DEPOSIT AND CONSULTATION OF DISSERTATION

One copy of your dissertation will be deposited in ORA (Oxford University Research Archive), where it is intended to be freely available online. In order to facilitate this, you are requested to complete and sign the form below.

Please use block capitals

Surname MENZIES
First names (in full) IRIS LEIGH
Faculty board EDUCATION
Degree name and pathway MScALSLA
Title of dissertation LANGUAGE IS CONNECTION: THE ATTITUDES OF EDUCATION STAFF IN KUNUNURRA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA TOWARDS INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AND MULTILINGUALISM
Supervisor VICTORIA MURPHY
Subject keywords AUSTRALIA, ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, TEACHER ATTITUDES, MIRIWOONG, KRIOL, LANGUAGE REVIVAL, LANGUAGE REVITALISATION, EAL/D, INDIGNEOUS, HERITAGE, CONNECTION, COUNTRY, CULTURE, RECONCILIATION
Research methods used MIXED METHODS, ONLINE SURVEY, QUALTRICS, SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERIEW, YARNING METHODOLOGY, DECOLONISING METHODOLOGY, EXPLORATORY, CASE STUDY

Declaration by the candidate as author of the dissertation

1. I understand that I am the owner of this dissertation and that the copyright rests with me unless I specifically transfer it to another person.
2. I understand that the Department requires that I shall deposit one copy of my dissertation in the Oxford University Research Archive ('ORA') where it shall be freely available online for use in accordance with ORA's Terms and Conditions of Use [https://ora.ox.ac.uk/terms_of_use].
3. I understand that this dissertation should not contain material that can be used to personally identify individuals or specific groups of individuals, and that such material should be removed before this dissertation is deposited in ORA.
4. I agree to be bound by the terms of the ORA Grant of Non-exclusive Licence [www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ora/deposit-in-ora/deposit-licence] and I warrant that to the best of my knowledge, making my thesis available on the internet will not infringe copyright or any other rights of any other person or party, nor contain defamatory material.

5. I agree that my dissertation shall be available for download in ORA in accordance with paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above.

Signed [an electronic signature is sufficient]:



Date: *7th September 2021*

Language is connection: The attitudes of education staff in Kununurra, Western Australia towards Indigenous languages and multilingualism

Iris Menzies

Lady Margaret Hall

Supervised by Victoria Murphy



Dissertation submitted to the University of Oxford in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition

ABSTRACT

An exploratory, mixed-methods case study comprising of an online survey and semi-structured interviews was conducted with staff from schools and preschools in a remote town in Western Australia regarding attitudes towards multilingualism, traditional and modern Indigenous languages, the local Miriwoong language program, and the training which teachers receive in these areas. The small sample size was a limitation to generalisability of survey results, however it was clear that the attitude of education staff was generally positive. Qualitative interview responses gave rise to a framework of language as c*onnection*: to land and people, for both practical communication and the facilitation of respect, for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and resulting in a variety of desirable outcomes. These results can be linked to current issues in language policy and multilingual pedagogy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge the traditional owners of the Miriwoong land on which this research was conducted, and the Dharug land on which the results were analysed and written up. I pay my respects to Elders past, present, and emerging, and I acknowledge that sovereignty was never ceded. In particular I thank my Miriwoong friends and colleagues who generously shared their experiences and knowledge with me, not only during the course of this project, but also during my time living in Kununurra. Bawadantha berraying woorlang yoowoorriyangeng!

I am deeply grateful to the many people who supported me through the process of preparing this dissertation. Firstly, to my supervisor Victoria, for her guidance, support, and encouragement throughout the highs and lows of this strange year. I very much hope to meet you in person one day! Secondly, to all the family and friends who supported me through what was often an extremely difficult year, particularly during COVID-19 lockdowns. In particular I am indebted to my father, who made it all possible.

I am extremely thankful to all my survey and interview participants, as well as piloters, for their time and responses, without which this project would have been impossible. I am also thankful to Connor Brown, Kate Charlwood, and K.J. Olawsky for their advice and provision of resources regarding Kriol and Miriwoong.

Finally, I thank my Heavenly Father, my eternal source of strength, without whom I would not have made it through this – or any – year.

TERMINOLOGY NOTES, ABBREVIATIONS, AND GLOSSARIES

Some notes on key terminology:

'Aboriginal' signifies the peoples indigenous to mainland Australia. 'Torres Strait Islanders' signifies the peoples from the Torres Strait Islands, located off the coast of far north of Queensland. These are referred to collectively as First Nations or Indigenous Australians. (Oliver, Wigglesworth, Angelo & Steele, 2021; Pascoe & AIATSIS, 2012; Shay, 2017). These terms are capitalised when referring specifically to the peoples of Australia (Pascoe & AIATSIS, 2012).

'Country' (usually capitalised – see Coff [2021]) refers to "…*an area of land that is directly related to a group of Aboriginal peoples through ancestry, cultures and languages… a living, vital place that we inhabit."* (Southern Cross University, 2019). Country is often spoken of like a person, and is linked to family, kin, law, lore, ceremony, traditions, and language (National NAIDOC Committee, 2021).

Traditional Indigenous languages (TILs) are the languages spoken by Indigenous Australians before colonisation. Often what is meant by 'Indigenous language' or 'Aboriginal language'. 'Language' (often capitalised) is used in some contexts to signify TIL (Oliver & Exell, 2020; Rhydwen, 1995).

Modern Indigenous languages, also referred to as contact languages or contact varieties, are language varieties spoken by Indigenous Australians which have developed since colonisation. This includes Kriol, an English-lexified creole language, as well as Aboriginal English, a dialect of Standard Australian English (SAE).

List of abbreviations:

ACARA: the Australian Curriculum, Assessment, and Reporting Authority.

AE/K: Aboriginal English/Kriol (see above).

AIEO: Aboriginal and Islander Education Officers. The name of Indigenous classroom support workers in WA (other states refer to this role using different terms)

ANU: Australian National University.

CEWA: Catholic Education Western Australia.

CUREC: Central University Research Ethics Committee, University of Oxford.

DITRDC: Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications.

DPM&C: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet

EAL/D: English as an Additional Language/Dialect. A person who speaks or is learning English but does not have English as their first language.

FATSIL: Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages.

HRSCATSIA: House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs

KNX: Kununurra.

LOTE: Languages Other Than English.

MDWg: Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre.

NAIDOC: 'National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee'. NAIDOC week is an annual celebration of Indigenous history, culture, and achievements.

NHMRC: National Health and Medical Research Council

NILS: National Indigenous Languages Survey

NSW: The Australian state of New South Wales.

NAPLAN: 'National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy'. National standardized literacy and numeracy testing instrument, introduced in 2008.

NT: The Northern Territory of Australia.

PD: Professional Development.

Qld: The Australian state of Queensland.

SAE: Standard Australian English.

TAFE: Technical and Further Education. A government-run tertiary institution which provides Certificates and Diplomas in a variety of sectors, including childcare.

TIL: Traditional Indigenous language (see above).

TSI: Torres Strait Islands/Islanders (see above).

WA: The Australian state of Western Australia.

Kriol/Aboriginal English Glossary

Prepared with reference to Sandefur (1986) and Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo (2013). See Section 3.6.2. regarding orthography.

Abkaj – From English '*half-caste'* (now considered highly offensive). Indicates an Indigenous person of mixed Indigenous and European ancestry. E.g. "*Lil abkaj, lil Aboriginal boy*" (14a).

Bin – From English 'been', past tense marker. E.g. '*what you bin just say':* 'what you just said' (14a)

Gardiya – '*Whitefella'*, white person, person of European ancestry.

Garra – Plays multiple roles: future tense marker, AND preposition indicating instrument/accompaniment ('*with'*). From English *'got to'*.

He, him – Third person singular pronouns (for males, females, and objects).

Holot – From English '*whole lot'*. E.g. *'holot kid'*: 'all of the kids'.

Igen – From English *'again'*. Often used to mean 'as well'. E.g. '*you say 'tok' igen':* 'You say 'tok' as well/in the same way' (10c).

Intit –From English *'isn't it'*. Used to request clarification. E.g. '*Identity, intit?*': 'Identity, right?' (14a).

La – Locative/directional preposition (*on, at, in*, etc.).

Lagijet – From English '*like that'*. Can be used emphatically, e.g. "*we are strong as one, lagijet"* (14a).

Learn – Indicates both 'learn' in the same sense as in SAE, and also 'teach'. E.g. '*Take them out on excursion na, and learn them out la bush.'*: 'Take them on a trip and teach them out on the land' (14a).

Minyu – Dual first person marker. From English *'me and you'.*

Mob - A large amount or group. E.g. *'biggest mob of children'*: Lots of children (14a). Often refers to '*a cohesive group of people*' (National Health and Medical Research Council [hereafter NHMRC], 2018, p.27), and is used to '*identify and distinguish different levels and organizations of community'* (Smith 1999, p.29).

Na – From English '*now*'. Indicates sequentiality of events, topic shift, emphasis.

Owat – From English '*or what'*. Indicates uncertainty or a request for confirmation E.g. '*I reckon another language, owat?*': 'I think it's another language, right?' (10b).

Wijan – From English '*which one*'.

Miriwoong Glossary

Prepared with reference to the Miriwoong Public Dictionary (MDWg, 2019), and unpublished reference materials from MDWg (Olawsky, 2020b; Kofod, 2020).

Anyany – Interjection. Exclamation expressing affectionate feelings about a child or baby. Also used in Kriol.

Gajirrawoong – Noun. Miriwoong name for the Gajirrabeng language (related to Miriwoong, spoken to the north).

Mantha – Coverb, to be used with WOUND verbal forms[1]. *To welcome or 'make it alright' for someone, to perform a traditional welcome ceremony.*

Miljing – Noun. '*Teacher'.*

Ngoondenging – Adjective. *'Good, well'.*

Woothoong – Noun. *'little boy, little girl'*. Plural: woothoo-woothoong – '*children'.*

Warany – Particle. '*Alright, well then, okay*' (often used at the start or finish of a sentence).

Woorlab – Coverb, to be used with BE/STAY verbal forms. '*Be talking'.*

Woorlang – Noun. *'Word, story, language'.*

[1] Miriwoong has a complex verb system in which most actions are expressed using compound verbs: a 'coverb' encodes the core lexical content of the action (e.g. 'woorlab' – be talking) and an inflected verb encodes person, number, and tense. For example: 'Woorlab ngenandayin' – I am talking, 'Woorlab yoowinda' – We two will be talking. Different coverbs must be used with different verbal forms, which are given names according to the contexts in which they are used: 'BE/STAY', 'GO/COME', 'SAY/DO', 'PUT' etc.

Contents

1. Introduction 14
2. Literature Review 17
2.1. Indigenous language ecologies 17
2.2. Language policy 19
2.3. Language attitudes 20
2.4. Research questions 22
3. Methodology 23
3.1. Design summary 23
3.2. Researcher's positionality and cultural sensitivity 23
3.3. Participants 25
3.3.1 Sampling frame 25
3.3.2. Survey participants 26
3.3.3. Interview participants 28
3.4. Instruments 29
3.4.1. Survey design 29
3.4.2. Interview design 30
3.5. Procedure 31
3.5.1. Survey procedure 31
3.5.2. Interview procedure 31
3.6. Analytical strategy 33
3.6.1. Analysis of survey data 33
3.6.2. Transcription and analysis of interview data 33
3.7. Piloting 34
3.8. Ethics 34
3.9. Limitations 34
4. Results 36
4.1. Quantitative results 36
4.1.1. Survey Section 1: 'Macro level' 36
4.1.2. Survey Section 2: Miriwoong program 40
4.1.3. Survey Section 3: 'Micro-level' 45
4.1.4. Survey Section 4: Teacher training 49
4.1.5. Summary of Survey results: 52
4.2. Qualitative results. 52
4.2.1. Interview length and word frequency 52
4.2.2. Framework 52
4.2.3. Language is connection to land 53
4.2.4. Language is connection to people 55

4.2.5. For everyone, in similar and varying ways 56
4.2.6. Resulting in impacts at a personal, local, and national level 57
4.2.7. Other recurring themes 58
5. Discussion....63
5.1. Research questions 63
5.1.1. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding the Miriwoong language program?....63
5.1.2. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding traditional Indigenous languages (TILs) in education in Australia?....63
5.1.3. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding modern Indigenous languages in education in Australia?....64
5.1.4. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding multilingualism in Australia? 64
5.1.5. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding teacher training in these areas in Australia? 65
5.2. Australian language policy and disconnection 65
5.3. Whose land, whose language? Insider/outsider dynamics and utility 67
5.4. Future applications and concluding remarks 69
Reference List....71
Appendices 79
Appendix 1 – approvals....79
1.1. CUREC approval (23/3/2021)....79
1.2. Mirima Council Board (MDWg) approval (4/5/2021)....80
1.3. CEWA approval (25/5/2021) 81
Appendix 2 – Survey consent and recruitment material example 82
2.1. Online survey consent and questions....82
2.2. Survey recruitment material example....89
2.3. Qualitative survey responses 90
Appendix 3 – Interview consent and example transcripts 93
3.1. Interview consent and information....93
3.2. Interview transcript – participant 11d (non-Indigenous, high school classroom support worker, female)....95
3.3. Interview transcript – participant 14a (Indigenous [Miriwoong], MDWg Miriwoong language teacher, female)....98

List of figures

Figure 1: map of Australia, adapted from 'Nations Online Project' (n.d.). Kununurra circled in red...16
Figure 2: Age of survey participants....27
Figure 3: Roles of survey participants....27
Figure 4: Length of residence in Kununurra of survey participants....28
Figure 5: Length of residence in Kununurra of interview participants....29
Figure 6: responses to survey questions 1.1 ('Is Australia monolingual or multilingual?') and 3.3 ('Is Kununurra monolingual or multilingual?')....37
Figure 7: responses to survey question 1.2, 'How useful is it to speak more than one language in Australia?'....37
Figure 8: responses to survey question 1.3 'Everyone should learn the TIL of the language where they live/work'....38
Figure 9: responses to survey questions 1.4 'How useful is it to speak an Indigenous language for Indigenous people?' and 1.5 'How useful is it to speak an Indigenous language for non-Indigenous people?'....38
Figure 10: responses to survey question 1.6 'The Australian government cares a lot about helping Indigenous languages'....39
Figure 11: responses to survey question 1.7 'In lots of cases, it's not practical to teach Indigenous languages in schools'....39
Figure 12: responses to survey questions 1.8 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for the national identity of Australia?' (Nat.ID), 1.9 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for reconciliation in Australia?' (Rec.), and 1.10 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for 'Closing the Gap' in health and education between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians?' (CtG)....40
Figure 13: responses to survey question 2.1 'How important is it to teach Miriwoong in schools and preschools in Kununurra?'....41
Figure 14: responses to survey question 2.2 'It would be more useful to spend extra time on English than having Miriwoong lessons'....41
Figure 15: responses to multiple choice survey question 2.3, 'How much Miriwoong should be taught at schools?'....42
Figure 16: responses to survey question 2.4 'I think that learning Miriwoong is important for all Indigenous students in Kununurra (whether they are Miriwoong or from another language group)'...42
Figure 17: responses to survey question 2.5: 'Is it important for non-Indigenous students to learn Miriwoong?'....43
Figure 18: responses to survey question 2.6: 'Learning Miriwoong is more important for Indigenous students than students who aren't Indigenous'....43

Figure 19: responses to survey questions 2.7 ‘Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong for Indigenous students’ and 2.8 ‘Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong for non-Indigenous students’. 44
Figure 20: responses to survey question 2.9 ‘Learning Miriwoong is good for the future of students in Kununurra’.....44
Figure 21: responses to survey question 2.10: ‘High-school students shouldn’t learn Miriwoong at school, because they need the lesson time for other subjects which are more important’. 45
Figure 22: responses to survey questions 3.4 ‘How useful is it to know a traditional Indigenous language in Kununurra?’, and 3.5 ‘How useful is it to know Aboriginal English/Kriol in Kununurra?’. 46
Figure 23: responses to survey question 3.6 ‘Is language an important part of children’s identity in Kununurra?’.....46
Figure 24: responses to survey question 3.7: ‘Some students don't speak 'standard Australian English' at home. How well are these students helped at schools and preschools in Kununurra?’. 47
Figure 25: responses to survey question 3.8: ‘Students who speak Aboriginal English/Kriol at home should be encouraged to use only 'standard Australian English' in classrooms’. 47
Figure 26: responses from survey question 3.9: ‘Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will stop students from learning good 'standard Australian English'. 48
Figure 27: responses from survey question 3.10: ‘Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will help students to learn 'standard Australian English' better.’ 48
Figure 28: responses to survey questions 4.1 ‘When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about TILs’, 4.2 ‘When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about Aboriginal English/Kriol’, and 4.3 ‘When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about EAL/D support’. 49
Figure 29: responses to survey questions 4.4: ‘It would help me to do my job better if I had more training on languages in Kununurra and Australia’, and 4.5 ‘It would help me to do my job better if I had more training on EAL/D student support’.....50
Figure 30: responses to survey question 4.6 ‘What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about Indigenous languages? (You can choose more than one option)". A: ‘When they are trained at University/TAFE’, B: ‘Through training/ professional development at the school where they work’, C: ‘From local Indigenous people’. 51
Figure 31: responses to survey question 4.7 ‘What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about supporting children who don't speak English at home? (You can choose more than one option)’. A: ‘When they are trained at University/TAFE’, B: ‘Through training/ professional development at the school where they work’, C: ‘From local Indigenous people’. 51
Figure 32: Framework representing relationships between key themes from the qualitative results. ...53

Figure 33: Reverse Framework, representing relationships between key themes from the qualitative results, reframed with regards to disconnection instead of connection.....66
Figure 34: Insider/outsider positioning of Miriwoong, non-Miriwoong Indigenous, and non-Indigenous students with regard to the benefits of Indigenous language learning. All people experience benefits relating to connection to land and people; all Indigenous people experience benefits relating to the raising of prestige of Indigenous language in educational settings; and, Miriwoong people experience particular benefits relating to family and heritage connection. 68

List of tables

Table 1: Approximate total number of staff per organisation, and participant numbers by place of employment.. 26
Table 2: Mean interview length, standard deviations, and words per minute for Aboriginal participants working at MDWg, Aboriginal participants outside of MDWg, and non-Aboriginal participants. 52

1. Introduction

The invasion and colonisation by the British of the land now known as Australia in 1788 had wide-reaching implications on Indigenous peoples which are still felt today. These include serious inequalities in health and education (Bulbeck, 2012; Shay, 2017; Smith, 1999), as well as the attrition or endangerment of nearly all the 250+ traditional Indigenous languages (TILs) which were spoken at the time of colonisation. Only a handful of these languages are still being learned by children today, making Australia a world leader in degree and speed of language loss (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs [henceforth HRSCATSIA], 2012). Indigenous Australians comprise just 3% of the national population, and 22% of these live in remote or very remote areas of Australia (Australian Productivity Commission, 2014). Many Indigenous children in these remote areas do not achieve skills beyond the level of year 3 or 4 of primary school, and therefore have been described as failing in the school system (Wigglesworth & Lasagabaster, 2011). Successive Australian governments have attempted to redress these inequalities, for example through the recently updated 'Closing the Gap' targets, first introduced in 2007 (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet [henceforth DPM&C], 2020). However, the strategies employed to address these disadvantages have been insufficient, as revealed in funding priorities and lack of attainment of the desired outcomes (DPM&C, 2020; Mahboob, Jacobsen, Kemble & Xu, 2017; Olawsky, 2020a).

In recent decades, connection to TILs has been strengthened by language revival and revitalisation programs, occurring around Australia through schools, community groups, and Aboriginal Language Centres (Bell, 2013; HRSCATSIA, 2012). These programs have been established not only to mitigate the loss of the highly endangered TILs, but also in an attempt to strengthen attendance and identity of Indigenous students in order to facilitate higher educational outcomes (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [henceforth ACARA], 2011; HRSCATSIA, 2012). However, these programs are precarious, due to changeable funding and reliance on the handful of individuals who have the time, language knowledge, and teaching skills to promote and lead them (Mahboob, Jacobsen, Kemble & Xu, 2017; Olawsky, 2020a). Ultimately, the number of TILs spoken by children is still in decline (Marmion, Obata & Troy, 2014; Simpson & Wigglesworth, 2019), denying many Indigenous Australians the identity and wellbeing benefits of knowing a TIL (HRSCATSIA, 2012).

Although awareness of Indigenous languages in modern Australia is growing, the rich variety of both TILs and modern contact varieties has often been overlooked (Zeegers, Muir & Lin, 2003; HRSCATSIA 2012). TILs are markers of identity and pride for Indigenous people (ACARA, 2011; Pascoe & AIATSIS, 2012), however awareness and attitudes among non-Indigenous people vary – for example, some non-Indigenous Australians think that 'Aboriginal' is one language (Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne, 2010). The situation is even more complex for contact varieties such as Kriol, which, although increasingly constituting a marker of Indigenous identity (Simpson & Wigglesworth, 2019), has

suffered low recognition in legal and education contexts, and is sometimes considered a threat to the vitality of TILs (HRSCATSIA, 2012).

Environments and outcomes of education are impacted by the attitudes of teachers, principals, curriculum designers, administrators, and community members (Disbray, 2016). The attitudes of educators may not only reflect their understanding of reality as informed by popular consciousness, their training, and their experience, but can also reflect forward onto educational practice, through the expression of these attitudes in their places of work – the schools and preschools in which Indigenous language programs are run and in which Indigenous students are educated. Teachers with insufficient understanding or negative attitudes towards students' first languages, especially modern Indigenous languages, can be detrimental to student outcomes (Oliver et al. 2011).

This study was therefore designed to ask the broad prima facie research question, '*What are the attitudes of educators towards multilingualism and Indigenous language in education?*', in the context of the town of Kununurra. Kununurra is a town of roughly 5000 residents (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016), located on Miriwoong Country, in the Kimberley region of the remote far-north of Western Australia (WA) (Figure 1). Kununurra is of interest as a case study due to its high Indigenous population (22.9%, compared to 2.8% of Australia's overall population [Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016]). It is also of interest due to its Miriwoong language program. The Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre (MDWg) has been a hub for the documentation, preservation, and revitalisation of the TIL Miriwoong since the 1970s, and in 2014 a school program was established which today teaches Miriwoong to around 400 children every week (MDWg, 2019). The program is recent enough that long-term staff may have observed impacts of its implementation, and well-established enough that some medium- to long-term outcomes may have had time to become clear. This, along with the language backgrounds of students, means that Indigenous language education and multilingualism are highly visible and relevant topics in schools in Kununurra. The attitudes of education staff are therefore crucial in Kununurra, and a case study may speak to the impacts of a TIL education program.



Figure 1: map of Australia, adapted from 'Nations Online Project' (n.d.). Kununurra circled in red.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Indigenous language ecologies

As a result of European colonisation and globalisation, it is estimated that by the turn of the coming century some 50-90% of the world's languages will have been lost (Grenoble & Whaley 2006, Romaine, 2007). To counterbalance this loss, there has been a global increase in both grassroots, 'bottom-up' language support, and 'top-down' strategies such as educational policy and funding allocation (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Revitalisation takes place in the crucial timeframe in which a small degree of language knowledge still exists in the community (as compared to maintenance, when knowledge is widespread but at risk of reducing, or complete revival, when language knowledge has been almost completely lost). In Australia, endangered TILs are being revitalised in schools, community groups, and community Language Centres (Bell, 2013) such as MDWg in Kununurra.

Due to the highly endangered status of all Australian TILs, many Indigenous children in remote areas grow up in complex language ecologies characterised by rapid language change (Angelo & Carter, 2015; Disbray & Wigglesworth, 2018; Macqueen et al., 2019; Marmion et al., 2014). For example, though older generations may still speak TILs, the proficiency of younger generations is often variable, and modern varieties including creoles and Aboriginal English are increasingly spoken (Angelo & Carter, 2015; Disbray & Wigglesworth, 2018; Dixon, 2021; Loakes, Moses, Wigglesworth, Simpson & Billington, 2013; Meakins & Wigglesworth, 2013; Mühlhäusler, 1991). Creoles are languages formed from pidgins in situations of intense language contact such as colonisation, and are found around the world (Holm, 2000; Oliver & Forrest, 2021; Matthews, 2007). Kriol is the English-lexified creole language spoken by around 20,000 people in the north of Australia, including in Kununurra (Harris, 1991; Oliver et al., 2021; Ponsonnet, 2010). Despite dialectal variation, it plays a lingua franca role for many Indigenous people in this area (Walsh, 1991). Kriol can be 'light' (acrolectal) with a sound system similar to Aboriginal English, or 'heavy' (basilectal) with a sound system more akin to the sound systems of TILs, and most speakers move flexibly within this continuum (Mühlhäusler, 1991; Sandefur, 1991; Sharpe 1985)[2]. Both Kriol and Aboriginal English demonstrate lexical similarities to Standard Australian English (SAE), however Kriol is considered a separate language, and Aboriginal English a dialect of SAE (Oliver & Forrest, 2021)[3].

Both Kriol and Aboriginal English have been commonly considered in terms of deficiency – as 'bad', 'rubbish', 'parasitic', or 'broken' forms of English, as outlined by Mühlhäusler (1991), Oliver & Forrest (2021), Purdie, Oliver, Collard, & Rochecouste (2002), and Simpson & Wigglesworth (2019),

[2] Meehan (2017, p. 65) gives this example for 'snake': (*heavy) jineg—jineig—jineik—sineik—sneik (light).*
[3] Note that, following Disbray and Loakes (2013), this study will not make a strict distinction between 'light' Kriol, closest to SAE and often overlapping with Aboriginal English, and 'heavy' Kriol. The two categories will sometimes be distinguished, and sometimes referred to jointly as 'Aboriginal English/Kriol' (AE/K), 'modern Indigenous languages', or 'contact varieties'

inter alia. As is common for contact languages and non-standard varieties, Kriol and Aboriginal English are often not recognised in educational settings, and have low status compared to SAE (Disbray & Loakes, 2013; Disbray & Wigglesworth, 2018; Dunn, 2001). Their invisibility, due to a lack of prestige and superficial similarity to English, has been termed 'lingua nullius' (Angelo & Carter, 2015), resulting in a lack of official status in language policy (Disbray & Loakes, 2013). This invisibility can extend to speakers themselves, who may have internalised the narrative of deficiency – a sad irony, given the importance of a speaker's first language on cultural and racial identity and educational outcomes (Zeegers et al., 2003; Oliver & Forrest, 2021; Kickett-Tucker, 2009). However, Kriol has also been described more positively as a resource, a bridge, a tool for SAE acquisition, and a link between groups of people due to shared input of English and TILs (Sharpe, 1985; Ponsonnet, 2010). Increasingly, contact varieties play a role in marking a 'pan-Indigenous identity' (Simpson & Wigglesworth, 2019, p.75) unifying many Indigenous people who speak it as either a first or additional language (Pascoe & AIATSIS, 2012).

The motivations for learning an endangered Indigenous language may differ from common reasons for language learning – for example, these languages often do not have a robust target speaker community which learners aim to engage with, as the goal is often to *create* such a speaker community (Hinton, 2011). However, knowledge of TILs and modern Indigenous varieties can have a wide range of impacts on Indigenous students and the wider community. Knowledge of Indigenous language has been reported to have powerful connections to culture, identity, wellbeing, pride, and self-esteem (Bradley, 2019; HRSCATSIA, 2012; Kickett-Tucker, 2009; Nicholls, 2005; Schultz, Quinn, Abbott, Cairney & Yamaguchi 2019; Wigglesworth and Lasagabaster, 2011). These connections have crucially important applications in health and education – for example, research in Canada and Norway has shown that cultural continuity decreases suicide risk in Indigenous youth (Silviken & Kvernmo 2007; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008), and in Australia knowledge of TILs has been linked to increased physical and mental health, social connectedness, educational attainment, and employment opportunities for Indigenous people, as well as decreased risk of substance abuse (HRSCATSIA, 2012; DITRDC/AIATSIS/ANU, 2020[4]). Knowledge of TILs also reduces an Indigenous person's risk of being charged by police, with implications for the high rates of Aboriginal incarceration and deaths in custody (DITRDC/AIATSIS/ANU, 2020; Zeegers et al., 2003). Learning Indigenous languages also has positive impacts for non-Indigenous people and the community at large, through fostering cross-cultural understanding of Australian history, identity, culture, and Country, as well as the benefits of increased communication, trust, reconciliation, pride, and respect (ACARA, 2011; HRSCATSIA, 2012; DITRDC/AIATSIS/ANU, 2020).

[4] The third National Indigenous Languages Report was authored by the Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications; the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS); and the Australian National University (ANU). For ease, in-text references will henceforth refer to DITRDC/AIATSIS/ANU

2.2. Language policy

Spolsky (2004) describes Language Planning and Policy as a community's language practices, beliefs, and ideologies, as well as any attempts to alter these by intervention, planning, and management. These can be expressed explicitly, such as in policy documents, or may only be revealed by implicit community practices (Shohamy, 2006). Language attitudes can therefore be considered implicit language policy, as well as an influencing factor in the development and enactment of explicit language policy.

Australian language policy has been described as a linguistic Janus face (Ellis et al., 2010), historically characterised by the constant negotiation of a monolingual ethos and a multilingual reality (Angelo & Carter, 2015; Clyne, 2011; Djité, 2011; Walker, 2011). Over time, policy related to Indigenous languages (as well as Indigenous peoples in general) has shifted from being assimilative to being reconciliatory (Phillips, 2021), however this trajectory has not been direct – for example, inclusive language policy outlined in the 1980s (LoBianco, 1987) still has not been fully realised, and the early 2000s saw a return to the perception of plurilingualism as a problem to be solved (McKay, 2007). Recent years have seen a growth in interest in Indigenous language revival (Oliver & Forrest, 2021), as well as the publication of some key policy documents: 'Our Land Our Languages' (HRSCATSIA, 2012), the National Curriculum framework for languages (ACARA, 2011), and three successive National Indigenous Languages Survey reports which outline the dire state of Indigenous languages in Australia as well as their crucial importance (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages [henceforth AIATSIS/FATSIL], 2005; Marmion et al., 2014; DITRDC/AIATSIS/ANU, 2020). The theme of NAIDOC Week[5] 2017 was 'Our Languages Matter' (National NAIDOC Committee, 2017), and Australia celebrated the United Nations' International Year of Indigenous Languages in 2019 (Office for the Arts, 2019). In addition, the updated Closing the Gap targets (DPM&C, 2020) have added an acknowledgement of the importance of language, as recommended in Our Land Our Languages nearly a decade earlier (HRSCATSIA, 2012). There is therefore a clear discourse of Indigenous language support, however government policy and financial support has been criticised for being uncoordinated, short-term, and insufficient (Mahboob et al., 2017; Olawsky, 2020a). For example, in 2015, a language-specific federal funding pool was merged with two other grant programs, reducing the overall funding availability and increasing competition (Mahboob et al., 2017; Olawsky, 2020a). In August 2021 an increased funding commitment was announced for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, as part of the new Closing the Gaps targets (Office for the Arts, 2021). However, it is not yet clear if this funding will be a sufficient long-term addition to existing support.

[5] NAIDOC Week is an annual nationwide celebration of Indigenous culture, history, and achievements.

The Our Land Our Languages report (HRSCATSIA, 2012) made 30 recommendations, including that Indigenous language be included in Closing the Gap policy and the Australian national curriculum, and that funding for language programs and bilingual education be increased – which have now been enacted to varying degrees. In addition, it recommended first language assessment of all children entering early childhood education, alternative NAPLAN (national standardised literacy and numeracy testing) assessment tools for children who have SAE as an additional language or dialect (EAL/D), compulsory EAL/D training for teaching staff at university as well as mandatory in-service EAL/D and cultural awareness training, and pathways for training for Indigenous language teachers. The extent to which these recommendations will be enacted depends on ongoing government support, as well as the attitudes of individuals in positions of authority, and, crucially, education staff.

2.3. Language attitudes

Language attitudes are at the heart of many questions in applied linguistics, particularly with regards to multilingualism (Baker, 1992; Salmon & Menjívar, 2019). Attitudes can be positive or negative, and can legitimise or delegitimise language use (Jourdan, 2018), making them crucial in language revitalisation contexts (Bell, 2013). Language attitudes include views on the vitality, status, and use of languages, and are impacted by parents, peers, media, institutions, and curriculum (Baker, 1992). They have broad range of effects, including impacts on wellbeing, academic achievement and engagement, school attendance, literacy levels, racial and cultural identity, and cultural healing (Bell, 2013; Kickett-Tucker, 2009; Kickett-Tucker, 2021; Purdie et al., 2002).

Many remote Indigenous students do not speak SAE at home and thus enter school with little to no knowledge of the language of education (Loakes et al., 2013; Meakins & Wigglesworth, 2013, Wigglesworth & Lasagabaster 2011). A lack of awareness of language diversity in schools can compound educational disadvantages which Indigenous students already face, further marginalising them by promoting deficit views of their language competencies (Oliver & Exell, 2020; Oliver et al., 2021). In contrast, when educators acknowledge the linguistic resources of students, this can promote student engagement (Zeegers et al., 2003). The language awareness of teachers and educational staff is therefore crucial, as their attitudes play an important role in modelling respect for students' languages and establishing the sociolinguistic dynamics of multilingual classroom (Angelo & Carter, 2015, Oliver & Forrest, 2021; Purdie et al., 2002). Unfortunately, education staff often do not have sufficient awareness of the language resources children bring to the classroom (Oliver & Forrest, 2021; Simpson & Wigglesworth, 2019). Teachers often misunderstand contact varieties as poor English and discourage their use, which is of concern given that negative attitudes towards these languages in even a small number of teachers can have detrimental effects on students' educational experience and outcomes (Mühlhäusler, 1991; Oliver, Rochecouste, Vanderford & Grote, 2011; Sharpe, 1985). Purdie et al. (2002) found significant positive correlations between primary-aged Indigenous children's self-reported language competencies and their assessment of their teachers'

attitudes towards SAE and Aboriginal English. Although the authors caution that these results should not be generalised to Aboriginal students in all contexts, they acknowledge that links between cultural identity and academic achievement are likely to be mediated by language on a wider scale. In addition, a recent systematic review of pedagogies which improve outcomes for Aboriginal students (Burgess et al., 2019) concludes that, though much research on the topic has been vague, it is clear that teachers must consider local culture and language in order to foster engagement and inclusiveness. Moodie and colleagues (Moodie, Maxwell, & Rudolph, 2019) also conducted a systematic review, assessing empirical research from 1989-2016 related to Indigenous students' experiences of racism in schooling. They found that such experiences can impact the language attitudes of these students. It has also been suggested that the teaching of Aboriginal language can reduce racism in the community (Jacobsen & Seiver, 2017), implying a feedback loop between racism and language attitudes. However, many of these reported impacts of attitudes are yet to be explored in experimental or quasi-experimental studies and so the strength of these relationships is not yet known.

It is important that the classroom is a multilingual space in which different languages, including contact varieties, are respected as a fundamental part of students' identity, and not seen as 'good' or 'bad' but instead as appropriate for different contexts (Oliver & Forrest, 2021; Oliver et al., 2011; Oliver et al., 2021). Pre-service and in-service training can educate educators about the languages and dialects of their students by challenging preconceptions (particularly with regards to contact varieties) and fostering positive attitudes, as well as teaching practical skills such as how to promote language and support codeswitching in the classroom (Mühlhäusler, 1991; Nguyen, Oliver & Rochecouste, 2015; Zeegers et al., 2003). The need for this training is ongoing - research conducted by Oliver and colleagues (Oliver & Haig 2005; Oliver et al., 2021) indicates that many teachers in WA believe that Aboriginal English is incorrect or inappropriate in classroom contexts, and that code-switching can be an impediment, despite professional development programs in WA related to linguistic awareness and the recognition of linguistic differences in the classroom (Purdie et al., 2002; Disbray & Loakes, 2013).

Attitudinal questionnaires and interviews are often used in applied linguistics research (Dörnyei, 2007). However, results from these methods do not always reflect underlying attitudes, due to the impact of researcher's presence and social desirability biases (Baker, 1992). Indeed, participants may not be consciously aware of some language attitudes they hold, which may instead be reflected in their feelings and language use (Baker, 1992). Due to this, as well as the latent nature of attitudes, a mix of approaches is advised to uncover both the empirical and phenomenological components of attitudes (Baker, 1992).

2.4. Research questions

The attitudes of education staff towards multilingualism and Indigenous languages (TILs and modern Indigenous languages) are therefore of great interest, due to the potential impacts of these attitudes on educational experiences and outcomes within the complex language ecology of remote Indigenous Australia. Therefore, based on the context of Kununurra and the literature outlined above, the initial research question was further specified into the following:

1) What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra towards language in education in Australia, particularly Indigenous languages?
    a. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding the Miriwoong language program?
    b. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding traditional Indigenous languages in education more generally?
    c. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding modern Indigenous languages (i.e., Aboriginal English/Kriol) in education?
    d. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding multilingualism?
    e. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding teacher training related to the above topics?
2) What patterns can be observed between these attitudes and demographic characteristics of respondents (place of work, place of education, indigeneity, length of residence in Kununurra, etc.)?

3. Methodology

3.1. Design summary

This case study was designed to be exploratory, with multiple broad research questions which were approached using a mixed-methods design. This included both online surveys and interviews so that the same topics and questions were considered in different contexts and with different people, in pursuit of a deeper understanding of group trends (Garrett, Coupland & Williams, 2006). This mixed-methods approach is valuable in applied linguistics research (Dörnyei, 2007) and language attitudes research more specifically (Baker, 1992).

3.2. Researcher's positionality and cultural sensitivity

In keeping with Indigenous protocols (Shay & Oliver, 2021) I will first outline my personal history with Kununurra through the lens of my 'outsider' and 'insider' status within the town and particularly within the Language Centre (MDWg). I am a 'Gardiya' (whitefella) from 'Harbour City' (Sydney), who arrived in Kununurra in early 2019 with very little experience of working with Aboriginal people or meaningful knowledge of Indigenous culture, placing me firmly in the box of outsider. During my time at MDWg I learned an incalculable amount about Indigenous Australia and Australian languages. I undertook cultural awareness training, was given a 'skin name' (enabling Miriwoong people to refer to me within their kinship system), developed close personal relationships, learned the languages and languaging practices of my colleagues, and became a familiar face in the community. This resulted in the growth of my insider status in the town and MDWg. However, some characteristics of my outsider status remained unchanged – I am, of course, still a Gardiya from Harbour City, and my knowledge and experience are still in a fledgling stage in comparison to those who have lived and worked in Kununurra for years or decades longer than I, and certainly cannot hold a candle to the knowledge of those whose ancestors have belonged to Miriwoong Country for tens of thousands of years.

Outsider and insider status plays an important role in research contexts. Participants may be more willing to share private views with an outsider, and an outsider may probe assumptions which an insider might not notice (Lee, 2016). Outsider status also taps into a common aim of research: to be objective, grounded in theories of empiricism and positivism (Smith, 1999). However, an approach centred on objectivity is not generally appropriate for research in an Indigenous context, in which relationships and cultural respect play an extremely significant role (Migge, 2020; Smith, 1999). My position of relative insider meant that my knowledge of language and cultural cues was higher than most researchers would bring to this context, and my previous support role at MDWg meant that my playing the role of 'cultural intermediary' (for example, explaining unknown 'High English' vocabulary mid-question, and negotiating a question until it was understood) was a familiar and comfortable dynamic, promoting meaningful responses from MDWg staff. However, my personal familiarity with MDWg staff was occasionally a stumbling block to the flow of conversation. For

example, I sometimes sensed confusion when I asked questions in a neutral way when participants knew I was not neutral about a topic, or when I attempted to elicit explicit statements of knowledge which was already shared, and therefore would not normally be made explicit again. Outside MDWg, the role of a relative insider was mostly beneficial – interviewees sometimes checked my comprehension, and when I expressed that I was familiar with key concepts (such as Gardiya) there was a sense of approval which may have promoted openness. Insider knowledge also allowed me to ask relevant follow up questions – that is, not only did it encourage more sharing from participants, but it also allowed me to better understand this sharing (Lee, 2016).

The multiple and sometimes seemingly contradictory layers to a researcher's identity must always be negotiated in an interview context (Lee, 2016). In this case, my language knowledge, cultural awareness, and personal connections enabled effective interviewing and encouraged genuine responses, and therefore can be considered as a strength of the research, despite potentially reducing objectivity. However, I was highly aware of the possible threats my subjectivity posed to the reliability and validity of the research, and aimed to minimise this through neutral framing of questions and reactions to responses.

The project was conducted with a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants, in a community with a high Indigenous population, focusing on issues related to Indigenous languages and education. It was therefore critical that this research was conducted in a 'culturally safe' manner which centred the perspectives of Indigenous participants (Mcgrath, Rawson & Adidi, 2013; NHMRC, 2018; Papps & Ramsden, 1996; Smith, 1999). Decolonial linguistics is defined by Mufwene (2020) as the reduction of Western bias in the analysis of languages and speakers from the Global South. Decolonial methodology in a more general sense is defined by Smith (1999) as a research approach which challenges the imperialism embedded in Western research methodologies, so as to centre Indigenous peoples and reclaim control of Indigenous ways of knowing. Decolonising practices were enacted in this study primarily through relational background, study design, and language use.

With regards to relational background, this study was built on my personal experiences in Kununurra. An important component of decolonial methodology is that research is not fleeting, but rather is situated in ongoing relational commitment as part of an ongoing process of building bridges (Ndimande, 2012; Fitzpatrick et al., 2017; NHMRC, 2018). Furthermore, consent in research in an Indigenous context is often given more on the basis of the researcher's credibility than for the project itself (Smith, 1999). This project was conducted within relational familiarity for both myself and many participants, in a context in which I have demonstrated long-term commitment to the wellbeing of participants and consideration of their feelings and opinions.

With regards to study design, the mixed methods approach included qualitative components, which are culturally appropriate for research with Indigenous people (Mcgrath et al., 2013). One example of

an emerging methodology for meaningful qualitative data collection with Indigenous participants is 'yarning', in which a conversational process of storytelling, embedded in Indigenous ways of communicating, is used throughout the research process (Geia, Heyes & Usher, 2013; Walker, Fredericks, Mills & Anderson, 2014). Although the interviews in this study were semi-structured and therefore cannot be considered to truly belong to the yarning methodological framework, they did make use of yarning methods, namely conversational style and flexible content, leaving threads hanging to be picked up again later in the conversation (Geia et al., 2013). Furthermore, the relational accountability inherent to a yarning methodology (Barlo, Boyd, Hughes, Wilson & Pelizzon, 2021) is enacted in this project through my own previously established roots within the community.

With regards to language use, accessible and flexible language practices were a priority in designing and carrying out both the qualitative and quantitative components of this study, as well as in gaining informed consent from participants (see Sections 3.5.2. and 3.7.).

3.3. Participants

3.3.1 Sampling frame

The relevant population for the study was education staff in Kununurra. This included classroom teachers, support staff (such as Aboriginal and Islander Education Officers – AIEOs), administration staff, management staff, and Miriwoong language teaching staff, due to the role all these staff play in influencing the sociolinguistic environment of the school, and the ability of all education staff to engage with the linguistic resources of students and thus empower students (Disbray, 2016; Zeegers et al., 2003).

There are 5 preschools in Kununurra, some associated with other organisations (such as schools), and some standalone organisations. One preschool is exclusively for Indigenous students. There are two primary schools, and two high schools. Of the two high schools, one is linked to a primary school, and one is a small independent school for at-risk students (who are mostly, though not exclusively, Indigenous). Standard Australian English (SAE) is the standard language of instruction and assessment in all organisations, though varying degrees of language support is provided in many contexts, particularly through Indigenous classroom support staff such as AIEOs.

A total of 17 people participated in the survey component and 12 in the interview component (Table 1). Staff from one primary school and one high school were unable to be invited as approval processes were not able to be completed within the timeframe of the project, and one preschool was unable to be contacted. Five of the interview participants were Miriwoong language teachers from MDWg (see Section 3.4.2. regarding the choice of interviews rather than surveys for Miriwoong language teachers).

Table 1: Approximate total number of staff per organisation, and participant numbers by place of employment. A dash indicates that staff from this organisation were not invited to participate. A zero indicates that although staff from this organisation were invited to participate, none did. A question mark indicates that approximate number of staff is unknown.

	Approx. total staff	**Surveys**	**Interviews**
Preschool 1	?	1	1
Preschool 2	10	0	2
Preschool 3	20	6	0
Preschool 4	5	1	1
Preschool 5	?	-	-
Primary school 1	30	6	0
Primary school 2	75	-	-
High school 1	5	3	3
High school 2	75	-	-
MDWg	10	-	5
TOTALS		**17**	**12**

3.3.2. Survey participants

17 staff from schools and preschools in Kununurra took the online survey. An additional participant filled in the demographic information only and was therefore excluded. Though this sample size was small, there were no obvious reasons for concern regarding representativeness.

Three survey participants were Indigenous Australians: two of these identified as Aboriginal (including one Miriwoong) and one as a 'Torres Strait/South Sea Islander'. A fourth participant interpreted the question regarding indigeneity more broadly and stated that they were South African. As this is not the definition of indigeneity relevant to this study, they were not considered Indigenous for the purpose of analysis of results.

Only two out of the 17 participants were male, which is unsurprising given the female domination of the Australian education sector (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2020)**.** Additionally, only two participants stated that they spoke a language other than English at home – one Afrikaans and one Kriol.

Participants had a variety of educational backgrounds, ranging from those whose highest level of education was Year 12 or below (five participants), to those with Masters degrees (three participants). Participants also varied with regards to age, with the most respondents in the 26-35 age bracket (Figure 2).

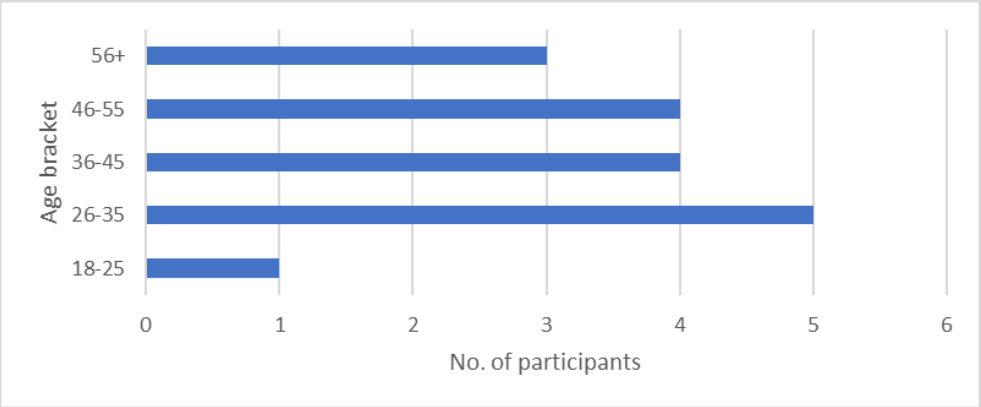


Figure 2: Age of survey participants

With regards to participants' roles within their places of employment, four respondents selected 'Other classroom support', a category covering teaching assistants such as AIEOs (Figure 3). However, the most common response was 'Other', with five participants specified that they worked in a role not on the list provided. These included 'Room leader', 'Educator', 'Education leader', 'Playgroup coordinator', and one participant who specified a dual role of 'Aboriginal Teaching Assistant/Administration'.

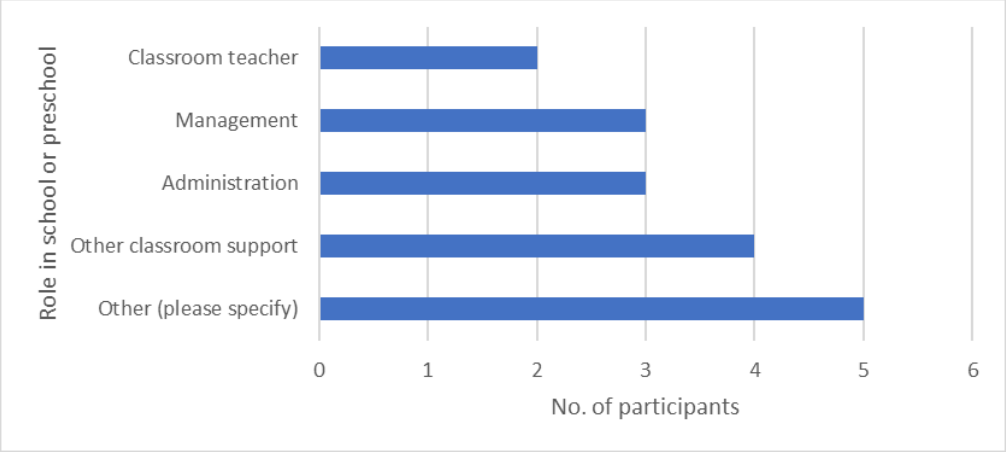


Figure 3: Roles of survey participants

More than half of participants had lived in Kununurra for 10+ years (Figure 4). Two participants had lived in Kununurra for 1 year or less.

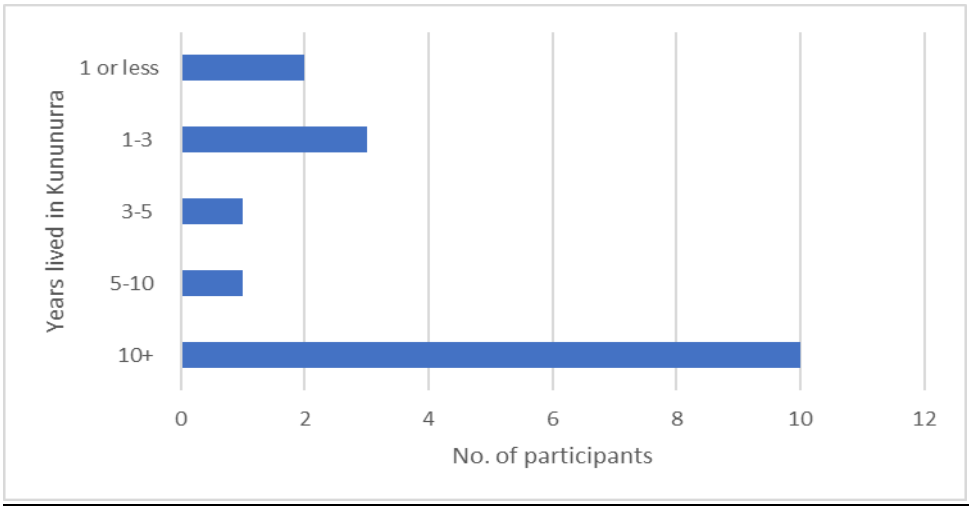


Figure 4: Length of residence in Kununurra of survey participants

3.3.3. Interview participants

Some survey respondents also participated in an interview, however due to the anonymity of survey respondents this data was not matched.

Interview participants were:

- Four preschool staff (two Aboriginal, including one Miriwoong)
- Three high school staff (one Aboriginal)
- Five MDWg language teachers (all Miriwoong)

Miriwoong language teachers had all lived in Kununurra for 10+ years, and all spoke Kriol and Miriwoong in the home in addition to English. One also spoke Gajirrabeng at home. Two were male, and three female. Although most had not completed high school, all had attended courses at the local TAFE, the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education in the Northern Territory (NT), and/or a training course for Aboriginal Language teachers run through the WA Department of Education.

Of the seven interview participants from schools and preschools, all were female, and none reported speaking a language other than English at home, although two stated that they spoke a language other than English which they did not use in the home (Kriol and Indonesian). However, in the course of the interview, another participant described speaking Kriol and some Miriwoong vocabulary in the home. Similarly to survey participants, education levels varied: two participants' highest level of education was Year 10, however all other participants had attended University or TAFE.

Three quarters of all interview participants had lived in Kununurra for 10+ years, including the five Miriwoong language teachers (Figure 5). One interview participant had lived in Kununurra for less than one year.

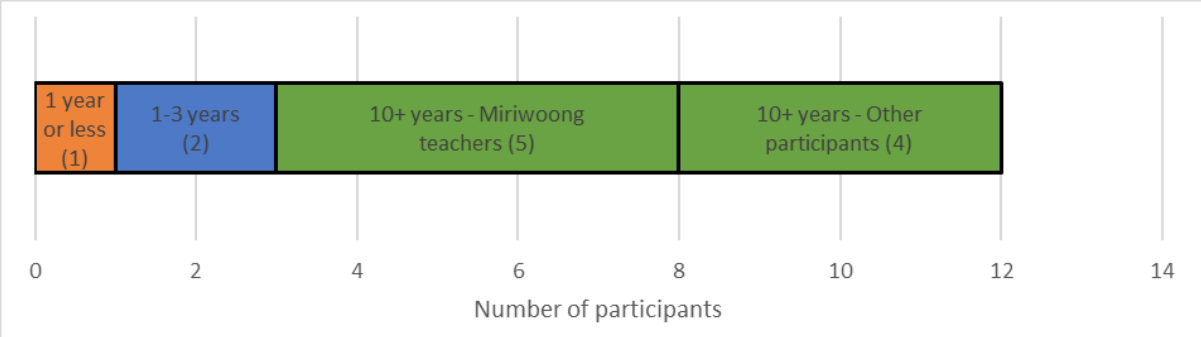


Figure 5: Length of residence in Kununurra of interview participants.

3.4. Instruments

3.4.1. Survey design

The survey was created, and responses collected, using Qualtrics (2021). Project information was provided and participant consent and demographics collected at the start of the survey (Appendix 2).

Questionnaires are very common in applied linguistics research (Dörnyei, 2007), however language attitude survey models relevant to the Australian context are limited (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989). Purdie et al. (2002) conducted an Indigenous language attitudes survey, however the instrument had a different focus and the participants were students, and therefore it was not suitable to adapt for this research. Therefore, a questionnaire was designed based on the recommendations in Dörnyei (2007), covering topics relevant to the literature regarding the Australian context. One question was directly based on a question from another study: Albury (2016) asked university students in New Zealand, *'If you became Prime Minister of New Zealand tomorrow, what is the first thing you would do about te reo Māori?*' This question asks respondents to hypothetically assess and create policy, thus tapping into knowledge and beliefs about the language's current status and ideal, as well as ideas regarding policy pathways to achieve this. Therefore, this question was altered, to, *"If you became the Prime Minister of Australia tomorrow, what is the first thing you would you do about Indigenous languages?"*. All other questions were developed based in a more general sense on the relevant literature regarding Indigenous languages, multilingualism, and teacher training (Section 2), and the areas of language attitude research as outlined by Baker (1992) including attitudes towards: variants, language learning, minority languages, language lessons, uses of language learning, and language preference; as well as general approval of or interest in a language, traditions/heritage, and economic or social motivations

In total the survey consisted of 42 questions (Appendix 2.1), made up of three question types: semantic differential scales (32 questions), multiple choice selection (three questions), and seven 'open response' test boxes for short qualitative responses (three of which were questions, and four of which were optional 'additional comments' text boxes). Semantic differential scales were selected

over Likert scale questions as they are less abstract and thus more cross-culturally comprehensible (Harzing, Brown, Köster, & Zhao, 2012). For example, the semantic differential question 'Is Australia monolingual or multilingual? (Very monolingual → Very multilingual)' is more direct than the equivalent Likert scale-style question, 'Australia is more monolingual than multilingual (Strongly agree → Strongly disagree)'. Questions were worded in 'Plain English' to maximise accessibility.

After research information, consent, and demographic sections, the questionnaire was split into four sections:

- 'Macro-level' (questions about Indigenous languages and multilingualism in Australia): 12 questions.
- 'Miriwoong Program': 11 questions.
- 'Micro-level' (questions about Indigenous languages and multilingualism in Kununurra, including questions regarding Kriol/Aboriginal English): 11 questions.
- 'Training' (questions regarding teacher training regarding language in Australia): 8 questions.

Questions were split into these sections for practical reasons, such as ensuring the survey did not seem overwhelming (Dörnyei, 2007) and so that more general questions (for example, regarding perceptions of multilingualism) were asked before more specific ones (for example, questions about the languages spoken in Kununurra) so as not to prime respondents. The sections were established according to an *a priori* concept of the subdimensions of language attitudes (Baker, 1992), which ideally would be followed up with *a posteriori* categorisation through exploratory factor analysis to investigate the accuracy of the original groupings (see Section 3.6.). The number of questions per section was a balance of adequately addressing the issues brought up in the literature and minimising the burden on participants.

3.4.2. Interview design

The interview schedule was a list of questions and topics taken from the online survey. Interviews were influenced by yarning methodology (see Section 3.2.) and thus were purposefully flexible and conversational. Follow-up questions were asked as responses emerged in order to take advantage of the strengths of interviewing – namely, allowing people to respond in their own words rather than through predetermined categories (Oppenheim, 1992; Garrett et al., 2006) in a context sensitive manner which reflects the complex nature of language attitudes (Dörnyei, 2007). Participants were encouraged to discuss anything they thought was relevant to the topic even if the interviewer did not directly ask about it, and were assured that there were no right or wrong answers (Dörnyei, 2007; Russell, 2005).

Indigenous people living in remote communities face linguistic, cultural, and familiarity barriers to the usual language and format of research processes (McGrath et al., 2013) and, additionally, most MDWg staff have a very basic level of computer literacy. An online survey would therefore have

been an inappropriate method to meaningfully gather the opinions of these participants. Instead, these conversational semi-structured interviews were considered an appropriate method of data collection. These interviews with MDWg staff served as an important point of comparison, and, along with the perspectives of Indigenous staff at schools and preschools, contributed a strong Indigenous perspective to the research.

3.5. Procedure

Data collection was conducted in two phases: the online survey and interviews. The survey was developed first, and the interview schedule was based on the survey. However, interviews were conducted before the survey was published, and as a result some common themes which recurred in the interviews were then added to the survey, namely two questions regarding the location of teacher training. The design was therefore iterative, with 'phases' overlapping and informing each other.

3.5.1. Survey procedure

The survey was available online from 19th May to 22nd June 2021 via Qualtrics. Emails were sent to a contact at each participating organisation to be forwarded to all staff, including an initial invitation, weekly reminders, and a closing thanks **(**see Appendix 2.2.). Data was stored on a password-protected USB.

Surveys were written in 'Plain' SAE, and were carefully edited to ensure the survey and consent information was accessible to participants who may speak Aboriginal English or Kriol as a first language (Fitzpatrick et al., 2017).

Three participants closed the survey before completing it (three completed 65% of the survey, and one 22%), however due to low participant numbers, these incomplete responses were included in the data analysis.

3.5.2. Interview procedure

Interviews were conducted in Kununurra between the 10th and 14th of May, 2021. Interview recruitment was conducted through emails to a contact at each organisation, with interested individuals instructed to make direct contact with the researcher to set up a time for the interview. MDWg staff were approached in-person during the fieldwork period.

Interviews were held in a mix of closed and open spaces at the various organisations (MDWg, schools, preschools), wherever was convenient and comfortable. This resulted in some disruptions, including other staff and children passing through and background noise, however this was considered both more practical and preferable for participant comfort than a more clinical, standardised interview set up. Recordings were mostly completed on a handheld recording device supplied by MDWg, however in a handful of cases this device was not available, and so a Samsung S7 mobile phone with a 'Voice memo' recording feature was used. During MDWg staff interviews, participants assisted

with starting and stopping the recordings due to their familiarity with the recording device. Recordings and transcripts were stored on a password-protected USB.

Project information, consent forms, and demographic information were all collected on printed sheets which participants filled in by hand (Appendix 3). These were then scanned and stored on a password protected USB. MDWg staff were assisted in completing this paperwork, and consent information was reiterated verbally either before or during the recording (see Appendix 3.3. for an example of this). Recordings and paperwork were matched anonymously by participants stating for the recording a 'code' which was used to mark their paperwork, which was based on the date of the interview (e.g. 10a, 10b, and 10c occurred on the 10th of May).

MDWg staff were invited to complete interviews in pairs if this was preferred, though only two participants took up this offer (10a/10b). Despite the potential variability this may have introduced, it was considered to be both a practical necessity in interviewing MDWg staff in-between their other responsibilities, and also preferable to any potential discomfort which some participants may have felt in a one-on-one interview. In two circumstances an interview was recorded in two parts: in one instance, work commitments required that an interview be interrupted and be returned to later, and in the other case a social conversation about the interview continued after the recording had ended, and so permission was requested to turn the recording device back on.

During interviews I adopted the posture of a 'learner' rather than an 'expert' (Lee, 2016) to encourage participants to explain their opinions to me with no sense of right or wrong answers. However, I was sometimes asked to clarify information (for example, the number of TILs spoken at the time of colonisation, or the acronym given to Indigenous teaching assistants). In answering these questions, I attempted to answer in a way that was negotiable, including the participant and their guesses, so as to maintain my 'learner' posture.

Interview language was adjusted based on the language use of the participant, as to be flexible and adaptable to the language practices of interviewees can encourage participants to speak in a way that is natural and comfortable, resulting in richer responses (Ndimande, 2012). Interviews with school and preschool staff were conducted in SAE, and some Aboriginal English when relevant. Interviews with MDWg staff were conducted in a manner supportive of the linguistic ecology of MDWg, in which elements of SAE, Aboriginal English, Kriol, and Miriwoong are routinely combined. This is standard communicative practice at MDWg and was therefore a familiar and comfortable dynamic to both me and the participants. There were some additional differences in interview style between the MDWg language teachers and the other participants – namely, interviews with MDWg staff were far more conversational, and meaning was negotiated by repeated questions and concrete examples to ensure the questions had been understood. This kind of contextualising repetition is an important component of explaining research appropriately in an Aboriginal context (Fitzpatrick et al., 2017).

3.6. Analytical strategy

3.6.1. Analysis of survey data

The original plan for data analysis included conducting an exploratory factor analysis to determine which responses could be meaningfully grouped together (Baker, 1992), and regression analyses to determine whether there were significant links between certain characteristics of participants and certain responses. However, the sample size was insufficient to conduct such analyses – generally 10-15 cases per predictor are required for regression (Field, 2013), and 50 cases is considered a minimum threshold for exploratory factor analysis (de Winter, Dodou & Wieringa, 2009) although considerably more is generally recommended (Field, 2013). Data were therefore analysed descriptively. A larger sample size in further research would enable effective employment of these inferential statistic tools.

3.6.2. Transcription and analysis of interview data

Interviews were transcribed using ELAN (version 5.9), and then exported to a Microsoft Word document. Transcripts were checked closely against their recordings at least once to check for errors and to ensure transcription style was consistent. This was the first step of the constant comparison method of analysis, as well as a measure to improve intra-rater reliability.

Speech was transcribed using a hybrid of orthographies. MDWg staff are used to adapting to my limited Kriol knowledge (Sharpe, 1985) by speaking a 'light' Kriol which overlaps in many ways with Aboriginal English, making SAE orthography mostly practical for the transcription of their speech. Furthermore, there is no agreed-upon orthography for the dialect of Kriol spoken in Kununurra. I have some knowledge of the orthography widely used in the NT, however my speed of transcription and ease of analysis would have been greatly decreased had I chosen to use this more extensively. Instead, this NT orthography was employed only in cases where the Kriol word did not have a clear English approximant, or was markedly different in phonetics or use to the SAE equivalent (e.g. *'bin', 'lagijet'; see Glossary)*. When participants gave examples of 'heavier' Kriol (e.g. imagining a Kriol-speaking teacher), NT orthography was used. Miriwoong words were transcribed using Miriwoong orthographic conventions (MDWg, 2019).

Recordings were transcribed verbatim, including false starts and errors, using transparent orthographic conventions for suprasegmental and paralinguistic features (for example, commas indicating short pauses, question marks indicating rising intonation, square brackets designating description, e.g. *'[laughs]*') (Dörnyei, 2007). Emphasis, gestures, and alterations in the speed or volume of speech were only noted when particularly pronounced or clearly linked to the content of speech. Some sections of the recording were not transcribed, but only summarised – for example, if an irrelevant conversation was held as an aside (for example, discussion of air-conditioning in the local taxis). Transcripts were then edited by redacting certain personal or contextualising information which could have made participants, organisations, or other community members identifiable, as in a small

community such as Kununurra it would be easy to identify these based on limited information, and this could negatively impact participants (Kendall, Sunderland, Barnett, Nalder & Matthews, 2011).

Transcripts were coded and analysed thematically, following methods and principles outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006), Galletta (2013), and Simons (2009), using constant comparison and a realist method of thematic analysis to organise data into patterns and themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Initial codes were brainstormed during the process of transcription and checking. The transcripts were then uploaded to NVivo12, and each transcript coded. These codes initially followed the original brainstormed list, but alterations were made where necessary. These codes were then grouped into themes, and the data within each theme was reviewed to check for cohesiveness.

3.7. Piloting

Five pilot participants were recruited through personal contacts, who either were currently working in a relevant role, or had recently worked in a relevant role. Feedback was very positive, though some constructive criticism was provided with regards to the wording of questions, and some small spelling and grammar corrections were provided and incorporated.

During the piloting and approval process, project information and materials were re-written multiple times until the language was considered appropriate for the range of education levels and backgrounds that participants might reasonably have. This was particularly crucial for the information and consent forms for interviews, whose participants included MDWg Miriwoong language teachers who do not speak English as a first language. This crucial need for 'Plain English' and informed consent came up multiple times in the processes of approval and piloting.

3.8. Ethics

The project was approved by the University of Oxford's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) (Appendix 1.1.). It was also approved by the board of the Mirima Council, the Aboriginal organisation under which MDWg operates (Appendix 1.2)**.** Approval was also received from Catholic Education Western Australia (Appendix 1.3), as well as all participating organisations.

3.9. Limitations

As outlined above, the low number of survey responses limited the statistical analyses possible, and incomplete responses were included in the data analysis. Furthermore, not all schools and preschools in Kununurra were represented in the dataset. Some limitations inherent to surveys include cultural differences in response style, and that the same response can be given for different reasons (Harzing et al., 2012) – hence the crucial significance of the mixed methods design in this exploratory study. In addition, the collection of interview data was intensive, including one day in which 5 interviews were conducted. My previous acquaintance with most participants ensured that any stress or tiredness did not impact significantly on rapport, however a longer fieldwork period with more evenly spread

interviews would be preferable for future research. This would also enable transcription to occur interspersed between interviews, rather than after the fieldwork period, which would increase researcher self-reflection between interviews and intra-rater reliability.

It is possible that uptake of both surveys and interviews was biased towards people who are positively inclined to the topic, or at least to those who have strong attitudes, either positive or negative. For an initial exploratory study this is not a particularly concerning issue, however greater representation would be preferable for future research.

4. Results

This chapter presents the results of the analyses conducted. Data was collected via two methods: an online survey and in-person semi-structured interviews (see Section 3). The process of interviewing and thematic analysis of transcripts was originally intended as a supplementary mode of collection, to add commentary to the Qualitative results and hopefully bring out some deeper nuance. However due to the small sample size of the online survey responses, and the rich responses which interviewing produced, this became a larger focus of the study. This chapter is therefore presented in two sections: the results of the quantitative survey analysis, followed by the results of the qualitative interview analysis. The results from the qualitative questions from the online survey are used to supplement each of these sections as relevant. Qualitative survey results and sample interview transcripts can be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

4.1. Quantitative results

Quantitative data regarding the attitudes of education staff toward Indigenous languages and multilingualism was collected through an online survey, divided into 4 sections (see Section 3.4.1).

As outlined above (Section 3.6), the small sample size of the survey resulted in an inability to conduct the planned statistical tests, or to make meaningful generalisations across groups (age, place of employment, etc). Therefore, survey responses were analysed descriptively, using bar charts to visualise the distribution of responses, and means and standard deviations to enable comparison. In order to centre Indigenous perspectives, averages are split into the mean response of non-Indigenous respondents and the mean response of Indigenous respondents. It must be noted, however, that the number of Indigenous survey respondents was extremely small (three respondents for Sections 1 and 2, and two respondents for Sections 3 and 4) and therefore generalisability is limited.

Sample size is 17 unless otherwise specified.

4.1.1. Survey Section 1: ‘Macro level’

The first section of the online survey related to multilingualism and Indigenous languages on a nationwide level.

The first question asked respondents whether they believed Australia to be monolingual or multilingual, and a question from Section 3 asked the same with regards to Kununurra (Figure 6). Overall, participants believed both Australia and Kununurra to be fairly multilingual, with 4 being the modal response for both.

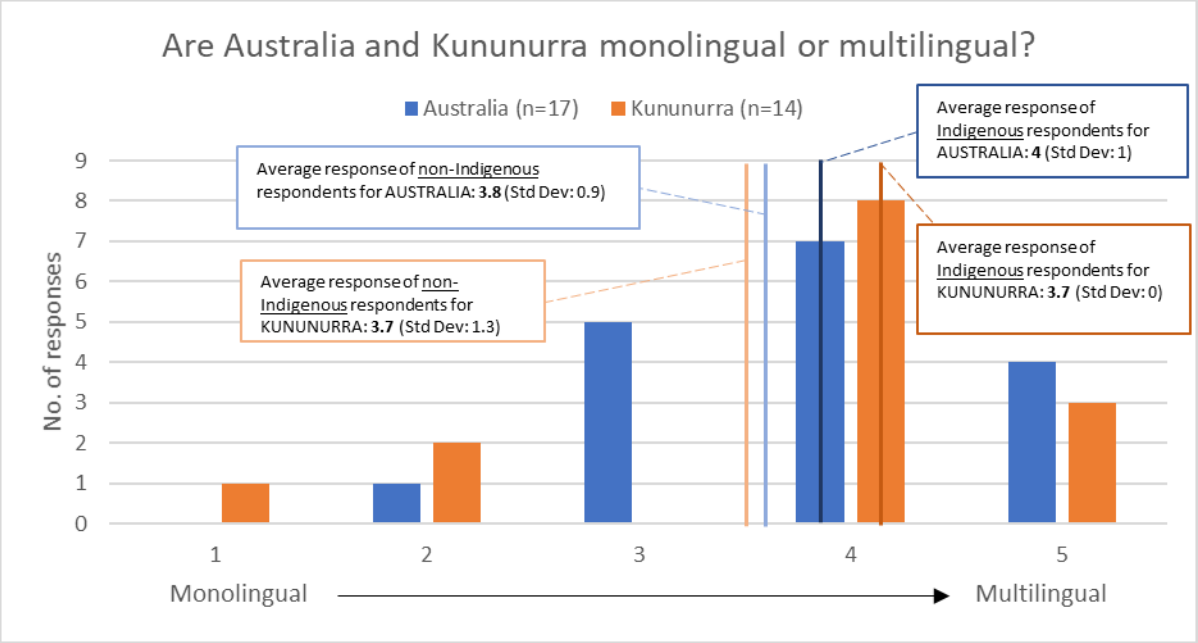


Figure 6: responses to survey questions 1.1 ('Is Australia monolingual or multilingual?') and 3.3 ('Is Kununurra monolingual or multilingual?').

The second question of the first section asked how useful respondents believed speaking more than one language in Australia to be (Figure 7). The most common answer was 5 ('Very useful'), and no-one thought that it was not useful at all.

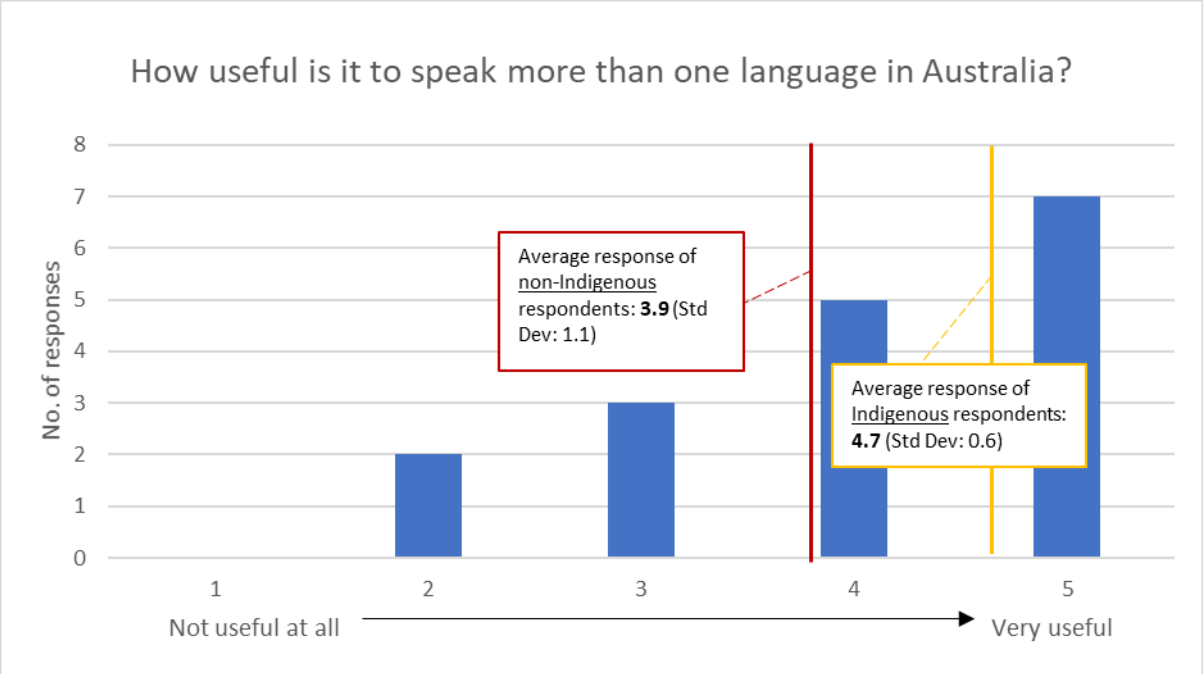


Figure 7: responses to survey question 1.2, 'How useful is it to speak more than one language in Australia?'.

The third question related to whether everyone should learn the traditional Indigenous language of the land where they live and work (Figure 8). Responses to this question were also mostly positive, though two people selected 1 ('Strongly disagree'). Indigenous respondents responded more positively than non-Indigenous ones.

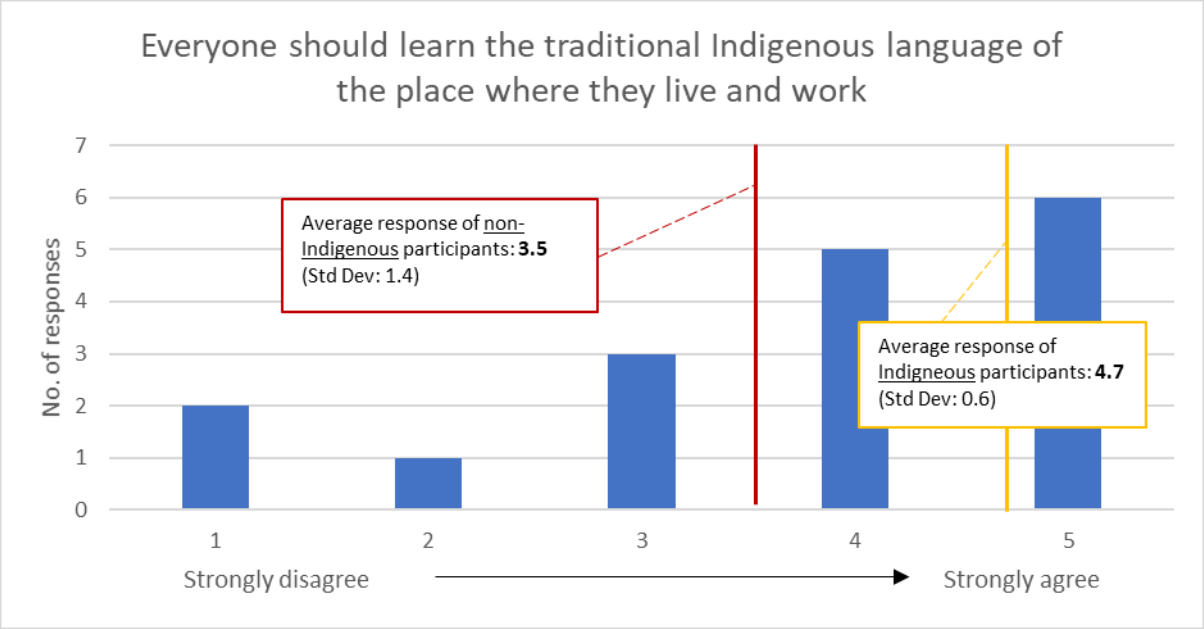


Figure 8: responses to survey question 1.3 'Everyone should learn the TIL of the language where they live/work'.

The next two questions related to the usefulness of speaking an Indigenous language, for Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people (Figure 9). Most respondents answered 5 ('Very useful') for Indigenous people, while the perceived usefulness for non-Indigenous people was weaker, though still positive. Indigenous respondents followed this trend, though with higher overall averages.

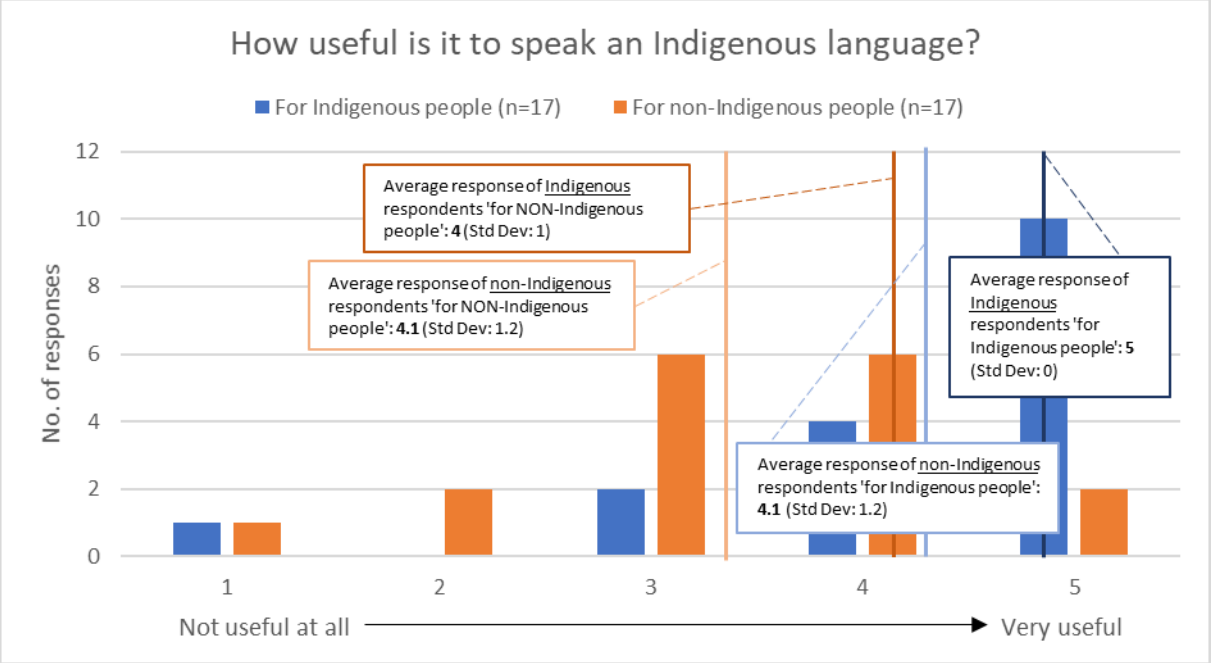


Figure 9: responses to survey questions 1.4 'How useful is it to speak an Indigenous language for Indigenous people?' and 1.5 'How useful is it to speak an Indigenous language for non-Indigenous people?'.

The next question related to respondents' perception of how much the government cares about helping Indigenous languages (Figure 10). The most common response was 3, indicating either a lack of clarity, or a belief in neutrality of government support.

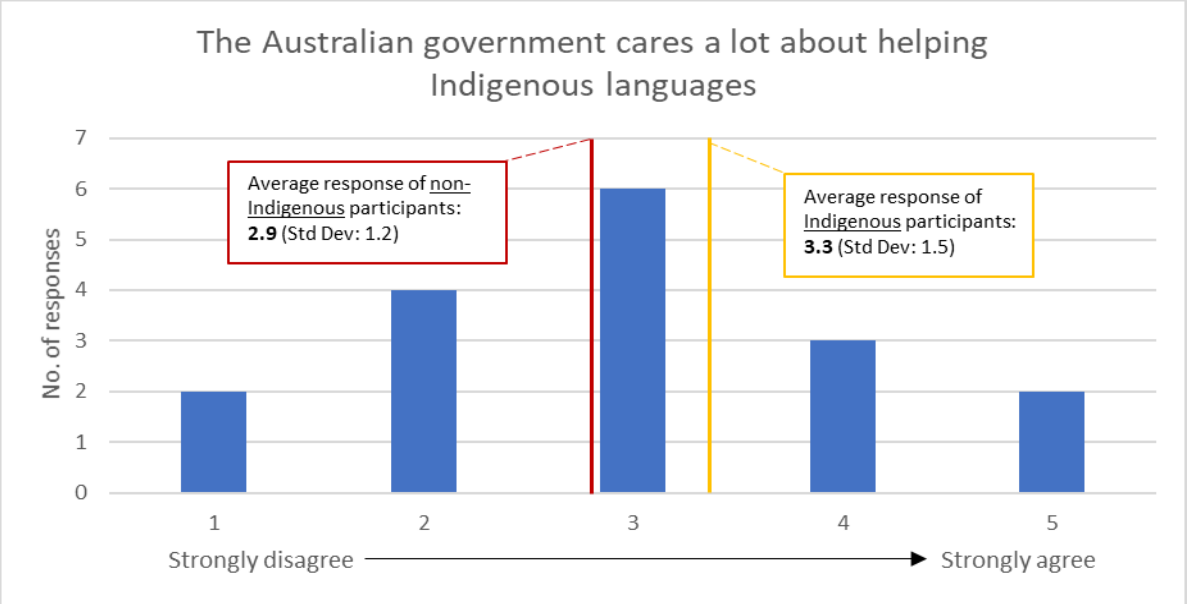


Figure 10: responses to survey question 1.6 'The Australian government cares a lot about helping Indigenous languages'

When asked whether it was impractical in many cases to teach Indigenous languages in schools (Figure 11), most respondents disagreed. Indigenous respondents disagreed more strongly than non-Indigenous respondents.

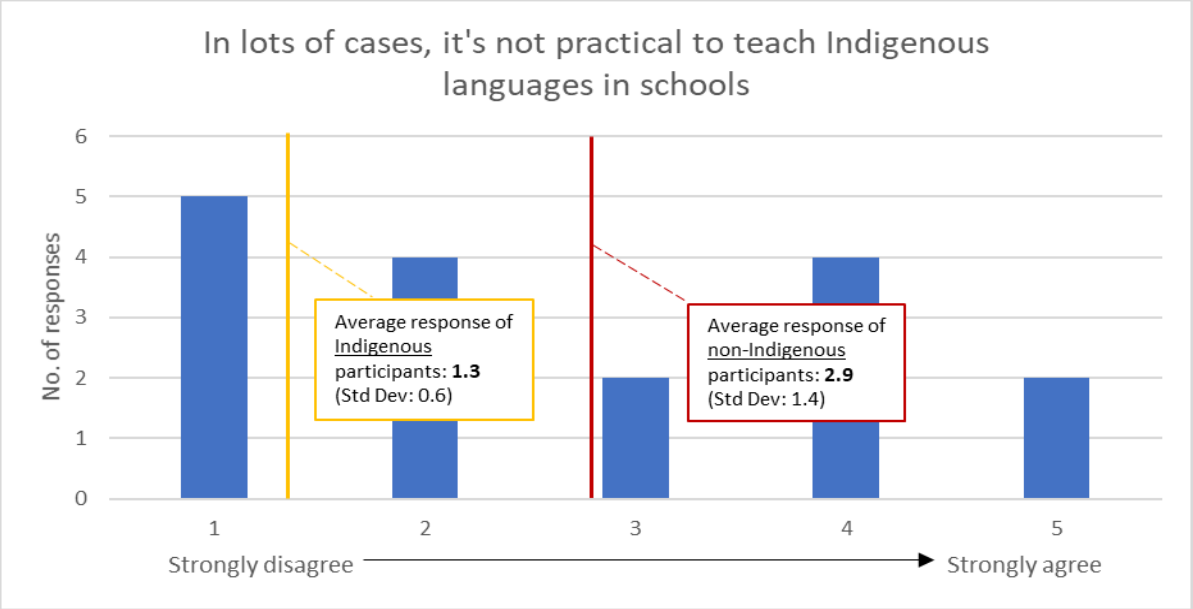


Figure 11: responses to survey question 1.7 'In lots of cases, it's not practical to teach Indigenous languages in schools'

The following three questions asked respondents whether they believed language to be important for Australia's national identity, reconciliation, and Closing the Gap in health and education between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (Figure 12). The responses were similar for the three outcomes, with a majority agreeing that language is important. However, some (non-Indigenous) respondents believed that language was not important, including one respondent who elaborated in a

comment box explaining why they did not believe Language would help with Closing the Gap[6]. Indigenous respondents ('IND') had higher average responses than non-Indigenous respondents ('NON.IND') to all three questions, as seen in the two clusters of averages in Figure 12.

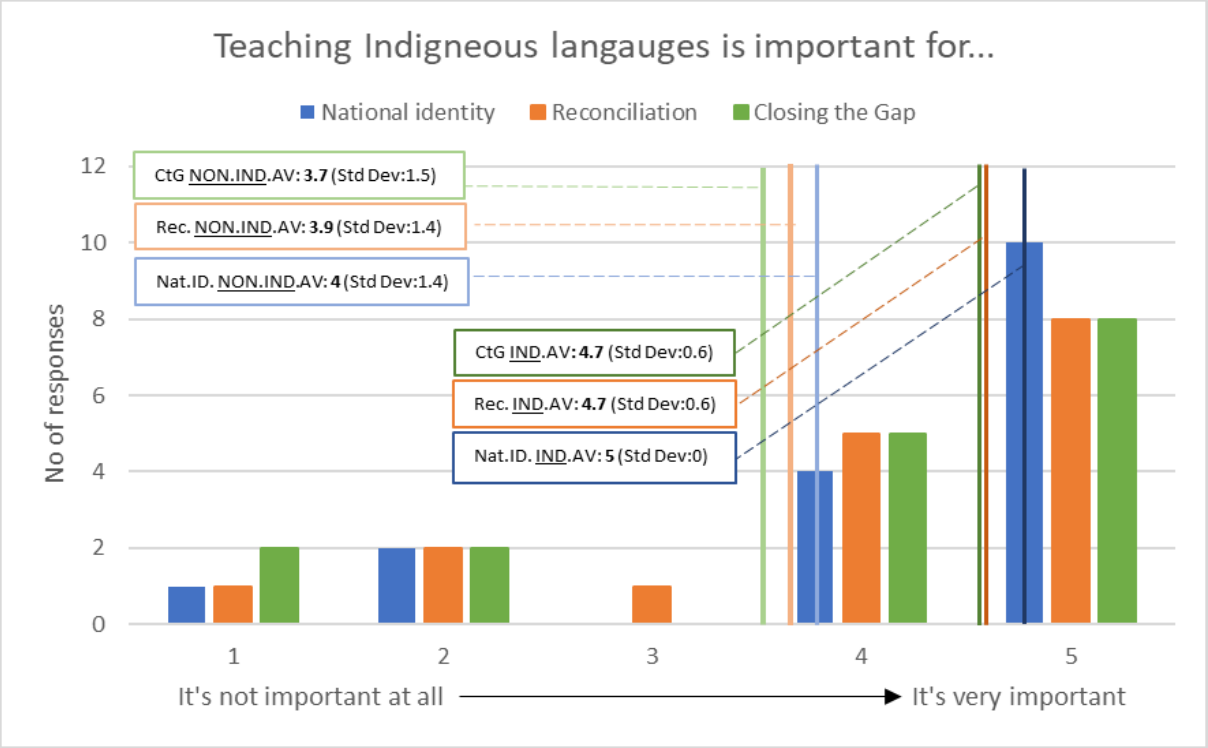


Figure 12: responses to survey questions 1.8 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for the national identity of Australia?' (Nat.ID), 1.9 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for reconciliation in Australia?' (Rec.), and 1.10 'Is teaching Indigenous languages is important for 'Closing the Gap' in health and education between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians?' (CtG).

Summary of Section 1 results: Responses show positive perceptions of multilingualism in Australia, both in general and with regards to Indigenous languages, and both with regards to the current state of multilingualism and the benefits in developing multilingualism through knowledge of Indigenous languages (including for utility, national identity, reconciliation, and Closing the Gap). The responses of Indigenous respondents indicate a stronger belief in the importance of Indigenous languages. Attitudes towards the strength of the government's commitment to Indigenous languages was notably middling.

4.1.2. Survey Section 2: Miriwoong program

The second section of the online survey related to the Miriwoong program in Kununurra. The first question of this section asked participants how important they believed this program to be (Figure 13). 11 people responded with a 5 ('Very important'), including all three Indigenous participants.

[6] *"I don't think that teaching Indigenous languages will close any gaps. The only thing that will close the gaps is to stop preventing Indigenous Australians from living a fulfilling, successful and meaningful life, ie by ending passive welfare which is literally killing Indigenous Australians."*

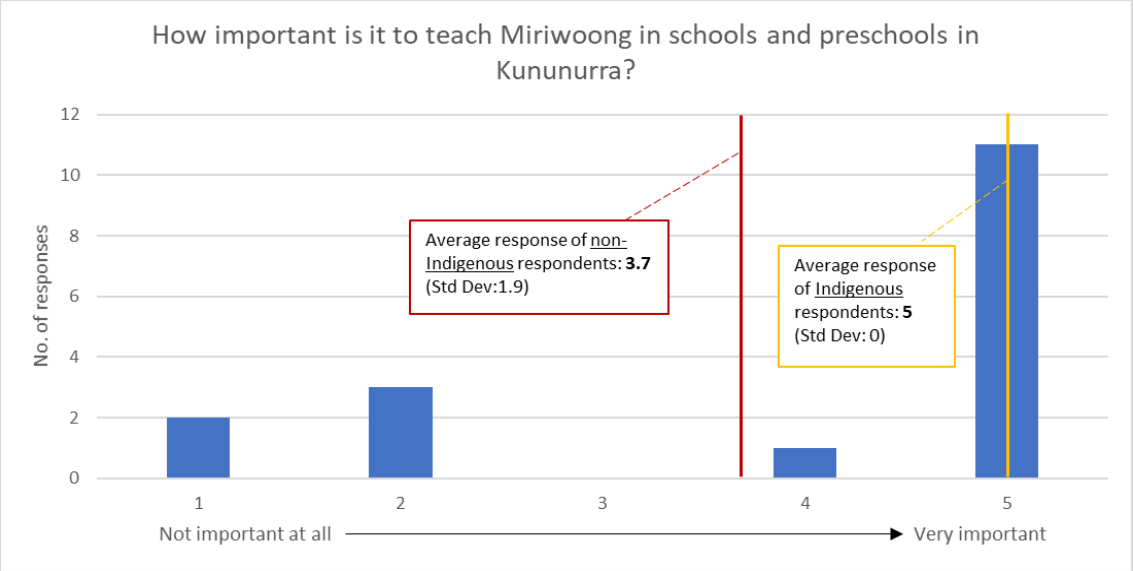


Figure 13: responses to survey question 2.1 'How important is it to teach Miriwoong in schools and preschools in Kununurra?'.

The second question asked whether extra time on English would be more useful than Miriwoong lessons (Figure 14). Most participants disagreed.

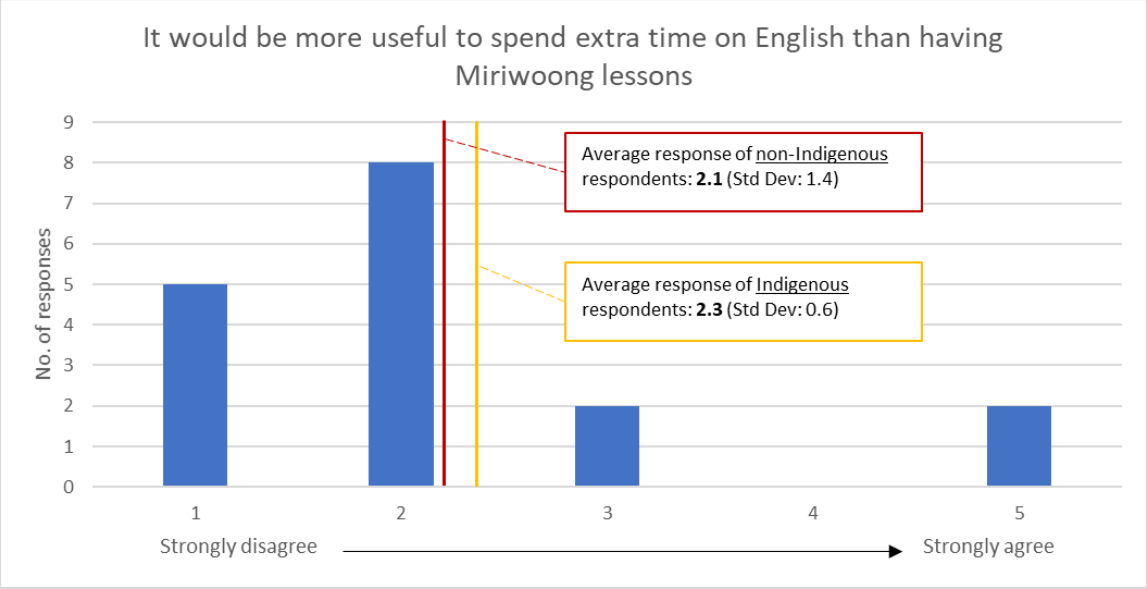


Figure 14: responses to survey question 2.2 'It would be more useful to spend extra time on English than having Miriwoong lessons'.

The next question was a multiple-choice question regarding the amount of time which should be spent on Miriwoong each week (Figure 15). Accounting for 50% of responses was Option 4 – 30 minutes per day, including all 3 responses from Indigenous participants. Two respondents chose 'Other (please specify)', one wishing to specify less than the options provided (i.e. none)[7] and the other wishing to specify more[8].

[7] '*Nil a language more widely used might be beneficial'.*
[8] '*30 minutes at least twice a week with teachers and then an additional 10 minutes every day on apps or reading books to consolidate the learning'.*

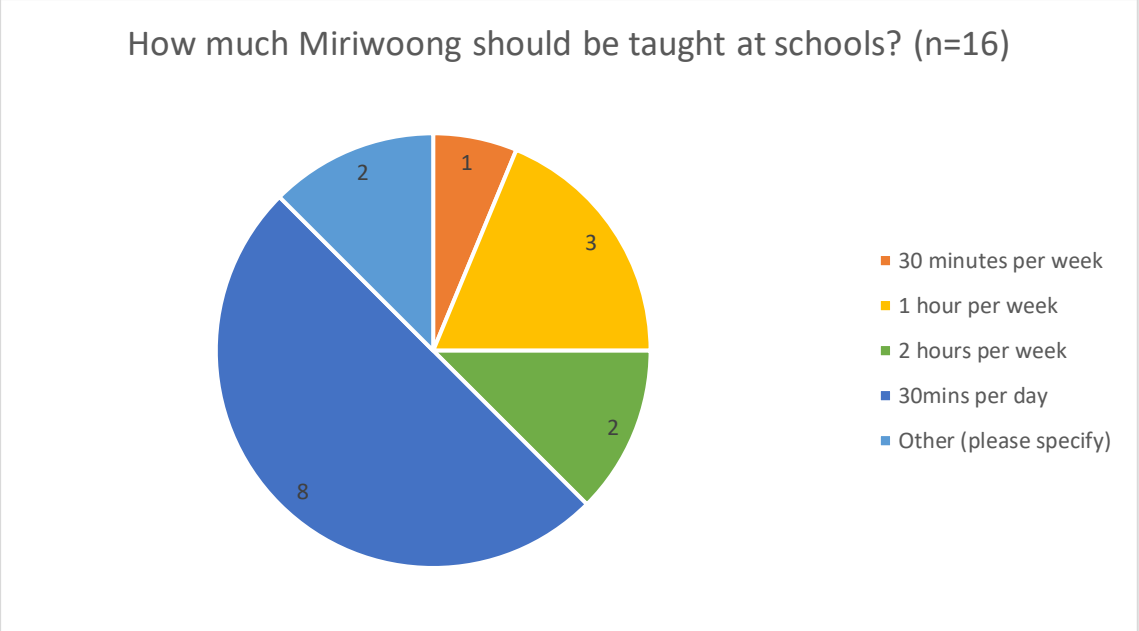


Figure 15: responses to multiple choice survey question 2.3, 'How much Miriwoong should be taught at schools?'.

The following five questions raised the issue of who is most benefitted by learning Miriwoong. The first of these related to the benefits of learning Miriwoong for Indigenous students, whether Miriwoong or non-Miriwoong (Figure 16). The vast majority of respondents agreed that it was important for all Indigenous students, including all three Indigenous respondents.

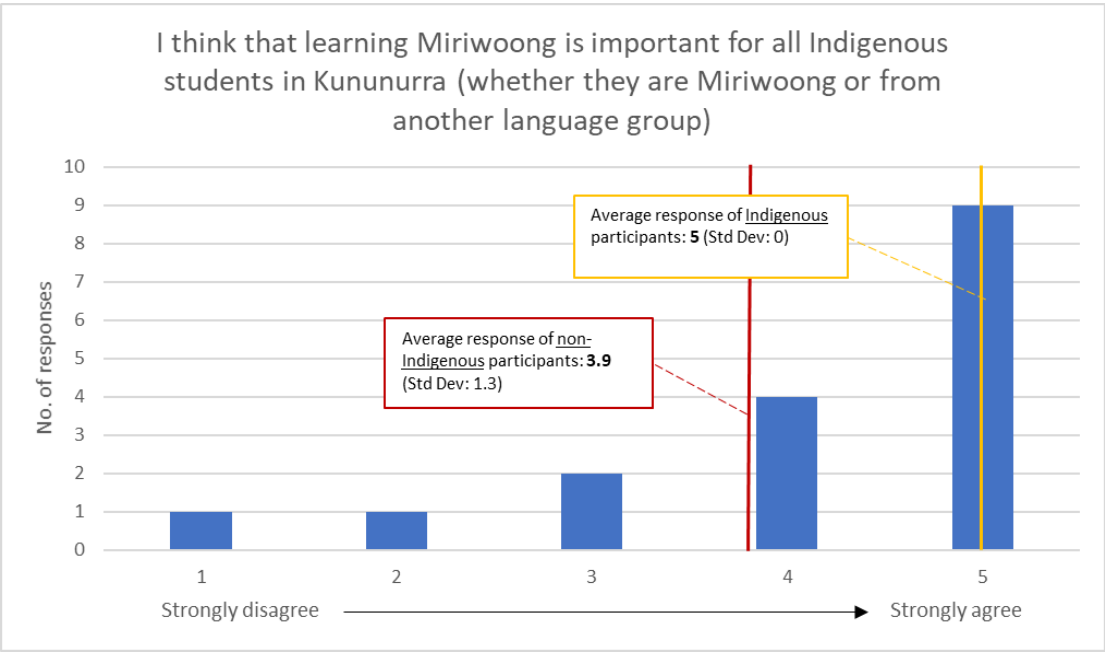


Figure 16: responses to survey question 2.4 'I think that learning Miriwoong is important for all Indigenous students in Kununurra (whether they are Miriwoong or from another language group)'.

Responses to the next question showed that it was also considered important by most respondents that non-Indigenous students learn Miriwoong (Figure 17).

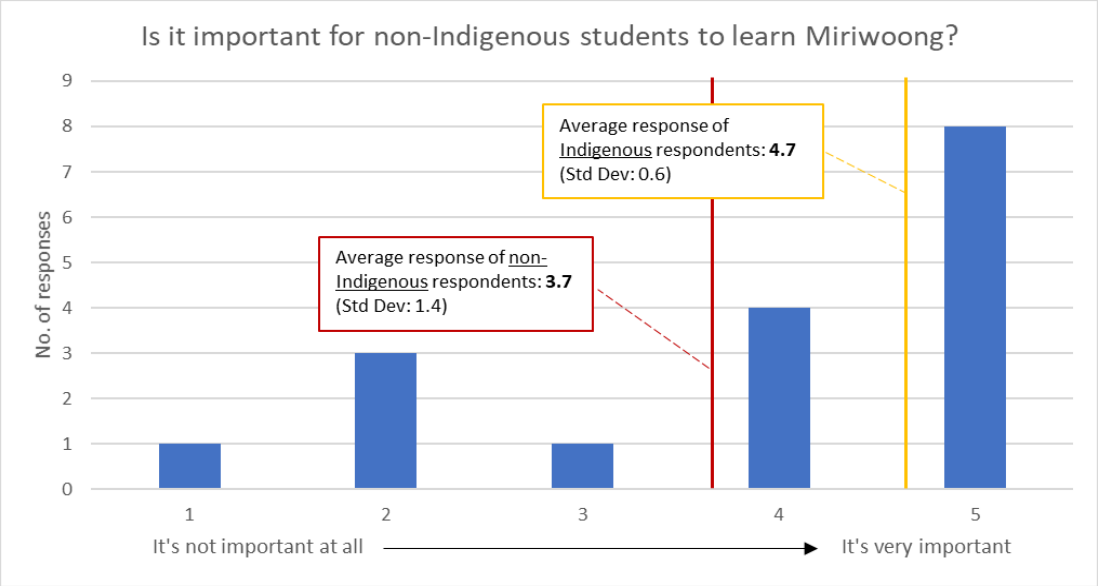


Figure 17: responses to survey question 2.5: 'Is it important for non-Indigenous students to learn Miriwoong?'.

The following question then directly contrasted these views, asking whether it is more important for Indigenous students than non-Indigenous students to learn Miriwoong (Figure 18). Only one respondent answered 4, and none with 5, indicating overall disagreement. The mean response was 2 for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents.

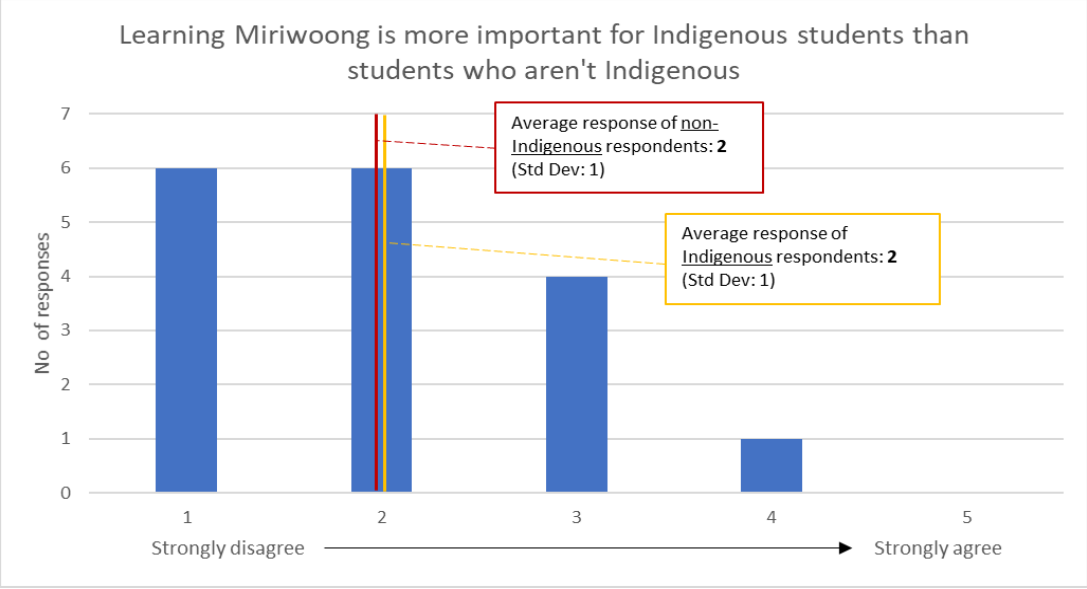


Figure 18: responses to survey question 2.6: 'Learning Miriwoong is more important for Indigenous students than students who aren't Indigenous'.

Following this, the next two questions asked education staff whether they had seen or heard about positive impacts of learning Miriwoong, for either Indigenous or non-Indigenous students (Figure 19). Most respondents agreed in both cases. Indigenous respondents agreed more strongly for both: all three answered 5 (Strongly agree) for Indigenous students, and also answered positively (5, 5, and 4) for non-Indigenous students.

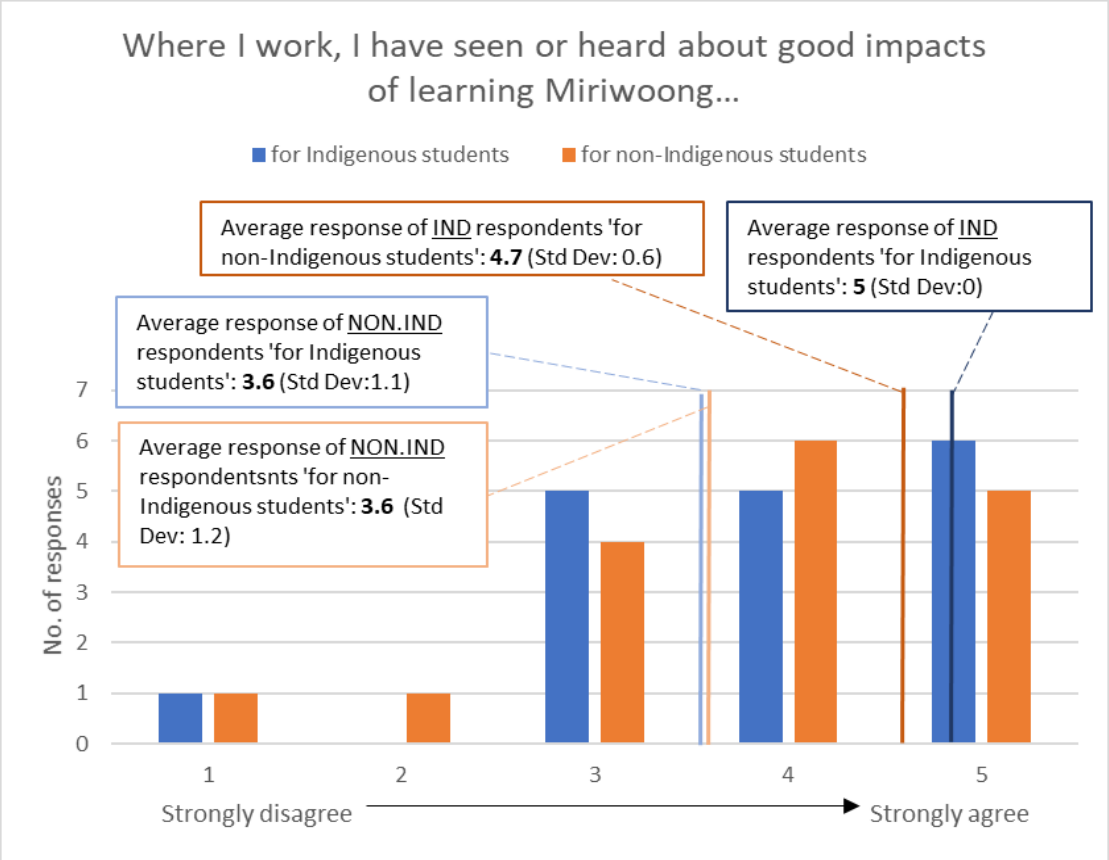


Figure 19: responses to survey questions 2.7 'Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong for Indigenous students' and 2.8 'Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong for non-Indigenous students'.

The ninth question of this section related to the perceived impact of learning Miriwoong on students' futures (Figure 20). Most respondents agreed that it has a positive impact, including Indigenous respondents who all answered with a 5.

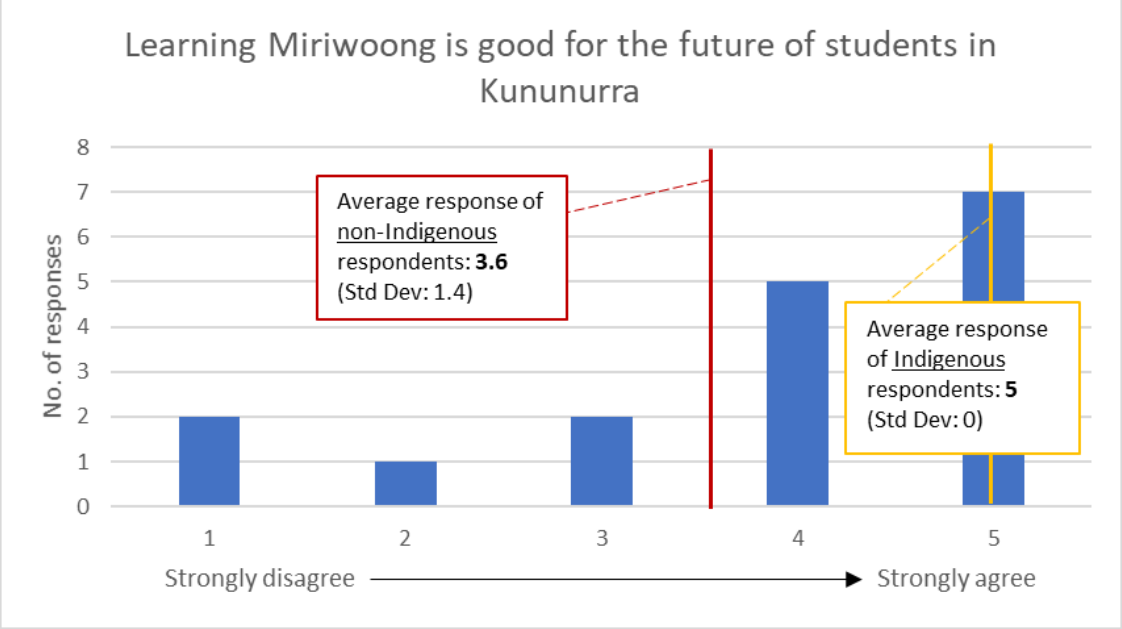


Figure 20: responses to survey question 2.9 'Learning Miriwoong is good for the future of students in Kununurra'.

The final question of this section asked whether participants believed that Miriwoong was less important than other subjects (Figure 21). Most respondents disagreed with this.

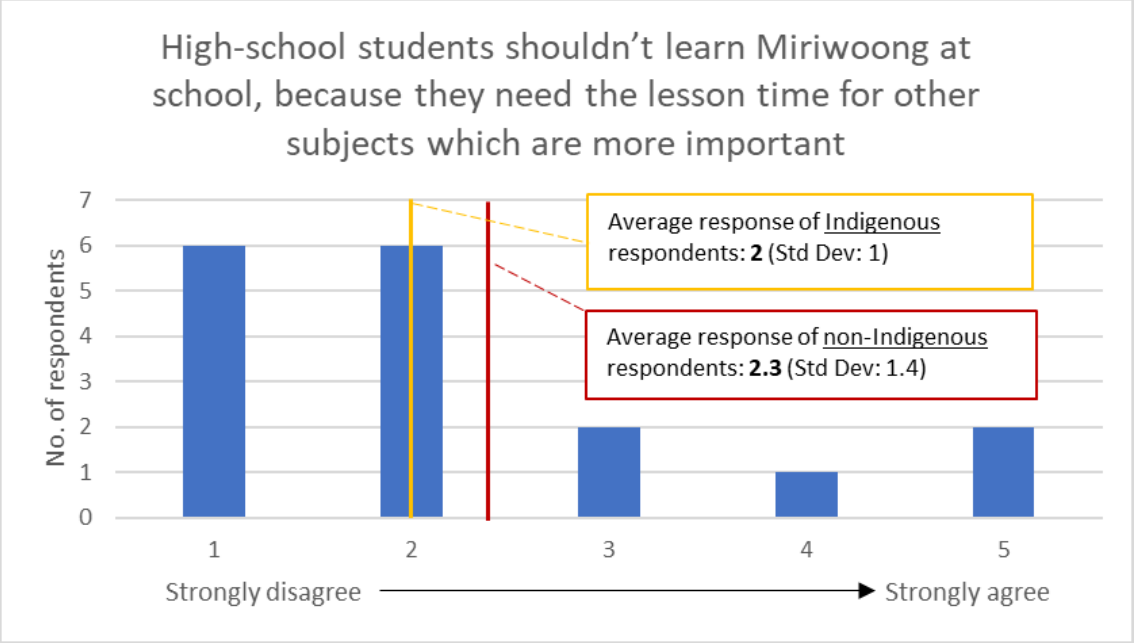


Figure 21: responses to survey question 2.10: 'High-school students shouldn't learn Miriwoong at school, because they need the lesson time for other subjects which are more important'.

Summary of Section 2 results: Although respondents had a slightly higher sense of the significance of learning Miriwoong for Indigenous students than non-Indigenous students, the general belief was that it is important for all students. Nearly two thirds of all respondents answered as highly as possible with regards to the importance of teaching Miriwoong in schools and preschools, and half of respondents believed that students should learn Miriwoong for 30mins or more every day. Indigenous responses tended to be more positive towards the program than non-Indigenous responses.

4.1.3. Survey Section 3: 'Micro-level'

The third section of the survey mirrored the first section in its theme of multilingualism and Indigenous languages, but narrowed the scope to Kununurra rather than the whole of Australia. Loss of one Indigenous survey respondent means only two Indigenous respondents completed the final two sections of the survey.

The first quantitative question in this section asked respondents whether they believed Kununurra is monolingual or multilingual (see Figure 6 above). Most believed Kununurra to be fairly multilingual.

The third and fourth quantitative questions of this section were related to the usefulness of knowing TILs and modern Indigenous languages in Kununurra (Figure 22). No one answered 3 for either of these questions, indicating that everyone either thought it was useful or not useful. The highest usefulness was ascribed to Aboriginal English/Kriol (8 respondents answering 5 – 'Extremely

useful'). With regards to traditional Indigenous languages, both these respondents answered 5 ('Very useful'), and with regards to Kriol/Aboriginal English, they answered with a 5 and a 4 respectively.

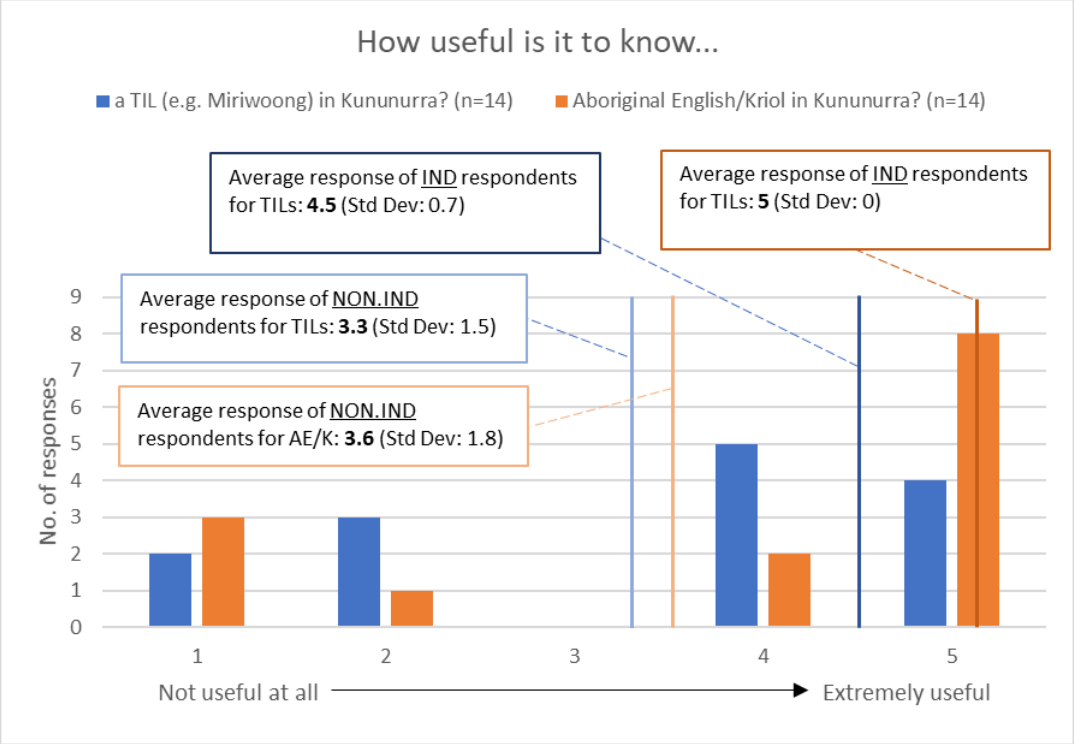


Figure 22: responses to survey questions 3.4 'How useful is it to know a traditional Indigenous language in Kununurra?', and 3.5 'How useful is it to know Aboriginal English/Kriol in Kununurra?'.

The following question asked whether respondents believe language is an important part of children's identity in Kununurra (Figure 23). Most respondents believed that it is.

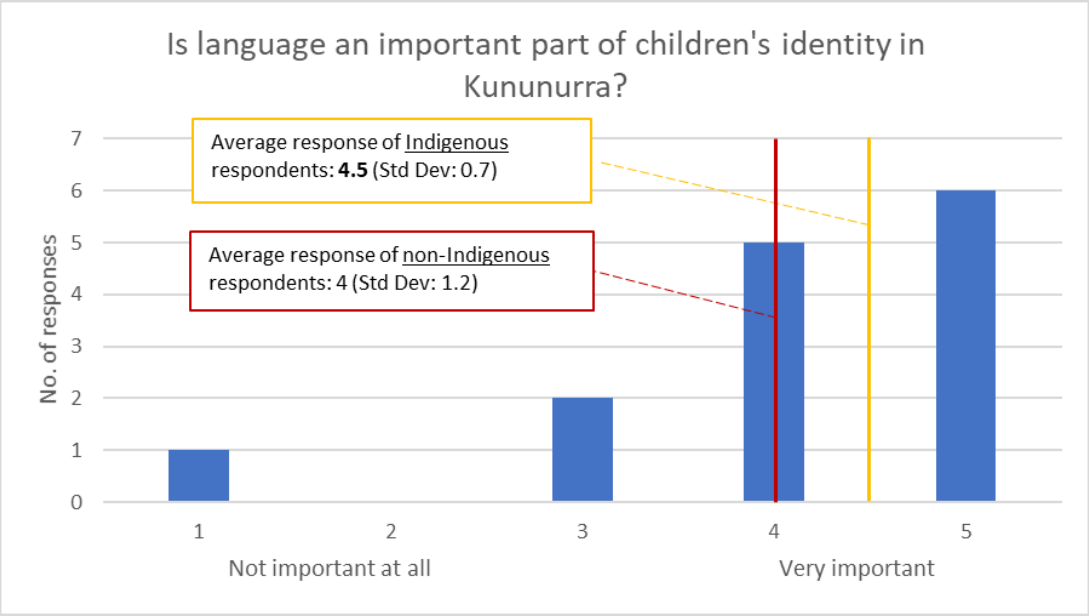


Figure 23: responses to survey question 3.6 'Is language an important part of children's identity in Kununurra?'

The next four questions were related to EAL/D students (here referring to students who do not speak SAE at home), and the role of Aboriginal English/Kriol (AE/K) in education in Kununurra. In response to a question about EAL/D support in Kununurra, most respondents chose the middle option, indicating either uncertainty or belief in the middling nature of support (Figure 24).

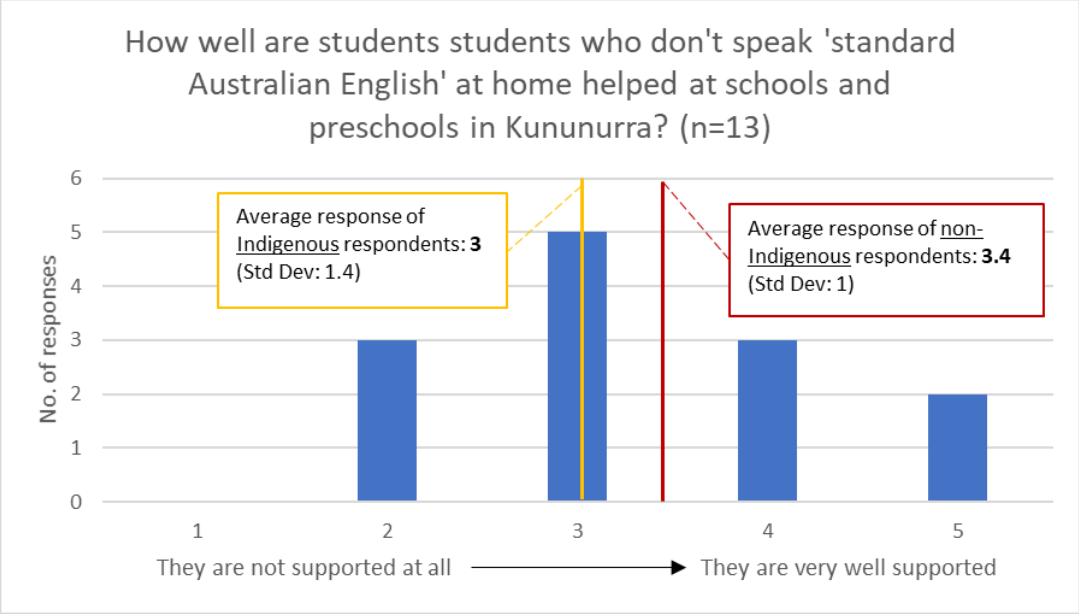


Figure 24: responses to survey question 3.7: 'Some students don't speak 'standard Australian English' at home. How well are these students helped at schools and preschools in Kununurra?'.

The following question asked whether students who speak AE/K at home should be encouraged to use only SAE at school (Figure 25).The majority of respondents disagreed – the mean response was 2.5 for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents.

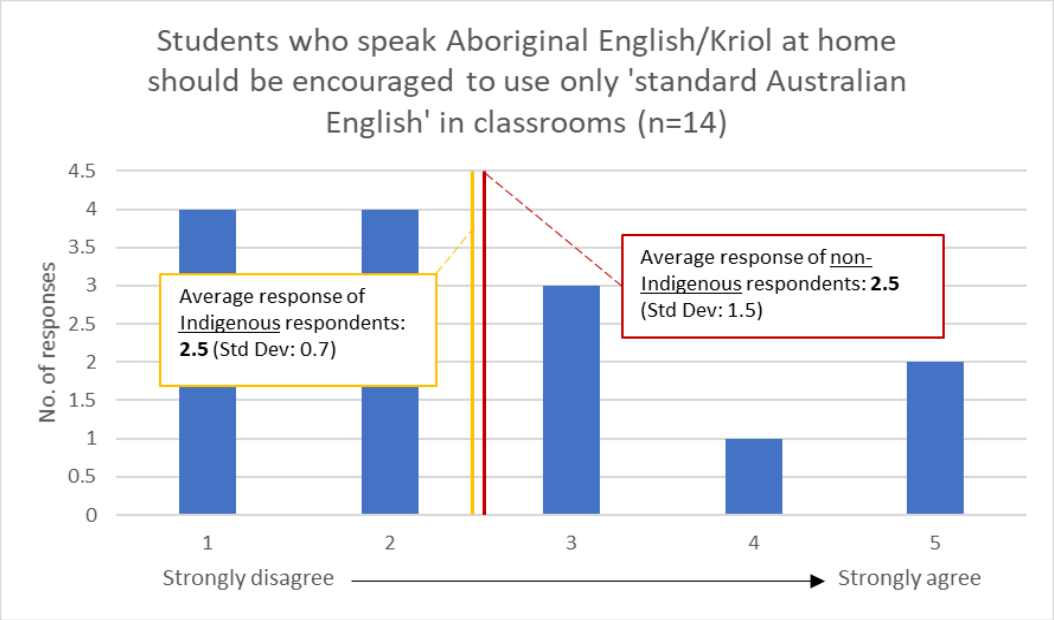


Figure 25: responses to survey question 3.8: 'Students who speak Aboriginal English/Kriol at home should be encouraged to use only 'standard Australian English' in classrooms'.

The next question asked whether the use of AE/K in the classroom would hinder students' acquisition of SAE (Figure 26). Similarly to the previous question, most respondents disagreed with this, however this disagreement was stronger than the disagreement to the previous question, indicating that some respondents may think that although AE/K will not damage students' development in SAE, they should still be encouraged to use SAE in classrooms.

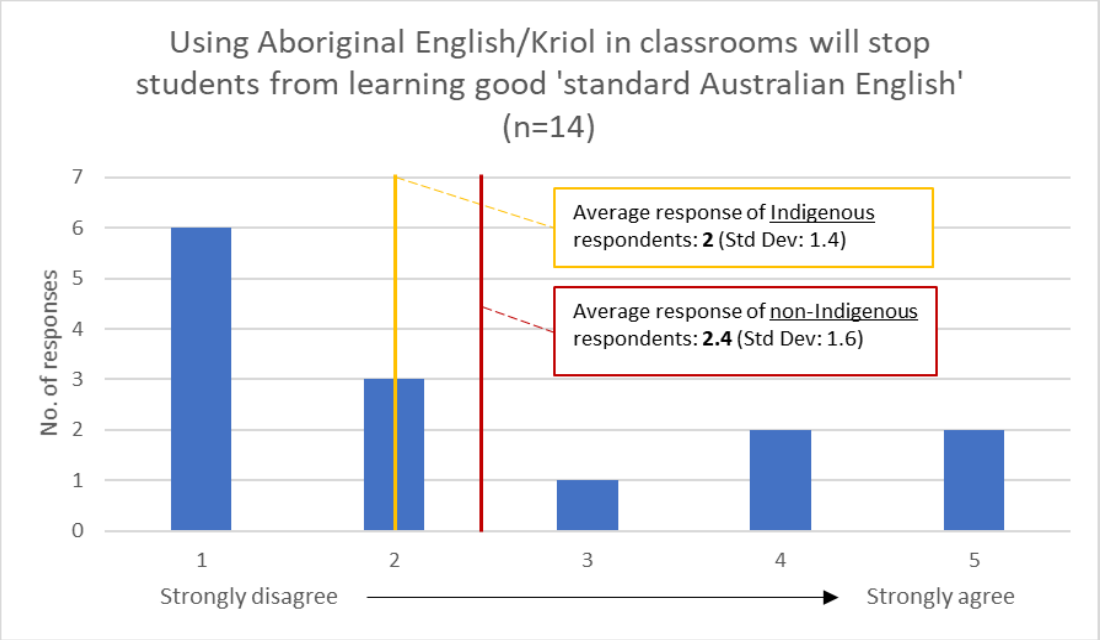


Figure 26: responses from survey question 3.9: 'Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will stop students from learning good 'standard Australian English'.

The following question asked whether the use of AE/K in the classroom would in fact *help* students learn SAE (Figure 27). Most respondents agreed.

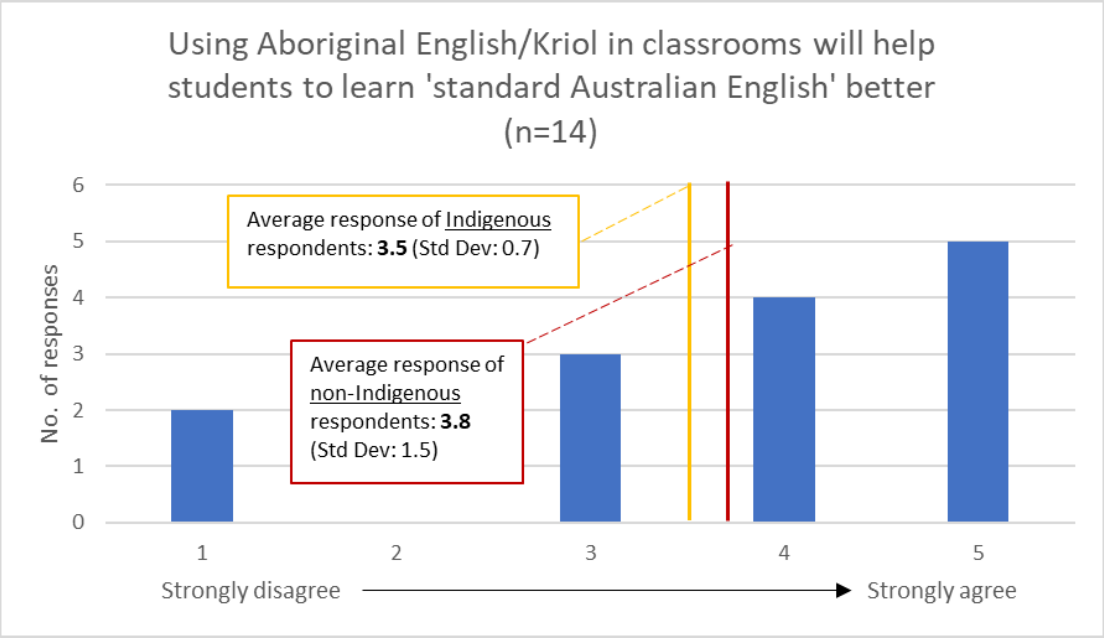


Figure 27: responses from survey question 3.10: 'Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will help students to learn 'standard Australian English' better.'

Summary of Section 3 results: Language is considered by education staff in Kununurra to be an important component of students' identity. Attitudes towards the degree of EAL/D support in Kununurra were middling, and AE/K was perceived as more useful than TILs in Kununurra. Attitudes towards the use of AE/K in classrooms were moderately positive; however, the distribution of responses indicates a weaker overall strength of these attitudes compared to some other attitudes (e.g., the importance of the Miriwoong programs in Section of 4.1.2.).

4.1.4. Survey Section 4: Teacher training

The final section of the survey related to the training of education staff in Australia. The first three questions in this section asked whether teachers and support staff receive sufficient information regarding TILs, AE/K, and how to help EAL/D students when trained in Australia (Figure 28). Most respondents disagreed with regards to training about TILs and AE/K, while training for EAL/D support was perceived as more adequate. One of the Indigenous respondents answered 1 for all three, while the other answered 1 for the first two, but 5 for the adequacy of EAL/D support training.

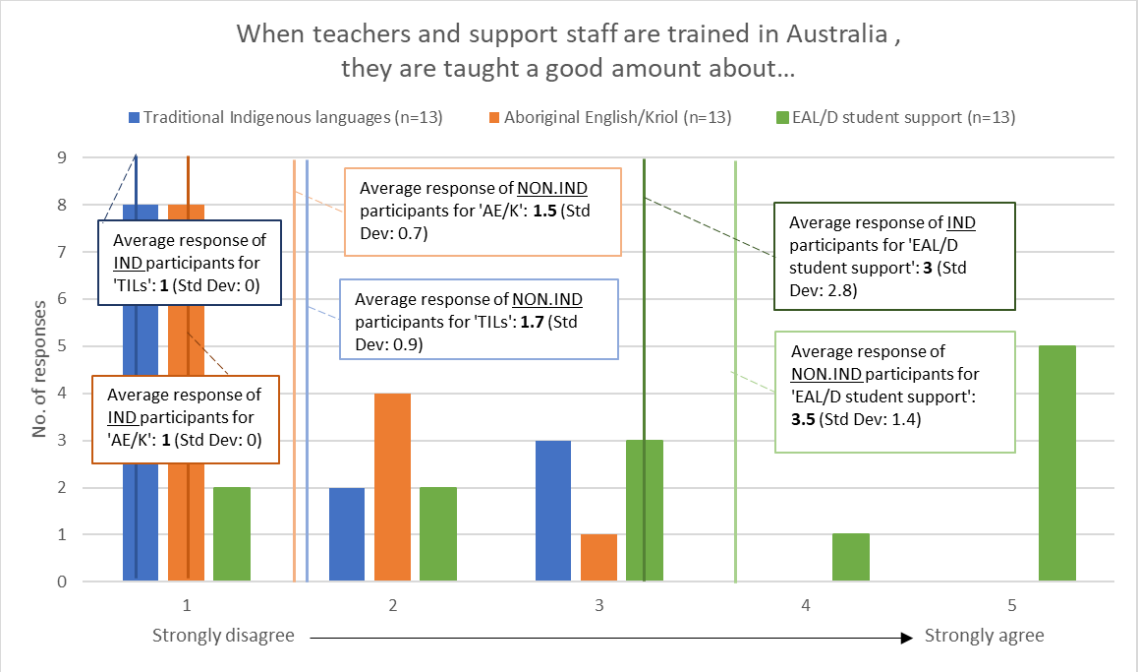


Figure 28: responses to survey questions 4.1 'When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about TILs', 4.2 'When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about Aboriginal English/Kriol', and 4.3 'When teachers and support staff in Australia are trained, they are taught a good amount about EAL/D support'.

The following two questions asked whether respondents believed that further training would help them do their jobs better: firstly, training about languages in Australia, to which there was general agreement, and secondly training about how to support EAL/D children, to which there was a stronger degree of agreement (Figure 29).

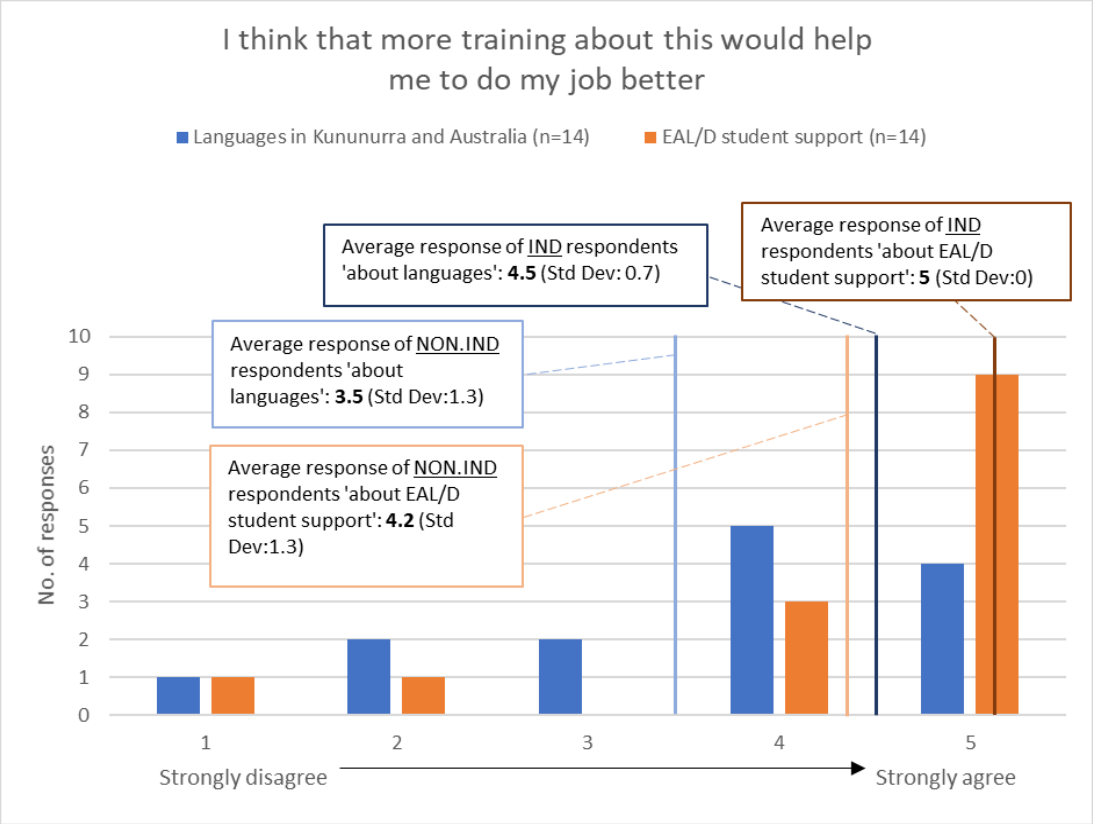


Figure 29: responses to survey questions 4.4: 'It would help me to do my job better if I had more training on languages in Kununurra and Australia', and 4.5 'It would help me to do my job better if I had more training on EAL/D student support'.

It therefore seems that, although respondents feel that their training provides more information regarding EAL/D student support than information regarding Indigenous languages, they believe further training regarding EAL/D student support would be most helpful.

The final two questions of the survey were multiple choice questions regarding the best location and manner for teacher training regarding Indigenous languages (Figure 30) and EAL/D student support (Figure 301). The three training options provided were 'A: When they are trained at University/TAFE', 'B: Through training/professional development at the school where they work', and 'C: From local Indigenous people'. Respondents were able to select more than one of these options. There was also an 'Other (please specify)' option available, however no one selected this. Results for both questions were similar, with University/TAFE training as the least popular option, and on-the-job training and development the most popular.

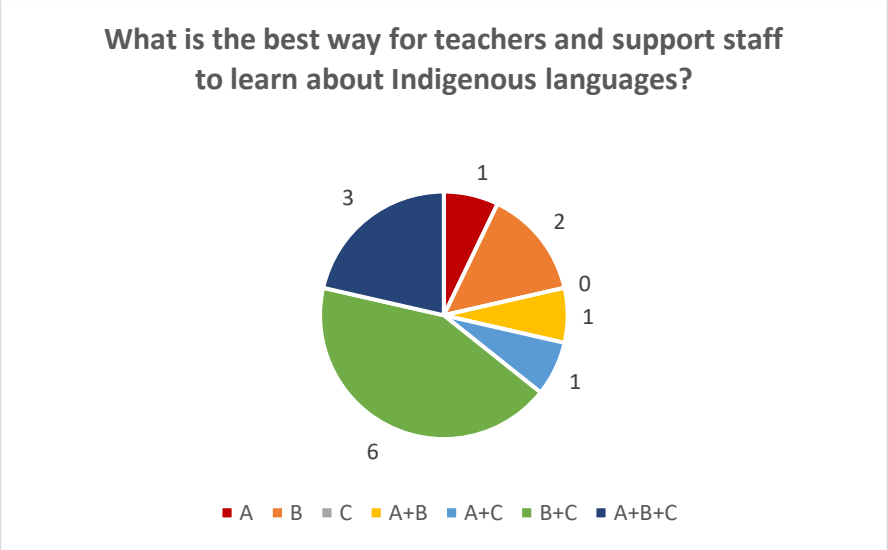


Figure 30: responses to survey question 4.6 'What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about Indigenous languages? (You can choose more than one option)". A: 'When they are trained at University/TAFE', B: 'Through training/ professional development at the school where they work', C: 'From local Indigenous people'.

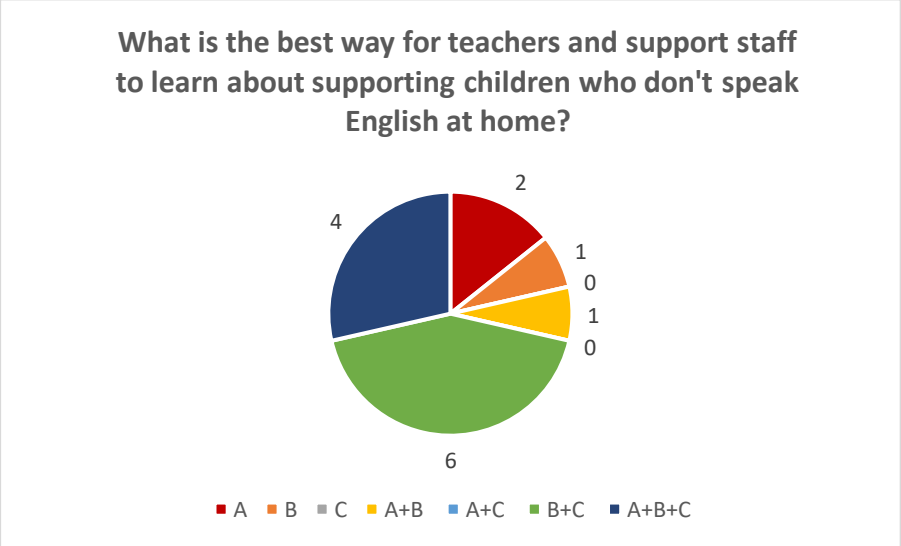


Figure 31: responses to survey question 4.7 'What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about supporting children who don't speak English at home? (You can choose more than one option)'. A: 'When they are trained at University/TAFE', B: 'Through training/ professional development at the school where they work', C: 'From local Indigenous people'.

Summary of Section 4 results: The results of this section show that respondents do not believe they are taught enough about traditional and modern Indigenous languages when they are trained in Australia, however it is EAL/D support that they believe would have the greatest impact on their ability to do their job well. Furthermore, most respondents preferred on-the-job training to University/TAFE training for learning about languages and EAL/D student support.

4.1.5. Summary of Survey results:

Overall, the quantitative responses show positive attitudes towards multilingualism and Indigenous languages in education in Australia and Kununurra. Indigenous participants responded slightly more positively than non-Indigenous participants. The Miriwoong program was held in high regard, while perception of government support for TILs and degree of EAL/D student support were both middling. AE/K was considered slightly more useful than TILs in Kununurra, and Indigenous language knowledge was considered slightly more beneficial for Indigenous students than for non-Indigenous students. However, most respondents believed in the benefits of multilingualism for all students, seeing implications for individual and personal identity, Closing the Gap, and reconciliation. Respondents believed their education regarding Indigenous languages was not adequate, and desired further training in EAL/D student support, preferring localised training to training at University/TAFE.

4.2. Qualitative results.

4.2.1. Interview length and word frequency

Interviews ranged from 12-59 minutes, with an average length of 28 minutes. Interviews with MDWg staff were longer due to the need to negotiate understanding, as well as a slower speech rate and more pauses. Interviews with Indigenous staff outside of MDWg were also longer than those with non-Indigenous participants, with less words per minute (though to a much lesser extent in comparison to MDWg staff, presumably due to higher confidence in English).

Table 2: *Mean interview length, standard deviations, and words per minute for Aboriginal participants working at MDWg, Aboriginal participants outside of MDWg, and non-Aboriginal participants. Note that these figures are approximations, calculated including names of participants at start of each line, descriptive text, etc. However, they were calculated before redactions/editing of transcripts).*

	Average interview length (minutes)	Standard deviation	Words per minute
MDWg Aboriginal participants	40.75	12.42	111
Other Aboriginal participants	24.33	3.79	149
Non-Aboriginal participants	16.75	4.27	158

4.2.2. Framework

During the process of thematic analysis, a framework was established (Figure 32) which mapped the relationships of core themes onto each other. The core themes present in this framework will be outlined first (Sections 4.2.3.-4.2.6.), followed by other recurring themes. The first core theme was that of connection, which was expressed in two categories: connection to land, and connection to people. This was followed by the theme of impacts on Miriwoong, Indigenous and non-Indigenous

Australians, and the impacts of this connection in the form of Identity, Diversity, and Reconciliation/Unity, expressed on individual, local, and national levels.

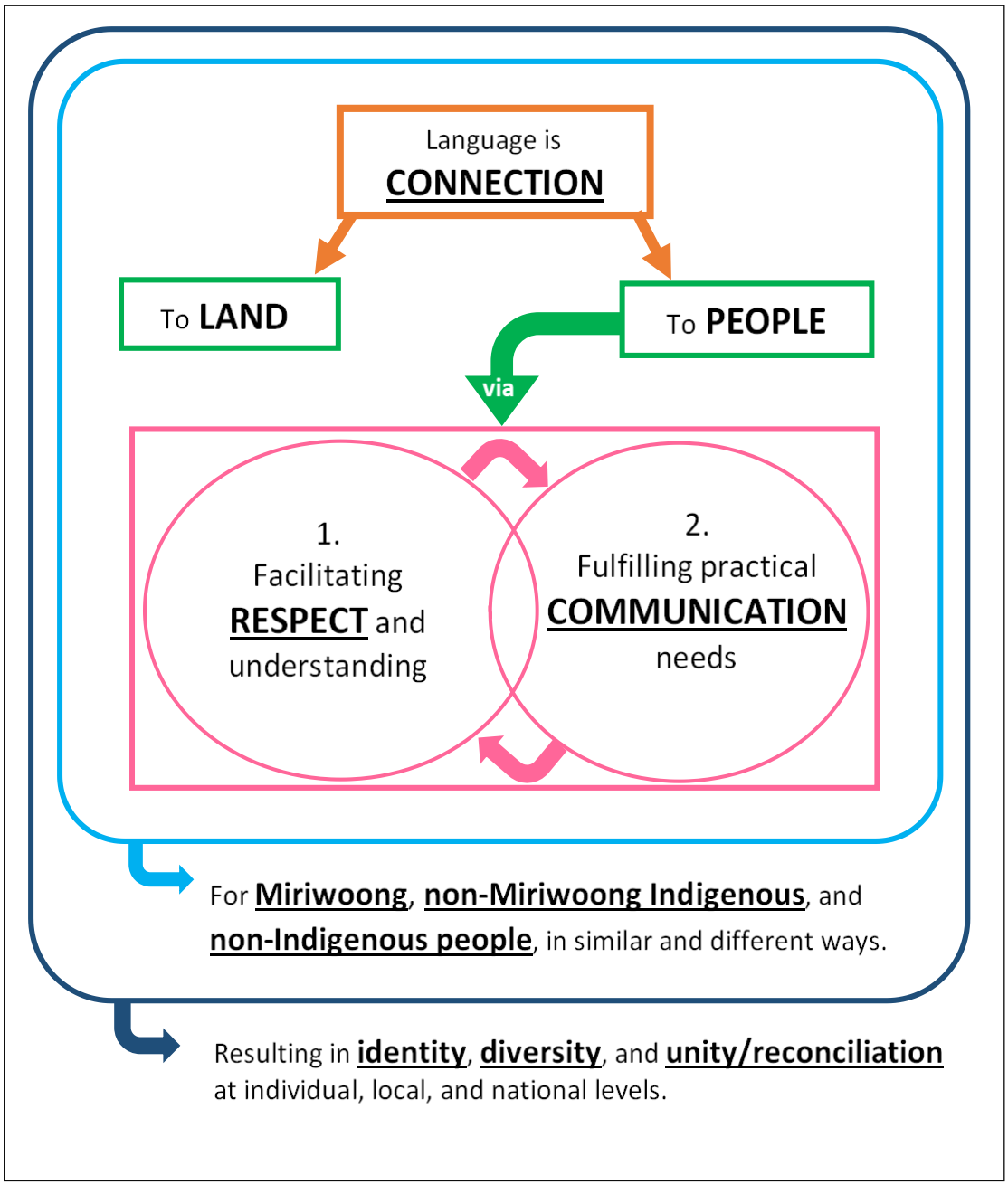


Figure 32: Framework representing relationships between key themes from the qualitative results.

4.2.3. Language is connection to land

The interviews revealed an understanding of the connection between Miriwoong language and Miriwoong land, as well as Indigenous language and Indigenous land more generally.

Firstly, this is mediated by the Miriwoong people who have strong ties to both the land and the language. Some participants believed it is therefore more important to teach Miriwoong to Miriwoong

students than to others, however learning Miriwoong language was also considered important to show respect for Miriwoong people while on their land.

In addition, a number of responses described the connection between Language and Country. Language contains information about the landscape which can be 'triggered' (11d) by being on Country. Language knowledge thus builds practical and contextual connection to 'where we're standing' (12b), including through knowledge of placenames. Furthermore, three Miriwoong participants stated the importance of Language to mitigate harm which can occur while on Country. This was framed in terms of a relationship with the land – by announcing yourself and your needs in Language, you are able to communicate with the land[9]. A '*mantha*' or traditional welcome performed using Language was described as an alternative (10a/10b).

It was reported by Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants alike that knowledge of Miriwoong is important for all who live on Miriwoong Country. For example, 14a describes why it is important that everyone learns some Miriwoong: "*Because, that language he for this Country! Kununurra is Miriwoong Country. And we gotta keep that language going intit {right}? Strong. And by teaching you showing them that this Kununurra got a language. Miriwoong, na.*" Indeed, to some participants, such as 12a, it was considered self-evident that someone on Miriwoong Country *must* want to learn the language – "*They living in Kununurra, well must be they wanna learn about what that word means*"[10]. The act of learning the Indigenous language of the land was considered an act of patriotism for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike, bringing healing, and inspiring a sense of belonging. One Indigenous participant (11c) pointed out that learning a foreign language in school had been irrelevant as she never intended to travel overseas – it would have been better to learn a local language.

Multiple participants described the role of local Language Centres as points of contact between local people (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and Country. The role of Language Centres was described as including bush trips and cultural activities, functioning as hubs of knowledge of Country and Language which can then be taken into the community and schools. 14a believes that the best way to learn Language is to be on Country, however that when in town the language centre can fulfil a similar role: *"Language Centre he just like going out on Country. [laughs] Well everything is all here… we got old people on recording here… Language everywhere. Same like Language Centre, you go out la Country, everything is all there, language is out on the Country."*

[9] 14a: *"You gotta speak to the Country, garra {with} that language… that Country will give you what you want, then… you gotta speak that language for that Country… Otherwise if you just go and take something you'll get sick, that Country will make you, he'll hurt you. Yeah. So you gotta speak to the Country. So I think that's why language is important, see."*

[10] Note that in Miriwoong, 'word' and 'language' are the same word ('*woorlang'*).

In contrast, the close connection of Miriwoong Language to Miriwoong Country was sometimes seen as a geographic limitation to the scope of its usefulness – for example, one qualitative survey respondent stated, in response to a question about how much time should be spent on Miriwoong each week: '*Nil a language more widely used might be beneficial'*. Similarly, though more positively, interview participant 11d stated "*I think that's maybe the downside, like it's not necessarily a language you can travel the world with, but it's got its own place and value with what it is*".

4.2.4. Language is connection to people

As seen above, connection to land and connection to people are not wholly separate, however they were generally described separately. For example, 12b lists connection to people and to land when asked a question regarding the impacts of language program expansion: "*I think we would be more connected, I think we would be wiser, both more connected to each other but also to the Country that we stand in, I think, and I think that people who belong to the Country would feel more respected…"*. Two interconnected sub-themes of connection to people were clear – the facilitation of respect and understanding between people, and the fulfilment of practical communicative needs.

4.2.4.1. Via facilitating respect and understanding

Language learning and knowledge was described as connecting people to each other through facilitating and fostering respect and understanding. Three Miriwoong language teachers enthusiastically shared stories of interactions with current or previous students around town, demonstrating the positive, respectful connection between children and teachers which is built through the language program. Participants noted the positive impacts of learning Miriwoong language for non-Indigenous children due to the understanding and respect which this learning brings. One non-Miriwoong Indigenous participant (11b) explained that the Miriwoong program allows non-Indigenous children to form a bond with Aboriginal people, with whom they may not otherwise have much personal experience, thus opening their minds to the world around them and allowing them to see differences between people as normal and positive.

4.2.4.2. Via fulfilling the need for practical communication

Language was noted to have practical communication benefits for various people in various ways. It was proposed that learning a TIL can increase intergenerational communication and connection within Indigenous families, and that knowledge of modern Indigenous language has communicative benefits, for example in classroom engagement and connection. Practical benefits to knowledge of SAE were also mentioned, for example with regards to employment. Participant 13a mentioned multiple times the important role of language knowledge with regards to translation services in health, education, and legal settings. She noted that this was particularly the case for elders and older community members, since increasingly younger Indigenous people know some English. As noted above, the limited practical communicative advantage of learning a language with so few fluent speakers was acknowledged.

4.2.5. For everyone, in similar and varying ways

There are a variety of people in Kununurra, including Miriwoong, non-Miriwoong Indigenous, and non-Indigenous people. The connection language brings was sometimes described similarly for these different groups, and sometimes was contrasted as distinct.

Participants described benefits of learning TILs for all people: practical communicative benefits, knowledge of the land, and a sense of identity and belonging to Country. For example, 11d believes it strengthens "*specifically the identity of Aboriginal young people, but in a broader context it's a healthy identity for all Australians to have Indigenous language included."* Learning Miriwoong instils pride in all students, and all students were described as enjoying classes. 11b describes the positive impacts of a Miriwoong program for all, in contrast to the social and linguistic segregation which characterised her schooling experience in Kununurra. Qualitative survey responses reveal a similar belief in the importance of teaching TILs to Indigenous and non-Indigenous students alike, with some stating it should be compulsory in all schools.

Teaching Miriwoong to Miriwoong students was described by some Miriwoong teachers as the main motivation for the program. Firstly, it mitigates language loss – one Miriwoong preschool teacher (13a) noted that her son knows more Miriwoong than she does. It was also described as having distinct impacts on Miriwoong children, supporting cultural continuity, connection to history and ancestors, and a sense of ownership and belonging. It was suggested that Miriwoong students experience pride in their ability to succeed in these classes, and in the presence of their family members as teachers in the schools. However, it was also noted that learning Miriwoong in a formal education context can be a complicated experience for Miriwoong students – 11d describes disinterest due to previously being forced to learn, or shame from feeling they should already know the language.

Learning Miriwoong was described as relevant for non-Miriwoong Indigenous people in Kununurra due to the multilingual, word-borrowing nature of Indigenous Australia and the use of Miriwoong words in Kriol. Furthermore, to have modern and traditional Indigenous language present in classrooms was described as a point of pride and identity for these students. However, 11d describes that some non-Miriwoong Indigenous students express disinterest in Miriwoong lessons as it is not the language of their own heritage.

Participants also described distinct impacts of learning Miriwoong and other TILs on non-Indigenous students. They receive a relational experience of another culture, and the opportunity to learn about the history and people of where they live. Building connections and a sense of belonging is important for the educational outcomes of non-Indigenous students as well as Indigenous ones. Although two non-Indigenous participants noted that they found Miriwoong hard to learn, none reported the same issue in children – in fact, a few participants noted that Gardiya students sometimes seem to be the most engaged and learn the fastest.

A number of teachers discussed the importance of multilingualism for all students, and that students and teachers should learn from each other in the classroom. They outlined a practical need for SAE, a facilitatory role for Kriol, and various other benefits as outlined above for TILs such as Miriwoong. A 'both ways' attitude, in which linguistic and cultural multicompetence is valued and supported, should extend to all students, not only Indigenous ones, and teachers should approach this by treating SAE not as inherently 'better', nor other language resources as needing to be 'fixed' (11e). It was outlined that codeswitching and language mixing should be recognised in the classroom, and, as different languages are useful for different things, knowing multiple languages should be valued.

4.2.6. Resulting in impacts at a personal, local, and national level

The connections which language facilitates for different people as outlined above were described as having impacts at the individual, local and national level, particularly with regards to identity, diversity, and reconciliation/unity.

4.2.6.1. Identity

Language has impacts on students' individual identity, as outlined above. The importance of learning together, a sense of belonging to Miriwoong land, and local activities and celebrations such as NAIDOC which incorporate language were noted, all of which contribute to a local identity influenced by Indigenous language. The many dialects of Kriol outlined by Indigenous participants highlights the role of language in the local identity of Kriol speakers. Furthermore, learning TILs is linked to the national identity of all Australians, for example through helping students reflect on the history of the land. 11e described the linguistic identity of Australia by contrasting the timeframes in which English and Indigenous languages have been spoken, stating that: "… *really, before colonisation, we- you had your own language. So really, Australia is not an English-speaking country, when you go back*!" As quoted above, 11d described the role of Indigenous language as part of a '*healthy identity for all Australians*'.

4.2.6.2. Diversity

The connection facilitated by language results in diversity. At the individual level, this is seen in the range of language competencies students bring to the classroom. At the local level, participants were very aware of the different languages and cultures in town, particularly Aboriginal participants who listed the 'big mob' of Indigenous and non-Indigenous languages in Kununurra. Participants also reported diversity in Kriol dialects, and the mixing of Kriol and traditional languages. These local differences were also contrasted to other places around Australia, for example the difference in speech style between Aboriginal people in cities compared to Kununurra. This local and national diversity is often seen as a challenge, as so many languages need support, however many participants reframed this as a 'learning curve' (11a) and described benefits which make it worthwhile.

4.2.6.3. Reconciliation/Unity

As well as diversity, the connections facilitated by language are also linked to unity and reconciliation. Participants linked the mutual respect fostered through language learning to increased compassion and understanding, and practical communication enables people to work together. 11d described potential misunderstandings and behavioural issues resulting from lack of teacher language knowledge, and 13a described the potential for misunderstandings in legal contexts without effective interpreting services. Participant 11d noted the valuable point of connection that learning Indigenous language facilitates, and the role this can play: *"It can create some safe spaces to learn, that are like a 'Step 1' in reconciliation. Like, okay, maybe you're not ready to face your cultural biases, but you can learn what 'pelican' is in Miriwoong… it gets people thinking and starting that process."*

4.2.7. Other recurring themes

4.2.7.1. Defining and describing Miriwoong

Traditional Indigenous languages were defined in interviews with regards to their connection to Country and as part of the identity of Indigenous people, as outlined above. In addition, a qualitative survey question asked respondents to define traditional Indigenous languages such as Miriwoong, in contrast to modern Indigenous languages. Miriwoong was described in these survey responses as '*a local language being resurrected', 'a genuine language', 'mostly a completely separate dialect'*, with '*totally different words*', which is '*almost impossible'* to learn as an adult. It was described as being spoken by some, though not all, Miriwoong people, particularly in certain parts of town.

4.2.7.2. Defining and describing Kriol

Kriol was often described as 'broken' or 'broken-down' English, including by participants for whom it was a first language. However, many of these participants also described it as a language, which should be celebrated and respected. For example, 11b (Kriol speaker) referred to Kriol as '*another language'*, and then in the sentence immediately following as '*just real, like, broken English, like, Kriol*'. In attempting to define Kriol, 12a (Kriol speaker) hesitatingly called TILs '*proper language?'*, implying that Kriol is therefore not a proper language[11]. The definition of Kriol was the only time that suprasegmental features of language were regularly noteworthy – the interview transcripts note pauses, changes in speed, and laughter as well as lexical markers of uncertainty. For example: '*I dunno… they bin broke down English [trails off, laughs]"* (10a), '*I reckon another language, owat {right}*?' (10b), "*I dunno, broken-down English? [laughs]"* (13a). MDWg employees had an awareness of the linguistic nature of Kriol. For example, 14a described the different variants of Kriol, using terminology of 'heavy' and 'light' as is common in literature. 12a was aware that Kriol is one of many creole languages which are spoken around the world.

[11] 12a: "[Kriol is] a language in between, our language, our... our... How I say, proper language? [Interviewer: traditional language?] Well I think it's a language in between our traditional language and English… yeah… I can't explain any other way [laughs]."

In contrast to endangered TILs, Kriol was referred to as a widespread, 'everyday' language, fulfilling a lingua franca role among Indigenous people. It was described according to participants' understanding of its history, and as a 'hybrid' language which can be a tool in curriculum and activity development. It was considered 'more to the point' than English (11e), and lexical similarities with English were described[12], though these can be misleading[13]. It was described as often using vocabulary from Miriwoong and other TILs. Though lamenting that the children in her family aren't speaking Miriwoong, 12a does not see Kriol as the problem, wishing instead they had competence in both Kriol and Miriwoong. This support for multicompetence was a recurring sentiment.

Qualitative survey respondents were asked to describe the languages spoken in Kununurra, and responses varied with regards to the language status of Kriol and Aboriginal English. Some described them as languages, with their own nuance and value, while others defined them as (usually deficient) forms of English: misuse or mispronunciation of English, a 'follow-on' from pidgin, a combination of languages including English vocabulary and Indigenous language structures, and as lacking the same grammatical patterns as English[14]. Kriol was also described as the most universal language for Indigenous people in Kununurra, and as a 'bridge' containing 'easy jumps' to other words, which can be used in education to support students learning SAE.

4.2.7.3. Challenges for Language

Many challenges for language maintenance and language programs were noted by participants, including: the large number of languages in Australia, the need for people with appropriate language knowledge and teaching skills, the need for funding, the unwillingness of some students to learn (from shyness, or family and cultural baggage they bring to the classroom), and the pressure to conform to the mainstream language. Furthermore, two non-Indigenous respondents answered that they found the Miriwoong language itself challenging to learn. 11b also describes her belief in a fundamental lack of respect for Indigenous people in Australia as an impediment to the prioritisation of language[15].

[12] 10c (MDWg teacher, Kriol speaker) on the difference between English, Kriol, and Miriwoong: *"We say for 'talk', well you say 'tok' igen, but to put him that Miriwoong word, you put 'woorlab' you know… that Miriwoong he more different than that Kriol."*

[13] 11d: "*For example, the word 'ignorant' like in Kriol it's thrown around as like, they're ignoring me, they're being ignorant… Standard English it's a different meaning."*

[14] A typical response to this question: *"Traditional Indigenous languages are a genuine language. Kriol is a language that began life as a corrupted form of English but eventually developed its own language structure. Aboriginal English appears to be just very lazy English, the sort of speech that any child develops without correction. Standard Australian English is the language that understood across the English-speaking world with agreed-upon structure and grammar."*

[15] 11b discussing supporting Indigenous languages by embedding them in curriculum, comparing Australia to New Zealand: *"in Australia, would be really hard because we've got all the different languages… But again, I guess it just comes from a place of like, respect, you know. New Zealand ultimately do have respect for their native people, which… I'm speaking for myself, but I don't see that respect in Australia."*

4.2.7.4. Government support for Language

Attitudes of participants varied regarding government support for Indigenous languages. Some believed the level of funding to be appropriate, especially in Kununurra and the Kimberley region, and one participant believed the high quality of the Miriwoong program indicates that it must receive sufficient funding. Others believed the level of funding woefully inadequate – for example, 12b stated that "*it is appalling that our local Language Centre has to scrape and scratch for funding on a constant basis when their work is so important".* The need for the government to listen and respect was described - 12b believed that understanding is 'filtering up', but that government is more concerned with *looking like* they care about culture than meaningfully prioritising it. Multiple participants outlined the importance of supporting Aboriginal organisations and 'cultural roles'.

Qualitative survey responses generally indicated the belief that government should support Indigenous languages. However, one respondent believed '*if people are passionate about it they can self fund'*. Another noted a disconnect between an ideal and reality: *'if I had unlimited funding, I would try to preserve, record and teach Indigenous languages to all Australians. In the real world, I suspect that such funding doesn't exist.*'

4.2.7.5. How to help Language

With regards to how to best support languages, many participants used the Miriwoong program as a benchmark, indicating a high level of satisfaction with the program and a desire to see similar programs more widely implemented. It was also reported that languages need to be respected, embedded in curriculum, and integrated into classrooms in practical ways (e.g. multilingual resources and labelling). Fun activities and songs were described as powerful tools for language learning, and 14a (Miriwoong teacher) described students asking her to continue playing games even when class has finished. The issue of funding was raised, however the need for motivated individuals who are committed to language teaching was also noted.

Qualitative survey responses also highlighted the need for funding and the success of the Miriwoong school program. It was suggested that all students should compulsorily learn local TILs in school, that adequate teacher training is needed, and that Indigenous people must be involved. It was also suggested resources such as apps may help non-Indigenous teachers review content with students.

4.2.7.6. How to help EAL/D students

There was a general sense that teachers do not have sufficient understanding of Indigenous languages and how to help EAL/D children, from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. Suggestions included that Kriol should be used for classroom management and connection, and that staff should undertake regular professional development in these areas. Kriol-speaking participants enjoyed giving examples of Kriol sentences which could be used in classrooms – for example, '*Ai! Wai kan yu lijin?*' ('Hey! Why won't you listen?') (10c) and '*Raita stori fo wat yu bin du yestadei* ('Write a story about

what you did yesterday') (10a). As outlined above, there was a recognition of the need for respect of the language competencies which students bring to the classroom. Some qualitative survey responses also addressed this topic, with one respondent noting that assuming Indigenous students know SAE is unfair[16], and another describing the role of Kriol and Aboriginal English as a bridge and a tool to support SAE development[17]. In addition, a number of Indigenous respondents drew a direct link between low school attendance and language use in the classroom[18].

Aboriginal and Islander Engagement Officers (AIEOs) and other Aboriginal support staff were frequently described as a crucial component of Indigenous student support both generally and with regards to language, playing a role as translators between students and classroom teachers, which 11d emphasizes is particularly important when teachers are new. Participants described links between Kriol use in the classroom and connection, engagement, and educational outcomes for students.

4.2.7.7. Teacher training

Respondents outlined the importance of both formal training and localised professional development. 12a believed that education staff should be trained with a 'broad brush' approach of awareness and respect while at university, and then have localised training about the importance of language and culture in the specific area where they work. Similarly, 13a noted the impracticality of learning sufficient language knowledge while at university, however believed that when one is established in a certain place it is important to learn the local languages, including Kriol[19]. 11d discussed the 'on the job' training that is required when new staff arrive with insufficient prior knowledge, resulting in miscommunication and over-correction of students *"…which might cause some behavioural issues, and other feelings of being misunderstood or feeling stupid or things like that, which are barriers to education"*. She suggested that the level of training varies, however more recent graduates seem to have better awareness. 11b expressed her frustration at the minimal training regarding Aboriginal language and EAL/D support in her TAFE training[20], and one Miriwoong teacher (12a) expressed her belief that teachers don't generally understand how to talk to Aboriginal children and need help to learn how to do this. Some respondents, including Miriwoong language teachers, outlined the

[16] "*Would we as educators expect other nationalities to speak only Australian English if it was not their first language? Why are we treating our Aboriginal students differently to any other student who's [sic] first language is not Australian English."*

[17] *"I think using Kriol and Aboriginal English enhances learning and supports students to learn standard Australian English. Using these languages bridges gaps in understanding."*

[18] E.g. 11c (Aboriginal support worker, Kriol speaker): "*That's what's missing in the schools. Because it's explained in modern English, when, if you had somebody in there that's listening and say, 'okay I gotta interpret this in Kriol', they would get it. 'Oh, I understand now, which one- what I need to do, and how to do it.' And that's where they're failing the kids in school. And that's what they want, hey, the government wants them to go to school, you know, 'go to school go to school', but there's nothing there to support these kids. Back 'em up."*

[19] 13a: "*Well if they was to study every Indigenous language they'd be in Uni forever [laughs] … I think if they're planning on being based in Kununurra for the rest of their life, then it's important to learn… But I think Kriol's the biggest one, 'cause it's like that broken down English."*

[20] 11b: "*Honestly there's nothing… I'm not sure, you know, studying teaching, like education at Uni, how much more that you would have, but I know for a Cert III or a Diploma it's only one unit…It's nowhere near enough".*

potential role of the Language Centre in cultural awareness and Kriol training, and one qualitative survey respondent noted that they had attended a course at the Language Centre, but they would like to receive more training.

5. Discussion

5.1. Research questions

This study asked two main research questions. The five sub-sections of the first question will be outlined individually below. However, the small sample size was a constraint on the interpretation of the results with regards to the second research question – that is, the relationship between attitudes and characteristics of participants – as the planned statistical tests could not be conducted. However, the responses of Indigenous participants were noted throughout (see Section 4), and although care should be taken in generalising from this small subset of a small sample, some differences were noted – namely, that Indigenous respondents tended to have more strongly positive attitudes towards Indigenous languages and multilingualism.

5.1.1. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding the Miriwoong language program?

The attitudes of education staff in Kununurra regarding the Miriwoong language program in schools and preschools were overwhelmingly positive. The quantitative and qualitative data both show that the majority of participants believe teaching Miriwoong in schools and preschools to be very important. Miriwoong interview participants mentioned practical communicative benefits to knowing Miriwoong language, while non-Miriwoong participants tended to emphasise the relational and respect impacts. Most believed that the program should be expanded within its current context, and that similar programs should be established in other contexts. However, these views were not unanimous – a few critical or negative views on the program were expressed in survey, and some challenges of running the program were outlined in interviews.

5.1.2. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding traditional Indigenous languages (TILs) in education in Australia?

Answers related to TILs were often given using the Miriwoong program as a frame of reference. Again, most responses were positive – most respondents believed everyone should learn the Indigenous language of where they lived and worked, and disagreed that the teaching these languages is impractical. Interview responses outlined some of the benefits and challenges of including traditional Indigenous languages in education in Australia.

As noted in the results, TILs were referred to as ‘genuine’ and ‘separate’ languages (in contrast to modern Indigenous languages), but they were also sometimes described as ‘dialects’ in both interviews and in qualitative responses from the online survey. Although dialects can be considered as fully formed linguistic systems (Dunn, 2001), it is possible that this reflects a belief that Indigenous languages are less legitimate than other languages. Given that some Australians still believe ‘Aboriginal’ is one language (Ellis et al., 2010), an underlying schema of TILs as dialects of ‘Aboriginal’ may persist in the public consciousness.

5.1.3. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding modern Indigenous languages in education in Australia?

Participants demonstrated mostly positive attitudes towards the status and role of Aboriginal English and Kriol in education, however descriptions of these varieties betrayed a lack of clarity and possibly underlying discomfort regarding their status. This may indicate that Kriol is in a process of legitimisation, whereby cultural significance is increasingly recognised, but linguistic legitimacy is still lagging (Jourdan, 2018). Kriol was commonly referred to as 'broken English', in line with the deficit descriptions which have commonly been used to refer to English-based creole languages (for examples, see Salmon and Menjívar, 2017; Ellis et al., 2010; Allen 1985). However, despite this, a majority of survey participants believed Aboriginal English and Kriol should be allowed in classroom, and that they can be used as a tool in the development of SAE and as a bridge to build connection and communication, in line with literature which describes it in similar terms (e.g. Allen, 1985). This is encouraging, given the importance of students' first languages, including contact varieties, for engagement and educational outcomes (HRSCATSIA, 2012; Oliver & Forrest, 2021). However, the persistence of some negative attitudes and this definitional confusion is of note.

5.1.4. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding multilingualism in Australia?

Multilingualism was acknowledged to be a challenge by some, due to the large number of Indigenous languages in need of support and the need for translation services. However, Kununurra's multicultural nature and attitude was a frequent point of pride in interviews. Most respondents believed Australia and Kununurra to be multilingual, and thought it was very useful to speak more than one language. Qualitative responses showed awareness of the wide variety of language spoken in Kununurra and around Australia (Indigenous and non-Indigenous), and language was considered an important part of identity both in Kununurra and nationally.

The practical need for SAE competence in modern Australia was described by respondents, as has been recognised elsewhere (Dunn 2001; Kalantzis et al., 1989; Kral & Ellis, 2019), alongside an appreciation of the facilitatory role of Kriol, and the benefits of TILs in term of connection, identity. and respect. The results of this study therefore support a 'three-way' model in which TILs, modern varieties, and SAE are all valued and incorporated into education programs (Angelo & Carter, 2015). Results, and interview responses in particular, underscored various recommendations which could be incorporated in this kind of model, including a number of suggestions which have been previously made in literature regarding flexible multilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge, 2011) in order to elevate the status of language so as to positively impact motivation, self-concept, and literacy (August & Shanahan, 2008). These suggestions included: valuing and fostering multicompetence through providing opportunities to use and contrast multiple competencies (Duarte, 2020; Dunn, 2001; Major, 2018); partnering with families to incorporate language, for example, multilingual signage (Major,

2018); treating linguistic skills as a right and a resource, not a problem to be solved (Baker, 2001); and supporting language play and codeswitching (Kibler, 2010; Pomerantz & Bell, 2007).

5.1.5. What are the attitudes of educators in Kununurra regarding teacher training in these areas in Australia?

The majority of survey and interview participants noted that training about Indigenous languages was insufficient, however it was further EAL/D support training which staff most desired more of. Most respondents believed that their place of work was the best place to learn about both of these topics, and the combination of professional development in their place of work and training from local Indigenous people was the most popular option (n=6, 50% of responses) for both EAL/D student support and Indigenous language awareness training. Interview responses demonstrate a belief that the place of work and local Indigenous people should provide location-specific information, however formal training can provide a 'broad brush' (12b) background of awareness and respect.

5.2. Australian language policy and disconnection

The results of this study show that respondents hold a view of language as a point of connection to both land and people, with benefits for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, and for the whole community. Similar views have also been described elsewhere, including in various Australian government policy documents – for example, the very name of the 'Our Land Our Languages' report (HRSCATSIA, 2012) signifies the fundamental connection between Country and languages. Despite this apparent understanding of their importance, government support for Indigenous language has been described as inconsistent, short-term, and precarious, with a focus on English literacy (Ellis et al., 2010; Mahboob et al., 2017; Olawksy, 2020). For example, English-only instruction quotas were mandated in NT schools in response to the implementation of national standardised literacy and numeracy testing (NAPLAN) in 2008 which revealed low English literacy levels in remote Indigenous students. This effectively ended the bilingual programs operating in a number of schools (Nicholls, 2005). Although there are some mechanisms in place to support children who don't speak SAE at home, such as the crucial role of AIEOs as described by many interview and survey respondents, without serious first language support, these children will continue to be disadvantaged.

Although some interview participants believed government support and funding for Indigenous languages is adequate, some expressed frustration about the degree and nature of government support. For example, 12b explained her belief that "*even through the government talks the talk, that they don't actually walk the walk".* She states that there is a lot of "*dialogue around making sure that the culture's given importance and relevance but… a lot of what's done is just to make it look like it is and not actually do it".* Some other interview participants were unsure whether the government understood the importance of language or not. This was mirrored in the quantitative results, in which the most common response to a question regarding the degree of government support for languages

was in the middle of the scale. The results of this study therefore show that education staff perceive a disconnect in government policy between recognised needs and actual support.

If language is connection (Figure 32), then a reverse can be hypothesized. A lack of language is *disconnection* – from land and from people, for all people, resulting in lessened identity, diversity, and unity/reconciliation (Figure 33). Thus, language policy in Australia can be seen as being historically not only characterised by disconnection (between stated goals and implementation, and between communities' desires and actual support provided), but as *promoting* disconnection, between people and the land, and between different people.

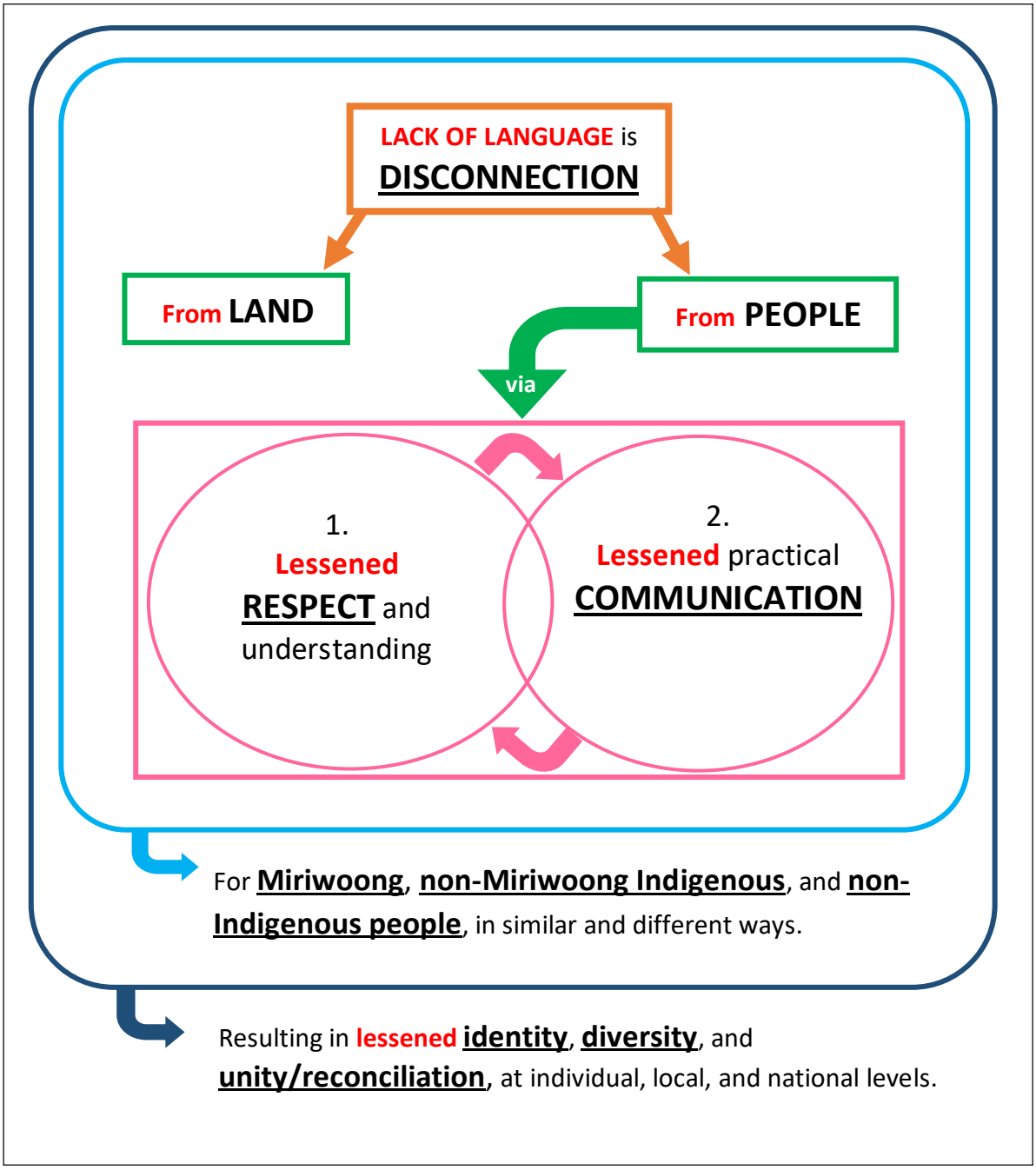


Figure 33: Reverse Framework, representing relationships between key themes from the qualitative results, reframed with regards to disconnection instead of connection.

The results of this study indicate a desire and need for many of the same proposed recommendations in the Our Land Our Languages report (HRSCATSIA, 2012), among other policy documents. That it has been almost 10 years since the Our Land Our Languages report was produced and yet education staff are still describing many of the same issues and needs indicates that the recommendations have not yet been implemented satisfactorily. Successive Australian governments have failed to fully implement policy goals for both Indigenous languages and English literacy rates in Indigenous students, making it clear that the government either has not understood or has not prioritised the potential positive impacts of language on health and education outcomes, which could well be interpreted as tokenism (Kalantzis et al., 1989; Lo Bianco, 2004; Mahboob et al., 2017; Olawsky, 2020a). However, recent policy has shifted accountability for low achievement away from students who 'fail' in the education system (Wigglesworth & Lasagabaster, 2011), and instead onto policies and teaching practices which do not cater for their needs (Shay & Oliver, 2021). This attitude was echoed by interview participant 11c, who stated that, despite claiming to want to help Indigenous students, the government fails Indigenous students by not adequately supporting their language needs.

Ultimately, Indigenous students, who are some of Australia's most vulnerable young people (Ellis et al., 2010), are the losers with regards to disconnect between policy and reality. However, there is hope - 12b stated that understanding of the importance of language was 'filtering up' to the government, and the recently announced increase in funding for Indigenous languages as part of the updated 2020 Closing the Gap targets (Office for the Arts, 2021) seems to support this assessment. However, long-term results from and degree of commitment remain to be seen.

5.3. Whose land, whose language? Insider/outsider dynamics and utility

A key consideration in any research is that of the insider/outsider dynamic, linked to a desire for objectivity on the one hand, and necessary connection with participants on the other. Although research methodologies often assume the researcher is a neutral outsider, this is not always possible, particularly in an Indigenous context in which reciprocal relationships are paramount (Smith, 1999).

An adjacent notion of insider and outsider dynamics can be applied to Indigenous language education. The results of this research described reasons for all people to learn Indigenous languages, as well as some reasons specific to certain groups of people. For example, the heritage and family connection Miriwoong people have to the Miriwoong language frames them as insiders and non-Miriwoong people as outsiders. Alternatively, all Indigenous students can be positioned as insiders and non-Indigenous as outsiders, for example with regards to the role of Indigenous language in raising the prestige of Indigenous language and culture in educational contexts. However, many interview and survey responses construed all students as insiders with regards to certain reasons to learn Indigenous language: connection to the land, and the communication and respect benefits which come with the relationships which are built (Figure 34), a view parallel to that outlined in the foreword to the Our Land Our Languages document (HRSCATSIA, 2012). This is not to say that the experience of

learning will be the same for all students, but rather that this is not an issue exclusive to Indigenous students (as 11d notes that some people in cities seem to think). Indigenous language loss has been described as harmful to all Australians, for example due to knowledge encoded in language about land and culture (Wigglesworth & Lasagabaster, 2011), and it follows therefore that language reclamation and revitalisation is the concern of all Australians.

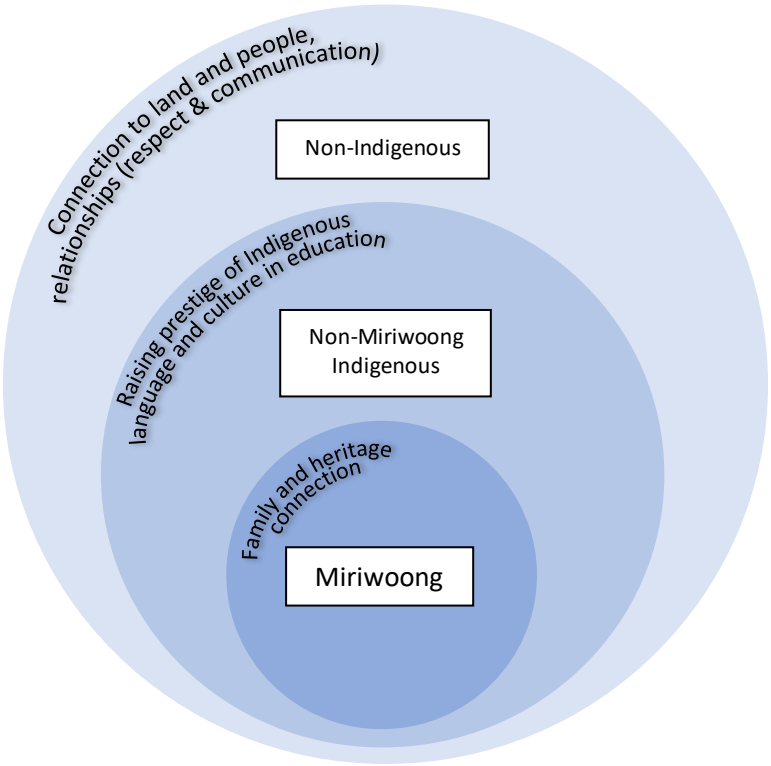


Figure 34: Insider/outsider positioning of Miriwoong, non-Miriwoong Indigenous, and non-Indigenous students with regard to the benefits of Indigenous language learning. All people experience benefits relating to connection to land and people; all Indigenous people experience benefits relating to the raising of prestige of Indigenous language in educational settings; and, Miriwoong people experience particular benefits relating to family and heritage connection.

Literature suggests that language of instruction, standardised testing, and other educational norms in Australia contribute to an environment in which Aboriginal students are often outsiders (Macqueen et al., 2019), so Indigenous language education may have a role to play in counterbalancing this in order to equalise schooling opportunities and engagement. However, a number of interview participants stated that non-Indigenous children appeared most engaged in Miriwoong classes. Furthermore, it was considered important for all students to learn Indigenous languages, including some motivations specific to non-Indigenous students, such as the role this plays in understanding and reconciliation (ACARA, 2011; HRSCATSIA, 2012).

One way in which Indigenous students can be framed as outsiders in schooling is through experiences of stereotyping and racism. Speakers of multiple languages or low prestige languages such as creoles are often evaluated by others according to preconceptions about these languages (Purdie et al. 2002),

and experiences of stereotyping and racism can in turn cause Indigenous students to form negative attitudes towards Indigenous languages (Moodie et al., 2019). It has been suggested that language attitudes and achievement are in a cyclical relationship, and can build on each other, either positively or negatively (Baker, 1992), and a similar relationship can be postulated for language attitudes and racism. The teaching of Indigenous languages has been suggested to reduce racism in the community (Jacobsen & Seiver, 2017), presumably though the mechanism of more positive attitudes. Interview results of this study support this theory, however further research is required to further understand this relationship.

Another issue which frequently came up was the question of utility – what makes language useful, for whom, and in what ways. Survey results show that respondents believed it to be very useful to learn Indigenous languages, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students (though slightly more so for Indigenous students), and that it will have a positive impact of the future of students in Kununurra. Survey results and interviews indicate that Kriol is generally considered in terms of the *'Connection to people via fulfilling practical communicative needs*' pathway of the Framework (Figure 32), in contrast to traditional Indigenous languages which were more often considered in terms of the '*Connection to people via facilitating respect and understanding'* pathway. One survey respondent noted that they do not believe teaching Indigenous language to be useful, but rather a language "more widely used" would have greater benefit for students. This implies a concept of usefulness tied to geographic scope, rather than a concept of usefulness grounded in a specific location or relationships with specific people. However, some interview respondents made a similar observation with an opposite conclusion – that to learn a foreign language, with a wider geographic scope, was in fact less useful than learning the language of the land and culture surrounding students. Furthermore, survey results indicate that the majority of respondents believed Indigenous language has a role to play in the national identity of Australia, reconciliation, and Closing the Gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, as described in policy documents (ACARA, 2011; HRSCATSIA, 2012). These contributions are certainly distinct from wide geographic communicative capability, however the role of Indigenous language in contributing to these goals cannot be considered as anything less than being of the utmost utility for Indigenous students, non-Indigenous students, and Australia as a whole.

5.4. Future applications and concluding remarks

The results of this study speak to language and education policy debates in Australia, including the issues of disconnection, insider/outsider dynamics, the valuing of students' multilingual resources, identity, reconciliation, and Closing the Gap. These results are exploratory and thus by nature preliminary, and a much larger sample size would be required to effectively generalise, particularly with regards to the relationship between language attitudes and the characteristics of education staff. This issue of sample size was the main limitation of the study, as statistical tests could not be

conducted. In addition, as outlined in the methodology, there are some limitations related to the methods of data collection used, however the mixed methods design helped to minimise these issues (Garrett et al., 2006; Oppenheim 1992, Baker 1992).

Potential applications of the study, based on the recommendations of participants, include: expansion of the Miriwoong language program (expansion in time, i.e. more classes per week; expansion in location, i.e. bush trips; and expansion in students, i.e. high school classes, outdoor community classes), incorporation of Kriol into the classroom, and provision of more training regarding Indigenous languages and EAL/D student support – particularly locally, and with input from Indigenous people. As this research was an exploratory case study, there is a wide range of extremely valuable follow-on research which could be conducted to focus and verify these findings, including repetition with a larger sample of education staff, and repetition over time to track changes in attitudes. Another way to expand this case study would be to include more categories of participants, such as students, as well as parents or other community members. Another valuable follow-on to this research would be a second round of fieldwork, revisiting and re-evaluating the results with Miriwoong language teachers and other education staff, in order to recontextualise and verify the findings. This would help to ensure that they are an accurate representation of the views of education staff, as well as possibly providing additional data.

Quantitative and qualitative results showed that the attitudes of education staff in Kununurra were positive towards the Miriwoong program, traditional and modern Indigenous languages, and multilingualism in Australia and in Kununurra. They also showed a variety of perspectives regarding the definition and description of traditional and modern Indigenous languages, the degree of support these languages receive from the government, the challenges for Indigenous languages in education settings, and how to best support these languages and those who speak them. In particular, views on the Miriwoong program were very positive, while views on Aboriginal English/Kriol were mixed – despite the use of phrases such as 'broken English', the majority of participants saw valuable roles for these varieties in educational contexts.

The framework of language as connection to land and to people, in various ways for various people, with various positive results, was established based on the interview data but also served as a useful framework for the interpretation of the survey responses. Given the historical disconnect between Indigenous language policy and the multilingual reality of students' needs, the role of education staff as enactors of implicit and explicit policy is crucially important. It is therefore encouraging that the overall attitudes of education staff in Kununurra towards multilingualism and Indigenous languages in education were so positive – that the positive impacts of connection were generally recognised, and considered worth prioritising. This is a helpful starting point for what will hopefully be an expanding field of research into this crucially important component of Indigenous education in Australia.

Reference List

Albury, N. J. (2016). An old problem with new directions: Māori language revitalisation and the policy ideas of youth. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *17*(2), 161–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2016.1147117

Allen, M. (1985) Attitudes to language in a bilingual program. The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 13(5). 51-56. Cambridge University Press.

Angelo, D., & Carter, N. (2015). Schooling within shifting langscapes: Educational responses in complex Indigenous language contact ecologies. In A. Yiakoumetti (Ed.), Multilingualism and language education. Sociolinguistic and pedagogical perspectives from Commonwealth countries. (pp. 119–140). Publisher: Cambridge University Press.

August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.). (2008). *Developing reading and writing in second-language learners: Lessons from the report of the National Literacy Panel on language-minority children and youth*. Routledge.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016) *Kununurra*, 2016 Census QuickStats, https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC50792

Australia Bureau of Statistics. (2021). *Schools*, 2020. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/education/schools/latest-release

Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. (2011). *The shape of the Australian Curriculum: Languages*. ACARA.

Australian Productivity Commission. (2014). *Overcoming Indigenous disadvantage: Key indicators 2014: report.*

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL) (2005). *National Indigenous Languages Survey Report 2005 (NILS1)*. Canberra: Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Multilingual Matters. //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/004180918

Barlo, S., Boyd, W. (Bill) E., Hughes, M., Wilson, S., & Pelizzon, A. (2021). Yarning as protected space: Relational accountability in research. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *17*(1), 40–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180120986151

Bell, J. (2013). Language attitudes and language revival/survival. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *34*(4), 399–410. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.794812

Bradley, D. (2019). Resilience for Minority Languages. In G. Hogan-Brun & B. O'Rourke (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities* (pp. 509–530). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54066-9

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bulbeck. (2012). *Imagining the Future: Young Australians on Sex, Love and Community*. University of Adelaide.

Burgess, C., Tennent, C., Vass, G., Guenther, J., Lowe, K., & Moodie, N. (2019). A systematic review of pedagogies that support, engage and improve the educational outcomes of Aboriginal students. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 46(2), 297–318. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-019-00315-5

Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. E. (2008). Cultural Continuity as a Protective Factor Against Suicide in First Nations Youth. *Horizons: A Special Issue on Aboriginal Youth, Hope or Heartbreak: Aboriginal Youth and Canada's Future.* 10(1), 68–72.

Clyne, M. (2011). Three is Too Many in Australia. In C. Hélot & M. Ó Laoire (Eds.), *Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible* (pp. 174–187). Multilingual Matters.

Coff, K. (2021) Learning on and from Country: Teaching by incorporating Indigenous Relational worldviews. In Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (eds) *Indigenous Education in Australia: Learning and Teaching for Deadly Futures (1st Ed.)*. Routledge. ISBN 9780367207755

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2011). Ideologies and Interactions in ultilingual Education:What Can an Ecological Approach Tell Us about Bilingual Pedagogy? In C. Hélot & M. Ó Laoire (Eds.), Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible (pp. 3–21). Multilingual Matters.

de Winter, J. C. F., Dodou, D., & Wieringa, P. A. (2009). Exploratory Factor Analysis With Small Sample Sizes. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, *44*(2), 147–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/00273170902794206

Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications (DITRDC); Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS); & Australian National Univeristy (ANU). (2020). *National Indigenous Languages Report (NILS3).* Commonwealth of Australia.

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. (2020). Closing the Gap Report. *Commonwealth of Australia*, 108.

Disbray, S. (2016). Spaces for learning: Policy and practice for indigenous languages in a remote context. *Language and Education*, *30*(4), 317–336. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2015.1114629

Disbray, S., & Loakes, D. (2013). Writing Aboriginal English & Creoles: Five case studies in Australian education contexts. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, *36*(3), 285–301. https://doi.org/10.1075/aral.36.3.04dis

Disbray, S., & Wigglesworth, G. (2018). Indigenous Children's Language Practices in Australia. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities. (Pp. 357-381)*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dixon, S. (2021). Multilingual Repertoires at Play: Structure and Function in Reported Speech Utterances of Alyawarr Children. *Languages*, *6*(2), 79. https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6020079

Djité, P. J. (2011). Language Policy in Australia: What Goes Up Must Come Down? In C. Norrby & J. Hajek (Eds.), *Uniformity and diversity in language policy: Global perspectives* (pp. 53–67). Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methodologies*. Oxford University Press.

Duarte, J. (2020). Translanguaging in the context of mainstream multilingual education. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *17*(2), 232–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2018.1512607

Dunn, M. (2001). Aboriginal Literacy: Reading the Tracks. In *The Reading Teacher Vol.54: Embracing Pluralism Worldwide, Part 1: Literacy Is International*, 54(7), 678–687.

Ellis, E., Gogolin, I., & Clyne, M. (2010). The Janus face of monolingualism: A comparison of German and Australian language education policies. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *11*(4), 439–460. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2010.550544

Fitzpatrick, E. F. M., Macdonald, G., Martiniuk, A. L. C., D'Antoine, H., Oscar, J., Carter, M., Lawford, T., & Elliott, E. J. (2017). The Picture Talk Project: Starting a Conversation with Community Leaders on Research with Remote Aboriginal Communities of Australia. *BMC Medical Ethics*, *18*(1), 34. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12910-017-0191-z

Field, A. (2013). Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS statistics (4th edition). SAGE Publications.

Galletta, A. (2013). *Mastering the semi-structured interview and beyond: From research design to analysis and publication.* New York University Press.

Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2006). *Investigating language attitudes : Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance* (Ebook central). Cardiff, Wales.

Geia, L. K., Hayes, B., & Usher, K. (2013). Yarning/Aboriginal storytelling: Towards an understanding of an Indigenous perspective and its implications for research practice. *Contemporary Nurse*, *46*(1), 13–17. https://doi.org/10.5172/conu.2013.46.1.13

Goldenberg, C., Rueda, R.S., & August, D. (2007) Sociocultural contexts and literacy development In August, D., & Shanahan, T. (Eds.) *Developing Reading and Writing in Second-Language Learners: Lessons from the Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth.* Published by Routledge for the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, edited by Taylor & Francis Group.

Grenoble, L.A., and Whaley, L.J. (2006). Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization. Cambridge University Press.

Harris, J. W. (1991). Kriol—The creation of a new language. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (1st ed., pp. 195–203). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620881.014

Harzing, A., Brown, M., Köster, K. & Zhao, S. (2012) Response Style Differences in Cross-National Research: Dispositional and Situational Determinants. *Management International Review*, 52(3) pp. 341-363 Published by: Springer Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41494976

Hélot, C., & Ó Laoire, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible*. Multilingual Matters.

Hinton, L. (2011). Language revitalization and language pedagogy: New teaching and learning strategies. *Language and Education*, *25*(4), 307–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2011.577220

Holm, J. (2000). *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139164153

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs. (2012). *Our land our languages: Language learning in Indigenous communities.* Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Jacobsen, B., & Seiver, A. (2017). Chapter 2: Aboriginal languages. In *Transforming the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the NSW Government: Aboriginal Affairs NSW research agenda* 2018-2023. Aboriginal Affairs NSW, Department of Education.

Jourdan, C. (2018). The Shades of Legitimacy of Solomon Islands Pijin. In J. Knörr & W. Trajano Filho (Eds.), Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity: Language, Culture, Identity (pp. 78–95). BRILL. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004363397

Kalantzis, M., Cope, B., & Slade, D. (1989). Minority languages and dominant culture: Issues of education, assessment and social equity. London: Falmer.

Kendall, E., Sunderland, N., Barnett, L., Nalder, G., & Matthews, C. (2011). Beyond the Rhetoric of Participatory Research in Indigenous Communities: Advances in Australia Over the Last Decade. Qualitative Health Research, 21(12), 1719–1728. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732311418124

Kibler, A. (2010). Writing through two languages: First language expertise in a language minority classroom. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, *19*(3), 121–142. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JSLW.2010.04.001

Kickett-Tucker, C. S. (2009). Moorn (Black)? Djardak (White)? How come I don't fit in Mum? Exploring the racial identity of Australian Aboriginal children and youth. *Health Sociology Review*, 18(1), 119–136. https://doi.org/10.5172/hesr.18.1.119

Kickett-Tucker, C (2021) Cultural learnings: Foundations for Aboriginal student wellbeing. In Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (eds) *Indigenous Education in Australia: Learning and Teaching for Deadly Futures (1st Ed.)*. Routledge. ISBN 9780367207755

Kofod, F. M. (2020). Miriwoong lexical and text database. (Unpublished Internal document, MDWg)

Lee, M. C. Y. (2016). Finding cultural harmony in interviewing: The wisdom of the middle way. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, *39*(1), 38–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2015.1019455

Lo Bianco, J. (1987). The national policy on languages. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10(2), 23–32. https://doi.org/10.1075/aral.10.2.03bia

Lo Bianco, J. (2004). *Multiculturalism and Language Policy in education: From clever to bland*. Migration Action XXVI(2), 8-13.

Loakes, D., Moses, K., Wigglesworth, G., Simpson, J., & Billington, R. (2013). Children's language input: A study of a remote multilingual Indigenous Australian community. *Multilingua*, *32*(5). https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2013-0032

Macqueen, S., Knoch, U., Wigglesworth, G., Nordlinger, R., Singer, R., McNamara, T., & Brickle, R. (2019). The impact of national standardized literacy and numeracy testing on children and teaching staff in remote Australian Indigenous communities. *Language Testing*, *36*(2), 265–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265532218775758

Mahboob, A., Jacobsen, B., Kemble, M., & Xu, Z. C. (2017). Money for language: Indigenous language funding in Australia. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *18*(4), 422–441. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2017.1331497

Major, J. (2018). Bilingual Identities in Monolingual Classrooms: Challenging the Hegemony of English. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *53*(2), 193–208. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-018-0110-y

Marmion, D., Obata, K., & Troy, J. (2014). *Community, identity, wellbeing: The report of the Second National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS2)*. 79.

Matthews, P. H. (2007). The concise Oxford dictionary of linguistics, 2nd Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780199202720.001.0001

Mcgrath, P., Rawson, N., & Adidi, L. (2013). Challenges associated with qualitative interviewing for Indigenous research: Insights from experience. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, *7*(2), 260–270. https://doi.org/10.5172/mra.2013.7.2.260

McKay, G. R. (2007). Language maintenance, shift—And planning. In G. Leitner & I. G. Malcolm (Eds.), *The habitat of Australia's aboriginal languages: Past, present and future (*pp. 102–130). Mouton de Gruyter.

McKay, G. R. (2011). Policy and Indigenous languages in Australia. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, *34*(3), 297–319. https://doi.org/10.1075/aral.34.3.03mck

Meakins, F., & Wigglesworth, G. (2013). How much input is enough? Correlating comprehension and child language input in an endangered language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *34*(2), 171–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.733010

Meehan, D. (2017). Starting Out at Bamyili: Factors Specific to the Development of the Kriol Program. In B. C. Devlin, S. Disbray, & N. R. F. Devlin (Eds.), History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory (Vol. 12, pp. 61–71). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-2078-0

Migge, B. (2020). Researching endangered languages: Critical reflections on field and documentary linguistics. In B. Migge, *Colonial and Decolonial Linguistics* (pp. 159–177). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198793205.003.0010

Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring (2019). *Miriwoong woorlang yawoorroonga-woorr - A Miriwoong lexicon for all*. Second Edition. MDWg, Kununurra.

Moodie, N., Maxwell, J., & Rudolph, S. (2019). The impact of racism on the schooling experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students: A systematic review. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *46*(2), 273–295. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-019-00312-8

Mufwene, S. S. (2020). Decolonial linguistics as paradigm shift: A commentary. In S. S. Mufwene, *Colonial and Decolonial Linguistics* (pp. 289–300). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198793205.003.0018

Mühlhäusler, P. (1991). Overview of the pidgin and creole languages of Australia. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (1st ed., pp. 159–173). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620881.011

National Health and Medical Research Council (Australia). (2018). *Ethical conduct in research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities: Guidelines for researchers and stakeholders.*

National NAIDOC Committee. (2017). 2017 NAIDOC Week theme announced - Our Languages Matter. NAIDOC. https://www.naidoc.org.au/news/2017-naidoc-week-theme-announced-our-languages-matter

National NAIDOC Committee. (2021). 2021 Theme - Heal Country. NAIDOC. https://www.naidoc.org.au/get-involved/2021-theme

Nations Online Project, (n.d.) *Map of Australia*. https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/australia-political-map.htm#google_vignette Accessed 26th June 2021

Ndimande, B. S. (2012). Decolonizing Research in Postapartheid South Africa: The Politics of Methodology. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *18*(3), 215–226. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800411431557

Nguyen, B., Oliver, R., & Rochecouste, J. (2015). Embracing plurality through oral language. *Language and Education*, *29*(2), 97–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.977294

Nicholls, C. (2005). Death by a Thousand Cuts: Indigenous Language Bilingual Education Programmes in the Northern Territory of Australia, 1972–1998. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *8*(2–3), 160–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050508668604

Norrby, C., & Hajek, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Uniformity and diversity in language policy: Global perspectives*. Multilingual Matters.

Office for the Arts (2019). *2019 International Year of Indigenous Languages*. Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communication. https://www.arts.gov.au/what-we-do/indigenous-arts-and-languages/2019-international-year-indigenous-languages

Office for the Arts (2021, August 8). Over $22 million to preserve Indigenous languages | Office for the Arts. Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications. https://www.arts.gov.au/departmental-news/over-22-million-preserve-indigenous-languages

Olawsky, K. J. (2020a). *Concerns over funding for Australian Indigenous languages*. Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring, Kununurra. http://mirima.org.au/press-release-concerns-over-federal-funding-for-australian-indigenous-languages/

Olawsky, K. J. (2020b) Coverbs/Uninflecting Verbs, in *Miriwoong grammar* (Unpublished internal document, MDWg).

Oliver, R., & Exell, M. (2020). Identity, translanguaging, linguicism and racism: The experience of Australian Aboriginal people living in a remote community. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *23*(7), 819–832. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1713722

Oliver, R. & Forrest, S. (2021) Supporting the diverse language background of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. In Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (eds) *Indigenous Education in Australia: Learning and Teaching for Deadly Futures (1st Ed.)*. Routledge. ISBN 9780367207755

Oliver, R., and Y. Haig. 2005. "Teacher Perceptions of Student Speech: A Quantitative Study." *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 28 (2): 44-59.

Oliver, R., Rochecouste, J., Vanderford, S., & Grote, E. (2011). Teacher awareness and understandings about Aboriginal English in Western Australia. Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, 34(1), 60–74. https://doi.org/10.1075/aral.34.1.04oli

Oliver, R., Wigglesworth, G., Angelo, D., & Steele, C. (2021). Translating translanguaging into our classrooms: Possibilities and challenges. *Language Teaching Research*, *25*(1), 134–150. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168820938822

Oppenheim, A. N. (1992). *Questionnaire design, interviewing, and attitude measurement*. Pinter Publishers, St. Martin's Press.

Papps, E., & Ramsden, I. (1996). Cultural Safety in Nursing: The New Zealand Experience. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, *8*(5), 491–497. https://doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/8.5.491

Pascoe, B., & Australian Institute of Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). (2012). The little red yellow black book: an introduction to indigenous Australia (3rd ed.). Aboriginal Studies Press.

Phillips, J (2021) Foundations of teacher knowledge in Indigenous education. In Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (eds) *Indigenous Education in Australia: Learning and Teaching for Deadly Futures (1st Ed.)*. Routledge. ISBN 9780367207755

Pomerantz, A., & Bell, N. D. (2007). Learning to play, playing to learn: FL learners as multicompetent language users. *Applied Linguistics*, *28*(4), 556–578. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amm044

Ponsonnet, M. (2010). "Brainwash from English"?: Barunga Kriol Speakers' Views on Their Own Language. *Anthropological Linguistics*, *52*(2), 160–183. https://doi.org/10.1353/anl.2010.0010

Purdie, N., Oliver, R., Collard, G., & Rochecouste, J. (2002). Attitudes of Primary School Australian Aboriginal Children to their Linguistic Codes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *21*(4), 410–421. https://doi.org/10.1177/026192702237957

Rhydwen, M. (1995). Kriol is the color of Thursday. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 113(1). https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1995.113.113

Romaine, S. (2007). Preserving Endangered Languages: Preserving Endangered Languages. Language and Linguistics Compass, 1(1–2), 115–132.

Russell, F. M. (2005). A pilot study of the quality of informed consent materials for Aboriginal participants in clinical trials. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, *31*(8), 490–494. https://doi.org/10.1136/jme.2002.002279

Salmon, W., & Menjívar, J. G. (2019). Setting and Language Attitudes in a Creole Context. *Applied Linguistics*, *40*(2), 248–264. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx017

Sandefur, John. (1986). Kriol of North Australia a Language Coming of Age. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Sandefur, J. (1991). A sketch of the structure of Kriol. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (1st ed., pp. 204–212). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620881.015

Schultz, R., Quinn, S. J., Abbott, T., Cairney, S., & Yamaguchi, J. (2019). Quantification of Interplaying Relationships Between Wellbeing Priorities of Aboriginal People in Remote Australia. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, *10*(3). https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2019.10.3.8165

Schultze-Berndt, E., Meakins, F., & Angelo, D. (2013). Kriol. In: Michaelis, Susanne Maria & Maurer, Philippe & Haspelmath, Martin & Huber, Magnus (eds.) *The survey of pidgin and creole languages*. Volume 1: English-based and Dutch-based Languages. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed from https://apics-online.info/surveys/25

Sharpe, M.C. (1985). Kriol - an Australian language resource. In *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.4, 177-194. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

Shay, M. (2017). Emerging ideas for innovation in Indigenous education: A research synthesis of Indigenous educative roles in mainstream and flexi schools. *Teaching Education*, *28*(1), 12–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2016.1210594

Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (2021) Introduction. In Shay, M. & Oliver, R. (eds) *Indigenous Education in Australia: Learning and Teaching for Deadly Futures (1st Ed.)*. Routledge. ISBN 9780367207755

Shohamy, E. G. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. Routledge.

Silviken, A., & Kvernmo, S. (2007). Suicide attempts among indigenous Sami adolescents and majority peers in Arctic Norway: Prevalence and associated risk factors. Journal of Adolescence, 30(4), 613–626. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2006.06.004

Simons, H. (2009). *Case Study Research in Practice.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446268322

Simpson, J., & Wigglesworth, G. (2019). Language diversity in Indigenous Australia in the 21st century. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *20*(1), 67–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2018.1503389

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies*. Zed books, London.

Southern Cross University (2019) *Gnibi Wandarahn: Innovate reconciliation action plan March 2010-March 2021*. Southern Cross University.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. P. (2002). *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED475048.pdf

Walker, M., Fredericks, B., Mills, K., & Anderson, D. (2014). "Yarning" as a Method for Community-Based Health Research With Indigenous Women: The Indigenous Women's Wellness Research Program. *Health Care for Women International*, *35*(10), 1216–1226. https://doi.org/10.1080/07399332.2013.815754

Walker, U. (2011). Linguistic Diversity as a Bridge to Adjustment: Making the Case for Bi/Multilingualism as a Settlement Outcome in New Zealand. In C. Hélot & M. Ó Laoire (Eds.), *Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible* (pp. 149–173). Multilingual Matters.

Walsh, M. (1991). Overview of indigenous languages of Australia. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Language in Australia* (1st ed., pp. 27–48). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620881.003

Wigglesworth, G., & Lasagabaster, D. (2011). Indigenous Languages, Bilingual Education and English in Australia. In C. Norrby & J. Hajek (Eds.), *Uniformity and diversity in language policy: Global perspectives* (pp. 141–156). Multilingual Matters.

Zeegers, M., Muir, W., & Lin, Z. (2003). The Primacy of the Mother Tongue: Aboriginal literacy and Non-Standard English. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *32*, 51–60. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1326011100003823

Appendices

Appendix 1 – approvals

1.1. CUREC approval (23/3/2021)

The attitudes of educators towards traditional and modern Indigenous languages (a case study in Kununurra, Western Australia) - reference ED-CIA-21-140

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants. I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

Please continue to follow all current guidance issued by CUREC during the pandemic, notably COVID-19: CUREC guidance on research involving human participants, https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/coronavirus

If relevant please also check the CUREC website for their best practice research guides, https://researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/resources/bpg

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

With kind regards,

Dr. Sandra Mathers
Department of Education
University of Oxford

Dr. Sandra Mathers
Senior Researcher
Department of Education
University of Oxford

1.2. Mirima Council Board (MDWg) approval (4/5/2021)

I am happy to confirm that your research proposal was approved by our Board yesterday.

We are looking forward to working further with you!

See you soon,

KJ

Mirima Council Aboriginal Corporation
Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre (MDWg)
Dr. Knut J. Olawsky
CEO and Senior Linguist
P.O. Box 2420
Kununurra, WA 6743
Phone: (08) 9169 1029
E-mail: manager@mirima.org.au

www.mirima.org.au



MIRIMA DAWANG WOORLAB-GERRING LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CENTRE





1.3. CEWA approval (25/5/2021)

THE ATTITUDES OF EDUCATORS TOWARDS TRADTIONAL AND MODERN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES (A CASE STUDY IN KUNUNURRA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA) – CEWA REFERENCE RP2021/17

Thank you for your completed application received 20 April 2021 where your project will take a case study approach to determining attitudes of educators to modern and traditional Indigenous languages.

I give in principle support for [redacted] to participate in this valuable study. However, consistent with Catholic Education Western Australia (CEWA) policy, participation in your research project will be the decision of the individual principal and staff members. A copy of this letter must be provided to the principal when requesting their participation in the research.

The conditions of CEWA approval are as follows:

1. A final copy of the survey questions are to be provided to CEWA, if they differ from the current draft provided.
2. Given the very small number of schools involved, any published information which either directly or inferentially identifies the school, must be discussed with the principal.

Responsibility for quality control of ethics and methodology of the proposed research resides with the institution supervising the research. CEWA notes that the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee has granted permission for the duration of this research project (Reference Number: ED-CA-21-140).

Any changes to the proposed methodology will need to be submitted for CEWA approval prior to implementation. The focus and outcomes of your research project are of interest to CEWA. It is therefore a condition of approval that the research findings of this study are forwarded to CEWA.

Further enquiries may be directed to John Nelson at john.nelson@cewa.edu.au or (08) 6380 5313.

I wish you all the best with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Debra Sayce
Executive Director

Catholic Education Western Australia Limited | (08) 6380 5200 | www.cewa.edu.au
50 Ruislip Street Leederville WA 6007 | PO Box 198 Leederville WA 6903 | ABN: 47 634 504 135

Appendix 2 – Survey consent and recruitment material example

2.1. Online survey consent and questions

"Thank you for taking this survey!
Please read this information carefully. You will need to confirm that you've read it before you can start the survey.

RESEARCH INFORMATION

General Information

This study is about the thoughts and opinions of teachers and other education staff in Kununurra, about multilingualism and Indigenous languages in schools and preschools in Australia.
The main researcher is (*name).* I am a Masters student at the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. Professor Victoria Murphy is supervising this research.
To do the survey, you will need to answer some demographic questions about yourself, and then answer the survey questions. Some of these questions are multiple-choice, and some are open-response. This should take about 15 minutes.

Do I have to take part?

No, this survey is voluntary - you don't need to do the survey if you don't want to.

How will my answers be used?

We won't collect any information that could directly identify you (for example, your name). Some data may indirectly identify you (for example, where you work). However, your data won't be used in the results of the study in a way that means anyone could indirectly identify you. The IP address of your computer will not be stored. We will do everything we reasonably can do to make sure that your data stays private. Your answers will be stored on a password-protected USB. All data (including consent) will be stored for three years after publication or public release.
The results from this survey will be used for a Masters degree. They might also be published in an academic journal or other publication, later on. A summary of the results will be sent to all the schools and preschools who participate. I will also send a copy of the whole project to anyone who asks for it.
If you want more information about your rights with respect to your personal data, follow this link: https://compliance.admin.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights.

Who has checked that this study is ethical?

This project has received ethics clearance by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) (reference number: ED-CIA-21-140), and has also been approved by Catholic Education Western Australia.

Who do I contact if I have a question or I want to complain?

If you have a question about this study, please email me (*email address*) or my supervisor Victoria Murphy (victoria.murphy@education.ox.ac.uk). We will get back to you within 10 working days. If you aren't happy with our response, or if you want to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Social Sciences & Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk) who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible.

CONSENT

Please read all of the statements below. If you agree with all of them, then tick the box saying you agree, and then click to arrow to go to the survey questions. If you do this, it means that you give your

consent to participate in the study. IF YOU DISAGREE WITH ANY OF THE STATEMENTS BELOW, PLEASE DON'T DO THE SURVEY. Because your answers are anonymous, once you've done the survey there isn't any way for your answers to be found and taken out.

1. **I have read the information about this study, and I understand it.**
2. **I was able to ask questions if I wanted to, and I have had enough time to think about whether I want to do the survey.**
3. **I understand that I don't need to do this survey if I don't want to.**
4. **I understand who will see my answers and how my answers will be stored.**
5. **I give permission for my answers to be quoted directly (anonymously – without my name or any information that could identify me).**
6. **I understand how my answers will be used and where the results will be published or submitted.**
7. **I agree for the anonymous answers collected in this study to be used in other research studies.**
8. **I understand that the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee has checked this project and approved it.**
9. **I agree to take part in the research.**

○ Tick this box to show that you have read and understood this information about this research, and that you are happy for your answers to be collected. (If you DON'T want your answers to be collected, stop here and don't continue).

INSTRUCTIONS

- The first section of this survey will ask you for some basic demographic information (information about yourself).
- Then there are four sections with questions about languages in Australia, Kununurra, and school classrooms. Each one of these sections will have 5-10 questions.
- Most of these questions will be multiple choice. For multiple choice questions, you will see a scale with five options between two statements. You need to pick what side of the scale explains your answer best. For example:



  In this case, the middle option on this scale would mean that you don't agree OR disagree.
- Some questions are not multiple choice questions, but 'open-response'. You don't have to write a long answer for these! A few words or sentences is fine. But if you do want to write more, you can.
- At the end of each section, there will be a space for you to write any extra comments that you have about the questions in that section. This is optional – you don't need to do this if you don't want to.
- There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers! We want to know about your opinions and experiences.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. How old are you?

- ○ 18-25
- ○ 26-35
- ○ 36-45
- ○ 46-55
- ○ 56+

2. What is your gender?

- ○ Male
- ○ Female
- ○ Other/I prefer not to say

3. Do you identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander? (tick all which apply)

- ☐ Aboriginal - Miriwoong
- ☐ Aboriginal - other group (please specify)
- ☐ Torres Strait Islander
- ☐ Non-Indigenous
- ☐ Prefer not to say

4. Do you speak any languages other than English which you use at home?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes (please specify)

5. Do you speak any languages other than English which you DON'T use at home?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes (please specify)

6. How long have you lived in Kununurra?

- ○ 1 year or less
- ○ 1-3 years
- ○ 3-5 years
- ○ 5-10 years
- ○ 10+ years

7. Where do you work? (tick all which apply)

☐ (*List of local schools and preschools*)
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
☐ Other (please specify)

8. What is your job?

○ Classroom teacher
○ AIEO
○ Other classroom support role
○ Welfare/pastoral care
○ Management
○ Administration
○ Other (please specify)

9. What is your highest level of education?

10. At which school/university/institute did you complete this education?

SURVEY QUESTIONS

1. Macro-level)

1.1 Do you think Australia is monolingual or multilingual? (1: Very monolingual → 5: Very multilingual)

1.2 How useful is it to speak more than one language in Australia? (1: Very useful → 5: Not useful at all)

1.3 Everyone should learn the traditional Indigenous language of the place where they live and work (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

1.4 How useful is it for Indigenous people to speak an Indigenous language? (1: Not useful at all → 5: Very useful)

1.5 How useful is it for non-Indigenous people to speak an Indigenous language? (1: Not useful at all → 5: Very useful)

1.6 The Australian government cares a lot about helping Indigenous languages (1: Strongly agree → Strongly disagree)

1.7 In lots of cases, it's not practical to teach Indigenous languages in schools (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

1.8 Do you think teaching Indigenous languages is important for the national identity of Australia? (1: Yes, it's very important → 5) No, it's not important at all)

1.9 Do you think teaching Indigenous languages is important for reconciliation in Australia? (1: Yes, it's very important → 5) No, it's not important at all)

1.10 Do you think teaching Indigenous languages is important for 'Closing the Gap' in health and education between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians? (1: Yes, it's very important → 5) No, it's not important at all)

1.11 If you became the Prime Minister of Australia tomorrow, what is the first thing you would you do about Indigenous languages? _____

1.12 *If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:* _____

2. Miriwoong program

2.1 How important is it to teach Miriwoong in schools and preschools in Kununurra? (1: Very important → 5: Not important at all)

2.2 It would be more useful to spend extra time on English than having Miriwoong lessons (Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

2.3 How much Miriwoong should be taught at schools? 1: 30 minutes every week, 2: 1 hour every week, 3: 2 hours every week, 4: 30 minutes every DAY, 5: Other (please specify) _____

2.4 I think that learning Miriwoong is important for all Indigenous students in Kununurra (whether they are Miriwoong or from another language group) (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

2.5 Is it important for non-Indigenous students to learn Miriwoong? (No, it's not important at all → 5: Yes, it's very important)

2.6 Learning Miriwoong is more important for Indigenous students than students who aren't Indigenous (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

2.7 Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong on Indigenous students. (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

2.8 Where I work, I have seen or heard about good impacts of learning Miriwoong on students who aren't Indigenous (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

2.9 Learning Miriwoong is good for the future of students in Kununurra (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

2.10 High-school students shouldn't learn Miriwoong at school, because they need the lesson time for other subjects which are more important (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

2.11 *If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:* _____

3. Micro-level

3.1 Imagine that you are talking to someone who has never been to Kununurra before. Describe the languages used in Kununurra (for example, who speaks them? What are these languages like?)

_____

3.2 Describe in your own words how you understand the difference between traditional Indigenous languages (like Miriwoong), Kriol, Aboriginal English, and 'standard Australian English'

_____

3.3 Do you think Kununurra is monolingual or multilingual? (1: Very monolingual → Very multilingual)

3.4 How useful is it to know an Indigenous language (like Miriwoong) in Kununurra? (1: Not useful at all → 5: Very useful)

3.5 How useful is it to speak Aboriginal English/Kriol in Kununurra? (1: Very useful → 5: Not useful at all)

3.6 Is language an important part of children's identity in Kununurra? (1: No, it's not important at all → 5: Yes, it's very important)

3.7 Some students don't speak 'standard Australian English' at home. How well are these students helped at schools and preschools in Kununurra? (1: They are very well supported → 5: They are not supported at all)

3.8 Students who speak Aboriginal English/Kriol at home should be encouraged to use only 'standard Australian English' in classrooms (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

3.9 Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will stop students from learning good 'standard Australian English' (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

3.10 Using Aboriginal English/Kriol in classrooms will help students to learn 'standard Australian English' better (1: Strongly agree → Strongly disagree)

3.11 *If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:* _____

4. Training

4.1 When teachers and support staff are trained in Australia, they are taught a good amount of information about Indigenous languages (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

4.2 When teachers and support staff are trained in Australia, they are taught a good amount of information about Kriol/Aboriginal English (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

4.3 When teachers and support staff are trained in Australia, they are taught a good amount of information about how to help students who don't speak 'standard Australian English' at home (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree).

4.4 I think that more training about languages in Kununurra and Australia would help me to do my job better (1: Strongly agree → 5: Strongly disagree)

4.5 I think that more training about how to help students who don't speak English at home would help me to do my job better (1: Strongly disagree → 5: Strongly agree)

4.6 What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about Indigenous languages? (You can choose more than one option). 1: When they are trained at University/TAFE, 2: Through training/professional development at the school where they work, 3: From local Indigenous people, 4: Other (please specify) _____

4.7 What is the best way for teachers and support staff to learn about supporting children who don't speak English at home? (You can choose more than one option). 1: When they are trained at University/TAFE, 2: Through training/professional development at the school where they work, 3: From local Indigenous people, 4: Other (please specify) _____

4.8 *If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:* _____"

2.2. Survey recruitment material example

"Hi [contact],

Please find below an invitation for staff to complete the online survey component of my research. If you could please forward this to all staff at [organisation] that would be wonderful!

Thanks again for your assistance with this!

Best regards,
[Etc.]

To the staff at [organisation],

My name is Iris, and I am a Masters student at the Department of Education at Oxford University. I lived in Kununurra for two years in 2019-2020, volunteering and then working at the MDWg Language Centre.

As part of my Masters degree, I am doing a research project about multilingualism and Indigenous languages in schools, focusing on Kununurra as a case study. I hope that this research will play a valuable role in the conversation regarding Indigenous education in Australia.

I would like to invite the staff at [organisation] to take this short, anonymous survey - including teachers, AIEOs, classroom support, and administration/management staff.

The survey can be found
at https://oxfordeducation.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_b3qMBJUP8JRvkPA
It should take around 15-20 minutes to complete, and your responses will be an important contribution to this critical area of research.

(Please note: if you have previously done an interview with me for this research, you are ALSO invited to take this survey. However, if you helped to test this online survey, you are unfortunately NOT able to now take the survey.)

If you have any questions, I'd love to hear from you! Please get in contact with me at [email address]

Thanks in advance!
Very best regards,
[Etc.]"

2.3. Qualitative survey responses

(Note that spelling, capitalisation etc. has not been altered from original responses).

Question 1.11. If you became the Prime Minister of Australia tomorrow, what is the first thing you would you do about Indigenous languages?

Respondent 1: I don't really know what involvement the Australian Government currently has but I think it is important that they provide support to the local indigenous in each location around Australia to make sure that their local language continues to be taught and shared among indigenous and non indigenous people. It is an important part of our History.

Respondent 2: Limit funding if people are passionate about it they can self fund

Respondent 3: LoTE would be the local indigenous language for all students.

Respondent 4: Put together a team of indigenous teachers to guide the implementation of indigenous language course for schools.

Respondent 5: Implement indigenous language lessons across all schools and fund appropriate training for teachers to be well equipped to do this.

Respondent 8: Introduce it in primary school

Respondent 9: Make it compulsory in the education system for people to learn the local language of the place they are living in.

Respondent 10: Very difficult issue. Most indigenous Australians in Kununurra are not Miriwoong therefore don't have a connection to language. I have taught in remote areas of the Kimberley where it is very important these languages survive. We need to greater tracking and recording of the languages before they disappear.

Respondent 11: Make it compulsory to have exposure to the local indigenous language and teach the language in the schools.

Respondent 12: Make it compulsary in all school

Respondent 13: Seek opinion of Indigenous Leaders first and go from there.

Respondent 14: Make sure there is adequate funding available to support the preservation of Indigenous languages.

Respondent 15: If I had unlimited funding, I would try to preserve, record and teach indigenous languages to all Australians. In the real world, I suspect that such funding doesn't exist.

Respondent 16: I would ensure national funding for the incredibly important work of language centres and fund the learning of local language through Language Nests nation wide, implementation of language and understanding local environment in curriculum

Respondent 17: Fund more Language Nests in Australian schools and early years programs

Question 1.12. If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:

Respondent 9: It is very important for Indigenous languages to be taught. In some areas the local language is very strong. For example Port Keats and Alice Springs. If I was to move there I would like to learn the language so that I could communicate with the local people more fluently. So if as a child you moved there, learning the language would be a great benefit. I really cannot understand

why learning Australian Indigenous languages are not compulsory, Years ago Latin and French were, and I still don't understand why.

Respondent 15: I don't think that teaching Indigenous languages will close any gaps. The only thing that will close the gaps is to stop preventing Indigenous Australians from living a fulfilling, successful and meaningful life, ie by ending passive welfare which is literally killing Indigenous Australians.

Respondent 16: It is appalling that our local Language Centre has to scrape and scratch for funding on a constant basis when their work is so important

Question 2.11. If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:

Respondent 3: The Aboriginal culture needs to be respected and the language needs to be taught to prevent extinction

Respondent 4: It would be good to gain permission from Indigenous people for non-indigenous people to review Miriwoong content during the week.

Question 3.1. Imagine that you are talking to someone who has never been to Kununurra before. Describe the languages used in Kununurra (for example, who speaks them? What are these languages like?)

Respondent 2: Aboriginal English which is misuse or mispronunciation of English

Respondent 4: There is mix of many languages such as Kriol, Miriwoong and many other language groups in Kununurra. These language groups vary considerably from location to location. It is important not to presume that everyone speaks Miriwoong or even wants to.

Respondent 5: Kununurra has a diverse range of languages. Standard Australian English, Aboriginal English, Kriol, and many indigenous languages of the Kimberley and NT are often used and interchanged depending on context. The most universal languages are Kriol and Standard Austrlian English.

Respondent 11: The languages used in Kununurra are Kimberley kriole- the majority of aboriginal people, mirriwoong- some miriwoong people, murrringpatha- people from Wadeye. There are also a number of other Kimberley languages.

Respondent 12: That they are on Miriwoong land and that it is important to the traditional owners that you show respect when they are speaking in their dialic.

Respondent 13: Lots of long term local people who aren't indigenous speak some of the local languages and have learnt through their interactions wi the indigenous clients and co workers
Local indigenous people speak a range of languages, from different local indigenous areas plus some level of English

Respondent 14: Aboriginal English is more prevalent than traditional Aboriginal Languages.
We have a number of other ethnic groups represented within the community.

Respondent 15: The local language is Miriwoong and it's spoken fluently by only 6-8 adults. It's almost impossible to become fluent in Miriwoong unless you speak it from a young age.

Respondent 17: Some of the older people speak language, expecially in the surrounding communities like [examples of certain areas in town].

Question 3.2. Describe in your own words how you understand the difference between traditional Indigenous languages (like Miriwoong), Kriol, Aboriginal English, and 'standard Australian English'

Respondent 2: Miriwoong local language being resurrected Kriol is language indigenous use in generation following on from pidgin Aboriginal is English lacking same grammatical patterns

Respondent 3: Traditional Indigenous Language = fluently spoken Miriwoong Kriol= combination of Indigenous language, English and possibly other languages Standard Australian English = typically spoken English I'm Australia

Respondent 4: Miriwoong has very few English words in it and is mostly a completely seperate dialect. Kriol is a mix of English and aboriginal dialect. it is not connected to one language group and does not use Standard Australian English. Aboriginal English has much of the English words in it, but has Aboriginal language structure. There are some aboriginal words mixed in as well, but this varies from region to region. Standard Australian English is what is taught in schools across Australia.

Respondent 5: Traditonal languages are completely different language to Standard Australian Language with totally different words in use. Kriol uses a mixture of Standard Australian english words (some with same meanings and some that are the same word with differnt meanings) local indigenous languages and slang that has formed its own language over time. Aboriginal english is more universal language across Australia using many standard Australian english words and many kriol words that have a wider relevance. Both Aboriginal English and Kriol are their own languages with their own rules, nuance and have equal value to standard Australian English.

Respondent 10: Language adapts and that is what we see in Kununurra

Respondent 11: Miriwoong is a local indigenous language, Kriol is a derivative of a the local language and English, Aboriginal English (same as Kriol) is something a language in it's own right but does not adhere to the conventions of standard Australian English.

Respondent 13: I'm not sure

Respondent 14: Traditional Indigenous Language are another language that are unique to a group of Aboriginal people from a particular clan/country. Kriol is a mixture of traditional language and Aboriginal English. Aboriginal English is a dialect of english and has its own rules and grammar etc. SAE is a dialect of English and is the most commonly spoken language in Australia.

Respondent 15: Traditional Indigenous languages are a genuine language.
Kriol is a language that began life as a corrupted form of English but eventually developed its own language structure.
Aboriginal English appears to be just very lazy English, the sort of speech that any child develops without correction.
Standard Australian English is the language that understood across the English-speaking world with agreed-upon structure and grammar.

Respondent 17: Kriol is a mix of traditional language and english and is understood by different language groups around australia. Aboriginal English is also a mix but is easily understood by local people both black and white

Question 3.11. If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:

Respondent 3: Would we as educators expect other nationalities to speak only Australian English if it was not their first language? Why are we treating our Aboriginal students differently to any other student who's first language is not Australian English

Respondent 5: I think using Kriol and Aboriginal English enhances learning and supports students to learn standard Australian english. Using these languages bridges gaps in understanding.

Question 4.8. If there's anything else you want to say about any of the questions on this page, please write it here:

Respondent 3: I was lucky enough to attend the local language centre for a course to extend my knowledge but I still feel like I need much more knowledge

Appendix 3 – Interview consent and example transcripts

3.1. Interview consent and information

"Thank you for taking part in this interview!
Before we begin, please read this information carefully. You will need to confirm that you've read it before you can start the interview.

RESEARCH INFORMATION

General Information

This study is about the thoughts and opinions of teachers and other education staff in Kununurra, about multilingualism and Indigenous languages in schools and preschools in Australia.
The main researcher is (*name)*. I am a Masters student at the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. Professor Victoria Murphy is supervising this research.
To do the interview, you will need to answer some demographic questions about yourself, and then answer some questions about language in Kununurra and Australia. You can choose how much detail you want to go into, but the interview should take about 15-20 minutes.

Do I have to take part?

No, this interview is voluntary - you don't need to do the interview if you don't want to.

How will my answers be used?

We won't collect any information that could directly identify you (for example, your name). Some data may indirectly identify you (for example, where you work). However, your data won't be used in the results of the study in a way that means anyone could indirectly identify you. We will do everything we reasonably can do to make sure that your data stays private. The recording of your interview will be stored on a password-protected USB storage device, until it has been transcribed, and then the recording will be deleted. All data (including consent forms) will be stored for three years after publication or public release.
The results from this interview will be used for a Masters degree. They might also be published in an academic journal or other publication, later on. A summary of the results will be sent to all the schools and preschools who participate. I will also send a copy of the whole project to anyone who asks for it.

Who has checked that this study is ethical?

This project has received ethics clearance by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) (reference number: ED-CIA-21-140).

Who do I contact if I have a question or I want to complain?
If you have a question about this study, please email me (*email address provided)* or my supervisor Victoria Murphy (victoria.murphy@education.ox.ac.uk). We will get back to you within 10 working days. If you aren't happy with our response, or if you want to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Social Sciences & Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford (ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk) who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible.

INSTRUCTIONS

- First, you will need to complete some demographic information sheets (see below)
- Then, the recording will start, and the interviewer will ask you to confirm that you have read the information sheets, signed the consent form, and filled out the demographic information. You will also be asked to confirm your 'ID' number.
- The interviewer will then ask you some questions about multilingualism, language use, and Indigenous languages in Australia, Kununurra, and your classroom. You can answer questions with lots of detail, or more short and quick – up to you!
- There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers! We want to know about your opinions and experiences.
- If there is anything you want to say which the researcher doesn't ask you, please bring it up yourself.
- After around 15-20 minutes, the recording will finish and the interview will be complete.

CONSENT FORM

Please read all of the statements below. If you agree with all of them, then sign on the line underneath. If you do this, it means that you give your consent to participate in the study. IF YOU DISAGREE WITH ANY OF THE STATEMENTS BELOW, PLEASE DON'T DO THE INTERVIEW. Let the researcher know, and nothing will be recorded.

1. I have read the information about this study, and I understand it. I was able to ask questions if I wanted to, and I have had enough time to think about whether I want to do the interview.
2. I understand that I don't need to do this interview if I don't want to.
3. I give permission for my voice to be recorded. I understand that the recording will be deleted once it has been transcribed.
4. I understand who will see my answers and how my answers will be stored.
5. I give permission for my answers to be quoted directly (anonymously – without my name or any information that could identify me).
6. I understand how my answers will be used and where the results will be published or submitted.
7. I agree for the anonymous answers collected in this study to be used in other research studies.
8. I understand that the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee has checked this project and approved it.
9. I agree to take part in the research.

Please sign here to confirm you have read the information above, and that you agree with the consent statements above.

_____ DATE: _____”

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

See Appendix 2.1 – (same demographic form used for online surveys and in-person interviews).

3.2. Interview transcript – participant 11d

Non-Indigenous, high school classroom support worker, female. Interview conducted 11th May 2021.

Interviewer: Cool, so first thing I'm gonna do is get you to confirm that you've done all this - read the information, signed the consent, done the demographic info - just by reading out what your code is.

Participant 11d: Yep all done, 11.d

I: Cool. So, um, yes, as it says there, um, this is kind of broadly about multilingualism and Indigenous languages in education, so I have some specific questions, but they're kinda just jumping off points, if there's anything else you want to talk about, go for it, feel free to answer long, short, however you feel, whatever you wanna say.

11d: Cool, yep.

I: Um, cool, so we'll start kind of broad I guess, and uh say… so, what do you think both the benefits and the challenges are of

11d: Mmm

I: um indigenous language education – for Miriwoong students, for other Indigenous students, for non-Indigenous students, the community, Australia,

11d: In general

I: In general, whatever.

11d: Yeah, cool! Um well the benefits, I think there's loads, I think um, you know there's the benefits of strengthening the identity of young people, and also specifically the identity of Aboriginal young people, but in a broader context, like, it's a healthy identity for all Australians, to have Indigenous language um included. I think it builds a sense of connection, it's a really practical point, um, to build understanding, uh and yeah, just appreciation for Aboriginal people and culture, so I think it's a great inroad for, maybe people who don't know where to start, um to gain some understanding. And also for the Aboriginal young people it builds a sense of pride, it um, is a great talking point at home, like to maybe ask some questions of the older people in the family, or when they're out on Country it triggers a memory or a thought about stuff, so that's definitely really important. And it's like a space to feel successful, like we might not always see that in the actual language class, but then later on the students are often really skilled at picking up words, um and teaching the teacher, so I think that's a really nice, like, point of strength for the kids. Um in terms of challenges, I think it's hard that it's- Miriwoong in particular is not like used every day for conversation, so um it's hard to practice, I think. Um, and it's like, it's in such a small area, so I think that's maybe the downside like it's not necessarily a language you can travel the world with, but it's got its own place and value with what it is. Um, so maybe like, yeah, I mean I often talk, we talk about Kriol a lot, Kriol a lot, and that's often like a bridge

to Miriwoong, so like "Oh, in Kriol it's this, in Miriwoong it's this." So that's often like, kinda piggybacks on each other. um. yeah.

I: Yeah, cool, that's really interesting. If you were trying to describe to someone who's never been to Kununurra before what the different languages that are spoken in Kununurra are, and what those languages, like what they're like, how they're related to each other, how would you try to explain that?

11d: Yep. Yeah. Um, I would say, well in Kununurra we speak like, maybe Standard English or High English, and then there's Kriol which is a hybrid of local language, um, kind of slang, and English. All mixed together but with its own set of rules just as any language would have. And then Miriwoong obviously being the native tongue of the people that are from here. So, yep Kriol often will, like especially in Kununurra, has some easy jumps to other words, so yeah, sometimes that's a good point to talk about.

I: Yep. What do you mean, like a jump?

11d: For example, like, there's often like, deficit in the understanding of High English or Standard Australian English, so Kriol is like the bouncing point for any word. [laughs] So like, if the word is for like um, say like, uh, oh like expressing that a baby's cute, like here we would say 'Anyany' for like 'that's so cute', um, and then in English maybe it's 'awww' or something like that, so it's kinda just like, yeah, bouncing between?

I: There's parallels - so, like, translation?

11d: Yeah! and that happens a lot, like that whole concept of codeswitching in the classroom so, yeah.

I: So what have you sort of seen… yeah, if you have any examples of that kind of thing in the classroom: the role of Kriol, and/or Miriwoong, and/or any other languages, specifically in your, kind of, teaching practice? Are there any good examples you can think of, of how that's played a role?

11d: Yeah. Mm. I think just like the different meanings of words have played a role to building vocabulary, so like for example, the word um 'ignorant' like in Kriol it's thrown around as like they're ignoring me, they're being ignorant.

I: Ah [laughs]

11d: But maybe in, you know Standard English it's a different meaning you know.

I: Yeah.

11d: So that, that kind of thing will often bring up conversations.

I: There's a lot of that, hey.

11d: Yeah! Yep. Um and I think it's been, like there's a challenge in that as well, where when we have new staff come, they don't understand that, so they're constantly correcting the kids, and they don't have the understanding of value of Kriol, so they're like 'That's not a word, that's not how you use that, you don't feel shame you feel embarrassed', but that, actually we know shame is its own meaning and context, and use of that word is very different to someone experiencing shame in the city, you know, so. Um, yeah, there's just a lot of like wading through and educating the staff um to bring out everyday language.

I: And what do you think the implications of that is in terms of, um...

[student opens door and asks teacher a question. Teacher tells student to ask another staff member]

I: Um what do you think the implications of that are for- so obviously you work in a classroom which has a high ratio of teachers to students and is somewhat flexible. What are the implications of that disconnect with new teachers in more mainstream schooling settings, do you think?

11d: Mm. I think that in a more mainstream setting- I can't say exactly ‘cause I'm not in one, but I perhaps assume that maybe there's no one walking alongside those new teachers, they're just sort of thrown in a classroom, with a little bit less support to understand the language, and there probably would be a lot of miscommunication between students and teachers, um, which might cause some behavioural issues and other, other kind of- feelings of being misunderstood, or feeling stupid, or things like that, which are barriers to education. Yep.

I: Yeah absolutely. Yeah. Um. Now, if - so if you were made Prime Minister, or put in charge, or whatever, what would be your kind of rough game plan, what would be your priorities,

what would be the first thing you'd do in terms of language support in classrooms and specifically in terms of Indigenous language support?

11d: Yeah! Um. I would change the language used on all of our curriculum to be simplified, in a way that can easily jump into Kriol or other Indigenous languages, um, and I would, like, or even have a dual, a dual approach, I know a lot of schools do that in early years, but I haven't really seen much of it in secondary schools or for older students, so um yeah, probably just like have some dual words, like label everything in Kriol, Miriwoong, English um everywhere in the class, and even like basic English tasks have, have options, you know, or have a Kriol version of a worksheet to offer a student who's not quite ready for that um standard English stuff. Yeah.

I: So Kriol and other languages as um a tool to then reach proficiency in English as well?

11d: Yeah, I think so. yep. yep.

I: Mm cool. um. [Pause] Oh and, and what do you think um, when teachers or preschool educators, just education staff in general, when they're trained in Australia, do you think that they um- How are they trained in terms of EAL/D, additional, people who don't speak English at home, um, and again specifically Indigenous languages, um- How are educators trained in those areas in terms of awareness, in terms of practical skills?

11d: I think there's a huge variety, and I think maybe that's the problem. Like, a lot of teachers that have been in the game for a while maybe have not as much understanding, unless they've gone and done specific PD about it. Um, maybe some new grads have a little bit more knowledge, it's perhaps starting to be included a bit more, but I think in terms of, specifically for Aboriginal young people, I feel like there's some big gaps. Yep. There's not a lot of understanding, um, yeah.

I: Yeah cool. um. What else? And- there's a lot of kind of buzzwords thrown around in terms of national identity, reconciliation, Closing the Gap, and all these things. Um. Do you think that there's a role for language to play in those things? And if so, what does that look like for Indigenous people, and also perhaps for non-Indigenous people as well?

11d: Mm, yeah. Definitely. I really think that um learning someone's language just adds value. So maybe where there's been a space where the wider population perhaps hasn't valued Aboriginal people and language groups, learning a language really adds value. And I think it can create some, um, safe spaces to learn that are like a step 1 in reconciliation. Like, okay, maybe you're not ready to face your cultural biases, but you can learn what pelican is in Miriwoong.

I: [laughs] Yeah.

11d: And that's a good first step. So I feel like, yeah, it's really valuable in that space, um, and it just, it gets people thinking and starting that process.

I: Mm. Yeah, cool. Um. And do you, do you think that the government has, do you think the government cares a lot about helping Indigenous languages, do you think they have a good understanding of that space?

11d: Hm. I feel like in remote places the local government maybe does. But in, uh, it feels a little bit at times like people in the capitals don't really understand, or it's a bit tokenistic, um, or only for Aboriginal schools. But really yeah I think it's got it's place on a much wider scale. Yep.

I: Yeah. Um. And- and what do you think the difference is for um an Indigenous kid, maybe specifically in this context a Miriwoong Indigenous kid, but also non-Miriwoong, um, as opposed to a child who's not Indigenous, how do you think that um learning an Indigenous language at school will impact them differently, or the same?

11d: Mm. I've seen- yeah, I've seen a bit of a variety, I guess. So, sometimes for the Miriwoong kids, if they're not good at it straight away there's a bit of shame, like "Oh I should know this" or "I don't wanna have a go in case I get it wrong because people think I'm Miriwoong I should know, but I don't know" so there's a bit of like anxiety about it, um, and then for the non-Indigenous- oh, non-Miriwoong Aboriginal kids, there's also sometimes that tension point of like "it's not MY language, so um, why should I have to learn it?" Um, so we've had a lot of conversations about respecting the place that we live, and if you were to live in China you might learn the language there, and if you were to live overseas, and we're in this

part of the world so we're just going to learn this language to be respectful. But yeah it can create some interesting like tension among the kids sometimes. Or they will say, "that's my grandparents' job to teach me, not the school's job, I don't wanna do it".

I: Right

11d Or "I've had that forced on me by my grandparents, I don't wanna do it" [laughs] so.

I: [laughs]

11d: Yeah there's been some comments like that before. Yeah.

I: Yeah interesting. Yeah. And, do you have non-Indigenous kids here?

11d: Not at the moment but we have before. Yep.

I: Okay. What do you think in terms of the role of Indigenous languages for them? I mean you've just explained- I guess it would be largely similar, but do you think there's a difference again with those kids?

11d: Um, I think it builds belonging and connection which is really important for learning, so I think it adds to that. Yep.

I: Yeah, cool.

11d: Yep.

I: Um, yeah, and I mean, if you have any kind of- I think that's all my specific questions, but if you have any general uh thoughts or um experiences you wanna share in terms of the impacts of these programs, examples, anything else, I'd love to hear it.

11d: Yeah, well I can think of like one 'success story'. Um, oh, we had a student last year who was, really had a lot of deficit in her literacy and numeracy skills, but language was her strength, so for her it was really important to have Miriwoong class because it was her area of feeling like really gifted and special and being a leader, whereas in EVERY other topic she really struggled, so it was important to be able to offer that to her, I think. Um yeah, and it was just, like, she would feel so proud of herself whenever she would be in the room, and she would be just repeating it all day afterwards, and it was just beautiful, so yeah, I think it was really important to be able to offer that. Yeah.

I: Mm. Cool [pause]. Great, excellent. Thank you so much.

11d: No worries.

I: I'll switch this off.

[end recording]

3.3. Interview transcript – participant 14a

Indigenous (Miriwoong), MDWg Miriwoong language teacher, female. Interview conducted 14th May 2021.

Translations of Miriwoong/Kriol words are in {braces} and italicised.

Note that, although transcribed mostly with Standard Australian English orthographic conventions, this interview was conducted mainly in Aboriginal English and Kriol (the speaker's first language). See Section 3.6.2. for justification of orthographic choices for transcription. In addition to the translations provided in text, the following information will be useful in understanding this transcript (see Glossary, and Oliver & Forrest, 2021):

- *'Bin' is a past tense marker*
- *'La' is a locative/directional preposition (on, at, in, etc.)*
- *'He/him' is used to refer to females and objects as well as males*
- *Aboriginal English/Kriol often does not use possessive or plural '-s'*
- *Aboriginal English/Kriol often does not use the copula*

- *For the sake of a transcript which is maximally comprehensible to English speakers, the transitivity marker '-im' has been represented as the pronoun 'him', e.g. "I'm not gonna write him down your name anywhere", where "write him" should strictly be 'write-im' (or 'raidim' in Kriol orthography). Though this is not an ideal representation of the Kriol language, it was deemed appropriate for this context.*

Interviewer: He on? [checks recording device] Yep. Warany *{Alright}*. So, I'm doing this project
Participant 14a: Mm
I: Where I'm talking to holot *{all}* different people, you mob here, but also them teacher la school
14a: Mm, everywhere
I: Everywhere, um, bout things to do with like um, we got a High English word 'multilingualism', you know, when people speak lotta different language
14a: Mm
I: and about Aboriginal language, here la Kununurra.
14a: Mm
I: So I'm gonna ask you some questions, and I'm gonna use this recording, I'm gonna write him up, put him in that big project thing, and send him to my University
14a: Yeah!
I: Um and might be later on I'll use that same thing for, might be publish in a journal, or something else. But um, important thing for you to know is that I'm not gonna write him down your name anywhere, nothing.
14a: Yeah
I: You just got this code here, so can you read that out for the recording?
14a: 14- ah, 14 dot A.
I: Yeah that's the one, so everywhere I'm just going to put him that 14a, I'm not gonna put your name.
14a: Ah right, 14a.
I: And might be I quote what you say, but I'm not gonna make it so anybody know that you say it, you know?
14a: Ah okay
I: Um. Yeah that's all. I'm gonna keep everything safe on that USB, he got a password everything.
14a: Alright
I: Um, anything else I need to tell you? Nothing, we're right. Okay! So I just got some questions that I wanna ask you! And if I don't- if you reckon there's something important to talk about that I don't ask, you tell me, and you talk about that.
14a: Yeah alright
I: And if I ask you a question you can answer him long way, short way, whatever you want. Up to you.
14a: Yeah alright
I: Um, so first question, it's a big question
14a: [laughs]
I: What do you reckon, what are the good things, and the hard things, about teaching Miriwoong here at the schools? And why is it good for those kids? Might be Indigenous, might be Gardiya *{whitefella}*, holot *{all}* kids - good for all of them, good for some of them? Good for the whole town, good for Australia? Or might be he too hard, what do you reckon?
14a: Well for the hard part I'll start with first, the hard part is when you teach yourself, that's the hard one.
I: Yeah
14a: Like you need, like when I bin first teaching on my own myself it was really hard for me, see. Like I think it was, I was bit nervous

I: Yeah
14a: [14a's phone rings, she turns it off]. Yeah that- um, that first one, like, I, I think I bin, he bin hard for me when I bin teaching myself.
I: When was that, how long ago?
14a: Well I only start teaching myself, what, two? Two years ago.
I: Mhmm
14a: That was the hard part, when I'm first teaching on my own.
I: Yeah you got a whole class to yourself
14a: Specially with full class, you know, biggest mob of different kids in the one classroom. [laughs] bit scary, too! [laughs] yeah.
I: Yeah, that's hard!
14a: And then, til I get, til I bin get used to teaching on my own, and yeah, I bin feel bit comfortable then, teaching on my own. But the first part when I bin first teaching myself it was scary, specially teaching kids and then you got like two teachers in the classroom
I: Yeah watching you too. Yeah.
14a: Yeah, watching you. That was the hard part for me.
I: Yeah. So that's, that's what's hard for you, do you think there's things that are hard for like when language centre trying to run this whole program - he hard to organise, hard to talk to them schools, or he right?
14a: Yeah, I think- nah he hard, for like that now, what you bin say, for school, you know? Specially when you gotta, got all your, specially when you got all your, um, topic, you know, whatever thing you teaching, all depends what topic you're teaching, to get them all together, you know, he bit hard, it's really hard. Yeah.
I: And what about the good things? Why is it good to do it?
14a: Well he good, he make you feel like, teaching your language la classroom, teaching, it make you feel good, you know, that you, you sharing your language with the school, and also them teacher that don't even know Miriwoong, and they listening too, you know, when you teaching.
I: Yeah! Everybody learning.
14a: Everybody learning.
I: Yeah! So why do you think it's good that everybody learns some Miriwoong?
14a: Because, that language he for this Country! Kununurra is Miriwoong Country. And we gotta keep that language going intit *{right}*? Strong. And by teaching you showing them that the, this Kununurra got a language. Miriwoong, na.
I: And what do you reckon will happen if everybody here speak Miriwoong?
14a: It'd be good, fun! [laughs]
I: Yeah? Good fun? [laughs]
14a: We'll all understand each other then, you know? [laughs] yeah.
I: Yeah, yeah. So, it's good for Miriwoong kids to learn Miriwoong, but you don't just teach Miriwoong kids, you teach ALL the Indigenous kids
14a: Yeah all Indigenous kid
I: And all the Gardiya *{whitefella}* kids, and from everywhere else too, lotta different people here in Kununurra, not just Gardiya *{whitefellas}* and Aboriginal, holot *{all}* different kind of people
14a: Yeah it's good to teach them
I: Do you reckon it more important to teach Miriwoong kid than other kid? Or more important to teach Indigenous kid than non-Indigenous kid?
14a: [14a's phone rings again, she switches it off]
I: [laughs]
14a: [sighs] that's a lil bit hard one
I: Yeah it is a hard question. Well how 'bout I'll ask him different way. Why... why do you teach Miriwoong kids, and why do you teach other kids? Is it different, why you gotta teach them, or same?
14a: Might be same.
I: Mhm? And you think it will make them feel same way?

14a: Yeah make them feel same way, that they, they belong to this place too, by learning this language you know, from this place. Yeah.

[Discussion of some noise outside and whether we should move rooms. Decide to stay.]

I: Warany, so what do you think would happen if everywhere around Australia they teach those Indigenous language? What would happen to all them different community and all Australia together?

14a: That's where you come together as one, intit *{right}*? They learning, like how here we teaching Miriwoong, then you got another place teaching their language, you know, like that. And it good for the Gardiya *{whitefellas}*, you know? That they, they'll feel welcome, like they feel like that they belong to that language too and that place, like that, you know

I: Yeah cool. Um, so if they, they put you in charge, and say, '[14a], you get to make all the decisions now', and you can, you know, spend that money however you think he gotta, wherever he gotta go, and you can tell them what the right way to do it is, how would you- uh, what, what would you do for helping teach Aboriginal language in school? What the best way to do that, you reckon?

14a: Take them on excursion, take them out la Country, 'cause I think, he, the- la Country, that's where everything that you see is all, got language. Everything you see - animal, tree, water, fish. Some Country they just got creek, but they still got fish in that water and they got language, you know, Miriwoong language? Everywhere around here, and they all got names in Miriwoong. And places again, all them place, they all got Miriwoong name round here, everywhere round here la Kununurra, all Miriwoong area. Take them out on excursion na, and learn them out la bush.

I: Yeah cool. And what about when we're here in town, what's the best way to teach here?

14a: That's why we got the Language Centre.

I: Yeah?

14a: Language centre he just like going out on Country. [laughs]

I: You reckon?

14a: I reckon! [laughs]

I: [laughs]

14a: Well everything is all here, see old record- we got old people on recording here.

I: Yeah. We got language everywhere

14a: Language everywhere. Same like Language Centre, you go out la Country, everything is all there, Language is out on the Country.

I: Yeah cool.

14a: Mm

I: So you reckon while we're here in town, we can take those good things from like when you out on Country, and make em happen here too?

14a: Yeah and we can bring it all back to the language centre. Get everything, might be sorted out from here and take em back la school.

I: Yeah!

14a: Yeah.

I: Cool. Um, so, got another question. If, if we got a new intern, they walk in that door and they never been to Kununurra before, like me when I came here and I didn't know anything, I didn't know the difference between Kriol and Miriwoong, nothing. And you gotta explain to them, how all the different people in Kununurra talk, like if I got down la Coles, Tuckerbox, park, walking down the street, what am I gonna hear?

14a: You'll probably hear English, Kriol. Might be, not much of Miriwoong.

I: Mhmm

14a: And you got all different people here, see. From everywhere. You gotta just, know the right person that's all. Right Miriwoong person.

I: Yeah, if you wanna hear Miriwoong?

14a: To hear Miriwoong. Yeah.

I: Mm right. So you got other- do you mean other Aboriginal language, or other language from overseas?

14a: Other languages, from other communities.

I: Yep. Yeah. Hm. And how- if I don't know the difference between Kriol, and Miriwoong, and Aboriginal English, and Standard English or whatever you wanna call him, Gardiya *{whitefella}* English, how you gonna explain la me what the difference between those thing is?

14a: You listen how they talk. They'll talk for them, you know? Now like for me now I'm talking, I'm talking Kriol la you, see? Kriol. If I was talking Miriwoong I'd only use Miriwoong to you. You can listen that talk, you know, that talk, when people talk you'll know that this is not a Miriwoong...

I: They sound different

14a: They sound different, yeah.

I: Mm. And say I, say I ask you- if I ask you '[14a] what's a Kriol? I dunno what that is?' what are you gonna say to me?

14a: Then I'll start talking Kriol la you! [laughs]

I: [laughs] 'THIS is Kriol!'

14a: Yeah! [laughs]

I: Yeah good. Yeah. Warany.

14a: Well you gotta walk up la somebody and you just, 'do you speak Miriwoong?', ask them, 'do you speak Miriwoong? Are you a Miriwoong person?' they'll tell you, they'll be honest 'nah I'm not a Miriwoong' they'll say it like that la you. Yeah.

I: Yeah warany. Mm.

14a: Yeah so, you got people they'll, if you walk up if you just ask them ‘where you from, do you speak Miriwoong?' they'll tell you 'yeah I speak it' then might be you can have a little conversation with that person then. Yeah.

I: So you only got couple people who speak him that Miriwoong themself fluently, when they walking around

14a: Yeah. half and half Miriwoong and Kriol

I: Yeah. So you got people who speak them together.

14a: Yeah

I: Mm. Yeah so might be, might be you hear little bit Miriwoong, but probably not <u>just</u> Miriwoong, hear him with that Kriol together

14a: Mm Miriwoong and Kriol [laughs]

I: Yeah, cool. Warany. And what do you reckon, so lotta people speak, might be Kriol, might be something else, but they speak different language in their house. Not that standard English, like they teach la school. Not that Gardiya *{whitefella}* way of talking.

14a: Kriol is a first language for everybody here.

I: Yeah, mhmm.

14a: Kriol, you got, he got, he just like you know how we under- like Miriwoong, other languages, you understand each other, Kriol he just the same, everybody can understand one another la Kriol. Some got light Kriol, some got heavy Kriol, hard Kriol...

I: How do you tell the difference between light Kriol and heavy Kriol?

14a: Well, if you look la NT they got, they, the NT there, they got 'em hard Kriol, so when they talk you might think they talking in language, but that's that Kriol they talking. Like us mob here we got 'em light Kriol, you can like understand how we talk here, that Western Australian Kriol, him light one.

I: He more like English, that what you mean?

14a: Yeah

I: Mm. so might be someone like me who only know lil bit Kriol but I know lotta English, might be I can understand

14a: Yeah. Nah you'll be right to understand. [laughs]

I: I'll be right? [laughs] Well I bin sit down here with you mob so long, I get lots of practice to listen [laughs]

14a: Yeah! [laughs]

I: So if all these, if you got a lot of people who they don't speak that English at home, they speak might be Kriol or something else. But then them kid they gotta go la school and them teacher don't understand Kriol or other language

14a: That's where they got help garra *{with}* them Aboriginal workers there, they help them out na.
I: Yeah? so do you reckon teachers and schools understand how they gotta help those kids?
14a: Yeah because of them teacher, na
I: Yeah?
14a: Them, what them teacher called?
I: Um, AIEOs?
14a: That's that mob, na.
I: He funny name that one, AIEO
14a: Yeah. AIEO.
I: A I E O. That's the one. So you reckon they gotta help with that language?
14a: Yeah that's what they they la school for.
I: Do you think them classroom teacher they understand why that's important?
14a: Yeah they gotta, thing, intit *{right}*? Otherwise how they gonna understand them kid when they want something la school la classroom, or when they in trouble, they need somebody there that can understand them and talk la the teacher.
I: Right so they need that interpreter kind of thing
14a: Interpreter thing, yeah
I: 'Cause that teacher not gonna understand themself.
14a: Nah.
I: And you reckon when they, when they at the university learning how to be teachers, you reckon they tell them enough about Aboriginal language and what it's like up here? Do you think they have a good understanding?
14a Yeah, when they, when they old enough they'll have good understanding when they go university and thing like that all the school. But you got every, every school got that, eh?
I: Got what?
14a: That, them interpreting thing na
I: Oh, the AIEOs?
14a: Yeah
I: Up here I think so. Both schools same?
14a: He got them
I: Yeah? That's good. What do you think would happen if they didn't have those teachers there, the um, if they didn't have the AIEOs and it was just that classroom teacher?
14a: Well I'll tell you it'll be really hard for the kids, for them to understand them kid [laughs] yeah
I: Yeah, uhuh, yeah
14a: They'll be going 'Man, what-' you know they'll be thinking 'what are yous going on about, what do you mean' they'll be like, that teacher will be struggling himself to understand that kid. That's why he good for that that AEO na, be there la school. Theys job to you know, help that, that kid, you know, understanding from that kid, and he can take it back to the teacher.
I: Yeah, yeah. Cool. And do you reckon they should um when they're at school do you reckon them kid who speak Kriol la home, should they be learning- should they use that Kriol in the school, is that gonna help them learn English, is that gonna help them learn different things at the school? Or should they try and not talk that way when they at school?
14a: They should hey, learn that Kriol. That's - you know, 'cause... Uhh, so when they grow up na they can help them other kids, you know, that, when they old enough na, them kids today, that Kriol he'll still be at school you know? He just like passing down to the next mob you know. When they old enough na finish school, them next mob of kid, them kid when they grown, learning Kriol with their lil ones, they'll be struggling at school again.
I: Yeah so maybe THEY can be the AIEOs?
14a: Yeah!
I: Yeah. so it's helpful for... you don't JUST want to speak that Standard English, you wanna speak-

14a: They can learn both, try that Kriol, Miriwoong might be, Miriwoong and that Standard English na
I: Mhm. Yeah.
14a: Mm.
I: So they should be um got that fancy word for that, 'multilingual'.
14a: Might be that one na.
I: They gotta speak lotta language. Yeah. Why do you think it's good for people to speak lots of different languages?
14a: Well when they go to different places they'll know what they, how to speak language intit *{right}*? In that Country.
I: Mhm. Yeah, cool. Um. What else do I wanna ask... Ah, so. you know how politicians, and people in charge, they always talking these complicated words for like, reconciliation, Closing the Gap, national identity, things like that...
14a: Them rally and thing
I: Hey?
14a: Them rally you know when they walk for that march and thing
I: Yeah that's right! Yeah. So people talk about all these things. You reckon that language got a part in those things?
14a: Of course language got him a part, intit {*right}?*.
I: Yeah? What's the part for language in those things? What language gonna do for them thing?
14a: [pause] Wait na.
I: He big question, he hard one.
14a: Well language... what I gotta say... all that thing what you bin just say, well all that thing like recon- like, how, that that language is the one that make you strong. Like it might be like when you marching down, the people will know who you are, whatever language group you come from, you gotta tell them who you are [mumbling] ah what na? How you said? Identity, intit *{right}*? Lagijet *{like that}*. You gotta stand proud to be who you are.
I: Mhm. Yeah. So that's, that's, that's great and that's for you, your identity
14a: Yeah your identity, everybody else, everybody else all got they own. Yeah.
I: Uhuh. You reckon we got an identity together, where we say we, we're Australian, like a national identity?
14a: Yeah. Just, we, together na as one, we are strong as one, lagijet *{like that}*. So everybody else got they own identity. Like if I'm standing there in that big rally, I'll tell them who I am, I'm a proud Miriwoong person I'll tell them, like that, you know. Yeah.
I: Yeah. and do you reckon that Aboriginal language is part of that, that national identity that we all have together?
14a: Yeah you gotta, you gotta like, what you call 'em? Say it again?
I: Wijan *{which one}*?
14a That one you bin just say na. I had that word that I wanted to say something, I bin forget.
I: [laughs] National identity? or other thing? Reconciliation? Closing the gap?
14a Nah, nah. For that language thing na. Nah I wanted to say something but I forget now what I was going, what I wanted to say. Read another one. What part minyu bin go la *{did us two go to}*?
I: [laughs] what about um, that's for national identity, what about for that Closing the Gap, you know that thing? They always talking about how Aboriginal people they got um, their health isn't so good and their education isn't as good as other Australian people, and they always talking about trying to make those things better, 'we gotta make Aboriginal education better, we gotta make Aboriginal health better.' And they do all these thing, they give money for like clinic and you know people to pick up kid for school, and thing like that-
14a: Well you need somebody from, from that one group, you know that tribal group, you need one person who can stand strong in that group na, that you can take it back to the community an explain to the community what all this thing is about. Yeah.
I: Mhm. All what thing?

14a: Like for that, all this stuff for what you bin talking about. They won't know what all this stuff is about.
I: Oh, yeah, right. Like all that thing that them politician talk about?
14a: Yeah and they need somebody from that community you know to stand strong
I: Yeah warany *{alright}*.
14a: That they go back and tell them what all this big thing happening you know. But they aren't gonna listen to anybody else. They don't got, you know what people are like, they listen to their own people, not to anybody else.
I: Not just strangers.
14a: Not just strangers.
I: You reckon that language important for, um health and for education?
14a: Of course. Language, he play a big part in everything. Language the one got- we got bush tucker, we know what that, you gotta, if you don't go down la clinic, you can you can feed off the Country, there's bush tucker out there. medicine out there, everything out there on the bush, on the Country. Mm. Yeah
I: But you just gotta know that language for it
14a: You can't just go there and get whatever you want on the Country, you gotta speak to the Country, garra *{with}* that language, language, that Country will give you what you want, then. [laughs] like that na.
I: Yeah, cool. Mm warany *{alright}*. Well. What else I gottta ask?
14a: You know us mob when we go up this way la [local Aboriginal community] this side, [name of relative] he talk Gajirrawoong. Water, we get water from the ground, and he got limestone there, we get water from-
I: Yeah? [name of relative]?
14a: Yeah. We get him from there, na. And she talk, but we can't just go and drink it, we'll get sick, that rainbow serpent will make us all sick. So you gotta talk to the country, see.
I: Huh. What you gotta say?
14a: You gotta, whatever language you got for that Country you gotta speak that language for that country.
I: Ah. So he not like, you gotta say a special thing, you just gotta talk that language?
14a: You gotta say 'thank you' you gotta ask him 'I want a water', like you gotta talk to that, thing. Right around the Country. Yeah. Otherwise if you just go and take something you'll get sick, that Country will make you, he'll hurt you. Yeah. So you gotta speak to the Country. So I think that's why language is important, see.
I: Yeah. Yeah. Warany *{alright}*. You reckon that government he, he wanna help us out? You reckon that government care about Aboriginal language?
14a: I don't reckon.
I: No? Why not?
14a: Yeah, I'm trying to think what I'll say (laughs). I know... Cause we, us mob we don't get funding from government, hey?
[short discussion of the various sources of MDWg's funding]
14a: [Yawns] I don't know if they- I dunno if they even heard about it- yeah pro- might be, yeah. That's a hard one that one, I don't know for that government thing.
I: Yeah it's hard. Well then we got government more locally here, too. We got government for like
14a: We got all, all them
I: WA, Kimberley, Shire, might be they understand little bit more better than them mob in Canberra? I dunno.
14a: Yeah
I: What do you reckon?
14a: That's what I bin tell you, I don't know about that one. I never hear bout government giving us anything. We'll come back to that one.
I: Yeah, if you think of anything else. Alright, here's a good question. Them kid in high school, you reckon they should learn Miriwoong too, or should they, or do they need that time for other things that are more important?

14a: Them high school mob, of course they gotta learn, they gonna have to learn Miriwoong. 'Cause some of them high school kid are Miriwoong kids there too. And Aboriginal too, hey. Half of them high school mob they Miriwoong and Aboriginal kids in that school.
I: Yeah so you reckon it's still important. What about them Gardiya *{whitefella}*-
14a: Them Gardiya *{whitefella}* too
I: Yeah?
14a: They all gotta learn. Mm.
I: Mm. Yeah. Um. [pause] You reckon that- you reckon if kids using like, this is kinda like that question from before, you reckon if kids use that Kriol or Aboriginal English in the classroom, is that going to stop them from learning English, or will it help them learning English? What do you reckon?
14a: He'll help them
I: Yeah? how will it help them?
14a: From learning all, all, biggest, all, they gotta learn all the other languages. And they need to learn, you know, language again. Ah, not Language *{i.e. TIL}*, English, for when they older they'll be looking for jobs na, they'll want job, and you can't go speaking Language in, la workplace
I: Yeah, people gotta understand you
14a: They gotta understand you, so you got to-
I: So they gotta learn that English, but you- how do you think having- how do you think using that Kriol gonna help them learn that English?
14a: Ah, hard one that one.
I: Yeah it's a hard question. [laughs] lotta people don't know. Just any idea that you have.
14a: I dunno… He'll, I reckon he'll be good still that Kriol, so when they go to that workplace, they might learn- he'll be good to learn English, yeah, but when they go to that workplace you know they might learn, work friends, may, Kriol, even a bit Language, so long as it still going, still carrying it on.
I: Yeah so good to keep it
14a: Yeah good to keep it
I: Yeah warany *{alright}*
14a: I mean he good to learn all them thing, he good to learn English, Miriwoong, AND Kriol!
I: Might be for different reason?
14a: Yeah for different thing, yeah
I: Yeah. Mm. [pause] Warany *{alright}*, well that's all my question, my last thing I wanna ask you is, you do a lot of teaching, you teach all them kid, can you think of any good like examples of when they have like a good reaction to learning that Miriwoong, like it's good for them, you can see that he make them good? Or, maybe sometimes when it's been hard, and they've been more difficult? Like what do you, what do you think that impact is on them kid, what have you seen?
14a: That challenge, that, challenge, specially when you do that task. That's the one bit hard for them kid. Like we give them little activity to do in the classroom, so that's, that one he probably get to them, but then when it come to, see, when we start playing games, specially that 'Simon says' one, that's when I see they happy and they- but we still use Miriwoong in that game. Yeah.
I: Mm yeah, make it more fun though.
14a: Yep. They good fun. Even if it still, the game is over, they still want me to keep playing the game, yeah.
I: Keep going, yeah! I remember watching you play that, that 'Warany' game
14a: [laughs] that's the one na
I: Woah, those kids are good! They really know those words.
14a: That 'Warany' game na, mm.
I: Yeah. How do you think those kids feel when they have Miriwoong class, when you mob walk in?

14a: They feel good, they already got hands, like half of them kids got their hand for high-five when we walk in! Yeah, they happy to see us when we go in. That relationship you know with us and the kids. They like, that, that mean that they trust us, you know.
I: Yeah. and you ever see those kids that you teach outside of school?
14a: Yeah even outside, even when we, when we at the shopping centre, they tell whoever they walking with, might be they big sister, they mother, they pull them, 'mum mum' I, I seen that a couple of time 'hey there goes my Miriwoong teacher!' you know they, they happy to see us, they, yeah.
I: And they come up and talk to you, or?
14a: Yeah, and this- this happen couple of times again I bin to the football oval, [name of a relative] got training there you see, and there's one little boy [description of boy's family], but they all train together, girls this side and the boys on that side. And that lil boy I see him walk around, he comes where I'm sitting down and he'll stand in front of me, and he'll wait 'til I'm looking but I know he coming around, and then he start to wave and tell us, he got another little sister who walk with him, 'That's my teacher!' he tell his little sister. Yeah! He do that Friday when I go to watch them train!
I: Yeah? [laughs]
14a: Yeah. [explains which class the boy is in at school]. Mm.
I: He Gardiya *{whitefella}* boy?
14a: Lil abkaj *{person of mixed Aboriginal and white ancestry}*, lil Aboriginal boy. Yeah. True, they not shame to tell they parents or whoever they with who we are, yeah.
I: Uhuh. And they wanna talk language la you in the shop?
14a: Nah they just tell they teacher that's who I am, that's all. but there's one lil girl, [name of girl and description of how she's related to 14a]. Instead of he say, instead of he sing out 'miljing *{teacher}*' la me you know, 'hello woothoo-woothoong *{children}*' he tell me. "No, you the woothoo-woothoong *{children}*, na" I tell him. [laughs]. He happy to see me.
I: [Laughs] That's funny.
14a: Lil girl, he la pre-primary that one. 'Hello woothoo-woothoong *{children}*' he say like that [laughs].
I: [Laughs] He calling you a woothoong *{child)*!
14a Yeah! "No, you na, woothoonga *{child}*" I tell him. It's a lil girl.
I: You the miljing *{teacher}*!
14a: Mm
I: I remember one time I was there la Coles with [colleague], and two little, I think they were Gardiya *{whitefella}* kid? Come up and they wanted to like show off, you know? They were showing [colleague], like they were pointing to all the different food and saying what colour they were [laughs], they wanna show that they know those words.
14a: Ya-heeey! Yeah that's what they, that's what you get, na!
I: They do that to you, too?
14a: They lil show off, yeah.
I: They wanna show off? [laughs]
14a: Yeah
I: That's good! Warany *{alright}*, well, you got anything else you wanna say for why that language important, or anything else?
14a: Nah, I'm tired
I: That's all? Warany *{alright}*. Well, thanks [14a]!
14a: No worries [laughs] Okay warany *{alright}*.
I: Ngoondenging *{good}*! Alright let's shut him up.
[end recording]