Why Aboriginal languages teaching sometimes works: a view from New South Wales

Abstract

The success of Aboriginal languages programs hinges on teachers having a comprehensive range of knowledge and skills for language learning, teaching and revival. This study focuses on the key role Aboriginal languages teachers have been playing in the wider context of community language revival efforts in the state of New South Wales (NSW) in Australia. It assumes that effective revival is characterised by increased use of languages for communicative purposes, not only in educational settings but in families and homes. The study identifies five factors which illustrate the progress and strategies of effective teachers: knowledge of language structures, own language proficiency, language teaching skills, language use in various cultural contexts, and connections between the language program and its community and country. These factors are based on observations and discussions in my work and collaboration with teachers across NSW in curriculum development, work that has also been strongly informed by input from other adults in local communities, and by linguists working with those communities. The paper concentrates on achievements in the past decade, which has been framed by two different state governments and their respective policies and plans for Aboriginal languages. In the conclusion of the paper, the teachers’ achievements form a basis from which to identify support structures which could be put into place for future language revival work in NSW.¹

1. Introduction

The most recent national survey reported that, of the approximately 250 Australian Indigenous languages, only about 13 are strong and as many as 100 are severely or critically endangered, but at the same time 30 are showing increased use as a result of language programs and community efforts (Marmion, Obata and Troy 2014: xii). On the east coast of mainland Australia, Aboriginal families and communities suffered the earliest impact of invasion and colonisation, and struggled to maintain intergenerational transmission of their languages. Consequently today community members in New South Wales (NSW) are second language learners of their heritage languages, and archival sources and linguistic reconstruction are supporting the revival process.²

There has been a notable growth in language revival in NSW between 2000 and 2012, a period framed by two different state government policies and plans for
Aboriginal languages. Aboriginal people’s efforts to bring back languages that had fallen into disuse have been driven by community leaders and organisations, and supported by state and Commonwealth government funds, school and vocational education, and academic work. Aboriginal languages teachers have been seeking ways to learn and use their languages in spite of incomplete records of the languages, lack of speakers and limited resources. From this challenging context is emerging a cohort of positive and informed teachers who are making personal and professional progress in their contribution to second language learning and teaching. This study identifies factors which underpin these teachers’ progress and achievements:

1. knowledge of language forms
2. development of own language proficiency
3. language teaching skills
4. language use in various cultural contexts
5. connections between the language program and its community and country.

Compared with a decade ago the teachers are more numerous; they have more linguistic knowledge, greater language proficiency and a deeper understanding of the process of revival. They achieve all of this partly through available training, but also extensively through their own ingenuity. Based on their successes to date, this paper suggests linguistic and educational support for language revival in NSW into the future.

2. Recent growth in language revival work in NSW

A key catalyst for the growth in language work in NSW in the past decade was the *Strong Language Strong Culture Report* (Hosking, Lonsdale, Troy and Walsh 2000) which represented voices from 100+ community consultation meetings and clearly established the importance of language to Aboriginal people. Participants were keen for initiatives which would support them in strengthening their languages. The report led to the establishment of the NSW Aboriginal Languages Research and Resources Centre (ALRRC) in March 2003 and the development of the first state/territory Aboriginal languages policy in Australia (Department of Aboriginal Affairs NSW [DAA NSW] 2004). ALRRC’s role included facilitating communities’ access to technical assistance and information about their languages, and distributing annual small grants for local projects. The centre was closed around the end of 2004 and the Department instead concentrated its efforts on developing a state-wide strategic plan (DAA NSW 2005). Although the plan involved various government departments, the majority of activity has been concentrated in the education sector, notably the development and implementation of the Aboriginal languages K-10 syllabus (Board of Studies NSW 2003) and Technical and Further Education (TAFE) NSW certificates I-III in Aboriginal languages (Cipollone 2010).

Additional activities occurred independently of the state government initiatives. They were instigated through universities, and publications produced through
Commonwealth government funds. The University of Sydney responded to the need for more teachers by establishing the Indigenous Language Education (ILE) program in 2006 (Hobson 2004, 2006). A few linguists undertook post-graduate work on reconstruction of NSW languages (e.g. Besold 2003, 2013; Giacon 2001, forthcoming). A number of dictionaries and grammars were published (Ash, Lissarrague and Giacon 2003; Grant and Rudder 2001c, 2005; Jones 2008; Lissarrague 2006, 2007, 2010; Morelli 2008, 2012). Teaching resources were published for some languages, e.g. Gamilaraay (Chandler and Giacon 2006; Giacon 2002, 2006; Giacon and Nathan 2009), Gumbaynggirr (Long 2007), Wiradjuri (Grant and Rudder 2001a, 2001b) and Paakantyi (Hercus and Nathan 2002).

Language revival in NSW has also been informed by similar work in other parts of Australia and the world. Community members, teachers and linguists in NSW have actively connected with people who are developing strategies relevant to the revival context nationally and internationally. NSW-based community members, teachers and linguists have both contributed to and learned from productive exchanges with language revivers in the USA, Canada and New Zealand, through field studies, delegations and visiting scholars (e.g. Baldwin 2013; Hinton 2012; Zuckermann et al. 2012).

In 2011 there was a change of government in NSW and in April 2013 a new Aboriginal Affairs approach—Opportunity, Choice, Healing, Responsibility, Empowerment (OCHRE)—was announced (Aboriginal Affairs NSW 2013). OCHRE includes a plan to revise the existing Aboriginal languages policy, but it is similarly set to involve contributions from government departments relevant to both education and community. Some aspects of the new plan relate to Aboriginal languages, so in the years ahead there is government commitment to continued support for language learning, teaching and revival.

### 3. Emblematic vs daily use of language

Developing communicative competence is one of the significant challenges in language revival contexts. Simpson (2012, 2013) contrasts emblematic uses of language and L2 learning on the one hand with language as a means of communication in Indigenous Australian communities on the other, and observes that the distinction between emblematic uses and L2 learning is often blurred.

In NSW the main examples of emblematic uses are naming, greetings and speeches. Naming includes official dual naming of geographical locations, names for community organisations and children’s names. People use greeting and farewell phrases in person, emails and formulaic phone messages. Welcome to Country speeches are another important emblematic gesture. Aboriginal people have taken pride in being able to construct lengthy speeches, learn them by rote, and deliver them without hesitation or reading. Some people also use Facebook as a channel for promoting their languages, e.g. posting photos with captions and descriptions. Practices such as these are of great symbolic importance. However, they are examples of one-way communication rather than examples of people interacting spontaneously.
in their heritage languages. While the predominant uses of Aboriginal languages in NSW have been emblematic, there is also evidence of growing communicative use. Aboriginal languages teachers are one group of people who are contributing to this development.

4. School programs and teacher development

Over the past decade 10 to 13 Aboriginal languages have been taught in 36 to 46 schools in NSW (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs 2012: 88; Rhydwen, Munro, Parolin and Poetsch 2007). In that period I have been able to observe and explore the progress and achievements of Aboriginal languages teaching in NSW while working closely with 60 teachers and community members in two capacities, firstly as one of the curriculum officers employed at the Board of Studies NSW (2006-2009) and secondly as one of the lecturers in the Indigenous Languages Education (ILE) program (2009-present). These two roles have enabled me to collaborate at a grass roots level with school, TAFE and community teachers, and capture an overview of developments in Aboriginal languages education in NSW.

From 2004 the NSW Education Department and NSW Board of Studies each employed one-two consultants to support implementation of the Aboriginal languages K-10 syllabus (Board of Studies NSW 2003). In an effort to maximise efficiencies and provide useful support right across the state, the consultants coordinated efforts (Rhydwen 2010). A significant part of this work is documented on the Education Department and Board of Studies websites, including details of numerous workshops with community members, school staff and linguists. The agendas show that the workshops broadly aimed to increase people’s understanding of language structures and teaching skills. While they were no substitute for qualifications in linguistics or languages education, they did contribute to skills development and sharing of ideas. During that period I worked in approximately 14 towns with 20 Aboriginal languages teachers. Almost all were community members who, despite having no formal qualification, were highly regarded by their local community and school as suitable for the job. Together with other community members, school staff and staff from regional offices, we sorted through available grammatical and pedagogical materials, wrote teaching programs, designed assessment tasks, and drew on local knowledge that could be included in the program. While in town I also attended any additional meetings which happened to be on, e.g. evening classes for adults.

In my second role, I have taught on the ILE program at the University of Sydney since 2009. In that time 40 students have completed a Certificate, Diploma or Masters of Indigenous Languages Education (Hobson 2008, 2011). Students in the program are qualified and experienced teachers, working in primary or secondary schools, or TAFE. They enrol in the ILE program to formally add Language to the subjects they already teach. In some cases the students have already been teaching their language for several years and wish to gain a formal qualification in the area. Through the course students learn about the structures of their languages. However
they need to find local opportunities to develop proficiency in them. I teach four of
the eight units of study which comprise the Masters, and get to know the students’
aspirations for their languages through class discussions, assignments and informal
talk while they are in Sydney for their block-mode study. Towards the end of each
year I visit students to observe them teaching, which is also an opportunity for me
to meet their colleagues and community members and discuss the local program’s
needs and direction.

In the course of this experience I have identified the following factors which have
a positive impact on the teaching and learning of Aboriginal languages.

5. Successful teaching of Aboriginal languages: 5 factors

Aboriginal languages teachers, by virtue of being teachers, are experts in a sense.
However, they are also conscious of the fact that they are also learners of their
heritage languages. They hold a pivotal position in language revival efforts, acting
as a bridge between education providers and communities, and between linguistic
reconstruction and increased daily communication in the languages. Below are the
strategies which I have observed, and Aboriginal languages teachers have reported,
to be productive ways of learning and teaching in a revival context. Not all of them
are evident or available in all programs in all communities but together they indicate
a range of effective steps people are taking.

5.1 Knowledge of language forms

Aboriginal languages teachers, and other community members who are learning
their languages, are conscious of structural differences between their languages and
English. Their intention is to understand and use those structures rather than adapt
their languages to English phonology and syntax. Linguists have played a key role
in analysing archival sources, and discussing technical features of the languages to
facilitate community understanding of the sound systems, grammar and vocabulary
of their languages. They have taught adult classes and responded to email/phone
questions regarding grammar and lexicron from teachers and other community
members.

Some linguistic support has also been available through the Resource Network
for Linguistic Diversity, a national organisation which responds to community
requests and delivers training locally as part of its Documenting and Revitalising
Indigenous Languages (DRIL) program. Community members can request any of
the 22 DRIL modules, which include topics in linguistics and resource production.
The training can be informal or participants can choose to complete a nationally-
accredited Certificate III or IV. DRIL operates across Australia and to date workshops
have been held in NSW for Ngemba, Paakantyi, Dhangatti and Gamilaraay. The 1- to
2-day workshops are short term projects compared with more enduring community-
linguist discussions, however they certainly enhance community understanding of
language structures.
5.2 Own language proficiency

Learning about forms is a step towards being able to use the language. Proficiency development is challenging for adult learners for a range of reasons, including limited time to devote to the task, small numbers of fellow learners, and the dominance of English. Yet teachers and other community members are committed to increasing their language use through a range of avenues. Resources and opportunities available vary greatly from language to language, and can be limited and infrequent in many cases, but include the following possibilities:

- **Learning language at university.** Currently only two Aboriginal languages in NSW can be studied at university. The *Speaking Gamilaraay 1* unit of study has been taught at the University of Sydney since 2006, with approximately 12 enrolments each year. In that time several Aboriginal people have participated in the unit (either officially enrolled or not) including Gamilaraay people who live in Sydney. *Speaking Gamilaraay 2* was offered for the first time in 2013. Both units will also be available through the Australian National University, delivered via video conference to include students enrolled cross-institutionally. This delivery mode will also facilitate Gamilaraay people's participation, especially teachers who live in country NSW (Giacon and Simpson 2011). In 2014 Charles Sturt University began to offer a Graduate Certificate in Wiradjuri Language, Culture and Heritage, comprised of four subjects, one of which focuses on developing students’ Wiradjuri language proficiency and conversation skills. It is designed for people who have completed Certificate III in Wiradjuri at TAFE.5

- **Accessing vocational education courses.** TAFE NSW Certificates I, II and III in Aboriginal languages were first accredited in 2007 and by 2008 450 students had enrolled (Cipollone 2010). This is a higher number of enrolments than the university courses. The certificates also cover more languages than the university courses. All certificates include units of competency in speaking, listening, reading and writing. To date classes have been run for Dharawal, Dhurga, Gamilaraay and Wiradjuri. In 2013 the certificates were reaccredited for another 5 years, and now include a unit of competency for culture at each of the three levels. In addition to TAFE, Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative (Muurrbay) at Nambucca Heads, in its capacity as a Registered Training Organisation, has periodically offered Certificates II and IV for Gumbaynggirr learners and teachers in the local area. It has also facilitated development of Certificate courses and materials for Gathang and Yaygirr.

- **Attending summer school.** Intermittently since 2008 there has been a 1- to 2-week summer school coordinated by Muurrbay, funded through either state or commonwealth sources, and hosted by the University of Sydney. This has been a community initiative and to date three languages have been offered: Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay and Gumbaynggirr.
• **Practising with other learners.** People get together locally for gatherings which are language-focused but not for any formal accreditation. For example, in Parkes there is a group which has been meeting weekly since 2010. Participants take turns to bring along an activity to give everyone a chance to practise Wiradjuri (Anderson 2010). Similar groups for other languages have run in Brewarrina (Ngemba), Menindee (Paakantyi) and Woolgoolga (Gumbaynggirr).

• **Listening to sound recordings.** Some languages have audio recordings made with speakers in earlier generations, e.g. those held in the audio-visual archives of the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Playing such recordings repeatedly, transcribing and analysing them is common practice for linguists. It is also a strategy being used by community members as a way of developing their listening and pronunciation skills, e.g. staff members at Muurrbay work with digitised recordings of older speakers who have since passed away. A few languages in NSW have been undergoing revival for many years. Those languages have non-archival resources which include audio recordings for pedagogical purposes available on CD or on-line, e.g. Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay. So teachers and other adult learners can listen to example sentences, short conversations, and stories in the language.

• **Processing language materials.** Linguists increase their proficiency by continually reviewing original materials, entering information into databases and creating resources. Similarly community members have begun to use software and tools which increase their literacy skills in their languages and help them commit to memory vocabulary items and grammatical features. For example Aboriginal staff members at Muurrbay use Transcriber, Toolbox and Audiamus (Ash, Hooler, Williams and Walker 2010). Another program which has supported language skills development in communities is a user-friendly database developed by the Miromaa Aboriginal Language & Technology Centre in Newcastle. The software is freely available and enables community members to enter text, images, video and audio files in their own languages. It is designed to assist communities to gather, organise, analyse and produce outcomes for their language work.

• **Creating teaching materials.** Teachers create new resources in their languages, e.g. stories and games for their students. This production strengthens their grammar skills, and also meets an important need for the creation of spoken and written texts. The process provides the teacher with an opportunity to discuss aspects of the language with a linguist or community language expert, again increasing their understanding of structural aspects of their languages.

### 5.3 Language teaching skills

Not all language teaching is effective. There are examples of programs operating for many years and, despite all of the time and effort, students are able to use only a few words and phrases. People who are not supported to develop their skills tend...
to approach language classes in teacher-centred ways. They have a limited number of classroom strategies and their lessons typically involve little use of the target language. This situation is overcome when they are informed about second language teaching approaches. Below are examples of various ways people have been using to develop teaching skills:

- **Being part of a teaching team.** Currently most Aboriginal languages teachers in schools in NSW don’t have a formal teaching qualification. They are community members who are supported in the classroom by qualified teachers of a range of subjects. In an ideal situation, the supporters are teachers of languages. In this team-teaching situation, the community member is sharing and developing his/her language expertise, while the teacher has an opportunity to learn the local language and contributes his/her skills in lesson planning and resource development.

- **Becoming familiar with existing teaching materials.** There are pedagogical resources available for a few languages (notably Gamilaraay, Gumbaynggirr and Wiradjuri). Many teachers are still in the process of gaining control and confidence in using all of the information contained in them. Having such materials assists people not only to teach but also to learn their languages. At the same time, teachers don’t follow the materials page by page like a textbook. They modify and adapt them, e.g. create interactive activities from workbook focused ones. These innovations reflect their own growing language proficiency, their increasing competence as language teachers and their skills for catering for the specific needs and interests of their learners.

- **Reflecting on teaching.** People often report that teaching their language drives them to learn more themselves, since they constantly need to be at least one step ahead of their students. In addition to that, successful teachers reflect on their classroom strategies and students’ progress, and aim to improve their programs each year. Reflective teaching is also formalised in the ILE program when students conduct their own classroom-based research as a component of their Masters degree (Hobson 2011).

- **Connecting with teachers of other languages.** Aboriginal languages teachers are often encouraged by connecting with teachers of other languages. There is often a mutual interest in and respect for each other’s work. Many ideas and classroom strategies can be adapted for teaching Aboriginal languages. The ILE program includes this opportunity for students in the form of an assessable task. The students observe a lesson, analyse the strategies used and have a professional discussion with the teacher about his/her training and approaches.

- **Learning another language.** Aboriginal languages teachers who have travelled to other countries, learned other languages or are involved in a local language exchange with a teacher of another language have a stronger sense of communication and pedagogy. They appreciate what Aboriginal languages
teaching has in common with the teaching of other languages and use this to make a noticeable contribution to reviving their own languages.

- **Participating in professional development opportunities.** The NSW Education Department regularly provides professional development workshops for language teachers. These are held over 1-2 days in different locations in the state, and are attended by teachers of many languages. The workshops have also been attended by teachers of Aboriginal languages. In addition, periodically there are national and international conferences which include sessions about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, with presentations given by language revitalisers, teachers, linguists and applied linguists, e.g. Aboriginal languages teachers have attended and presented at the Puliima Forum, International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation and Stabilising Indigenous Languages Symposium.

### 5.4 Cultural contexts

Aboriginal languages teachers incorporate into their programs opportunities for talking about traditional knowledge as well as daily life in the dominant culture. Language revival program leaders work to extend the use of their languages for current daily conversations, recognising that all living languages change and adapt to the circumstances of the speech community. For example, the second edition of the Gumbaynggirr dictionary (Morelli 2008: 137-150) includes a section with vocabulary and phrases for introduced items and topics such as office, desk, keyboard, conference, garbage bin, truant, excursion, mobile phone, author, article, turn the page, be a role model. These were created by Gumbaynggirr people, working with a linguist, using knowledge of how words are structured and concepts are expressed in their language.

At the same time the connection to culture—traditional and continuing—is fundamental in language revival programs. Linguist and Badjala community member Jeanie Bell sees connection to country and passing on cultural heritage to younger generations as significant motivations for language revitalisation:

> Through the close family and community ties we share, we have been immersed in the old ways of speaking and living... It isn’t just the language that is coming back to us, but also the dances the songs, and other cultural practices including old and new protocols which are being negotiated and put in place. (Bell 2007: 14-16)

Similarly, Couzens (in Zuckermann et al. 2012) recognises that through colonisation both language and culture have been suppressed in her Dharwurd Wurrong – Gunditjmara community, and that strengthening culture is a component of language revival. While she sees linguistics as an important tool in assisting her to speak her language again, she also sees her cultural expression and work as an artist and connection to country as integral to that.
In planning for school programs in NSW, Aboriginal languages teachers and local community members prioritise bringing back and maintaining what is unique about their languages. Learning grammar and using language are incorporated into a much broader project of cultural revival and maintenance. This priority is reflected in language programs which are embedded in topics and activities such as local traditional stories, knowledge of country, astronomy, navigation, seasonal availability of bush foods, medicinal sources, fishing, cooking, scarred trees, bough-shade making, art, dance and music. While it is important to be able to talk about items and activities in schools, homes and present daily lives, the knowledge that strongly engages learners comes from elders and other community experts, and is social and ecological in nature. These ideas and experiences are still a part of people’s lives and continuing traditions and have survived in English or Aboriginal English, or they are new and evolving practices. Aboriginal language teachers use their insider knowledge of their communities to enrich their school and TAFE programs by contacting guest speakers, arranging visits to significant places and drawing on other local resources, e.g. expert weavers, story tellers, Indigenous Rangers in National Parks.

5.4 Connections to community and country

The linguistic heritage of the teachers is another factor which influences the success of programs. Individuals often identify with more than one language, e.g. on their mother’s and father’s side of the family. So people often have two or more linguistic heritages. The longest-running and most stable Aboriginal languages programs are ones taught by people who identify with the languages they are teaching. However, not all programs are as straightforward. Communities today are diverse, which is a reflection of the history of movement of Aboriginal people over two centuries, by force or choice. It is not uncommon for Aboriginal languages teachers to live in a place which is not in the country of their linguistic heritage. The teaching of these programs can take more negotiation to establish and maintain. Even if they have resided for decades in a place away from their own language heritage, those teachers are mindful of their rights and obligations when it comes to learning or teaching the language there. In some cases they teach the language with approval from local community members who recognise the skills they offer. In other cases, the teachers facilitate the school program rather than delivering it themselves. That is, they support a local community member who does the teaching and has credibility in the community.

6. Review and next steps

To summarise the skills and knowledge related to the 5 factors discussed above, programs work best when teachers and communities:

1. aim for daily use not just emblematic use of their languages;
2. have an understanding of linguistics and what it can contribute to language revival;
3. know language structures, not just words and phrases;
4. access resources for hearing their language;
5. embrace or create opportunities to learn and practise with other adult learners;
6. have access to locally produced and/or published teaching materials for their languages;
7. are informed about a range of approaches and strategies for second language teaching;
8. develop professional relationships with teachers of other languages;
9. have stable employment in a school or language centre which enables them to think about, learn and use their language each day;
10. meet needs to communicate about traditional knowledge alongside current lifestyle;
11. use their language not only with their students but also with their children and family;
12. maintain strong connections to the local community and country.

Across NSW there is a growing cohort of teachers who are developing this range of skills and knowledge. Their achievements are supported by language work in their communities and by contributions from schools, vocational education, linguists, universities, policy and funding, but significantly are a reflection of their own determination and commitment to their languages. Although there are no fully fluent speakers of Aboriginal languages in NSW, recent proficiency development achievements are not insignificant. A greater number of people describe themselves as learners and/or partial speakers of their languages.

Teachers and other adult community members need opportunities to learn their languages from a range of sources including (a) grammars, dictionaries and pedagogical materials and (b) classes which can be accessed locally and are offered regularly. Both need to be underpinned by high quality linguistic analyses with strong community input, and both can take several years of research and planning to produce. While a few languages in NSW are relatively well-served in these respects, others could achieve more if they had these foundational resources.

Aboriginal teachers have responded to opportunities for training in languages education. Graduates of the post-graduate program at the University of Sydney have been making notable contributions to local language initiatives. Community members who are not qualified teachers are an equally important part of the future of Aboriginal languages programs, and may choose to study if a suitable undergraduate course became available (see Hobson, this volume). Whether qualified or not, Aboriginal languages teachers, like all teachers of all subject areas, benefit from opportunities for professional development. So in-service workshops need to be held locally and include sessions not only on teaching strategies but also on grammar, proficiency development and language revival processes.
7. Conclusion
More than a decade after the *Strong Language Strong Culture* report (Hosking, Lonsdale, Troy and Walsh 2000), the OCHRE consultation report (Aboriginal Affairs NSW 2012: 7) confirms that language continues to be a high priority for people: 82% of survey participants strongly agreed and a further 14% agreed with the government’s suggested Language and Culture initiative. In the decade between the two reports, more people have gained more understanding of their languages and there is more effective learning, teaching and use of languages. The OCHRE report indicates potential for continued growth in its aim to:

...serve as a springboard for both school students and community members to access language learning pathways, beginning as early as pre-school and continuing into high school and further education. To achieve this, we need to grow the number of teachers of language—both in the community, at home, in the classroom and at TAFE or university. The NSW Government believes that if we invest in both people and the development of resources we can increase the number of language teachers and speakers (Aboriginal Affairs NSW 2012: 7, emphasis added).

Notes
1. Many thanks to John Hobson, Ruth Fielding and two anonymous reviewers who provided helpful suggestions on earlier drafts of this study. My thanks also to the Aboriginal languages teachers who share their experience and expertise with me.
2. I use the term *revival* to refer to circumstances where full speakers are not available, consistent with the definition in the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia 1996).

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