Global Lessons:
Indigenous languages and multilingualism in school programs

Compiled by Samantha Disbray, Carolyn Barker, Arathi Raghunathan and Faith Baisden.

Cover art

Kuluban by Selina Nadjowh
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In this fabric design the artist has painted a colony of *kuluban* (fruit bats) hanging from the branches of a tree at night. They are silent in flight but can be heard feeding at night in the trees and are raucous as they roost in the mornings. *Kuluban* are a food source for the Indigenous people of Northern Australia. It is *yekke* (the dry season) and many flowers are in bloom. When particular varieties of blossom come into season the diet of the bat changes the degree of sweetness in the flesh of the bat itself. *Kuluban* is the generic word for fruit bats, but also specifically refers to the black flying fox (Pteropus alecto).

Credits

The title *Nintiringanyi* was provided by Karina Lester and means 'learning' in her language, Yankunytjatjara. Australian English speakers can pronounce it 'nin' to rhyme with 'bin', 'tir' with a short 'i' as in 'ink' and a rolled 'r' similar to the 'tt' in butter when spoken very fast, 'ing' similar to the ending of 'sing', and 'anyi' sounding like 'onion without the final 'n'.

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Around the world, Indigenous languages are taught in a range of program types, with schools playing an important role in language revitalisation and maintenance. In this paper, we present four international case studies; New Zealand (Mãori), Canada (Secwepemctsin), the United States (Ojibwe and Dakota) and Indigenous languages in Timor Leste. We examine successful elements and challenges faced by the language communities, schools and systems as they work to provide strong academic programs, revive and maintain Indigenous languages, and foster multilingualism. Nationally, we look at five language groups - Guugu Yimidhirr, Gumbaynggirr, Kaurna, Yawuru and Warlpiri to examine ways that Australian communities are working with schools and education systems.

Through the case studies, we see the power of schools, communities and language champions to develop programs which build community expertise and control. Among the challenges are small numbers of language speakers, lack of institutional support and access to teacher education. Overall, the case studies show that when schools and communities collaborate to teach language in a way that is intensive, available at all levels of learning and sustained over time, language proficiency and use increase. This fosters language vitality and multilingualism.

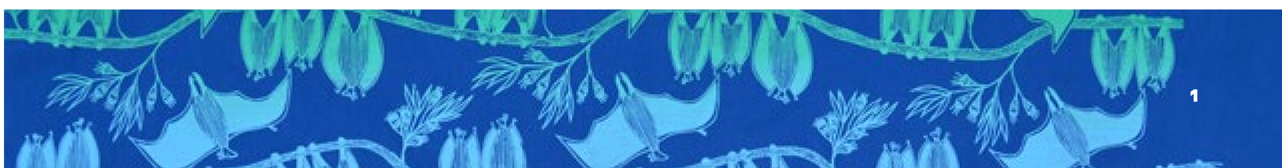
What is multilingualism and how do people become multilingual?

Defining multilingualism in just a few words is not easy, as each individual has different multilingual characteristics. For the purpose of this discussion, multilingualism is defined broadly as the ability to express oneself in two or more languages for the purposes the speaker has for each language. Multilingual speakers are not necessarily perfectly or equally fluent in their languages; in fact, it is quite common to have a dominant language.

Often multilingual speakers use a language for particular audiences or purposes. For speakers of revitalised languages, this might begin with particular performances, such as *welcome to country* speeches, creative projects such as *Kaarljilba Kaardn* (Kylie Farmer) who uses her *Noongar* language skills to perform Shakespearean sonnets, or when musicians such as *Trent White*, the *Stiff Gins* and *Yamani* share their languages through song.

Dalisa Pigram-Ross teaching Yawuru at Cable Beach Primary School.
Photo credit: Dalisa Pigram-Ross.

People usually become multilingual because they hear and need different languages in their day-to-day lives. Some people grow up beginning to speak more than one language because they live in a family or community where people routinely speak more than one language. It is a commonly held myth that children who grow up speaking more than one language have delays or language difficulties. Research says otherwise (Baker, 2011). Humans are great communicators. There are *advantages* to acquiring and learning new languages early, and it is never too late to become bilingual.



Some people move from one place and language situation to another and learn a new language at different stages in their lives. Some people learn a language in a classroom as a second language (when the learning takes place where the language is spoken) or as a foreign language (away from where the language is spoken).

Learning and speaking more than one language has many *benefits* such as being able to communicate with other speakers, and knowing cultural norms, knowledge and history. Learning and speaking another language also improves language skills in a person's first or other language(s). Learning a second language makes it easier to learn new languages. Language learning among colonised peoples can also improve *health and well-being*.

Rose Lester and Vanessa Houltby at Nyangatjatjara College supporting AEW's from Mutitjulu and Docker River on the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Framework. Photo credit: Mobile Language Team

Being able to express yourself in two languages takes input (hearing) and interaction in more than one language. This takes time, opportunity, and if not surrounded by communities of speakers also requires passion and dedication.

Language activists and educators in Canada have described some of the challenges for adult Indigenous *language learners*. Often such learners have little opportunity to hear the language around them. They may be learning a language very different to the language they speak, with limited learning resources and historically negative views towards the language. They are learning and developing old languages for new purposes in contemporary settings. Many in the global network are willing to *share their experience* and their resources. Onowa McIvor and Peter Jacobs from Canada share a tracking *tool* to help adult language learners see their progress on their language learning journey.

Multilingualism and revitalising Indigenous languages

The impacts of colonisation have placed enormous pressure on Indigenous people and their language practices. Often times people have been forced to take up coloniser languages at the expense of their ancestral language and multilingual practices that encourage the use of both or all languages.

Encouraging multilingualism is important for speakers and for the survival of languages. The greater the number of speakers, the stronger the language for the future. Speakers keep languages and culture alive, and speakers revive languages.

For many Indigenous people, teaching and learning their heritage language(s) is especially *valuable* because of the deep connection people feel towards their language, its connection to cultural knowledge, land and kin, as well as expressions of contemporary identity. Having language and cultural knowledge is more than simply an intellectual achievement, but is part of a process of de-colonisation.

All over the world, Indigenous communities are revitalising languages at different stages of vitality, from languages with few records, to those with many speakers. Leanne Hinton has researched and advocated for *language revitalisation* projects in the US. Her work and her many *publications*, and the work of many others have informed a global movement, which has helped many Australian reclamation and revitalisation programs.

Leanne Hinton has described language revitalisation as giving new life to a language that has been declining in use or has ceased to be used altogether, and its nature as a community process, or a community effort. However, in a *2015 talk*, she also argues that:

"... a good deal of language revitalisation, and indeed success in revitalisation takes place below the community level and even below the level of what we might define as a program. [Language revitalisation and] its successes are individual, varied, evolving and often small, yet leading toward growth."

Hinton and Hale (2001) propose five main approaches to language revitalisation: school-based programs, out of school programs for children (after school, summer programs), adult language programs, documentation and materials development, and home-based programs. In this paper, we are focusing on the role that schools can play in supporting their students' multilingualism. However, the case studies show that successful school programs are attentive to, and interact with, all five of the approaches.

Traditional Indigenous language revival, revitalisation and maintenance in Australia

There are many different Indigenous language situations in Australia. Some communities are beginning to teach and learn languages that have not been spoken for some years. This is called language revival, or reclamation. In other communities only older generations know and use the traditional language, and the language is under threat of dying out. Their efforts focus on revitalising language, by increasing the number of active and proficient speakers. In some communities, children still speak a traditional language as their first language, and communities are seeking to maintain language

transmission and use. Schools, and increasingly early learning centres, play a critical role in most of these programs.

In recent years, recognition of traditional languages and the need to plan for their revival, revitalisation, and on-going use through education programs has become almost mainstream in *public discourse*, with some policy backup. One state, New South Wales, passed *legislation* in 2017 to recognise and revive Aboriginal languages.

Most states and territories have developed curricula and other policy materials for Aboriginal languages teaching and learning. In addition, the Australian Curriculum *Framework* for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages was launched in 2016, giving programs national recognition. It offers a formal learning framework aligned policy for every student to learn an *additional language*. It is also part of broader action towards *reconciliation* in Australia.

In addition to the case studies which follow, *Re-awakening languages: theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous languages* is recommended reading for anyone interested in Australian languages. The chapters that comprise *Part 4* highlight the ways many communities around the country work with education systems.

Traditional first language instruction in Australia

In Australia, a small number of traditional Indigenous languages continue to be acquired as first languages by children, particularly in regional and remote locations. However, these children are overwhelmingly taught in English-only programs. This sends the message to children that their home languages are not valued in learning, and it allocates children's learning time away from learning through, and deepening, their language skill. There are enormous pressures on the remaining traditional languages. In addition to resistance to their teaching and learning by education systems, issues of language status, small speaker numbers and social and intergenerational changes pose threats. Many people advocate for mother tongue languages in schools programs, such as Anmatyerr educator *April Campbell* and Warlpiri educator *Valerie Patterson*. They wish to keep these languages strong and to make sure that children learn their traditional language fully.

Australia has a significant history of teaching through traditional first languages, with programs in Queensland, South Australia, and most wide-spread and long-lasting, the Northern Territory *Bilingual Education Program* (Devlin, Disbray & Devlin, 2017). The Northern Territory Bilingual Program ran in around twenty-five Northern Territory schools between 1974 and 2008, and was designed as a transfer bilingual program. That is, it aimed to teach through the students' mother tongue in the early years, allowing children to learn skills in their home language and ensure a strong conceptual and linguistic base, and then, as they would gradually learn English, to transfer these skills to this additional language, which became the language of instruction in the upper primary years. Aboriginal educators and community members, however, saw the program as a means for language and cultural maintenance (Walton and Eggington; xi). In 2017, nine schools were receiving funding through the program (Kathryn McMahon, pers. Com 31/5/2017). Of these, four schools in the Top End were recognised as operating staged bilingual programs and two in the Centre were 'on the way' to operating

bilingual programs. One of these, the Warlpiri-English Bilingual Education Program at Yuendumu, is discussed further as a case study below. A further three were operating Language Enrichment programs. Enrichment programs dedicate time to teaching cultural knowledge through first languages but do not operate as a coordinated and staged program of additive bilingual and biliterate development.

The Northern Territory Bilingual Program was controversial, with staunch proponents

Dean Austin Bara teaches a Wubuy language class at Ngukurr School. Photo credit: Ngukurr Language Centre.

and opponents, though no rigorous evaluation of the program was ever carried out. It faced the challenges of remote education delivery alongside significant political pressure and an ever declining budget, and now has very little strategic resourcing and momentum within the NT Department of Education, in comparison to its strongest period in the 1980s. Today there is great emphasis on national standards in English literacy, and home languages are seen as 'in the way' rather than part of a child's multilingual fund of knowledge. The narrowing of attention to basic English literacy attainment has not yielded improvement in academic achievement or retention in remote schools.

International examples indicate that students in well structured bilingual school programs reach the same level of their peers across subjects, but achieving academic proficiency in the second language requires 5-8 years of formal, structured tuition (May et.al. 2004; 50). They have the benefit of being multilingual.

Multilingualism and new Indigenous languages

Attention only to Traditional Indigenous languages overlooks the great range of new languages spoken by many Indigenous children and their communities. Contact languages in Australia, varieties of the Aboriginal English, creoles and mixed languages such as *Light Warlpiri*, are rarely counted as languages or part of a multilingual repertoire and they are rarely recognised in education. Yet, they are the first languages many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children learn, and are the language of daily communication and expressions of individual and local identity across Australia. Recognising the importance of home languages, Denise Angelo and colleagues from the Language Perspectives team, Education Queensland have designed and advocated a *'three-way strong'* model, to promote children's strong mastery of traditional languages, contact languages and English in schools (Angelo & Carter, 2015).

Certificate IV in Teaching an Endangered Aboriginal Language workshop participants, 2014. Photo credit: Kaurna Warra Pintyandi

For language revival and revitalisation communities these new languages are also a strong bridge to traditional languages. For example, *Wumpurrarni English* spoken in the Northern Territory has been described as a 'purnu' or coolamon, as the contact language acts as a vessel that carries Warumungu features, sounds, words, structures and ideas (*Morrison and Disbray, 2007*).

Though the focus of this paper is traditional Indigenous language teaching and learning, we recognise that a split between traditional and contact languages makes many mother tongues and multilingual practices *invisible*. Extensive research on Aboriginal Englishes and creole languages have shown the ill-effects of this invisibility in terms of the education system's neglect of student's language repertoires (for instance *Dixon and*

Angelo, 2014), poor teaching of English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EALD) and missed opportunities to foster multilingualism. Research in *legal* contexts has similarly shown the ill-effect of this invisibility on the justice system (cf. Eades 2016). Thus we encourage readers, in particular teachers and policymakers, to find out more about contact languages and their significance in education practice.

Achieving multilingual goals

As discussed earlier, traditional Indigenous language programs operate in a range of contexts, with different aims at different stages - revival, revitalisation and maintenance. Improving language proficiency at each stage, thus fostering multilingualism is a shared goal. In revival programs, the language is being re-learnt by all speakers involved. Initially, the broad aim of such programs may be re-awakening the language and reconnecting the community with their heritage language and culture. The goal for students may be to develop communicative competence and knowledge of their heritage language, culture and history, and become part of a community of new speakers (*O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013*). In Australia, students in these programs are first language speakers of Standard Australian English, a local Aboriginal English or creole variety.

Language revitalisation programs involve learners with little or no fluency in the language though they may use some words and often have some passive knowledge, that is, they understand more than they can produce. Learners may know some traditional and contemporary local Indigenous culture and cultural practices. There may be some speakers of the language, often elderly, in the community. The aim of these programs is to restore the speech community by developing communicatively competent speakers, with associated cultural knowledge. The goal for students may be to interact easily in a range of situations and topics, both traditional and contemporary. In Australia, students in these programs can be first language speakers of Standard Australian English, a local Aboriginal English or creole variety.

Language maintenance enrichment and bilingual programs are for students who speak the target language as their first or a main language, true for other members of their community. These programs seek to teach through the language and to enhance students' proficiency in more advanced and sophisticated language and cultural knowledge. Language maintenance enrichment programs seek to deepen the students' knowledge of their home language and culture, and ensure mastery of all language structures and important areas of knowledge in their home language. Bilingual programs explicitly seek to develop communicative, literate and cultural competency in the home/ community language(s) and in English.

What time is required?

Indigenous reclamation and revitalisation programs differ in many ways to programs for foreign language teaching (Hinton, 2011). Their histories, prestige, available resources in terms of speakers, teachers and teaching materials, and their profile in everyday life is often very different from that of metropolitan and national languages. However, there are some general commonalities between successful Indigenous and foreign language programs.

Western Australian Aboriginal language teacher trainees 2017. Photo credit: Department of Education WA

In schools, successful language learning is linked to the quality of instruction in terms of strong and appropriate pedagogy, including cognitively challenging tasks tuned to learners' age and level, plus access to quality resources (Enever, 2011; Nikolov & Djigunović, 2006, p. 246). Interesting and meaningful activities, outside of the classroom, to hear, use and learn meaningful exchanges as part of the school program and home environment are important (Enever, 2011, p. 78; Hinton, 2013). Other factors involve an interaction between in and out of classroom elements, such as exposure and access to and use of the target language in the learner's everyday life, the language status in terms of its prestige in the local and broader community, and learner, family and peer attitudes and motivation to language learning (Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011) and the involvement of community members in the program and teaching. Finally, instruction and learning time are crucial.

Just how much time should be devoted to languages teaching and learning depends on the goals of the program and learners. Research on foreign and second language teaching shows two factors are strong predictors of high language proficiency achievement; the number of teaching hours per week and continuity of teaching across the school years (Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011, p. 100; Enever, 2011). The wide-reaching review of primary school language programs in European languages in seven European countries (Enever, 2011) found that consistent, high-quality programs with between two to four lessons per week over the first four years, and three to five lessons in the upper primary years, developed communicative competence in these high prestige and highly available metropolitan languages. Studies that show a clear correlation between foreign language learning and improved academic performance across all subject areas, found such gains were made only where students took part in at least three lessons per week (Taylor & Lafayette, 2010).

Again, considering foreign language programs in mainstream classes, where schools seek 'to generate high-proficiency outcomes' there is 'a move towards maximising the key variables of 'time' and 'intensity' through immersion and CLIL [Content & language-integrated learning] or CBI [Content-based instruction]' (Johnstone, 2009, p. 213). That is, to get good language outcomes, programs find ways to boost the time allocated to learning, and learning through, the target language.

Indigenous language programs in New Zealand and the United States operate immersion programs alongside less time-intensive programs. Research has repeatedly found the immersion type programs, with intensive and rigorous staged target language learning are most effective for language revitalisation, student language learning and overall school achievement (Hinton, 2011; Indian Affairs Council State of Minnesota, 2011; McCarty, 2003; 2011, p. 154; May. et al. 2004; Ministry of Education New Zealand Government, 2017).

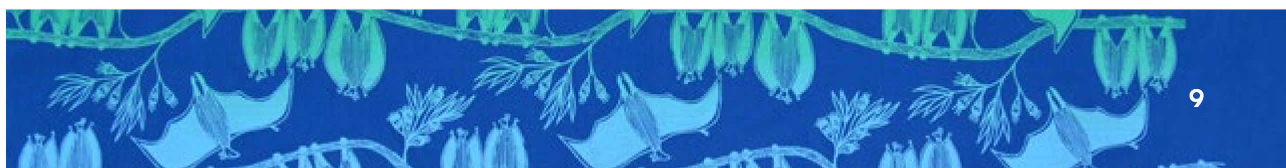
An overview of bi- and multilingual program types, with goals and time dedicated to each language, is included for reference.

Lessons from the case studies

For this study, we selected four international examples of education programs that actively support multilingualism in Indigenous languages. The case studies are from Maori in New Zealand, Ojibwe and Dakota in the United States, Secwepemctsin in Canada and Indigenous minority languages in Timor Leste. Three of the four are wealthy, western countries, which share a British colonial history, with devastating impacts on the traditional language ecology (New Zealand, the US and Canada). The languages in these settings are being revitalised, with education programs that will create new speakers of the languages (Maori, Ojibwe and Dakota, Secwepemctsin).

Although all have their origins in the broader movement for language rights and renewal in the 1980s, they vary in terms of the level of institutional support, the intensity of programs and the time since their inception. The fourth case is Timor Leste, with a very different historical and economic backdrop. Here mother-tongue instruction is promoted so that students can learn in the language they know best, and these languages can be maintained with a place in the contemporary world. The four case studies were selected as each bears important similarities to the Australian context, as well as differences. They also capture two different language situations - language revitalisation and language maintenance, important for informing languages in education policy and practice in Australia. We reviewed the goals, structures for, and approaches to, developing and implementing languages programs and identified successful elements and challenges from each. We then synthesised the important lessons from the four case studies.

We also reviewed five Australian language education programs, similarly reviewing their goals, structures, strengths and challenges. In doing so, we provide an overview of some programs, program types and community language planning in Australia, and relate lessons from the international case studies to the Australian context.



Bruce Wilfred helps facilitate a Bunggul (traditional dance) concert with students from Ngukurr School. Song and dance play an importance role in language transmission. Photo credit: Ngukurr Language Centre

Language program types and outcomes

Our case studies illustrate that language teaching that is intensive, available at all levels of learning, and sustained over time, produces new speakers and fosters multilingualism. This is true for learners of an Indigenous language who are first language speakers of another language, as well as those who grow up speaking an Indigenous language at home. Immersion programs and partial immersion programs are most likely to be rigorous, in that they are time intensive, staged and sustained. The case studies of Maori in New Zealand and Ojibwe in the United States show that these have a profound impact, improving language revitalisation and reversing language shift (from Traditional languages to new languages).

First language speakers of an Indigenous language also benefit from mother tongue instruction and sustained quality teaching of their second language. Learners in quality mother tongue instruction, dual-language, (sustained) bilingual or multilingual programs all achieve first and second language proficiency and academic success. These programs foster language maintenance of small and endangered languages by developing full mastery of a first language, and cultural and academic proficiency, including first language literacy. Six years of second language instruction is generally required for second language learners to develop proficiency to achieve academically in their second language. The case study in Timor-Leste shows direct benefits of mother tongue and bilingual instruction to students, and via greater community involvement.

Second language enrichment programs that are delivered for little time in the week and/ or do not continue year to year are not sufficient to yield proficiency or fluency in a heritage language. First language enrichment programs contribute less to full language proficiency and do not foster academic proficiency. However, even the strongest school programs have had small beginnings.

Schools cannot be the sole player in fostering multilingualism and teaching new generations of speakers, but they can play a vital role by providing critical sites for language reclamation, revitalisation and maintenance activities; especially when connected with community activities.

Community activities

Communities undertake a range of activities over the stages of reclaiming, revitalising and maintaining languages. These include: research and development of language resources, including historical documentation of the language; documentation of remaining or strong speaker's knowledge; and the development of spelling systems and reference works such as dictionaries, learner's guides and grammar and teaching materials. This work is often carried out with support from linguists and language centres, and is vital to teaching languages in schools.

In many of the contexts we examined, communities actively evaluate and/or prioritise specific language revitalisation and maintenance efforts to improve programs. They also advocate within and outside the community.

The case studies show that efforts to foster multilingualism, and revive and maintain languages, are best supported by activities at all levels of learning; in homes, community and in school programs from early childhood to tertiary and vocational levels.

Communities also invest in adult language and literacy learning, and in teacher training. Adult language learning program types include Master-Apprentice models, Community Learning programs, Vocational Training programs and University courses. All are shown to foster new speakers and skilled language workers, and all thrive on the motivation of individuals and groups.

Structural support

Fostering multilingualism requires structural support within a community and more broadly. Political and societal support for multilingualism and official recognition or status of languages are foundational. Commitment to education infrastructure, through clear and consistent policy, implementation strategies and resourcing, allow schools and communities to get on with teaching and learning and improving the quality of their outcomes. Highly successful programs also must have access to locally-relevant high-quality curriculum, teaching and learning standards, monitoring and assessment materials, and teacher training, accreditation and specialist professional learning.

Teacher training and pathways

Local teachers who are well-skilled in the language, its cultural content, multilingual development and language teaching methodology are crucial. In many contexts teachers also require skills in community outreach and collaboration. Innovative approaches such

as team teaching pedagogy can support bilingual teaching and learning, and professional learning among staff.

Access to appropriate teacher training and accreditation for teaching, and teaching through Indigenous languages is a challenge in many contexts. Dedicated teacher accreditation programs are necessary to build strong speakers and language educators. Developing a professional pool of educators and the infrastructure to achieve this is a core goal and challenge in many contexts.

This paper is a companion to the National Indigenous Languages Teaching and Employment Strategy which outlines the current needs in relation to training Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language teachers nationally.

Some specific implications for the Australian context

The international case studies we have reviewed provide many insights for the Australian context, however, some significant differences in this context must be noted. Canadian and US education provision models differ greatly from Australian, with community and charter schools having greater school autonomy and being much more common and possible than in Australia. At a further structural level, unlike the international case studies in New Zealand, the US, Canada, and Timor-Leste, Australian languages have official status in only one state, New South Wales. In recent years, developments in the national discourse and policy around Indigenous languages, have resulted in recognition and resourcing of Indigenous languages through the funding of programs such as the *Indigenous Languages and the Arts program* and the inclusion of the *Framework for Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages* as part of the National Languages Curriculum. However, this remains contingent on political goodwill.

The languages ecology of Indigenous Australia is similar to Canada's, but more complex than the other countries represented in the case studies (see Ball and McIvor, 2013: 22-23). The relatively small size of the Australian population, both overall and of the speaker communities of each language, is also significant. This poses additional challenges to broad delivery and up-scaling, as efforts and resources need to be language specific – created by and for small groups of people. Language reclamation and revitalisation efforts require a critical mass to frame and meet community goals. Certainly, we can look to the Kaurna and Gumbaynggirr case studies to see that small numbers of people can have significant impacts over time.

The languages ecology is complex also in that Australian Indigenous students in different situations have very different language learning needs (again, see Ball and McIvor, 2013). Some speak Standard English as their first language and are learning their heritage language as a second language. Others are speakers of a contact language, learning or keen to learn their heritage language(s) and Standard Australian English as an additional language and language of instruction. Others speak one or more traditional languages as their first language(s) and are learning Standard Australian English. For Australian communities and education systems to foster multilingualism amongst its young people, high-quality teaching and the inclusion of traditional languages, contact languages and English in classrooms are required.

Angelina Joshua creating Marra literacy resources.
Photo credit: Ngukurr Language Centre

This complexity also involves a particular urgency, as those languages still spoken as first languages have small speaker numbers and are under enormous pressure. Remoteness has supported intergenerational transmission until now, but remote communities face many structural challenges (economic, social and physical) and top-down policies to ameliorate these currently encourage migration to urban centres and provide English-only or, at best, English-dominant education, with very poor outcomes. There is a real risk that these vibrant languages will become languages in need of revitalisation, a task more difficult than fostering and maintaining multilingualism.

Finally, concerns about low levels of academic achievement among Indigenous people in reporting by education systems has become of key national concern, with an on-going discourse of Indigenous failure and the gap that needs to be closed. This discourse also plays out in other settings, such as Canada and the US. In Australia, the gap is measured by the comparison of statistics from Indigenous populations to a non-Indigenous baseline. Ignoring a range of potential concerns for such an approach, the variables on this baseline do not include language competence beyond English literacy. This baseline leaves no room for multilingualism or a three-way strong model. This, along with the structural challenges noted above, means it is difficult to truly establish multilingualism as a priority in education discourse.

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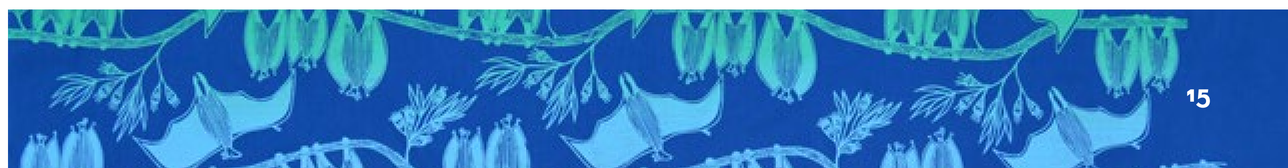

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Program Types

Program Type (School)	Students and goals	Example or Case Study
Mother tongue instruction The learning program is delivered entirely in children's first language (L1)	Students learn entirely in their L1, whether this is the majority or national language or not. Students generally all speak the same language, and may speak and learn other languages.	Swedish in Finland
Bilingual or Two-way bilingual or Two-Way Immersion or Dual Language programs Use of two languages as media of instruction, where minority and majority language speaking children are taught in both minority and majority languages	Students are dominant speakers of either (and other) language(s). They learn both languages, either as L1 or L2, to a high level and for academic learning.	Spanish-English in some US schools and many schools in New York
Language Revitalisation Immersion Students undertake all school learning in the revitalising language. The students, and often the teachers, are not native speakers of the language, but learn it through the school program.	An important goal of the program is to create more fluent speakers of the language and to re-establish the language and its functions in everyday life.	Maori case study Ojibwe case study Study of Hawaiian, Alaskan and Navajo schools
Mother tongue-based bilingual/ Multilingual education or 'developmental bilingualism' L1 is used as the primary medium of instruction for the whole of primary school while L2 is introduced as a subject of study in itself to prepare students for eventual transition to some academic subjects in L2	Students are speakers of the same language and undertake schooling though their L1. They also learn a second language, a national or dominant language, to a high level.	East Timor case study
Multilingual education Formal use of more than two languages in the curriculum	Students may be multilingual before entering school, are likely to have ready access to more than one language in the society around them. They learn through more than one language in school.	India
Maintenance or Heritage bi/ multilingual education After L2 has been introduced, both (or all) chosen languages are media of instruction. This is also called 'additive bilingual education' because one or more languages are added but do not displace L1.	Students begin schooling mainly in L1, and later begin learning, and learning through, L2. They continue to learn through L1 often as a subject of study, to ensure students become academically proficient in L1.	Lašor model for Russian and Latvian in Latvia Basque and Spanish in some Spanish schools

Language Revitalisation Bilingual (Dual instruction or early or late transition) Students learn through both the dominant language and the revitalising language. The time division between the two languages depends on the model (dual or early/late transition). The extent to which students are L1/ L2 speakers of either of the languages will depend on the specific language situation in the community.	Creating more speakers of the revitalising language is a goal of the program. The dominant language is the students L1 and the medium of instruction. Students learn the revitalising language as a subject.	Maori case study Warlpiri case study.
Language Revitalisation Enrichment Students learn their heritage language as a second language during some hours of the school program. This may be as little as 30 minutes per week.	Recognising and acknowledging the heritage of the students is often a key goal. Language in the curriculum is often emblematic, rather than a serious attempt to foster language proficiency in the revitalising language.	Kaurna and Guugu Yimidhirr case studies.
Language Maintenance Enrichment L2 is the language of instruction. Students learn or learn through L1 during some hours of the school program. This may be as little as 30 minutes per week.	Students are L2 speakers of the language of instruction. L1 language and culture is taught as a subject	Anmatjere at Ti Tree school Warlpiri at Lajamanu and Nyirripi schools

Program Type (Adult Learning)	Students and goals	Example or Case Study
Master-Apprentice Program A one-on-one immersion program pairing younger people with traditional speaking Elders to spend time together exclusively in the language, undertaking everyday language tasks.	The goal is to facilitate intergenerational transmission and create more fluent adult speakers.	California and beyond
Community Learning Program These may involve conversational or structured language learning programs. Community language programs run in the evening or weekend or as summer schools.	The goal is to provide a language learning opportunity for adults and create more fluent adult speakers.	Kaurna and Walalangga Yawuru Ngang-ga case studies. Mohawk
Vocational Learning Program These involved certified courses at adult learning institutions. They may run as evening classes or intensives. Also available to students with no heritage link to the language.	The goal is to provide a language learning opportunity for adults and promote greater proficiency among adult speakers. Accreditation means that speakers also gain formal qualifications, and adult learning institutions may shoulder part of the delivery costs.	Gumbaynggirr case study. Ngarrindjeri and Pitjantjatjara
University language learning program Revitalisation language teaching and learning as part of a university degree program. Also available to students with no heritage link to the language.	The goal is to provide a language learning opportunity for adults and promote greater proficiency among adult speakers. Speakers gain formal qualifications, and the university covers the delivery costs.	Ojibwe case study. Pitjantjatjara, Yolngu Studies, Arrernte, Kaurna reclamation, Gamilaraay Wiradjuri
Transitional bi/multilingual education (also called 'bridging') 'Short cut' or 'early exit' is a term given to programs that involve an abrupt transition to L2 instruction after only 2 or 3 years in school. 'Late transition' or 'late exit' refers to a switch to L2 instruction after a child has become fully fluent academically in L1.	The students are L2 learners of the language of instruction. After learning in L1, the language of instruction is changed to the L2, the dominant language. The objective of the program is a planned transition from L1 to L2.	Spanish-English in Texas Northern Territory Bilingual Program case study

Case studies

Internationally, we consider three language revitalisation settings, in which Indigenous heritage languages are being learnt by first language speakers of other languages and one language maintenance setting. For language communities, the use of a revitalised language means more than speaking another language and goals around proficiency in speaking the language can be varied. In language maintenance settings, learners speak their traditional language as their first language and learn regional and international majority language(s) in school.

Māori language revitalisation in New Zealand

The Māori immersion program is a *successful model* of language revitalization. *Indigenous peoples* around the world look to Māori for inspiration, *leadership and guidance*. The revival began in the 1970s, as part of a broader movement for recognition of Maori sovereignty. Speaker numbers had dropped radically since the 1930s and Maori were concerned they might lose their language.

Kōhanga Reo (language nests) began in 1982 as a grassroots movement, to provide a total Māori language immersion program for young children and their families, staffed by adults speaking only Māori. The Māori Language Commission was set up under the Māori Language Act 1987 to promote the use of Māori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. Now over 460 Kōhanga Reo operate with more than 9,000 Māori *pre-school* children enrolled. In addition to Kōhanga Reo (pre-school), Maori is used as the medium of instruction in ura kaupapa, wharekura and wānanga (primary and secondary schools and tertiary institutes operating under Māori custom). There are also special character schools at primary and secondary level providing Maori immersion programs, bilingual schools and schools that have bilingual units. It's important to note that all students speak English before commencing school, as a home and community language.

The Ministry of Education allocates funding based on the proportion of teaching in Māori; the higher the level of immersion, the higher the funding. Level 1 Māori-medium programs have the highest proportion of teaching in Māori (between 81% and 100%). In Level 2 programs the children are taught in Māori for between 51% and 80% of the time. Level 3 is between 31% and 50% and Level 4 is between 12% and 30% of the time.

New Zealand Ministry of Education evaluations of Maori-medium programs found Level 2 programs in Māori and English programs to be *effective*, 'as long as at least 50% of the teaching is in Māori'.

Overall, the Ministry finds that 'a '*whole school*' immersion program has some advantages over other programs in that it can create a positive environment for children to learn Māori. It creates an 'additive' environment which values te reo Māori throughout the school, and where te reo Māori is not overshadowed by English as the mainstream language'.

The Ministry of Education recommends that Māori students spend at least six years in Māori immersion programs, as research shows that it takes longer to learn a second language at school to the same academic level as a first language. The end result, however, is being able to read and write well in two languages (biliteracy). Becoming biliterate, or being able to read and write in two languages, is the key educational advantage that students in Māori-medium education will have over students in English-medium contexts. Māori-medium schools teach academic English as a subject around Grade 4 or 5. This is because, like academic Māori, it is not just picked up naturally – academic English also needs to be specifically taught.

The Ministry sets a high benchmark for educators, who 'need to be able to speak, write and read fluently in Māori and in English, as they must be able to teach subjects in both languages'. However, being fluent in both languages is not enough, as teachers must also 'understand how children and young people learn a second language and they must know the best methods for teaching a second language'. Recruiting and training staff to this level of expertise was identified as a key challenge in the 2004 review of Maori Bilingual education (May et al. 2004).

Key lessons from Māori case study:

- Language revitalisation is possible through education programs and action outside of schools
- Strong rigorous Immersion programs lead to bilingual, biliteracy and academically successful students
- Strong commitment to education infrastructure – teacher training, curriculum development and a language commission is required.

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Ojibwe and Dakota language revitalisation in the United States and Canada

Ojibwe country is a large tribal area stretching through the Great Lakes region in the US states of Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Michigan and into Ontario, Canada. *Ojibwe language* continues to be spoken by several thousand people in the United States and Canada. Dakota speakers lived in the US states North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Montana and in Manitoba, southern Saskatchewan in Canada. Today many Ojibwe and Dakota people live in cities, some live in towns and others on reservation land. Some fortunate communities have over 100 speakers while many are left with only a handful or none.

In the 1980s and 1990s, recognising the decreasing number of strong speakers, *Ojibwe* and *Dakota* people began to act on their concern for their languages. They began culture and language revitalisation efforts, through community learning and school-based programs, some of which were immersion programs.

Waadookodaading in Minnesota is an Ojibwe immersion school that opened in 2000. The program at Waadookodaading has a learning on country focus. This involves teaching children ecological and cultural knowledge outdoors and in places of significance to Ojibwe people. Few teachers and none of the students are native or fluent in the language, and this can make each school day exhausting for teacher and students alike. However, both groups are highly motivated to learn and the program provides an effective way for both to quickly improve language competency. As there are few immersion programs, and small student numbers, the gains overall are small, however, individual gains in language proficiency are impressive. In Minneapolis in 2006, early childhood educators established *Wicoie Nandagikendan*, a Dakota and Ojibwe immersion preschool program at the Little Earth Community. They overcame the challenge of having few native speakers by setting up mixed teaching teams of first and second language speakers and learners.

More recently, post-secondary and university language programs have provided important opportunities for young Dakota and Ojibwe people to learn their languages, providing a small cohort of proficient speakers as well as language-speaking Native American researchers, academics and *language teachers*.

Aware of the critical state of their languages, the Dakota, Ojibwe and others have used government policy and status planning, such as the 1990 Native American Languages Act, as leverage to gather support and action for their languages. In 2006, the importance of saving Indigenous languages was recognized with the passage of the federal Esther Martinez Native American Preservations Act, providing funds for immersion teaching and learning. State governments have also increasingly recognized the value of Dakota and Ojibwe language and culture to the heritage of Minnesota.

In 2009, the Dakota Ojibwe Language Revitalisation Association (DOLRA) successfully secured a commitment from the Minnesota Legislature for support of language revitalization, accessing funding for two immersion schools, a pool of funds for distribution to local language revitalization projects, and a Working Group of representatives from Dakota and Ojibwe communities and state institutions (Indian Affairs Council, State of Minnesota; 2013: 5). DOLRA is one organisation that has been

part of the Volunteer Working Group on Dakota and Ojibwe Language Revitalisation and Preservation, which has researched and reported language revitalisation (Indian Affairs Council, State of Minnesota; 2011) and developed a long-term and detailed *Strategic Plan* (Indian Affairs Council, State of Minnesota; 2013). Increasing language proficiency is a core goal:

For Dakota and Ojibwe people, however, the transmission of our languages from generation to generation in the home is at the breaking point. For the time being, most language learning – especially for young people – take place in schools and other formal instructional settings; the restoration of the home as the place where languages are learned is a longer-term goal. Hundreds of schools within the borders of Minnesota offer to introduce students to a few words of Dakota or Ojibwe language, often as part of more general classes on American Indian cultures. While all opportunities to learn about our cultures are important, these 'exposure' activities – which total a few hours over the course of a year -- are not part of language revitalization, which must focus on continual increases in language proficiency among learners. Less common are Dakota and Ojibwe classes that treat these subjects as world languages. Such classes, which include degree programs at the University of Minnesota Duluth and at Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College, start learners on their path toward language proficiency. The Strategic Plan recognizes the need to support those teachers who are laboring in isolation in schools that often undervalue their work, and who have limited access to teaching materials.

In addition to these immersion and tertiary programs, a number of community initiatives give learners and speakers the chance to hear their *language in use* and to use online learning resources. These can help adults, young people and children to learn in their own ways with their own learning pathways and they dovetail with the five areas DOLRA has targeted for revitalisation efforts. These include more opportunities for people to learn Dakota and Ojibwe, providing more training programs and training opportunities to increase the number of teachers, the creation of local and standardised school curriculum, creating and improving access to learning materials, particularly online, and raising the profile of languages in the community.

Key Lessons from Ojibwe and Dakota case study:

- Creating proficient speakers and uses for language in all areas of life are important
- Immersion programs for students and teachers who are language learners are demanding but effective
- Community commitment to immersion and language focused schools is crucial, as is access to resources for and control over schools
- Learners should have many options to learn language, through education programs at all levels and self-directed learning
- 'Exposure activities' are valuable but are not part of language revitalisation. To revitalise a language there must be continual increases in language proficiency among learners
- Official status, official support and strategic planning allow for effective revitalisation efforts.

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Secwepemctsin language revitalisation in Canada

Roughly 30 *Indigenous languages* are spoken in British Columbia, Canada. All are endangered and have encountered decades of unsupportive *education policy* (McIvor and Ball, 2013). But all over Canada communities are undertaking language revitalisation programs and holding workshops and conferences to share ideas, *plan revitalisation* efforts and set short and long-term goals. Many individual speakers and groups strive to speak only their language to one another, within families as well.

In rare cases, children have access to education in an Indigenous language, such as in *Secwepemc territory* (Ball & McIvor, 2013). Secwepemctsin (the Secwepemc language), an eastern dialect of the Secwepemc territory is part of the Interior Salish language family, the traditional language of Adams Lake territory. There are very few speakers remaining, who learnt Secwepemctsin as their first language.

Chief Atahm School is one of the few immersion schools in British Columbia. It started in 1987 as a language nest, following the models of "Te Kohanga Reo" (Māori) and "*Aha Punana Leo*" (Hawaiian), with the aim to create more speakers in the language. A concerned group of parents then established the school in 1991 with the goal to increase the number of fluent speakers in the community. There were 22 fluent speakers when the school was established. It continues to be a parent-operated school where the staff, seniors and parents work together to achieve the school's goal. The program offered spans the generations – infants to adults.

The language nest provides a three-day-a-week language immersion environment enabling infants and toddlers to learn the language. It also helps parents to bring the language back to their homes and daily lives. To ensure that the language learning does not end after pre-school, an immersion program from nursery to Grade 3 was implemented along with arithmetic, science, arts and social studies courses. From Grade 4 to Grade 9, a dual language program divides time between Secwepemctsin and English. By 2010, around 100 children had benefited from this program. The school also offers evening and weekend classes for adults. The growing numbers are a sure sign of positive outcomes.

Thompson Rivers University also strives to sustain and revive Secwepemctsin by offering students certification (Teacher Regulation Branch, a three-year program) that enables them to learn and teach First Nations Language and Culture in public, private and First Nations schools.

Across British Columbia, a range of other language revitalisation and learning programs are pursued. *First Peoples' Council Language Programs* such as the Master-Apprentice Program, Language and Culture Immersion Camps and Pre-School Language Nests are seen to be helping support new speakers and to improve the fluency of existing speakers. Archiving and teacher training are also a focus.

There has not been an exponential increase in the number of speakers of the Indigenous languages of Canada. The growth is slow and they continue to be endangered, but it is headed in the right direction.

Key lessons from British Columbia case study:

- Concerted efforts through language immersion programs can increase the number of proficient speakers
- Language revitalisation efforts are best supported by activities at all levels - from early childhood to tertiary, and out of school community activities
- Dedicated teacher accreditation programs are necessary to build strong speakers and language educators.

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Indigenous languages in Timor-Leste

The situation in Timor-Leste is interesting, with 17 Indigenous languages being spoken alongside a national and international languages. This multilingual nation with three recent historical phases has seen the rise of coloniser languages, which have been awarded prestige over traditional languages. These phases are: Portuguese colonization (from the 1500s to 1975), occupation by Indonesia (from 1975 to 1999), and Independence (in 1999). In 2002, the Constitution of Timor-Leste adopted 'a plurilingual national identity' attributing 'national language' status to Tetun, with equal official language status given to Portuguese. One Papuan language and 15 other Indigenous languages also have official recognition and are protected (Taylor-Leech, 2008). The *Basic Education Act* (2008) brought reformation with respect to languages, guaranteeing nine years of compulsory, free education to all citizens. The languages of instruction were to be Portuguese and Tetun, with English introduced in the late primary years as the 'designated first foreign language' (*Taylor-Leech, 2013*).

Later, the *Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan* was formulated, providing a vision and set of strategic policies for 2011-2030. In this document, the plan for an accessible quality education system includes adopting the recommendations of the *UNESCO* 'Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Policy for Timor-Leste'. According to this, mother tongue languages, the languages in the home environment of the students, are to be used as the language of instruction in the initial years to help 'build a solid foundation for future literacy and numeracy' in Portuguese as well as Tetun (Taylor-Leech, 2013). The focus is on the language that the student knows the best. In secondary education, Portuguese and Tetun are to be the languages of instruction.

In mother tongue education, the home or first language (L1) is used as the medium of instruction from pre-primary until the end of grade 3. Tetun is taught orally by instructors from pre-primary to grade 1, is the instructional language from grade 1 to 3, and an additional subject from grades 2 and 3. Portuguese is used orally from grades 1 to 3, and then from grade 4 it is both the medium of instruction and a subject along with Tetun, in what is essentially a *transitional bilingual program*. Where possible the L1 continues to be used as a medium of instruction after grade 4.

To pilot this model, 'demonstration schools' (6 pre-primary and 6 primary) were selected from three districts. The role of various languages at different stages is shown below.

Instruction Model based on the Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan

School Level	Main medium of instruction	Additional Language
Pre-primary	Mother tongue	Oral Tetun introduced
Grades 1-3	Mother tongue	Oral Tetun continues and is used as a medium of instruction and Oral Portuguese introduced
Grade 4 onwards	Tetun and Portuguese	L1 as medium of instruction continues (where possible)

The *evaluation* of the model by Caffery, Coronado, Hodge & Taylor-Leech (2014) suggests that teachers and teaching assistants made every effort to use the L1 of the students, which reinforced the transfer principle of mother tongue-based multilingual education. According to their evaluation report, the model was successful and demonstrated that literacy could be achieved both in the mother tongue as well as in the subjects in the curriculum. The introduction of mother tongue education has brought about various changes:

- a positive learning environment
- improved relations between students, teachers, parents and communities
- a positive change in school attendance, and
- a more child-centred approach to education.
- The existence of an independent evaluation is an important element to the Timor-Leste case study. Having to stop, assess practice, replan and refine is critical to program improvement over time.

Lessons from the Timor-Leste case study:

- Providing learning in the language children know best is effective, and other languages can be added to a firm foundation in the mother tongue.
- Program evaluation is important for identifying and documenting strengths and areas to change or improve.

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Warlpiri bilingual programs in the Tanami, Northern Territory

Schools at Yuendumu, Willowra and Lajamanu in the Tanami region of Central Australia have operated Warlpiri – English bilingual programs at various times, as part of the Northern Territory Bilingual Program (Disbray 2014; Disbray and Martin, 2018). Since the program began in 1973, a total of 29 schools operated bilingual programs, some long-standing, others short-lived (Devlin, Disbray and Devlin, 2017). The Northern Territory Department of Education's commitment to the program has waxed and waned over the decades and the value and effectiveness of the program have been controversial.

Over the years, the Northern Territory Bilingual Program (NTBP) has faced many challenges: the shifting support of the Education Department; difficulty recruiting and maintaining skilled, experienced and qualified staff (Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal); the retreat from local delivery of Aboriginal teacher education; and the power of principals to see the program flourish or flounder. In 1998 the Department threatened to close the NTBP, but after significant public outcry and a review that identified a range of strengths of the program, it retreated from this position. However, several programs were closed at the time.

Nyirrpi educator Fiona Gisbon with Kim Omar leading singing at Nyirrpi School. Photo credit: Samantha Disbray

In 2008, the Northern Territory Department of Education (NTDE) introduced a much publicized policy that required all schools to teach the first four hours of each school day in English. At this time, only six schools still operated programs that were approximating the Bilingual Program model, including the Warlpiri schools (Simpson, Caffrey and

McConvell, 2009). The policy was relaxed after a few years and the NTDE and some schools have been rebuilding the program in recent years.

Despite local and systemic challenges over the years, Warlpiri educators and community members have remained *committed to teaching* their children Warlpiri and English language and culture, and continue to do so.

The Northern Territory Bilingual Education Model

Set up by the Commonwealth Government when the Northern Territory (NT) was still under its direct control, the NT Bilingual Program is underpinned by a set of goals, primarily to provide initial education to children in remote schools in their own languages. In some remote communities, children still learn a traditional language as their first language and learn English later in childhood, generally through school. The instruction model mandated in the NT Bilingual Program was a 'step model', a transitional bilingual education program. This involves children learning, and learning through, their first language in the early years to develop skills such as school routines, literacy and math concepts. The students learn oral English as an additional language.

In the model, the proportion of time spent in first language decreases each year, reaching a 50/50 time division between first language and English in grade 4, when instruction in English literacy should begin. After this year, the proportion of time dedicated to first language is reduced. In practice, this model was not always adhered to in schools, with first language taught for less time than in the model and an inconsistent program in the senior years. This is in part due to the lack of skilled teachers and also the lack of commitment by the Department of Education to bilingual teaching and learning.

When the Bilingual Program began in the 1970s, very few Aboriginal adults in remote Australia had access to secondary schooling, and even fewer went to teachers college. Many of the Aboriginal teachers in those early years were among the first generation in their community to have attended school. The non-Aboriginal teachers were generally not speakers of the children's language, not knowledgeable about the community and its culture. Nor were they necessarily trained in teaching, and teaching, through English as an additional language. None of the staff were trained in developing and teaching in a bilingual program.

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

An innovative model of team teaching was developed to support teachers to plan and develop programs in their schools (Graham, 2017; Murray 2017). For the classroom delivery, an Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teacher worked together to plan, teach and learn together. The broad reaching team involved Aboriginal teachers and knowledgeable community members, non-Aboriginal teachers and a teacher-linguist, who supported teachers to develop teaching and learning programs in first and second language. This was an important strategy in developing the skill sets needed to operate well-designed and delivered programs. The program required solid English as an Additional Language program and teachers trained in second language teaching. These were not always available and so the team teaching model, with a skilled teacher linguist, was designed to address this.

The Remote Aboriginal Teacher Education program through Batchelor College was established in the 1980s to provide formal training, but over the years with the rise of national professional standards, such training programs became unviable. The lack of qualified teachers is a key challenge to bilingual education in remote Australia.

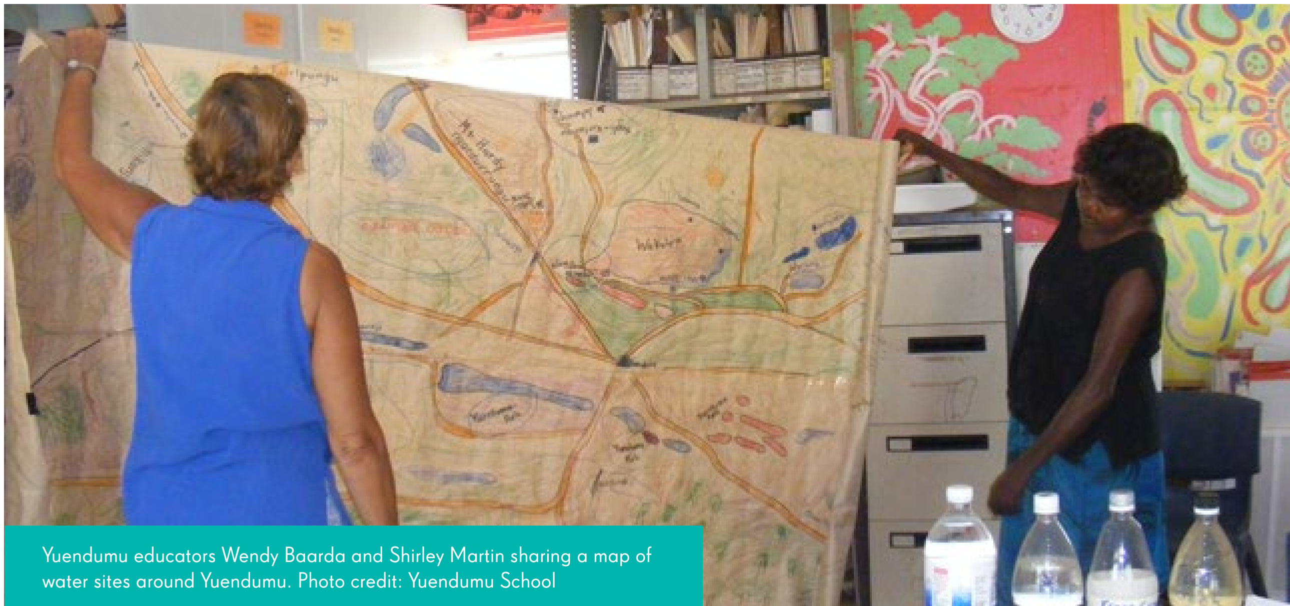
Literacy Production Centres were established in some of the larger schools, with teams working to develop resources in the local language(s), including local curriculum (Christie 2017, Disbray and Devlin 2017; Disbray and Martin, in press). Many hundreds of books were produced in over 20 languages, and many can be found on the *Living Archive* of Aboriginal Languages.

Teaching and learning Warlpiri language, literacy and culture

Warlpiri educators and community members have organised the teaching of important cultural knowledge into a three-year cycle, with four themes per year. Students move through the knowledge in each theme in a staged fashion over their school lives. The themes and learning outcomes have been mapped to the Northern Territory Curriculum Framework and work is underway in 2017 to map them to the revised document.

The three-year cycle covers twelve themes, or knowledge domains, central to Warlpiri land, language and law. 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 Northern Territory 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. (Disbray and Martin, 2018).

Bush trips and country visits are an important part of the Warlpiri program. Each term students are taken out of the classroom, with family members and elders, to learn about land and law, as part of the theme cycle. As the whole school is learning about the same theme, it is possible to have multi-age and peer learning. Teachers in different classes can work together and across the four schools, teachers can plan and learn together. This learning together takes place in term-wise workshops, the two-day Jinta-jarrimi workshops, and the annual Warlpiri Triangle workshop, where teachers come together to share, plan and create resources. Each workshop results in a report, where all of the work is documented for future use in programs.



Yuendumu educators Wendy Baarda and Shirley Martin sharing a map of water sites around Yuendumu. Photo credit: Yuendumu School

Lessons from the Warlpiri Bilingual program:

- Stable policy and resourcing, and accessible and appropriate teacher education are crucial for maintaining program quality.
- Team teaching pedagogy can support bilingual teaching and learning, and professional learning among staff.
- Locally designed curriculum with cultural knowledge and country visits allows structured teaching of first language and culture and the important involvement of families, elders and the community.

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Guugu Yimidhirr language revival at Hope Vale, Queensland

This case study was informed by Cassy Nancarrow, Karin Calley and Lillian Bowen.

Today children in traditionally Guugu Yimidhirr speaking communities in Northern Queensland, Australia, rarely hear their heritage language spoken by adults in the community. However, *Hope Vale Primary School* reports some remarkable outcomes in recent years, with language competency increasing, along with energy and interest in language across the community. This is a great source of *pride* to teachers and the community. Factors supporting these outcomes include the development of quality resources, innovative classroom ideas, the commitment and skill of a committed teacher, and a productive collaboration with regional education and language organisations.

To end 2017 on a happy note, Lillian Bowen's Guugu Yimidhirr classes at Hope Vale School performed Gunbu Minhangu (Animal Song), an original children's song in Guugu Yimidhirr. Photo credit: Pama Language Centre

While Guugu Yimidhirr has been offered inconsistently at Hope Vale Primary School in the past (Ridley, 2002), 2011 saw *Cape York Institute* renew its commitment to the teaching of Guugu Yimidhirr at the Hope Vale Campus of the Cape York Aboriginal Australian Academy (CYAAA). The school-based language revival initiative began in 2013 and was the first attempt to teach an Indigenous language using a pedagogy informed by the direct instruction model favoured by the Academy. Guugu Yimidhirr is the first fragile language to be taught using this approach. The Institute promotes the method as suitable to language revitalisation situations where there are few language speaker authorities, as lessons are scripted, scaffolded and immersive. The program is also aligned to the Queensland Education Department *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Syllabus* and so can meet its standards and requirements.

In 2015 a Guugu Yimidhirr classroom was established, providing a Guugu Yimidhirr domain within the school. The classroom contains books and teaching resources developed by Cape York Institute and the *Pama Language Centre*. Since its establishment in 2015, Pama Language Centre has provided teaching resources, linguistic advice and complementary community language activities. These include the publication of Guugu Yimidhirr children's books, including activity books, read aloud e-books, and a Guugu Yimidhirr song book written by teacher Lillian Bowen and her classes; as well as choir development, songwriting, theatre activities and field trips.

Guugu-Yimidhirr is offered to each student for 2-3 hours per week. Lessons are taught by a local Guugu Yimidhirr teacher, Hope Vale Elder *Lillian Bowen*. Lillian Bowen is a Remote Area Teacher Education Program (*RATEP*) graduate, a fluent Guugu Yimidhirr speaker and a respected community member. Through the program, Lillian also encourages language awareness and use in the community, engaging the students in a variety of community development and arts activities. *Irene Hammett* acts as a substitute teacher when Lillian is not available, however, both teachers raise concern about succession planning to see the program continue strong into the future.

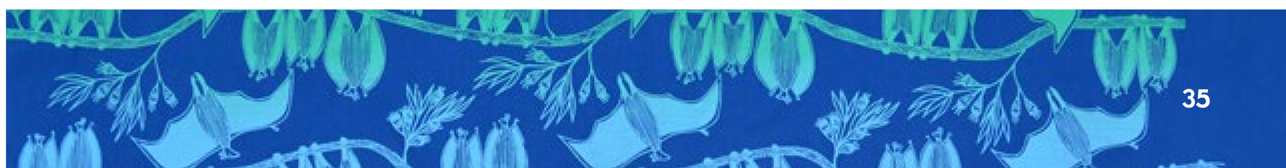
The outcomes of these activities have been an inspiration to the community, and serve as learning tools both in and outside the classroom. Bowen reports parents expressing pride in their children's Guugu Yimidhirr learning, and commenting that their children are becoming more fluent speakers. Some parents have been sitting in on her classes, and Bowen, along with Dora Gibson and Shirley Costello, also offer adult community language lessons at the local Indigenous Knowledge Centre (*IKC*).

The Pama Language Centre's support of the Cape York Partnership has been invaluable; they have sourced linguists, curriculum writers and creative professionals to help develop the extensive language teaching resources that form the basis of lessons. Guugu Yimidhirr activities and resources are available to other communities in the *region*, though there is less uptake than at Hope Vale.

To properly build on and support the school program, utilise current enthusiasm and see rapid growth in community language use over the next five years, Guugu Yimidhirr language workers see language teacher training/succession planning, language camps for school-aged children, and a language nest for school preschool children as important priorities.

Key Lessons from the Guugu Yimidhirr case study:

- Qualified, experienced and passionate teachers are crucial
- Alignment to standard curriculum documents provides rigour, structure and accountability
- Extensive support from regional education and language organisations spreads the load and consolidates and sustains program development and growth
- Future planning, especially for teacher development are critical



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Gumbaynggirr and other languages of the mid-North coast

Informed by Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative

Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative is a regional language centre that provides strategic support to revitalise the languages of seven Aboriginal communities, on the central to north coast of NSW. It works closely with Elders, and local language, culture and educational organisations to conduct research, publish accessible grammar-dictionaries and develop engaging education *courses and resources*.

Muurrbay began in 1986, when *Gumbaynggirr Elders*, including Aunty Maggie Morris, joined together to revive their language with the support of linguist, Brother

Gumbaynggirr Certificate III class, most of the students teach Gumbaynggirr at local schools. Photo credit: Muurrbay Language and Culture Cooperative

Steve Morelli. They accessed old recordings of the language and, drawing on Diana Eades' thesis, analysed its grammar and produced the first Gumbaynggirr dictionary-grammar. Initially, language learning activities were focused on Elders so that they could appropriately lead Gumbaynggirr's revival. Language classes began in 1997 and many graduates have gone on to *teach Gumbaynggirr in schools* and community groups.

In 2004 Muurrbay expanded to become a regional language centre, supporting a further six languages. Strategic support in project planning, linguistics, IT and teaching expertise, has assisted language revival in several communities by publishing dictionary-grammars, developing teaching resources, employing language workers and delivering community based language workshops and accredited courses. The language centre publishes a wide range of resources on Aboriginal language and culture. In-depth research, community consultation and peer review ensure high standards are maintained.

Seeing a need to deliver certified training programs that would support language learners career pathways Muurrbay registered as a Training Organisation through VETAB. For

Gumbaynggirr Certificate III students practicing the techniques they are learning. Photo credit: Muurrbay Language and Culture Cooperative

the last 20 years Muurrbay Language Centre has fostered the revival in the local Goori community of Gumbaynggirr language and culture, especially by providing recognised Certificate courses. They delivered two courses for Gumbaynggirr learners.

- *Certificate II in Gumbaynggirr Language and Culture Maintenance – 91257NSW*, and
- *Certificate IV in Gumbaynggirr Language and Culture Maintenance – 91258NSW*

The Certificate II in Gumbaynggirr Language and Culture Maintenance was taught every Friday in TAFE term time to an enthusiastic group of largely Gumbaynggirr students, some of whom were already working in schools, and would pass on the language to other adults and children.

Towards the end of 2011 Muurrbay started a pilot program aimed at Gooris in education (schools, TAFE, institutions, organisations). The initiative from principals of several schools in the Nambucca Valley and elsewhere made this viable, for employed people were encouraged to attend the course (Friday mornings from 9:00 – 12:00) as part of their school program.

The State Government's release of the *Ochre Plan* in 2014 saw Gumbaynggirr included as one of 5 NSW languages to be funded as a 'language nest'. 'The *Aboriginal Language and Culture Nests* operate within participating schools aiming to provide Aboriginal students and their families with a continuous pathway of learning, from preschool to Year 12 and into tertiary education (TAFE and universities) and to offer Aboriginal students a new opportunity to consider language teaching as a vocation.'

https://www.aboriginalaffairs.nsw.gov.au/our-agency/staying-accountable/ochre

Within the community use of language continues to grow and new teachers continue to be trained. Currently Muurrbay is running a Certificate III in Gumbaynggirr which is being attended by many of the Language Nest language teachers. Muurrbay's work is, of course, not limited to supporting Gumbaynggirr. For example, in early 2017, ten students graduated from the Gathang Certificate III course, six of whom were, or have worked as, language teachers.

The community and language leaders have made excellent use of the media in promoting and sharing their language firstly within their region and now nationally and internationally through the television series, Cleverman. In addition to work with Indigenous media partners, for several years they have collaborated with their local ABC station to broadcast a 'word a week' program. *http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2010/07/02/2943206.htm*

The years of hard work have put language leader Gary Williams in the position of being able to take the step of teaching the actors of Cleverman Gumbaynggirr, as the primary language other than English of their multilingual characters. *http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-07-04/cleverman-showcases-revival-of-indigenous-languages/7561842*

Muurrbay use a 'three step' formula for language revival, outlined by Ash, A., Hooler, P.,Williams, G.,Walker, K. (2010) Language centres: keeping language strong, in Re-awakening languages: theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous languages.

Step one: language resources

Find out everything that is known about your language:

- Record speakers
- Collect all written records, old wordlists, placenames and grammars
- Collect all language recordings.

Step two: language analysis Analyse your materials to find out how your language works.

Linguists and language researchers should be able to assist.

- Sounds and spelling: work out the sounds of your language and a standard way to spell them. Aboriginal languages and English have some similar sounds such as a, i, u, m, n, l, w, y. Other sounds are quite different, for example most Aboriginal languages have an 'rr' like Scottish Robby Burns (trill/flap), allow 'ng' to start a word, and don't always need to distinguish between pairs like b/p, t/d and k/g in the spelling
- Language is more than just lists of words. So how do we put words together so that we can talk in sentences? This is the grammar or rules of the language. The grammar of Aboriginal languages is very different from English. We want to remain true to the language; we don't want to be influenced by English.

Step three: learning language and developing teaching resources

Once the basic language resources of dictionary and grammar have been produced the focus is then for community members to learn more language so they can teach kids in school, community classes, TAFE and at home.

Classes can be informal or TAFE accredited but, in either case, time needs to be spent designing them. Along the way various teaching resources can be developed such as a learner's guide to help explain the grammar, songs, tapes, computer-based resources, games, story books and comics.

Lessons that could be learned from the Gumbaynggirr Case Study

- There are three crucial steps along the way to revitalisation and creating language programs
- Partners such as adult education providers could help spread the financial and administrative load and provide ways for adults to learn language and gain accredited skills
- Commitment from government and its departments to community goals is important for upscaling, implementation and sustainability of strong language teaching programs
- Media partners are important for raising awareness, getting language out in the world and give speakers real purposes for learning and speaking languages.

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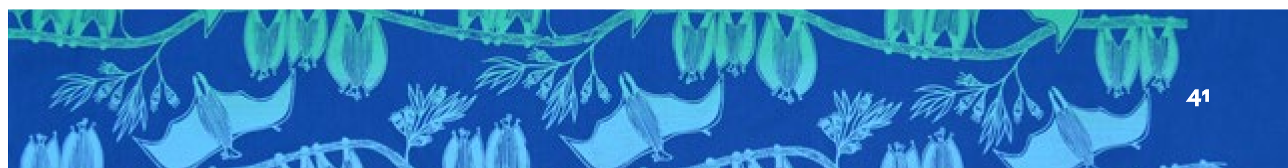

Yawuru language revival in Broome, Western Australia

Informed by Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga Language Centre

The Yawuru language is spoken in and around the town of Broome in the west Kimberley, a town which celebrates its rich cultural diversity and heritage. The urgency for Yawuru to regenerate their language was highlighted during the Native Title trial when the last three fluent speakers of Yawuru, all very old people, gave critical evidence in court. The *Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga Language Centre* was established following the registration of the Yawuru Native Title Agreement in 2010. The Yawuru quest to make sure language is revived and passed onto the next generations, has the full backing of the community, both old and young people. The language program has not relied on linguists but is based on a range of Yawuru people working closely with their old people. It has been a grassroots community approach to language revitalisation.

Walalangga Yawuru Ngang-ga classroom, 2018.
Photo credit: Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga

Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga developed partnerships with schools and early childhood programs to teach Yawuru language to children. The Yawuru community was fortunate in that it had some trained teachers who were also speakers and were initially able to support the demand. Since establishment Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga, the Yawuru Language Centre in Broome, has been overwhelmed with requests for the supply of Yawuru language teachers for the provision of school-based language programs. By 2015, Yawuru programs operated at several Broome schools, as well as community classes at the language centre.

In addition to teaching, Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga undertakes diverse language revival activities, including resource production, dictionary work and creation of written materials. The focus of the program is on language use.

After spending a number of years dedicated to running school-based programs, there was a growing realisation that teaching language one hour a week was not producing a community of language speakers. Furthermore, the available language speakers were working as teachers in beginner level learning programs across schools and thus were not getting sufficient opportunity to talk to each other in Yawuru, to strengthen and maintain their own language skills. It was decided that using Yawuru and building the language skills of individual community members needed to be prioritised over teaching language to other adults.

In 2016 Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga set a target of having 20 conversational Yawuru speakers by 2021. From this critical mass, the community plan to expand the number of Yawuru speakers to ensure that the language plays a critical role in Yawuru nation-building and cultural security for generations to come.

The centre looked at language revival programs from around the world and combined the elements most relevant to them in a program called Walalangga Yawuru Ngan-ga. The aim of the immersion program is to rebuild the daily use of Yawuru at home, at work and in the community, and to facilitate intergenerational language learning.

The course is open to any Yawuru person, regardless of language ability and age; with participants being selected through an Expression of Interest process. Those successfully recruited are then employed in the two year program.

The participants come to the language centre for three hours, Monday to Friday. These disciplined periods of time are set to focus on speaking Yawuru across different aspects of daily life such as meals, recreation and chores. The learning techniques are reinforced through collective activities within families, work colleagues and friendship circles.

The program commenced in late 2016 and has seen success beyond the group's initial expectations, including stimulating conversations between adult participants and children who had participated in school programs but had not previously been known to use the Yawuru they had learnt.

Course completion will lead to a certificate in Yawuru Language. Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga is in the process of investigating how to attain accreditation. Graduates will be expected to continue to use and grow their Yawuru language skills and support other language learners where possible.

It is anticipated that graduates of the program will have opportunities to work in tourism, land management or other industries; and that some may continue in their studies to become school language teachers. The Native Title Body, Nyamba Buru Yawuru, has work opportunities for fluent Yawuru speakers, and is expecting this demand to continue to grow.

Walalangga Yawuru Ngang-ga class, April 2018.
Photo credit: Mabu Yawuru Ngan-ga

Lessons from the Yawuru case study:

- Communities can prioritise language revitalisation goals and strategies, particularly in the face of limited resources
- Evaluating progress, planning for strategic use of resources and goal setting are important aspects of community language revitalisation
- Developing fluent speakers requires planning, commitment by and resourcing for a group of teachers and learners, and the identification of appropriate strategies
- Setting and achieving goals and the willingness to stop, review and change plans as required is important for community language revitalisation programs.

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Kaurna language reclamation in Adelaide Plains, South Australia

Informed by Rob Amery and Kaurna Warra Pintyandi

Kaurna is the language of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia. Kaurna was not acquired or used extensively for many decades until the late 1980s, when a small group of committed Kaurna language activists and learners, working with an equally committed linguist, began to revive the language from historical sources.

The long-standing partnership between Kaurna people and linguists has been key to the success of the language movement.

School-based language programs, beginning at Kaurna Plains School in 1992, served as a powerhouse for Kaurna revival and provided a crucial role for Kaurna language. The programs also provided a training ground and motivation for language activists and learners, as language learners, teachers and resource developers. Teachers in schools became the pool of experts to expand to other sectors and to train other adults to take up these roles. Teacher training and curriculum development continue to be areas of concern for Kaurna language planning.

The number of Kaurna language programs in schools grew steadily during the 1990s. By 1997, Kaurna programs had been established at all levels of education, including early childhood, primary, junior secondary, senior secondary, adult, TAFE and tertiary level programs.

Over the years there has been a varying level of support from the Education Department for the teaching of Kaurna in schools. Recent years have seen a marked decline in the number of Kaurna programs being offered, the number of students and students' Kaurna language proficiency, even though much more research has taken place and good quality resources are now available.

There are numerous links between adult programs and early childhood, primary, secondary, TAFE and tertiary sectors, as teachers delivering programs in one sector are themselves students in other programs. Those involved in the delivery of Kaurna programs typically work across a range of activities.

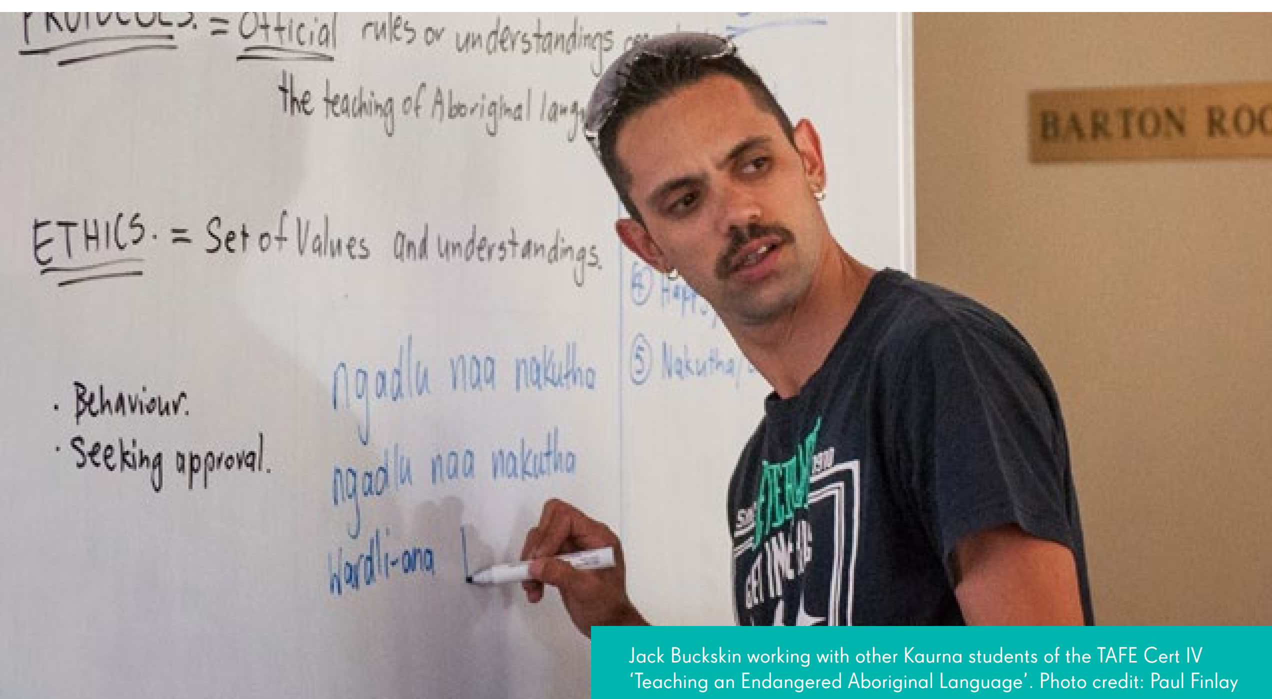
Some Kaurna people have a keen interest in the language and a desire to revive it but are not interested in participating in a formal language program. They would prefer to keep it within their own families and organisations. Some would prefer to use the resources developed to learn the language in the privacy of their own homes, possibly feeling more confident in this environment.

Programs aimed at adults are absolutely crucial in the revival of Kaurna because teachers of Kaurna have to learn the language themselves. Adult programs have been delivered by different education providers. Since 1994, Inbarendi College has offered Kaurna within the senior secondary SACE (South Australian Certificate of Education), while at Tauondi College it was an integral part of the TAFE accredited Cultural Instructors and Tourism course.

Initial adult language learning and language planning activities focused on songwriting and useful expressions. Songs are a wonderful memory aid. It is much easier to sing a

song in a new language than to try to speak it. Early workshops also aimed at developing linguistic understandings, such as the grammar and word building patterns, through deconstructing Kaurna sentences recorded by the German missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann, 1840) together with their English translations. New Kaurna sentences were constructed by analogy with the historical sentences. Numerous worksheets and exercises were developed.

In recent times, with the exception of the Adelaide University course, Kaurna linguistics has become less of a priority. Increasingly, Kaurna language activists and learners have directed their attention to developing competence in speaking and using the language.



Jack Buckskin working with other Kaurna students of the TAFE Cert IV 'Teaching an Endangered Aboriginal Language'. Photo credit: Paul Finlay

The 'Kaurna Language & Language Ecology' course within Linguistics at the University of Adelaide was first offered in 1997 and is still running under the title "Reclaiming languages: a Kaurna case study". It attracts many more non-Aboriginal students than students with Kaurna heritage. However, non-Aboriginal students are left in no doubt about the attachment Kaurna people have to the language and the authority they exercise over it. Students, largely non-Kaurna, valued the input from Kaurna people, many pinpointing this as the highlight of the course. This feedback is important for understanding the broader contribution the Kaurna language course may make to raising awareness and its prestige in the community.

Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP), the language reclamation and revival committee based at the University of Adelaide, asserts that while they have been moderately successful in involving Kaurna people in the language courses, there is room for much more input and involvement. The success not only of the Kaurna programs but of the revival of Kaurna itself hinges on this.

A further outcome of reclamation efforts has been the emergence of 'Welcome to Country' speeches in Kaurna. This public performance has contributed enormously to the profile of Kaurna, triggering interest from Adelaide schools to deliver Kaurna curriculum. And as requests for 'Welcome to Country' increase so too does community interest in learning language to meet the need.

Though still in the early stages of a revival, the Kaurna language is more visible, on signage in the city and regions, on the internet, and is more widely spoken today than twenty years ago. The profile of the Kaurna language has been lifted from that of an 'extinct' language, of which almost nothing was known, to a credible, worthwhile and valued language. Several extended families are taking Kaurna seriously and are attempting to learn it for communication within their family. Over the last few decades, the language has been taught in up to ten South Australian schools, across Kaurna country, predominantly metropolitan Adelaide. Demand from schools for Kaurna language teachers far outstrips supply.

The main priority for the Kaurna language movement at this point in time is the recruitment and training of Kaurna people so that they might be empowered in culturally-affirming careers to teach their own language in schools. Recognised career paths and on-going professional development and support in partnership with the Department for Education and Child Development (DECD) are key to Aboriginal people see teaching Aboriginal languages as a well-remunerated and satisfying career.

Key lessons from the Kaurna case study:

- Small teams can begin a movement.
- Songs are an excellent place to start in language revival.
- Emblematic use of the language in the public domain raises awareness and raises the profile of the language.
- Long-standing partnerships provide a backbone for the success of language movements
- Language revival is a gradual process with a number of stages, as languages are revived, adults learn and teach the language to higher levels of expertise and proficiency, and the purposes for and profile of the language begin to expand.
- Don't wait until all the pieces are in place. So long as the support of key Elders is there, make a start and just get on with it.
- As Kaurna Elder Kauwanu Lewis O'Brien often says, it is the journey that is important (more so that the destination).
- Recognised career paths and on-going professional development are key to Aboriginal people see teaching Aboriginal languages as a well-remunerated and satisfying career.

Dedication

Kaurna Warra Pintyandi would like to dedicate this discussion to two exceptional language warriors, Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney and Stephen Gadlabarti Goldsmith. While their passing has left a vast void in our lives and work, their passion and enthusiasm will continue to burn brightly in our tangka 'liver' (the metaphorical heart) giving us strength to continue the revival of Kaurna that is so important to us all.

Language leaders Dr Lewis Kauwanu Yorloburka O'Brien and Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney participating in a Kaunra teaching course. Photo credit: Paul Finlay

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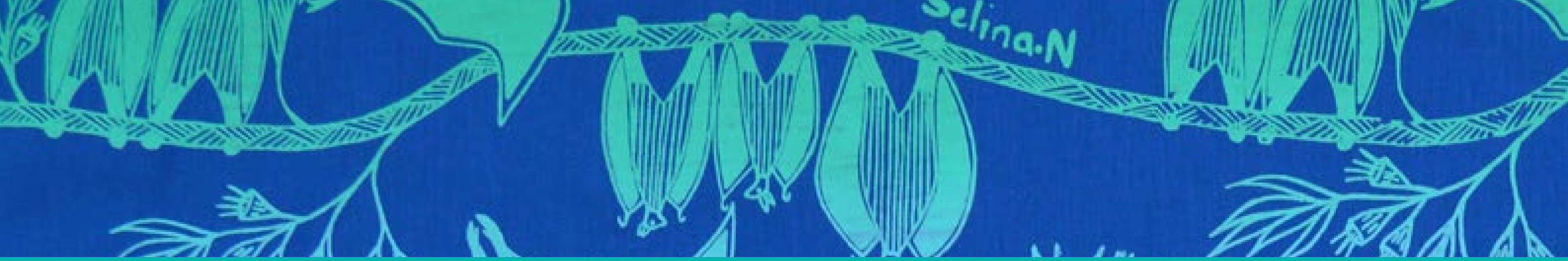

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We share the stories of the people, the histories and the diversity of our languages; we work to bring the best tools and technologies to our communities to enrich their teaching and sharing of language; and we pledge that by bringing strong partners to share our commitment, the first voices of this land will be heard clearly and loudly into the future.