners, and suggested it be described in its own right.

A second and related consequence of focusing on the target is that the interlanguage system is not situated with reference to the L1, so we have no means of determining if progress away from the L1 has been made. This in turn has implications for how we also conceive of the distance to the target (Dixon 2013). As a response to these issues, the present study takes a novel approach: describing and then directly comparing various linguistic features of the L1 (Alyawarr English) and L2 (SAE interlanguage) to first examine the differences between these two 'varieties' prior to the comparison of the L2 to standard descriptions of SAE. This gives us the opportunity to consider the L1 in the context of the L2, and the L2 in the context of the L1.

A further innovation has been made with respect to the classification of clause tokens as either L1 or L2. Rather than designate clauses as 'Alyawarr English' or 'interlanguage' based on formal properties (i.e. whether they contain obvious features of Alyawarr English or SAE), I operationalise each language variety on contextual grounds. A HOME data set was compiled of utterances made at home, and to an Indigenous interlocutor. A SCHOOL data set was compiled of utterances made at school, to a non-Indigenous interlocutor. Thus each language is operationalised as a set of clause tokens fitting a set of contextual constraints. This method is aimed at maximising the likelihood that we will capture something that is an attempt at SAE (i.e. if interlanguage exists, it will exist in these interactions). From these two data sets, clauses with present temporal reference were extracted. These are clauses in which the action referred to is happening in the present time, or denoting a habitual occurrence that has scope over the present.[3] Over the following three sections, I will examine three different components of these clauses: aspectual morphology, transitive marking and subject pronouns.

Aspectual Morphology

There are three main verb forms within the present temporal reference data: the basic V form (e.g. 'hit'), a form ending in *-bat* (e.g. 'hitimbat'[4]) and one ending in *-ing* (e.g. 'hitting'). What do all these forms do, and do they do the same things in the HOME and SCHOOL data sets? In some other Australian contact languages (e.g. Gurindji Kriol (Meakins 2007))

there is simply a transitivity split: Ving occurs on intransitive verbs (i.e. those with no object), and Vbat on transitive verbs (i.e. those with an object). Example sentences (3) and (4) below, in which 'cook' is first used transitively/with -*bat*, then intransitively/with -*ing* indicate that this is worth exploring in the present data. Another possibility is that, as with other Australian contact languages, Ving and Vbat have 'overlapping' aspectual semantics, with Vbat generally having a more iterative or habitual semantic specialisation, in addition to the progressive semantics shared with Ving (e.g. Kimberley Kriol, Hudson 1983). Example (5), in which 'sleep' is used intransitively but with alternating -*bat*/-*ing* endings, suggests this too is worth investigation. It may also be the case that the use of Ving in the HOME data is actually a case of 'washback' (i.e. use of an L2 form in an L1 clause) from SAE. Examples (6) and (7) are instances of students swapping Vbat for Ving when talking to a teacher. The fact that Ving and Vbat are sites of such code-switching supports this hypothesis.

(3) Im kukim**bat**[5]   [SJD-062:306 Lenora HOME]
     3sgS cook.TR.BAT
     'She's cooking (it)'.
     (referring to Deanna, who is 'cooking' a toy fried egg in a fry pan)

(4) Im kuk**ing**   [SJD-062:749 Lenora HOME]
     3sgS cook.ING
     'It's cooking'
     (referring to the fried egg and fry pan she is cooking on a pretend stove top)

(5) Antyeny janggul silip**ing**…Silip**bat** na. Janggul.
     little.dude jungle sleep.ING…sleep.BAT NA jungle
     'The little dude is sleeping (in the) jungle…Sleeping now, (in the) jungle'.
     (talking to himself as he plays with little toy soldiers ('antyeny'))
                                          [SJD-063:405-8 Simon HOME]

(6) To student: Don kalaim**bat**!
                    NEG colour.TR.BAT!
                    'Don't colour it'!
     To teacher: He's colour**ing** it!   [SJD-044-B:200-2 Tiffany SCHOOL]

(7) Simon: Hey! Shaun bin kickim**bat**!
     Teacher: What?
     Deanna: kick**ing**   [SJD-019-B:104-7 ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ]

With these possibilities in mind, we'll now take a look at some of the similarities and differences in the way V, Ving and Vbat are used in the ʜᴏᴍᴇ and ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ. First, the Vbat form only occurs in the ʜᴏᴍᴇ data.[6] This is the first indication that our ʜᴏᴍᴇ and ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data sets do reflect two separate systems, and further, that the ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data set looks more like SAE. Common to both ʜᴏᴍᴇ and ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ usage is that in both data sets the main verb *gat*/'got' (semantically similar to the main verb 'have' in English) is invariant: in the 163 sentences with this verb it never occurs with -*ing* or -*bat*.[7] Further, clauses with punctual aspectual semantics (i.e. clauses which refer to events which are happening only for the duration of the utterance itself, or shorter) are always in the V form. These patterns of shared usage for the V form potentially indicate L1 transfer into the L2.

Now we'll take a look at the proportion of each form in each context. The V form is similarly proportioned in both ʜᴏᴍᴇ [42%] and ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ [49%] data sets (see Fig. 11.1). With the absence of Vbat in the ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data, Ving becomes a more prominent variant (from 22% in the ʜᴏᴍᴇ data to 51% in the ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data).

At first blush these results appear to indicate that Ving simply replaces Vbat in the ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data. This is the 'code-switching' scenario suggested by example sentences (6) and (7) presented above. However, to be
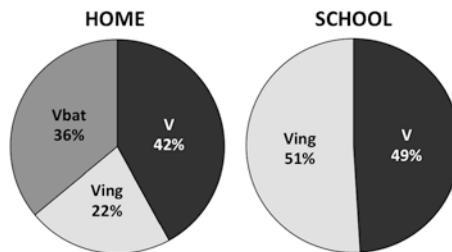
Fig. 11.1 Distribution of the three verb forms (V, Ving and Vbat) in ʜᴏᴍᴇ [N=667] and ѕᴄʜᴏᴏʟ [N=321] contexts

conclusive about this we need to examine whether Ving in the SCHOOL is really doing the same job as Vbat in the HOME.

The job of these verb forms is to convey aspectual semantics, meaning they indicate whether the action of the sentence is completed or ongoing, or possibly ongoing but in a repeated ('iterative') or habitual fashion.[8] So the question is whether V, Ving and Vbat convey the same aspectual meanings in both HOME and SCHOOL data. It turns out that V is the form most closely associated with 'stative' verbs (i.e. those that express mental or emotional states) in both data sets. So we find, for example, the verb 'like' most often in the V form as in examples (8) and (9). The Ving form is most closely associated with durative (ongoing) actions in both data sets. So verbs like 'play' and 'fight' most often appear in the Ving forms, as in examples (10) and (11).

(8) Am leik them koffis.   [SJD-046-A: 379 Tiffany HOME]
     1sgS like them coffees
     'I like those coffee (lollies).'

(9) I like the little story.   [SJD-006B:75 Alysha SCHOOL]

(10) Joey pleiing.   [SJD-046-A:477 Deanna HOME]
     [name] play.ING
     'Joey is playing.'

(11) These two are fighting.   [SJD-039-B:382 Tiffany SCHOOL]

(12) Yumab stilimbat oldei iya.   [SJD-062:1536 Alysha HOME]
     2plS steal.TR.BAT always here
     'You lot are always stealing here.'

(13) 'We eat apple at school.'   [SJD-061:373 Simon SCHOOL]

Differences between the home and school data emerge in the expression of habitual or repetitive actions. In the home data, Vbat is used in these contexts (see example 12), while in the school data V is the form most strongly associated with this meaning (see example 13). So it appears that in the school V more directly replaces Vbat. This pattern possibly reflects the widely observed tendency for language learners to go through an initial stage where they produce verbs that are devoid of tense/aspect morphology (i.e. V forms), and instead convey tense and aspect though

discourse and lexical means (e.g. adverbs such as 'yesterday' convey past time; 'always' conveys habitual/repeated etc.). So it may be the case that until the participating children can determine the SAE morphology equivalent to *-bat*, these children just use the V 'unmarked' form.

However, Ving also dramatically increases its use in habitual/iterative contexts, from 2% in the HOME data to 42% in the SCHOOL data, so it appears that both V and Ving are now used to express habitual/iterative semantics. (Figures 11.4 and 11.5 in the Appendix represent graphically the aspectual data.) In Standard English usage, habitual and iterative semantics are actually achieved by separate means. Dynamic verbs like 'walk' are expressed in the Ving form in default present contexts: 'I'm walking the dog.' But if they are produced in the V form, the habitual interpretation becomes the default interpretation: 'I walk my dog.' Conversely, iterativity is by default expressed with Ving: 'I clap my hands (once)' versus 'I'm clapping my hands (repeatedly).' Thus, these complex interactions between lexical aspectual semantics and verb form in English may be reflected in the children's use of both V and Ving in the habitual/iterative context.

Another possible influence on the choice of verb form flagged above, particularly in the HOME data, is the transitivity of the verb. As it turns out, Ving is not used on transitive verbs in the HOME data—it is confined to intransitive verbs (see Fig. 11.6 in the Appendix). In the SCHOOL data, however, Ving is used on both transitive and intransitive verbs. In addition to the absence of Vbat, this accounts for the increased prominence of Ving in the SCHOOL context (recall from 22% of the HOME data to 51% of the SCHOOL data). This is a significant difference between the HOME and SCHOOL data: transitivity is fundamentally important in the HOME data set, but does not impact on the available verb forms in the SCHOOL data set (although it does alter the proportional use of V versus Ving, with transitive context favouring the former and intransitive contexts favouring the latter).

The small amount of adult Alyawarr English data collected for the corpus project indicates that transitivity is a categorical feature of verb form: *-bat* is only used on transitive verbs and *-ing* is only used with intransitive verbs. These results indicate that the children in this study may still be developing their L1 aspectual system as they begin their L2 journey (or

other possibilities[9]). While more adult/longitudinal data is needed to have certainty on this point, it is clear that the two data sets are quite different when it comes to aspectual morphology. Firstly, while V and Ving are common to the HOME and SCHOOL data sets, Vbat is only used at HOME. And, Ving becomes a much more proportionally prominent form in the SCHOOL data. Secondly, while the HOME and SCHOOL data sets share the same invariable contexts (i.e. 'got' and punctual contexts are invariantly V in both data sets), only the HOME data is subject to the transitivity constraint. In summary, then, there is evidence for a fairly complex reorganisation of the aspectual system taking place in the context of present temporal reference clauses. Before I discuss the mechanisms by which this might be occurring, I first explore two other components of these clauses.

First Singular Subject Pronouns

Another standout feature of the HOME data is the variable use of two first singular subject pronouns. The first I will refer to as 'I'. In Alyawarr English, it is written as 'A' and pronounced as a short 'ah' as in 'up' (/ʌ/) (see example sentence (14)). The second I will refer to as 'AM'. It is written as 'Am' in Alyawarr English and pronounced as 'um' (/ʌm/) (see example sentence (15)).

(14) Yeah, **A** faindim alakenh gat thet eg, ei
      Yeah, 1sgS find.TR like_that with that egg hey
      'Yeah, I'm looking for (one) like that with the egg, hey'
      [SJD-062:789 Alysha HOME]

(15) **Am** duimbat eplein
      1sgS do.TR.BAT airplane
      'I'm doing an airplane'
      [SJD-069:177 Lenora HOME]

The 'AM' form has been attested as a subject pronoun in other Australian contact language varieties (e.g. Gurindji Kriol (Meakins 2007)), and in one case -*m* final subject pronouns have spread throughout the subject pronominal paradigm (with forms *aim* '1sg', *wim* '1pl',

yum '2sg', *im* '3sg', *dem* '3pl'—Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2013)). In these languages, and in Alyawarr English, 'AM' is etymologically derived from the English contracted pronoun plus auxiliary/copular 'be' construction ('I'm'), though it is no longer used solely in the contexts in which this construction is found in English. In English, the auxiliary 'am' only and obligatorily occurs in present tense clauses where the verb is marked with the progressive *-ing* (e.g. 'I'm going home'). But in the HOME (and SCHOOL) data, the 'AM' form is not restricted to this verbal context, and conversely, the 'I' form may also be used with Ving verbs (so both 'Am go' and 'I going' type constructions are found). Adult Alyawarr English speakers use both forms, although unfortunately there is not enough data at this stage to determine if they are used interchangeably to any extent. The variation between 'I' and 'AM' as 1sg pronouns is therefore interesting both as a feature of the ongoing development of Alyawarr English as a contact language and also in terms of how the variable pattern of use in the L1 collides with a categorical pattern in SAE.

The relative frequency of each form, in HOME and SCHOOL contexts, is shown in Fig. 11.2. In the HOME data, the two forms 'AM' and 'I' are in relatively equal distribution (48% and 52% respectively). In the SCHOOL data, 'AM' is much less prominent (23%), though not insignificant.

In order to see if there are different (1sg) pronominal systems in operation, we need to determine what rules govern the use of 'AM' (versus 'I') in the HOME data, and see if that also applies to the SCHOOL data. My analysis showed that verb form is the strongest predictor of which subject pronoun will be used:[10] both Ving and Vbat forms are much more likely to occur with the 'AM' subject pronoun, and the V form with the 'I' pronoun, in the HOME data. This variable pattern is replicated in the SCHOOL data: the V form of the verb is found mostly with the 'I' subject pronoun, and the Ving form favours the 'AM' variant. This evidence potentially supports the conclusion that the children are continuing to use their L1 variable pattern in their interlanguage Australian English. (Data is graphically represented in Fig. 11.7 in the Appendix.)

Another possible explanation is that producing clauses like 'I'm go' and 'I going' might be a pattern other language learners display, and as such this pattern might be reflective of broader developmental/acquisitional drivers. First I will discuss the types of 'errors' in the data. Children
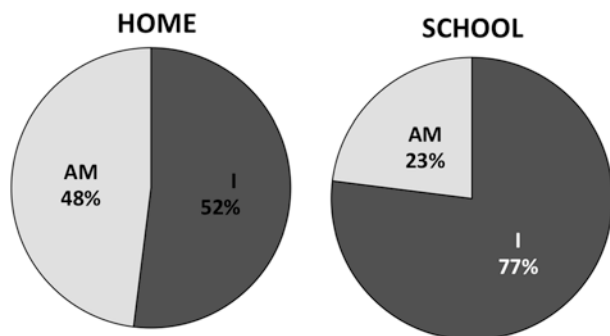
Fig. 11.2 Distribution of 1sg subject pronominal forms 'I' and 'AM' in ʜᴏᴍᴇ [N=329] and sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ [N=141] contexts

acquiring English as their L1 typically make errors of 'omission' (i.e. where an auxiliary is left out, e.g. 'I going' rather than 'I am going'), but not errors of 'overgeneration' (i.e. where an auxiliary is produced where it is not needed, e.g. 'I'm think' rather than 'I think') or 'commission' (where an incorrect auxiliary or verb form is supplied, e.g. 'I is eating' or 'I am eat' rather than 'I am eating') (Lieven 2008; Theakston and Lieven 2005). Further, these errors are not made for the auxiliary 'am' by typically developing children over the age of 5;0 (Polite and Leonard 2007). By contrast, errors of commission and overgeneration with 'am/is/are' have been shown to be a substantial pattern in early child L2 speech (Ionin and Wexler 2002, Paradis 2008) From a SAE-target perspective, the children in this study also potentially 'oversupply' the auxiliary in 16 sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ tokens which have the structure 'AM + V'[11] (see example 16). There are two examples of potential errors of commission in the sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data set (per example 17). If commission errors and overgeneration of verbal auxiliaries are distinguishing features of L1 versus L2 English, then this data set looks like other L2 acquisition data (although the rates of both are comparatively low with respect to other L2 data).

(16) Am haveim.   [SJD-058:351 Simon sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ *saying he has an ankle*]

(17) I's press 'C' here.   [SJD-065:801 Tiffany sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ]

A related issue is whether the contracted 'I'm' (as opposed to the full form 'I + am') is actually unanalysed in the child's language. That is, children treat it as a whole word. In L1 English, contracted auxiliary forms in general (e.g. 'she's', 'you're'), and contracted 'I'm' in particular, generally precede full forms (e.g. 'she is', 'you are', 'I am') in production (Theakston and Lieven 2005). Further, it is also variably omitted for a longer period (i.e. the child varies between 'I'm Ving' and 'I ø Ving' for a longer period than with 'is' or 'are' forms[12]) (Theakston and Lieven 2005). There is a general consensus that these early uses of contracted auxiliaries are unanalysed forms, and as a result, many authors exclude these in studies of auxiliary behaviour in L1 learner language. This phenomenon of early auxiliary use may be particularly related to the nature of the input: McElhinny's (1993) study of adult native speakers of SAmE showed a rate of 'am' contraction of 94%, so children mostly hear 'I'm' rather than 'I am'.

High rates of contraction tend to make assessment of the L2 English learner's underlying analysis of 'I'm' similarly problematic. In some studies the full form 'am' is present from the beginning: Haznedar's (2001) study of a young L1 Turkish-speaking child learner of English revealed that he varied between use of the full form, contracted form and omitted auxiliary from within the first 6 months of English acquisition. Similar findings have been made for adult Persian-speaking learners of English, who varied between the full and contracted forms (though with the latter highly dominant), while they still produced null forms for 'is' and 'are' (Samar 2003).

By contrast, in examination of auxiliary forms in the English speech of young L1 AAE-speaking children, Labov (1969, p. 50) and others (e.g. Pfaff 1980, p. 172) have suggested that the contracted 'I'm' could be an example of lexicalisation, citing productions in emphatic constructions (which are non-contractible contexts for native speakers) such as example (10). Labov (1969) suggests that the contracted copula 'I'm' could be analysed as an allomorph of 'I' by the children. Subsequently, L1 AAE-speaking children find it challenging to segment the contracted copula into 'I + am'. Garrity and Oetting (2010, p. 1315) likewise found that young L1 AAE-speaking children also produced utterances like 'I'm is'

and 'I'm are' in SAmE testing contexts, and interpret these as reflections of AAE treatment of 'I'm' as a 'single morpheme'.

(18) Researcher: You're not David!
       Child: Yes, I'm am!

Labov further noted that similar-aged white children (i.e. native speakers of SAmE) and also adolescent African American children did produce the full forms and did not produce clauses like example (10). These findings indicate that the phase of producing 'I'm' as a single word occurs longer for African American children (likely because of L1 influence), but by adolescence the L2 pattern has been acquired.

The conclusion that the SCHOOL data demonstrate a relationship of strong L1 transfer is similarly predicated on the assumption that the 1sg variant 'AM' does not have the underlying analysis of 'I' plus a contracted auxiliary. Strong evidence for the analysis advanced here—that is, that 'AM' is a single morpheme—comes from the fact that there are no tokens of a full form 1sg auxiliary in the corpus. This is despite the presence of other contracted and full form 'be' auxiliaries, that is, 'is' and 'are' (mostly confined to the SCHOOL context).[13] However, the lack of sampling of contexts in which 'am' is not contractible in SAE (in particular, emphatic expressions) means that this conclusion is tentative.

Transitivity Marking

Australian traditional and contact languages typically make a distinction between transitive clauses (i.e. those with a grammatical object: 'The dog bites the snake.') and intransitive clauses (i.e. those without a grammatical object: 'The dog sleeps.'). In traditional languages, such as Alyawarr, transitive clauses are marked by the addition of the ergative marker on the agent (Yallop 1977). Transitive verbs in Australian contact languages, such as Kriol, take a stem-final *-im* marker (Schultze-Berndt et al. 2013). Alyawarr English also has this transitive marker (e.g. *baitim* 'bite'; *hitim* 'hit'), but its use by children is variable. That is, not all transitive clauses categorically receive the transitive marker. Specifically, transitive verbs in

the form of V (i.e. not marked with -*ing* or -*bat*) receive variable transitive marking at the rate of 65%. Examples (19), (20) and (21) demonstrate this variation.

(19) Foot, you **makim**? … **Make** foot.

[SJD-055-:24 Shamus SCHOOL]

(20) I **got** five … Am **gatim** faib.
'I've got five'
(to non-Indigenous teacher and Alyawarr Teaching Assistant, respectively)

[SJD-059:9-10 Shamus SCHOOL]

(21) Hu **gat** thet thing wan…Thisan wen im **gatim** dres
'Who's got that thing one … This one that has the dress'
(Asking other children who has a particular item of doll's clothing)

[SJD-069:878 & 881 Lenora HOME]

SAE has no morphological means of distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs. So this feature makes a useful point of comparison to the other features so far investigated (pronouns and aspect marking) for which there are competing L1 and L2 systems. In the SCHOOL data, the children continue to use the transitive marker at a rate of 34% (see Fig. 11.3).
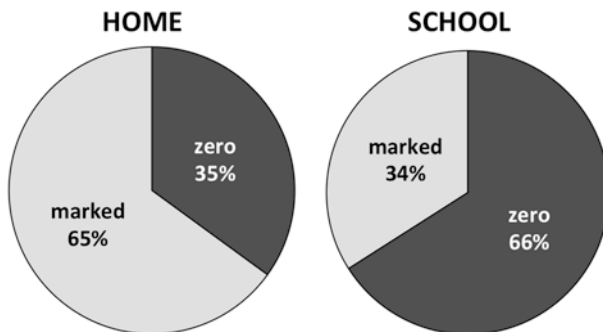
Fig. 11.3 Rate of transitive marking on V verbs in HOME [N=286] and SCHOOL [N=146] contexts

However, behind this overall rate of use is a rapid decline in transitive marking across the first year of schooling. From the age of five (pre-schoolers and early school-goers) to the age of eight, the rate of use of the transitive marker in the SCHOOL declines from 90% to 5%, while the rate of use in the HOME remains reasonably steady (see Fig. 11.8 in the Appendix). Of the three grammatical features examined in this chapter, this is the only one for which this kind of age effect is found. It is additionally revealing to look at the individual trajectories of the participating children. When we consider the data in this way, three groups of speakers emerge in the SCHOOL context (see Fig. 11.9 in the Appendix). The three youngest participants (Simon, Shamus and Deanna) are the declining markers, Their individual rates of use drop dramatically from the first sample until the last (12 months later). Two participants (Tiffany and Alysha) are the group of non-markers (probably representing the continuation of the declining pattern exhibited by Simon, Shamus and Deanna). They have ceased using the transitive marker at school prior to the first sample when they are aged 6–6.5 and have been in school for one year. Lenora is an outlier, declining in her rate of marking but much later than the other children: her rate of use is around 50% at age 6.5–6.11, and declines to 0% 12 months later.[14] Again, this is the only language feature analysed for which individual trajectories were so disparate.

In the HOME context, speakers have less obviously systematic patterns of marking, with each speaker showing quite a considerable range in their rate of transitive marking across time intervals (see Fig. 11.10 in the Appendix). In the small sample of adult Alyawarr English usage (200 clause tokens, 40 transitive), transitive marking is categorical: it always occurs on transitive verbs. This raises the interesting possibility that the data presented here demonstrate 'washback' from English, or potentially a developmental pattern in which transitive marking is variable on the way to the categorical rule being applied. Similar variable acquisitional patterns have been demonstrated for children learning other languages with morphological expression of transitivity.

The rapid decline in transitive marking over the early school years provides an interesting point of contrast to the other language features

examined in this chapter. I will now turn to exploring why each of these features appears to have a different impact on L1 and L2 acquisition.

Discussion

This chapter has examined three different grammatical features, each with different patterns in the L1 and L2, and outcomes for acquisition. The aspectual systems of the children's HOME and SCHOOL data differ in quite complex ways, and yet it appears that the SCHOOL data is more similar to SAE than it is to the HOME data. The 1sg subject pronominal system of children's HOME data is variable, whereas the 'target' SAE system is both categorical in terms of where the auxiliary 'am' is required and variable in terms of the option to contract it or not. In this case, it appears that the children's SCHOOL data is more like their L1 than SAE. Finally, transitive marking is variable in certain contexts (i.e. transitive V verbs) in the children's HOME data, but they quickly conform to the SAE pattern of no transitive marking in the early years of school.

Researchers have long grappled with what might make a particular grammatical feature more learnable than another. While the similarity (or otherwise) between L1 and L2 grammatical systems and the learnability of a given feature within those systems remain a somewhat under-theorised space (particularly for features above the level of phonology), what seems most notable here is that for two of these grammatical features (aspect and transitivity), the difference in systems involves the absence of an L1 morpheme in the SAE 'target'. In the case of transitivity marking, Alyawarr English has a marker whereas English does not. In the case of aspectual marking, Alyawarr English uses the -*bat* morpheme, whereas English does not (though other verb forms are shared).

Further, it appears that absence of transitive marking in English makes this a salient feature for the children, as evidenced from the following exchange (extract 1) in which a small group of lower primary students is engaged in making patterns with coloured beads and blocks. Lucy and

Tiffany are seated on the floor next to the teacher. Lucy asks the teacher for a blue bead. In doing so she formulates her request with an *-im* marked verb. Tiffany picks up on this and repeats Lucy's request, emphasising the verb. She then tells Lucy that the teacher does not understand 'your language' likely referring to the transitive-marked verb she has stressed in her mimicry.

> **Extract 1** [SJD-039-B: 328-333]
> Lucy: Can you give-im me blue?
> Tiffany: Can you g- give-im me blue?
>   (0.70)
>   I don no- I don no yo lengij.
>   She NEG know- She NEG know your language
>   'She doesn't know- She doesn't know your language'

It may be the case that the salience of this form is related to its learnability—or 'unlearnability' since the children have to learn *not* to use it in their L2. Similarly, the noticeable and readily reproduced absence of *-bat* in English may cast a light over the entire aspectual system, aiding in the acquisition of the English system seemingly evidenced by the SCHOOL data. It is also likely that there are complexities to this system that would warrant further tracking over time, particularly as the children develop their L2 vocabulary and their capacity to make more complex predicates in SAE, both of which require greater dexterity with aspectual semantics.

By contrast, the acquisition of 1sg pronoun 'I' in SAE requires that these children move from a pattern of use that is variable in their L1 (between 'I' and 'AM' forms) to one in which 'I' is disentangled from 'I'm' and both are categorically restricted to specific verb contexts (V and Ving, respectively). As reported above, the pattern of 'AM/I' variation produced by the children in both the HOME and SCHOOL data sets looks somewhat like the speech produced by other young learners of English. 'I'm' is likely unanalysed in the early stages of acquisition and is thus occasionally oversupplied. Moreover, rates of auxiliary oversuppliance are

generally greater in L2 English contexts, compared with L1 English speakers. For L1 speakers of AAE in particular, the dominance of the contracted form in their L1 (to the extent that some descriptions treat it as an invariant form) further obscures the analysability of the equivalent SAE form. It seems, then, that in addition to L1 transfer, the variable pattern of 'AM/I' in the school data set might be the result of several forces that conspire to make the acquisition of the full English 'am' auxiliary a challenge for young L1 speakers of closely related languages. These results seem to support the aforementioned finding that small, non-communicatively essential differences between the L1 and L2 are the hardest for speakers to acquire.

It was noted in the introduction that the Queensland bandscales project work was in part a response to education practitioners' observations that Indigenous contact language speakers did not fit into the other ESL development models (those based on speakers of foreign languages). In particular the steady use of 'home language' in the classroom is a distinguishing feature. This study has demonstrated at a micro level that this is the case, since, for example, the L1 1sg pronoun system prevails in the L2, and transitive marking is at least used initially. Yet there is complexity to this, since other features, such as Vbat, are not carried through into the L2.

Further, how should we make sense of overlapping features, such as V and Ving? In the school data they appear to carve up the aspectual space somewhat differently to the home data, suggesting that Ving is not simply a home language feature when used at school. Though this itself is interesting since most language learners (L1 and L2) go through a noted 'bare verb' phase in which inflectional morphology is left out (i.e. the V form is used in English). There does not appear to be straightforward evidence for this kind of stage in this data. Of course, it may be the case that more data and a longitudinal analysis would allow for finer shifts in the interlanguage system over time to be revealed, those that are obscured when the data is examined in aggregate. Fundamentally, however, the very fact of this conundrum is unique to L1 speakers of a contact language.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to elucidate how specific grammatical features pattern in both the L1 (Alyawarr English) and L2 (learner English), in order to determine whether the language used in the classroom is best understood as 'home' language or an attempt to produce something more SAE-like. As we have seen, the three different features each differ in this respect, and so we have to conclude that not all grammatical features are created equal in terms of their potential to be camouflaged forms, and in terms of their 'learnability'. We have also seen that there are potential washback effects from the L2 into the L1, though separating out these from developmental effects is not always possible to a high degree of certainty. In terms of pedagogy, this paper has shown that by taking the L1 language patterns into account, we get a much richer view of L2 language use. Whether in practice teachers need to develop their understanding of the L1, and to what extent, has not been directly tested. However, given that the children in this study received little in the way of explicit SAE instruction over the course of the data collection, it is perhaps impressive that for two of the language features examined, children appear well along the pathway to acquisition. However, this is not the case for the most camouflaged language feature. The similarity between English 'I'm' and Alyawarr English 'Am', coupled with the lack of explicit support to untangle these two forms, may well result in plateauing that could remain undetected by learner and teacher alike. However, by going beyond the surface of language use and language description, this paper has shown it is possible to detect areas of challenge for speakers of contact languages learning English, and set a possible roadmap for supporting learning.

Appendix
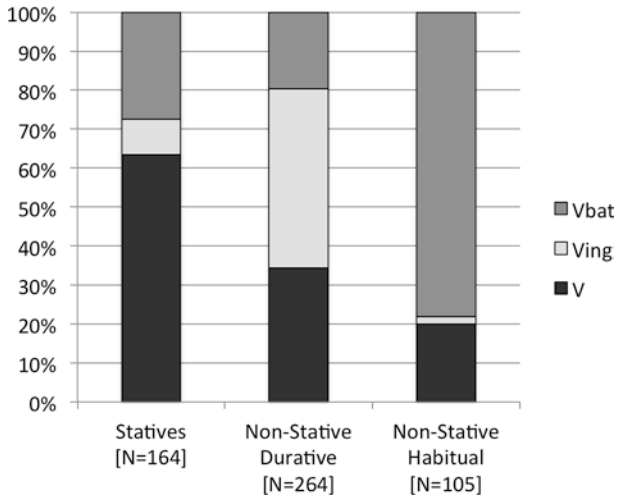
Fig. 11.4   Distribution of three verb forms (V, Ving, Vbat) per aspectual context, HOME data
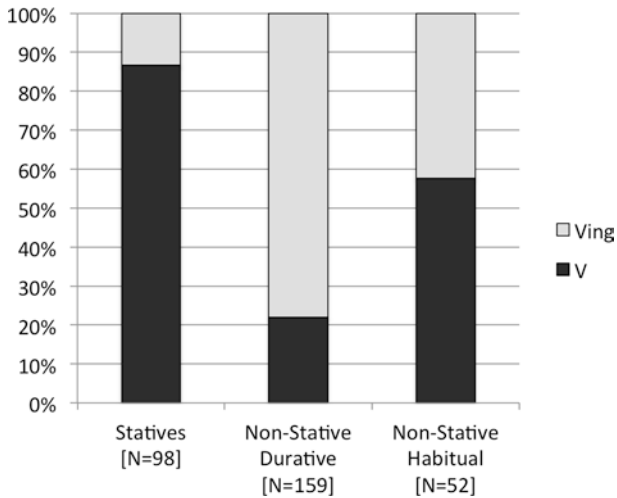
Fig. 11.5   Distribution of two verb forms (V, Ving) per aspectual context, SCHOOL data
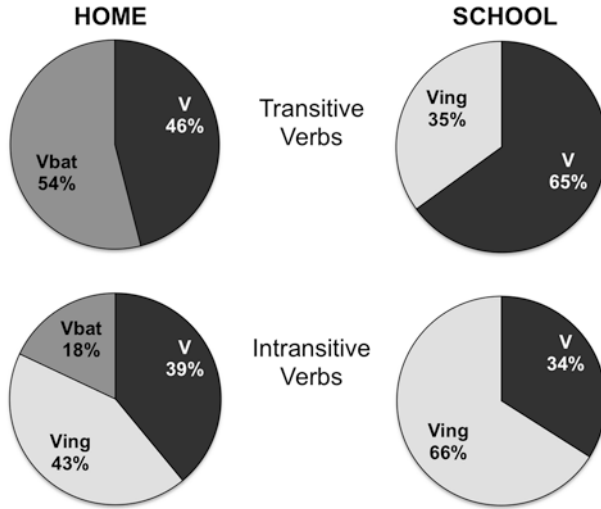
Fig. 11.6 Distribution of three verb forms (V, Ving, Vbat) per transitivity, HOME [TR=345; INTR=302] and SCHOOL [TR=160; INTR=161] contexts
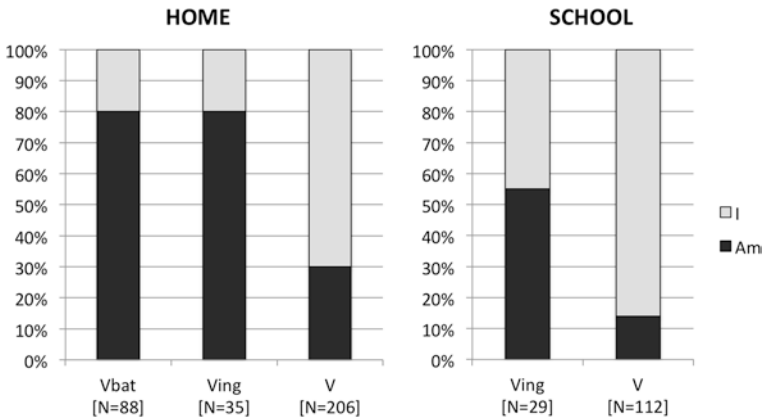
Fig. 11.7 Distributions of subject pronouns 'I' and 'AM' per verb form, HOME and SCHOOL contexts
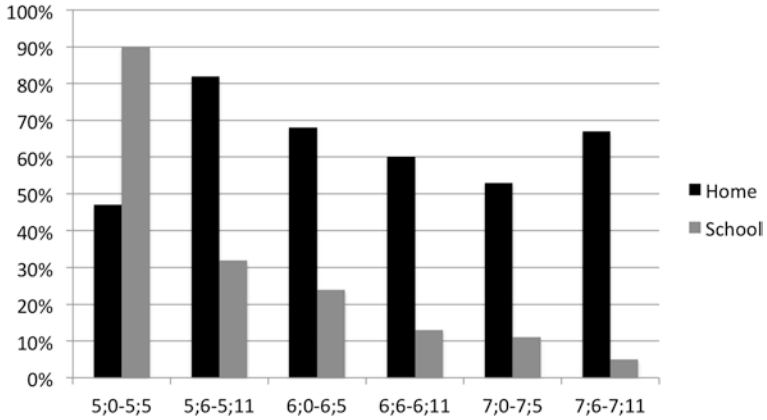
Fig. 11.8   Rate of transitive marking per age bracket, in HOME and SCHOOL contexts
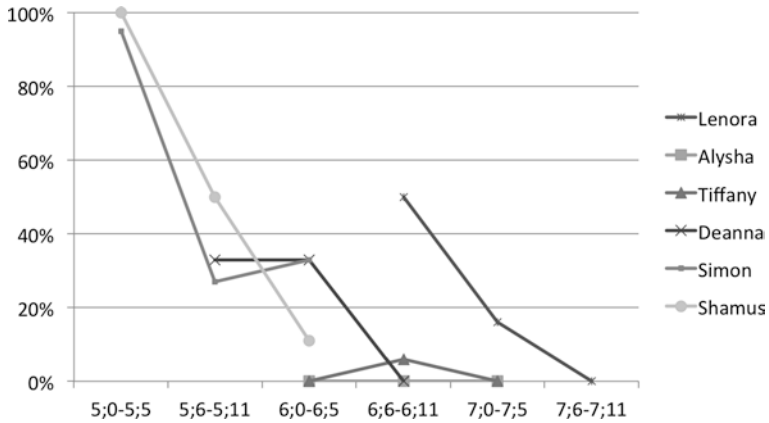
Fig. 11.9   Rate of transitive marking in SCHOOL context, per speaker and age
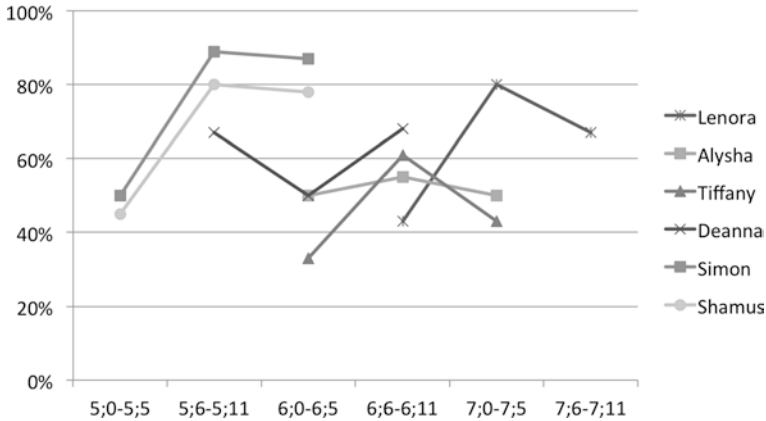
Fig. 11.10 Rate of transitive marking in ʜᴏᴍᴇ context, per speaker and age

Notes

1. I include in this the pre-school that ran on site at the school throughout the first two field trips, and from which data from three participants were recorded. I have no data about the formal English exposure of students in the study in other early education offerings that may have been experienced prior to school.

2. The data collected in the project is archived as part of the Aboriginal Child Language Acquisition 2 project (http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/soll/research/past-research-projects/acla2).

3. A priori exclusions are clauses with past or future reference, irrealis clauses, modals, frozen forms, imperatives, copular clauses.

4. Always used with the transitive suffix -*im*.

5. A note on orthographic conventions: I have used an adapted Kriol orthography for the ʜᴏᴍᴇ/Alyawarr English clauses and Standard English orthography for the sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ clauses. Abbreviations in this chapter: ᴛʀ transitive; ʙᴀᴛ aspect; ɪɴɢ aspect; s subject; ɴᴇɢ negator.

6. While the V*bat* tokens in examples (6) and (7) occur in classrooms, they are excluded from consideration because, respectively, they are addressed to a student and are part of a past tense clause, as will be explained below.

7. This is interesting because it results in clauses like 'Me, I got it pocket' in the sᴄʜᴏᴏʟ data, which is clearly a case of L1 transfer. The 'passability' of

'got' as a present tense main verb (and perhaps its prevalence in past tense contexts) may obscure the more target like 'have got' construction.

8. 'Stative' verbs were classified based on lexical aspectual properties; this included verbs such as 'know', 'like', and 'taste'. 'Non-stative durative' clauses contained dynamic verbs encoding an event or process of some extended duration. 'Non-stative habitual/iterative' clauses contained dynamic verbs encoding an event or process that was repeated or occurred habitually.

9. This paper is drawn from Dixon (forthcoming) which conducts multi-factorial statistical analyses to explore in greater depth many of the issues raised here.

10. Dixon (forthcoming) also investigates verb transitivity and transitive marking.

11. The evaluation of the error as an issue of oversupplied auxiliary versus missing verbal inflection (in this case -*ing*) is a problematic area (and one reason why this was not the primary approach adopted in this study).

12. The L1 developmental literature most commonly doesn't address 'am' specifically, but rather collapses auxiliary or copula 'be' across the entirety of its agreement paradigm. In Brown's (1973) longitudinal study of L1 English acquisition, the acquisition (defined as a rate of 90% correct usage) of full forms preceded the acquisition of contracted forms.

13. school context: Full 'is' [N=10], full 'are' [N=2], contracted 'are' [N=2].

14. Dixon (2017) addresses the issue of individual variation in more detail, and for the other language features discussed. It was only for transitive marking, however, that individual speakers and, age levels, showed such dramatic differences from the group rates. For aspectual marking and subject pronoun there was little inter-speaker variation.

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Part IV

Language as Cultural Practice

Practicing Living and Being Hopi: Language and Cultural Practices of Contemporary Hopi Youth

Sheilah E. Nicholas

Introduction

The Hopi, an Indigenous people numbering about 14,000, continue to reside in both villages and small communities on a portion of their aboriginal lands known to them as *Hopitutskwa,* Hopi lands, in the United States Southwest, and more specifically in the northeast part of Arizona. According to the Hopi, they have lived in this region since time immemorial, and they assert that "Over the centuries, we have survived as a tribe, and to this day have managed to retain our culture, language and religion despite influences from the outside world" (The Hopi Tribe n.d.). Withstanding perpetual change, they maintain a steadfast commitment to carrying out ancestral traditions in their village communities following an annual ceremonial calendar. At the time of writing, preparations were under way in the villages for one such tradition, *Mosayurtiitikive,* Buffalo Dances. The brief description below affords the opportunity to situate the notion of

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practicing living and being Hopi in the contemporary Hopi context and the significance of this ritual performance:

> The dancing and performance regalia of the Buffalo dancers—males dressed to represent the buffalo and the [unmarried] females carrying a sun shield on their back—bring together the buffalo's winter breath and the sun's breath (rays) in a symbolic gesture of warming. The dancers' lively footsteps are in time with the robust rhythm and beat of the drum and song. They work to drive the moisture of the melting snow deep into the soil in preparation for the spring planting of corn so as to nurture its growth. By extension, the Hopi people will be nourished physically and spiritually. (McCarty et al. 2015, p. 234)

Through this ceremony, publicly performed in the village plaza, the Hopi people assist in symbolically awakening Mother Earth from her winter sleep and in reviving the land from its frozen state. Such ritual performances also serve as mechanisms (Fishman 1991) for the community to maintain and reinforce the kinship relations—paternal aunt/grandmother and her clan nephew—between the dancers. These are ascribed roles acquired at birth in the Hopi clan/kinship-based matrilineal society. The Buffalo Dance is performed during *Paamuya*, a time during the Hopi ceremonial cycle coinciding with the Euro-American calendar month of January. It is one of a host of efficacious ritual performances and traditions that have transported epistemological and ontological principles across time and space. These principles purport a moral existence within the natural world, promise the "good things of life"—health, happiness, family, and physical and spiritual sustenance—and forefront the essentiality of cohesiveness and unity in a communal and oral society. This culture model (Gee 2008; Ogbu 1991) has provided the Hopi people with the most reliable resource for cultural survival and persistence.

Ancestral traditions extend to customary subsistence activities such as *natwani,* the practice of "planting corn by hand" (the Hopi way of life) and "kiva[1] activities" that consist of participation in ceremonies and religious societies (Nicholas 2008). Such traditions that continue to be practiced in the secular and esoteric domains are connected with and

through the language and link to the formation of a Hopi identity. The words of a contemporary Hopi farmer/father express this philosophical understanding:

> *I'pi itaahimuningwu, Hopihiita, taawi, i'uuyi itamuy tsaamimani; I' soosoy lavayit ak namiwiwta.* All of this, our cultural practices, will lead us along [toward our spiritual destiny]; these [practices, like] song, my cornfield are connected by means of the language. *Put hak ak tuuqayte, put hak ak aw Hopisinoniwtingwu.* When one learns by means of that [the Hopi language], one becomes Hopi—good, well-mannered, a human being[2]—by means of it. (Nicholas 2008, p. 290)

Language is not separate from the practice of culture. Hopi elder and research anthropologist Emory Sekaquaptewa asserts that "There are many ways that one can experience culture; [spoken] language only being one of them" (Nicholas 2008, p. 212). He contends that language has a home in the context of culture, "in the course of daily activities, in social institutions such as [baby] and marriage activities; they have meaning within these contexts" (cited in Nicholas 2005, p. 31). Thus, the Hopi view active participation and increasing involvement in one's cultural life as "tak[ing] the place of [spoken] language to instill the sense of belonging and connection" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 363). *Experiencing*, or *living* these cultural forms through practice, the individual comes to perceive and internalize them as "culture." I have articulated this Hopi ideology of language, culture, and identity in the notion of *language as cultural practice* (Nicholas 2008).

Thus, Hopilavayi, the Hopi language,[3] a member of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family, is maintained in the practice of such cultural traditions that constitute the ancestral Hopi way of life. In turn, the Hopi way of life is conveyed, experienced, and lived through myriad forms of oral tradition (song, dance, symbolism, cultural institutions, etc.). These are efficacious transmission mechanisms (Fishman 1991; Whiteley 1998) and semiotic processes (Gee 2008), contributing to what Hall (1976) refers to as the "total communicative framework." Hence, adherence to the practice of cultural traditions remains relevant for the Hopi people. These primordial Hopi notions of language and identity, language as

cultural practice, language socialization, and language ideologies, of "being-doing" (Gee 2008, p. 156) Hopi are substantiated in the literature.

I draw primarily from Gee's (2008) conceptual framework of *discourses.* Gee argues:

> Discourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted instantiations of particular identities … Discourses are ways of being "people like us". They are "ways of being in the world". They are "forms of life". They are socially situated identities. They are, thus, always and everywhere social products of social histories. (2008, p. 3)

> More recently, in *Tools of Inquiry and Discourses,* Gee elaborates:

> People build identities and activities not just through language but by using language together with other "stuff" that isn't language…. I use the term 'Discourse', with a capital 'D,' for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity. (2014, p. 142)

This volume seeks to illuminate the community, family language and cultural practices that youth experience, and their effect in transitioning *from home to school*. The contribution of this chapter draws from the larger inter-/multi-generational case study of three Hopi families (Nicholas 2008) to ascertain the role of the Hopi language in the lives of contemporary Hopi youth amid significant language shift. Overarching concerns were:

- When Hopi youth are no longer socialized through their heritage language, are they still learning the culturally appropriate social, cultural, and esoteric knowledge that will carry the Hopi people into the future as distinctly Hopi?
- How are the contemporary Hopi youth defining/redefining what constitutes a Hopi identity?
- What is the role of the Hopi language?

The study provides insight into the home and family practices of Hopi language maintenance and shift manifested in the varying degrees of fluency acquired by each of the three focal youth: Dorian, Jared, and Justin.[4] Especially noteworthy is that the parent members of the study, having ventured into mainstream society, made a conscious decision/choice to return to Hopi with the birth of their first child, and remained thereafter. Overall, this is unlike the previous generations of Hopi, who having left Hopi for schooling (boarding schools) often remained in urban areas through adulthood for economic or education opportunities. Collectively, the parents of these youth were drawn back to Hopi by a sense of responsibility and/or obligation to fulfill as parents and members of clan, family, religious and village communities, and Hopi society more broadly. They prefaced motivation for their return with expressions such as: "I was destined to do this [follow a cultural path] …", "That's how I grew up and that's what I'm gonna do … for my family" and "Because of my [cultural] responsibility in raising [my children] ….". In addition, a middle and secondary school was constructed on the reservation in 1985 that allowed their children to participate in culture along with getting an education.

I begin by describing the contemporary Hopi linguistic ecology through the observations and perceptions of change voiced by community members. I follow with a discussion of two significant findings emerging from the larger study. Specifically, I focus on distinguishing between the Hopi perspective of a *distinctly Hopi identity* and acquiring a *complete sense of being Hopi* rooted in Hopi epistemological origins. Against this backdrop, I direct attention to the Hopi experience with Western education through parent accounts to explicate the basis of change in traditional family cultural and linguistic practices in the home. Salient patterns of the traditional childrearing practices are revealed from conversations about the roles of household and extended family members. I follow with a discussion of the divergent ways each family adheres to cultivating and nurturing the desire to "be Hopi", emphasizing experiencing and living Hopi through practicing ancestral traditions. The "missing piece" of language compelled these youth to look to the Hopi language classes to address their linguistic void. I highlight the opportunities, the outcomes and challenges their experiences revealed. I conclude

with a brief commentary on the fact that the Hopi "cultural map" remains the most reliable guide for navigating life and the cyclical nature of transitioning from home to school and from school to home. Finally, I provide a postscript about how these focal youth are faring as Hopi adults today.

Contemporary Hopi Linguistic Ecology

The Hopi people continue to voice concerns about the vitality of the Hopi language. It is perceived as threatened by the waning practices of intergenerational linguistic transmission, particularly evident in everyday communication and interactions. Increasing awareness has led older speaker-users[5] of Hopi to characterize the younger generation as "no longer behaving humbly" or as "not having respect for anything" (Nicholas 2008, p. 33).[6] They perceive a direct link to increasing instances of more troubling *qa hopi* (unhopi) behaviors (domestic violence, gang affiliation, and substance abuse). Moreover, they openly acknowledge that *they themselves* use English rather than Hopi to speak to their own children and grandchildren. As such, older Hopi who are active in the cultural traditions voice worrying concerns about maintaining the integrity of language as cultural practice through their observations of youth participants. Those who do not speak Hopi are frequently described as merely "going through the motions", or in pursuit of material gain (gifts of reciprocity) in "taking part" (e.g. as dancers in ritual performances such as the Buffalo Dance). They are observed as not exhibiting an understanding of why or for what purpose they are participating nor of the significance of the ceremony; youth are collectively characterized as having "not yet become Hopi."

I turn to Gee, here, who states that "'Language' can be a misleading term" (2008, p. 150). As such, applying Gee's perspective to the Hopi sociolinguistic context exemplifies that the community discussions are about *more* than just the language. On the part of the individual, it is about "being able to engage in a distinctive sort of 'dance'" that involves, among other factors, "certain ways of using the language, certain attitudes and beliefs, allegiance to a certain lifestyle, and certain ways of

interacting with others" (2008, p. 155) integrated around what is recognized, in the Hopi case, as a Hopi identity. Thus, Hopi youth have not yet engaged in, nor are they able to recognize, the 'dance' to become recognized as Hopi.

The 1977 Hopi Tribe Language Assessment Project confirmed a significant language shift from Hopi to English in the households.[7] Among the category of Hopi youth from 2–19 years of age, only 23.8% had acquired Hopi as a first language. After starting school, only 12.6% maintained use of this ability (HLAP 1997, p. 15).[8] The contemporary Hopi cultural and linguistic ecology underscores the contributing role of schools. Conversely, schools have become important sites for language reclamation efforts on Hopi (Fishman 1991).

An Intergenerational/Multi-generation Case Study

The cultural and linguistic experiences of three Hopi youth—Dorian, Jared, and Justin—provided the context and data for exploration of the phenomenon of Hopi language shift and vitality. I draw from the life history narratives of these youth and their parents for this chapter. The study both confirms an upheaval of the traditional enculturation process and affirms the strength of culture—"what of the traditions remain salient, and why as well" (Nicholas 2008, p. 23).

Two key findings emerged from the study. First, that cultural experiences were critical to developing a *distinctly Hopi identity*, but a linguistic proficiency in Hopi, especially in the ceremonial contexts, was fundamental to acquiring a *complete sense of being Hopi*. A "distinct Hopi identity" is expressed in the Hopi language as *Itam Hopìit* (we are [the] Hopi people). The expression establishes the origin of a people commencing at a specific time (Emergence) and place (*Sípàapuni*, the symbolic place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon, known by Hopi as *Öngtupqa*). There is an inherent reference to an enduring transformative process of *becoming hopi,* "one who is mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, who adheres to the Hopi way, [a] human being" (*Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*/Hopi Dictionary (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998, p. 99)) through the practice of

natwani—planting the short blue ear of corn by hand. This genesis narrative, which is beyond the scope of this paper, is recounted in the Hopi Emergence Story and is intimately tied to a region of high, arid plateau lands. It is a practice that has its epistemological origins in this place and from which stems a distinct Hopi identity. This landscape has produced a people who have devised a reciprocal, ethical, and spiritual relationship with this environment from a "sense of being personally involved in the functioning of this natural world" (Deloria 1991, p. 17) (McCarty et al. 2012, p. 52; see also Nequatewa 1967; Nicholas 2008; Whiteley and Masayesva 1998).

The "sense of being Hopi" or making the Hopi individual "complete [whole, spiritually fulfilled]" (Yava 1978) is associated with initiation/rite of passage at adulthood into higher-order female and male religious societies through ritual, ceremony, and ritual language. It is "in those kiva groups that a person learned the traditions of the clans and the ceremonial cycles on which Hopi life is based," (Courlander, cited in Yava 1978, p. vii). Initiation requires that one has been culturally and linguistically prepared since infancy—acquired and learned (Gee 2008) the knowledge through an array of language forms—in order to access a more specialized esoteric knowledge and its highly sophisticated forms of language. Jared makes this clear, stating "Now that I want to be [an initiate] … I need to know [how] to speak Hopi. I need to know [the Hopi language] real good."

A second finding pointed to the rapidity of modernity along with continuing language shifting that initiated a move away from collective maintenance of *language as cultural practice* to a familial and individual level of choice in adherence (degrees of attending and attention) to the practicing of culture.

Investigating the phenomenon of Hopi language shift and vitality in my home community is also personal and resonates deeply with the tensions embedded in the link between language and identity expressed by these Hopi youth. I was born into the Hopi culture, and Hopi was my acquired first language. However, at the age of eight and coinciding with entering public school off the reservation, I ceased speaking Hopi although I retained a receptive ability. As an adult, I experienced a rude awakening to the fact that I could no longer think in or speak Hopi. My

mother, astonished by my struggle to resurface the Hopi I spoke with ease as a child, said to me (in Hopi), "When you were a child, you were fully Hopi." My literal interpretation of her comment asserted an intimate link between language and identity; I now questioned whether I could claim a Hopi identity. An invitation by Emory Sekaquaptewa, research anthropologist and my clan uncle and mentor, to assist in his work in Hopi literacy, presented the catalyst for the study. Delivering Hopi literacy instruction to students enrolled in high school Hopi language classes were a central aspect of his work.[9] This work revealed that despite being immersed in their Hopi world from infancy to young adulthood, many Hopi youth were not acquiring the Hopi language in the home and community. As such, they looked to the school for help to learn their heritage language (Dorian and Jared), and "not to forget it" (Justin).

From Home to School Transitions

Here, I turn to the sociohistorical role of schools in dramatically interrupting the traditional process of enculturation/"apprenticeship" (Gee 2008)/socialization (Ochs 1988) through family cultural and linguistic practices. I also entertain Gee's use of primary and secondary Discourses—"ways of recognizing and getting recognized as certain sorts of whos doing certain sorts of whats" (2008, p. 156)—to substantiate the Hopi perspective of the Hopi identity formation process. "Participating along with others in the Hopi way of life, one becomes Hopi" (Nicholas 2008, p. 190).

Gee claims there is an endless array of Discourses in the world: nearly all humans acquire an initial Discourse. Discourses transform, additional Discourses are acquired later in life, and all Discourses are "recognition processes." Our initial Discourse, our *primary Discourse*, begins early in life and involves acquiring and learning a culturally distinctive way of being within whatever constitutes the primary socializing unit. We gain an initial and enduring sense of self and set the foundation for our "culturally specific vernacular identity" (Gee 2008, p. 156)—the language in which we speak and act as "everyday" people.

As we are being socialized early in life (into our *primary Discourse*), *secondary Discourses* can come into play aligning with or against other Discourses, thus shaped by or shaping other Discourses. Alignment and allegiance between the primary and secondary Discourses is achieved by incorporating certain "valued" aspects of the practices of secondary Discourses into the early socialization process of children. Moreover, secondary Discourses acquired later in life, and beyond the primary Discourse, occur in more public spheres, for example, schools, businesses, governments. "Alignment" becomes an extremely important mechanism whereby aspects of a valued community and public identity are incorporated into the child's identity. Accordingly, Gee writes, "Social groups that are deeply affiliated with formal schooling often incorporate into the socialization of their children practices that resonate with later school-based secondary Discourses" (2008, p. 157). Gee stresses that "alignment" involves complex relationships between peoples' primary Discourses and their developing secondary Discourses, and that it "crucially affects" what happens to people in the process. Effects manifest in "forms of resistance, opposition, domination on the one hand, or of alliance and complicity, on the other, among Discourses" (2008, p. 158). In the following, using Gee's framing, I illuminate the crucial effects of alignment in the Hopi experience with Western schooling.

Schooling: "Becoming Accustomed to Speaking English"

> Before you go to school, that's how they [family members] speak to you, in Hopi … but when you go to school [kindergarten], it's like it [communication and interaction in Hopi] just stops 'cuz you're expected to learn English. *Dorian*

> I would mostly speak it [Hopi] until I go[t] into school [Head Start] … in kindergarten [we] just dropped … Hopi language. *Justin*

Dorian and Justin illuminate first that the Hopi language was the primary language of the home and the first language each was acquiring prior to

entering "school" (kindergarten and Head Start). Secondly, they communicate that the linguistic transition from home to school was both abrupt and perplexing and demanded a significant adjustment borne at a very young age. Lastly, that the sociohistorical changes brought to Hopi through Euro-American contact, beginning with the imposition of Western education and schooling and later by a wage economy, have had lasting consequences.

On the one hand, Western schools and schooling practices have been cited as playing a primary role in the current linguistic ecology in contemporary Hopi life. On the other hand, compliance with the Western education agenda—to teach Hopi youth to live like the White man—was premised in a view that coexistence with the dominant culture would ensure cultural survival (Kuwanwisiwma, in Gilbert 2007), and later, economic survival and the benefits of a wage economy. This view is traced back to the 1890s when generations of Hopi were subjected to compulsory Western education implemented through a military design of discipline and regimentation, and teaching practices with the goal of erasure of culture, language, and identity. "Such schools," writes Quechua scholar Sandy Grande, "worked explicitly with the U.S. government to implement federal polices servicing the campaign to 'kill the Indian, to save the man'" (2004, p. 14). The early Hopi experience with Western education and schooling is recounted in the published autobiographies of older generations of Hopi (Nequatewa 1967; Qoyawayma 1964; Simmons 1971; Udall 1985; Yava 1978) and more recent sociohistorical scholarship (Gilbert 2005, 2007). Similar experiences are a prominent theme throughout the life histories of the parents and grandparents in this study. How the essentiality of English and Western education was experienced and internalized is better understood in the following parent accounts.

Charlene, Marshall, and Anna, having acquired Hopi as their first language—primarily from grandparents using Hopi exclusively with them—spent their childhoods culturally and linguistically immersed in the Hopi world. However, when Charlene entered school, the language she brought as her only form of communication received a traumatic response:

> If we did [use Hopi], they [teachers] would put soap in our mouth … They would cut them in half and put them on our tongue and we had to sit like that for a whole hour…. Either that or we get swatted on our hands or

behind our knees … so I had a hard time [in school]…. I'd say until fourth grade, they were doing that to us. Some parents just didn't let their kids go to school anymore 'cuz we would all get sick; we'd be throwing up 'cuz that soap melts in your mouth. That's what they would do to us.

Charlene left Hopi to complete her education. The loneliness remains entrenched in her memory and the long absences from home substantially disrupted opportunities for her to maintain her Hopi-speaking ability. She stated, "When we went off to high school, we all kind of lost out on all that [further development of their heritage language]. It just seemed like it just kind of drifted off [out of use]."

Marshall was sent to Utah at age 7 or 8 with two older siblings to attend school. Thrust into the white man's world abruptly and completely, he recalled:

I had to make that change where I had to shut my Hopi tongue off completely and then *pay pas Pahan'yu'a'a'ta* [just be speaking English]…. I wasn't exactly told, but then just by the actions [facial expressions, body language] I knew I wasn't to speak any Hopi. I couldn't anyway because I didn't have anyone to talk to. So then, I just got accustomed to speaking English.

Anna also recalled subtle but strong messages about using Hopi: "They [the teachers] never really said, 'Don't speak Hopi,' or 'You can't speak Hopi' … [so] we talked Hopi. [But] I don't think they really liked it [that we spoke Hopi in school] in the elementary level."

Lillian and Doran were raised as "town people" situating English as their first language. Doran stated:

I never really learned Hopi. When I was growing up … it was never really encouraged for me to learn Hopi…. My mom always talked English; she never talked Hopi to us. She would go home and she would talk Hopi to her brothers and her parents and to the older people, but when she talked to us, she would turn to us and … talk English. My uncles, both of them, talked English to us. One [uncle] more or less talked broken English, but he spoke English to us.

Anticipating parenthood, these Hopi parents returned to Hopi to raise their children, but change was starkly evident. Anna proclaimed "We're living the life of a *Pahaana* [White man's lifestyle on Hopi] now … We've got[ten] so accustomed to speaking the English language and it's hard reverting back to talking in only Hopi."

The crucial effect was that of "becoming accustomed to speaking English" as the medium of intergenerational language practices by primary caretakers. Both Anna and Charlene acknowledged their own, and their mothers', roles in facilitating this shift with their children's entry into school. Anna stated, "My mom started talking to them in English … [and] I guess it was easier for me to speak in English [to them also] since that's how they [my children] spoke … I don't speak [Hopi] to my kids now. It's hard to do that."

Schools have become established social institutions within Hopi. However, they continue to stand for a way of life different from that of Hopi, and one that requires a different language. Schools also continue to initiate a move *away* from the Hopi language and culture. Anna spoke of the profound and swift shift from Hopi to English of a Hopi boy who started school as a monolingual speaker of Hopi.

> As soon as he hit school, he started speaking English. Now you can't get him to [to speak Hopi] … He just won't talk it, even to us [Hopi-speaking school personnel] … I think even at home, he's already into that [speaking English] … *but he continues to sing a lot. He's always singing Hopi songs* [my emphasis].

Anna's reflection draws attention to song as a powerful language form that remains salient within the shift from the *spoken* use of Hopi in everyday life. This asserts the notion of language as cultural practice and finds support from Brice Heath who point to the "importance of recognizing that oral language performance stands within an array of other communication forms … other symbol systems [that] hold different levels and types of influence in different societies" (in Ochs 1988, p. ix). Collectively, the youth in the study attached particular importance to Hopi songs indicating that songs still emit a powerful influence on the Hopi people.

These parent members, compelled to repel the crucial effects of change for their own children, proceeded to instill in them a desire to "choose to be Hopi" because as Anna recalled, "… [M]y mom always said … 'No matter where you go, you're always going to be a Hopi.'" In the following, I provide a portrait of the culture-based linguistic family practices instituted across the three households that reveal both cohesive and divergent features of child-rearing.

Family Patterns of Cultural and Linguistic Upbringing

By birthright, Dorian, Jared, and Justin had each acquired "cultural markers of identity"—maternal clan identity, maternal village affiliation, and birth and ceremonial names—and the privileges of participation in the Hopi culture and society. These identity markers serve to "root" the individual in Hopi society. Each confirmed "experiencing" their rootedness and social place in the Hopi clan/kinship-based matrilineal world. At birth, they also acquired ascribed roles of kinship inherent with responsibilities founded on the Hopi core principles of industry, humility, cooperation and reciprocity. The clan/kinship system is the mechanism that defines the individual's role in terms of conduct and obligations to others within and beyond the immediate family in daily life as well as formal interactions such as ritual performances and ceremonies (e.g. the Buffalo Dance). These kinship associations also establish allegiance to the larger Hopi community and the sense of communalism. The traditional identity formation/socialization process—a lifespan experience (Ochs 1988)—leads to understanding and fulfilling the expectations of one's kinship and social role in the community according to long-established cultural standards. This understanding is expressed in the Hopi phrase, *Hopiqatsit ang nuutum hintsakme', Hopisinoniwtingwu* (Participating along with others in the Hopi way of life, one becomes Hopi).

At the immediate family level, each confirmed that both mother and grandmother—for Jared, it was also his great-grandmother—were primary caretakers during their early childhoods; this indicated that the

Hopi childrearing tradition and household remain salient. Anthropologist Alice Schlegel (1999) writes:

> In earlier times, young husbands generally moved in with their wives and her parents, and the children were born in the house belonging to the mother's mother. Even those children whose parents had a house of their own were in constant contact with this grandmother … The matrilocal sentiment is still strong, even in this day of preferred nuclear-family residence, and mothers and adult daughters move back and forth freely between their dwellings. Because of this frequent and close association, grandmothers are an important part of the social world of the Hopi child (cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 127).

All recall the strong presence and influence of their maternal grandmothers, for whom each later assumed some of the caretaking responsibilities. As predominant speakers of Hopi, the *early* grandmother/great-grandmother language of influence was Hopi; this confirmed that Hopi was the first language they were exposed to and were acquiring before going to school. Each retained strong memories of them and their words of wisdom: Jared stated, "I really admire my great-grandmother; she was a strong woman … [she] raised a lot of us." Justin remembered his grandmother telling him, "Keep going to the [corn] field; don't let it go [unattended and] always help people because … all [your] life, somebody will help you." Dorian recalled her grandmother's loving attentiveness, the childhood memories she shared about growing up on Hopi, instructing her on how to make a sifter basket, *tutsaya*, and parched corn kernels, *kutuki*, and lasting words of advice—"Don't be mean to anybody … [because] you never know if that person might help you out [one day] … [D]on't hold a grudge against anybody 'cause when you do that … you get yourself sick." The influence of these women in their lives cultivated and nurtured a strong allegiance to their heritage.

While the above suggests that Dorian and Jared had a degree of receptive ability, each expressed a sense of vulnerability as non-speakers of Hopi, captured in Jared's words: "If you don't know how to say anything in Hopi, then you're not [Hopi/being Hopi]; you feel like you're not [Hopi/being Hopi]." As young adults, they stated they only understood

words and phrases of Hopi and were unable to carry on interactive conversations in Hopi with others. Although Justin described himself as a speaker with "about 75 percent" fluency, he found it challenging to use Hopi as the medium of everyday interactions with other speaker-users or in helping his younger sibling acquire Hopi.

Nevertheless, from experiencing and living Hopi, each asserted that "being Hopi" is *demonstrated* through practicing living and being Hopi as part of everyday life that assumes both responsibility for personal well-being and accountability and commitment to collective well-being and cultural continuity. Dorian defined "living" Hopi in this way:

> … [I]t's important to speak [Hopi] but that's not all that counts. Because a *Pahaana* (Anglo/White person) can learn how to speak it, speak the language, but they don't know the meaning behind it, or the actual culture, the in-depth stuff; [so] then they're not Hopi. They don't practice our religious ceremony[ies] and they don't live Hopi; [so] then they're not Hopi.

How "experiencing and living" Hopi with and through the language—language as cultural practice—is instituted in each household is illuminated in the following family profiles.

"Every Household Has Their Own Way": Divergent Family Patterns of Practice

Cultivating and nurturing a commitment to the Hopi way of life within contemporary sociocultural and sociolinguistic change and challenges has been foremost in the parenting roles of these parents. One change was that for the most part, they were "accustomed to" using English, as confirmed by Dorian who said she was "learning the basic things we [Hopi] do in English." A second change was that they found themselves in competition for their children's time, attention, and interest in adhering to the practice of culture because of the presence of various distractions—the television, school, youth activities, and sports events—as well as the lure of detrimental influences. Nevertheless, according to Marshall, "every household has their own way … to pull them back [to tradition]"

through *parenting*—modeling, guiding, encouraging, and reminding their children what being Hopi is. This involves active participation and involvement in the "cultural doings" embedded with the teaching of respect for one another, helping one another, and of doing things together as [a] people.

Dorian

The second of three children, Dorian was living with her mother, a teacher assistant in a community school, and her younger brother. Although divorced, Dorian's parents maintained an amicable relationship; thus, her father, a business entrepreneur, was a vital presence at all family events and played an active role in his children's participation in cultural practices.

In this post-secondary year, Dorian was attending to her duties and community projects as the reigning Miss Indian Arizona, postponing employment and higher education. She explained that, for her, it was essential to remain on the reservation so as to authentically represent the Hopi Tribe in her role as "ambassador" for Indian people. "I thought I was right to stay here as long as I hold the title, to stay rooted and grounded," she asserted. The title entailed public speaking duties before tribal audiences in her travels to Arizona's tribal communities. While these events were conducted in English, they offered opportunities for Dorian to use and build on her rudimentary speaking ability and writing knowledge of Hopi. With help from her immediate and extended family, she learned to deliver opening prayers, introduce herself, and sing the songs composed for her *in Hopi* along with including Hopi in her speeches. She also implored many of her young audiences to use their language if they knew it. Learning to read and write Hopi was instrumental in transcribing the Hopi prayers and songs that were composed for her, and she turned to her father for help with presentations on various cultural topics. Notably, her parents used Hopi more frequently in their interactions with her during this year.

Throughout their upbringing, Dorian and her sister were participants in all the cultural doings their mother was engaged in—helping prepare food

for the ceremonies, weddings, baby namings (social institutions). They were consistently reminded of their female responsibilities to their clan male kin in cultural practices. Anna ensured that her children would learn the Hopi knowledge of life and making a living, *qatsitwi*. For her daughters, for example, it was making bread, making *piiki* (blue corn wafer bread), *poota* (coiled plaque), and for her son, Hopi dry farming. Dorian's reflection attests to how her mother's efforts have left a strong imprint:

> The way my mother taught us [was that] you should be up there [at the village]; you have a responsibility … There's a reason why these things are going on and you need to be up there to learn. So we would go up, [it was an] everyday routine. No one person can actually make it … alone. That's what the Hopi has been about, help[ing] other people. You have to learn how to help others first. Just like with weddings, everybody comes together, everybody brings food … everybody helps out; everybody comes. That way, when it's [our] turn, we know that we'll have that support as well.

Encouraged and supported since childhood to participate in the ritualized performances of *social dancing* (the Buffalo Dance is one example), Dorian articulated a strong understanding of the esoteric aspects of the Hopi world acquired through these experiences: "We're doing it [dancing] for a reason … for rain, prayers, for life [physical and spiritual survival] … You're not just doing this for entertainment … When that drum goes … you feel it inside; it gets your heart beating the same way as everyone else." Social dances are the formal vehicle for learning the "complex tangle of relationships" (Yava 1978, p. 2) of the Hopi clan/kinship connections and behaviors. Children are also exposed to and begin to gain an awareness of the religious aspects of Hopi culture embedded within. Preparation and rehearsal occur in the kiva environment where participants are immersed in the "whole complex of performance vehicles" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 322)—rhythm and beat of the drum, song words, dance motions, and associated activities and paraphernalia. In turn, performing before the community in the village plaza, the dancers remind and engage the people in conjuring up images of a beautiful world and prosperity brought about by essential rains. Later, Dorian also gained membership into the women's *Lalkont* Society

and participated in their Basket Dances. Although able to learn and sing the words to the distinct rhythm, she turned to an aunt to tell her the meaning of the songs as interpreted through English.

Dorian's father points out that nurturing a child's cultural identity requires a parent to spend time with them—to do things with them, to be patient with them so that they "start to figure you out,"—your level of commitment to them. The significance of "taking part" with an attitude and behavior of "respect" were conveyed to her through many of her kin— her parents, grandmother, maternal uncles, and maternal uncles: "I was taught what things meant; why we do this; why we do that. I had [learned] respect," she said. Dorian was certain that her knowledge of her people and culture was the determining factor in winning the Miss Indian Arizona title. Her experience also afforded a comparative look at the cultural vitality of other tribes. She noted:

> … [C]ompared to us, they don't have [traditional] dances … traditional puberty [rites of passage] or traditional weddings … a year-round [ceremonial] calendar like us. Yeah, it's good to know [the] modern [world] and the education, *but* … to represent a Native tribe, they [pageant contestants] have to have that [cultural] knowledge … what the roots [of their people] are, not just [say] 'We're the Piipash[10] people; we do the Bird Dance.'

Here, Dorian refers to the potential consequence of cultural loss as one of maintaining an ethnic identity in name or label only; an identity that has not been practiced or experienced and is therefore devoid of its ancestral origins, knowledge, history, and fundamental guiding principles and values.

Jared

Jared is the youngest of four children. He was "home" on one of his frequent return trips to his mother's home and village community from his first semester at a community college. His maternal grandmother lived nearby. Jared stated that his mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother were predominant figures in his upbringing. Parenting as a single mother,

Charlene endeavored to develop and maintain a strong bond of unconditional love and support given in the form of firm parental guidance and discipline. This extended to transmitting important Hopi cultural values—"to respect others … [to] be humble" premised on an underlying philosophy that "what makes you Hopi is [that] you work hard for what you get out of life [because] nothing comes easy."

Moreover, Charlene remains highly cognizant of the social expectations that if one is to live as Hopi, one must "behave" accordingly. She makes this clear in strongly stating, "It's like … a requirement of you to do something [be present and actively involved]…. To be a Hopi, you have to do a lot of hard work … to be recognized for your status … [O]ut here, you have to present yourself to the public to earn that respect." She consistently conveyed these tenets of obligation and commitment to participating in cultural traditions to her children.

Routinely participating in kiva activities, Jared was most affected by the messages conveyed through Hopi songs, particularly within the kiva spaces. He reflected, "I like learning [*katsina*][11] songs in the kiva … [and] just being around older [Hopi men] like your uncle, your grandfather, your ceremonial father…. [The songs are] mostly [about] everything in nature, the clouds, fields of corn … everybody being happy." Hopi katsina songs represent the Hopi language in its most "spiritually powerful forms" and provide the mechanism through which the Hopi people "come in touch with the preordained world of Hopi" (Sekaquaptewa, cited in Nicholas 2009, p. 332). In the *spiritual* world of Hopi, *katsinam* (pl) are central figures.[12] Through their songs, the katsinam metaphorically remind, inform, advise, admonish, and inspire the Hopi people about adhering to their chosen way of life.

Justin

Justin was living at home with his biological mother, stepfather, and younger sister all awaiting the arrival of a new sibling. He had been accepted to community college but succumbed to a strong pull to remain with the family and tend to his and the family's cornfields, work with his stepfather, and to continue with kiva activities. He stated, "For me, leav-

ing this place, my farming, the culture … that just got to me…. So I just left that [plan] just to stay out here."

Marshall, Justin's stepfather and whom he calls "father," came into the household when Justin was three years old and has played a prominent role in his life. Having accompanied his father and his male kin to the cornfields since early childhood, Justin acquired an acute knowledge of the tradition of planting corn by hand referred to as Hopi dry farming. As a result of his lifelong experience in the cornfields, he conveyed a special relationship with and commitment to the family's corn and stated, "You can talk to the plants; they're like your children. [You tell them] 'Just be strong as you're growing up. Don't let anything bother you.' And they'll hear you." As such, by tending to one's "corn children," a young male learns and assumes a father/parent role and practices a lifelong commitment to both his corn and biological children; this includes using nurturing words and song to encourage growth (see also Black 1984).

For Marshall, it was essential for one's children to *see* each member of the family involved in their "cultural doings," and practicing these in the household because "they're the ones that should be instilling the respect for culture." He likened the process to "feeding" one's children: "They won't take it all in [at once], but those are the learning blocks they're absorbing … just little crumbs you're feeding them. And as they think on that, as the years go by, then they'll be asking for more and then you just keep feeding them."

As a Hopi speaker in the household, Marshall described how he cultivated the Hopi language in the home: "I talk to them in Hopi. I try to name things … and ask them, 'What's this?' 'Where are you going?' I direct them to do this and that …. Now and then, they'll get it [appear to understand]." Marshall and Justin's mother also call their children by their Hopi names and use Hopi kinship terms to refer to or talk about their relatives. He felt rewarded when he heard Justin using Hopi in the kiva, his daughter singing along with Hopi songs on CDs, and when his wife and daughter made concerted efforts to use Hopi.

Parents continue to be the primary agents for instilling in their children the respect and integrity for the traditions, modeling exemplary Hopi behavior in adhering to traditions for their children. However, Dorian's expression below expresses a critical consciousness, what Lee

([2014](#)) calls an Indigenous critical consciousness, about pursuing the "missing piece"—the language—and so turned to the Hopi language classes:

> Our elders and our parents … are counting on us to keep the traditions going … [but] I don't think it's fully complete without the language, the tongue, the speaking. The language is supposed to be on the parents' efforts. It's always been passed on … orally … from parent to child, for forever!

Hopi Language Classes: "When Someone Was Willing to *Teach Us*…"

The course title implied that students would learn to speak, however Dorian recalled that "… it was more culture … than it was actual learning the language."[13] But she also asserted, "… [W]hat I got out of it, was learning to read and write it." This was particularly beneficial during her reign as Miss Indian Arizona—recording and transcribing prayers, songs, and speeches prepared for her by parents and kin.

The course was a four-semester elective emphasizing literacy development (Hopi Language I and II)[14] and a focus on cultural knowledge/topics (III and IV): men's and women's roles, weather, plants, hunting, reading petroglyphs, how clans are related, and about Hopi weddings. Overall, Jared stated that the course supported the cultural knowledge he had acquired as an active participant in cultural practices. Composing Hopi songs, weaving a *pitkuna* (a Hopi kilt), and creating a poster project of the Hopi woman's life cycle were projects Dorian remembered. The poster project greatly assisted her in creating a cultural and public image of herself in her role as Miss Indian Arizona. For Justin, the "best part" of the courses was learning about the different dialects of the Hopi language and the history of the Hopi people.

Using Hopi to speak to the teacher and to classmates was a component of the class routine. Each revealed how this approach to language teaching/language learning either encouraged or further marginalized students.

Speaking Hopi as a Classroom Routine

For Dorian, this further accentuated her inability to speak Hopi. She recalled, "… [T]he ones that could speak and understand [Hopi] were the ones that kept [speaking with each other] back and forth. But the rest of us [non-speakers of Hopi] didn't understand or couldn't speak back; we kind of felt left out." According to Dorian, these Hopi speakers wholly influenced the dynamics of the class establishing it as one in which speakers generally interacted *in Hopi* with each other while noting that it was not their intention to marginalize or silence non-speakers. On a positive note, the speaker students were the linguistic resources to whom Dorian and others looked to for help, and received it. Nevertheless, she stated, "You still felt uncomfortable, like you should already know it [the language]."

Jared affirmed that students, both speakers and non-speakers, were willing to comply with this linguistic expectation of the course "…'cuz, they [we] wanted to learn, you know, get it out." Here, Jared suggests that through early exposure to the heritage language in the home and community, many of his classmates did in fact understand and/or could speak Hopi. Further, the Hopi language classroom provided the conditions (a supportive and encouraging classroom space) for a latent linguistic ability or proficiency to surface or "get out." He added that practice and rising confidence encouraged use:

> Once you really got that [speaking] going, once you got out of class … you go out into the hallways and talk to your friends in Hopi. They'd be teasing you again, but it's like you don't care … from then on, you kind of get into a playful conversation with Hopi, but at least you're speaking …

His confidence boosted, Jared engaged in playful conversations with school employees—bus driver, janitors, cooks—who were Hopi speaker-users. Especially positive interactions with the bus driver further motivated him to be first on the school bus in order to engage in conversation about cultural activities with questions such as, "Are you going to the kiva tonight? Are you going to help out this weekend?" Jared extended his growing confidence with using Hopi to engage his maternal grandmother

and great-grandmother, cousins, and older sister and brothers. He even found himself initiating conversations in Hopi with individuals to determine whether *they* were speakers or not! Watching television offered ample opportunities with language through silly commentary in Hopi about what was being televised. As such, Jared established himself as a linguistic resource for his immediate family.

Justin's experience confirmed that despite being a speaker of Hopi with "75% fluency," a "safe" space to practice speaking Hopi was a critical benefit of the program. However, his words also illuminate attitudes held by youth about their own linguistic insecurities:

> Instead of being shy, you had to do that [speak Hopi] in the class … I guess we were all shy [about] how we said it. I guess we were scared about people … saying, 'That's not how to say it.' But, I think we got over that feeling 'cuz we were in there for the whole year. We got used to each other so it was more fun.

Justin's commentary reveals a critical consciousness about their use of Hopi in the community; the thought of being subjected to criticism highlighted their linguistic shortcomings, especially against the proficiency level of older Hopi speakers. Dorian's vulnerability was expressed as, "People might make fun of me. Even though they say they don't, they still kind of laugh at you a little bit, giggle" and Jared was confronted with, "How are you Hopi if you can't speak it?" All describe such community reactions as *teasing*.

Teasing is pervasive in Hopi society, however such expressions meted out by speakers of Hopi to a non-speaker of Hopi are not the Hopi form of teasing. Rather their experiences point to a fundamental difference between the intent and use of "teasing" on the one hand, and its various interpretations on the other—a crucial effect of language shift. Sekaquaptewa defines Hopi teasing as the "vernacular of social interaction expressing a form of humility" (cited in Nicholas 2008, p. 312). It is premised in and involves a highly sophisticated understanding of one's social and ritual standing in the clan, kin, and ceremonial associations and connections established by birth, marriage, and initiations. Therefore, the verbal interplay of teasing occurs in the context of reciprocal relation-

ships between individuals and involves the use of compliment, criticism, humor, and metaphor as the forms of interaction and expression (Nicholas 2008). This kind of teasing is a form of "overt socialization" (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, p. 9; see also Eisenberg 1986; Schieffelin 1986) among both Hopi speakers and non-speakers alike.

Thus, such expressions meted out by a speaker of Hopi to a non-speaker of Hopi are viewed as emanating from "a lack of understanding of an individual's circumstances, ignorance of the customs or from the influence of certain social practices outside Hopi" (Nicholas 2008, p. 334). Non-speakers such as Dorian and Jared interpret this form of teasing as voiced with the intent to reveal the weakness or shortcomings of others in a hurtful way—to taunt, laugh at, torment, or goad, and so on. Justin, on the other hand, viewed such teasing and criticism as remarks of "encouragement to learn more" *or* as an admonition[15] or a scolding—a form of Hopi instruction about how one should behave, in this case a strong reminder that "being Hopi" means that they *should* speak Hopi.

Balancing Acquisition and Learning

Collectively, Dorian's, Jared's and Justin's experiences in the Hopi language class reveal that amid sociocultural and sociolinguistic change, Hopi youth *do* acquire culture-based cultural and linguistic "funds of knowledge" (González et al. 2005). They do so as participants in ancestral traditions experienced as language as cultural practice. This attests to the value of "acquisition" in Hopi society (Gee 2008); it remains a salient aspect of cultural continuity. Namely, that while participating in cultural practices along with others, the individual is "acquiring something"—meaningful and functional aspects of the Hopi way of life—"(usually, subconsciously) by exposure to models, a process of trial and error, and practice within social groups, without formal teaching" (Pinker, cited in Gee 2008, p. 169). Thus, these youth have been "performing" what they have acquired, mastering the Hopi Discourse—"ways of recognizing and getting recognized as certain sorts of *whos* doing certain sorts of *whats*" (Gee 2008, p. 156). Gee asserts that "we are better at performing what we acquire" (p. 170).

Extending this to *language* acquisition, Gee posits that "acquirers" intuit as well as desire to function linguistically within this meaningful and functional context. The Hopi language classes offer this possibility dependent on understanding the intersection of teaching with the "balancing of acquisition and learning" in the formal context of the classroom. Such understanding is premised on the view that "learning is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching … or certain life experiences that trigger conscious reflection … some degree of meta-knowledge about the matter" (Pinker, cited in Gee 2008, p. 170). In the Hopi language classes, it is the triggering of conscious reflection on certain life experiences acquired outside school and "taught" as cultural topics (e.g. men's and women's roles in weddings) that initiated the learning process. Gee explains this as "what prototypically counts as 'teaching' in our [Western] culture … [and] involves breaking down what is to be taught into analytic bits and getting learners to learn it in such a way that they can 'talk about,' 'describe,' 'explain' it … 'meta-knowledge' and 'meta-talk'" (pp. 171–172).

Using Hopi as a classroom routine, then, is understood on the one hand as providing access to the social practice, a process of "apprenticeship into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse" (Gee 2008, p. 170). On the other, Dorian's experience of further marginalization exemplifies what Gee describes as "privileging those students who have already begun the acquisition process outside the school" (p. 171)—an improper balancing of acquisition and learning. The instances of linguistic insecurities that Dorian and Justin describe evidence a critical consciousness and reflection on their inability to accommodate or adapt to what they are being called upon to do but also provide critical "insights into the workings of these Discourses or cultures" (p. 172). Finally, in the Hopi culture, a culture where there is "no such overt analytical teaching", "good classroom instruction" is necessary to develop meta-knowledge and meta-talk. Meta-knowledge, according to Gee, involves leading learners "to seeing how the Discourses you've already got (not just the languages) relate to those you are attempting to acquire, and how the ones you are trying to acquire relate to self and society" (p. 172). Learning facilitates meta-knowledge.

"That's the Way I Was Brought Up"

For each of these youth, birthright assured a fundamental sense of belonging and identity. Forming a Hopi identity is a process of becoming Hopi through understanding one's role and position in the community and fulfilling its expectations through language as cultural practice. Experiencing the myriad cultural practices with and through the Hopi oral tradition, each of these youth implicitly understood that one asserts her/his Hopi identity through *demonstration—practicing living and being Hopi.* Justin's words—"Since you're Hopi, you're brought up that way; you can't let it go"—suggest that Hopi youth, particularly those raised in the Hopi culture and environment, confirm that the Hopi cultural map continues to be the most reliable source for navigating life and the transitions from *home to school* and from *school to home*.

Postscript: 2017

Dorian is now 33 years old and has a 12-year-old son. She has found a career in medical administration. The family household is comprised of Dorian and her son, her parents, and younger brother. The family resides in an urban setting necessitated by employment opportunities. It is a six-hour drive from Hopi and has significantly limited her involvement in cultural traditions. However, the household context for maintaining the vitality of the Hopi language and family adherence to Hopi practices remain strong. Hopi is the language of interaction between her parents and other Hopi speakers. This "everyday language practice" allows Dorian, her brother, and her son to "hear" Hopi on a consistent basis so that they are developing and maintaining a receptive ability. Dorian states she regularly listens to Hopi songs her father records for her; recordings that she transcribes in order to learn the meanings of words and songs in discussions with her parents. Moreover, her parents have played, and continue to play, a primary role as caretakers of Dorian's son, their grandson. He accompanies his grandparents on regular trips to Hopi for ceremonies and for longer periods during the summer.

Justin is also 33 years old. Currently, he resides with his partner of 10 years in a border town at the northernmost boundary of the Hopi Reservation, about 45 minutes away from his maternal village. For the previous 10 years, because of needed employment, Justin lived in an urban setting in close proximity to Hopi—90 miles away. Finding employment closer to Hopi, his roles in a federal contract grant school include: classroom monitor, teacher assistant, tutor for an after-school program, and assistant football coach for middle-school students. The student population is primarily of Navajo/Diné[16] heritage with Hopi students only few in number. While Navajo Language classes are a curricular offering, Hopi is not. However, Justin, who is a fluent speaker of Hopi, states he frequently uses Hopi to speak to the Hopi students. Most, he says, have a receptive ability. In close proximity to his maternal village, he is able to maintain his involvement in kiva activities as well as in the upkeep of his own cornfield (and "corn children") with assistance from his maternal uncle. In this context, Hopi is the medium of communication. Justin has also established new connections with his partner's family and kiva; Hopi is the language of use among family members. One of his two younger siblings has children to whom he has strong clan responsibilities; as well, through his kiva activities, he has accepted the role and lifelong commitment to a godson, which extends to the godson's son. Respectively, in these "kinship" connections, he assumes the roles of maternal uncle (*taha*), father (*itana*), and grandfather (*kwa'a*). He asserts a strong allegiance to his heritage, community, culture, and language stating, "I just want to influence as many people as I can."

Jared currently resides in an urban center approximately a three-hour drive away from Hopi. Nevertheless, his job limits his trips home to one or two times a month; this has significantly impacted his involvement in kiva activities and upkeep of the family's cornfield. This circumstance is directly linked to lack of job opportunities in the Hopi community generally and more specifically to his acquired skills and expertise in the field of motorcycle mechanics. On a positive note, his long-term relationship is moving toward marriage. In the initial study, Jared described himself as a non-speaker of Hopi, but found the Hopi language classes helped him strengthen his receptive ability. His partner plays a key role in maintaining this ability; despite the fact that Tewa[17] is her heritage language, they

make conscious daily attempts to use Hopi in their interactions. Jared also stated that social media kept him connected to Hopi and family. An especially moving memory was of spending one year on Hopi. During this time, having participated in an important ceremony, he recalled the "gift" of heavy rains and a subsequent bountiful harvest for all those who planted corn, including Jared. He said planting corn for his mother, grandmother, his extended maternal family, and himself "brought my heart back to peace; it felt good." Jared also stated that he and his partner are ready to have a family. This became especially important with the recent passing of his grandmother; he wants his own children to experience, like he did, the gift of time spent with a grandmother.

Notes

1. A kiva is an underground chamber used for ceremonial purposes and other cultural activities throughout the Hopi ceremonial calendar.
2. The Hopi related terms, *Hopisino,* a Hopi person; *hópinìwti,* 1. become transformed into Hopis; 2. become transformed into human beings; *Hopisinoniwtingwu* with suffix *-ngwu.* indicating the "habitual" tense, describing customary behavior or occurrence. *Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni,* *Hopi Dictionary: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect* (1998). P. 100, 324.
3. While the Hopi language is mutually intelligible across the three mesas, most Hopi speakers regard the language as having three dialects: First Mesa Hopi, Second Mesa Hopi, and Third Mesa Hopi. The dialectal differences are apparent in the pronunciation of syllables containing the vowels with a grave accent (à, è, ì, ò, ù). In Third Mesa speech, these syllables have a falling tone. In the First Mesa speech and the Second Mesa village of Musangnuvi, most of these syllables end in aspiration or in an *h*-like sound. In the Second Mesa speech communities of Supawlavi and Songoopavi, these syllables are pronounced as if having no grave accent. Uto-Aztecan Language Specialist, Dr. Kenneth Hill, provides a technical linguistic description which depicts four language varieties in *Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni, Hopi Dictionary: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect* (1998).
4. With the exception of Dorian and her parents, all participant names are pseudonyms. Dorian and her father, Doran expressed their wish to have their actual names used. Anna, Dorian's mother, gave permission as well.

5. A "speaker-user" of Hopi—one who actively uses the Hopi language in daily and cultural life—is distinguished from a Hopi "speaker," one who has a linguistic fluency but does not "use" this fluency.

6. The Hopi Tribe's Culture and Preservation Office held a series of community public forums, January 1996–1997, which were recorded and transcribed.

7. The Hopi Tribe's Culture Preservation Office conducted a tribal assessment of the vitality of the Hopi language funded by a grant from the Administration for Native Americans. The results are based on 1,293 households surveyed.

8. Hopi acquired as a first language and Hopi maintained after starting school for adult age categories were: Age 60 and above: 97.6% and 79.7%; Age 40 to 59: 82.6% and 54.2%; Age 20 to 39: 23.8% and 12.6% (HLAP 1997: 15).

9. Through this work, I have reclaimed a Hopi-speaking fluency that has been fundamental to my current scholarship and work as a language educator in the field of Indigenous language revitalization.

10. One of the two tribes of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Community located in the urban area of Phoenix, Arizona. http://www.srpmic-nsn. gov/community/.

11. In Hopi belief, *katsina* (sg) is a spirit being and "for their part have control over the rains" (*Hopìikwa Lavàtutuveni*/Hopi Dictionary (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 334)).

12. "The katsinam come to the Hopi villages, the earthly world, of the Hopi, in response to the prayers of the people; a reciprocal exchange between the katsinam and the Hopi people. If the people have prepared their prayers with and from an attitude of sincerity, and have been living a good life in the Hopi way—a moral existence and by ethical conduct—then the people have demonstrated that they are "deserving" of their coming [from their spiritual location, *Nuvatukwi'ovi*, "place of the stacked snow" or *Nuvatukya'ovi*, "the awesome place" known today as the San Francisco Peaks located in Flagstaff, Arizona, USA]. The image visualized is that of the katsinam, spirit beings, who come in the form of rain, to provide the essential moisture for the corn—the means of survival for a way of life and a people. They come with the promise of all things—bountiful harvest, harmony, life—to be realized" (Nicholas 2008: 323).

13. A review of the course goals in a field study report (Nicholas 2000) noted short-term goals of building a speaking vocabulary, sentence formation based in real-life situational activities, comprehension of spoken Hopi,

and an introduction to Hopi literacy. Long-term goals included an awareness of Hopi identity through language, a basic knowledge of the language to provide motivation toward a speaking ability, and encouragement of the use of language in the home and with family members and in the classroom. The course was co-taught by a certified instructor who was not a speaker-user of the language, and a non-certified Hopi school employee who was a speaker-user of Hopi assigned as a part-time co-instructor.

14. Although the Hopi language has a written history and a tribally adopted orthography, the number of Hopi community members who are literate in the writing system is minimal. Additionally, written materials are minimal, and there currently exist no formal uses of written Hopi.

15. Admonitions are given using the third person [impersonal] pronoun *hak* 'one,' to "prompt the conscious" of the individual about what is right or wrong in his behavior. Although, the recipient of the admonishment may not respond immediately or even positively, the words, once uttered, will remain in the individual's consciousness, to resurface at a later time when the words take on their intended meaning. Without a firm command of the Hopi language, understanding these cultural nuances is lost to those Hopi youth who are non-speakers; it becomes difficult and confusing to distinguish between what is a social cultural practice and what is not (Nicholas 2008: 335).

16. The Navajo Indians are the largest federally recognized Native American Indian tribe in the United States. Their reservation is spread out throughout the four corners of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. The Navajo use the name Diné because it refers to a term from the Navajo language that means people. See http://www.navajoindian.net/.

17. See http://www.experiencehopi.com/walpi-village.

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13

Learning a New Routine: Kaska Language Development and the Convergence of Styles

Barbra A. Meek

Introduction

In her groundbreaking ethnography entitled *The Invisible Culture* (1983), anthropologist Susan U. Philips shed light on the subtle communicative differences between American Indian students' interactional styles and the institutional register by which student performances were evaluated. In collaboration with the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, her research showed that while Warm Springs children were socialized into communicative norms and successfully performed conversational styles that conformed to the reservation community's expectations, these same patterns were negatively evaluated in mainstream educational contexts. Rather than attributing Warm Springs students' lower academic achievement to some cognitive or social deficiency, Philips demonstrated the significance of communicative style for learning and achievement in a culturally diverse classroom. One of the significant challenges faced today

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by language revitalization efforts is recognizing and understanding the variable sociolinguistic elements that can affect the trajectory of language development from how a language is acquired in the home to how a language is taught in the classroom and back again. Different communicative conventions and conversational styles may unintentionally impinge on the patterns of development expected across these different contexts. To accommodate such differences, endangered language communities and supporting institutions are modifying their strategies and their expectations in order to facilitate language development in any and all guises.

This chapter discusses the case of Kaska language revitalization, a Northern Athabaskan language spoken in the Yukon Territory, Canada. Building on previous work, Meek (2007, 2010) unpacks the subtle interactional elements that socialize students into particular uses and understandings of the Kaska language. It attends as well to how students' performances elicit various interpretations of competence and incompetence in evaluations of knowledge, and Kaska language knowledge in particular. It begins with a discussion of the contexts and practices that facilitate Kaska language learning and evidence of children's and students' knowledge. The next section discusses some of the community and institutional norms and values that set up particular expectations within the Kaska language community such as the tenet that children should sit quietly and attend to elders as a demonstration of respect and of what it means to be Kaska (Dene). This tenet also entails an understanding of the power of language, especially the Kaska language. These communicative conventions come into play during educational events for learning and teaching Kaska. The third section examines an Aboriginal Head Start (AHS) classroom where elders typically inhabit the role of aboriginal language teacher with their expectations and their pedagogical styles derived from their own childhood experiences of acquiring Kaska. The style of the classroom differed from the elders' reflections in that children were encouraged to interact and perform with each other and with the teachers rather than sit quietly and listen. Yet the elders and aboriginal language teachers were not inflexible nor were they oblivious to these differences; they often adjusted their performances to fit the habits of the children. Similarly, while teachers and elders might interpret the inattentiveness of children as signaling a lack of competence or knowledge of the

Kaska language, in other activities these same children demonstrated both linguistic and cultural knowledge of Kaska. To support this observation, unpublished data from earlier research is presented. The final section considers the instructional style of Kaska language practices outside of the classroom, focusing in particular on how these classroom-based styles are transitioning beyond the walls of the school. Unlike Philips' study that showed how the institutional communicative norms and expectations stifled student achievement, in this case the communicative style of the classroom is facilitating language learning and increasing language use back in the home, though in unexpected ways.

Learning Kaska

The adults and children whose language routines and revitalization efforts are the focus of this chapter live around Watson Lake, the "gateway to the Yukon," a town of approximately 1200 people located near the border between British Columbia and the Yukon Territory (Town of Watson Lake 2016). The predominant aboriginal language spoken in the area is Kaska (Dene), a Northern Athabaskan language that according to Ethnologue has approximately 300 speakers (Simons and Fennig 2016). The majority of First Nations people in this area are members of the Liard River First Nation (LFN) whose band office is located in downtown Watson Lake across from the high school.

Two elementary schools and one high school service the area. The high school and Johnson Elementary are located in Watson Lake and the other elementary school is located across the territorial border in Lower Post. In addition to these educational opportunities, the First Nation sponsors an AHS program. At the time of this research, the program was housed in a former senior center at Upper Liard, a predominantly First Nation community located just west of Watson Lake. Preschool children might also attend various preschool/daycare centers located in Watson Lake, one of which the then AHS director's son attended. The children who went to the AHS program were all affiliated with Yukon First Nation as were the majority of students taking Kaska language classes through the public schools after kindergarten.

Aboriginal Head Start's Curriculum

One of the primary emphases of LFN's AHS curriculum was Kaska language and culture, along with the goal of preparing their students for public school by focusing on motor skill development and socialization into school routines. A part-time aboriginal language instructor was hired to teach the language, accompanied by occasional visits from fluent elders who instructed the children in Dene norms and social history through conventional stories and narratives about their own childhoods. As detailed by Meek (2010), these narratives reflected the speaker's personal experiences growing up. They emphasized both how a child should behave and what a child should know. Elders would instruct children about how to sew beadwork and moccasins ("slippers"), how to make dolls and other toys for entertaining young children, how to babysit, how to be safe, and how to behave like a Dene person. More recently, the elders have also begun to write their own stories based on their experiences. For example, Mrs. Leda Jules composed a narrative about her grandson's first time hunting, exemplifying not only the skills required for the endeavor but the importance of respecting animals and the advice of one's elders.

While many of these narratives focused on how to accomplish some task or acquire some skill, another dimension of their narratives was pedagogical in that they made recommendations and offered advice about how to learn. In particular, this genre of narrative emphasized the role of adults, parents and grandparents in education. Elders would point out that, as children, they learned through attending and participating. They helped older family members plant gardens and grow vegetables in a zone with a very abbreviated growing season. They learned how to recognize edible berries and the timing of their picking. They gathered stories and drumming styles by apprenticing themselves to older folks. They learned how to travel and survive the cold Yukon winters without houses, as Mrs. Jules recalls (Meek 2010, p. 67):

> when you grow up you have to teach your kids what you learn when
> you're small you've gotta learn everything you could about our ways
> when I was little we used to live only in camps,
> we, we never had house,

> we don't have running water, nothin',
> we travel aroun' with not skidoo,
> we travel aroun' with dog team,
> (it) was really good
> used to be, we used to have lotta dogs,
> they hi- they hitch up our dogs and we, me an' my brother
> we go inside the sled,
> they tie us in with big big feather blanket when we go wintertime...
> fifty sixty below we travel 'round

This discourse of learning parallels the discourse of aboriginal language learning that considers the home or family environment imperative to language development. This means that parents and grandparents are critical to this project of learning as well, a stance that more and more schools are taking, requiring the families of their students to be actively engaged in their student's learning even though not all parents and grandparents feel comfortable in schools. Furthermore, while elder narrators emphasized the need to preserve this sociohistorical knowledge and, through their narratives, inform their audiences that the preferred educational setting is the home, they were seldom found sharing these narratives at the kitchen table surrounded by grandchildren. With televisions, computers, gaming consoles, and now cell phones and other portable electronic devices, the competition for a child's attention is fierce.

Kaska Child-Directed and Adult-Directed Speech

While technology plays an ever-increasing communicative role in people's daily lives, face-to-face interactions remain the primary conduit for learning language and learning how to use language. At home, children were being exposed to and acquiring some Kaska. I found evidence of this in several ways. Some of this evidence appeared in interactions, showing clearly patterned differences between the style of speech directed to students and children compared to the style of speech directed to adults, including novices like myself. In child-directed Kaska and English speech, directives were prevalent, such as statements like the following taken from Meek (2001, pp. 170–171):

Kaska directives		
i.	Ná'	Here
ii.	Ēdénts'ek	You$_{sg}$ listen
iii.	(Kuyegah) senda'	(Over there) you$_{sg}$ sit
iv.	Déndén'ą	You$_{sg}$ bring back (crayon)*
v.	Nédé'énhtéh	You$_{sg}$ put down (child)
vi.	Esyénhtsūs	You$_{sg}$ give me (paper)*
vii.	Esyén'ą	You$_{sg}$ give me (piece of food)*
viii.	I machine énlēh.	Turn off the recorder (rope/pl)*

English directives	
i.	Sit down or else you're not going to get anything.
ii.	You can't speak like that.
iii.	Use big knife.
iv.	Don't bother that dog please.
v.	Bring your car and come speak Kaska.
vi.	Come look.
vii.	Turn around.
viii.	Look at your grandma.
*A high tone is on the final syllable of these verb forms	

Remarkably, there were no directives in the utterances addressed to adults. When adults needed assistance or information from another adult, a question would be posed either to one's self ("Where did I put that knife?") or to others ("Maybe I should just talk to them in English?"). Scott Rushforth (1991) has analyzed this pattern as a style of indirectness that politely acknowledges an individual's autonomy. This difference in interactional patterning suggests that children and students have less autonomy than adults, and relatedly may index that they have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge (or an understanding of indirect speech acts) to be able to act on their own without direct instruction. These directive statements demonstrate two facets of Kaska linguistic knowledge. The first is children's exposure to verbal commands in Kaska, an exposure that resulted in some grammatical knowledge. The second is that this patterned difference potentially socialized children into an awareness of Dene pragmatics (appropriate styles of address) and by extension social norms and values.

Another indication that children and students are less autonomous than adults, but capable of learning and speaking Kaska, is reflected in

the instructional statements used by adults when speaking to children and students in the classroom and at home. The following style of statements littered adults' interactions with young learners, especially during Kaska language instruction in the classroom (Meek 2001, p. 171).

Instructional statements	
i.	Tell them to be quiet then in Kaska.
ii.	Say "tsíni" (Be quiet).
iii.	Say "Esséndli" (Leave me alone).
iv.	Say "Eszj (name) gúye."
v.	Say that, say "tl'ūł." (rope/thread)
vi.	Say "essą." (I don't know)
vii.	Say "ham." (yes)

Similar to child-directed speech described in Samoa (Ochs 1988) and Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1990), children and students were being explicitly told what to say and how to say it. While in the Samoan and Kaluli cases, the statements focused on teaching children pragmatically correct styles of speech, the Kaska statements served to provide semantico-referential, phonological, and pragmatic guidance. These utterances taught children what to say, how to say it, and what the saying/utterance meant or referred to. In non-endangered language contexts, the last part may be under-articulated rather than overtly remarked upon or translated into a dominant language. As with the previous set of statements, adults never directed other adults on how or what to say using the English phrase "say" or the Kaska phrase "ehdi" ("you$_{sg}$ say"). In adult speech, these verbs served an evidential purpose, marking reported speech, and additionally in narratives they served as discourse markers indicating temporal depth (see Carr 2004; Moore 2002). For children, verbs of speaking took the form of commands with the goal of teaching and eliciting Kaska utterances from their novice lips.

These examples illustrate the kinds of expressions through which children and students were being socialized into the Kaska language in the AHS program and elsewhere. Children and students also used Kaska expressions and words without direction. In the following interaction, I was playing a word game with Ashley, a five-year-old whose grandmother is a fluent Kaska speaker. The game was a pointing task where I showed

her two different pictures, said a word in Kaska, and she then pointed to one of the two pictures. Throughout our game, Ashley often changed the focus of our task, usually prompted by one of the pictures presented to her. In this case, she was looking at a picture of mittens (*lābāt*) (the target picture) and a picture of snowshoes (*āh*). Distracted by the picture of snowshoes she began to regale me with a story about "walkin' in the deep snow." To regain her focus I asked whether or not she like animals (Meek 2010, pp. 78–79).

Barb: Do you like animals?
Ashley: Yeah.
Barb: /okay/
Ashley: /???/ us a horsey, that's a gun, my grandpa shoot big, he shoot big guns.

After this last comment, Ashley returned to playing the game. All of her commentary so far had been in English. The only Kaska utterances were her repetitions of my Kaska utterances. However, she eventually produced a Kaska word as part of her commentary (the unelicited Kaska words are underlined).

Ashley: I'm gonna stand up.
Barb: Okay, you can stand up, that sounds like a good idea.
Ashley: I see <u>dzúndze.</u>   (walking toward the window)
Barb: /What?/
Ashley: /There's/ <u>dzúndze.</u>
Barb: Where?
Ashley: I see 'im fly away.
Barb: Dzúndze?
Ashley: Mhm.

In this case, Ashley produced the Kaska word, *dzúndze* ("bird") without any prompting. She saw the bird, a crow, outside the window and commented on it. Even though she initially appeared unfocused and did not understand my Kaska utterance for *mitts*, she revealed her knowledge of Kaska nouns by the end of our interaction. While this interaction does

not show whether or not Ashley distinguished between Kaska and English lexemes, she did incorporate a Kaska lexeme into an English grammatical construction. One additional observation is that Ashley produced the Kaska word in the context of other Kaska words. That is, the game involved producing Kaska nouns. In this setting, Ashley contributed by producing a novel utterance using a Kaska noun.

On another occasion, I was looking at a book with two children, a three-year-old girl and a two-year-old boy. In the middle of the story, someone started crying in the other room. I asked out loud who was crying and the two-year-old boy responded, "my edēdze-r," referring to his baby sister using the Kaska noun for "younger sister" in conjunction with the English first person singular possessive "my." (The Kaska first person singular possessive morpheme is *es-* or *se-*, depending on a speaker's dialect.) In conversation, he also referred to his aunt as *enē*. His precociousness was evidenced in other ways as well. During a play session, he began singing and pretending to drum. Two other children (a two-year-old girl and a four-year-old girl), in response, pretended to stick gamble[1] and sing. When the girls stopped singing, Michael told them, "Nénjen" ("sing again"). Later in the interaction, he ordered "Nén'á" ("put it down"), directing one of the girls to put down the toy she was holding. While this indicated that Michael has some knowledge of Kaska verb words, his knowledge of verb structure was less clear. Below are the morphological structures of these verb utterances in order to show the potential knowledge that Michael might have had, or was in the process of acquiring.

Morphological analysis of Michael's verb words (Meek 2001, p. 152)

a. Nénjen	b. Nén'á
né-n-jen	né-n-'á
again-2sS-sing	down-2sS-put (proportional obj)
Sing again	*Put (it) down*

The only grammatical difference between an adult's utterance and Michael's was that the form in (4a) would be *nêhjen* (*né* "again" + *eh* "you dual/plural" + *-jen* "sing$_{root}$"), replacing the second person singular subject pronoun (*n-*) with the second person dual/plural one (*eh-*). This difference suggests that Michael is reproducing a pattern that he hears frequently in the AHS classroom and at home.

Children also used colloquial Kaska expressions, mono- and disyllabic forms that were used as directives with each other or as statements with adults. For example, at the year-end AHS picnic a one-year-old boy, "John," went around to the adults and elders present, offering them potato chips by holding up the bowl and saying "ná'" (analogous to English "here"). Similarly, two-year-old Michael used both *ná'* ("here") and *dé'* ("gimme") when either offering or requesting items. During a drive to Ross River, Michael's mother and grandmother reported that Michael said, "Pop dé'" ("gimme the pop") when asking for the pop can that his mother had in the front seat of the truck. Based on such reports and similar observations, the following is a list of Kaska utterances produced by many of the children at AHS and with their families.

Kaska colloquial expressions spoken by children (Meek 2001, p. 153)		
Kaska expression	Gloss	Ages of speaker(s)
a. Ná'	Here	1-, 2-, 5-year-olds
b. (Object) dé'	Give (object)	1-, 2-, 5-year-olds
c. Emé'	No	2-, 5-year-olds
d. Aná'	Go there	2-, 5-year-olds
e. Tsíni	Be quiet	5-year-Old
f. Denjada	Go/walk away	5-year-old
g. Kōla' hey	Enough	5-year-old
h. Essendli'	Leave me alone	5-year-old
i. Déntl'á', géntl'éh	Go run (play) around	5-year-old

The use of these phrases by children indicated a growing awareness of the grammatical structure of the language and of its pragmatic effects. They were becoming aware of the importance of knowing how to use Kaska according to Dene conventions and values.

Dene Conventions and Values

A frequently overlooked dimension of language in previous formal and applied research on indigenous languages has been the role of ideologies and social norms in how people learn and relate to language. More recent scholarship has brought the issue of language ideologies and norms to the fore (e.g., Austin and Sallabank 2014) in order to better understand

patterns of language use and change. Underscoring these Kaska patterns of use were ideas about when, where, and how a person should use Kaska and who should be responsible for teaching Kaska. While the schools employed aboriginal language teachers who were oftentimes elders, the primary criteria for employment was knowledge of the language, near fluency in speaking the language, and a teaching certificate from the Yukon Native Language Teachers Program. Most elders, individuals aged 50 years and older, met the language criteria. Few, however, attempted the certificate.

Within the First Nations communities, elders played significant social and educational roles, telling stories, training apprentices, arranging marriages, naming children, and instructing younger generations on how to live respectfully and wisely, or *dene á' nezen* (Meek 2001, pp. 197–201). One of the tenets for living respectfully and wisely as mentioned earlier requires young learners to be quiet and attend to what adults and elders are doing and saying (Meek 2007). One of the most notable demonstrations of this tenet was at a Kaska language workshop where an adult remonstrated a prelinguistic child for babbling on and on while the adults were trying to work. In my own language learning efforts as a linguistic anthropologist and indigenous language advocate, I frequently requested more than one repetition of a verb word or utterance. Speakers would visibly show exhaustion or irritation with my inability to get it the first (or second) time. They would also discourage me from repeating the same phrase over and over again in a single utterance. Part of this reaction was related to ideas about the efficacy of language and about linguistic misuses having unfortunate consequences. The limits on repeatability and on speaking were connected to people's understanding of language as having power. Furthermore, not only was the content of elders' and adults' utterances significant and potentially powerful, but by learning how behaviors were distributed across individuals, children also acquired knowledge of the social landscape, of the roles and responsibilities present in their community.

Part of this education also entailed the acquisition of specialized knowledge, including specialized uses of the Kaska language in drumming, hunting, and medicine in particular. Such specialized uses by hunters and *nédet'é* (individuals with strong medicine) demonstrated the

power of the language through the effective management of relationships with nature, with animals and with people (see McClellan 1975). Elders, and *nédetʼé* in particular, sanctioned the acquisition of this knowledge. Without an elder's authorization, novitiates could bring harm to themselves and to others. Likewise, not all individuals would or should have access to such knowledge.

Counter to school values, some knowledge was intended only for a few and should not be taught in schools. This question of appropriateness is one that appears quite frequently in the literature. For example, Nevins discusses a situation where the protocol surrounding certain Western Apache narratives prevented their use in schools (Nevins 2004). Relatedly, some adults also felt that the language should be taught in the home, through participation in social activities, and not through a standardized curriculum (Nevins 2013). For Kaska, the language curriculum in later grades did not advance much beyond the basic forms and formulaic expressions of the early lessons such that very few adults or elders disapproved; the Kaska curriculum would not (could not) provide the necessary education for practicing medicine or even for storytelling. Additionally, the convergence of the roles of elders with institutionalized language instruction seemed to facilitate a seamless transition from home-based language learning to institutional learning by those who would recognize and know the constraints on what should and should not be taught. The next section considers some of the intended and unintended consequences of this convergence and the styles of instruction expected in the schools.

"Mussi" Say: School Routines and Student Performance

The routines for learning Kaska at AHS were identical to the routines in the schools. They were routines promoted by the aboriginal language teacher training program, and the part-time aboriginal language teacher at that time carried them with her from classroom to classroom. These routines took three basic forms: a question, "What is this?"; a command, "Say dechen"; or a visual prompt. She used these routines to elicit Kaska

utterances from her students. They were standard fare across all grade levels. One of the intended consequences of these routines was the ability to produce and understand a basic vocabulary and set of expressions. But what were they learning, and did children's competence change with age and/or grade level?

Learning Kaska by Doing

Some of what they were learning appeared in their speech. They knew a variety of nouns for different animals, different berries, food, familiar objects and weather expressions. They also knew routines for stating their names and asking basic questions, like "What is that?" or "How are you?" in addition to directives. Embellishing these experiences were opportunities to learn from other elders. While flashcards were handy for focusing young children's attention and expanding their vocabulary, they provided minimal cultural context or knowledge. To enhance aboriginal language instruction at all levels (from preschool to adult), an emphasis on doing was incorporated, such that students learned language alongside learning how to make snowshoes, how to tan hides, and how to sew. For the youngest learners, the doing was often left to the adults present. At AHS, this approach materialized through classroom visits with elders. These visits facilitated talking about real objects in real time and use. In this excerpt taken from Meek (2010, pp. 80–81), the young students are gathered around an elder who is teaching them about sewing. Their Kaska language teacher begins the introductions.

Teacher:	Eszí̜ Mrs. A gúye'. Dedi Elder R lāt'ā. […] Say "essū."
	My name is Mrs. A. This is elder R. (to children) Say "my grandma."
Children:	Essū.
Teacher:	It means your grandma.

Similar to the pedagogical style associated with the flashcards, Mrs. A provided a parallel token for the word she attempted to elicit from the students ("grandma"). She continued this instructional style as she began to explain in English and Kaska what Elder R. was doing.

Teacher: Mrs. Rose, she sews, she's sewing beadwork, nēnehtsek.
             Say "nēnehtsek."
             […]
             Okay, say "tāk'ātl".
             Means needle, you sew with needle.
             Tāk'ātl éh nēnehtsek.
             With a needle she's sewing.
             Tāk'ātl éh nēnehtsek,
             Kē'enhdi'
             Tāk'ātl
             Nēnehtsek, hadi.
             Okay, kula. "Mussi" say.

Even though the children's elicitations were parceled out and scripted by the routine, Mrs. A expanded her repertoire by introducing her young audience to new phrases and phrasal structures. She began her elicitation with the English verb "say" in the standard English syntactic position (phrase initial), but halfway through the exchange switched to standard Kaska syntax ("With a needle she's sewing"), glossing the phrase according to the Kaska phrasal structure rather than transferring back to English. By the end of this passage, she has even moved "say" to the end of the phrase as she directed the children to thank the elder for visiting. Even if children did not understand the Kaska verb forms, such experiences suggested that they might at least learn to recognize where in a phrase a verb would occur. Their knowledge of Kaska nouns made this even more likely because they would be able to recognize those words if and when they might be used.

Assessing Language: Word Inventory and Pointing Task

To attempt to better gauge children's knowledge beyond the rote routine of the flashcards and elicited response sequences, I conducted a word inventory survey with parents and children based on a long-form version of the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory (CDI)

(Fenson et al. 1993). The form was a list of nouns and expressions in Kaska. Because most parents and grandparents did not read Kaska, I went through the form with them and checked off the items that they reported their children used. In addition to the inventory, I designed a pointing task that involved familiar nouns and handling verbs, the same verbs that the children encountered as directives in school and at home. These verbs were the focus of the task because they were used frequently in classrooms and homes and they classify states of objects. For example, if a teacher directs a student to hand her a piece of paper, she would use the verb form *-tsūs*, indicating a flat, flexible object. If a teacher requests a stack of paper, then she would use the verb stem, *-leh*, marking the object of the verb as plural. The form of the verb would be as follows:[2]

 i. Esyéˆnhtsūs.
    Es-yé-n-n-h-tsūs
    1sO-PP-TAM-2sS-Cl-Verb stem:imperfective
    "Hand me something (that's a floppy, flat object like paper)."
ii. Esyéˆnléé.
    Es-ye-n-n-léé
    1sO-PP-TAM-2sS-Cl.Verb stem:imperfective
    "Hand me something (that's plural)."

For the task, the same classificatory verbs were used, but in different word forms. We used the word forms that indicate carrying rather than the command forms for handing an object to someone, because they were not a part of the curriculum and they were simpler morphologically. These forms are as follows:

 i. Géye'ąh
    Gé-ye-'ąh
    AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl.Verb stem:imperfective
    "She is carrying around a round, proportional object (like a rock or ball)."
ii. Géyekąh
    Gé-ye-kąh
    AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl.Verb stem:imperfective

"She is carrying around a container (like a cup of tea)."

iii. Géyeleh
   Gé-ye-leh
   AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl.Verb stem:imperfective
   "She is carrying them around (plural objects)."

iv. Géyehteh
   Gé-ye-h-teh
   AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl-Verb stem:imperfective
   "She is carrying an animate object around."

v. Géyetįh
   Gé-ye-tįh
   AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl.Verb stem:imperfective
   "She is carrying around a non-proportional object (like a pole)."

vi. Géyehtsūs
   Gé-ye-h-tsūs
   AP-3sO.TAM.3sS-Cl-Verb stem:imperfective
   "She is carrying around a cloth-like object (like a piece of paper)."

The morphological arrangement for these verb forms have, at the left edge of the verb, a postpositional areal prefix (*gé-* "around") followed by a third person object prefix, then an unmarked third person subject, a verb classifier (either unmarked or *h-*) and the verb stem at the right edge. I used these forms in order to determine whether or not children could parse the handling verbs of everyday commands in different conjugations and contexts.

In order to uncover children's linguistic knowledge of these verbs, a pointing task was designed with forced choices between pictures. The participant and the experimenter sat across from each other, either on the floor or at a table. Three pictures of objects were laid out in front of the participant. The experimenter named one of the objects, asked the participant to look at all of the pictures and then directed the child to point to the picture that went with what was said. For example, the participant was shown three object pictures: a sack, an axe, and a hat. She heard *tsįł* ("axe") and pointed to the corresponding picture. Then the experimenter repeated this task, using the same three pictures, but uttered a different noun, for example, *hęł* ("sack").

Participants were shown three object pictures for the following reasons. First, two pictures are required for task coherence. That is, the verb-oriented pictures rely on the presentation of the preceding noun-oriented pictures in order to create (co-)reference. The verb pictures and corresponding utterance do not overtly identify the noun being handled (carried). Indexical knowledge of the handling verb's meaning is needed in order to choose the target picture. Second, the participants are asked to point to two of the noun pictures (in order to create the referential context). If only two pictures are used, then the participant can (and probably will) choose the picture she did not choose for the first utterance. The "second" picture is chosen by default. To avoid this, the experimenter could identify only one of the pictures. This raises the final problem. If only two object pictures are used and one utterance given, the participant may realize that the object identified is also the one being identified in the following set of pictures. That is, the participant may simply match objects across picture sets without using verb knowledge to identify the target verb form.

Next the experimenter removed the three object pictures and displayed two new pictures, each of which contained one of the previously uttered objects, in this case, *tsįł* and *hęł*. The participant hears a new utterance and is asked to point to the corresponding picture. For example, the participant is shown the following two pictures: a man carrying an axe, a man carrying a sack. She hears *dene géye'ąh* ("the man is carrying it (sack)") and points to the corresponding picture.[3]

The verb stems that were part of the task are given in the following Table 13.1.

Table 13.1 Distribution of handling verb stems

Verb Stem	Gloss	Target	Nontarget
-ąh	proportional	3	2
-leh	plural	2	1
-teh	animate	2	1
-tįh	stick-like	1	5
-kąh	contained, open	1	1
-tsūs	cloth-like	1	0

A greater range of verb types and more tokens would have made this a more rigorous task, but the primary goal at the time was simply to determine whether or not such a task would be productive; was there a pattern to explain?

For testing the task itself, two adults volunteered. One of them was a fluent Kaska speaker born and raised in the language. The second was the son of two speakers who had grown up hearing the language at home but spoke predominantly English in all contexts. These two adults with whom I piloted the task revealed that they understood all of the handling verb stems, but that they didn't know all of the nouns. Conversely, the children demonstrated that they were quite knowledgeable about nouns. Their knowledge of these verbs, however, revealed a more nuanced pattern.

The children recruited for this task had attended or were attending the AHS. Table 13.2 below provides some basic demographic information for each subject. They ranged in age from 2;8 to 11;6 years of age. About half of the children were being raised by a caregiver who spoke Kaska, and the other half were being raised by a caregiver who spoke English. At Head Start, English was the most widely used language followed by Kaska and then Cree (spoken by the program's former director).

Only six children completed the task (see Table 13.3 below). These six children correctly parsed between 5 and 7 of the 10 verb targets, and all the subjects correctly identified 11 or more of the 20 noun targets.

Table 13.2 Participant distribution

ID #	Sex	Age	Education level (grade)	PC's language
1	m	5;11	1	1(k)
2	m	5;8	1	0(e)
3	m	8;8	4	0(e)
4	m	11;6	5	0(e)
5	f	9;7	4	1(k)
6	m	9;4	4	1(k)
7	m	5;9	1	0(e)
8	m	2;8	0	1(k)
9	f	5;5	1	1(k)
10	f	3;6	0	1(k)

PC = primary caregiver's first language, where 1/k = Kaska and 0/e = English

Table 13.3 Verb-Noun percentage distribution by participant

ID #	Age	10 Verb targets	%	20 Noun targets	%
1	5;8	6	60%	11	55%
2	5;11	7	70%	13	65%
3	8;8	6	60%	18	90%
4	9;4	7	70%	20	100%
5	9;7	7	70%	18	90%
6	11;6	5	50%	12	60%

Table 13.4 Percentage correct of handling verb stems

Verb Stem	Gloss	Frequencies	% Correct
-ąh	proportional	9/18	50%
-leh	plural	10/12	83%
-teh	animate	4/12	33%
-tįh	stick-like	3/6	50%
-kąh	contained, open	5/6	83%
-tsūs	cloth-like	6/6	100%

The eight- and nine-year-old students in fourth grade performed better on the noun portion than the first-grade students. Both sets of students performed similarly on the verb portion. This pattern suggests that by fourth grade knowledge of nouns is developing, but that verb knowledge is not growing, even though students hear verb forms regularly in the classroom and at home. One difference between noun and verb use is that nouns are a regular component of the curriculum and a focus of direct instruction, while verbs are only indirectly elaborated and are only an object of instruction in the same way that nouns are (i.e., verbs are not morphologically analyzed or compared even though they are morphologically complex, unlike nouns).

Even though verb instruction was indirect, some knowledge of verb stems appeared to be developing. When the verb data are broken down by stem, a pattern emerges. In this case, a few verb stems stand out (Table 13.4).

This table shows that the students responded correctly more often with respect to three verb stems: plural objects, contained liquids, and cloth-like objects. The least known stem refers to animate objects. This is surprising given that animacy is considered to be a salient and significant

feature semantically and philosophically in Athabaskan languages (cf. Witherspoon 1977). Building on Witherspoon's semiotic analysis of Navajo motifs and linguistic categories, Basso (1990) used the evidence of handling verbs from Western Apache, a Southern Athabaskan language, to show that objects in the world are organized along a particular culturally nuanced animacy continuum. Certain concepts and related linguistic forms will be subject to greater articulation/exposition than others. However, the data above show that children are not acquiring an awareness of the handling verb stem that corresponds to animacy directly, suggesting that the cultural practices and philosophies that underscored such knowledge are shifting out of use. The developmental trajectory suggested by this pattern is one that emphasizes frequency of use that verbs may still be learned even when they are not the pedagogical focus. This pattern also suggests that the grammaticization of certain categories or concepts is not enough to stimulate acquisition.

One of the challenges for evaluating student performance in an endangered language setting is determining the scale for evaluation (amount of vocabulary, creativity of sentences, style of pronunciation, degrees of literacy, comprehension of stories, etc.) and creating a curriculum that broadens development such that an evaluation can actually measure something and demonstrate advancement over time. Test taking was not a standard part of the curriculum. Neither was literacy. Flashcards and formulaic routines were intended to advance children's linguistic knowledge, though often seemed to result in a kind of fossilization because of the yearly repetitiveness. In the past ten years, the routines have changed such that teachers have developed new exercises and routines to further children's language learning through pretend play and individual performances (Kathy Magun, pers. comm., October 2015). Even prior to these changes, students' knowledge was growing, it just wasn't apparent due to the lack of evaluation. Furthermore, because the school routines had atrophied, there was a tacit assumption that students' knowledge and potential to learn had also withered. Children's own repertoires and the pointing task suggest otherwise. The last section further complicates this sociolinguistic environment by showing how the scripted routines began to infiltrate new domains, promoting new uses while limiting the verbal range.

Beyond School: Institutional Style and Emerging Competence

This last section discusses how school routines provided new opportunities for adults and children to use Kaska with each other outside of the classroom, thus interrupting the tenet of listening that accompanied traditional, hierarchical structures of learning. While there is ample criticism against these "instructed" formats, they offer a way to engage new learners who might otherwise be discouraged by a more adult style of interaction. That is, what was developing was a new style of Kaska with different pragmatic effects and social entailments. It was not being acquired as either a taken-for-granted, within-group (first) language or as a socially fraught, "foreign" (second) language, wherein young learners' linguistic performances and displays of comprehension might always be framed as deficient and lacking (Rampton 1999; Snell 2013). Rather, this recontextualization of the instructional routine breaks the institutional frame which allows for the development of a new learner-oriented register available to individuals within and outside of the classroom.

These next two excerpts are taken from Meek (2010). The interaction took place in the cabin of an elder located in her traditional hunting and trapping territory. In this exchange, the school routine style is replicated quite closely. However, in the first excerpt the interaction focuses on everyday phrases that most children already know when they begin preschool. Additionally, young adults participate in translating some of the Kaska phrases for the novice speakers. On this occasion, the family was gathered around the wood-burning stove while the grandmother prepared supper at their cabin. The adults were encouraging the young boys to speak Kaska, that is, to produce simple phrases and identify objects (Meek 2010, p. 97).

Grandma:	Say "tsíni."
Mom:	He, he knows.
Uncle:	Shh he tell him. (aside to Barb)
Barb:	How would you tell him to leave you alone if he was bugging you?

Grandson: What?
Mom: "Essendli" say.
Grandson: "Essendli."

    The exchange continued in a similar style as the adults prodded the young boys to switch to identifying toy objects that I had brought with me from the preschool. At the preschool the toys served several functions, as a strategy for eliciting nouns, as objects for enhancing pretend play, and as characters and props for a school drama. In the cabin they were strategically called upon to help prompt the boys. As with the sewing event, nouns were embellished with verbs resulting in a more nuanced exchange than often occurred around flashcards and rote routines in the elementary school classroom (Meek 2010, pp. 100–101).

Barb:	How would you call this?　　(holding up doll for grandson)
Grandson2:	Ge-, I called the other one this. (to Grandma)
Grandma:	Which one?
Barb:	Hm? [grandson2], how would you call it?
Grandson:	Gedḗní　 (whispering)
	woman
Grandma:	Gedḗní?
	woman?
Grandson2:	Yeah, Gedḗní
	yeah, woman
Barb:	Gedḗní, [grandson], what'd you say?
Grandson:	Gedḗní
Barb:	How about what she's holding?
Grandma:	Nā etóna?
	what is she holding?
Grandson:	Nā etón　 (repeating Grandma's utterance)
Barb:	Etóna?
Mom:	Nā etóna, it means what is she holding
Barb:	Oh
Grandma:	Eht'ū́t etón, //eht'ū́t//
	she's holding a baby, baby

Grandson:	// Eht'ʉ́t// etón
Barb:	Ehhe' she has a //baby//
Grandma:	//baby//
Barb:	Okay, [grandson], yā et'ā? (holding up shoelaces)
Mom:	Tl'ūł
	string (shoelaces)
Barb:	Ha', your mom beat ya
Mom:	Say that, say 'tl'ūł' (to grandson)
Grandson:	Tl'ūł
Mom:	Mhm

While several factors influenced how this interaction unfolded, from my being interested in Kaska language acquisition and socialization to the grandmother being one of the Kaska language teachers, similar interactions happened in other homes. Adults frequently reinforced children's growing knowledge of the language by eliciting names of objects directly, and playfully teasing them to elicit a command in Kaska. These child- or learner-directed interactions created a new register. This register began to shift the pragmatics of Kaska use, allowing children to be interlocutors (rather than just listeners) while preserving the authority and status of adults and elders. This register also reframed learners' performances such that the incorporation of Kaska nouns into English sentences could be seen as evidence of acquisition rather than as a deficit or misunderstanding. This evaluative shift also accommodates adolescent and young adult attitudes toward using the Kaska language as adults. As Meek (2007) discussed, these younger generations associated adult Kaska speech with elder status evidenced by their own parents' developmental trajectory as "late" speakers of Kaska.

Discussion

This chapter has investigated the complexity of interactional styles and expectations in endangered language contexts such that attempts at revitalization introduce competing norms and practices resulting in unusual and unexpected manifestations of indigenous language uses.

Some cases reported on in the literature show that the institutionalization of an endangered indigenous language is contradictory to the pervasive norms and expectations circulating among parents of students and other adults (Debenport 2015; Nevins 2013). Such contradictions can lead to the shutting down and dissolution of indigenous language efforts. Nevins, for example, attributes the demise of an online language project to the belief that language, especially Apache, must be learned in concert with the acquisition of cultural knowledge through participation in socially valued practices, such as bread making (Nevins 2013, pp. 64–66). It would be inappropriate, if not dangerous, to learn the language otherwise. A similar discourse appears in the statements of Yukon aboriginal elders, linking indigenous language learning to learning how to hunt, trap, cook, and so forth. The overarching pedagogical frame is one where knowledge for a healthy existence and for being aboriginal emerges through the mutual development of linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge realized through integrated practices. The recognition of this ideology resulted in the creation of workshops that combined cultural practices and language learning. However, these workshops focused more on Kaska literacy instruction for adults and language documentation by adults with the goal of transitioning them into the role of aboriginal language *teacher*, rather than general language instruction for adolescent and child learners with the goal of transitioning them into the role of aboriginal language *speaker*. Child language acquisition and socialization were relegated to the home and to school programs.

The home environment and the school programs all provided learning opportunities for these novice users, but they were not always in sync with each other. Despite inconsistencies and mismatches in goals, orientation, and performance, these diverse contexts facilitated a growing knowledge of Kaska among younger generations. Three axes of comparison proved most instructive for understanding the trajectory of aboriginal language development from the home to the school and back again: styles of instruction (what people were doing); performance expectations (what people were expected to do); and standards of evaluation (how they actually did). Adults had different expectations and standards for assessing children's knowledge and use of Kaska. As long

as children demonstrated some knowledge, most adults seem satisfied and unworried about the future of the Kaska language, or children as future speakers of Kaska. Furthermore, unlike the First Nations teachers at Warm Springs who were some of the most rigid evaluators of First Nations students, the Kaska language teachers remain flexible and adaptable to the changing circumstances and competencies of their students.

A final contribution of this chapter is to the growing ethnographic literature on children and language development in endangered language situations. Most recently, Costa Wilson (2014) pointed out the paucity of research on children's language and discourses about language in these situations, as well as the variable impact that language revitalization movements have had on these younger generations. He interviewed students ranging in ages from 9 to 11 years old, comparing a group in a Provençal/Occitan immersion program and a group of Scottish students with far less instruction in their heritage language. One of the crucial differences, however, was that Scottish was still spoken quite widely outside of school and Provençal/Occitan was not. His point was that how children imagine their linguistic environment and the role of different languages in that environment influences how they approach learning a heritage-minority language, and their level of commitment to that language. For some Kaska youth, using the language in ways comparable to adults remained a future enterprise (Meek 2007). For some younger children, it had become part of their pretend play. And yet for others, it inspired, allowed, or sanctioned engagement beyond the classroom. Speaking Kaska in whatever guise it comes in offers an opportunity to build, transform, and project it into the future, imbued with all of the social significance of any living language. This calls for an institutional and academic reorientation away from dichotomizations of "first" and "second," "mother" and "foreign," "natural" and "instructed," "dominant" and "endangered," or maybe even "English" and "other." To evaluate linguistic environments in relation to idealized grammars, pronunciations, and registers maintains these dichotomies and a trajectory of "death" for aboriginal languages, whereas the emergence, and recognition, of new styles of speech, regardless of their origins, anticipates a future.

Conclusion

Developing and implementing curricula to facilitate the acquisition of a "small" language (Dorian 1998) has always been a challenge for several reasons. Some of these reasons pertain to staffing, access to resources, (in)compatibility with standard pedagogy, and transposability of standard curricula, to name a few. Despite such challenges, a few "small" languages have seen growth in numbers of speakers as a result of curricular developments and implementation (McCarty and Coronel-Molina 2016). However, many "small" languages continue to lose ground, Kaska seemingly among them, in part due to differences and contradictions between home and school, between aboriginal (Dene) and national standards. And yet this chapter has argued that schools are a place for aboriginal language learning. The first section discussed the general context for acquiring Kaska and some of the practices and techniques used in aboriginal language classrooms. It highlighted the routines for eliciting responses in Kaska from children and opportunities for listening to Kaska through narrative. The second section elaborated on norms and expectations about speaking Kaska predominant in the First Nation's community. While it showed a disjuncture between classroom and Dene norms and styles of interaction, it also revealed teachers' and elders' willingness to accommodate young learners. The final section presented some preliminary data showing that children were learning and using Kaska, though not always in expected ways. Even with all of the challenging differences and cross-cultural tensions, Kaska language learning has been possible. Just as all grammars (or categories) "leak," this possible Kaska future depends upon a "leaky" pedagogy and a capacity to accommodate (sociolinguistic) innovation. When stylistic boundaries remain flexible, aboriginal languages can grow while still respecting traditional conventions and attitudes.

Notes

1. Stick gambling is a traditional aboriginal hand game and is very popular among Yukon First Nations. Playing involves hand signals, drumming, small tokens, sticks, and a clever intuition. Two teams kneel across from

each other with the team captain in the middle. The captain is responsible for predicting the pattern of tokens in the fists of the opposing team. The better the captain's predictions, the more likely the team is to earn a stick and win. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VeXAkC7xhPk for an example from the 21st Annual Yukon Stick Gambling Competition held in Watson Lake, YT in 2008.

2. The morphemes are glossed as follows: 2sS "second person singular subject," 3sS "third person singular subject," 1sO "first person singular object," 3sO "third person object," PP "postposition," AP "areal prefix," TAM "tense/aspect/mode," Cl "classifier."

3. The verb forms used ("carry X") are not necessarily familiar to the participants, and are not used in any of the Kaska educational materials. To identify the pictures these forms referenced, participants must have knowledge of the individual stems' meanings.

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14

Beyond School: Digital Cultural Practice as a Catalyst for Language and Literacy

Inge Kral and Sumathi Renganathan

Introduction

The majority of the chapters in this volume have focused predominantly on the language practices of children, primarily by drawing attention to the disconnect between the language of education and the home language. While enormous research effort has also gone into the study of indigenous children in school, in part because research in institutional settings is easier, research in 'out-of-school' settings or among youth who have left school is relatively rare. Set against a social literacies backdrop, this chapter fills an existing gap in the language and literacy debate by providing a much needed theoretically grounded contribution to questions associated with indigenous education and

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language in Australia and Malaysia. In this chapter, as with Chap. 12, we shift the lens to the later adolescent years and the out-of-school informal learning environment of indigenous youth based on our earlier collaborative projects in remote areas of Australia and Malaysia. In both settings, remote Indigenous Australia and an Orang Asli community in Peninsular Malaysia, young people not only come from a non-literate tradition, but their home language is also not the language of formal education. Furthermore, most have disengaged from formal education. Mainstream education has not created pathways to training and employment for these young people, and therefore they are often categorised as failures. In this chapter we explore how young people have engaged with language and literacy through digital film-making and also how the affordances of the digital medium have created a context for 'language as cultural practice'. By focusing predominantly on the Orang Asli case study, we show how, through participation in a meaningful community-based digital media project, indigenous youth are transformed into confident individuals who are in control of their own learning and literacy practices. We argue that through engagement in what can be described as language as cultural practice, these young people are demonstrating success rather than failure by using multimodal literacies in multiple languages in socially meaningful ways.

Research Background

In 2014 both authors embarked on a collaborative research project in a Semai-speaking Orang Asli community in Peninsular Malaysia oriented around youth and focused on learning and literacy. The project evolved into a language and culture maintenance project in response to community ideas, coupled with the affordances of film-making and editing using digital technologies. In the space of two weeks, Semai youth acquired digital multimedia expertise and produced two films documenting the social and cultural practices of their community. The project built on Renganathan's previous research investigating literacy and learning in the same community (Renganathan and Chong 2009, 2010; Renganathan

2016)[1] and Kral's earlier research with indigenous youth (Kral 2013; Kral and Heath 2013; Kral and Schwab 2012) in remote Australia.[2]

Kral's Australian research took place between 2007 and 2010 in media organisations, youth centres, arts projects and libraries in remote communities in the Northern Territory and Western Australia.[3] She explored the ways in which Indigenous Australian youth aged 16–25 are extending their learning and expanding their language and multimodal literacy practices by embracing digital culture in community-based domains outside of institutional learning environments. This research (Kral and Schwab 2012) revealed that although many young people may be walking away from compulsory schooling and training, they are not rejecting *learning*. Instead, and importantly, these young people demonstrated that when alternative learning opportunities are provided, they are participating and successful outcomes are being attained. Furthermore, through engagement in locally based, personally meaningful projects, youth are forming the understandings, skills and competencies they require to enter young adulthood as bilingual, bicultural beings—drawing on the language and culture transmitted by their elders, and also transforming it. Significantly, many are doing this in learning environments that are outside school or post-school training and so remain invisible to many policy-makers and government officials. These informal learning environments stimulate productive learning and the acquisition and development of language and multimodal literacies, enabling young people (even those with minimal education) to develop the agency and creative capacity to determine new pathways that differ from previous generations. The research found that these young people are deeply committed to learning: able to speak, and often be literate in, one or more languages and developing new forms of cultural practice and production through participating in altered modes of communication in the digital age.

In 2014 Renganathan invited Kral to work with her in the Semai-speaking Orang Asli village. Like the Indigenous youth Kral had worked with in remote Australia (Kral 2013; Kral and Schwab 2012), in this village most young people have also disengaged from formal education and are typically categorised as failures. Yet, as we describe here, Orang Asli youth were likewise able to take advantage of the affordances of digital technologies to create multimodal texts, and in doing so exhibited

competence in alphabetic literacy in Malay, the majority mainstream language, and their minority mother tongue Semai.[4] Significantly this took place in a community marginalised from the Malay mainstream where access to modern technologies and the internet is virtually non-existent, and villagers are disconnected from a broader global indigenous movement.

In what follows, we begin by situating the Orang Asli. Following this we trace the theoretical strands that underpin our research. Our approach centres on the concept of 'language as cultural practice' (Nicholas 2014; Schecter and Bayley 2002) where cultural practice develops and evolves from the acquisition and transmission of cultural processes and tools, including language, over successive generations—exemplified so well in Heath's ethnographic depiction of the cultural practices of language and literacy in the communities of Trackton and Roadville (1983)—and across subsequent generations (1990, 2012). We also situate literacy as a social and cultural process by foregrounding the culturally shaped nature of literacy acquisition and use. Lastly, our research contributes to an international dialogue taking place in indigenous and minority communities around the globe in out-of-school or informal learning. Here scholars emphasise the role that digital technologies are playing in generating multimodal literacies, as well as the potential for language maintenance that lies in new digital technologies and how indigenous youth are using technological resources to mediate language maintenance.

The Orang Asli

In Malaysia, the Orang Asli represent only some 0.5% (approximately 150,000) of the total national population. They are the earliest inhabitants of Peninsular Malaysia, and the majority live mainly in rural or remote areas (Department of Statistics Malaysia 2008). Yet they are often treated 'like refugees and illegal immigrants in their own country' (Chupil and Joseph 2003, p. 2), as they are 'continually sidelined and marginalised from the rest of society and denied basic human rights' (Alphonsus 2011). Furthermore, they are positioned in the literature, and public policy, as 'poor, lazy, backward and illiterate' (Kamaruddin and Jusoh

2008) and often ranked among the poorest and the least educated in Malaysia. Hence the government continually emphasises the need for their integration and assimilation into mainstream Malay society.

For a long time education for Orang Asli was not a priority of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs (JHEOA). In 2000, the census found that some 86% of the rural Orang Asli population had had no schooling or only primary schooling (Department of Statistics Malaysia 2008). It was only in 2001 that all Orang Asli schools came under the Ministry of Education and were staffed by trained teachers. The Malaysian government has since made efforts to improve the education level of Orang Asli children by building more primary schools and hostels in remote areas. Nevertheless, the retention rate among Orang Asli children remains disproportionately low compared to the national average (Nicholas 2005). It is perceived that language difficulty is one of the main reasons why Orang Asli children are not doing well in school (Smith 2003). Not only are Orang Asli children taught in Malay, their second language, but there are also very few Orang Asli teachers. When Renganathan and Chong (2009, p. 344) embarked on their longitudinal research project investigating the literacy and schooling needs of children in an Orang Asli village, they found 'a discontinuity from the educational needs as expected in the school and what is expected at home … the absence of this link results in poor academic performances in school'. Moreover, Orang Asli parents are not able to support their children's literacy practices at home because few adults have been to school and homes have few literacy materials (Renganathan and Chong 2010).

The Semai are the largest community of Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia and reside inland in the states of Perak and Pahang in areas ranging from hill jungle to urban fringes. A small number live in larger towns and are integrated into a mainstream Malay lifestyle. The case study village, Kampung Seli,[5] has a population of some 370 including around 50 children, and is nestled within a oil palm plantation less than 20 minutes' drive away from Renganathan's university. The majority of villagers work in nearby palm oil and rubber plantations, and some work in factories or undertake odd jobs paid on a daily basis. As a group they are distanced from mainstream Malay life; they rarely go into neighbouring towns and have minimal contact with other indigenous groups.

Although most have mobile phones, the diffusion of digital technologies has not been widespread in the community—there are few home computers and no internet. There is one primary school near this village, Sekolah Kebangsaan Kampung Seli, but there is minimal interaction between the school and the villagers. Orang Asli social and cultural values are only marginally represented in the school. It is a national school so Malay language is the medium of instruction and literacy is learned in Malay. English is taught as an additional language using Malay as the medium of instruction. Malay teachers neither speak nor understand the Semai language and, importantly, the national curriculum does not address the children's language learning needs (Renganathan and Chong 2009).

Semai is a Mon-Khmer language belonging to the Aslian family of languages. Aslian languages are spoken in areas of Peninsular Malaysia and the southernmost part of Thailand. According to the Atlas of the World's endangered languages, Semai is categorised as severely endangered (Moseley 2010). In Malaysia, many Orang Asli languages and cultural traditions face extinction (Karim 2001), and many of these languages are not documented (Benjamin 1976, 2012).

Endangered Languages and Youth Practices

The loss of endangered minority indigenous languages represents a profound loss to humanity at a global level. According to the UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (2011), among an approximate 3000 endangered languages across the globe, those most at risk of extinction are indigenous languages (UNESCO 2003). This factor notwithstanding, in the language endangerment literature, young people and their language practices and perspectives tend to be rendered invisible, and accounts of indigenous youth language practices are rare, even though the future of their indigenous languages is in their hands (Hinton 2014, p. xi)—see Odango (2015) and Wyman et al. (2014) as exceptions. In part this may be because the communicative repertoires of youth are complex and cannot be represented by neat categorisations that situate their language use in discrete domains of practice. As scholars have noted

(McCarty et al. 2009; Wyman et al. 2014), the sociolinguistic settings in which many indigenous youth are growing up today are far more complex than the terms 'bilingual' or 'multilingual' imply. For them, the introduced institutional pressures of schooling and employment have impacted their capacity to engage in cultural practices that previously enabled the acquisition and transmission of context-specific language forms and specialist knowledge. Western institutional practices, values and expectations have eroded traditional cultural learning, and schooling has reduced the time spent acquiring and using complex linguistic structures, routines and speech styles. Simultaneously, indigenous youth are negotiating new identities in response to the effect of globalised media on language and cultural practice. From this perspective, it is suggested (Garcia 2014) that youth are having to adapt to the 'multilingual multimodal terrain' that is their contemporary linguistic ecology, and this is leading to innovative youth language practices and 'hybrid identities'.

As indigenous societies have changed over time, the very process of cultural learning and cultural transmission has also changed. Yet, in indigenous settings where formal schooling is a relatively recent phenomenon, 'informal learning' can in fact be conceptualised as the norm (see Greenfield and Lave 1982; Gaskins and Paradise 2010). We flag here the importance of creating spaces for informal, intergenerational learning events that capture the interest of indigenous youth.

Informal Learning in Indigenous Settings

Recently theorists have drawn on anthropology and sociolinguistics to forge a situated and social perspective on learning that broadens notions of learning beyond formal instruction by advancing the idea that learning and literacy are purposeful, context-specific and socially organised practices. Vygotsky's 'activity theory' forms the foundation for much current thinking about learning and human development with its emphasis on socially mediated learning (Vygotsky 1978). 'Socio-cultural learning theory' (Lave and Wenger 1991; Rogoff 1990) positions learning as a socially situated process and looks to everyday practice in out-of-school settings for models of learning and engagement that differ from the processes of

didactic teaching and explicit instruction typically found in schools. Scholars are increasingly paying attention to how young people have engaged in learning in informal contexts (Banks et al. 2007; Drotner 2008; Vadeboncoeur 2006) describing such processes as situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991), self-sustained learning (Barron 2006) and voluntary development of expertise (Kral and Heath 2013) in response to the learning needs of youth who do not flourish in formal education.

It is commonly claimed that indigenous communities are disadvantaged because of poor alphabetic literacy (and, increasingly, digital literacy) competence impacting on multiple facets of people's lives, from employment and housing through to engagement with educational, health and justice systems. Typically attempts to remedy this situation have focused on school-based literacy initiatives. However, in many indigenous contexts literacy is being taught in pedagogical settings where there may be few antecedent social literacy practices at home or in the community, and where the transition from an oral culture to a literate culture may be relatively recent. By contrast, scholarly research from around the world has situated literacy as a social and cultural process within the dynamic of social change, thus foregrounding the culturally shaped nature of literacy acquisition and use, especially among newly literate groups (Kulick 1992; Street 1993). Rather than assuming a unilinear focus on children and schooling, they highlight the premise that literacy is a social process enacted in meaningful contexts. Drawing also on the New Literacy Studies (Barton et al. 2000, 2007; Street 2001), in this chapter we take a practice approach to literacy that moves beyond literacy instruction in institutional settings towards a focus on the way in which individuals and families use spoken and written language in everyday life in community settings. This 'social practice' approach to literacy addresses the everyday meanings and uses of literacy by particular groups, and their conceptions of reading, writing and other multimodal forms of communication of relevance to the community.

This approach to informal learning also aligns with a growing literature examining the diffusion of digital literacies in everyday life, and the relationship between online communication and changes to alphabetic reading and writing conventions (Crystal 2008; Thurlow and Mroczek 2011). Hull (2003) suggests that fresh thinking about literacy has been

ushered in by the arrival of digital technologies and the emergence of changing social practice surrounding digital technologies—evidenced in the increasing prevalence of 'multimodal literacies' (Jewitt and Kress 2003) that draw on a variety of communicative options including speech, writing, image, gesture and sound. In this respect digital media technologies can be seen as 'cultural tools' providing the learner with new affordances through participation in new forms of cultural production. Research on the benefits of digital media projects highlights the value of these practices as 'hooks' to engage marginalised youth in learning (Brader and Luke 2013; Kral and Schwab 2012) by providing a context for young people to engage with text via audiovisual and digital technologies, and thus create their own multimodal literacies. This approach calls into question the deficit framework for assessing literacy competence among indigenous youth so commonly found in public discourse.

Although youth in developing nations and children from minority ethnic groups may not be as immersed in digital media as their counterparts in developed countries, digital learning opportunities are nonetheless on the increase as exposure to the globalised media world increases exponentially (United Nations 2005). Furthermore, it has been found in developing and least-developed nations that access to digital media may well supplant access to print media:

> Young children in these nations may well learn to read and write entirely through a digital medium, facilitating emergent literacy skills development on multiple levels. Digital media not only promotes positive attitudes toward learning, it is also engaging and relatively accessible when compared with other media resources in these countries. (Blanchard and Moore 2010, p. 13)

Moreover, indigenous minorities around the world are beginning to use social media to communicate in their mother tongue (Carew et al. 2015; Keegan 2013; Kral 2013), developing apps and games in indigenous languages and broadcasting music and stories on YouTube and indigenous media platforms (Wyman et al. 2014). Thus social media and digital communication technologies are enabling the agentive participation of youth in new forms of cultural practice and production. In these settings

knowledge is being transmitted and regenerated within the context of people's practical engagement, experience and performance of tasks in dynamic and changing local environments. Importantly for the argument we are making here, young people are also seeking to acquire written communicative competence in their mother tongue despite limited access to formal (or informal) language learning support. We now turn the discussion to our Semai case study to illustrate how digital media activities catalysed language and literacy practices.

Digital Learning in the Semai Village

In July 2014 Renganathan and Kral spent two weeks in the village working with the Orang Asli project team and other community members. The team included the village head man who directed the process with four young women aged 16–26 who had volunteered to be part of the project. Later a 16-year-old adolescent male also joined the team. None of these young people had ever been involved in any film-making activities, nor did they have much familiarity with computers. Given their non-literate community background and intergenerational experiences of school failure, it would have been easy to assume that they may not have been able to learn the skills required to make a film in the short period of time available. This could not have been further from the truth, as the outcome of this short intensive project was the production of two one-hour films.

From the outset the head man, Encik Jasmani, had a vision in his mind and knew what he wanted from the project. He saw it as an opportunity to document the community history and cultural traditions. As a community leader, Encik Jasmani is aware that his society is on the cusp of language and culture shift, as a consequence of modernity and merging with the mainstream. He is anxious that the young people are not acquiring Semai history and cultural traditions. A similar sentiment was expressed by another elder, Encik Alang: 'They don't want to hear,' he said, 'the young ones don't want to listen to old people telling about the past, they are not interested anymore. Everybody's going modern and things have changed so much.'

Significantly, the documentation of Semai cultural traditions was to take place in a community with few books, few photos and no community access to their own written historical record. Up to this point, the memories of the past had been reliant solely on oral transmission. Nevertheless, despite being literate only in Malay, the medium of instruction in school, and having hardly any experience of indigenous mother tongue literacy, the affordances of digital technologies and the film-making medium was to catalyse an intense interest in Semai language and culture among Orang Asli youth.

The Film-Making Process

The project involved four phases:

- Phase 1—Ideas and distribution of cameras
- Phase 2—Constructing and filming general themes
- Phase 3—Editing
- Phase 4—Creating text in Semai

On the first day of the project, the team brainstormed and suggested themes, and two Kodak Playsport HD video cameras (equivalent to the size of a mobile phone) were distributed to the young people for the duration of the project. The strategy of handing out the easy-to-use Playsport cameras had multiple purposes. Having them on hand at all times enabled the novice film-makers to capture their own images and determine sequences that influenced the direction of the films. By controlling their own image-making, these young people played an agentive role, determining what was to be filmed, where and how. Furthermore, it showed the young people that they were trusted with the technology. This highlighted a difference between our approach and what they had experienced in school where teachers indicated that Orang Asli children cannot be trusted even to take books home from school (Renganathan and Chong 2010). In addition, a number of interviews with community elders were directed by the head man and filmed by Kral using a professional video camera.[6]

During the editing phase we worked in the new community centre—a hot, humid room ventilated by ceiling fans. Although everyone participated in the filming process, only two young people, Erna and Roomrid, were involved in editing. Erna, a mother of two, was 22 years old at the time of the study. She speaks Semai and is able to converse in colloquial Malay. Even though Erna stopped going to school at the age of 12, she can read and write quite well in the Malay language. Roomrid, a 16-year-old who had completed three years of secondary school before dropping out, claimed that he was *malas nak belajar*—lazy to study. He was now waiting to start work washing dishes at a nearby restaurant. Encik Jasmani was also present most days assisting with ideas and providing the necessary cultural authority and language input.

It was a multilingual, multimodal learning space. As had been the case throughout the whole project, Kral spoke only English; the young people spoke Malay and Semai and understood only a little English from school. Renganathan was the interpreter and she spoke Malay and English but no Semai. We had two computers in that space: a Mac Book Pro and a PC laptop. The PC was used for compiling text documents and the film was edited using Final Cut Pro (FCP) software on the Macbook. Unlike a computer class, computer skills were learned through doing. The FCP software facilitated visual, oral, aural, as well as literate dimensions of learning. Moreover, quite complex tasks could be undertaken with no fear of making a mistake because, as the young people soon learned, all mistakes could be undone. Roomrid became an independent editor in only a few days. As mentioned earlier, he spoke Malay and Semai but understood only a little English. He was, however, adept in visual learning. He watched Kral's actions as she demonstrated editing using FCP and quickly remembered the sequence of actions by focusing on the visual codes. He would then work independently on a section. Next he took on Kral's role as the instructor and taught Erna how to edit, often using the same embodied actions and oral cues as Kral. Because the young people were the ones who understood the content, they became the experts in sequencing and editing the narrative. This exemplifies the manner in which digital technologies are enabling new kinds of agency in learning by allowing young people to take on the role of expert and contiguously build up a sense of self as one who is knowledgeable (Barron 2006, p. 198). No longer fearful of the technology,

Roomrid soon became confident enough to go beyond rote copying and noticed other functions in the editing software and added his own style.

Through the editing process, it became clear that these young people had become empowered; they were in control of telling their own story in their own way because they controlled the oral and written text and the visual narrative. Moreover, only they understood the content and the audience, so only they could link the parts of the story in the edit, thus the onus of responsibility was on them to create a narrative that made sense. In a manner similar to constructing a written essay, they created a visual story, sequencing ideas and cutting and pasting images and interviews to form a cohesive whole. Later in structuring the format of the film, one technique Erna and Roomrid decided to use was voice-overs. However they also wanted to use written titles to introduce different sections. The problem was they had little knowledge of written Semai, even though it was their mother tongue.

Creating Text in Semai

At first Erna and Roomrid struggled to write even the title of the film in Semai. They achieved an approximation of how it sounded in Semai using Malay sound-symbol correlations. Erna knew that Roomrid's mother was one of the very few people in the village who knew how to write in Semai and asked her for assistance in writing the film title. Next they sought to insert text in Semai for the section titles, learning also that the orthography incorporated the use of diacritics for some sounds:

- *Tradisi May Seng'òòy Semai: Adat may nikah* ('Traditions Orang Asli Semai: Marriage custom')
- *Tradisi May Seng'òòy Semai: Che'naaq* ('Traditions Orang Asli Semai: Food')
- *Tradisi May Seng'òòy Semai: Tek'nààc* ('Traditions Orang Asli Semai: Weaving')

As they talked, Erna also remembered that Roomrid's mother had worked on a Semai-Malay wordlist in 2005. Roomrid recalled where it was at

home and soon returned with a pristine copy. The wordlist was the sole vernacular literacy resource in the village, and since his mother's participation in a lexicography workshop in Sabah in 2005, it had sat unused.[7] The two of them now had access to a wordlist and a standardised Semai spelling system.

Throughout this process we were able to observe how these two young people were communicating in Semai, consulting each other, having conversations about how to move from the oral form to the written form, discussing how to form sentences that communicated the idea, translating from Semai to Malay and Malay to Semai. Erna soon progressed to wanting a full script written in Semai to read for her voice-over recordings. Erna and Roomrid tried negotiating the written text together, discussing syntax and spelling in Semai. They knew how words in Semai sounded but they did not know how words were written. Erna also asked Encik Jasmani for other words in Semai as she knew only the Malay terms. Roomrid sounded out the words in Semai and tried finger spelling the words on the ground, thus attempting to transfer his knowledge of written Malay to written Semai. Erna tried drafting it in Malay and translating to Semai. At first she tried writing phrases using Malay spelling and grammatical construction and later consulted the wordlist to find the Semai equivalent. When Erna wanted to write a word that was not in the wordlist, rather than giving up she would say: 'Let's find another word that sounds like that word.' By finding a word in the wordlist that sounded similar and seeing how it was written, she could apply the same rule to the new word—but only after checking with Encik Jasmani as shown in Fig. 14.1. By the end of the fortnight, Erna and Roomrid had acquired orthographic competence and sufficient sight words to encode and decode written Semai to meet the requirements of the task at hand. Additionally, these young people showed that they were able to sequence a film narrative, thus mirroring processes used in structuring extended written prose.

At the beginning of this project, these young adults were the ones that their elders said were rejecting traditional knowledge. However, as we have outlined, the filming and editing roles gave these young people agency. It gave them a new role, a meaningful role that enabled them to participate in their cultural traditions in a modern way, rather than reject

Fig. 14.1 *Left* to *right*: Erna Ngah Ajip; Roomrid Suchip consulting with head man Encik Jasmani Mat Jalak (Photo: Sumathi Renganathan)

them. This process engaged young people and placed them in a powerful position where they could hear the community history, repeated again and again throughout the process of making and editing a film. Through this repetition and close proximity to elders, they have become the knowledge holders and the conduit of cultural information for the next generation. Furthermore, and importantly, our findings indicate that by engaging with language as a cultural practice, a purpose for alphabetic literacy in Semai, and Malay, emerged.

Conclusion

Through this project we have shown how the digital medium has created a context for 'language as cultural practice'. We interpret this to mean that in the process of doing digital media projects such as the one described here, young people are activating multimodal, multilingual literacy practices, acquiring competence with digital technologies as well as

documenting and acquiring traditional knowledge that is meaningful to them and their community. We have explored here the important role that digital media activities can play in generating interest in language maintenance among young speakers of endangered minority languages. As we described, a Semai-Malay wordlist had sat unopened for nearly a decade, indicating that alphabetic literacies are perhaps not as relevant to the youth generation as digital literacies.

In a manner similar to Kral's earlier research in remote Indigenous Australia, we found that learning is most effectively fostered through interest-driven engagement in projects that matter to young people and their communities. Through engagement in a socioculturally meaningful project, young people gained access to digital resources. In this community, young people and their elders typically learn by observation, imitation and creative practice. These instantiated habits also marked their acquisition of skills with technologies (Kral and Heath 2013, p. 231). As a consequence, these youth, with incomplete formal education and varying levels of literacy competence, acquired technological expertise through engaging in media production. We found that an affordance of the digital medium is the potential for collective and individual acquisition of expertise where young people's adaptive learning strategies show a tendency towards audiovisual and icon-based navigation. The symbolic conventions used in the film editing software enabled the young users to interpret, read and manipulate technology in socially relevant ways (Kral 2013; Kral and Heath 2013). The learning came through the doing rather than formal instruction. Through meaningful practice and producing films that mattered to their community, they became the experts. These young people called on all the instructional and tacit knowledge they had acquired in school *and* out of school and applied it, hence forming a sense of themselves as knowledgeable. Finally, through digital cultural production, a bridge was found between the multilingual terrain (Semai, Malay and English) that these young people occupy and the range of modalities and literacies required for the modern world. Here the language of computers was English based, yet traditional cultural practices were best expressed through the visual mode, and through an alternative linguistic mode (Semai), with Malay serving as the translation interface.

We therefore conclude that in terms of working with indigenous groups who are within the process of language and culture shift or loss, the kind of project described here has proven itself to be an invaluable strategy for language and culture maintenance and transmission. Moreover, vernacular literacy learning became meaningful because the digital medium supported the incorporation of non-standard literacy forms and the message could only be communicated in the mother tongue. We argue that projects like this provide an effective hook to re-engage young people who are disengaged from formal education and typically categorised as failures. They create a space for communication of ideas in multiple languages and modalities, especially in minority or endangered language settings. Lastly, and importantly, they provide an intergenerational focus for creative cultural production which engenders pride in identity, cultural knowledge and language learning while simultaneously leaving the community with a film product that can be shared and enjoyed into the future.

Notes

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2. Australian Research Council Linkage Project (LP0774918) *Lifespan learning and literacy for young adults in remote Indigenous communities* 2007–2010 with Dr R.G. Schwab and The Fred Hollows Foundation.
3. Sites include Ngaanyatjarra Media Aboriginal Corporation, Western Australia; Northern Territory Library (Lajamanu and Ti Tree, NT);

Ngapartji Ngapartji intergenerational language and arts project (Alice Springs, NT); Djilpin Arts (Beswick, NT) and Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation (Yuendumu, Willowra, Nyirripi and Lajamanu, NT).

4. Malay and Semai languages are both written using the Roman alphabet.

5. Pseudonyms are used.

6. A professional quality Sony HXR-NX70P DV camera, wireless lapel microphone and two Kodak Playsport cameras were used for filming. Editing took place on a MacBook Pro laptop using Final Cut Pro 7 editing software.

7. A chance meeting with a man attached to a Christian group led him to invite her to join the Sabah Lexicography Workshop organised by the Iranun Language and Cultural Association (Persatuan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Iranun—BKI) and SIL International, Sabah Branch, at the Tan Sri Pandikar Amin Hj. Mulia Training Centre in Kampung Rampaian Laut in 2005.

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Glossary

Aadizookaanag Traditional Ojibwe stories.

Aboriginal (in Australia) The preferred 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 'Indigenous' is sometimes used when referring to both Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, but this is dispreferred when the more specific term (i.e. 'Aboriginal' or 'Torres Strait Islander') is appropriate.

Aboriginal English (in Australia) 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 is difficult, if possible at all, to identify the limits that differentiate Aboriginal English from English itself, or even the limits that differentiate Aboriginal English from Kriol, an English-lexified creole spoken in many parts of Aboriginal Australia.

Aboriginal English, Variety of (in Australia) One of the network of related English-lexified contact language varieties spoken by Aboriginal people around Australia often described by or included in the cover term 'Aboriginal English'. The term '(Variety of) Aboriginal English(es)' has variously been used to describe varieties ranging from those very close to Standard Australian English, with a few vocabulary differences, to quite distinct creoles, including

named varieties such as Kimberley Kriol or Yumplatok (which are neither Aboriginal nor English).

ACARA Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority.

Acrolectal (Creole) In situations where speakers of two languages meet, a creole language may develop which shares some features of both languages in contact. The creole itself varies, for some speakers, or for some occasions, having features which are more like the lower status contributing language(or basilect). Other varieties of the creole might be more like the high status contributing language (or acrolect).

Activity Theory Vygotsky's 'activity theory' forms the foundation for much current thinking about learning and human development with its emphasis on socially mediated learning.

Anishinaabe Names Names in languages of some Indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States including Ojibwe.

Apposition/Appositional Possession Many languages indicate possession by placing two nouns next to one another and have a convention whereby one of the nouns will be the possessor, and the other, the possessee. For example: 'author book' could mean 'the book's author' or 'the author's book' depending on which noun is understood to be the possessor.

Article In English, 'a(n)' and 'the' precede nouns to give information about specificity. Related forms in other languages are used in the determiner position (see 'determiner').

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 a habitual aspect (i.e. an event that is repeated), whereas 'She is walking' indicates an event which is currently in progress.

Athabaskan Languages Athabaskan languages are a family of languages that include Kaska and Navajo. They are spoken in the western parts of Canada and in the United States from Alaska to Arizona. They are polysynthetic languages, meaning they have a very complex verb morphology and morphophonemic patterning such that one verb word can be the equivalent of an entire sentence (see 'polysynthetic').

Australian English A broader term than Standard Australian English, and includes the closely related varieties of rural 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 European. Term used in Arnhem Land, Australia.

Basilectal (Creole) In situations where speakers of two languages meet, a creole language may develop which shares some features of both languages in contact. The creole itself varies, for some speakers, or for some occasions, having features which are more like the lower status contributing language (or basilect). Other varieties of the creole might be more like the high status contributing language (or acrolect).

Biculturalism The ability to engage in the practices of two societies.

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.

Bilingual Monitor An interpreter who acts in conjunction with non-Indigenous teachers to deliver classroom content.

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'. E.g. 'Kangaroo' is a loan-word from the Australian language Guugu Yimidhirr into many varieties of English.

Bound Morphology A bound morpheme is a sound that means something, but which must be attached to another word. In English the '-s' in 'cats' is a bound morpheme. The '-s' indicates plurality, but can't stand by itself in a sentence as it must be bound to a noun.

Camouflaged Forms Where the same or similar word form has (some) subtly different functions in related languages. They are sometimes called 'false friends'. For example French 'commander le dîner' can be used as an ordinary way of saying 'order dinner'.

Census A national survey conducted which collects demographic information about every person in the country, and may include questions about languages spoken.

Clan An Australian Indigenous territorial descent group, functioning as a basic unit of social organisation.

Clanlect A linguistic variety (a language or dialect) associated with a particular clan. For example, Gumatj and Djapu are varieties of the Australian language Yolŋu Matha associated with particular Yolŋu clans.

Classroom Teachers In Australia, a way of describing all the educators in school settings who deliver classroom teaching. The term 'classroom teachers' con-

trasts with 'specialist teachers' who are not employed in specific positions and are expected to have training in this specialty which goes beyond usual training.

Clause A group of words containing a verb and an indication of what the subject of the verb is. 'She sells sea-shells' is a clause with a verb 'sells' and a subject 'She'.

Code Code has many senses in linguistics and semiotics. In this book we use it as a cover term for language, dialect, register or, more generally, way of talking or language variety. 'Code-switching' or 'code-mixing' may thus refer to switching between any of these ways of talking.

Code-Mixing Code-mixing may be used to describe the use of more than one language within a sentence. For example, a speaker is code-mixing if they use nouns from one language with verbs from another. Compare 'code-switching' and 'translanguaging'.

Code-Switching Code-switching may be used to describe the use of different languages across different conversational turns by a single speaker, for example, if a speaker asks a question in Italian and then continues by speaking in English. Compare 'code-mixing' and 'translanguaging'.

Colonial English Varieties The various Englishes spoken by early migrants to Australia from regions of the British Isles.

Communilect A language linked to a unique identity associated with a particular community, for example Dhuwaya which is spoken in Yirrkala.

Community-Based Learning The informal and non-formal learning that occurs in and through community-based organisations including public libraries, arts organisations, museums, and the workplace and home.

Contact Language A language which has formed from a blend of two or more languages, usually in a context of sudden and sustained contact between two language groups. Australian contact languages include, among others, Kriol, Yumplatok (also known as Torres Strait Creole, Broken and Cape York Creole), Gurindji Kriol, Light Warlpiri, Wumpurrarni English and Alyawarr English. Creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages are types of contact languages.

Copula A copula is a linking verb that links an entity with a property—whether that property be a quality ('She *is* smart'), identity 'She *is* the President') or a place ('She *is* at school').

Creole A creole language is a language with native speakers which has developed rapidly from the contact between speakers of one language and speakers of another language, and shares properties of both languages. In Australia 'Kriol' is the name of a creole language which emerged from contact between speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages, speakers of English and speakers of 'Pidgin English' (see 'pidgin').

D1 See 'first dialect'.

D2 See 'second dialect, target dialect'.

Deixis The property of pointing to the situation, time or place in which a speaker is communicating, or to people or things engaged in that situation. 'Now' and 'there' are English examples of deictic words.

Demographic This term pertains to quantifiable characteristics of populations. Regarding school students, this could be a language background, a level of English proficiency, an ethnic group, an age group and so on.

Demonstratives Demonstratives are words associated with nouns that give them grammatical properties such as definiteness (whether hearers have heard about the noun before or not) or how far the noun is from the speaker for example. 'This' and 'that' are English demonstratives.

Determiner For English, the term 'determiner' neatly describes the closed class of words that are used before nouns to give information about definiteness and specificity. The class is further divided up into articles (e.g. 'the'), demonstratives (e.g. 'this'), possessives (e.g. 'my') and quantifiers (e.g. 'all'), each of which have different syntactic distributions, including co-occurrence with one another.

Diacritic A mark, point, or sign added or attached to a letter or character to distinguish it from another of similar form, to give it a particular phonetic value, to indicate stress and so on, such as a cedilla 'ç', tilde '˜', circumflex 'ˆ' or macron '¯'.

Dialect This term, unlike 'language', describes a particular relationship between language varieties. Dialects are language varieties perceived by their speakers to be varieties of the same language for reasons of mutual intelligibility, historical relatedness, surface similarities, politics, naming conventions and so on.

Diglossia Diglossia occurs when speakers have access to two or more languages, but use them in wholly separate domains. For example, speakers might use their first language only at home, but use another language at school or in the work place.

Directives A directive is a type of verb form conjugated in the second person that functions pragmatically as a command, as in 'Put the books away.'

Ditransitive A ditransitive verb is a verb associated with three entities represented by noun phrases. For example: 'The student$_{NP1}$ gave the teacher$_{NP2}$ the chalk$_{NP3}$.'

Domain/Domain Separation 'Domain separation' is the name of an approach to teaching which espouses strict separation of language use in classroom according to domain (e.g. using only Italian in a mathematics class, and only English in a class for learning English). It derives from the observation that multilin-

gual speakers may use one language more in one domain (e.g. dealing with government officials in Mandarin Chinese) than in another (e.g. using Hakka Chinese at home). It contrasts with 'translanguaging'.

Domains of Use In sociolinguistics, domains of use specify places where different languages might be spoken. For example, domains of use can be at home, the classroom, online, the workplace and so on.

EAL/D English as an Additional Language or Dialect: teaching and learning practices for speakers of languages other than English, or of varieties of English other than the standard English of the country; terms used outside Australia (and at different periods within Australia) include ESL (English as a Second/Subsequent Language) and ELL (English Language Learner) and EFL (English as a Foreign Language).

Early Childhood Education (ECE) Practices and systems associated with supporting young children in learning contexts ranging from formal schooling through to less formal settings. In Australia, education departments frequently refer to a cluster of class levels as 'Early Childhood' (Kindergarten/Preparatory year to about Year 3), while government policies might refer to a specific age cohort (commonly 0–8-year-olds).

Early Literacy or Pre-literacy Skills associated with pre-school learning related to literacy acquisition; includes letter knowledge, direction of book reading and so on.

Elders Elders are individuals who are usually 50 years old and older, and are often the 'grandparent' generation of speakers in literature on endangered languages. In Australia, the term is used for people recognised as knowing a lot about culture and language.

Ellipsis Intentional omission of part of a sentence because it can be understood from context. For example, 'I went home and I slept' differs from 'I went home and slept' in that in the latter example the subject of the second clause is omitted, and understood from context to be 'I'.

Embedded Clause An embedded clause serves a function in a larger clause. For example, the subject of *bothers* below can be a noun phrase such as 'That smell' or an embedded clause such as 'That you arrive home late': [That smell] / [That you arrive home late] bothers me.

Emergent Bilingualism and Biliteracy Bilingual children's development of concepts and skills for thinking, listening, speaking, reading and writing in two languages. This includes children's use of their own cultural and linguistic experiences to co-construct meaning with their interactants.

English-Based Variety A cover term for the range of non-standard Englishes, English-lexified contact languages and any other varieties that developed

from or are related to English. 'Alyawarr English' is a name of a variety of English spoken in Murray Downs, Northern Territory.

English-Lexified Contact Varieties An English-lexified contact variety is one where many of the words used come from English. When two languages make contact, it is often the case that a new creole language emerges. Commonly these creoles will inherit their underlying grammatical structures from one of the languages (known as the 'substrate'), but take many of their words from the other language (known as the 'lexifier'). In Australia there are many English-lexified contact varieties, of which 'Kriol' is one variety.

English Medium Classroom Classrooms which use the English language (by which is usually meant a standard variety of English) as the medium of instruction. This means that all subject areas, such as Mathematics, Science or Music, are delivered (i.e. taught, discussed, assessed) via spoken and written English.

English-Only Classroom Classrooms in which only the English language is used for teaching and learning. The term 'English-only' implies an acknowledgement that there are other languages spoken by students or represented in the community, but there has been a decision that only English will be used, and that the other languages will not be included in the classroom context.

Epistemology Theory of knowledge and justified belief. Broadly, epistemologies cover what the source of knowledge is, how it is created and how it is spread.

Etymology Study of the history and origin of words.

First Dialect (D1) The dialect learnt as an L1, acquired from birth by caregivers and community.

Foreign 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).

Head Word Phrases are words that belong together such as 'Those big old red trucks.' Each phrase has a head word that is the most important word in the phrase—this word is usually required and indicates what the phrase is about. For example, 'trucks' is the head word for the noun phrase above.

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 dominant language.

Home Variety, Home Language The language variety spoken at home, which was likely the first language acquired and may be distinct from the dominant language. This term became popular in schools to distinguish the language of the

teachers and school system from the non-standard varieties children (particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children) were arriving at school with.

Homeland(s) See 'outstations'.

Hopi Oral Tradition Refers to all of the practices of life by a people that mark time, places, and events that have significance to their way of living and keep alive the collective memories about their past. It is comprised of ancestral knowledge, historical accounts and teachings embedded in ritual practices, religious ceremonies, and cultural institutions, symbolism, song words and phrases, and prayer through which the Hopi people continue to be enculturated with the ethics, and values of their communal society.

Hopi People An Indigenous Puebloan people who continue to reside on a portion of their aboriginal lands in the United States Southwest, specifically in the northeast plateau area of the state of Arizona. Currently, they number 14,000 and speak Hopi, a Uto-Aztecan language.

Hopi Teasing A verbal form of expressing humility while preserving and reinforcing kinship connections in social interactions. It involves a highly sophisticated understanding of one's social and ritual standing in the clan, kin, and ceremonial associations and connections established by birth, marriage and initiations. The Hopi form of teasing embodies these cultural relationships.

Hopi Way of Life A way of life associated with the life-sustaining practices of planting and growing corn, by hand, with a planting stick, in a landscape of little rain. The Hopi distinguish two kinds of 'practices' associated with the planting of corn by hand: *natwani* (noun), the practices of making a living—farming, and *natwanta,* (verb), the practising of faith through ritual, a self-testing. Essentially, the practice of planting corn by hand is both a secular and religious ritual practice. The planting stick, *sooya*, symbolises a life of humility and becomes the instrument by which the Hopi farmer tests his faith to the utmost. To use the sooya allows one to participate in the ways of the Hopi ancestors, to work the earth with a reverence emanating from a perception of earth as *itangu,* our mother, commanding proper thoughts and feelings towards a 'relative'.

Indigenous Associated with the group of people living in a place whose ancestors lived there before other groups settled there. In Australia this term is used as shorthand to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The term 'Indigenous' is sometimes used when referring to both Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. However, this term is dispreferred when either of the more specific terms (i.e. 'Aboriginal' or 'Torres Strait Islander') is appropriate. The longer, full expression 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander' remains a preferred self-designation for some people.

Indigenous Knowledge Knowledge, often cultural and natural history knowledge, associated with a traditional group of indigenous people.

Indigenous Pedagogy A term used to describe ways of learning and teaching associated with indigenous peoples, or with regard to including indigenous perspectives in the curriculum.

Informal Learning Also termed socialisation, tacit learning, observational learning or learning through intent participation or pitching in.

Interlanguage The language produced by learners of a second or subsequent language. It may be systematic in its own right, though it may contain usage that is not perceived as grammatically correct by speakers of the target language.

Interlocutor A person who takes part in a dialogue or conversation, whether as speaker, hearer or both in turn.

Intransitive An intransitive verb is a verb associated with just one entity represented by a noun phrase. For example: 'The boy$_{NP}$ cried.'

Isolate (Language) A language isolate is one that cannot be demonstrated to be genetically related to any other language. The Basque language is an isolate because it cannot be shown to be historically related to any other language in Europe.

Koine Language A language resulting from contact between related varieties of the same language. A koine language typically has a mix of features from the contributing varieties, and may have undergone some simplification processes. It serves as a lingua franca among speakers, and may become a primary language. 'Dhuwaya' is a koine language that developed in Arnhem Land from different Yolŋu varieties.

L1 First language, native language: the language(s) an infant first learns. A child growing up in a multilingual household could have more than one L1.

L2 Target language of learning: a language that a person is learning after they have acquired their native language(s).

Language as Cultural Practice Language as social and cultural practice brings together sociolinguistics, anthropology and the other fields constituted around the study of language in social and cultural context. In the Hopi context, this notion describes the enculturation process that is premised in active participation and increasing involvement in the cultural way of life. The Hopi language is maintained in the practice of cultural traditions which constitute the ancestral Hopi way of life; language is not separate from the practice of culture.

Language Ideology Language ideology is a topic that became dominant in the field of linguistic anthropology in the late 1990s. As an area of study it focuses on beliefs and practices related to and about language and their political and economic contexts and consequences.

Language Maintenance When a speaker, a group of speakers or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres.

Language Shift When a speech community (gradually) gives up or loses the use of its language and/or of many functions of the language and shifts to the use of another language for most, if not all, its communicative and other cultural and symbolic needs.

Language Socialisation The interactive process through which 'novices' are socialised to be competent members of a group or community. Children are socialised both *through* language and *as* language users. As a discipline, it is the study of how individuals become members of a group in relation to the language(s) they acquire, their ways of speaking and using language, and their knowledge of society and culture as mediated through language.

Learner Feature The features of the language ('interlanguage') produced by learners of a second or subsequent language.

Lexicography The act of compiling, writing and editing dictionaries.

Lingua Franca A lingua franca is a common language used for communication by people whose first languages are different. For example, an Icelandic speaker and a Japanese speaker might use English as their lingua franca.

Loan-Word See 'borrowing'.

Matrix Language A matrix language is a concept used to understand language mixing practices where a speaker mixes together words from different languages in a single sentence. The idea of a matrix language is that even though the sentence has elements from different languages in it, there is in fact only one language, the matrix language, which provides the frame into which all the words are inserted—regardless of what language they are from. Whether all examples of language mixing can be said to have a matrix language is not yet known.

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. A creole is an extreme example of a mixed language in which almost all the vocabulary comes from one language (the lexifier language), and the grammar is influenced by the other language (the substrate language).

Moiety One of two descent groups within a society, which may determine marriage patterns and cultural rights and responsibilities. In many Indigenous Australian societies, the entire natural world is divided into moieties.

Morphology Morphology is the study of the structure of words. The morphology of a word class (such as nouns or verbs) describes the endings that can be attached to them, and the changes they can undergo. For example, English verbal morphology is characterised by the *-ing*, *-ed*, *-en* and *-s* endings: 'The girl is speak-ing / jump-ing.'//'The girl spoke / jump-ed this morning.'//'The girl has spok-en / jump-ed.'

Multimodal Literacies Multimodal literacies incorporate a range of semiotic resources (language, gesture, image, sound) co-deployed across various modalities (e.g. visual, aural, somatic), within a coherent multimodal text (e.g. in posters, websites, films).

NAPLAN An Australian Government National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy.

Non-standard Variety A non-standard variety contrasts with a standard variety. Both are varieties of the same language, but the standard variety is accepted for use in public contexts such as schools, law-courts, hospitals and in dealing with government agencies. In non-standard English a speaker might say 'I was real upset', while the standard English equivalent might be 'I was really upset.'

Noun Phrase A noun phrase is a group of words which belong together, headed by a noun. In the examples below, the noun phrases are underlined, with the head noun in italics: 'The old*book* fell to the*floor*.'//'The*student* put the new-*chair* in the*classroom*.'

Object The object of a clause is the person, thing, place, property or proposition that is undergoing the action expressed by a transitive verb. In the clause 'I saw the dog', the object is 'the dog'.

Ojibwe Epistemology Ojibwe theory of knowledge and justified belief.

Ojibwe Immersion A method of teaching Ojibwe in which Ojibwe is the medium of classroom instruction.

Orang Asli A collective term that refers to the minority indigenous people in Peninsular Malaysia comprising 18 different ethnic sub-groups who have their own language and culture. The literal translation of Orang Asli is 'Original Peoples'.

Out-of-School Learning Learning that differs from the processes of didactic teaching and explicit instruction typically found in schools.

Outstations Small settlements of Aboriginal Australians on their traditional homelands. In the 1980s and 1990s many Aboriginal people began to relocate from towns and larger remote communities to small outposts on their traditional lands.

Phonological Binding Phonological binding occurs when two words next to each other start to be pronounced as a single word. Often this results in one of the

words being shortened. For example: 'I'm going to see you' can be shortened to 'I'm gonna see you.'

Pidgin A pidgin language is a language without native speakers which has developed as a means of communication between speakers of one language and speakers of another language. In Australia 'Pidgin English' developed as a means of communication between speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages and speakers of English. Note that 'pidgin' has now become the name of some creoles, for example Tok Pisin is a creole language spoken in Papua New Guinea which developed from a pidgin spoken earlier in Papua New Guinea.

Pidgin, Nineteenth-Century QLD (in Australia) The pidgin used by Australian Aboriginal workers in the pastoral industries in Queensland, and later more widely including in the initial stages of missions and reserves.

Polysynthetic A polysynthetic language is one characterised by single words having the sense of what would be an entire sentence in a language like English. For example, in Murrinh-Patha (an Australian language spoken around Wadeye, NT) the word *banhingkardunungintha* means 'We two will see you.'

Pre-head Modifier A pre-head modifier is a word or small group of words which describe the head of a phrase. For example, the noun phrases below all have one or more pre-head modifiers (underlined): 'The <u>actively engaged</u> student' // 'The <u>fast red</u> car' // 'The <u>very old</u> woman.'

Predicate A predicate is a word which sets up a relation with an entity. For example, transitive verbs are predicates which relate two entities (*The driver* and *his car* below): 'The driver [*Subject*] crashed [*Predicate*] his car [*Object*]'. The most common examples of predicates are verbs, but many other words are predicates too—such as some adjectives: 'The driver is fond [*Predicate]* of speeding.'

Prep The first compulsory year of schooling in the Australian state of Queensland, available for students aged 4.5–5.5. Equivalent to the 'Foundation year' described in ACARA.

Proficiency When applied to 'second language proficiency' this term describes the general underlying ability of the learner in that language, for example for second/additional language learners of English, or Spanish or Yumplatok (an English-lexified contact language spoken on the islands of the Torres Strait between Australia and New Guinea). It is common to assess 'proficiency' in a second or other language in different modes, such as receptive (i.e. comprehension) and productive, and in spoken (speaking and listening) versus written modes (writing and reading).

Ration Stations In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Australia, these were located on reserves, settlements and cattle stations and provided basic foods and blankets to Aboriginal people.

Recast Technique used in conversation and language teaching to check understanding of an utterance or to correct a learner's utterance by paraphrasing the utterance and repeating this back to the interlocutor.

Ritual Performances Ancestral traditions, ceremonies and practices that serve as cultural and linguistic mechanisms through which the Hopi community reinforces and maintains kinship relations, obligations and responsibilities, for example Buffalo Dances.

School Language A term used to distinguish Standard Australian English and other varieties used by teachers and teaching documents from the language varieties spoken by students. Related to 'code-switching', school language and home language are often the two 'codes' students are asked to switch between (often without targeted teaching of the school language and how to use it).

SDA See 'second dialect acquisition'.

Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) The process of acquiring a second dialect.

Second Dialect, Target Dialect (D2) A dialect acquired later in life, or attempted to be acquired later in life.

Endangered Language Language endangerment is a matter of degree. A language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it, use it in fewer and fewer domains, use fewer of its registers and speaking styles and/or stop passing it on to the next generation.

Situated Learning Learning that is embedded within activity, context and culture. It may also be unintentional rather than deliberate. They call this process 'legitimate peripheral participation'. It contrasts with much decontextualised classroom learning.

Socialisation The lifelong process of acquiring the language(s), practices, values and beliefs of a society.

Socio-cultural Learning Theory Socio-cultural learning theory situates learning as a socially situated process and looks to everyday practice in out-of-school settings for models of learning and engagement that differ from the processes of didactic teaching and explicit instruction typically found in schools.

Sound-Symbol Correlation A sound-symbol correlation or relationship is sometimes described by the term 'phonics' meaning the relationship between sounds (phonemes) and letters (graphemes).

Source Languages In contact situations, when contact varieties of language develop, the languages which contribute to the new contact variety are the source languages.

Standard Australian English The range of prestige varieties of English spoken in Australia, and used by governments, universities, schools and so on in most formal published documents and speech.

Standard English 'Standard English' is a cover term which includes the standard languages of the United Kingdom, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and so on, all of which derive from British English dialects.

Standard Variety A standard variety is a variety of a language which has become accepted as the variety to use in public situations such as schools, law-courts, hospitals and in dealing with government agencies.

Standard Yiddish A regional variety of Yiddish spoken around Kishinev.

Structural Racism Refers to racism caused by a society being structured so as to exclude people from certain ethnic backgrounds from engaging at all levels in social institutions such as schools, churches, or government.

Subject The subject of a clause is the person, thing, place, property or proposition that is doing the action, or in the state, expressed by the verb. In the clause 'you know the answer', 'you' is the subject.

Substrate When two languages make contact, it is often the case that a new creole language emerges. Commonly these creoles will inherit their underlying grammatical structures from one of the languages (known as the 'substrate', but take many of their words from the other language (known as the 'lexifier').

SVO English is a SVO language—this means that the subject (S) of a verb (roughly understood as the entity doing the verb) comes before the verb, and the object (O) of the verb (roughly understood as the entity having the verb done to it) comes after. For example: 'The driver [*Subject*] crashed [*Verb*] his car [*Object*].' Describing how subjects and objects are related to the verb gives a broad typological understanding of the structure of that language.

Teacher-Linguist A role in the Australian Northern Territory Bilingual Education Program, which involves supporting classroom teaching teams in planning, delivering and monitoring first language and English language and literacy programmes, as well as developing, delivering and supporting whole school professional learning.

Teaching English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL) A specialist teaching area, in which professionals have knowledge and skills for teaching students who are learning English as a second or other language. TESOL is frequently used as an umbrella term which subsumes a number of language learning contexts (and teaching specialty areas), including Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). In Australia, the TESOL profession has been largely oriented to migrant learners of English rather than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students.

Tensed Subject Pronouns In some languages pronouns that express the subject of a sentence have markers expressing the time reference of the sentence. A com-

parison would be an imaginary version of English which used 'Ive go' for past time reference, 'Im go' for present time reference and 'Ill go' for future time reference.

Token An instance of a word or form in an utterance. See 'type/token'.

Torres Strait Islander There are two groupings of original (pre-colonial) Indigenous inhabitants of Australia and the surrounding islands: Aboriginal and 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 invasion and colonisation, or the directly descended varieties spoken today. Also called heritage languages, First Nations' Languages, and other terms. Used only to describe a type of language, individual languages have specific names.

Transitional Bilingual Education An educational approach based on the theory that children are better able to master a second language (e.g. English) if they first acquire fluency and literacy in their first/home language (e.g. an Indigenous language).

Transitive A transitive verb is a verb associated with two entities ('subject' and 'object') represented by noun phrases. For example: 'The driver$_{NP1}$ crashed his car$_{NP2.}$'

Transitivity A property of a verb or clause which reflects whether a direct object is required for the sentence to be grammatical and complete. Transitive verbs require direct objects, intransitive verbs do not take objects.

Translanguaging The process of making meaning and gaining understanding and knowledge using resources from two or more languages, but in ways not always clearly assignable to one linguistic code or another. In comparison to 'code-mixing' and 'code-switching', 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 which makes use of the different codes students bring to the classroom to ensure they understand the content.

Type/Token The type/token distinction distinguishes abstract types from forms which embody them. For example, in examining a child's utterances, it is

useful to count both the total number of words the child uses (number of tokens), and the number of different words the child uses (number of types).

Variable Rule A rule of language that is not categorical (i.e. applied 100% of the time) is called a variable 'rule', since we can usually still deduce contexts which favour or disfavour the application of the principle in question. For example, English speakers sometimes neglect to pronounce 't' or 'd' at the ends of words. Various analyses of this phenomenon have revealed that this happens more often (but not categorically) when followed by a consonant like 'd' or 'g' (obstruents and nasals) than a vowel.

Variety A cover term used to avoid making claims about the relationship between languages (i.e. language vs dialect, etc.).

Vernacular Literacy In this context vernacular literacy means reading and writing in the Indigenous language or dialect.

Wisconsin Common Core Standards A set of academic standards for K-12 students in some curriculum subjects adopted in 2010 by the State of Wisconsin in the United States.

Ya̲nangu, A̲nangu A term for 'Aboriginal person' in Australian Western Desert 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. Their own language designation, 'Yumplatok', literally means 'our language' and is gradually ousting the most widely known term 'Broken', while 'Torres Strait Creole' is a more academic epithet. Yumplatok belongs to the Melanesian family of creoles, that also includes Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Bislama in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands Pijin.

Zero Point Epistemology A term used for the belief that there can be a detached neutral observer.

Zone of Proximal Development The distance between the actual developmental level of a learner, and their level of potential development under expert guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers. This concept was originally described by the psychologist Lev Vygotsky.

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[1]Note: Page numbers followed by "n" refers to note.