Language and interaction in a Standard Australian English as an additional language or dialect environment: The schooling experiences of children in an Australian Aboriginal community

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of students' experiences as learners of Standard Australian English (SAE) as an additional language or dialect in early years classrooms in an Australian Aboriginal community. It takes as its starting point reports that English-lexified varieties spoken in many Aboriginal communities are not explicitly recognised as systematically different from SAE within the formal education system. That is, that the status and needs of Aboriginal students as learners of SAE may be 'invisible' in classroom interactions which make up a large part of these children's educational experiences (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013).

These issues were explored through two research questions and five sub-questions:

1) How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school,
    a. Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?
    b. Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?
2) To what extent, and how, do teachers present SAE (as an additional language/dialect) as a learning focus for students in lessons,
    a. What are the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices?
    b. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?
    c. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?

Data for the study was collected over three years, following two cohorts of students in the first four years of school, in an Aboriginal community in Queensland. Usual classroom lessons were audio and video recorded with the aim of capturing as closely as possible what would have been happening if researchers had not been present.

Research Question 1 was investigated through two complementary approaches, providing qualitative and quantitative analysis. Variationist sociolinguistic methods were used to consider how linguistic and social factors influenced students' choices between linguistic variants associated with the community variety and SAE, and the effect of change over time. Variation in absence and presence of the verb 'be' in the children's classroom talk was taken as a case study for the focus of this analysis. Results showed that literacy task related topics of talk strongly favoured presence of the verb 'be'. However, contrary to expectation, 'be' presence in the children's classroom talk was not favoured with SAE-speaking teacher addressees. The analysis did not show the expected increase in rate of 'be' presence with an increased length of time at school.

Research Question 1 was additionally explored using a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach. CA analysis of classroom interactions showed ways in which students oriented to the social meanings of different ways of talking. In literacy tasks, children's self-talk showed how they navigated between variants in their linguistic repertoires, and children demonstrated in their interactions with peers and teachers that they associated certain words with particular ways of talking in the community.

Research Question 2 was explored through analysis of classroom interactions from a CA perspective. Analysis revealed little explicit orientation from teachers to students being speakers of the community variety, or learners of SAE, with students being instead treated to a considerable extent as already speakers of SAE. Lessons ostensibly targeted at explicitly teaching linguistic forms were found to focus on topic-specific applications of SAE words to academic tasks. The context where teachers attended most to non-SAE aspects of students' speech was in interactions centred on reading and writing tasks. However, in these interactions, there was evidence that students were treated primarily as learners of literacy, rather than learners of SAE.

Both of the methodological approaches, CA and variationist sociolinguistics, drew on naturally occurring classroom data to provide insight into young Aboriginal students' linguistic experiences encountering SAE as the medium of instruction at school. These analyses contribute new material to previous observations regarding the level of acknowledgement of Aboriginal SAE as an additional language or dialect learners at school (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), providing insight into the visibility of these students' existing linguistic knowledge and SAE learning needs in everyday classroom interactions central to their education.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed)_____

Janet Watts

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List of abbreviations

AAE	African American English
CA	Conversation Analysis
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
EAL/D	English as an additional language or dialect
D1	First dialect
D2	Second dialect
IRF	Initiation-Response-Feedback
L1	First language
L2	Second language
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy
NNS	Non-Native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
Prep	Preparatory
SAE	Standard Australian English
SDA	Second Dialect Acquisition
SLA	Second Language Acquisition

Transcription conventions

Extracts of data in this thesis follow the transcription conventions below. These are adapted from Conversation Analysis transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson and expanded by other conversation analysts (Bolden 2014; Hepburn & Bolden 2014; Jefferson 2004)

(0.4)	Silence measured in tenths of a second
(.)	Silence shorter than 0.2 seconds
-	Speech abruptly cut off
=	No gap or break, or a turn that continues over separated lines with no break
[	Point of overlap onset
]	Point at which overlap ends
↑	Shift to higher pitch
↓	Shift to lower pitch
?	Strongly rising intonation
,	Slightly rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
;	Slightly falling intonation
!	Animated intonation with extreme shifts in pitch
underline	Stress or emphasis
CAP	Speech at a louder volume than the surrounding speech
°word°	Speech at a softer volume than the surrounding speech
wo:rd	Lengthening of a sound. Each colon represents approximately the length of a beat
>words<	Speech delivered faster than the surrounding speech
<words>	Speech delivered slower than the surrounding speech
#word#	Creaky voice
.hh	Hearable inhalation, or in-breath
hh	Hearable aspiration, or out-breath
heheh	Laughter, represented by vowels interspersed with aspiration
(words)	Unclear hearing, transcriber's approximation of utterance
((Words))	Descriptions of actions of speakers are placed between double parentheses
|	Marks point at which non-verbal action begins

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1 Introduction

Aboriginal children in Australia grow up in a diverse range of linguistic environments. When they begin school they are expected to learn in Standard Australian English (SAE), but this may not yet be part of their linguistic repertoires. Students whose first languages are varieties[1] formed from contact with English, including speakers of creoles, intermediate creoles and varieties known as Aboriginal English, are particularly vulnerable to being unacknowledged as learners of SAE, because the varieties they already speak share linguistic content with SAE. Similarities between such varieties and SAE have in many cases contributed to an assumption within the Australian education system that these children already speak SAE. In Queensland, Australia, the underacknowledgment of the linguistic backgrounds and needs of such students as learners of SAE as an additional language or dialect (AL/D) has been termed an 'invisibility' (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), which substantially disadvantages these students.

A shared language of communication is necessary for teachers and students to collaborate effectively in educational activities. There are benefits in speaking multiple linguistic varieties, including building knowledge and foundations in heritage, family and the community, and experiencing diversity in ideas from different cultures (Genessee 2016:12; Simpson, Caffery & McConvell 2009:7-8). In Australia, however, inadequate support in either providing education in a language spoken by students, or appropriate explicit teaching of SAE has been shown to create interactional situations in the classroom where students and teachers struggle to understand each other (e.g. Edmonds-Wathen 2015; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008). This has been linked to poor educational outcomes for Aboriginal children in these contexts.

This thesis focuses on Aboriginal children's experiences at school in a remote community in Queensland, as learners of SAE. The main way of speaking in the community, acquired by children as their first language, is a variety which overlaps substantially with SAE phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and lexically, but also differs systematically from SAE (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). This thesis examines the experiences of young speakers of this community variety as they begin formal schooling. It follows two cohorts of students over three years, in the first four years at school. The focus is on the everyday classroom interactions these students and their teachers engage in, and how

[1] The word *variety* is used in this thesis as a neutral term including both languages and dialects, following Meyerhoff (2011:32) and Chambers & Trudgill (1998:5).

students and teachers approach the linguistic repertoires the students have already developed, the use of SAE as the official language of education, and mismatches between these varieties.

Questions for the thesis focus on factors influencing students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires, and teachers' practices in engaging with students' ways of speaking, and presenting SAE as learning content. A quantitative approach, using variationist sociolinguistic methods, examines factors influencing children's choices between linguistic variants associated with SAE and the community variety. This is done through a detailed analysis of one linguistic variable: the presence and absence of the verb 'be'. Students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires as revealed in classroom discourse are also considered from a qualitative, Conversation Analysis perspective.

Teachers' practices in classroom interaction are examined through a Conversation Analysis approach. This analysis examines how norms and expectations regarding ways of speaking in the classroom are established, revealed and responded to in interactions between teachers and students in the classroom, and considers to what extent, and how, SAE is presented by teachers as learning content for students. These areas of investigation are designed to shed more light on the nature of the 'invisibility' described by Angelo and colleagues (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013) in the everyday interactions that form a large part of students' educational experiences.

This introduction outlines educational concerns for Aboriginal children in Australia, situated in the early years of schooling (Section 1.1), a key period of transition and learning for young children. It introduces the linguistic contexts of Aboriginal children beginning formal education and literature reporting that many of these children are unacknowledged as learners of SAE at school (Section 1.2). Section 1.3 lays out the questions addressed by this thesis, and the two methodological approaches used for the analysis. Section 1.4 outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Educational setting for Aboriginal children in Australia

This thesis focuses on children beginning school, and in the early years of education, defined as up to eight years old (Pendergast & Garvis 2013:4). In Queensland the first year of school is called *Preparatory* (*Prep*), and children usually begin school aged four to six years (Queensland Government 2016). Beginning formal schooling is an important time of transition for all children, which strongly influences their later development and academic achievement

(Beecher & Arthur 2014:235; Sims 2013:29). This is expressed as follows by Whitebread and Bingham (2014:180):

> Starting school involves children responding to changes in identity, roles and relationships as they become a 'pupil', and learning the social rules and values associated with being in an 'institution'. Transitions between preschool systems into primary school pose difficulties for young children when they encounter contrasting or widely differing expectations, approaches and values in the new environment. (Whitebread and Bingham 2014:180)

As Whitebread and Bingham (2014) describe, students entering school are learning how to be classroom learners and are dealing with new interactional patterns and expectations. Linguistic knowledge is important in this process. For all children, there is new vocabulary to learn associated with academic subject matter and the institutional aims and processes of the school environment. This might include learning new applications of words already used in other contexts in language practices at home. For example, for the four-year-old British girls described by Walkerdine (1988:19-27) in conversations with their mothers at home, the word *more* was used chiefly in regulating food and drink, in opposition to *not as much* or *no more*. As a result, the *more*/*less* contrast used in mathematics education may have been new to them when they began school.

For children whose first language differs more substantially from the variety spoken at school by teachers and used for educational activities, subject content and assessment, there is a much greater learning dimension involved in this transition to formal education.

In Australia, education is, by default, provided through English, or more specifically, Standard Australian English, which the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA 2014:8) defines as:

> …the variety of spoken and written English language in Australia used in more formal settings, such as for official or public purposes, and recorded in dictionaries, style guides and grammars. While it is always dynamic and evolving, it is recognised as the 'common language' of Australians. (ACARA 2014:8)

Educational documentation expresses an expectation that all students will speak and be tested in SAE:

> In Australian schools, learning is accessed through [Standard Australian] English, and achievement is demonstrated through [Standard Australian] English. (ACARA 2014:6)

A mismatch between ways of speaking at home and school has been linked to educational outcomes for Aboriginal students. This has been shown in the areas of effective communication in the classroom (Edmonds-Wathen 2015; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008) and in acquiring new vocabulary associated with particular curriculum areas (Harris 1991; Jorgensen 2011; Mushin, Gardner & Munro 2013). A lack of recognition of children's linguistic backgrounds within the school system has also been noted in educational documentation (McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012), and in the design of standardised assessments (Angelo 2011; Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander[2] education is an area of national concern in Australia, receiving much attention within government policy, media, and academic research. Of the six Closing the Gap targets set by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in 2008, three relate directly to education (FaHCSIA 2012). The 2018 report on the Closing the Gap targets indicates that there has been some progress towards halving the gap in reading, writing and numeracy results in the Australian National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) by 2018 (Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2018). However, based on 2017 NAPLAN results, in Queensland this progress is not on track to meet the targets in any grade level for literacy, and is only on track to meet the targets with Year 9 students in numeracy. The results show a great disparity between students in metropolitan and remote areas, with, for example, 88% of Indigenous Year 3 students across Australia in metropolitan areas achieving the national minimum standards for reading, compared to 67% in remote areas, and 46% in very remote areas (ACARA 2017; Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2018).

In remote areas, a greater proportion of Indigenous students speak language varieties other than SAE in non-school contexts (Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011). The next section discusses the diverse linguistic backgrounds of Australian Indigenous students and the challenges many of these students face as underacknowledged learners of SAE.

1.2 Aboriginal students as unacknowledged learners of SAE at school

Recent research has provided insights into the educational experiences of Aboriginal children who are faced with SAE as a new variety when they begin school. These studies show that Aboriginal children grow up in a broad range of linguistic contexts. Their communities may

[2] This thesis focuses on Aboriginal children in a community in Queensland. Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are also referred to as Indigenous Australians in this thesis.

speak traditional Australian languages, creoles, mixed languages, other kinds of English-related varieties (often called Aboriginal English), SAE, or a combination of these. At school however, they are expected to learn in SAE. For example, in the Tiwi Islands, north of the Northern Territory mainland, Wilson, Hurst and Wigglesworth (2018) described students at the very beginning of formal schooling drawing on linguistic repertoires in Modern Tiwi, English and Kriol. In a remote community in central Australia, Poetsch (2018) described students aged seven to eight years speaking both Arrente and English in a maths lesson. In an Alyawarr-speaking community near Tennant Creek, Moses and Wigglesworth (2008) described students in a multi-aged one-teacher school speaking a local Alyawarr/English contact language with peers. In a whole class discussion conducted in SAE, the same students were silent or gave responses not expected by the teacher. A number of such studies are collected in two recent volumes which deal precisely with these issues (Simpson & Wigglesworth 2008, Wigglesworth, Simpson & Vaughan 2018). These studies describe students with diverse linguistic repertoires, but also reveal shared challenges in experiences at school.

Accounts of Aboriginal students who begin school with little previous exposure to SAE consistently highlight insufficient recognition and understanding of students' linguistic needs in education. This includes recognition and development of their capabilities as speakers of their home variety or varieties, and acknowledgement and provision for their needs as learners of SAE. Gawne et al. (2016:113), summarise these findings as follows:

> Generally speaking, home languages are not used as a medium of instruction and SAE is not explicitly taught. Students are then left in the precarious position of acquiring the medium of instruction 'on the run' while also trying to learn lesson content. (Gawne et al. 2016:113)

The Australian national curriculum advice for students learning SAE as an additional language or dialect acknowledges 'the particular challenge for EAL/D students is that they need to concurrently learn English, learn through (or in) English, and learn about English' (ACARA 2014:9).

Many Aboriginal children grow up in communities where the main ways of speaking are new varieties that have developed through contact between Aboriginal peoples and speakers of English (Dixon & Angelo 2014:216; Gawne et al. 2016:114). Much of the vocabulary (lexicon) in these varieties is derived from English, so these varieties are referred to as *English-lexified*.

English-lexified varieties in Australia include creole languages, such as Kriol in the Northern Territory, and Torres Strait Creole (also known as Yumplatok, Broken) in the Torres Strait Islands. In Queensland, as is particularly relevant for this thesis, English-lexified varieties also include ways of speaking only recently identified as creoles, such as Yarrie Lingo, spoken in Yarrabah (Angelo 2013:72; Sellwood & Angelo 2013:257), or as intermediate creoles, such as Woorie Talk in Woorabinda, and perhaps varieties spoken in communities with similar histories (Munro & Mushin 2016:109). A broad range of ways of speaking termed *Aboriginal English* are also spoken by Aboriginal people as first languages in many places throughout Australia. These are generally conceived of as dialectal varieties of English (Eades 2014:417; Kaldor & Malcolm 1991:67),[3] differing systematically from SAE (Butcher 2008; Eades 2000; Malcolm 2008). However, use of the term Aboriginal English has been critiqued as lacking specificity, and as not adequately representing the contact origins of some varieties (Angelo 2013:75; Munro & Mushin 2016:84; Young 1997).[4]

Children whose first languages are English-lexified varieties are among those Aboriginal students faced with SAE as a new variety to learn, and learn educational content through, when they begin school. Although these English-lexified varieties may differ significantly from SAE, it has been reported that students who speak these varieties commonly receive limited support in accessing education in a way of speaking that they understand, or in learning SAE as an additional variety (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013).

Angelo and colleagues (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013) have termed this lack of recognition an 'invisibility' of the language situation and language learning needs of Aboriginal EAL/D students, and have highlighted these issues extensively in recent years. It is difficult to quantify the number of students who speak these English-lexified community varieties, due to the methods by which language learners are identified in government and education department records and ways their language skills are assessed (Angelo 2013:69). Angelo (2013:69) describes how varieties that do not have official names are commonly not recorded by their speakers in the census. People collecting the data may not understand these names if they are provided.

Recent studies have demonstrated a number of domains in which language invisibility affects the educational experiences of this cohort. In formal assessment, tasks designed for first

[3] Or as a single unified dialect of English (Malcolm 2013:270-271).
[4] These issues are discussed further in Section 2.3.

language speakers of SAE are administered to Aboriginal additional language or dialect learners of SAE, and results are treated as an accurate depiction of student understanding and abilities (Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011:332). The rigidity of such tests has been shown to disguise progress in acquisition of SAE, with 'right or wrong' criteria not assessing language acquisition in an appropriate sequence, and not rewarding attempts which target, but do not yet reach, standard SAE usage (Dixon 2013). In addition to this, cultural content in standardised assessments (such as the national assessment NAPLAN) have been shown to assume the cultural background and experiences of children living in large cities. These experiences may be unfamiliar to students in rural or remote communities, such as many Aboriginal children from non-SAE speaking homes (Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011).

In face-to-face interactions with SAE-speaking teachers, Angelo and Hudson (2018) have also demonstrated the invisibility of the learning needs of some Aboriginal children learning SAE as a second language. They show how teachers may assume that children share their own SAE linguistic knowledge and interactional expectations due to similarities in lexicon between students' English-lexified first languages (L1) and SAE (Angelo & Hudson 2018:209). Their analysis centres on an interaction in which a teacher informally attempts to gauge a student's understanding of a current topic of study ('safety'), where the teacher is met with unexpected responses. The teacher does not attribute the issues in this conversation to linguistic differences, which Angelo and Hudson (2018:228) draw attention to as another aspect of the 'invisibility' of students' English-lexified L1s in schooling.

The recent studies outlined above demonstrate lack of awareness of Aboriginal children's linguistic situations in certain aspects of education, including policy and assessment. Some studies have indicated that this 'invisibility' (Angelo & Hudson 2018:209) also characterises the everyday interactions and behaviour of teachers and students at school. Such everyday activities, which are foundational in making up children's educational experiences, are the focus of the analysis for this thesis.

1.3 Questions addressed in this thesis

This thesis focuses on children's experiences in the early years of school, in an Aboriginal community in Queensland where the main way of speaking is an English-lexified variety, such as could be identified as an intermediate creole on the basis of recent work by Munro and Mushin (2016) (as discussed further in Section 2.3). The school and community in which this

study was based is not identified to ensure the anonymity of the participants.[5] This means that the specific community is not named, but is identified as one of a number of communities in Queensland which share similar histories as Aboriginal Reserves under the control of the Queensland State Government, and which share similarities in the English-lexified varieties that are now the predominant ways of speaking (as discussed further in Chapter 2). In this thesis, the characteristic variety of the research site community, reported to be acquired by children as their first language (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385), is referred to as the *community variety*.

This thesis seeks to understand better how teachers and students approach differences in their linguistic repertoires as they go about everyday activities and interactions at school. Given reports that the linguistic backgrounds of Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified varieties lack visibility within the education system (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), this thesis investigates how differences in teachers' and students' linguistic repertoires, and the teaching of SAE, are dealt with in the first years of schooling. There has been little extensive research of the type done by Angelo and Hudson (2018) (referred to above, though also see Malcolm 1977, 1982; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008), examining how these issues play out in the details of day-to-day classroom interactions. This thesis seeks to provide more extensive research of this kind, through analysis of a corpus of classroom discourse in a Queensland Aboriginal community school, collected over three years. More specifically, the thesis considered questions of how students choose between variants in their linguistic repertoires, and whether, and in what ways, teachers present SAE to students as a topic of learning.

These issues were explored through two research questions and five sub-questions:

1) How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school,
    a. Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?
    b. Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?
2) To what extent, and how, do teachers present SAE (as an additional language/dialect) as a learning focus for students in lessons,

[5] In line with Queensland Department of Education ethical requirements for this study, see Section 4.3.

a. What are the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices?
b. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?
c. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?

Data for this study was collected over three years, following two cohorts of students in their first four years of school, in an Aboriginal community in Queensland. Classes were video and audio recorded during four weeks of each year, spread through the year, resulting in around 80 hours of recordings. Usual classroom lessons which happened to be taking place during the visits to the school were recorded, with the aim of capturing as closely as possible what would have been happening if researchers had not been present. All of the recordings for this classroom corpus were recorded during lesson time at school. Students' speech in this corpus is referred to in this thesis as the *children's classroom talk*.

Research Question 1 was investigated through two complementary approaches, providing qualitative and quantitative analysis. Variationist sociolinguistic methods (Labov et al. 1968; Labov 1972b; Tagliamonte 2006) were used to consider how linguistic and social factors influenced students' choices between linguistic variants associated with the community variety and SAE, and the effect of change over time. Variation in absence and presence of the verb 'be' in the children's classroom talk was taken as a case study for the focus of this analysis. Results showed that literacy task related topics of talk strongly favoured presence of the verb 'be' as expected. However, contrary to expectation, 'be' presence in the children's classroom talk was not favoured with SAE-speaking teacher addressees. The analysis did not show the expected increase in rate of 'be' presence with an increased length of time at school.

Research Question 1 was additionally explored using a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2010). CA analysis of classroom interactions showed ways in which students oriented to the social meanings of different ways of talking. In literacy tasks, children's self-talk showed how they navigated between variants in their linguistic repertoires, and children demonstrated in their interactions with peers and teachers that they associated certain words with particular ways of talking in the community.

Research Question 2 was explored through analysis of classroom interactions from a CA perspective. Analysis revealed little explicit orientation from teachers to students being speakers of the community variety, or learners of SAE, with students being instead treated to a

considerable extent as already speakers of SAE. Lessons ostensibly targeted at explicitly teaching linguistic forms were found to focus on topic-specific applications of SAE words to academic tasks. The context where teachers attended most to non-SAE aspects of students' speech was in interactions centred on reading and writing tasks. However, in these interactions, there was evidence that students were treated primarily as learners of literacy, rather than learners of SAE.

Both of the methodological approaches, CA and variationist sociolinguistics, drew on naturally occurring classroom data to provide insight into young Aboriginal students' linguistic experiences encountering SAE as the medium of instruction at school. These analyses contribute new material to previous observations regarding the level of acknowledgement of Aboriginal SAE as an additional language or dialect learners at school (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), providing insight into the visibility of these students' existing linguistic knowledge and SAE learning needs in everyday classroom interactions central to their education.

1.4 Outline of thesis

The next chapter (Chapter 2) provides context for the community variety, presenting literature that describes the development and linguistic description of English-lexified varieties spoken in Queensland, Australia, in Aboriginal communities established historically as reserves.

Chapter 3 reviews previous research regarding the relationship between the community variety and SAE, and implications for the acquisition context for young speakers of these varieties encountering SAE as a new variety at school. This is followed by discussion of literature on the process and challenges of acquiring a standard variety as an additional language or dialect in an educational context, and discussion of previous studies on this topic for Aboriginal students in Australia, and in Queensland specifically.

Chapter 4 describes the community and participants who took part in this study, and the methods for collecting the video and audio recordings which formed the corpus of classroom data. This chapter describes the two methodological approaches to analysing this data: Conversation Analysis and variationist sociolinguistics. It provides evidence for how these methods are well suited to answering the questions explored in this thesis.

Chapter 5 focuses in on the verb 'be', using a variationist sociolinguistic approach to analyse factors influencing variable presence and absence of the verb 'be' in the children's classroom talk. This analysis uses logistic regression and conditional inference tree analyses to address

parts (a) and (b) of Research Question 1. Chapter 6 continues to address Research Question 1, analysing classroom interactions through a CA approach. This analysis centres on students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 address parts (a), (b) and (c) of Research Question 2 in turn, through a CA approach. This analysis focuses on teachers' practices, considering how norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom are revealed, and the extent and ways in which teachers treat students as learners of SAE in literacy lessons, and present SAE as learning content in whole lessons.

In Chapter 10 the findings of the analyses are brought together and discussed, to consider what is revealed about the experiences of Aboriginal children learning SAE as an additional language or dialect in the early years of school. Implications of these findings for visibility of students' linguistic backgrounds, association of SAE with literacy tasks, and awareness of different ways of speaking are further considered, followed by the concluding statements for the thesis.

2 Community linguistic context

This chapter describes the linguistic context in the community that formed the research site for this study, on the basis of existing linguistic and historical literature. Although the community cannot be identified (as noted in Section 1.3), it is situated as one of a number of Queensland communities which share similar histories as Aboriginal reserves under the control and administration of the Queensland State Government. Similarities have been reported in the varieties now spoken in these communities (Munro & Mushin 2016:109).[6] These are referred to as *ex-Reserve communities* in this thesis, and the varieties spoken in these communities are referred to as *ex-Reserve varieties.*[7]

Evidence from previous studies concerning the linguistic context of the community forms the background to the analysis and interpretation of the classroom recordings collected for this thesis (presented in Chapters 5-9). This chapter outlines what is known about the ex-Reserve varieties, which previous studies state are 'widely spoken', or 'spoken most often' by adult community members, and acquired as the first language of children growing up in these communities (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385).

Section 2.1 describes the history of these Queensland communities and the emergence of English-lexified varieties now spoken in these communities. Section 2.2 outlines the body of linguistic research which has described these varieties, and discusses similarities and differences between varieties spoken in different ex-Reserve communities. Some linguistic characteristics of ex-Reserve varieties are described, on the basis of the previous linguistic studies. Section 2.3 discusses the classification and terminology that previous research has applied to English-lexified varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in Queensland. This provides context for further discussion in Chapter 3, concerning the nature of the task that young speakers of ex-Reserve varieties undertake in learning SAE at school.

[6] The shared history of these communities and their ways of speaking, and the fact that previous linguistic research has treated them as a group, was the basis for choosing to describe the research site in this way. Similarities and differences between the varieties spoken in these communities are discussed further in Section 2.2.2.

[7] This is not a term used by community members, but follows use of the terms *ex-Government reserve* and *ex-Reserve* by Gourlay and Mushin (2015), Mushin and Watts (2016) and Munro and Mushin (2016) as a descriptor of these Queensland communities and the varieties spoken in these communities. More specifically, these terms are used in this thesis to refer to the varieties which Munro and Mushin (2016:109) argue could be defined as *intermediate creoles* (see Section 2.3) and the communities where they are spoken, that is, not including Yarrabah, which Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:401-403) show differs somewhat from the other communities in terms of its history and variety (see Section 2.2.2).

2.1 Social and linguistic history

This section briefly describes history leading to the emergence of English-lexified varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in Queensland today. The focus is on the communities in Queensland that were previously Aboriginal reserves or missions under the control and administration of the Queensland State Government, as a community with this history was the research site for this thesis.

People have occupied the lands of what is now named Queensland for over 40 000 years (Donovan 2002:13). In north Queensland there were brief instances of contact between Aboriginal groups and European explorers from the beginning of the 1600s (Donovan 2002:36). In June 1770, the Endeavour River people, speakers of Guugu Yimidhirr, encountered speakers of English when Captain James Cook stopped for repairs after damaging his ship on a reef. During interactions between the groups, members of the British group recorded a list of over sixty words of Guugu Yimidhirr. This contact was brief and also included violence over turtles taken by Captain Cook's crew (Donovan 2002:39).

The first major British settlement in what is now Queensland came with the establishment of a penal colony in the Brisbane area in the early nineteenth century. The penal settlement was first set up at Redcliffe, on September 15, 1824 and moved in May 1825 to what is now Brisbane city. The harsh conditions in the penal settlement resulted in many convicts escaping, often living with local Aboriginal groups (Donovan 2002:66-67).

The Zion Hill mission was established by German Lutheran missionaries at Nundah in 1838 (Langbridge, Sloan & Ganter 2016), but accounts from the time suggest 'local tribes exploited the missions rather than the reverse' (Kidd 1997:4). While some Aboriginal people were bribed to stay and spent time cultivating crops, or attending school at the mission, supplies were also often raided. Verbal communication on this mission was in English and German, or what the missionaries could learn of the Aboriginal languages. The German missionaries were themselves in the process of learning English, and Dutton (1983:99) cites stories of Aboriginal people in the Moreton Bay area mocking German missionaries for being 'unable to speak English'. The mission closed in 1848, as it was underfunded, not self-sufficient, and the land was wanted by the government for other purposes (Kidd 1997:4).

The early pidgin spoken in what is now Queensland had its roots in New South Wales Pidgin (Dutton 1983:109). Speakers of NSW Pidgin arrived in Queensland by two routes, by sea with the penal colony established at Moreton Bay in 1824, and separately with free settlers

travelling north by land with the pastoral industry from the 1840s. Dutton (1983) describes how these branches of early Queensland Pidgin initially developed separately as inland and coastal varieties, but later merged after the closing of the penal colony in 1842 and with increasing movement of people around the area and further north. The differences in input to these coastal and inland varieties of Queensland Pidgin English gave them a different character, primarily noticeable in the inclusion of lexical items from the Aboriginal languages around Moreton Bay in the coastal variety, as well as lexical items from English relating to the convict settlement, such as *diamonds* for soldiers (Dutton 1983:104). It is likely that as the Pidgin spread throughout the state, there was a continued input from the local languages of each region, as well as the varieties of English and other languages spoken by settlers.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the actions of European settlers increasingly encroached on the way of life of Aboriginal people. With the expansion of the pastoral industry and emerging towns, Aboriginal groups were pushed to the fringes of their traditional lands, losing access to sources of food and being compelled to engage in labour in exchange for rations (Kidd 1997). In many regions, the European population was spread out over large distances, with few authorities to enforce the law. With little regulation, many station owners and settlers acted to further their own interests. In relation to local Aboriginal people, in many cases this involved violent seizing of land, compelling people to work for rations and women being subject to sexual abuse (Donovan 2002; Kidd 1997). One European settler describes the chain of events that ensued, with loss of land leading to violence between Aboriginal people and settlers:

> … when the settler then locates his stock on a piece of country hitherto in the sole possession of a tribe, the roots, grass-seeds and game on which the people habitually live quickly fail. Then come hunger and also anger… then some cattle are speared or frightened off the run by the mere presence of the Blacks in search of food. In either of these events the Blacks are attacked and some of them shot down. In revenge, a shepherd or stockman is speared. (Curr 1887, in Donovan 2002:74)

During this period, it is likely that traditional Aboriginal languages would have been the main languages of people still living in family groups. Many people may still have been living close to their traditional lands, but may have been dispossessed of their land, and bore the brunt of violence and new illnesses. It is also likely that Aboriginal people working for British settlers were acquiring varieties of Queensland Pidgin or English.

Under these conditions, although missions had been established since the early 1800s, reserves began to be established for Aboriginal people in the late 1800s (Donovan 2002:127; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). These were solidified as a government maintained and endorsed system with the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* (Qld) (*The Act*). *The Act* gave authority to the Queensland government to remove Aboriginal people living in the state to, and between, reserves:

> It shall be lawful for the Minister to cause every aboriginal within any District, not being an aboriginal excepted from the provisions of this section, to be removed to, and kept within the limits of, any reserve situated within such District, in such manner, and subject to such conditions, as may be prescribed. The Minister may, subject to the said conditions, cause any aboriginal to be removed from one reserve to another. (*The Act*, s. 9)

This system was established under competing motives (Kidd 1997). These included an attitude of protectionism, seeking to protect Aboriginal people from being 'corrupted', particularly by alcohol and opium, and desires to maintain racial segregation. It also operated as a means to remove Aboriginal peoples from land controlled by pastoralists and supply cheap labour to the pastoral industry (May 1994; Kidd 1997).

Legally, *The Act* of 1897 made Aboriginal people in Queensland wards of the state (Kidd 1997:48), and as such gave the government power to regulate and control almost every aspect of their lives. This included where people lived, where they could travel, who they could marry, their housing and subsistence, education, work contracts of children and adults, and their access to personal property and finances. In relation to the impact on Aboriginal peoples' ways of speaking, *the Act* allowed regulations to be made:

> (6) Providing for the care, custody, and education of the children of aboriginals; …
>
> (15) Prohibiting any aboriginal rites or customs that, in the opinion of the Minister, are injurious to the welfare of aboriginals living upon a reserve;
>
> (*The Act*, s. 31)

Amendments to *the Act* over the next decades extended its reach until the 1950s-60s (Donovan 2002:156; Kidd 1997:50-51). The control of *the Act* over Aboriginal peoples' property rights and access to reserves were not fully undone until Queensland laws were repealed by the Commonwealth, in the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cwlth) and *Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islanders (Queensland Discriminatory Laws) Act 1975* (Cwlth) (Donovan 2002:170).

Forcible removal of Aboriginal people under *the Act* to government-designated settlements had drastic implications for the varieties spoken in these communities, and learned by children. People from many different traditional language groups were forced to live together, requiring that they find a common medium of communication. In some settlements, the number of traditional language groups was very high; people in Woorabinda report 52 language groups are represented in the community (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:398), in Cherbourg the number is around 49 (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:395). Living, educational and occupational requirements enforced on the settlements meant that transmission of traditional languages across generations was obstructed. Many people living on reserves or missions were forbidden by authorities from speaking their traditional languages or carrying out cultural traditions (Broome 1982:99; Mok 2005; Reynolds 1972:164). Aboriginal reserves were also used as labour depots for the pastoral industry throughout Queensland, with people from the reserves working in a variety of roles. For men this included work as stockmen and other station work (Forde 1990:28; l'Oste-Brown et al. 1995:18). Women were usually employed in domestic roles, as servants and cooks (Forde 1990:29). During these work contracts, people would have had additional contact with speakers of varieties of English in Queensland.

In the early days of the reserves, a range of varieties were spoken. Some people spoke traditional languages, some spoke varieties of English, many people would have also spoken some kind of English-lexified contact variety such as Queensland Pidgin. This can be seen in the following extract from a newspaper article in 1927, the year the Woorabinda Reserve was moved from Taroom and established in its current location:

> They are a most heterogenous lot. Some are well educated and speak first-class English; some still speak pidgin English. They have come from all parts of the State, some even from Mornington Island. There is one blackfellow there who, when he first came, was unable to hold converse with any of his countrymen; his language was entirely foreign to that of any other abo. in the camp.
>
> (Morning Bulletin, August 8, 1927)

Personal accounts describe ways of speaking in the early days of Queensland Aboriginal settlements. In the following extract Bowman Johnson described his experiences growing up in Cherbourg in the 1920s and 30s.

> You only have to take my grandmother and my grandfather, they couldn't talk one word of English. I didn't have anything to do with them, just what my parents told me.

> The old people couldn't talk to anybody but to themselves, and they didn't all talk the one dialect. They couldn't talk to the superintendent and all that. He couldn't understand what they were talking about and they couldn't understand what he was talking about. (Markus & Johnson 1987:78)

Auntie Rita Huggins (Huggins & Huggins 1994) similarly described her experiences in the early days of the Barambah (later renamed Cherbourg) Reserve in the 1930s.

> As I've said, we were told not to speak our Aboriginal language, although we spoke it out of hearing of the whites. We lost most of the Pitjara language, but we learnt Wakka Wakka words. That was the name of the local Cherbourg tribe. My brothers and sisters know some words of that language. Although we can't speak it fluently anymore, the words we know are precious and carried on to our children and their children. (Huggins & Huggins 1994:27)

Accounts from other reserves and missions describe similar experiences, with normal patterns of language transmission being interrupted, and the younger generation taking on varieties more strongly influenced by English as their primary ways of speaking (Forde 1990; Thomson 1989:32; Mushin, Munro & Angelo 2016). When Aboriginal people were recorded in Yarrabah, Palm Island, Woorabinda and Cherbourg as part of the Queensland Speech Survey in the 1960s, English-lexified varieties were the main varieties for general communication (Alexander 1965, 1968; Dutton 1965, 1964; Readdy 1961). The next section outlines linguistic research into these varieties since that time.

2.2 Linguistic description of ex-Reserve varieties

Section 2.1 described how shared experiences in Queensland Aboriginal communities designated as settlements under *The Act* contributed to the development of the varieties spoken in these communities today. These varieties are English-lexified, meaning the majority of their vocabulary is drawn from English, though, as introduced above, and described further in this section, traditional Aboriginal languages and pre-existing pidgins also played a central role in their development (Allridge 1984; Dutton 1983; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016). The identity of these varieties as sharing much of their lexicon and grammar with varieties of English, but differing systematically from varieties of English, has contributed to persistent concerns about raising awareness of the existence of these varieties as distinctive, and accurately identifying their origins and relationship to other varieties (e.g. Allridge 1984; Flint 1968; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016).

This section reviews linguistic studies which contribute to an understanding of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties, giving an overview of the existing research (Section 2.2.1), discussing similarities and diversity among these varieties (Section 2.2.2), and describing some linguistic characteristics of these varieties, as reported by previous linguistic studies (Section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Linguistic studies of ex-Reserve varieties

This section provides an overview of linguistic studies of ex-Reserve varieties and other relevant Queensland varieties, from the Queensland Speech Survey studies in the 1960s, through to a number of place-based studies in the last decade, which emphasise the contact origins of the varieties, and educational implications for young speakers. Some key concerns of this literature have included describing aspects of these varieties, generally in comparison to SAE, understanding their relationship to varieties of English, Queensland Pidgin, and to other outcomes of language contact in Australia, and implications for speakers participating in SAE-dominated domains, particularly the education system.

Early descriptive studies: Queensland Speech Survey

In the 1960s, the Queensland Speech Survey recorded Aboriginal people's ways of speaking in 29 communities throughout Queensland, including communities which were at that time government reserves or missions (Flint 1968:6). Among the aims of the survey were 'distinguishing and describing all the existing varieties of English spoken in Queensland' (Alexander 1968:iii), including the speech of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Traditional Aboriginal languages were also recorded during the survey.[8] The survey was carried out by Elwyn Flint of the University of Queensland English department and his students, including Tom Dutton, Diane Alexander and Coral Readdy. Honours and Masters theses based on the Queensland Speech Survey data provided structural descriptions of varieties referred to as Aboriginal English, spoken by Aboriginal people in the mission or Reserve communities Yarrabah (Alexander 1965), Palm Island (Dutton 1964, 1965), Woorabinda (Alexander 1968) and Cherbourg (Readdy 1961).

Speakers of all ages were recorded, including school students (Flint 1968:7-8). The interactions recorded were for the most part set up by the researchers, but an effort was made to create casual settings to record everyday ways of speaking between community members. A variety of other kinds of material were also recorded, including conversations between the researchers and speakers, and elicitation by means of a questionnaire (Flint 1968:7).

[8] Some of the traditional language materials collected have recently been made available online (Flint 2015).

The materials collected for and presented in the Queensland Speech Survey theses have been summarised and reanalysed in subsequent studies, making this data an important foundation in understandings of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties. Kaldor & Malcolm (1982:103) used data from these theses in their comparison of Aboriginal English in Western Australia, Queensland and the Northern Territory, and Allridge (1984) reanalysed the data from these theses in her own thesis (as described below).

Early educational research: Van Leer Project

Another early study provided some linguistic description of varieties in two Queensland Reserve communities, focusing on comparison with SAE in an educational context. Research was carried out in schools in Cherbourg and Palm Island in the late 1960s and early 1970s as part of the Van Leer Project (Department of Education Queensland, 1972; Teasdale & Whitelaw 1981). This work tested children's ability to use certain SAE grammatical features, for the purpose of implementing a pedagogical program aimed at explicit teaching of these features. As described by Eades (2014:420-421), this program began with a deficit view of the children's linguistic development, but shifted to a difference approach, in part due to the influence of the linguist Margaret Sharpe, and subsequently aimed to assist children in becoming bidialectal in home and school ways of speaking.

Publications from the Van Leer Project provide some description of the language used by the children, but in line with its purpose, focused on a comparison with SAE rather than a full description of language use among community members. Some of the early findings of the Van Leer Project regarding the children's language were summarised as follows:

> In general, the Aboriginal English dialect differs from standard English in three aspects: phonologically, the rate of utterance and the intonation differ considerably from standard English, and the permitted sound sequences are more restricted; grammatically, there is less inflection than in standard English − plural markers and some auxiliary verbs and verbal suffixes are rare; lexically there appears to be a more restricted vocabulary of English origin, though this may be offset by words from the pre-existing Aboriginal languages. These conclusions are as yet tentative, based on a very limited body of data (Sharpe 1969:ii, in Teasdale & Whitelaw 1981:117)

Pragmatic research and institutional implications across South-East Queensland: Eades

Eades (1982, 1983) described pragmatic aspects of Aboriginal people's English in South-East Queensland, particularly in relation to information-seeking. Unlike the earlier studies described

above, this work was not conducted in a Reserve community, but through family networks spanning the entire region of South-East Queensland. This included family ties with Government Reserve communities, in particular, Cherbourg and Woorabinda (Eades 1983:126, 138). Eades' approach also differed from the earlier studies outlined above in that her focus was on 'ordinary everyday conversations' (Eades 1983:13), and describing language use rather than specific grammatical or phonological features. Eades (1982, 1983, 1988) showed ways in which Aboriginal people in South-East Queensland used language grammatically similar to SAE in a distinct way, tied to cultural values and practices. This included greater indirectness than among what she termed 'White Australian English' speakers, reciprocity in information seeking, in that the person requesting information must also provide information, and semantic differences to SAE in using lexically similar forms for talking about the future. Eades' ongoing work has included practical descriptions of Aboriginal English for non-Aboriginal English speakers in institutional contexts, in particular the legal system, where awareness of different ways of speaking has serious consequences (Eades 2000; 2012, see Eades 2013).

Contact origins and place-based descriptions and comparisons

Recently, linguistic research has increasingly focused on describing the distinct histories and linguistic features of ex-Reserve and mission varieties, showing their contact origins, and similarities and differences between different communities. An early study with this focus was conducted as an honours thesis by Allridge (1984). Data from the Queensland Speech Survey theses formed the basis for Allridge's investigation of the roots of the varieties of Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island and Yarrabah in Queensland Pidgin. Allridge (1984) compared morphosyntactic and lexical features of these varieties to Australian pidgins and creoles and provided evidence that the varieties spoken in the four communities developed from an earlier pidgin. She characterised these language varieties as post-pidgins (Allridge 1984:110).

Research in the last decade has similarly emphasised the contact origins of the varieties spoken in these communities (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016; Munro & Mushin 2016; Sellwood & Angelo 2013). These studies have described more fully the particular histories of these communities, and how social and historical circumstances contributed to the development of the varieties now spoken (Section 2.1 above drew on some aspects of these studies). These studies have examined more closely the terminology typically used to refer to these varieties, in particular seeking to classify these varieties more accurately in terms of their contact histories, rather than group them with the broad range of varieties termed *Aboriginal English* (Young 1997). These issues are discussed more fully in Section 2.3. Attention has also

been given to developing a fine-grained understanding of linguistic features characteristic of these varieties, with Gourlay and Mushin (2015) describing use of the final particle *la* in one Queensland ex-Reserve community, and discussing possible sources of *la* in traditional Australian languages and in other contact varieties.

Recent research has also had a strong focus on implications for child speakers of these varieties in the mainstream Australian education system (Angelo 2013; Angelo & Carter 2015; Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013, as further discussed in Section 3.3), demonstrating ways in which children's linguistic backgrounds have been unacknowledged, and seeking to raise awareness of the existence, and linguistic characteristics of these varieties, within the education system, and among speakers and other community members in the communities where these varieties are spoken.

Work aimed at increasing awareness of ex-Reserve and mission varieties has included poster projects produced by the Language Perspectives team, as part of the Indigenous Schooling Support Unit (ISSU) in Education Queensland, in collaboration with several Queensland Aboriginal communities, including Yarrabah, Cherbourg and Woorabinda (Language Perspectives 2009, 2013, 2015). These posters represent how people speak in each community, through speech bubbles attached to cartoon figures. The next sections draw on these posters in discussion of similarities and differences between varieties in different communities, and description of characteristics of these varieties.

In summary, this section has presented an overview of previous linguistic studies which provide insight into Queensland ex-Reserve varieties. These studies have emphasised description of these varieties, generally with a focus on comparison to SAE, consideration of the relationship to varieties of English, to Queensland Pidgin, and to other outcomes of language contact in Australia, and implications for speakers participating in SAE-dominated domains, particularly the education system. The next section discusses comparison of varieties spoken in different communities.

2.2.2 Similarities and diversity between varieties spoken in different Queensland ex-Reserve and mission communities

This thesis characterises the research site as one of a number of Queensland communities with similar histories as Government Reserves under *the Act.* Although this is necessary to preserve the anonymity of participants, it is not the case that the ways of speaking in these communities are exactly the same. As noted above, Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:384)

report that speakers associate distinctive features with different communities. This section discusses the nature of similarities and differences between varieties spoken in different communities, in particular, the ex-Reserve and mission communities Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island and Yarrabah, that have been the focus of a number of previous studies (Alexander 1965, 1968; Allridge 1984; Department of Education Queensland, 1972; Dutton 1965, 1964; Munro & Mushin 2016; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016; Readdy 1961).

The recent Vernacular Language poster project (described in Section 2.2.1 above) provides an interesting and accessible depiction of ways of speaking in a number of Queensland communities (Language Perspectives 2009, 2013, 2015). Mushin, Angelo & Munro (2016) drew on the utterances presented in these posters to comment on similarities and differences between the varieties of Cherbourg (Cherbourg Talk), Woorabinda (Woorie Talk) and Yarrabah (Yarrie Lingo).[9] Likewise, the description of some characteristics of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties in Section 2.2.3 includes examples from the posters.

As these varieties are English-lexified, there are similarities in their English-derived lexicons. These similarities include words derived from older regional British dialects of English, which may be obsolete or archaic in SAE, as well as words with the same or related forms to words found in SAE, but with different meanings (Allridge 1984:107-108; Flint 1968:8). All of the varieties share words from traditional Australian languages, many of which entered the varieties via NSW Pidgin (Allridge 1984:106; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:386), and some are also shared with Aboriginal English-lexified varieties spoken elsewhere in Australia (Allridge 1984:107). Differences between ex-Reserve and mission varieties have been described with some lexical items being used only in certain communities. These include *joonggi* 'crustacean species' (Yarrabah), *goondoonoos* 'children' (Woorabinda), *moonyoo* and *yoondra* 'money' (Cherbourg) (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:386).

There are similarities and differences in plural pronominal forms, with the Yarrabah, Woorabinda and Cherbourg varieties all using a second person plural form with a *-fla*/*fella* suffix: *youfulla* (Yarrabah), *youfla* (Woorabinda), *yu fulla* (Cherbourg), but differing in first person plural forms, with no *-fla*/*-fulla* form used in Cherbourg, *ufla* used in Woorabinda, and *moofulla* used in Yarrabah. Allridge (1984:57) notes that none of the Australian pidgins and creoles in her comparison use a form like *afla*, except for *usfella*, used in Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin.

[9] As discussed further in Section 2.3, the names given to these varieties were coined during community consultation in producing the posters (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385)

Differences in terms of frequency of use of particular variants in the varieties of different communities have been observed. For example, the report of the Van Leer Project (Department of Education Queensland, 1972) compared tests of young children's language use in the Queensland Aboriginal communities of Palm Island and Cherbourg. These results showed that fewer children used SAE grammatical markers, such as the plural noun –s suffix, at Palm Island than in Cherbourg.[10] Allridge (1984) similarly compared rates of use of different variants in the varieties of Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island and Yarrabah.[11] She used these observations to posit a continuum in terms of the varieties' similarities to Australian pidgins and creoles compared to SAE. Allridge (1984:116) framed her concluding observations in these terms:

> It does seem… that Palm Island is closest to the Pidgin end point of the continuum and Cherbourg closest to that of SAE. Palm Island showed a greater occurrence of *bin*; it employed the human third person singular pronoun *he* to refer to inanimate objects…. Cherbourg, on the other hand, never employed *bin* in the data; it included the copula *be* the greatest number of times; and marked the simple past on verbs the greatest number of times also. (Allridge 1984:116)

Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:401) account for the differences between the varieties of Yarrabah, Cherbourg and Woorabinda in terms of the differences in the extent of colonial occupation. This was less advanced further north, so that traditional life had been comparatively less disrupted in Yarrabah when the mission was established at the end of the nineteenth century, than in Cherbourg and Woorabinda further south. A higher proportion of the first residents of Yarrabah were speakers of traditional Australian languages than in the other communities, whereas substantial language shift was already in process further south. The more remote communities, Yarrabah and Woorabinda, had less and later contact with English speakers than Cherbourg, which was in a region settled early by English speakers. Yarrabah also had contact with other English-lexified contact languages, such as Melanesian Pidgin and Torres Strait Creole, through maritime and plantation industries. In contrast, the main pidgin input to the Taroom and Woorabinda regions would have arrived through the inland expansion of the pastoral industry, bringing Inland Queensland Pidgin. In Cherbourg, speakers of the earlier Coastal Queensland Pidgin English, which spread from the penal colony

[10] For example, in 1969, 36% of children beginning school in Cherbourg expressed a plural noun with an –s suffix (e.g. 'dogs'), rather than no suffix (e.g. 'dog'), compared to 16% on Palm Island. 42% used an –ing suffix to mark present continuous tense in Cherbourg, compared to 22% on Palm Island.

[11] For example, the definite article 'the' was absent where it would be required in SAE 26% of the time for Palm Island, 21% for Yarrabah, 2% for Woorabinda, and 0% for Cherbourg.

in Moreton Bay, would have been joined by speakers of the Inland Queensland Pidgin as people were removed from more westerly parts of the state into Cherbourg. Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:402) suggest that this combination of the two pidgin varieties, combined with the stronger influence from English, 'may have had the effect of cancelling out some typical pidgin/creole features'.

While taking into account the differences discussed above, it is clear that there are also strong similarities between these varieties. Similarities have been attributed to shared superstrate material from varieties of English and contact languages spoken in Queensland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, similar mixing of speakers from many different language groups, and frequent movement of people between these settlements (Munro & Mushin 2016:109; Mushin, Angelo & Munro:400).

Yarrabah is included in this group of communities with similar histories and varieties, but Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:401-403) differentiate the variety spoken in Yarrabah (Yarrie Lingo) from the varieties of Cherbourg and Woorabinda, as developing with and/or retaining more pidgin/creole features, due to a number of differences in sociohistorical conditions. Yarrie Lingo has recently been recognised as a creole (Angelo 2013:72-73), whereas Munro and Mushin (2016) argue the varieties of Woorabinda (and perhaps by extension Cherbourg and Palm Island) could be classified as intermediate creoles. These issues are further discussed in Section 2.3. The next section provides a further brief overview of linguistic characteristics of ex-Reserve varieties.

2.2.3 Linguistic characteristics of ex-Reserve varieties

This section describes some linguistic characteristics of ex-Reserve varieties, based on previous linguistic studies. The details included have been chosen to provide context for non-SAE features of children's classroom talk as observed in the research undertaken for this thesis (relevant to the analysis of variation in the verb 'be' in Chapter 5, and the analysis of classroom interactions in Chapters 6-9). More extensive linguistic description of these ex-Reserve varieties can be found in the studies reviewed in Section 2.2.1. As noted there, the most comprehensive description of these varieties dates from the 1960s (Alexander 1968; Dutton 1964, 1965; Readdy 1961, and the reanalysis of this data in Allridge 1984), with more recent literature, including the poster projects (Language Perspectives 2009, 2013, 2015) providing some additional contemporary data. Examples in the description below drawn from the Cherbourg poster (Language Perspectives 2015) and Woorabinda poster (Language

Perspectives 2013) are referenced as *Cherbourg Lingo, 2015,* and *Woorie Talk, 2013*.[12] A number of recent studies discuss certain aspects of the varieties spoken in these communities (Fraser 2015; Fraser et al. 2018; Gourlay 2012; Gourlay & Mushin 2015; Munro & Mushin 2016; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016).[13] The description below additionally draws on studies of other Australian English-lexified varieties, and of Aboriginal English, where these show similarities to the features described for Queensland ex-Reserve varieties.

This section only presents a limited set of linguistic characteristics of ex-Reserve varieties as described in previous studies. As noted above, the features included have been chosen specifically as background for features of the children's classroom talk relevant to the analyses for this thesis in Chapters 5-9. In line with the focus of the analyses on the school context, where students are expected to learn and speak SAE (ACARA 2014:6), much of the short description below is in terms of comparison to SAE, although as noted by Eades (1983:110), such an approach can suffer from being a description of what these varieties are not, rather than what they are, and can wrongly imply that linguistic features of these varieties are 'deficient English' (Eades 1983:150). The approaches of Allridge (1984) and recent work, including the poster projects (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015) depart from such focus on comparison to SAE by including comparison to traditional Australian Aboriginal languages and Australian pidgins and creoles (Allridge 1984), and representing the varieties through utterances chosen by speakers (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015) respectively. More extensive discussion of use of the verb 'be' in ex-Reserve varieties has been included in this section as this is a focus of one analysis for this thesis (reported in Chapter 5).

Phonological characteristics

Dutton's (1964) analysis of phonological aspects of four boys' speech at Palm Island concluded that phonological differences to Standard Australian English played a major role in the intelligibility of the boys' speech for non-Aboriginal Australian listeners (Dutton 1964:180). Dutton (1964:185) found that for vowels, the phonemes most unfamiliar to non-Aboriginal listeners were: /e:/, /ə:/, /au/, /ou/. The most noticeable distinctive phonological features found by Dutton (1964:186) for consonants were:

(1) A slight tendency for informants to palatalize alveolar voiced and voiceless stops;

[12] Following the names chosen by community members to refer to these varieties in creation of the posters. Note that the variety spoken in Cherbourg is also referred to as *Cherbourg Talk* by Mushin, Angelo & Munro (2016:385).

[13] It was outside the scope of the present thesis to investigate child and adult ways of speaking in contexts other than at school, but is clear that further description of these varieties would be valuable.

(2) An unpredictable use of /h/;

(3) A tendency to substitute /b/ for /v/ in the same word on different occasions; … /d/ for /ð/ and sometimes /t/ for /θ/. (Dutton 1964:186)

Munro and Mushin (2016:87) similarly noted 'a reduced set of fricatives (/f/, /s/ only …)' in the variety spoken in Woorabinda, linked to the absence of fricatives entirely in traditional Aboriginal languages.

Dutton (1964:185) additionally observed that there was wide allophonic variation in most vowel, and some consonant phonemes. See Dutton (1984:186-200) for description of features of rhythm, length of utterance, tempo of articulation and intonation.

Variable presence and absence of /h/ word initially, in contexts where an /h/ would be present in SAE, is further represented in the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015). /h/ is absent in a greater number of examples than it is present in the examples on these posters. Some examples are as follows:[14]

(1) ***E*** *dropped* ***im*** *la* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(2) *We go catcha* ***horse*** *ay?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(3) *We go* ***ome*** *for bogi!* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Additional examples in the posters show use of final /n/ rather than /ŋ/ as in SAE:

(4) *We* ***goin*** *bush, look for bush tucker* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(5) *Uncle, um* ***takin*** *da girls swimming down da* ***crossin.*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

Nouns: Marking plurality and possession

Allridge (1984:84) found that both SAE strategies and strategies described in Australian pidgins and creoles were used to mark plurality in the varieties of Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island and Yarrabah. The most common SAE strategy was the use of the plural suffix *-s.* Pidgin/creole

[14] Note that there are no official orthographies for these varieties, and conventions were decided on in each community for representing these varieties in the posters. Examples are given here as written on the posters, but only provide an indication of phonological forms. There is some ambiguity as to where differences in written forms in the posters for different communities represent differences in pronunciation, which would need to be investigated further on the basis of spoken forms. See the details provided on the posters for further information about their orthographies (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015)

strategies did not mark the noun for plurality, but supplied the plural meaning somewhere else in the noun phrase, or in the broader context. The report from the Van Leer program additionally noted variation in children's speech at Palm Island and Cherbourg, between expressing plurality with and without an *-s* suffix, as noted in Section 2.2.2 above (Department of Education Queensland, 1972). Utterances represented on the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters appear to predominantly mark plurality with the *-s* suffix:

(6) *Uncle, um takin da **girls** swimming down da crossin.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(7) *Wichay? You got dem **dogs** dere?* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Eades (1984:150) describes 'expression of possession by nominal apposition, e.g. "girl dog" (cf. the Standard English possessive 's suffix – "girl's dog")' in the speech of Cherbourg residents and older South-East Queensland Aboriginal people's speech. This method of expressing possession is similarly described by Allridge (1984:66). Possessive pronouns (*ma, my, ya*) are the only examples of possessive constructions on the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015).

Verbs: subject agreement and past tense marking

Munro and Mushin (2016:86) note 'invariant use of *was* as a past tense marker in stative clauses' as a feature of the variety spoken in Woorabinda. This is also represented on the poster for Woorabinda:

(8) *Oh don lie. You **was** dere.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Such invariant use of *was* is also described by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:93) for Aboriginal children's speech in Western Australia. Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:91) additionally describe absence of the verbal *-s* suffix in the present tense with third person singular subjects (in Western Australia), noting that this feature is shared with 'other non-standard dialects'. One example they give of this is:

(9) *He still **live** in that house* (Broome 10, Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:91)

Bucher's (2008:633) compilation of features of Aboriginal English described across Australia also notes that Aboriginal English 'does not mark the present tense, third person singular, except in the most acrolectal varieties' (i.e. the varieties most similar to SAE). There are few examples of these present tense verbal contexts with third person singular subjects on the

posters, but one example from the Cherbourg poster shows use of the *-s* suffix (note that the picture for this example depicts a school context).

(10) *Don't be stubbron, do what the teacher* ***tells*** *ya.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)[15]

Allridge (1984-31) describes three ways used to form the past tense in the varieties of Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island and Yarrabah: (1) constructions using *bin* or *be* V, (2) formation of the simple past as in SAE (with *-ed* suffix to regular verbs, and replacement of the verb by its past tense form for irregular verbs) and (3) use of uninflected, or present tense form of the verb, with no formal marking for past tense. Butcher (2008:633) describes the use of uninflected forms (for regular verbs), and use of the past participle, without an auxiliary (for irregular verbs), to express past tense in Aboriginal English around Australia, noting that this feature is shared with other non-standard varieties of English. Examples include:

(11) *E* ***look*** *for that kangaroo before* (Butcher 2008:633)

(12) *I* ***seen*** *that big one* (Butcher 2008:633)

(13) *They* ***gone*** *to that outstation* (Butcher 2008:633)

Examples on the poster use the *-ed* suffix for past tense with regular verbs:

(14) *E* ***killed*** *it* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(15) *I* ***beated*** *yu to school.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

Articles and determiners

Munro and Mushin (2016:86) list 'use of *dat* as a 'recognitional article' to mark information status (Nichols 2009)' as a feature of the variety spoken in Woorabinda. Fraser et al. (2018; and see Fraser 2015) present a detailed analysis of article and demonstrative use in the same ex-Reserve school classroom corpus used in the current thesis. Fraser (2015:20-26) describes determiner systems of Roper Kriol, Torres Strait Creole and Aboriginal English and comments on the probable determiner system of the community variety. Non-SAE forms considered likely to exist in the children's D1[16] included *Ø, one, da, dem, dis, dat, das, dere* and *ere* (Fraser 2015:23). However it was noted that it is difficult to distinguish between when students are approximating SAE, or using D1 forms (Fraser 2015:23). Use of the articles and determiners

[15] 'stubbron' (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*) or 'stubrin' (*Woorie Talk, 2013*) is translated by Munro & Mushin (2016:88) as 'pig-headed'.
[16] First dialect, as referred to by (Fraser 2015:23)

listed by Fraser (2015:23) is represented on the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters, for example (including Ø, or absence of an article or determiner, in (20)):

(16) *Pull up **der** in Broadway.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(17) *Mum **da** dog following us.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(18) *En **das** how she go.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(19) *Ay, oo **dat** oba **dere*** (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(20) *Put em on side ref!* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

Pronouns

Section 2.2.2 above described use of plural pronoun forms with a *-fla/fella* suffix in ex-Reserve varieties, noting variation between different communities. Allridge (1984:134) similarly describes these forms, linking them to forms found in Australian pidgins and creoles. The Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters show use of 'ufla' and 'we' for first person plural, as well as the dual 'me an you':

(21) ***Ufla** goin down crick.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(22) *Ay bro. **We** goin town ay.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(23) *Ere **we** go creek for swim ay?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(24) ***Me an you** ave a go.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

They also show use of *youfla/youfella/yu fulla*, as well as *youse* for second person plural.

(25) ***Youfella** bedda goway from our Grandad.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(26) *Follow me **youfla.*** (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(27) ***Yu fulla, we** go swim.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(28) *Ey, wer **youse** goin? Take us for lap dere?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

The posters represent variation in forms for first person singular pronouns, which are shown as 'ah' (Woorabinda) and 'I' (Cherbourg), and as 'ahm' (Woorabinda) and 'um' (Cherbourg) in contexts where the pronoun would be followed by the verb 'be' in SAE'.

(29) ***Ah** put mine in to patch it up.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(30) *Eya sista,* ***um*** *goin footy today, yu comin or wa?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(31) ***I*** *beated yu to school.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(32) ***Ahm*** *goin down Mimosa Crick.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

An [ɐː] realisation of the first person singular pronoun has been documented in Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2013:344) and in Fitzroy Valley Kriol where there is variation with ai [ɑe] (Hudson 1983:44). Dixon (2017:182) describes the realisation of I in Alyawarr children's speech as ranging from [ʌ] to [ai], with am (I + -m) realised as [ʌm].

Lexical

Some examples of lexical items in ex-Reserve varieties were described in Section 2.2.2 above, comparing similarities and differences between the varieties of the different communities. The Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters supply additional examples of certain words, including the following (chosen as relevant to the analyses in Chapters 5-9):

Yaduman

'Yaduman', or 'yarraman', is a word meaning 'horse' used in Aboriginal languages throughout Queensland and NSW (Walsh 1992). This is seen on the Woorabinda poster, whereas the Cherbourg poster uses the word 'horse'.

(33) *We go catch* ***yaduman*** *ay.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(34) *We go catcha* ***horse*** *ay?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

Gammon

The word 'gammon' is reported by Allridge (1984:107) to mean 'to lie' or 'to pretend', and Butcher (2008:637) describes the meaning of this word as 'nonsense' (noun), 'bullshit' (noun and verb) or 'false' (adj.) in Aboriginal English throughout Australia. Butcher (2008:637) links its origins to 19th Century Cockney English spoken by early colonists. 'Gammon' (as an adjective) is included in the Cherbourg poster, and 'gammin' with a verbal usage is recorded on the Woorabinda poster.

(35) *Dis a* ***gammon*** *song.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(36) *Na* ***gammin****.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(37) *You* ***gammin*** *goway.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Porki

Munro and Mushin (2016:87) give the meaning of *porki* in the variety of Woorabinda as 'hunting for echidna'. *Porki/Porkie* is recorded on the Cherbourg and Woorabinda posters:

(38) *We go huntin for* ***porkie*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(39) *Ufla out* ***porki-untin*** (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(40) *If ufla git two* ***porkis****, we share some wit da old people* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Have* and *got

Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:104) describe absence of 'have' as an auxiliary in Western Australian Aboriginal children's speech, noting that this was also observed in other studies in Queensland and the Northern Territory. The use of 'got' in many contexts where 'have' could be used as a lexical verb in SAE is also seen on the poster for Woorabinda (whereas none of the utterances depicted include 'have'):

(41) *Wichay? You got dem dogs dere?* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(42) *How long you got to go?* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

Questions

Descriptions of Aboriginal English state that polar questions are often formed as a declarative with question intonation, which may be followed by *eh?* (*ay*) (Butcher 2008:632; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:94). Allridge (1984:99) gives examples of this for questions where the verb 'be' could be used as a copula or auxiliary, for example:

(43) *He sweet?* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:99)

(44) *You gonna have a talk?* (Cherbourg) (Allridge 1984:99)

Butcher (2008:632) describes use of an invariable tag 'eh?' in question formation in Aboriginal English, as in:

(45) *They gotta swim that way,* ***eh****?* (Butcher 2008:632)

A number of examples on the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters include use of *ay*, which appears to have a similar sense to that described by Butcher (2008:632).

(46) *We go catcha horse **ay**?* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(47) *Ay bro. We goin town **ay**.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(48) *Yeah you know what Nana said **ay**?* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

In some varieties of Aboriginal English, wh- questions are typically formed with a statement preceded by a wh- word, without inversion of subject and auxiliary (Butcher 2008:632; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:94). This is also the pattern in English-lexified Australian pidgins and creoles (Allridge 1984:101). In the Queensland Speech Survey data, there were examples of present tense verb 'be' inverted with the subject in wh- questions (Allridge 1984:100-101):

(49) *Where's this* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:100)

As well as examples with the verb 'be' absent, such as:

(50) *What that thing there?* (Cherbourg) (Allridge 1984:101)

(51) *Now what this then?* (Yarrabah) (Allridge 1984:101)

(52) *Where that big dice?* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:101)

There were examples of past tense BE in wh- questions without inversion, but no examples of this in the present tense.

(53) *What that was?* (Woorabinda) (Allridge 1984:101)

(54) *Where they was?* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:101)

Final particles

As noted in Section 2.2.1, Gourlay and Mushin (2015; and see Gourlay 2012) analysed use of final particle *la* in the same Queensland ex-Reserve classroom corpus used in the present thesis. They identified that *la* directs an interlocutor 'to jointly attend with the speaker to a specific object or action within the here-and-now environment' (Gourlay & Mushin 2015:76), and described in detail the use of *la* in interactions, and possible origins of *la* in traditional Australian languages and contact varieties. Use of *la* is represented on the Woorabinda and Cherbourg posters:

(55) *Look dere **la.*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(56) *Im dere **la**, wit dat shangai.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

A number of utterances depicted on the Cherbourg poster include *na* or *now* clause finally.

(57) *Come on we go get feed **now*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(58) *Gone den, um goin home **na.*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(59) *Gu way **na.*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(60) *Knock off **na.*** (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

The verb 'be'

Description of many of the ex-Reserve variety features above reported variation between alternate forms with similar meanings and functions. For a number of these features, some variants were shared with SAE, and others showed roots in, or shared forms with Australian pidgins and creoles (as particularly investigated in the work of Allridge 1984, which provided a number of the examples above).

Variation in absence and presence of the verb 'be' (referred to as the BE variable) in the children's classroom talk is the focus of the variationist sociolinguistic analysis addressing Research Question 1 in this thesis, as presented in Chapter 5. For this reason, literature regarding the verb 'be' in Queensland ex-Reserve varieties, and other Aboriginal English-lexified varieties and Aboriginal English, is described in greater detail here. The posters for Woorabinda and Cherbourg both provide recent examples of variation with the verb 'be' in ex-Reserve communities:

(61) *Ahm goin down Mimosa Crick.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(62) *Me, um cumin, um ungry.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(63) *Dats ma tings.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(64) *Its under da neath.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(65) *We goin bush, look for bush tucker.* (*Woorie Talk, 2013*)

(66) *Mum da dog following us.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

(67) *Miss e cheatin ere la.* (*Cherbourg Lingo, 2015*)

Absence of the verb 'be' as a present tense copula and auxiliary is consistently reported as a feature of Aboriginal English varieties (Allridge 1984:15; Butcher 2008:631; Harkins 1994:79; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:93; Malcolm 1996:155; Malcolm & Koscielecki 1997). Some descriptions identify absence of copula and auxiliary forms of 'be' categorically as a feature of Aboriginal English (Butcher 2008:631; Malcolm & Koscielecki 1997:60, 68 – Perth and Sydney). Most studies of English based varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in specific locations describe copula and auxiliary BE as optional (Elwell 1979:197 – Milingimbi second language English), in free variation with BE absence (Harkins 1994:79 – Alice Springs), or otherwise variable, as 'often' or 'frequently' omitted (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:93 – Western Australia; Schmidt 1985:204 – Jambun English in Queensland). Although these studies provide some examples of the contexts in which BE is present or absent, the details are limited.

Historically, absence of copula and auxiliary 'be' were features of Queensland Pidgin, seen in examples from the later period of coastal settlement (1843 onwards) described by Dutton (1983:102), for example *He no good* and *bael* [not]*; that fellow too much saucy*. Similarly, historical records of Aboriginal people's English-lexified speech in NSW and WA have shown non-use of the copula (Malcolm & Koscielecki 1997:26,31). Studies of English-lexified varieties in multilingual communities where traditional Aboriginal languages are spoken have been able to draw clear links between the structure of particular traditional languages and how this would have influenced the development of the contact variety. Schmidt's (1985:204) description of Jambun English, spoken in a community where Dyirbal was traditionally spoken, drew a link between the frequent absence of the BE in Jambun English, and the fact that Dyirbal does not use a copula. Schmidt (1985), suggested that when the copula was used in Jambun English, it placed emphasis either on tense (the example given shows past tense *was* used to mark past time reference), or emphasised the predicate. In these emphasis contexts, 'be' was always in an uncontracted form, for example *she <u>is</u> gammon* [joking]. Schmidt (1985:204) also described absence of auxiliaries in Jambun English, including absence of the auxiliary BE preceding the *–ing* form of a verb, for example *I goin in the grass*'.

The absence of BE as a copula or auxiliary is reported as a feature that is salient to observers and contributes to attitudes about different ways of speaking. One teacher of Jambun English-speaking students, in a Queensland community where the traditional language Dyirbal was also being spoken by older people (Schmidt 1985:208) cited BE absence as a feature of her students' speech: 'They leave out "is" a lot. Like "she is going to town" [becomes] "she go to

town". Something like that. It's just like a sort of slang. [JA]'. This comment shows that in Jambun English, the absence of the verb BE was a feature that SAE speakers could name as characteristic of the children's speech, and that this was perceived in terms of its relationship to SAE as 'a sort of slang', and 'leaving out' words.

In Queensland, variation in the absence and presence of BE was described in four Aboriginal reserve or mission communities in the Queensland Speech Survey recordings of the 1960s (Alexander 1965; 1968; Dutton 1965, 1964; Readdy 1961). BE variation in the English-lexified varieties spoken in these communities was quantified by Allridge (1984). Allridge (1984) found variable absence and presence of BE as an auxiliary in Verb + *-ing* constructions and as a copula preceding an adjective, locative or noun phrase in the past and present tense. Table 2-1 below shows the findings for present tense BE, with fractions representing the number of times BE is present in each grammatical environment in each community out of the total contexts where BE would be used in SAE. The numbers in brackets represent these fractions as percentages (Allridge 1984:15).

Table 2-1: SAE present tense forms of the copula-auxiliary 'be' in Queensland Speech Survey data (from Allridge 1984:15)

ENVIRONMENT	PALM ISLAND	YARRABAH	WOORABINDA	CHERBOURG	TOTAL
-VING	0/3 (0)	0/6 (0)	5/10 (50)	2/2 (100)	7/21 (33)
-ADJ	4/13 (31)	6/12 (50)	13/21 (62)	3/6 (50)	26/52 (50)
-NP	10/11 (91)	7/8 (88)	2/2 (100)	0/1 (0)	19/22 (86)
-LOC	1/4 (25)	- -	2/3 (67)	1/1 (100)	4/8 (50)
TOTAL	15/31 (48)	13/26 (50)	22/36 (67)	6/10 (60)	

Allridge used the data presented in previous theses (Alexander 1965, 1968; Dutton 1965, 1964; Readdy 1961), and so had a small number of examples, that were unevenly distributed across communities and the type of following environment. Nevertheless, this analysis showed generally higher rates of BE absence with V*ing* (33% present overall), followed by adjectives (50%) and possibly locatives (50%, though the number of examples is very low). The highest rate of BE presence was with noun phrases (86%). This accords with variationist studies of African American English and Caribbean creoles which have found BE absence highest in auxiliary functions, and lowest with following noun phrases (Labov 1969a; Meyerhoff & Walker 2007:352). Allridge (1984:15) found differing rates of BE absence in each of the four

communities, with a higher rate of BE absence in Yarrabah and Palm Island than Cherbourg and Woorabinda.

Variation in BE absence/presence was also quantified by Malcolm (1996:158) for seven Western Australian Aboriginal children aged 5-10 years. Overall, these children used copula BE (preceding a noun phrase, adjective or locative) 55% of the times it would be required in SAE. The older children showed a slight tendency to use copula BE more often than younger children. Auxiliary use of BE in present continuous (V*ing*) constructions showed a higher rate of absence overall, with no auxiliary used 83% of the time (Malcolm 1996:155). With non-third person singular subjects, there was a trend towards higher rates of BE presence with older children. V*ing* constructions with third person singular subjects (i.e. where *is* or *s* would be used) did not show this trend.

Harkins (1994:778-79) described variable presence and absence of *is* and *are* (and the contracted forms *-s* and *'re*) in Alice Springs Aboriginal children's English. This was linked to the low audibility and functional load of the contracted forms (along with contractions of *have*), especially as /s/ is not a phoneme in the local traditional Aboriginal languages Arrernte and Luritja. Harkins (1994:79) characterised this as free variation, but presented contrasting examples from a younger and an older child in a school context, suggesting that awareness and use of *(i)s* and *(a)re* increases with age. The example with the younger child shows the child repeating a teacher's utterance, differing from the teacher in not including *is* (and in other features of Alice Springs Aboriginal children's English).

(68) T: *This girl is showing us a whole mob of bush onions.*
C: *This girl showing whole mob bush onion.* (Harkins 1994:79)

The example with the older child, also at school, shows two sentences: one with *is* present, and the second with no verb BE.

(69) *The dog is biting the kangaroo. He biting the kangaroo.* (Harkins 1994:79)

Harkins describes this as free variation and did not further explore contexts in which speakers of this variety used or did not use forms of BE.

2.3 Naming and classifying ex-Reserve varieties

This section discusses how linguists have described and classified varieties spoken in Queensland ex-Reserve communities, including debate around the term *Aboriginal English* and recent arguments that ex-Reserve varieties could be classified as *intermediate creoles*. This

contributes to an understanding of the nature of the linguistic context for children growing up in ex-Reserve communities, and to discussion of how the relationship between ex-Reserve varieties and SAE is best defined in terms of definitions of Second Language Acquisition and Second Dialect Acquisition (which will be expanded on in Chapter 3).

Although names for these varieties were coined as part of the recent Vernacular Language poster project described above (Section 2.2.2), the varieties spoken in each community have not historically had established names used by speakers or by others (Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). Like other new varieties that have formed through language contact, they are commonly referred to by a range of terms, which, as explained by Angelo & McIntosh (2015:288), may refer to the speakers of the variety, the location where it is spoken, or its non-standard nature (such as 'Slang', or as a 'broken' or 'rubbish' type of English) (Angelo & McIntosh 2015:288; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385).

Until recently, linguistic studies have typically labelled ex-Reserve varieties *Aboriginal English* (e.g. Allridge 1984:4; Eades 2014:419; Flint 1968; Kaldor & Malcolm 1991:68; Malcolm 2013:269). Eades (2014:217) defines Aboriginal English as 'the name given to the dialectal varieties of English spoken by the majority of Aboriginal people throughout Australia.' Authors have varied in the scope of varieties they identify as Aboriginal English: in whether varieties acquired as both first and second languages are included (Young 1997:5), in whether pidgin and creole languages are considered Aboriginal English (Young 1997:6), and the extent to which there can be considered to be a cohesive Aboriginal English spoken across Australia (e.g. Malcolm 2013:271).

In describing ex-Reserve varieties as Aboriginal English, some studies have further specified their meaning within this broad scope. Flint (1968:6) distinguishes as one of a number of categories those communities where Aboriginal English was the main way of speaking in daily use, and where the majority of the community population were Aboriginal people. Allridge (1984:2) acknowledged the broad scope with which the term Aboriginal English has been used, but restricted its use in her thesis to 'the post-pidgin of Palm Island, Yarrabah, Woorabinda and Cherbourg, as well as other Australian post-pidgins or post-creoles' (Allridge 1984:5).

Other authors argue that the broad scope of the term Aboriginal English means that it is not an informative descriptor of particular varieties (Disbray 2009:38; Young 1997). Young (1997) comprehensively critiqued inconsistent use of the term Aboriginal English across Australia until that time, making the observations above about the broad scope of its application, and

demonstrating that different researchers had applied the term Aboriginal English with differing definitions, or had not provided sufficient clarity around the linguistic situation referred to.

More recently, Angelo (2013) has described problematic implications of a broad definition of the term Aboriginal English within the Queensland education system. Angelo (2013:75) observes that the Queensland education department has represented the linguistic backgrounds of Indigenous students as a 'simple binary ethnic division' between Torres Strait Creole (or Broken, Yumplatok), and 'Aboriginal English', where Aboriginal English encompassed all other contact varieties, including creoles, spoken by Aboriginal students in Queensland. Angelo (2013:75) argues that it is problematic to conflate speakers of varieties (like Yarrie Lingo in Yarrabah) that have significant morpho-syntactic differences to SAE with speakers of varieties where the differences to SAE are largely semantic and pragmatic, and which have more limited differences to SAE in surface linguistic features. She cites English use by Aboriginal people in south-east Queensland as described by Eades (1983, 1988) as an example of this. Angelo (2013:75) argues that such a conflation underestimates the learning task for speakers of varieties like Yarrie Lingo, who would be better described as speakers of a creole, acquiring SAE as a second language, and observes that this has resulted in inaccuracies in assessment and in students and teachers not being provided with necessary support.

In recent linguistic studies, there has been some attention to developing more accurate descriptions of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties on the basis of place-based linguistic and historical analysis. Considering the historical origins of one ex-Reserve variety, Munro and Mushin (2016) argued that the variety spoken in the Central Queensland community Woorabinda (Woorie Talk) could be identified as an *intermediate creole*, on the basis of historical similarities with the development of the intermediate creole Bajan in Barbados (2000). These historical similarities include isolation of the speakers from the wider English-speaking community, and superstrate input via non-standard varieties of English and existing pidgin varieties. By extension, they suggest that varieties spoken in communities like Palm Island, and Cherbourg, which share a similar history to Woorabinda, might also be better identified as intermediate creoles, rather than as Aboriginal English (Munro & Mushin 2016:109). The research site for this thesis fits among these Queensland ex-Reserve Aboriginal communities, so Munro and Mushin (2016) provides an argument for the variety spoken in this community to be considered an intermediate creole.[17]

[17] As mentioned above, for clarity, the term *ex-Reserve* in this thesis is defined in a narrow sense as the group of varieties Munro and Mushin (2016:109) argue could be considered intermediate creoles. As

Intermediate creoles are distinguished from more radical creoles, in having more continuities with their superstrates (Winford 2013:356). Winford's analysis of Bajan states that intermediate creoles appear to be 'the result of targeted shift, and … therefore quite comparable with other outcomes of communal shift such as Hiberno English, African American Vernacular English, or for that matter Singapore English, Taiwanese Mandarin and so on' (Winford 2000:242). Munro and Mushin (2016:106) compare Woorie Talk to Kriol (as spoken in the Roper River region of the Northern Territory), making a distinction between Kriol, which is identified as a creole, and the identification of Woorie talk as an intermediate creole. They compare the sociohistorical circumstances leading to the development of Kriol and Woorie Talk, showing a number of key differences, including the fact that the non-Aboriginal, English-speaking population of Queensland was much higher than that of the Northern Territory, during early stages of the development of the varieties, creating a higher degree of access to the superstrate (Munro & Mushin 2016:107). As noted in Section 2.2.2 above, among ex-Reserve and mission communities with similar histories in Queensland, Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:401) further identify the varieties of Woorabinda and Cherbourg as having greater English input than the variety (Yarrie Lingo) spoken in the Far North Queensland ex-mission community Yarrabah, which is identified as a creole (Angelo 2013:72-73).

In summary, previous literature has shown that there are problems with identifying Queensland ex-Reserve varieties as Aboriginal English. Recent work has suggested that these varieties might be better characterised as intermediate creoles, which are outcomes of contact which developed with more superstrate input than more radical creoles. The relationship between Queensland ex-Reserve varieties and SAE will be further addressed in Chapter 3, as a basis for defining the acquisition context for young speakers of ex-Reserve varieties at school.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has described the historical background of Aboriginal communities with reserve and mission histories in Queensland, and the impact of this history on the emergence of English-lexified varieties in these communities. Ex-Reserve varieties in Queensland have received some linguistic attention since the 1960s, with studies showing both similarities and differences between the ways of speaking in different Queensland communities. Section 2.2.3 described some linguistic features of these varieties, noting the prevalence of variation, and describing in detail presence and absence of the verb 'be'. This linguistic description provides a

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described in Section 2.2.2, although Yarrie Lingo shares a similar history with these varieties, it also differs somewhat, and has been identified as a creole (Angelo 2013:72-73).

background for discussion of whether features of the students' classroom talk in the analysis for this thesis (Chapters 5-9) might represent community variety usage, or might have some other interpretation. Section 2.3 discussed categorisation of ex-Reserve varieties, with recent research arguing that these varieties could be identified as intermediate creoles. This provides a basis for considering the community variety spoken in the research site for this thesis to be an intermediate creole.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, ex-Reserve varieties have been reported to be the varieties 'spoken most often' by adults in these communities, and acquired by children as their first languages (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). Children may have had limited exposure to SAE, the variety of education, before they begin school. As noted by Fraser et al. (2018:239), access to SAE outside school is likely to be predominantly through media (e.g. television, music and internet) and some interactions with SAE-speakers in the community or in travel to other areas. There may also be exposure to other varieties of English through the media, such as American or British varieties (Fraser et al. 2018:239). The next chapter focuses on the educational setting for young speakers of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties, identifying the nature of the acquisition context, and reviewing literature concerning acquisition of a variety similar to one already known, at school.

3 Acquisition of SAE as an additional language or dialect at school

Chapter 2 described varieties spoken in ex-Reserve communities in Queensland, which are assumed to be the main varieties heard and acquired by young children in these communities as their first language (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). At school, students enter an environment dominated by Standard Australian English (SAE), participating in classes led by SAE-speaking teachers who generally do not speak the community variety or receive training in teaching SAE as an additional language or dialect (AL/D) (Dixon & Angelo 2014:221). The school environment is administered by an education system which provides resources and assessment in SAE, and prioritises SAE as the variety students must know or acquire in order to achieve academic success within the system (as described in Section 1.1).

Students who have predominantly heard and acquired English-lexified varieties (like those discussed in Chapter 2), before beginning school, will face an additional learning process on entering school, if they are to acquire, speak and learn through SAE as expected by the education system (ACARA 2014:6). This will involve learning SAE that they have not acquired through earlier linguistic experience in the community, being able to distinguish the community variety and SAE, and being able to select appropriately from their linguistic repertoires in order to use the community variety in some contexts, and SAE in others.

Because the varieties spoken in Queensland ex-Reserve communities share much of their lexicon and grammar with SAE (see Section 2.2), there are particular characteristics of the task of learning SAE for these students, which will be unpacked in this chapter. This chapter focuses on previous literature concerning Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA), and creole speakers learning the lexifier language of their creole first language (L1), as particularly relevant in understanding the context for Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified varieties in the early years of school in Queensland.

Section 3.1 explores how the acquisition context for speakers of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties learning SAE is best defined, by describing characteristics of the relationship between ex-Reserve varieties and SAE, and examining where this relationship fits within existing definitions of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA). Section

3.2 discusses challenges for children expected to acquire a closely related variety in educational contexts, drawing on research from a number of locations worldwide.

Section 3.3 describes research into these challenges in educational contexts in Australia, focusing particularly on research carried out in Queensland. This section outlines research showing issues with the lack of attention and support for Aboriginal learners of SAE as an additional language or dialect within the education system (3.3.1). It then discusses previous research investigating how all of these issues play out in day-to-day classroom interactions, considering how students (Section 3.3.2) and teachers (Section 3.3.3) deal with the presence of multiple overlapping varieties.

3.1 Defining the context for acquisition of SAE for speakers of ex-Reserve varieties in Queensland

As introduced in Chapter 1, there are many cases in which Aboriginal children beginning school are unacknowledged as learners of SAE. Situations internationally in which students are unacknowledged as learners of the school variety include students who encounter the school variety as a second dialect (D2), and creole speakers where the educational variety is a variety of the lexifier language of the creole (a type of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) referred to as creole SLA in this chapter as a shorthand).

Key in the lack of acknowledgment for SDA and creole SLA learners of the educational variety are similarities in surface features of the lexicon. For creole speakers, the varieties, by definition considered by most linguists to be different languages (Siegel 2010:6), are generally quite distinct in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax. Words with similar phonological forms may have different meanings or ranges of meaning in the creole and lexifier, and there are pragmatic, social differences in use of forms and ways of speaking. In SDA contexts, there may similarly be differences at all of these linguistic levels, but the two varieties are considered to have a close enough relationship to be considered dialects of the same language (Siegel 2010:1). Of course, defining the relationship between two varieties as one of dialects of the same language, or as distinct languages, is notoriously difficult, and often determined by socio-historical considerations (Chambers & Trudgill 1998:3-4; Fromkin et al. 2012:436). This means that there is variation in the range of contexts where acquisition of the school variety is called SDA, with the type and extent of differences between the first dialect (D1) and second dialect (D2) being specific to each situation.

In Queensland, recent research has been building up to a sizeable body of work arguing for more accurate identification of Indigenous speakers of English-lexified contact varieties in particular communities. Angelo (2013:75) has demonstrated the inadequacy of the simplistic split between Aboriginal English and creole-speaking Indigenous students in Educational discourse, where *creole* referred only to Torres Strait Creole (or Yumplatok, Broken), and *Aboriginal English* referred to all other English-based varieties spoken by Aboriginal people throughout the state. Angelo (2013:75, Sellwood & Angelo 2013) has identified Yarrie Lingo, spoken in Yarrabah in Far North Queensland, as a case of a previously unidentified creole, describing the much more substantial learning task for young speakers of this variety to acquire SAE than is the case for speakers of some other varieties that have been called Aboriginal English. Angelo (2013:73) cites work by Eades in South East Queensland as examples of such Aboriginal English (Eades 1983, 1988), where surface forms are largely shared with SAE, though with substantial differences in meanings and usage of some of these forms.

Section 2.3 situated the community variety for this thesis as one which had previously been termed Aboriginal English, but which a recent study has argued may be better identified as an intermediate creole, on the basis of its history and development (Mushin & Munro 2016:109). As such, this context may fit among those problematised by Angelo (2013:75) as previously unacknowledged Aboriginal SLA learners of SAE. This is, however, an emerging way of conceptualising the linguistic context in this community, and would benefit from further research outside the scope of the present study (which focuses on the school context), to undertake more extensive linguistic description of the contemporary community variety (updating previous such work from the 1960s), and to better understand speakers' perceptions of the variety and its relationship to other varieties such as SAE.

Work from Munro and Mushin (2016:106) and Mushin, Angelo and Munro (2016:401) (discussed in Section 2.3) shows how these ex-Reserve varieties newly identified as intermediate creoles differ from the more established Australian creole Kriol (as spoken in the Roper River region in the Northern Territory), and from the more recently identified Far North Queensland creole Yarrie Lingo. These differences are described in the direction of greater similarities with SAE, as a result of a higher degree of superstrate (English) input in their development, and social circumstances in their development, including more contact between English-speakers and Aboriginal people, and greater mobility of speakers. Winford's characterisation of intermediate creoles, on which Munro and Mushin's (2016) work was based, describes intermediate creoles as having much greater continuity with cases of language shift resulting in formation of indigenised varieties, such as African American

Vernacular English, or Singapore English, than in varieties identified as more radical creoles (Winford 2003:356).

Because students in ex-Reserve variety speaking communities have only very recently been argued by linguists to be speakers of intermediate creoles, and because of the greater linguistic similarities to SAE noted above in comparison to other creole-speaking contexts in Australia, it was uncertain whether community members and teachers in the research site for this thesis would recognise the term SLA as referring to their situation, especially given that second language learners of English are often typically perceived to be first language (L1) speakers of languages with established names and distinct lexicons from English. For this reason, the term *SAE as an additional language or dialect (AL/D)* is used in this thesis to refer to the students in the research site, acknowledging that the context may become more clearly identified and established as a case of SLA in the future. It is hoped that the above discussion appropriately clarifies the more precise linguistic context within which students in these communities encounter SAE at school.

Because the above discussion of intermediate creoles appears to place the degree of linguistic similarities and overlap of ex-Reserve varieties to SAE somewhat between that of Aboriginal English (as described by Eades 1983, 1988) to SAE, and Australian creoles (such as Kriol and Yarrie Lingo) to SAE (Munro & Mushin 2016:106; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:401), and because of Winford's description of similarities in the cases of intermediate creoles and indigenised varieties, the rest of this chapter draws on studies of both creole SLA, and SDA in educational contexts.

Another key aspect of the acquisition context for speakers of ex-Reserve varieties lies in the distinction between *Second* Language/Dialect and *Foreign* Language/Dialect learning. As identified by Angelo (2013:79), this has important implications for the level of access students have to the new language or dialect (L/D2), and thus for the type of instruction students require in the L/D2. In Second Language/Dialect contexts, the variety being learned is the main variety spoken in the community (Saville-Troike & Barto 2017:4). Students who, for example, move to Sydney from Japan might learn English as a second language. In Foreign Language/Dialect contexts, the variety being learned is not the main variety spoken in the community. An example of this might be students in Sydney, who do not speak Italian in their communities or at home, learning Italian through formal instruction at school. For many Indigenous learners of SAE at school, the main way of speaking in the community is the English-lexified community variety (Angelo 2013:79-80). This has been reported to be the case

in ex-Reserve communities in Queensland, though community members may be multilingual or multidialectal, meaning that children may also hear a variety of other ways of speaking (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). However, access to SAE for many children in ex-Reserve communities is likely to be predominantly at school. Within the school context, SAE input for these children is primarily through SAE-speaking teachers and educational materials, as their peers generally have similar linguistic backgrounds as speakers of the community variety, and learners of SAE (Angelo 2013:79). This means that SAE learning in these communities can be described as a case of Foreign language/dialect learning, which is also the case in many creole SLA and SDA contexts, as will be discussed in the next section.

3.2 Considerations in acquiring a variety that overlaps in linguistic forms with one already known, at school

The previous section outlined characteristics of the context within which speakers of Queensland Aboriginal ex-Reserve varieties encounter and are expected to acquire SAE as an additional language or dialect at school. Although complexities were discussed in terms of labelling the acquisition context clearly within definitions of SLA and SDA, some key aspects of the context in which young speakers of ex-Reserve varieties encounter SAE at school were as follows.

Firstly, there is overlap in linguistic forms in the children's first language (the community variety), and the SAE that is the medium of instruction at school, particularly in lexicon. There are also differences between these varieties, including differences in morphosyntax, such as Angelo (2013:75) describes as constituting a more substantial learning task than for some Aboriginal SDA learners of SAE (those in which differences to SAE are predominantly in socio-cultural usages, as discussed in Section 3.1 above). Secondly, the learning context at school is one of Foreign Language/Dialect acquisition of SAE. The medium of education is a standard variety[18] (SAE), whereas the children's first language (the community variety) is unstandardised, but shares some of its lexicon and grammar with the standard variety used in

[18] A standard variety (such as SAE), is one that generally has an established name, written conventions, and is codified in dictionaries, learners guides and grammars (Fromkin et al. 2012:447; Meyerhoff 2011:18). In contrast, an unstandardised, or non-standard, variety may not have an established name (as is reported for ex-Reserve varieties in Queensland, see Section 2.3), written conventions or extensive documentation (Siegel 2010:2). These varieties may also have lesser prestige in comparison to standard varieties from the viewpoint of the broader community (though they may be valued by the speakers as an important marker of group membership and identity) (Siegel 2005:145), and have in some cases been sometimes denigrated as less educated or incorrect forms of the standard variety with which they share linguistic forms (Hollingsworth 1989; Siegel 2005:153).

education (i.e. SAE). This bears similarities to many SDA and creole SLA situations worldwide where students are faced with a new variety at school.

There are many situations internationally where children encounter the variety spoken at school as a new variety, sharing features with, but differing from, the variety they have learned and primarily spoken before beginning school (Siegel 2010:158-168). In these contexts, students are most commonly expected to acquire the school variety (Siegel 2006, 2010). There are particular commonalities in the challenges faced by learners of similar varieties in formal schooling contexts. Many of these challenges stem from underacknowledgment, and lack of understanding of students' linguistic backgrounds within the education system, and the lack of appropriate instruction in the school variety.

This section draws on international studies, with the following section (Section 3.3) focusing in on the Australian, and specifically Queensland, context. Section 3.2.1 discusses issues in separating the overlapping features of the varieties. Section 3.2.2 outlines problems resulting from lack of understanding of students' linguistic background and knowledge. Section 3.2.3 discusses challenges in classroom communication and 3.2.4 examines challenges in learning to read and write the school variety.

3.2.1 Separation of varieties

As discussed in Section 3.1, the relationship between Queensland ex-Reserve varieties and SAE is such that there is an overlap between the two varieties in terms of phonology, grammar and lexicon, but also differences between the varieties at all of these linguistic levels, including words and grammatical features that might have similar forms, but different meanings. This section reviews literature concerning what is involved in learning a variety with such similarities to, or overlap with, one already known.

It might be expected that this would be a simpler task than acquiring a more dissimilar variety,[19] because a substantial amount of existing knowledge of the already-known variety, particularly with regards to vocabulary, can seemingly be transferred to speaking and understanding the new variety (see Siegel 2010:2). In fact, there are some particular aspects of acquiring a similar variety that present challenges for the learner (Siegel 2010:134). While the learner can make use of existing knowledge of features the first variety shares with the second variety to understand and communicate with speakers of the second variety, the aspects which differ between the varieties may be more difficult to perceive (Fairclough 2005:124;

[19] Such as is typically conceived of as SLA, for example, speakers of English learning Japanese

Siegel 2010:138-146). In the case of creole SLA, where words and grammatical features with similar surface forms may have quite different usage patterns and meanings, apparent overlap may mask substantial differences (Siegel 2005:143; and discussed in the Queensland context by Angelo 2013:77-79). In school contexts where the first variety is a non-standardised variety, and a standard variety is the medium of education, students commonly do not receive formal instruction in the new variety to assist with this task of differentiating aspects of the varieties (Davies 2000:131; Siegel 2005:144).[20]

One study that provides some insight into some particular characteristics of learning a variety that overlaps in linguistic forms with one already known, in comparison to acquisition of a more dissimilar variety, was carried out by Fairclough (2005). This study compared the acquisition of standard Spanish by Hispanic heritage speakers of Spanish, and L1 English speakers, in Houston, Texas. The non-target (interlanguage or inter-dialectal) forms of hypotheticals produced by these speakers were compared. This was measured with written cloze tasks at different stages during a period of formal language instruction. The study aimed to discover whether there were differences in the language learning process between heritage Spanish-speaking and traditional second language (English-speaking) learners. It was found that, while heritage learners used a higher rate of target (standard Spanish) hypothetical forms both before and after formal language instruction, the traditional learners showed greater improvement. Heritage learners were able to transfer knowledge that overlapped between the two varieties, but acquisition of features that differed between the varieties was slower for heritage learners than the traditional learners, which Fairclough (2005:124) linked to the similarity between forms for heritage learners.

Fairclough (2005:125) also found differences in the types of non-target forms produced by the two groups of learners. When heritage learners produced non-target forms, these were most frequently the forms from their heritage variety. In contrast, the traditional learners produced a variety of non-target forms, and left spaces in the cloze task blank at a much higher rate than heritage learners. Fairclough (2005:125) argues this may reflect a different stage in the acquisition process for these two groups, with the traditional learners at an earlier stage in acquisition of the structures focused on. Siegel (2010:136) also discusses similarities between SDA and later stages of SLA, where at a later stage in SLA, the content which remains to be learned is more complex, and acquisition slower.

[20] Discussed further below, although this has been a topic of concern for linguists and educators in numerous locations, and programs have been established with varied success and longevity (see Baugh 2015; Siegel 2005, 2006, 2010:198-218)

Clachar (2004, and reported on in Siegel 2010:181-183) also compared SLA processes to acquisition where there is overlap between a variety already spoken, and the variety being acquired, with 9th and 10th grade Caribbean creole-speaking learners of standard American English in the United States. This study found that students showed a different pattern of acquisition of perfective (*-ed*) and progressive (*-ing*) verb inflection to that found in previous studies of second language learners of English. These previous studies reported that learners of English acquire perfective and progressive inflection for different English verbs in an order based on the inherent meaning of the verb. Verbs more associated with the meaning of the inflection (as completed or in progress) are marked earlier, and at a higher rate, with the associated *-ed* and *-ing* suffixes.

Clachar (2004) found somewhat different results with the creole-speaking students. The creole-speaking students were divided into groups, in terms of a conceptualisation of English-based Caribbean creole-speakers' linguistic repertoires as a continuum of speech varieties, between creole (termed the *basilect*), 'intermediate creolized varieties of English' (termed the *mesolect*) and standard English (termed the *acrolect*) (Clachar 2004:155). The students in the study were divided into three groups: 'basilectal dominant', 'mesolectal dominant', and 'mesolectal-acrolectal dominant'. These groupings were based on students' rate of use of forms associated with the basilect, mesolect or acrolect, in one-hour interviews, with first person singular pronouns, and progressive morpheme forms used for this grouping (Clachar 2004:158).

Students' use of perfective and progressive verb inflection in written texts was then analysed. Clachar (2004:160) found that students in the basilectal dominant, and mesolectal dominant groupings did not follow the pattern of previous studies of (non-creole speaking) learners of English. They instead marked verbs of all types of lexical aspect with standard English inflection at similar rates (marking around 30-40% of written forms with *-ed* or *-ing*). In contrast, students in the mesolectal-acrolectal dominant grouping did appear to follow the pattern of other learners of English.

Clachar (2004:161) suggests that the results for the basilectal and mesolectal dominant students might have been linked, firstly, to a common lexicon between the creole and standard English, making it difficult for speakers to distinguish the two varieties clearly. Clachar (2004:162) suggests that confusion in separating the varieties may have contributed to difficulties in identifying a prototypical meaning and function for standard English perfective and progressive inflections. However, this explanation does not explain the finding for the

group of students whose speech showed greatest overlap with standard English (the acrolectal-mesolectal dominant group), as that group might have been expected to experience the greatest difficulty in clearly separating similar varieties. The possible impact of phonological and semantic differences between the creole and standard English lexicons are additionally not discussed in the study, so that it is unclear whether lexical items with related surface forms may have differed in inherent lexical aspect in the creole and standard English.

Secondly, Clachar (2004:162) attributed these results to speakers' repertoires including several different forms (associated with basolectal and mesolectal varieties), which can be used to express perfective and progressive meanings, so that learners of standard English may have challenges in inferring the meanings of the standard English inflections *–ed* and *-ing*, and associating these with lexical aspect in English verbs. It was also noted that in mesolectal to acrolectal varieties in the creole continuum, the morpheme *-ed* was used with a number of past functions.

In contrast to the findings for the basilectal and mesolectal dominant creole-speaking students, the study found that the acrolectal-mesolectal dominant students did appear to follow the patterns of other English as a Second Language (ESL) learners. However, possible explanations for this finding were not highlighted in the study (Clachar 2004:163). More extensive discussion of the reasons for this result would have been of interest in understanding better the effect of different degrees and areas of similarities between varieties in acquisition of an additional language or dialect. Despite this and the other critiques above, this study indicates that similarities in morphological forms, with differences in meaning and function, may have contributed to difficulties for students in acquiring the standard English forms and usage, especially in the absence of teaching methods which took into account students' existing linguistic repertoires (Clachar 2004:163).

Both Fairclough (2005) and Clachar (2004) suggest that instruction in the second language or dialect is important in SDA and creole SLA contexts, and that it is of particular benefit for students to be assisted in identifying specific aspects where the L/D1 and L/D2 differ. Fairclough (2005) highlights the importance of separation of the varieties, with one of the recommendations of the study being to:

> Follow a contrastive teaching approach with an awareness component to aid the conscious separation of the two varieties. (Fairclough 2005:137)

Fairclough's (2005:124) observation of slower improvement for the heritage learners in comparison to traditional second language learners of Spanish links to another challenge reported for learners of a second dialect, that they may not perceive themselves as learners of the second dialect, or be able to perceive progress in this learning process. For Australian Aboriginal students in second dialect contexts, Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcom (1982:197) observe:

> The process of acquiring a second dialect rarely gives learners a clear sense of achievement of the kind language learners may feel upon becoming fluent in a language which is completely different from the mother tongue. (Kaldor, Eagleson & Malcolm 1982:197)

Difficulty in perceiving progress in dialect acquisition in comparison to language acquisition may be one factor contributing to such a feeling among learners.

3.2.2 Lack of understanding of students' linguistic background and knowledge

A persistent issue reported in SDA and creole SLA educational contexts is that teachers do not receive adequate training in awareness of the varieties spoken by their students, or in teaching strategies for teaching language or lesson content to speakers of a different variety (Ammon 1977:134, Angelo & Hudson 2018, Batten et al. 1998:15, Cheshire et al. 1989:8; Davies 2000:131, Edmonds-Wathen 2015:54; Labov 1969b).

Lack of understanding of students' linguistic backgrounds and knowledge may lead to teachers wrongly assessing students' abilities across other areas of learning, wrongly attributing linguistic differences and language learning effects to lack of ability or lack of learning of subject content. Labov (1969b) gives a compelling illustration of the effect teachers' lack of understanding of a student's D1 may have on the student's confidence, in relation to speakers of AAE with standard American English-speaking teachers:

> If the teacher has no understanding of the child's grammar and set of homonyms, she may be arguing with him at cross purposes. Over and over again, the teacher may insist that *cold* and *coal* are different, without realizing that the child perceives this only as a difference in meaning, not in sound. She will not be able to understand why he makes so many odd mistakes in reading, and he will experience only a vague confusion, somehow connected with the ends of words. Eventually, he may stop trying to analyse the shapes of letters that follow the vowel, and guess wildly at each word after he deciphers the first few letters. Or he may lose confidence in the alphabetic

> principle as a whole, and try to recognize each word as a whole. This loss of confidence seems to occur frequently in the third and fourth grades, and it is characteristic of many children who are effectively nonreaders. (Labov 1969b:63-63)

It has been observed that when teachers are not familiar with their students' first language or dialect, they may look to other explanations for students' behaviour, level of understanding or results, without taking linguistic differences into account as a factor. A number of teachers of Swabian dialect speakers in Germany (Ammon 1989:134) claimed that dialect speakers in education did not have many problems, reasoning that intelligent students had few difficulties. As Ammon (1989:134) and Siegel (2010:159) observe, this could mean that teachers look to student intelligence as an explanation for educational difficulties, overlooking the possibilities of linguistic differences having an impact. Angelo and Hudson's (2018) study (described in Section 3.3.3) expressed similar concerns, showing how a teacher may assess students' unexpected answers as indicating lack of understanding of lesson content when linguistic differences are overlooked.

Teachers may also attribute non-standard features in student work to laziness or carelessness in the students' dedication to their work (e.g. Cheshire 1982:57). This (sometimes perhaps unconscious) association of non-standard dialects with lack of effort and intelligence may be a factor in some teachers forming lower expectations or negative attitudes towards speakers of these varieties (Stijnen & Vallen 1989). These teacher attitudes may in turn contribute to students' negative attitudes towards education.

When teachers 'correct' students' first language or dialect usage (L/D1) without a framework in which students are seen as learners of the educational variety, this has been reported to cause confusion and frustration for students. In such 'corrections', teachers mark out an element of the students' L/D1 usage as incorrect, and require that students use a L/D2 form instead, treating the issue as one of 'right' and 'wrong', rather than one of linguistic differences and learning. Cheshire and Edwards (1993) present 14-year-old students' comments regarding teachers' correction of their D1 speech, as part of a survey of British dialects in education. Students had a range of attitudes towards correction from teachers, several of which were seen by Cheshire and Edwards (1993) as problematic for encouraging acquisition of standard English. These included feelings of anger, 'because I know what I'm saying and so does the teacher', and a deficit attitude towards their own D1, 'It doesn't bother me because they [teachers] know how to speak better than I do' (Cheshire & Edwards 1993:40).

Cheshire and Edwards (1993) also noted that such corrections did not appear to be very effective, as students' comments indicated that they were not always remembered accurately. For example, one student reported, 'When I say *I saw something* they (teachers) say to say *seen* but my parents say it the opposite. This confuses me.' (Cheshire & Edwards 1993:40). The authors observed that this was unlikely to have been the content of the teacher's correction. As a result, it appeared that for these students, correction might be adding to confusion, alongside competing input from different interlocutors' ways of speaking.

There is evidence that teachers may orient to correction of students' non-standard speech production in discourse on curriculum content more frequently than in conversation in other less formal contexts. Pavlou and Papapavlou's (2004) survey of 133 Greek Cypriot teachers found that 60.2% of teachers said they corrected students' speech in the D1 (Greek Cypriot Dialect). However, teachers' responses suggested that they were less likely to insist on the standard variety being used when talk was not directly on formal lesson content. A high proportion of teachers (77.4%) said they corrected students more frequently in writing than in spoken production.

3.2.3 Challenges in classroom communication

Similarities in lexicon between varieties spoken at home and at school in SDA and creole SLA contexts means that there is likely to be some degree of mutual intelligibility, or apparent mutual intelligibility, between speakers of the two varieties. This may be very limited in some situations. However, even in cases where there may appear to be understanding between speakers of the two varieties, this understanding may be partial, slower or incomplete (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008; Pavlou & Papapavlou 2004). This section describes two studies which demonstrate ways in which this may be the case.

A study of speakers of Swiss German at school shows one way in which dialect differences may have an impact on understanding of spoken language without this being immediately apparent. Stern (1988:139) describes unpublished work by Erny (1984) which looked at kindergarten (6-year-old) D1 speakers of Swiss German, learning at school in Standard German. The same story was told to some students in Swiss German, and to others in Standard German. An overall test of comprehension of the story showed little difference between the two groups. However, looking in detail at the students' understanding, it was found that students listening to the story in their D1 conformed to the normal comprehension pattern of retaining most information from the beginning section of the story. In contrast, children listening to the Standard German (D2) story retained more information from the middle and

the end sections. It was suggested that this means students listening to their D2 used more of their attention to process and translate the D2 information into their D1, particularly at the beginning of the story. Stern (1988) suggests that students were using their comprehension skills to 'bridge momentary comprehension gaps on the text level and to close them later.' (Stern 1988:140).

A recent study with African American English (AAE) speaking students also suggests that the additional processing demands of switching between the D1 and D2 are linked to students' understanding in school tasks conducted in the D2 (Terry et al. 2010, 2015). Grade 2 students solved mathematical word problems which were read aloud to them. They found that use of the third person singular -s suffix had a significant negative effect on students answering the problems correctly. This was independent of general mathematical ability. They found that this effect was greater with students who used more AAE features in their spoken language (Terry et al. 2015:649), linking this to less adeptness at switching between varieties. Comparing results for six morphosyntactic features studied, they hypothesised that 'morphosyntactic features whose semantic content is phonologically null in one dialect but not the other pose the greatest difficulty' (Terry et al. 2015:647).

These studies both described delayed understanding in spoken communication due to differences between the D1 and D2 in SDA contexts. Section 3.3.3 below discusses two studies of classroom interaction in Australia in which there was incomplete understanding in interactions between Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified creoles and their teachers (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008). As will be described further below, in these interactions the linguistic elements which contributed to this incomplete understanding were to some extent hidden from the participants.

3.2.4 Challenges in learning to read and write the school variety

Knowledge of spoken language plays a key role in learning to read and write. Students start learning to read and write in the first years of school. The spoken language they have mastered is their L/D1, even if they may be in the process of acquiring the spoken educational standard as a L/D2. If the L/D1 differs from the spoken standard in terms of phonology, morpho-syntax, lexically and semantically, there is evidence that this will affect learning to read and write (Abd-Kadir, Hardman & Blaize 2003; Angelo 2011; Craig & Washington 2006:102; Kemp 2009; Kohler et al. 2007).

In many languages, as in English, there is not a straightforward correlation between sounds in the standard variety and the way they are written. As a result, some have suggested that

learning to read and write should not be inherently a harder task for speakers of non-standard varieties than for speakers of the standard variety. For example, Labov (1972b) suggests that linguistic differences are not the main factor involved in difficulties for speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) learning to read and write standard written American English.

> Some writers seem to believe that the major problem causing reading failure is structural interference between these two forms of English. Our research points in the opposite direction. The structural differences between SE and BEV [Black English Vernacular] outlined in chapters 1-4 are largely modifications and extensions of rules found in other dialects. The number of structures unique to BEV are small, and it seems unlikely that they could be responsible for the disastrous record of reading failure in the inner city schools. (Labov 1972b:241)

Labov (2010) reflected on these issues in the years subsequent to the early research in the 1960s and early 1970s reported on above. Labov (2010:19) observed that reports over that time showed reading proficiency levels for AAVE speaking school students had remained stable at a low level. The work of Labov and colleagues has included investigation and development of resources assisting teachers in understanding their children's home varieties better, in order to teach reading more effectively (see Labov 2010:22). However, Labov (2010) makes clear that a range of factors, including poverty, and students' rejection of 'the school as an institution' (Labov 2010:19, 22) contribute to problems in learning to read, and that these factors intersect in complex ways with issues of linguistic difference.

In the case of home and school varieties where there are more substantial structural differences, and for creole speakers learning a variety of the lexifier, where the varieties are different languages, more extensive challenges are reported in relating the spoken L/D1 to the written L/D2 (Angelo 2011:52). However, even in the case of dialects where differences are largely phonological, there is evidence that a mismatch between the dialect already known (D1), and the dialect students are expected to produce as they read aloud and write (D2) places extra demands on these students.

A recent study centred on AAE-speaking students' acquisition of standard American English suggests that learning to read is an easier task if students are able to read aloud with their own phonological forms (Brown et al. 2015). Brown et al. (2015) argue that dealing with the mismatch between D1 and D2 and being required to simultaneously learn the standard forms makes learning to read a harder and slower task for AAE-speaking students. This study used a

computer model to simulate the learning process of one aspect of learning to read: mapping sounds in spoken form to their written form, and producing the sounds again by reading aloud. They found that when there was a mismatch between the spoken variety learned first (the D1), and the phonological forms to be read aloud (the D2), the model learned at a much slower rate. In contrast, when the model learned to read aloud using the D1 (AAE) phonological forms, the results were very similar to a 'standard English speaking' model, which was trained on standard English forms and learned to read these standard English phonological forms aloud. This suggests that the issue in relating sounds and letters relates less to the phonological differences between AAE and standard English, and more to the fact that teaching methods require students to simultaneously learn a new set of phonological forms, which they must switch between.

These results were supported by their study of AAE-speaking children reading aloud words that have different pronunciations in AAE and standard American English (contrastive words), and words which are pronounced the same in AAE and standard American English (non-contrastive words) (Brown et al. 2015:6). Children who used AAE features more frequently (as measured by an earlier sentence repetition task), took longer to give a response for the contrastive words, than for the non-contrastive words. Children who used less AAE features did not make this distinction. Children who used more AAE features also were more likely to read the contrastive words with a pronunciation which was not correct for AAE or standard American English. Both of these effects suggested that the choice in phonological variants placed additional processing demands on the students who used more AAE features.

When there is little instruction in the school variety, the mismatch between children's intuitions from their spoken L/D1 and the forms they are expected to produce when reading and producing written texts can be a source of confusion. In writing tasks, students make use of their spoken repertoires in creating written texts. For these students, some aspects of representing their spoken language in writing will be considered incorrect within the education system, as not matching the standard variety.

In a study of 9-10 year old children's writing in the town of Reading, England, Williams (1989) found that all the participants who were speakers of the local dialect used features of this dialect in their written work. Williams (1989) provides examples which illustrate students' process of grappling with the choice between multiple linguistic variants. These examples show students crossing out and rewriting D1 and D2 variants. For example, 'We ~~was~~ ~~were~~ was in the park.' and 'We ~~done~~ did a bit more dancing' (Williams 1989:196). The first of these

examples resulted in the student choosing a D1 variant, the second example in the student choosing a D2 variant. Williams (1989) comments that this reveals students' uncertainty about which variants are appropriate for school work. It is suggested that there is a danger in teachers correcting students' non-standard language, in that students may be taught not to trust their own linguistic intuitions. This kind of correction without separation of varieties and intentional teaching of the D2 implies the students' D1 is simply 'wrong' language.

Section 3.2 has described considerations in acquiring a second language or dialect in a school context, in situations where the L/D1 shares features with the standard variety used at school. This section has drawn on studies of such contexts internationally, to discuss issues in separating the overlapping features of the varieties, problems in lack of understanding of students' linguistic backgrounds, challenges in classroom communication, and challenges in learning to read and write the school variety. The next section reviews Australian literature, to better understand how these issues affect Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified varieties expected to acquire and speak SAE in school contexts.

3.3 Experiences of Indigenous speakers of English-lexified varieties learning SAE in formal schooling contexts in Australia

As with the international contexts reviewed in the previous section, issues have been reported for Australian Indigenous speakers of English-lexified creoles and Aboriginal English in SAE-medium education in terms of lack of acknowledgement of students as learners of the school variety (SAE). This section reviews literature demonstrating issues in acknowledgment of these students in educational documentation and curriculum, and in how their learning outcomes are assessed by the education system (Section 3.3.1). The next two sections focus on the experiences of Indigenous second language or dialect learners of SAE at school, with Section 3.3.2 discussing literature regarding students' choices between different ways of speaking at school, and Section 3.3.3 focusing on teachers' approaches to linguistic differences and the teaching of SAE, with an emphasis on evidence from studies which have examined day-to-day classroom interactions.

3.3.1 Lack of acknowledgement of Australian Indigenous speakers of English-lexified creoles and Aboriginal English as learners of SAE at school

Recent Australian work, particularly in Queensland, continues to describe many of the issues discussed internationally in Section 3.2, focusing on what Angelo and colleagues term an ongoing 'invisibility' of the situation faced by many Aboriginal children in terms of their

linguistic backgrounds and their needs as learners of SAE (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013). This invisibility has been demonstrated in educational documentation and curriculum (McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), institutional awareness and records of students' home languages (Dixon & Angelo 2014), in the material given attention in teaching, particularly in the teaching of literacy (Angelo 2011), and in the expectations and assumptions made by SAE speaking teachers in their evaluations of students' knowledge (Angelo & Hudson 2018). This section discusses these issues reported in two parts, firstly, with regards to educational documentation and curriculum, and secondly, in assessment processes.

Issues in educational documentation and curriculum

McIntosh, O'Hanlon and Angelo (2012) examined discourse around the terms *language* and *literacy* in national and Queensland state educational documentation. They showed that the linguistic backgrounds and learning needs of students who do not already speak SAE, particularly Indigenous students who speak contact varieties, are little acknowledged in this documentation. They described the dominance of SAE as invisible in these documents, in that the role of SAE in development of literacy skills and other learning in the Australian education system is taken for granted and assumed.

In these documents, McIntosh, O'Hanlon and Angelo (2012) also found SAE was commonly conflated with *language* and *literacy*. They described this as follows:

> The linguistic hegemony of the dominant national language is evident in the fact that *language* and *SAE* are seen as one and the same entity in many educational documents. This assumption is even expanded in some documents, to the extent that (SAE) *language* is seemingly viewed as virtually synonymous with (English) *literacy*. (McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012:461)

McIntosh, O'Hanlon and Angelo (2012:461) explained how, if teachers are not equipped to pay attention to the SAE proficiencies of their students, they may attribute aspects of students' behaviour or work to other factors (including poor literacy skills), when they would be better explained as a feature of being a learner of SAE (McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012:461).

Dixon and Angelo (2014) reported on the data collected in Queensland education systems about the linguistic backgrounds of Indigenous students. Their findings were based on a program in 86 schools in the Queensland State and Catholic education systems in 2011-2013. They found extensive inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the reporting of Indigenous students'

linguistic backgrounds, particularly for speakers of English-lexified contact varieties. After taking part in the program, only two of the 86 schools felt that data for their Indigenous students' linguistic backgrounds was accurate (Dixon & Angelo 2014:219). They linked the under-reporting of language and dialect backgrounds other than SAE for Indigenous students to a number of issues. These included the complex ecologies of contact varieties, and competing narratives about student performance, whereby 'low SES [Socioeconomic Status]' was accepted as a simple explanation for student outcomes (Dixon & Angelo 2014:223). They also described the same 'blindness' to linguistic issues, and dominant discourse of 'literacy' observed by McIntosh, O'Hanlon and Angelo (2012). They further noted the assumption of SAE proficiency in (the Australian national assessment) NAPLAN testing and in teaching that seeks to improve outcomes in NAPLAN testing, observing that 'What is assessed is 'literacy-as-if-you-already-speak-English' so what is taught is 'literacy-as-if-you-already-speak-English', such as spelling or text construction' (Dixon & Angelo 2014:222).

Additional recent work has shown how, as a result of this lack of visibility of students' linguistic backgrounds, material given attention in teaching may assume a level of knowledge of SAE without reference to students' actual SAE proficiency. Angelo (2011) analysed texts written by Torres Strait Creole speaking learners of SAE, showing that while teaching practices had focused on the structure of narrative texts, students would have benefited from instruction in SAE. The texts analysed were written as a NAPLAN practice task, by students in Years 4-5. Angelo (2011:45) calculated rates of non-SAE features (at 7% to 37% over the 13 texts), but noted that this is problematic as a method for assessing the SAE skills of the students. Some of the shorter texts appeared to have lower rates of non-SAE features, but were less fluent, and used more formulaic language. Analysis of two example texts showed that correct use of 'literacy' features (such as spelling and punctuation) had much less impact on the success of the text than SAE proficiency. Angelo (2011:46) notes that 'Basic literacy interventions around spelling and punctuations would not greatly improve these narratives in terms of quality or quantity.' In addition to this, solely in terms of the NAPLAN test, only 11 of the possible 47 points for the writing task were designated for spelling and punctuation in the marking criteria.

Similarly, in a Year 2 maths lesson with Aboriginal speakers of an English-lexified variety in Queensland, a lesson about 'the language of location' was treated as a lesson in mathematical terminology, without reference to the additional SAE-learning tasks for these students (Watts, Gardner & Mushin 2017). These studies show students' linguistic backgrounds not being taken into account in lesson content chosen for teaching. Instead, they show lessons designed as though students are already proficient speakers of SAE, with a focus on applying SAE

knowledge to new academic tasks. These tasks included learning the structure of a text in the narrative genre (Angelo 2011), and describing spatial relationships for a mathematics task (Watts, Gardner & Mushin 2017).

Issues in assessment

Formal methods commonly used for assessing students' knowledge have been shown to be problematic for Aboriginal learners of SAE. Wigglesworth, Simpson and Loakes (2011) show that standardised assessments intended for first language speakers of SAE do not give Aboriginal learners of SAE the opportunity to demonstrate their true level of understanding. They found that for Aboriginal students in remote communities in the Northern Territory, including speakers of Kriol varieties, the standardised national assessment NAPLAN assumed cultural knowledge likely to be unfamiliar (e.g. experience of cinemas, newspaper delivery and letterboxes), and was an unreliable diagnostic tool because it did not take into account the second language learner status of these students. Sections of the test intended to assess spelling, grammar and punctuation were also found to test SAE knowledge (without this being stated in the minimum standard expectations), by depending on knowledge of SAE inflection not used in some varieties of Kriol and Aboriginal English (Wigglesworth, Simpson and Loakes 2011:332). The SAE knowledge expected at each grade level tested (Year 3, Year 5, Year 7, Year 9), did not follow the level of difficulty of SAE features for second language learners (Wigglesworth, Simpson & Loakes 2011:339).

Dixon (2013) similarly showed how assessment measures may not acknowledge students' progress in learning SAE. An 'error-based' assessment of a seven-year-old Alyawarr English speaker's utterances was described, where non-standard features were counted as 'mistakes'. Dixon (2013) explained how such a method of assessment leads to not acknowledging the student's degree of success in targeting SAE, and hiding the student's progress. Counting 'errors' treats all features of SAE as equal in the acquisition process, and does not take into account that learning a second language is a process where some aspects take longer and require more support to learn. Utterances may also be counted as 'correct' when the student has not acquired the underlying paradigm, because of similarities in form (Dixon 2013:309).

Angelo (2013:77) similarly observes that there are difficulties for teachers in distinguishing whether particular SAE-like features in students' speech represent acquisition of SAE, or continued usage of features of their first language or dialect which happen to have the same or similar form to SAE. Likewise, if teachers are unfamiliar with ways of speaking in the community, it may be unclear whether non-SAE features in the students' speech are L/D1

production, or whether they are students' learner attempts at producing SAE (Angelo 2013:77).

Even in one-on-one oral assessments, where it might be supposed that teachers could collect more nuanced information about students' level of understanding, evidence of difficulties due to linguistic differences between teacher and students have been reported. Mushin, Gardner and Munro (2013) found that Aboriginal speakers of an English-lexified community vernacular in Queensland had difficulties with the terms *size*, *shape* and *same*, but displayed understanding of these concepts if the teacher rephrased their questions with different terms. However, as the questions were not rephrased in every case for each student, the teacher may have collected an incomplete assessment of the students' abilities.

The studies described in Section 3.3.1 report a lack of visibility and acknowledgement of Indigenous students' linguistic backgrounds and SAE learning needs within the education system as a major issue in Queensland, and in Australia as a whole. Such underacknowledgement has been a persistent issue for students in this situation, even over the last fifty years since it has been a topic of research and attention. Underacknowledgement of Indigenous students' linguistic backgrounds has been shown to be an issue at a systemic level, in reporting and recording of student linguistic backgrounds, and in assessment measures. The studies reported here have drawn attention to an assumption of SAE proficiency, so that poor educational outcomes may be attributed to factors other than students being learners of SAE.

Section 3.3.2 begins to consider how these issues play out in the everyday interactions that make up Australian Indigenous children's experiences at school, in contexts where they encounter SAE as a new variety in education. It discusses previous studies which have investigated students' variation between different ways of speaking in classroom interactions, focusing on factors involved in children's choice between multiple variants for expressing similar meanings in their linguistic repertoires.

3.3.2 Students' choices between multiple ways of speaking in the classroom

Studies of Australian Indigenous students at school in a range of linguistic contexts have examined variation in their linguistic choices, and how different interactional factors contribute to choices between ways of speaking associated with their home contexts, or school context.

Regarding speakers of Aboriginal English, Malcolm's (1996) study of variable use of verb forms analysed the speech of seven Aboriginal children in Western Australia, aged five to ten years, quantifying use of different forms by counting students' use. Some of the conclusions of this study include that 'there is some evidence that they select from their repertoire of variants in systematic ways', and that 'ongoing exposure to standard English in the school setting may result in the modification of some dialectal features, but not others' (Malcolm 1996:161).

Qualitative studies have reported Aboriginal English-speaking children using different linguistic variants based on the addressee, speech context and topic of conversation. For example, Kaldor and Malcolm (1982) observed that,

> Many children are skilled at switching speech varieties according to the requirements of the situation. Most speakers tend to move in the direction of SAE when speaking with the teacher, at school on a school topic, and away from SAE when talking to other speakers of Aboriginal English in an informal setting. (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:100)

However, regarding speakers of Aboriginal English in an urban setting, in Redfern and La Perouse, Sydney, Eagleson (1982:160) claimed that the differences between the children's language and SAE amounted to 'variant forms, which do not involve any changes in meaning, or absence of particular notions'. The contrast between these analyses may reflect the considerable differences observed in varieties termed Aboriginal English (as discussed in Section 2.3).

The classroom interactions analysed by Moses and Wigglesworth (2008) in a remote Northern Territory school (further discussed in Section 3.3.3 below) showed a strong impact of teacher directed instructional sequences on students' speech. They showed students taking short turns and not responding to questions from the teacher in a whole class context. However, when speaking to peers, students spoke competently and fluently. The comparison also showed a difference in variety used in the two contexts, with the fluent talk between peers making use of their community ways of speaking.

Variation between varieties has also been described in studies of children in multilingual contexts in education in Australia. Wilson, Hurst and Wigglesworth (2018:142) characterised three to four-year-old children's variation in codes in the Tiwi Islands as drawing on their linguistic repertoires in Modern Tiwi, English and Kriol, 'conditioned by awareness that some features are more English-like, Tiwi-like and Kriol-like', with reasonably free choice between equivalent lexemes, except that verbs are mostly drawn from English. Poetsch (2018)

described use of English and Arrernte with two girls aged seven to eight, in a maths lesson taught in English. Frequencies of each language used were quantified (44%/51% English for the two students). This was attributed to the lesson being taught in English, and to the interlocutor. When the teacher was not addressed or an overhearer of the interaction, the two students used mostly Arrernte, or mixed Arrernte and English (Poetsch 2018:156). Poetsch (2018:164) also looked at communicative purpose, dividing these into organising, on-task and off-task turns. Her observations found that there was not a strong association between communicative purpose and code used, but a stronger correlation between language choice and whether the interlocutor was the class teacher or a peer. This study focused on a single lesson, and two students, so observations and overall statistics were used to depict how these characteristics of the interactional context influenced choice of language. However, for a larger corpus and to take these and other possible factors into account simultaneously, variationist sociolinguistic statistical methods can provide a means of identifying patterns of variation.

Two recent studies provide a different perspective on Aboriginal children's speech in education, by using sociolinguistic methods to analyse children's variation between home variety and SAE variants (Fraser 2015; Fraser et al. 2018), and differences between children's speech in home and school contexts (Dixon 2017). Both of these studies focused on contexts where Aboriginal students who speak English-lexified contact varieties are encountering SAE as a new variety at school. The findings of these studies provide insight into how students are conceptualising and separating home and school varieties.

The first of these studies (Dixon 2017), investigated whether children in a remote community in the Northern Territory were using separate varieties at home and at school. In this community, children primarily speak Alyawarr English, an English-lexified contact language with input from the Arandic language Alyawarr, which is also spoken in the community (Dixon 2017:83). Dixon (2017) found clear differences between speech at home and school, which she operationalised by separating the most school-like contexts (non-Alyawarr interlocutor at school) from the most home-like contexts (Alyawarr interlocutor at home) (Dixon 2017: 92). Differences were found between the three variables analysed. These variables were three features in present temporal reference clauses: aspect markers (bare verb V (e.g. *look*) vs. Ving (e.g. *looking*) vs. Vbat (e.g. *lookbat*)), first person singular subject form (*I* vs. *AM*) and transitivity marking (*-im* vs. unmarked). The same variable rules were used in the home and school contexts for first person singular forms and for transitivity marking, with an increase in use in the SAE forms over time in the school context. The variable rule systems for aspectual marking were different in the home and school contexts, with the Vbat variant not used at

school, and the Ving variant not used with transitive verbs in the home context. The V variant was used with stative clauses at home, but with both stative and habitual clauses at school. Differences between ways of speaking at home and school were found even from the youngest age group recorded, two months into formal schooling (Dixon 2017:194).

The second of these studies (Fraser et al. 2018), looked at factors influencing use of home variety and SAE variants of articles and demonstratives for six children over three years in the early years of school, from the same corpus of classroom recordings used for the research presented in this thesis. Fraser et al. (2018) found that there was some evidence of a separation of home variety and SAE determiners by context. However, the SAE forms appeared to be associated very specifically with literacy contexts, with SAE-speaking teacher interlocutors. Overall there was no evidence that students were adopting SAE in their spoken language on educational topics or with SAE speakers more generally, but specific SAE forms were being associated with the tasks of reading and writing (Fraser et al. 2018:262).

These studies of students' variation in forms associated with home and school varieties have provided insight into the factors influencing students' choice between variants in their linguistic repertoires (Dixon 2017; Fraser et al. 2018). Dixon (2017) showed different patterns in children's linguistic choices at home and school, showing some separation between codes. Fraser et al. (2018) found that the use of the SAE forms of articles and determiners was only favoured by the combination of a literacy context and a teacher interlocutor.

Regarding change over time, Dixon (2017:244) found that from early in their schooling, Alyawarr English speaking children stopped using forms that are not used in SAE (that is, the transitive *-im* suffix and the present tense V*bat* form) while at school. Dixon (2017:96) was not able to include age as a factor in multivariate analyses, because there was an insufficient number of tokens at each age point. Age group was not found to be statistically correlated to choice of variant for present tense verb forms or first person singular pronoun. However, a strong effect for age was found in use of the transitive marker *-im*, with use of this marker dropping dramatically from age 5 and a half, and then continuing to decline (Dixon 2017:221).

Fraser et al. (2018:248) considered age as a factor in their study of article and determiner variation with six of the students in the classroom data also used for the current study, as noted above. Fraser et al. (2018:248) hypothesised that students' use of SAE variants of articles and demonstratives would increase with age, due to more time in the school environment and more exposure to SAE. Their results, however, indicated that students used significantly less SAE forms in the third year of the study than in the first. It was suggested that

the lower rate of SAE forms as children became older might be linked to their development of social identities strengthening their ties with the community, and expressed through increased use of their home variety (Fraser et al. 2018:259). The authors also noted that this lower rate of SAE usage might reflect a stage in the language acquisition process, in which greater confidence and experimentation with new forms results in increased production but not always accurate standard use of the target language.

These studies of students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires contribute to an understanding of how students conceptualise and separate their home varieties and SAE. The two recent studies which have examined these situations from a variationist sociolinguistic perspective have provided additional insight into factors influencing students' choices between varieties, supported by quantitative findings.

3.3.3 Teachers' approaches to linguistic differences and teaching of SAE in classroom interactions

This section begins by discussing recommended practices and teaching programs that have been developed for teachers of Indigenous SDA and creole SLA students in Australia. However, there is not compulsory EAL/D training for these teachers (Dixon & Angelo 2014:221) and studies of classroom interaction have continued to demonstrate challenges for teachers and students. This section presents such previous studies that have examined classroom interaction in Aboriginal SDA and creole SLA contexts.

Recommended practices for teachers of Indigenous SAE AL/D students

In Australia, some educational programs and resources have been designed for Indigenous SDA and creole SLA contexts. These include the bilingual Kriol-English program which ran in Barunga in the Northern Territory from 1977-1998 (Meehan 2017; Murtagh 1982; Siegel 2005), and Western Australian resources (Berry & Hudson 1997; Malcolm et al. 1999; Sharifian et al. 2012). In Injinoo in the north of Cape York in Queensland, through community initiative, the school provided a bilingual program in Torres Strait Creole and English, for students in preschool to Year 2 (Turner 1997). The work of the Language Perspectives team within Education Queensland has provided support for teachers, and for Aboriginal learners of SAE as a second language or dialect in Queensland (Angelo & Carter 2015).

Siegel (2010) comprehensively reviews programs for SDA and creole SLA in educational contexts internationally, and advocates an 'awareness' approach (Siegel 2010:210). This involves at least two of three elements: a sociolinguistic component, an accommodation

component, and a contrastive component. Within this, awareness of the D1 and D2 as distinct and valued, and teaching of elements of the D2, are seen as important. As discussed above, separation of L/D1 and L/D2 has been reported to be important in SDA and creole SLA contexts. This is highlighted in the Fostering English Language in Kimberley Schools (FELIKS) approach (Berry & Hudson 1997), where the 'Code-switching Stairway' has as its first steps recognising and separating out the home variety (Kriol or Aboriginal English) and school variety (SAE) (Berry & Hudson 1997:1, 26). In this approach, schools must find ways of referring to the two varieties, which may not be straightforward when the home variety does not have a formal name.

The FELIKS approach makes clear that it is the teacher's task to provide ways to help students separate the varieties, and explicitly teach SAE, while showing clearly that both varieties are valuable and valued (Berry & Hudson 1997:25-27). The process for assisting students to learn to 'switch unconsciously between SAE and their home language' (the goal of the approach, termed 'Control'), is structured in four steps (the 'Code-switching Stairway') (Berry & Hudson 1997:41). The first step is 'Awareness': recognising and accepting differences between Kriol/ Aboriginal English and SAE, and acknowledging each variety as a valid and distinct way of speaking (Berry & Hudson 1997:27). In the second step, 'Separation', students 'pinpoint the differences between Kriol/Aboriginal English and SAE' and identify social situations appropriate for each language' (Berry & Hudson 1997:38). The third step, 'Code-switching' involves practicing switching between the varieties, and the final step is the goal of 'Control' (Berry & Hudson 1997:40). This structured approach, beginning with awareness and validation of different ways of speaking, seeks to avoid teaching strategies 'aimed at correction and compensation for perceived language deficits' (Berry & Hudson 1997:8). Strategies recommended for teachers are instead based on observing the features produced by students, and creatively designing lessons and activities which will increase the awareness of students around specific ways in which the L/D1 and SAE differ, explaining clearly the SAE usage, and providing students with opportunities to practice this.

In a recent study, Aboriginal students and community members in the diocese of Townsville Catholic Education schools in North Queensland (which included the Mt Isa area), were interviewed about practices they found effective in education (Lewthwaite et al. 2015). A student said the following about a good teacher, mentioning as helpful elements explicit teaching of aspects of SAE, and awareness of home and school ways of speaking as separate varieties:

> I like her teaching when she keeps the important information up front. Really to the point. I know our [Indigenous Education Support Worker] tells us that we need to be able to 'code-switch' in the class. Everything is 'code-switch' for us. Not just the way we talk but the way we are asked to learn and behave. She says if we can 'code-switch' we will be ok. Teachers talk in ways I'm not used to but that's what lots of teachers do need to be doing more. Help us to see the important stuff and then fill it in a bit – not too much we get lost. When we are learning it is good to be able to use [the language] we are used to. That is good when teachers can help us in the change [from home language to Standard Australian English] (Lewthwaite 2015:147)

As Sellwood and Angelo (2013:255) describe, code-switching, defined as 'the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation', citing Milroy and Muysken (1995:7, in Angelo & Sellwood 2013:255) is an outcome of proficiency in multiple languages, rather than a skill in itself to be taught. Ability to code-switch is increased through targeted language teaching of the L2 and support in recognising and distinguishing it from the L1.

Berry and Hudson (1997:1) draw attention to an observation of Kaldor, Eagleson and Malcolm (1982:197), that 'learning English' may not be a meaningful activity for students who already considers themselves speakers of English. They suggest that a framework within which students are seen as competent speakers of their home variety, and learners of SAE, is important in making sense of the task of language or dialect acquisition.

However, although the recommendations described above have been made, implementation in teacher training has been inconsistent (Dixon & Angelo 2014:221), and observational studies of classroom interaction have continued to report challenges for teachers and students.

Teachers' practices as observed in classroom interaction

There have been a small number of studies over the last forty years which have examined classroom communication between teachers and Aboriginal learners of SAE as a second language or dialect. This section reviews some of these studies, which continue to demonstrate issues in these educational contexts, relating to insufficient recognition and understanding of students' linguistic backgrounds, reported in many cases to be linked to inadequate training provided to teachers by the education system more broadly (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Malcolm 1977, 1979, 1982; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008).

Studies have documented English-based contact varieties spoken by Indigenous children at school, describing how differences in linguistic features and cultural ways of speaking between

these and SAE might affect communication with SAE-speaking teachers. A study carried out in Western Australia during the 1970s surveyed ways of speaking used around the state, with short visits to 38 primary schools (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:78). This study used a range of data collection methods, including recordings of small groups of students, interviews with teachers and Aboriginal people about educational experiences, and participant observation in classes and informal settings. They describe linguistic features of Aboriginal children's language from this study, comparing this to descriptions of English-lexified contact languages in the Northern Territory and Queensland (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982).

Malcolm (1982) drew implications from that research for communication in the classroom. This included an analysis of one classroom interaction where the teacher received unexpected responses from students in trying to implement an Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) style interactional pattern (see Section 4.6.2 for an explanation of IRF sequences). Malcolm (1982:173) observed that the teacher used 'feedback' turns to complete student responses and render them in SAE, observing 'It is, of course, common for teachers in receiving children's answers to repeat them… but in this case the answer is not simply repeated, it is completed and 'standardised' so that it conforms to the classroom register and (in some cases) so that it is rendered unambiguous for the rest of the class' (Malcolm 1982:173). He observed that the teacher was not always able to understand the students' responses, and asked clarification questions which were frequently responded to by a different student to the one originally addressed. Students in these sequences also appeared reluctant to speak in some cases, as inferred from long gaps before giving a response to a teacher initiation, responses given at a low volume, or providing no response.

Moses and Wigglesworth (2008:140) analysed classroom interactions in a community in the Northern Territory, where the Arandic language Alyawarr is spoken. Students' speech in the classroom was referred to as Kriol in the study,[21] but the variety spoken by the teacher in these lessons was SAE. One interaction featured in their study showed many signs of communication breakdown, as the teacher attempted to maintain an IRF interactional pattern (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975), but students did not take on the responder role this pattern expected. Students were instead silent, or offered inaudible or unexpected responses, so that the teacher took on the students' role in providing answers as well as continuing to ask questions. Moses and Wigglesworth (2008) described the syntactic and semantic complexity of the teacher's questioning strategies, but observed that the teacher herself seemed unaware of

[21] Although it was noted that this might be found to be a mixed language on further investigation (Moses & Wigglesworth 2008:131)

how this may be affecting the students' understanding, and unequipped to modify her language to remedy this. They suggested that 'The teacher may be assuming that because the children can follow directives and basic conversations, they can follow classroom discourse' (Moses & Wigglesworth 2008:138).

During this interaction, the SAE-speaking teacher misunderstood a child's use of a lexical item which had a different meaning in the community variety and in SAE. For the children the word 'seaweed' could refer to plant life in the creek. For the teacher however, 'seaweed' was found only in the ocean, and so she did not accept this as an answer for a question about what local tadpoles eat (Moses & Wigglesworth 2008:140). The student's response was judged by the teacher as incorrect without reference to linguistic differences. This study shows the likely effects of such corrections and misunderstandings on students, who may choose not to risk offering verbal contributions when the teacher's success criteria is, for them, unpredictable.

Teachers may attribute unexpected or seemingly incorrect student contributions to factors other than language, such as difficulties with learning content. This was seen in the conversation described by Angelo and Hudson (2018:224), in a school in Queensland, where students' home variety was an English-lexified creole. A chatty exchange led by a Prep student led into a conversation where the student appeared to show limited understanding of the topic of 'safety' (as it had been covered in class) in an informal oral assessment between teacher and student. Angelo and Hudson (2018) suggested that because the communication felt natural to the teacher, 'any difficulties in the conversation can be put down to what the student has not learned.' However, by looking closely at the interaction, Angelo and Hudson (2018) showed that the student was at an early stage of SAE acquisition, and it was likely that this was playing a key, but unacknowledged, role in the course of the conversation.

In interviews with Edmonds-Wathen (2015:54), one teacher of Aboriginal students in a multilingual community in the Top End of the Northern Territory described this struggle in recognising the important factors in explaining and attempting to improve students' outcomes at school. This teacher commented 'I never know if it's a teaching thing, or if it's a language thing, or if it's just a combination of everything.'

3.4 Summary

Chapter 3 has reviewed literature concerning the acquisition of an additional language or dialect as a background for understanding the school context for Aboriginal speakers of ex-Reserve varieties in Queensland.

The definition of this acquisition context was discussed (Section 3.1), noting that, on the basis of a recent study classifying these varieties as intermediate creoles (Mushin & Munro 2016:109), the children in these communities might be among those described by Angelo (2013:75) as speakers of previously unidentified creoles. Complexities in describing this context within definitions of SLA and SDA were discussed, and particular characteristics of the context drawn out. These were that there is overlap between the linguistic forms in the ex-Reserve varieties and SAE, as well as differences, including differences in morphosyntax, and that the learning context at school is one of foreign language or dialect acquisition of SAE.

Section 3.2 outlined a number of considerations in the acquisition of a variety which overlaps in linguistic forms with a variety the learner already speaks, reviewing international literature concerning issues in acquiring such a variety in an educational context. Section 3.2.1 described difficulties in noticing the specific differences that distinguish varieties where there are similarities in surface forms, drawing attention to recommendations that students should receive targeted instruction in order to acquire the differing features of the new variety. Section 3.2.2 discussed the persistent lack of acknowledgement of students' linguistic backgrounds, and lack of training provided for teachers in SDA and creole SLA contexts in education. It additionally described some implications of this in teachers drawing inaccurate assumptions about students' learning and ability on the basis of linguistic differences. Section 3.2.3 reviewed studies concerning challenges in classroom spoken communication, which showed that even in cases where there appears to be a degree of mutual intelligibility between students and teachers who speak different (overlapping) varieties, understanding may be slow or partial. Section 3.2.4 considered challenges in learning to read and write the school variety, where previous studies have shown that the need to learn the school variety as an additional spoken variety adds substantially to the task of learning to read and write. It was seen that students in SDA and creole SLA contexts are commonly treated as though they are already speakers of the school variety, and so teachers' methods of teaching sound-letter correspondences may not match the students' intuitions.

The discussion turned to the Australian context in Section 3.3, where a number of recent studies were presented which describe a lack of acknowledgement of the linguistic backgrounds and learning needs of Aboriginal learners of SAE as an additional language or dialect in the education system. Issues reported in educational documentation and curriculum, as well as in assessment were described. The final sections reviewed studies which have provided insight into Aboriginal students' day-to-day linguistic experiences at school, first examining studies which have investigated students' choices between variants in their

linguistic repertoires (Section 3.3.2), and second discussing teachers' practices in approaching linguistic differences and the teaching of SAE (Section 3.3.3). Section 3.3.3 described recommended practices for teachers, and then reviewed studies which continue to report difficulties in classroom communication between teachers and students who speak different varieties.

These studies form the background within which the current thesis is placed. As will be discussed in greater depth in Section 4.1, this thesis engages with continuing questions regarding SDA and creole SLA students' awareness and separation of variants in their linguistic repertoires, and factors influencing choices between different ways of speaking. This thesis additionally adds to the small number of previous studies analysing everyday classroom interactions in Aboriginal English as an additional language or dialect settings, to provide additional insight into students' ways of speaking in the classroom, and teachers' practices in addressing differences between their own and their students' linguistic repertoires, and the teaching of SAE. The next chapter describes the data for this study, and discusses the methodologies chosen to address the research questions.

4 Data and Methodological approaches

This chapter begins by restating and explaining the research questions for this thesis, in the light of the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 (Section 4.1), and then describes the data and methodological approaches used to address these questions. The chapter introduces the community and school which formed the research site (Section 4.2), and then discusses ethical considerations for the study (Section 4.3), participants in the study (Section 4.4), and the corpus of classroom recordings, including methods for collecting and transcribing audio and video recordings (Section 4.5). This is followed by a discussion of the two methodological approaches used, variationist sociolinguistics and Conversation Analysis (CA) (Section 4.6), with a description of these approaches and the purpose of using both methodologies to address the research questions for this thesis. Section 4.7 lays out the process by which these approaches were applied to analyse the data. The chapter concludes with a summary (Section 4.8).

4.1 Research questions

The questions examined in the analysis for this thesis consist of two main areas of investigation, each composed of a number of more specific sub-questions. Introduced in Section 1.3, these questions are reiterated here, followed by further explanation of each question in turn.

1) How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school,
    a. Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?
    b. Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?
2) To what extent, and how, do teachers present SAE (as an additional language/dialect) as a learning focus for students in lessons,
    a. What are the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices?
    b. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?

c. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?

Research Question 1 focuses on how students make use of their linguistic knowledge in their speech at school, to provide insight into the ways they may be distinguishing between different varieties (the community variety and SAE). This has been an area of attention in several recent studies (e.g. Dixon 2017; Fraser et al. 2018, as discussed in Section 3.3.2). As discussed in Section 3.2.1, identifying differing forms and distinguishing use of similar forms in a variety already known, and one being learned, can be a particular challenge in Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) and for creole-speakers learning a standard variety of the lexifier of the creole.[22]

Part (a) of Research Question 1 considers whether the students appear to associate variants found in SAE with interactional contexts more closely linked to the educational environment (operationalised as SAE-speaking teacher addressees, and topics of talk and activities directly engaging with lesson content). This is investigated through a combination of quantitative (Chapter 5) and qualitative (Chapter 6) analyses. The quantitative analysis follows a variationist sociolinguistic approach (also used by Dixon 2017; Fraser et al. 2018, discussed in Section 4.6.1), and provides statistical insight into this question across the three year corpus. The focus of the quantitative analysis is variation with the verb 'be' (See Section 4.7.1). The qualitative analysis takes a Conversation Analysis approach (see Section 4.6.2), to examine extracts of students' talk in the classroom, and gain contextualised insights into how students engage with choices between linguistic variants as they interact with teachers and peers, and carry out school tasks.

Part (b) of Question 1 considers whether there is a change in students' use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their classroom talk over three years of early schooling. This question is of interest in understanding the extent to which Aboriginal learners of SAE as an additional language or dialect (SAE AL/D) increasingly acquire, or choose to use forms associated with SAE, as also investigated in previous studies (see Section 3.3.2). Research Question 1 (b) is investigated through the quantitative analysis of variation with the verb 'be' presented in Chapter 5.

It is noted that a complexity in investigating these questions is the reported difficulty (Angelo 2013:77; Dixon 2013:309, see Section 3.3.1) in making the following distinctions, on the basis of students' speech at school:

[22] Creole-speakers learning a standard variety of the lexifier of the creole is referred to as *creole SLA* as a shorthand, as in Chapter 3.

- Whether non-SAE forms used by students represent either first language or dialect (L/D1) usage, or learner productions targeting SAE.
- Whether use of SAE-like forms reflects knowledge of SAE (acquired at school or through other situations outside school), or alternately, reflects use of forms which happen to be shared in the L/D1 and SAE.

The corpus which forms the data set for this thesis was recorded in the school context only, and so includes this complexity. The previous descriptions of ex-Reserve varieties in Section 2.2.3 additionally reported substantial variation between forms with similar meanings or functions. In some cases there was variation between forms shared with SAE, and forms with roots in, or shared with Australian pidgins and creoles (e.g. as described by Allridge 1984). Such variation contributes to difficulties in drawing a clear distinction between SAE and community variety ways of speaking.[23]

The analysis in Chapters 5-9 refers to the description of linguistic features drawn from previous literature (Section 2.2.3), to give an indication of whether non-SAE forms used by the children in their classroom talk are likely to reflect community variety usage. However, overlapping forms in the community variety and SAE mean that there is a continuing ambiguity in distinguishing clearly between when students may be speaking the community variety, or targeting SAE. The classroom corpus for this thesis illustrates this challenge as it is faced by teachers (Angelo 2013:77; Dixon 2013:309).[24] Although complexities remain, examining teacher-student interactions in context (as in the CA analyses in Chapters 6-9) provides some opportunity to consider nuances in these issues as interactions unfold.[25]

Research Question 2 focuses on teachers' practices in interactions with students, following the small number of previous studies which have examined such interactions (as discussed in Section 3.3.3). These previous interactional studies have supplied detailed and fruitful insights into how linguistic differences contribute to misunderstandings and communicative difficulties between teachers and students, and how the role of linguistic differences may be to some

[23] However, note that while the previous descriptions of ex-Reserve varieties (in Section 2.2.3) report on ways of speaking in the communities generally, the data for a number of these studies was collected from school students, and in some cases in the school environment, so that the factors which may have influenced this variation in the previous studies are unclear.

[24] Although, as discussed in Section 3.3.1, a body of previous work has described a lack of acknowledgement of students' linguistic backgrounds and SAE learner status in Queensland in terms of curriculum, assessment of students, and training for teachers, so that teachers themselves may have varying levels of awareness of this challenge.

[25] A methodology which differs from much of the description presented in previous descriptions of ex-Reserve varieties (as in Section 2.2.3), where data is in many cases presented as discrete utterances with limited context.

extent unseen by participants. Examining interactions as they play out in usual school lessons[26] can provide useful insights into the interplay of teachers' and students' actions as they unfold, situated in their context. As discussed in Section 4.6.2, CA provides a methodology well fitted for such an investigation, within the context of a large body of previous CA work examining patterns in the structure of spoken communication, including interaction in classroom contexts.

Research Question 2 is made up of three sub-questions, which unpack aspects of the extent to which, and how, teachers present SAE AL/D for students during lessons at school. Part (a) examines what norms and expectations for students' speech in the classroom are revealed in interactions between teachers, students and teacher aides. The analysis addressing this question draws on methodological precedents of a number of CA studies of classroom and inter-cultural interactional contexts (Bolden 2014; Jakonen 2016; Copp Jinkerson 2011, see Section 4.6.2). This analysis is presented in Chapter 7.

Part (b) of Research Question 2 considers teachers' practices with regards to teaching SAE AL/D in literacy lessons. This question springs from observations in the literature concerning the conflation of *language* and *literacy* in the Australian education system, and observations that a focus on literacy conventions can take the place of, and hide, some Indigenous students' foundational need to learn SAE AL/D (Angelo 2011, McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012:461, see Section 3.3.1). As discussed in Section 3.2.4, existing spoken repertoires are foundational in learning to read and write, and SDA and creole SLA literature has shown how these students face an additional learning task when teachers teach literacy with the assumption that students are already speakers of the school variety. To examine how these issues affect students in the classroom corpus for this study, Research Question 2 (b) asks whether, and how, SAE is presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons. This question is again explored through a CA approach, with close examination of extracts of teacher-student interaction in the classroom. This analysis is presented in Chapter 8.

Part (c) of Research Question 2 examines whole lessons for greater contextual detail, choosing lessons which appear to come closest to the explicit teaching of SAE AL/D. It looks closely at the methods used by teachers, and the participation of students. Research Question 2 (c) follows these whole lessons, asking to what extent, and in what ways, SAE is presented to students, and oriented to by teachers and students, as content to be learned. As with Parts 2

[26] Or as close as possible to this as can be recorded (see Section 4.5.1)

(a) and (b), a CA approach is used for this interactional analysis. This analysis is presented in Chapter 9.

The next sections describe the research site, participants and corpus of data in which these Research Questions were investigated, and outline in greater detail the variationist sociolinguistic and CA methodologies used.

4.2 Research site

The site for the research presented in this thesis was a state primary school in an Aboriginal community in Queensland. The community was located in a remote area with several other small towns within half an hour to an hour's drive, and large regional centres within several hours' drive. As described in Section 2.1, this community was established as a settlement administered and controlled by the Queensland state government (Broome 1982; Long 1970). In the early 20th Century, Aboriginal people from many different locations and language groups around Queensland were removed from their traditional land and brought to reside on this reserve. Since 1986, the community has been self-managed by a local council. The community is not named in this thesis, to ensure both the school and the participants remain anonymous.

The research for this thesis was conducted as part of the Australian Research Council (ARC) Linkage project 'Clearing the path towards literacy and numeracy: Language for learning in Indigenous schooling'. The ARC project centred on the same research site, and aimed to investigate ways of speaking in the community and in the first years of primary school. I joined this project as a PhD student in 2011.

Before I joined the research team, the community and school were chosen to be approached by the chief investigators of the ARC project, in consultation and partnership with the Queensland Department of Education. Within the Department of Education, the Language Perspectives team, as part of the Indigenous Schooling Support Unit (ISSU) in Far North Queensland, had already been working for many years raising awareness about the diverse language backgrounds of Indigenous students, and the challenges these students face in an SAE-dominated education system (e.g. Angelo 2013; Angelo & Carter 2015; Language Perspectives 2009, 2013, 2015; Sellwood & Angelo 2013). In discussion with the Language Perspectives team, the chief investigators identified children in this community as likely to be facing this language situation at school. They also identified this community as one in which there had been little recent linguistic research. The chief investigators of the ARC project visited the community several times over 18 months, establishing connections with the school,

community members and elders. They carried out pilot recording sessions with small groups of prep students in late 2010.

The chief investigators, the senior research assistant on the project and I were not members of this community, and were based in Brisbane and South-East Queensland. We had to travel to visit the community. I first visited the community in April 2011 with another member of the ARC project team, and throughout the project visited the community 11 times (in 2011 to 2013), with each visit a week in length. These visits are described in more detail in Section 4.5.

The primary school in the community, which was the main site for the research, had a population of around 150 students. Classes in the school were organised by year group, from Preparatory (Prep) to Year 7.[27] As described further in Section 4.4, our study focused on classes from Prep to Year 3. During the years we visited, there was one class per year group for the grades we recorded, although students in some of the older grades were grouped together in composite classes. Each class had a regular class teacher, and around 20 students were enrolled in each of the year groups that we recorded. Attendance rates differed for students, with around 15-20 students being present during most recording sessions. A number of students moved into or away from the community over the three years of the study. Some students also spent time living outside the community and later returned.

At the time of recording, 98% of the student body identified as Indigenous, the only non-Indigenous students being children of staff at the school. The teachers at the school were predominantly non-Indigenous, with the exception of the principal, who was Indigenous but had arrived recently in the community. The classes in which our data collection was focused had at least one Indigenous teacher aide present for most lessons.

4.3 Ethical considerations

As the research for this thesis was centred on young children in a community of which I was not a member, it was important to consult with people participating in and connected to the research, and to establish that the data collected would be used in a beneficial way for participants. As described in the previous section, I collected the classroom recordings analysed in this thesis as part of a larger research team. The research team initially identified the need for research in partnership with the Queensland Department of Education, and through connections with the Language Perspectives team within the Indigenous Schooling Support Unit in Far North Queensland. In order to consider the response of community

[27] Year 7 was at that time still part of primary school; in 2015, Year 7 was moved within the Queensland education system to become the first year of high school.

members to this proposed research, the project chief investigators consulted community elders and the principal and teachers at the school before I joined the project team. I was included in continuing discussions with community members and elders, along with the school principal and teachers throughout the three years of recording visits. Community elders were approached through the School Education committee, local council and through advice from others in the community as to who it would be appropriate to consult. The project was discussed with these community elders, who agreed to the project going ahead.

At the school, the principal was interested in the research topic and agreed to the school working with the project. As the project focused on early years classes, we consulted with the teachers of these classes about recording in their classrooms. We discussed the aims of the project with them, and asked for their permission to record them and their students. The teachers of our focus classes had all moved to the community within the previous three years in order to teach at the school. They all said they had noticed differences in the children's way of talking compared to their own, and were interested in the project as a way to find out more about understanding and communicating with their students. For recording visits to the classroom, we consulted with teachers as to the best classes to record, and how to minimise our impact on the lessons progressing as usual.

Teacher aides were present in most of the lessons we recorded. The majority of the teacher aides were long term residents of the community. Consultation with teacher aides was important – as people familiar with the school and children, and familiar with ways of talking in the community outside the school. While in the community, the ARC project team produced a poster representing ways of speaking in the community. Teacher aides contributed a number of the utterances included on the poster, and discussion for producing the poster provided a more structured opportunity for hearing teacher aides' perspectives on how children and adults spoke in the community outside the school context.

A community liaison officer was hired by the project to explain the aims and research process of the project to parents and caregivers, and request their consent to their children's participation. This liaison officer was a member of the community, and also worked as the school community liaison officer, and was known and trusted by the school families. As a result, we received permission from parents and caregivers for all students in the three cohorts to participate in the study.

The project was explained in simple terms to children as being about listening to and finding out more about the way they talk every day at school. Permission forms included a section for

children to indicate with a smiley face that they were willing to participate. During recording visits, most children continued to be willing to be filmed and to wear audio recorders, with many showing an enthusiastic interest in watching each other through the camera screen, or directing talk or songs at their lapel microphones. On a number of occasions some children did not wish to wear voice recorders or took off their voice recorders during the recording session and the researchers and the class teachers accepted the children's decisions.

The data collected has been used for linguistic analysis by the research team for the ARC project (e.g. Gardner & Mushin 2013; Gourlay & Mushin 2015; Fraser et al. 2015; Mushin, Gardner & Munro 2013; Watts, Gardner & Mushin 2017). Videos were only allowed to be viewed by participants and the research team. During later recording visits, we played back video footage to classes, and provided teachers with transcripts of some lessons. Video data was not shown in research talks and publications, instead, audio recordings were played with names removed, and still images from videos were displayed with faces hidden by blurring. All names of participants were changed, and all references to the school and location anonymised. The data is stored securely with the Queensland Cyber Infrastructure Foundation (QCIF) and can only be accessed by the ARC Linkage project team.

Ethical clearance was granted to the ARC project by the Griffith University Human Research Ethic Committee (reference number EBL/11/10/HREC, 26 August 2009, ARC Linkage Project ID LP100200406). The project also received clearance from what was then the Queensland Government Department of Education, Training and the Arts (DETA).

4.4 Participants

Participants in the classroom recordings consisted of students, class teachers, and teacher aides. The child participants for this study were two cohorts of students, recorded during their normal classroom activities over three years from 2011 to 2013. The older group were recorded in Grades 1-3, and the younger group in Prep to Grade 2. A third cohort was additionally recorded during their Prep year in 2012. This is represented in Table 4-1 below. The main focus of this thesis was the two cohorts recorded over three years (displayed as Cohorts A and B below). These cohorts were chosen as the focus because the longitudinal data made it possible to follow how their ways of speaking and interacting developed and changed over time, and provided a large quantity of examples of each child's speech.

Table 4-1: Timeline of classes recorded, with class teachers for each group

COHORT	PREP	YEAR 1	YEAR 2	YEAR 3
A		2011	2012	2013
		Miss D	Miss D	Miss N
B	2011	2012	2013	
	Miss P	Miss L	Miss R	
C	2012			
	Miss P			

Table 4-1 above additionally shows the main class teachers for each of the classes recorded. Each class group had a regular teacher who had primary responsibility for the class and led most lessons. There were five main class teachers recorded during the three years, with two teachers being recorded over two years. All five teachers had been living and working in the community for one to three years at the time of recording, and had moved to the community from other parts of Queensland in order to work at the school. They were all speakers of SAE, aged in their twenties or early thirties. Only one of the class teachers, Miss P, had participated in a training program supporting teachers of Indigenous EAL/D students. Several other teachers were also recorded once or twice as relief teachers, or teaching specialist lessons such as sport.

Teacher aides were also present during most recording sessions. Some teacher aides were attached predominantly to a certain year group, but most also moved between classes to assist with different lessons. As a result, the same teacher aides were recorded working with different cohorts of students. In the lessons we recorded, teacher aides led small groups of students in activities set by the class teacher, worked one-on-one with students, managed student behaviour and encouraged concentration in whole class sessions led by the class teacher. In a small number of our recordings, teacher aides led whole class instructional sessions.

The majority of the teacher aides were long term residents of the community with strong family ties in the community, and were speakers of the community variety. In the recordings, these teacher aides spoke both the community variety and SAE, with individual differences in choice of variety across contexts. One teacher aide, Lilian, who was a participant in a substantial number of the recordings, grew up in a different part of Queensland, and did not consider herself a speaker of the community variety. She did, however, speak a variety which

shared linguistic features with the children's classroom talk, and she switched between this and SAE in the classroom recordings. The other two teacher aides present in the extracts in Chapters 6-9, Rosalee and Marden, were long term residents of the community with family also living there.

Regarding my own participation as a researcher in this study, I am not an Indigenous Australian, and was not from the community this study focuses on. I am an SAE-speaker who grew up in Sydney. My previous work with Aboriginal speakers of Queensland community varieties consisted of research for my honours project in linguistics, which involved a week of recording of year 1 students at a primary school in Mareeba in Far North Qld and analysis of these recordings. As I did not speak the community variety, my intuitions only allowed me to identify linguistic features which were not SAE. The analysis for this thesis draws on other descriptions of Queensland Aboriginal English-lexified varieties to discuss how features of the children's speech at school relate to how people might have been speaking in the community more broadly.

4.5 Corpus

This section describes the corpus of classroom recordings collected for this thesis. As described above, I collected the data described with other researchers as part of a larger ARC linkage project. This section provides overall information about the corpus of recordings, with Section 4.5.1 describing the process for recording video and audio data, and Section 4.5.2 describing the methods used for initial transcription of the data.

The corpus consists of video and audio recordings of over 80 hours of classroom interaction. From this corpus, 23.5 hours of transcribed data were coded for variationist analysis and reviewed for CA analysis for this thesis. The recordings were made during lesson time at school and aimed to capture events and interactions in the classroom as if the researchers and recording devices had not been present. While this was the intention, it is impossible to know how the lessons would have progressed if we had not been there. These issues are discussed further in Section 4.5.1.

Recordings in the classroom were made during twelve visits to the community from 2011-2013, with four visits each year, one in each school term. For each visit we stayed a week in the community. Two researchers were present for almost all of the recording visits, with the exception of the June 2013 visit where I was the only researcher. I was present for all recording visits except the September 2013 visit. This is displayed in Table 4-2 below.

Table 4-2: Recording visits and researchers present

		ARC PROJECT CI	PHD STUDENT	RESEARCH ASSISTANT
2011	April	X	X	
	June	X	X	
	September	X	X	
	November	X	X	
2012	February	X	X	
	June	X	X	
	September	X	X	
	November	X	X	
2013	May	X	X	
	June		X	
	September	X		X
	November	X	X	

As I officially began my candidature in mid-2011, I was building the topic for this thesis after the classroom recording had begun, and during the time we were recording. In line with a CA approach, while I began with a general area of interest in how differences between children's linguistic repertoires and SAE affected interaction in the classroom, I looked for observations and questions to arise out of the collected recordings, rather than having a specific aim to record certain types of interaction or lessons.

The research team worked with teachers to choose appropriate lessons to record. The ARC project had a focus on literacy and numeracy learning, so lessons on these topics were often chosen. Another area of inquiry in the ARC project was to learn more about ways of talking between members of the community. As a result we were keen to record conversation between children on any topic. This was something I was also interested in, in building questions for this thesis. While literacy and numeracy lessons were often chosen for recording, the primary aim was to collect recordings of lessons as close as possible to how they would have been occurring if we (the researchers) had not been present. This meant that we prioritised fitting in with the classes' normal schedules, and so the lessons chosen for recording were largely determined by the choice of the participating teachers and their plans for the day.

We also prioritised collecting clear video and audio recordings of all participants, which influenced the lessons we chose to record. Some recordings were not included in the analysis because recording quality made it difficult to understand what participants were saying or doing. For more reliable audio quality we usually recorded indoors, inside the classroom. We recorded a small number of outdoor art and sport lessons, which were interesting in that they constituted quite different interactional contexts to the indoor lessons. There was more conversation between students as they were less directly supervised by teachers and moved around the space more freely. While interesting contexts, the recording quality of the audio and video from these sessions were much less clear, and since the aims of the project were also focused more on interaction between teachers and students we tended to choose indoor lessons where the speech of all participants could be recorded more clearly.

Some other early recordings were difficult to work with because we were still refining the recording methods. In the April 2011 visit, voice recorders were placed in the middle of groups of desks while children were working. We found that it was difficult to record all speech and to distinguish voices of children. The individual voice recorders used for the rest of the recording visits were a great improvement on this method.

The next sections outline the recording methods used (Section 4.5.1) and the process of initial transcription (Section 4.5.2). Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 below describe further how lessons were chosen from this corpus as data for the variationist and CA analyses in this thesis.

4.5.1 Recording methods

It was essential that the recordings captured the speech of all participants clearly, and allowed us to see what was happening visually. We also had to consider how the presence of us as researchers, and of the recording equipment, might affect participants' interaction and behaviour, with the goal of recording data representative of how interactions took place when no researchers or cameras are present. These requirements determined the choice of data collection methods.

As described above, during most of the twelve recording weeks, another researcher and I visited the school. During recording sessions, we both visited the classes together, set up video and audio recording equipment, and remained to monitor the functioning of the technology, and the activities in the classroom that the cameras focused on. I took notes during the recording sessions, to record which children were present, what activities the class was doing, and any background information the teacher gave me regarding the lessons and individual

children. I also took photographs of worksheets, other materials and written work produced by each child where possible.

We video-recorded lessons, using up to three cameras placed at different angles to the participants, to avoid faces or actions being obscured. When there were several different activities happening at the same time, we focused one or two cameras on separate activities.

In each class there were up to 20 children, whose speech we wanted to capture simultaneously. To do this, we asked each child to wear an individual voice recorder. These were placed in a small bag, worn over one shoulder and across the body, so that they stayed with the child as they moved around. A lapel microphone was attached to the strap of the voice recorder bag, to position it closer to the child's mouth. Voice recorders were distributed to children at the beginning of each lesson. Teachers called the name of each child, and the other researcher or I repeated the child's name into the voice recorder, or asked them to do this, and helped the child position the voice recorder over their shoulder. These individual voice recorders allowed us to collect high quality recordings of each child's speech. The teachers did not wear voice recorders because their voices were loud enough and clear enough to be heard on the video recorders and the children's voice recorders.

For both Conversation Analysis and variationist sociolinguistics methods, a crucial foundation for meaningful analysis is the collection of data that is, as far as possible, representative of how participants would normally interact if they were not being recorded. Naturally, the fact that people know they are being recorded will have some impact on the way they behave. This was described by Labov (1969a) in regard to his recordings of adolescent and preadolescent peer groups for analysis of language variation:

> There is, of course, no possibility of candid recording in long-term work with a given group. The effects of the recording situation are never absent; they are overridden by more powerful social controls which are exerted by the peer group in excited and rapid interaction. (Labov 1969a:716)

As found by Labov (1969a), the attention of students and teachers in our recordings seem to be predominantly taken up by the demands of interacting with each other in their classroom routines. There were times when students interacted directly with their microphones by holding them and whispering, singing or making other noises, or made movements in front of the camera, often so other students could see them in the viewing screen from the other side. However, these made up a small proportion of the recordings, and appeared to be isolated

performances rather than having a sustained effect on the children's ways of talking and interacting.

While it was practical for the researchers to be present in the classroom to monitor recording equipment, we were aware that this might affect the interactions of participants. We attempted to minimise our influence on participants by placing ourselves and the cameras where we would be as unobtrusive as possible, and generally not participating in the class activities. It was not unusual for additional adults to be present in the classroom, and teachers, teacher aides and parents came and went from the classrooms while we were recording. However, it was likely that our presence as researchers and the presence of the recording equipment had some influence on the participants' behaviour, though the exact nature of this influence was impossible for us to determine.

4.5.2 Initial transcription

Collected raw video and audio files were organised by recording session and broken into smaller segments which we labelled 'parts', usually the length of a class activity or part of an activity. We edited video and audio files so that start times were aligned for each part. Data was edited and transcribed by a team of research assistants, including myself. Around 40 hours of recordings were transcribed. For these initial transcripts, we made use of a practical orthography to create basic transcripts that could be easily read and searched. This was based on Australian English orthography, with some adaptation for the features of the community vernacular.

We transcribed data using the transcription platform ELAN (ELAN 2018; Wittenburg et al. 2006). This program allowed multiple video and audio files to be played simultaneously, making it possible to simultaneously view different angles of the classroom captured by multiple cameras. The individual voice recordings for each child could be quickly switched in the program to hear different students clearly. The speech and physical actions of each participant in the interaction were transcribed on separate tiers within ELAN, which were shown in sync with the media files. Multiple tiers were created for each speaker, to transcribe their speech in different levels of detail.

The research assistant transcribers had varying prior knowledge and experience of transcription and Aboriginal English-lexified varieties. The senior research assistant on the project had extensive knowledge of Kriol in the Roper River region of the Northern Territory, and had worked with other Queensland Aboriginal communities to produce language awareness posters representing different ways of talking in their communities. Adaptation of

the Standard Australian English orthography for features of the community vernacular was initially informed by this research assistant's previous work and consultation with other communities. The orthography was further refined through community consultation while producing a language awareness poster for the community in which this study took place. The orthography used in this thesis uses conventions agreed upon for the poster. However, as the poster displayed only a comparatively small set of sentences, this was not comprehensive.

Research assistants were trained in using ELAN and introduced to the recordings and transcription conventions used. The transcribers were not speakers of the community variety. A number of research assistant transcribers were undergraduate linguistic students taking part in summer research programs. These students were mostly new to Aboriginal English-lexified varieties and our methods for transcribing data. When transcribers were uncertain of what they heard in the recordings, this was represented with brackets in the transcript (following CA conventions), with the brackets either containing the best guess at what was said, or left with a space between to show complete uncertainty. The initial transcripts made it possible to search through data but it was necessary to further check and refine transcripts used for analysis in this thesis.

Some early transcripts were checked with speakers of the community variety. These speakers were teacher aides involved at the school. The quantity of the data recorded and the short recording visits meant that we only checked a small proportion of the data with native speakers of the community variety. Much of the transcription was done after the recording visits had finished so I was not in the community to check recordings with native speakers. This was a limitation of this study.

As described further in Section 4.7.2, I transcribed the extracts presented in this thesis at a greater level of detail, following Conversation Analysis conventions initially developed by Gail Jefferson (Hepburn & Bolden 2012; Jefferson 2004). These detailed transcription conventions made it possible to represent aspects of how the speech was produced, as well as the words spoken. The additional information represented included the location and timing of pauses and overlap, lengthening of sounds, rate of speech, pitch and volume. Where gaze and physical movements were important in understanding what is happening in an interaction, these have been indicated with comments placed within double brackets in the transcript.

4.6 Methods of analysis

This thesis addresses the research questions through two complementary methodologies: firstly, statistical analysis of children's choice between linguistic variants using variationist sociolinguistic methods and secondly, analysis of classroom interactions through a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach. Both methodologies centre on the analysis of naturally occurring speech in its social context, one methodology from a quantitative perspective, and the other from a qualitative perspective, with both providing insight into how linguistic choices are shaped by the social and interactional context in which they occur. The sociolinguistic variationist approach provided statistical insight into factors influencing students' choice between variants across the entire corpus of classroom recordings, with a focus on the verb BE. CA provided a means to examine in close detail the linguistic practices of teachers and students as they unfolded in interactions in the classroom.

The CA and variationist sociolinguistic approaches grew out of related academic traditions, and are concerned with related questions about language. This has been observed by other researchers. Goodwin's (1990) ethnographic study of African American English speaking children's interactions with peers was inspired by 'Goffman's insistence on the primacy of mundane *focused interaction* in structuring human social experience' (central to the CA approach), and by Labov's studies of language variation in African American English, especially his 'finding that the peer group is a powerful force shaping language behaviour, and his demonstration of just how important it is to analyse language use in indigenous, vernacular settings' (Goodwin 1990:ix). Similarly, Sidnell (2008) argued for the place of CA within a 'sociocultural linguistics' along with other sociolinguistic methods.

Section 4.1 above stated the Research Questions investigated in this thesis, and how variationist sociolinguistic and CA approaches have been used to provide complementary quantitative and qualitative perspectives on the children's classroom talk and teachers' practices in an Aboriginal SAE AL/D context.

As explained above (Section 4.1), the variationist sociolinguistic analysis is used to address Research Question 1, taking variation in absence and presence of the verb 'be' in the children's classroom talk as a focus. A CA approach is used to address Research Questions 1 (a) and 2, providing a methodology for looking deeply and systematically at interactions and examining ways in which differences in linguistic repertoires, or the teaching of new linguistic forms are treated as relevant to classroom interactions by participants (Bolden 2014; Jakonen 2016).

The next two sections outline the variationist sociolinguistic (4.6.1) and Conversation Analysis (4.6.2) approaches and explain how they were well suited to addressing the questions for this thesis. The practicalities of applying these approaches are discussed in Section 4.7.

4.6.1 Variationist sociolinguistics

A variationist sociolinguistic approach is concerned with discovering patterns of variation between different linguistic forms which express equivalent meanings. This approach involves the analysis of social and linguistic factors determining choices between variants, and commonly makes use of quantitative methods (Bayley 2013; Chambers & Schilling 2013; Labov 1963, 1966, 1969a, 1972b). Variation is viewed as a normal part of a speaker's knowledge of a language, with varieties commonly having multiple ways to express the same meaning, or carry out the same linguistic function (Labov 1969a:759, 1972b:203). The principle of 'structured heterogeneity' claims that variation in usage of these different linguistic forms will follow a pattern, determined by social and/or linguistic factors (Bayley 2013:11; D'Arcy & Tagliamonte 2015:257; Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968:99-100). This variation may occur in any aspect of grammar, including phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse features (Wolfram 1991:23-24). Patterns of variation over time, or among speakers in different age groups, may provide insight into processes of language change.

Variationist sociolinguistic methodologies place importance on data that represents as closely as possible the way speakers use language when unobserved (Labov 1972b:xvii). This is often collected through sociolinguistic interviews, which are set up by the researcher, arranged to encourage the speaker to talk naturally and informally (if the vernacular language is the focus of the research) (Labov 1984:29; Tagliamonte 2006:37). Recordings of language in multiparty, more naturally occurring contexts (like the data for this study) have also been used in variationist studies, particularly in research on children's language (Dixon 2017:89; Labov et al. 1968; Tagliamonte & Molfenter 2007:657; see Roberts 2013). The way this natural data is interpreted has some similarities to Conversation Analysis, taking the speech produced by participants as the only possible objective access to their internal processes. This is expressed by Poplack and Turpin (1999),

> We stress, along with Sankoff (1988), that our only access to speakers' intentions is through their utterances, just as our only access to hearers' interpretations is through their responses. (Poplack & Turpin 1999:147)

Quantitative methods are typically used to determine which of the many possible linguistic and social factors have an impact on variation, and the effects of these factors. Logistic

regression is the most common method used, implemented through the program VARBRUL developed in the 1970s, and successive updates, such as Goldvarb and Rbrul (Bayley 2002, 2013; Cedergren & Sankoff 1974; Johnson 2009; Sankoff & Labov 1979; Tagliamonte 2006). A recent study argues that additional new statistical methods, conditional inference trees and random forests, are well suited to linguistic data and answering questions about linguistic variation (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). The statistical methods used in this thesis are discussed further in Section 4.7.1.

As described above, this thesis used variationist sociolinguistic methods to address Research Question 1, investigating factors influencing children's choice between SAE and non-SAE linguistic variants in their interactions at school. Gaining a better understanding of factors driving the children's choice between linguistic variants provided insight into whether the children associated the variants with different speech contexts or interlocutors, and whether there was change in the children's use of variants over time, as they spent more time at school.

Previous studies have demonstrated that variationist sociolinguistic methods are effective in providing insight into how interactional factors (such as speech context and addressee), and change over time affect speakers' choice of alternate linguistic variants. As described in Section 3.3.2, two recent studies used variationist sociolinguistic statistical methods to analyse variation in language at school with young Aboriginal children (Dixon 2017; Fraser 2015; Fraser et al. 2018). In both of these studies, the children's way of speaking at home was an English-lexified variety, overlapping in linguistic forms with the school variety SAE. These studies used variationist sociolinguistic methods to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between closely related varieties (the home and school varieties). Through these methods, these studies provide insight into probabilistic differences between children's use of language in different contexts, where there is not a straightforward distinction between the varieties concerned. This thesis similarly focuses on Aboriginal students in a school environment where education is conducted through SAE.

Variationist methods have been used in other contexts relevant to the context of this thesis, such as the study of code-switching between languages by bilingual speakers (Poplack 1993; Poplack & Meechan 1998; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2015), and the study of second language acquisition (SLA). Variationist SLA research includes both the study of variation between L2 forms, and L1 or interlanguage forms, as part of the process of language acquisition (Bayley & Preston 1996) and acquisition of patterns of variation within the second language (see

Howard, Mougeon & Dewaele 2013). Some studies have used variationist sociolinguistic methods to study child Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA). These have predominantly been in naturalistic, rather than educational, SDA contexts (Chambers 1992; Tagliamonte & Molfenter 2007).

Few variationist studies have focused on recordings of classroom interaction. However, one example of such a study (Levey 2012) examined variation in subject-verb (was/were) agreement in the speech of children aged seven to eleven years at an outer London school. Finding little evidence of change over time, Levey (2012) argued that the children's language was not becoming closer to Standard English with more exposure to schooling.

4.6.2 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) provides a methodology for fine-grained analysis of social interaction (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2010; Sidnell & Stivers 2012). In this thesis, CA was used to explore how differences between teachers', students' and teacher aides' linguistic repertoires played a role in everyday classroom experiences, and the extent to which they were visible to participants. Crucially, CA methods provided a means to look closely at how social interactions unfolded, how participants responded to what their interlocutors said and did, and how these actions and responses revealed the participants' understanding of the interaction. As explained above, a CA approach was used to address Research Questions 1 (a) and 2. It was an appropriate method for addressing these questions because it provided a means to both characterise the interactional practices of participants in detail, and to reveal when and how participants treated issues of linguistic differences and SAE learning as relevant to their interactions with each other.

CA developed out of an interest in the systematic organisation of interaction, as a way of understanding and describing patterns in communication (Sacks 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). Pomerantz (1990:231) expressed the purpose of CA as '…to explicate the methods that members of a culture use in accomplishing everyday activities'. CA aims to describe the unspoken rules underlying conversation, including how people take turns talking, how turns are designed to do an action, how people repair trouble and misunderstandings in communication, and how sequences of turns are organised (Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2010). Key to the CA approach is interpretation of the actions of participants on the basis of what happens next in the interaction (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974:728; Schegloff 1992, 2007:15), as this provides evidence as to how participants interpret the previous actions, and as to what participants treat as relevant within the interaction.

The CA approach is strongly rooted in the detailed analysis of real, rather than invented or imagined, social interaction, collected to represent natural communication as closely as possible (i.e. as it would have occurred if it was not being recorded) (Mondada 2012:33). All aspects of how people communicate may be relevant to understanding these interactions. As a result, analysis from a CA perspective frequently includes not only what people say, but the extralinguistic features of how they say it, including accompanying physical gestures and actions (Hepburn & Bolden 2012:57). Detailed transcription of data is treated as part of the analysis process, as part of unpacking and understanding how the interaction unfolds Additional symbols are used to represent extralinguistic features, and unconventional spellings may be used to represent unusual pronunciation of certain words (Jefferson 2004). Section 4.7.2 describes CA transcription methods used in this thesis, along with other aspects of how the CA approach was implemented.

While CA methods do not appear to have been used in studies of children's SDA or creole speakers' SLA of the lexifier in an educational context, they have been widely applied in a number of related contexts. The CA approach has been used to show children competently deploying their interactional resources to deal with 'children's problems': the actions and goals they are motivated to pursue (Sacks 1992; see Kidwell 2012). It can be seen that children's goals and practices are not necessarily the same as those of adults (Cobb-Moore, Danby & Farrell 2009; Hepburn & Potter 2011; Stivers, Sidnell & Bergen 2018; Theobald 2009). CA methods have been used extensively for the analysis of classroom interaction (e.g. Gardner 2012; Mehan 1979; McHoul 1978; Macbeth 1990), including school contexts with children in the early years of schooling (Bateman & Church 2017; Margutti 2006; Melander & Sahlström 2009). CA methods have been widely applied to the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (Hall, Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler 2011; Lee 2007; Kasper & Wagner 2011; Markee 2000; Seedhouse 2004), though the place of these methods has been debated within mainstream SLA literature (Firth & Wagner 1997; Kasper 1997; Long 1997; Markee & Kasper 2004). These applications have been predominantly with adult second language learners, in classes where specific second language instruction is taking place.

Recent studies have used a CA approach to describe interactional practices among speakers of contact languages (Sidnell 2001, 2008), and speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages, and English-lexified contact languages in Australia (Blythe 2009, 2010; Blythe et al. 2018; Dixon 2015; Gardner & Mushin 2015; Mushin & Gardner 2009; Rendle-Short & Moses 2010). CA has been used to analyse interactions between speakers from different language and cultural backgrounds (Gardner & Wagner 2004), and examine how language differences are treated as

relevant by participants in these interactions (Bolden 2014). A recent paper (Raymond 2018) has argued that CA provides a good methodology for analysing contact between speakers of different dialects. The range of contexts in which a CA approach has been used demonstrates its versatility, showing that these methods may be applied to diverse speech contexts (e.g. casual or institutional settings), and with speakers of different cultural, language and age groups.

CA provided a powerful framework within which to address the research questions for this thesis by providing a way to track 'invisible' effects such as those reported by Angelo and colleagues (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013). It provided a means for looking at what is made relevant by participants, and a way to characterise in detail the practices of teachers and students. The next section introduces some foundational aspects of the structure of social interaction as studied by conversation analysts, to provide a basis for the ideas and terminology underpinning the CA analysis presented in Chapters 6 to 9 of this thesis.

Foundational aspects of the structure of conversation

This section describes turn-taking, sequence organisation and repair in interaction from a CA perspective. These aspects of interaction have been studied most extensively in casual conversation between adult peers (predominantly American English speakers), but have also been described in a variety of other speech situations, including classroom settings. The institutional nature of the classroom environment means that it has some key differences to ordinary conversation, which will be discussed alongside the more general findings here. In explaining these concepts I will focus on how social interactions are structured as sequences where speakers' actions are contingent on what others have just done, and how what people do next shows how they have interpreted what has just happened. By observing the sequential structure of interactions, it is possible to see which actions from speakers, attributes of their interlocutors or topics of conversation participants treat as relevant to the ongoing interaction.

The CA approach sees conversation as built up of turns taken by different participants as they communicate with each other (Schegloff 1968:1076). It can be observed that people conversing do not generally all speak at the same time, or remain silent for long periods of time, instead, people seem to recognise with precision when they are expected to take a turn, or when they have the opportunity to choose take a turn (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974:700-701). Turn-taking, or the transfer of the right and obligation of different participants to take a turn has been found to follow a set of rules (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974:704).

The current speaker is able to select the next speaker, who is then obliged to talk, or if the current speaker does not select an interlocutor to talk next, someone may select themself as the next speaker, or the current speaker may continue speaking. Turn-taking in classroom communication can be described in similar terms as following rules, but with a significant asymmetry in the roles of teachers and students. In traditional teacher-led classroom interactions, the teacher has the central role in allocating who is able and obliged to take a turn next (McHoul 1978:188).

Just as turn-taking rules make it relevant for a certain speaker to provide the next turn, if an interlocutor does not produce the appropriate type of action in their next turn, they may be held accountable (Sacks 1992:97; Schegloff 1968:1083). A basic principle organising the sequencing of turns is the adjacency pair (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:716). Actions very frequently occur in pairs, so that if one speaker performs the first action (called a *first pair part*), the other speaker is expected to perform a complementary action (the *second pair part*). For example, a question first pair part expects an answer from the next speaker in the second pair part, or a greeting first pair part requires another greeting from the next speaker in response. If a speaker does not produce the expected second pair part, the first speaker may respond to the second speaker in a way that indicates the second pair part was missing. The next action from a speaker also reveals how they understood the turn that went before (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974:728).

These actions (such as questions, answers and greetings) do not occur in isolation, but as part of longer sequences which make up an interaction. One type of sequence frequently observed and described in classroom discourse is composed of three turns. This pattern has been described by a number of researchers, and is often called an IRF or IRE sequence, composed of Initiation, Response and Feedback or Evaluation turns (Mehan 1979; Nassaji & Wells 2000; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975). In these sequences, the first pair part is initiated by the teacher, typically with a question. This is responded to in the second turn by a student, and then the third turn consists of another move by the teacher. In this third turn, the teacher provides some kind of response to the student's second turn, for example, acknowledging, assessing or correcting student responses, or reformulating questions (Cohrssen & Church 2017; Lee 2007; Waring 2013; Zemel & Koschmann 2011). Lee (2007) demonstrates the versatility of the third turn position, and its contingency on the prior turns and the teacher's goals.

One way in which sequences of turns may be further expanded into longer sequences is through processes of repair (Jefferson 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Repair is the

means by which participants resolve troubles which impede the progress of an interaction. These troubles prototypically arise from participants mishearing, mis-speaking or misunderstanding each other, but participants may also engage in repair when, to a researcher, there does not appear to be a problem in communication. A repair sequence is initiated when one participant indicates there is trouble with what has just been said, either in their own speech (self-initiated) or that of another speaker (other-initiated) (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977:364). Repair may be initiated by another speaker in a way that simply draws attention to the fact something has gone wrong, such as 'huh?' or 'what?' (these are referred to as *open repair initiators*) (Drew 1997) or the repair initiation may more specifically target the aspect of the preceding conversation requiring repair, e.g. 'he said what?' (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977:367). When repair is initiated, the trouble must then be remedied or repaired. As with the initiation of repair, the repair itself may be done by either the original speaker of the problematic utterance (self-repair), or by another speaker (other-repair).

Bolden (2014) shows how, in carrying out repair, or in anticipating possible troubles in understanding, speakers may reveal what they expect their interlocutors to know or not know. In Bolden's study, speakers made relevant the Russian language and cultural knowledge they expected of other members of their families during dinner table conversations. When speaking with members of a younger generation, who had grown up in the United States, older speakers provided explanations of the meaning of words and cultural knowledge from their earlier lives in Russia. The younger speakers were not held to account for not having this knowledge already but were treated as, and took on the role of 'cultural novice' and learner of this linguistic and cultural information. In this way, repair sequences can be a useful site for observing what participants in an interaction expect each other to know, and hold each other accountable for not knowing.

As with Bolden's (2014) study, this thesis aimed to look for how differences in linguistic repertoires between interactants (teachers and students) surface in and affect the progress of interactions. I was also interested in examining how, and to what extent, teachers treated students as learners of linguistic knowledge (in this case of features of SAE).

Several other recent studies have used CA methods to show practices by which participants make linguistic choices relevant in interactions. These studies focused on choice between languages in bilingual classes at school, or in classrooms where students spoke shared languages other than the language of instruction (Copp Jinkerson 2011; Copp Mökkönen 2012;

Jakonen 2016). In these classrooms the varieties spoken were clearly differentiated and explicitly named by participants. These studies showed how teachers and students established, maintained and resisted norms for the language of communication in the classroom. The practices by which this was done included stating overt, explicit rules as to which language was appropriate for particular contexts, but also included less overt practices which oriented to other participants' ways of speaking.

Jakonen (2016) focused on an English-medium history class, with 14-15 year old native Finnish speaking students, in Finland. In this class, there was an openly stated rule that the L2 (English) should be the mode of spoken communication in all contexts. Classroom rules became apparent when the teacher identified a student action as transgressing this rule, and responded in a way that invoked the rule (Jakonen 2016:16). In the study, the teacher used a range of practices to invoke such a rule (Jakonen 2016:17). These included asking a student which variety they were speaking, with the implication that there was a problem, use of open repair initiators (e.g. 'Sorry?') to indicate trouble, and to require the student to identify that language choice was the issue, and explicit directives to speak the L2. Students did not directly oppose the teacher's invocation of the L2 rule, but did not display full alignment with the L2 norm. In one example, students responded to teacher reproaches with temporary compliance, through silence, then returned to L1 use. In another, students treated the teacher's confirmation checks regarding language use as genuine questions, denying that they were speaking the L1. Students also responded in a non-serious way to the teacher's softer attempts at enforcing the L2 norm, reinforcing affiliation by joking with the teacher, while resisting the L2-only rule.

Copp Jinkerson (2011) examined orientation to choice of language in a bilingual classroom with younger students (aged seven to eight years), in an English-medium class in Finland. The class was explicitly defined as the 'English speaking class', within a school where other classes were Finnish speaking. Copp Jinkerson (2011) showed how three students from different language backgrounds engaged differently with the 'English-only' rule. One student with a lower proficiency in Finnish, who spoke French at home, benefited from the English-only rule, and enforced the rule by directing peers to speak English. Another student resisted the rule, speaking Finnish with peers. Unlike the high school students described by Jakonen (2016), this student overtly questioned the teacher on the reasons for the English-speaking norm. When the teacher reasoned that some class members could not understand Finnish, this student replied that he was not talking to these students. A third student showed metalinguistic knowledge and curiosity, asking questions about where an English-speaking teacher at the

school was born, whether she spoke Finnish, and how she could live in Finland without knowing this language. As reported by Jakonen (2016), the class teacher oriented to the English-only rule, using practices including reproaching students for speaking Finnish through questioning prompts.

These studies show how CA can provide a suitable method to track how participants make relevant the linguistic repertoires of other participants, and enact and respond to norms around ways of speaking, particularly in a school setting. These studies also show how carefully examining social interaction can reveal how people position others as more or less knowledgeable, and as learners or group members in relation to their linguistic and cultural knowledge. This is important for the questions analysed in this thesis.

4.7 Process of analysis

Section 4.6 above introduced the variationist sociolinguistic and CA approaches used in the analysis for this thesis. The next sections outline the procedures followed in applying these approaches to analysis of the classroom corpus. Section 4.7.1 describes the variationist sociolinguistic process of analysis, and Section 4.7.2 describes the CA process of analysis.

4.7.1 Variationist sociolinguistic process of analysis

A variationist sociolinguistic approach was used to address Research Question 1, concerning children's choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires. The focus of this variationist analysis is the variable absence and presence (in full and contracted form) of present tense forms of the verb 'be' (referred to as the BE variable), in the corpus of classroom recordings. This section describes the BE variable and the reasons why it was chosen to be the focus of this analysis. This is followed by an explanation of the process by which utterances or tokens containing variants of BE were identified and coded, and an explanation of the statistical methods used for analysis.

The BE variable was chosen as an example of a linguistic feature which was variable in the children's classroom talk, and which has been described as variable in Queensland ex-Reserve varieties by previous linguistic studies (Allridge 1984:15[28], and illustrated in the recent posters[29], see Section 2.2.3), which differs from the usage of the verb 'be' in SAE. BE presence is required grammatically in SAE as a copula and auxiliary verb (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:80, 218, 257). In the children's classroom talk, BE was sometimes observed to be absent when it

[28] Allridge 1984:15 summarises the descriptions given in the 1960s Queensland Speech Survey theses (see Section 2.2.1 for more detail).
[29] Language Perspectives (2009; 2013; 2015)

would be required in SAE. The variants of BE in the classroom corpus are illustrated in Examples (70)[30] - (72) below. Present tense forms of the verb 'be' (*am, is, are*) may be present in full form (70), in contracted form (71) or absent (72) in the children's talk.[31]

(70) *This game is easy* (Jara, 111115-Yr1-3B 06:18)

(71) *Miss, dere's a frog;* (Sapphira, 120222-Yr1-3A 10:46)

(72) *She on da phone;* (Doreen, 110608-Prep-4 10:55)

The BE variable was of interest because of the central role of the verb 'be' in standard English grammar. The verb 'be' is used in a range of grammatical contexts in standard varieties of English, including SAE. These grammatical contexts include both copula and auxiliary functions. As a copula, the verb 'be' links the subjects of clauses to other nouns, adjectives, prepositional phrases and to additional clauses. The verb 'be' is also used as an auxiliary verb preceding *going to* or *gonna,* verbs with the *-ing* suffix (referred to in this thesis as *Ving*), and participles in passive constructions. In contrast, the verb 'be' is not required in these grammatical environments in many English-lexified contact varieties, some non-standard varieties of English (Wolfram 1974; Feagin 1979), and some 'New Englishes' in countries where English is widely spoken as a second or additional language (Herat 2005). This is the case in many Australian English-lexified contact varieties and varieties described as Aboriginal English (Allridge 1984:15; Butcher 2008:631; Harkins 1994:79; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:93; Malcolm 1996:155; Malcolm & Koscielecki 1997). Because the grammatical contexts described above are common in conversation, the BE variable occurred frequently in the classroom corpus. Additionally, the BE variable appears in the analysis of classroom interaction as a difference between the children's classroom talk and SAE which both teachers and students orient to. Non-SAE usage of forms of BE in the children's classroom talk was commented on by a teacher and targeted for correction in one lesson (see Section 10.2), and students switched between BE absence and presence in reading and writing tasks (see Extracts 3 and 4 in Section 6.1).

Analysis of BE variation has a long history in the study of sociolinguistic variation (e.g. Holm 1984; Labov et al. 1968; Poplack & Sankoff 1987; Rickford et al. 1991; Walker & Meyerhoff 2006; Wolfram 1969). One of the earliest sociolinguistic studies of language variation focused

[30] Each example is referenced with the name of the speaker and the recording metadata, composed of the recording date in reverse, the year group, and the section of the recording, followed by time code. All names are pseudonyms.

[31] The term 'contracted' refers to the reduced enclitic forms written and pronounced as follows: *'m* [m], *'s* [z] or [s]. *'re* is realised by a set of suppletive morphemes, such as [wɪə] or [wɛjɐ] for *we're,* the contracted form of *we are*, and [jɔː] and [ðeː] for *you're* and *there are* (O'Shannessy 2013:340).

on BE variation in the speech of African American teenagers and pre-teens (Labov 1969a; Labov et al. 1968). Labov had a strong interest in language in education for African American students, with the findings of this sociolinguistic study contributing to his book on this topic, *Language in the Inner City* in 1972. The study of BE variation has thus long been associated with education and learning standard English as an additional language or dialect.

The process of analysis began with defining the variable context. The variable context included all grammatical environments in which any of the possible variants of BE (full, contracted or absent) could occur in the children's classroom talk. Contexts in which only one variant could be used were not included in the statistical analysis, so as not to skew results. Section 5.2 describes in detail the grammatical environments in which the BE variable occurred in the classroom corpus. Some contexts in which present tense forms of the verb BE were not variable were described qualitatively (see Appendix).

Predictors were identified which might be influencing children's choice of BE variant. These predictors represented aspects of the social or linguistic environment which I hypothesised may affect choice between variants (Tagliamonte 2006:105-106). The statistical analysis tested whether these predictors did in fact have an effect on the choice of variant, and if so, the direction of that effect. Predictors were chosen by consulting literature on BE variation in other varieties of English and English-based contact languages, and descriptions of Australian English-based varieties spoken by Aboriginal people. In line with the research questions of this thesis, the possible effects of the classroom interactional environment, and change over time, were of particular interest. I chose predictors to test the impact of aspects of these, such as addressee and topic of talk, and students' year at school. Each of these predictors is described in detail in Section 5.3.

To begin coding instances of each of the three variants of BE according to these predictors, I located all utterances which fit the variable context where the verb 'be' could be absent or present in the children's classroom talk. This included all utterances which contained present tense forms of the verb BE, and all contexts in which present tense forms of the verb BE could have been used, but were absent (Tagliamonte 2006:72). These utterances were drawn from 23.5 hours of the transcribed classroom recordings of Cohorts A and B across the three years of the study. As described in Section 4.5.2, these transcripts had been produced in a basic practical orthography by a number of research assistants and myself. From the recordings that had been transcribed, I chose those that would provide a balance in the number of tokens from the two cohorts, and over each of the three years.

Transcripts were chosen to try to obtain tokens from as many students as possible across each year of recording. I initially aimed to collect tokens from each student for each of the 12 recording visits, but this was difficult because some students were absent for some days or weeks of recording, the students included in each recording session was unpredictable, and some students spoke more frequently in class than others, and so more of their utterances were recorded. As a result, I transcribed additional recordings at this stage, to ensure that there was enough data from each cohort for each year, and to ensure that tokens from certain students were included for each year. I also wanted to include utterances with a range of addressees, so included both lessons which contained more talk with student peers, such as when working on individual activities, and lessons where small groups were led by a teacher or teacher aide, to include utterances addressed to adults. Through this process I identified 5419 children's utterances (from 23.5 hours of lessons) which appeared to include instances of BE. This initial collection was drawn from written transcripts produced in the practical orthography.

I checked these 5419 utterances within the original video files, listening to the individual audio recording for the speaker, and coded for predictors based on the video and audio data. This was necessary for ensuring that the transcript was accurate. It was also important for coding certain predictors, including the phonological environment, and the addressee, which were not always clearly identifiable from the written transcript. A substantial number of these potential tokens of BE were found to have been mis-transcribed, or to not fit the variable context. After checking, 3273 of the collected utterances fit the variable context of environments where present tense forms of BE could occur. Of these, 742 tokens were included in the statistical analysis (for reasons outlined in Section 5.2). These tokens were compiled in a spreadsheet. This spreadsheet included columns for metadata information (the transcript and time of utterance), and predictors for the analysis.

Statistical methods were used to determine the effects of these predictors. In line with common variationist sociolinguistic methods described in Section 4.6.1, logistic regression was used for this analysis. The logistic regression analysis was run in Rbrul, the most recent version of a program implementing this method specifically for sociolinguists (Johnson 2009). Rbrul is a package within the software environment R (R Core Team 2018). This was convenient for combining the logistic regression method in Rbrul with other statistical methods within R, and with visualisation methods using other R packages. As R is open source, free and being increasingly adopted by linguists, there was also a good deal of support available (e.g. Baayen 2008; Levshina 2015). Rbrul was also chosen over earlier versions of the variable rule program

because it incorporates a number of enhancements, such as allowing factors such as the speaker to be modelled as random effects (Johnson 2009). The methods used are described more fully in Section 6.7.

In addition to the logistic regression analysis with Rbrul, conditional inference trees were also used to provide insight into the relative importance of the predictors (Levshina 2015; Strobl et al. 2009; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). This analysis was carried out using the 'party' package within R (Hothorn & Zeileis 2015). This method has been less extensively applied in variationist sociolinguistic research but has recently been proposed to be well suited to linguistic data (see Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012).

A conditional inference tree analysis uses a different method to logistic regression to answer similar questions: how different factors contribute to the outcome of the dependent variable. For this study, the questions concerned how social and linguistic predictors influenced the choice between absent, contracted and full forms of BE. A logistic regression model starts with an equation and estimates values for each of the predictors so that the equation fits the data. In contrast, conditional inference trees use trial and error to find which predictors create splits in the data that best distinguish between where the different variants of the dependent variable occur (Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012:159). This analysis provided a point of comparison for the logistic regression analysis and produced a visual representation of the effect of the predictors on children's choice of absent, full or contracted BE.

4.7.2 Conversation Analysis process of analysis

As described in Section 4.6.2, a CA approach was used to address research questions 1 (a) and 2. The analysis process involved first searching for and identifying relevant extracts to create a collection of data for analysis and transcribing these extracts in detail using CA transcription conventions. These extracts were then described in depth to understand what participants were doing, and identify patterns across extracts. This section outlines how extracts were chosen, transcribed and analysed.

The first step was to search for sections of the recorded data which would provide insight into how teachers and students made differences in their ways of talking relevant in classroom interactions. I was interested in where this was done openly in metalinguistic discussion, and where participants' orientation to linguistic differences was less overt. I was aware that, given linguistic differences had been described as having an 'invisible' presence and impact on education for these students (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013) it was necessary to look for where

linguistic differences were affecting how interactions unfolded, but were not commented on at an explicit metalinguistic level.

More specifically, to address Research Question 1 (a) concerning students' orientation to multiple linguistic variants being used in the school environment, I identified sections of the classroom recordings in which:

- Students were involved in metalinguistic discussion of different ways of talking
- Students linked particular ways of talking, or specific linguistic variants, with speech situations
- Students showed awareness of multiple linguistic variants with similar meanings or functions

To address Research Question 2, concerning teachers' practices, I searched for and collected as extracts any sections of the classroom recordings in which:

- Varieties, such as SAE, or the community variety were explicitly named
- Teachers were involved in metalinguistic discussion of different ways of talking
- Aspects of SAE morphology, syntax, phonology or lexical items were the topic of an entire lesson
- Teachers or teacher aides commented explicitly on aspects of the children's spoken speech production
- Non-SAE features in the children's written work were commented on by teachers or teacher aides
- An aspect of SAE was treated as a learning focus in the moment in an interaction
- Teachers or teacher aides provided indirect feedback on non-SAE features in a student's utterance, for example through recasts (teacher repetition of student utterance substituting target element for non-target) or through initiating repair
- Interactions including repair: looking for interactions in which there might be misunderstandings influenced by differences in the teachers' and students' linguistic repertoires

I began to search for relevant extracts by reviewing recordings which had already been transcribed in the practical orthography. This was the same subset of the corpus used for the variationist analysis (described in Section 4.7.1 above) and so included recordings from both cohorts of students across all of the 12 recording visits. I watched the video and looked at the transcript in ELAN, listening to children's individual voice recordings when they were speaking.

When I found sections of the recordings which contained the kinds of interactions outlined above, I transcribed these sections in detail, using Conversation Analysis conventions to represent extra-linguistic features such as intonation, volume, overlapping talk and silences. The conventions used are presented on page xi. These transcribed sections of the recordings are the collection of extracts drawn from in the analysis chapters.

The analysis presented in Chapters 6-9 describes these extracts in detail. These chapters use a CA perspective to address Research Question 1 (a), considering how children navigated the variety of linguistic variants in their repertoires (Chapter 6), and Research Question 2, discussing what the interactions reveal about how teachers approached non-SAE elements in the children's classroom talk and how they approached the teaching of SAE as an additional language or dialect (Chapters 7-9).

4.8 Summary

This chapter has reiterated and explained the research questions for this thesis (Section 4.1), and described the research site (Section 4.2), ethical considerations (Section 4.3), participants (Section 4.4) and corpus of classroom recordings (Section 4.5) which make up the data set analysed in the next chapters. The Conversation Analysis and variationist sociolinguistic approaches used for the analysis were introduced and described (Section 4.6), along with the specific processes followed in carrying out each of these analyses (Section 4.7). The next chapter uses a variationist sociolinguistic approach to address Research Question 1, concerning students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires in their classroom talk. This analysis focuses on variation in students' use of the verb 'be'.

5 Variation in absence and presence of BE

This chapter addresses Research Question 1 from a variationist sociolinguistic perspective. Research Question 1 asks: "How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school?" and has two parts: (a) "Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?" and (b) "Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?"

As introduced in Section 4.7.1, the variationist sociolinguistic analysis takes one variable feature in the children's classroom talk as a case study in this thesis: variable absence and presence of the verb 'be' in the present tense (termed the *BE variable* throughout this analysis).[32] The analysis in this chapter uses logistic regression (implemented through the statistical package Rbrul, Johnson 2009), and conditional inference tree analysis (Levshina 2015; Strobl et al. 2009; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012), to understand how linguistic, social and individual factors contribute to variation in the forms of BE used by the children in their talk at school.

The chapter begins by explaining how the two parts of Research Question 1 were explored through an analysis of variable absence and presence of BE in the children's classroom talk (Section 5.1). The next section outlines the variable context for BE, which determined the utterances included in the analysis (Section 5.2). This is followed by a description of the factors predicted to influence variation in the children's variable use of BE (Section 5.3). This coding is summarised in Section 5.4. Section 5.5 presents the results of the logistic regression analysis, and Section 5.6 presents the results of the conditional inference tree analysis. Section 5.7 provides a discussion of the findings in light of the research questions, followed by a summary (Section 5.8).

5.1 The process of exploring Research Question 1 through a variationist sociolinguistic analysis of BE variation

The analysis reported in this chapter took variation between BE absence and presence throughout the classroom corpus as a case study, to investigate Research Question 1, namely, "How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during

[32] Chapter 6 continues to address Research Question 1 through a Conversation Analysis approach

class time at school?". The variants with which this analysis was concerned were absence and presence of the verb BE in the three year corpus of children's classroom talk.

Extract 1 below provides an example of the ways students in the classroom corpus varied in their use of absent, contracted and full forms of BE, with variation between students, and within individual students' speech.[33] This extract shows four students using three variants of BE expression – in full form (*my name is Arry;* line 4), contracted form (*Your name's Arry.* line 1), and absent (*e name Arry;* line 4).[34] Lines 1 and 4 show absent, contracted and full forms of BE spoken by the same student (Samuel) in succession.

Extract 1 "Your name's Arry" (110606-Yr1-Part2 05:25-6:14)

1	Samuel	:	**[Your name's Arry.**
2	Terrance	:	[Not Arry,
3			(0.6)
4	Samuel	:	**E name Arry; my name is Arry;**
5			(0.9)
6	Declan	:	**We Arry,** ahm a- [**ah name Arry;**
7	Clint	:	[Arry; [Arry; (youfla can) call=
8	Terrance	:	[**Ahm Arry too,**
9	Clint	:	=me [Arry;
10	Samuel	:	[No **your name is Samuel;**
11	Declan	:	[No,

The next sections explain in turn how the analysis was designed to investigate parts (a) and (b) of Research Question 1, and introduce the predictors chosen to explore these aspects of the question.

5.1.1 Research Question 1 (a) "Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?"

Research Question 1(a) concerns the effect of the interactional context in the classroom on children's choice of BE variant.

[33] This extract is from an informal conversation between four boys in Year 1 which took place while their class was sitting outside in an undercover area. One or two students were painting concrete poles with stencilled shapes while others (including these boys) waited in a group, without close supervision from teachers.

[34] In this conversation, students give each other and claim false names, centrally 'Arry'. This (Harry) is the name of a boy in the class who was not present for this lesson.

In addressing Research Question 1 (a), BE absence is taken to be associated with the community variety, while BE presence is taken to be more associated with SAE, for the following reasons. BE absence has been described by previous linguistic studies as a feature of English-lexified varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in Australia, including Queensland ex-Reserve varieties (see Section 2.2.3). BE absence is considered in the present analysis to be associated with the community variety because it is a feature of ex-Reserve varieties, whereas BE presence is obligatory in SAE. BE presence is considered in this analysis to be more associated with SAE, because BE presence is obligatory in SAE and not in ex-Reserve varieties.[35]

Based on the previous linguistic studies discussed below, it was expected that BE would be present at a higher rate in interactions more strongly related to the formal educational goals and environment at school, that is, if students were associating BE presence with a school style of talking, and choosing to use this school way of talking themselves. This was tested by the Addressee and Topic of talk predictors described in Section 5.3 below.

Previous literature suggested that when speaking with SAE-speaking teachers, rather than other students or teacher aides who speak the community variety, students would use variants associated with SAE at a higher rate. As discussed in Section 3.3.2, Dixon (2017:139) reported a separation in linguistic forms used, and differences in rates of use of different variants, in contexts at school with an SAE-speaking teacher addressee, and home contexts with an Alyawarr English addressee.[36] Similarly, the findings of Fraser et al. (2018:254) indicated that students used SAE forms of articles and demonstratives at a significantly higher rate when addressing an SAE-speaking teacher while performing a literacy task.[37] As described in Section 3.3.2, qualitative descriptions of Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified varieties at school also describe differences between students' ways of talking with teachers and with student peers (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:100; Moses & Wigglesworth 2008), with students speaking their home varieties with peers to a greater extent, and SAE with teachers.

Previous literature suggested that the students might particularly associate SAE forms with contexts where they were interacting with written texts and learning literacy, and so that BE might be present at a greater rate on literacy topics of talk than other topics, and on school related topics rather than non-school related (Fraser et al. 2018:254).

[35] However, note that this is a simplification for the purposes of applying these questions to a statistical analysis. Variable absence and presence of BE has been described in Queensland ex-Reserve varieties (Allridge 1984:15).
[36] Dixon (2017) did not compare children's speech with different addressees in the school contexts.
[37] Fraser et al. (2018) analysed the speech of six children from the same corpus of classroom recordings as in the present study. See Section 3.3.2 for a more detailed description of Fraser et al. (2018)

5.1.2 Research Question 1 (b) "Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?"

Part (b) of Research Question 1 considers whether students change in their rate of use of the variant possible in SAE (BE presence), with longer exposure to SAE through a longer amount of time spent at school. This question assumes that a greater length of time at school would result in more access to SAE variants from the SAE-speaking teachers and standard English texts, and more time participating in a classroom where SAE is the official language of education. The classroom corpus for this study includes speech from the same students over three years, so the results show the same students' language use as time progressed.

Previous studies suggest that there would be an increase in rate of use of SAE in speech in the classroom over time (Dixon 2017:221; Harkins 1994:79; Malcolm 1996:158), though Fraser et al. (Fraser et al. 2018:259) provides counter evidence. Dixon (2017:221, 244) found an effect for age: that from early in their schooling, Alyawarr English speaking children stopped using forms that are not used in SAE (that is, the transitive *-im* suffix and the present tense V*bat* form) while at school (as discussed further in Section 3.3.2). Descriptions of BE absence and presence in Western Australian Aboriginal children's English (Malcolm 1996:158) and Alice Springs Aboriginal children's English (Harkins 1994:778-79) suggested that children use full and contracted forms of BE with an increasing frequency as they grow older (see Section 3.3.2).

Fraser et al. (2018) found that students used significantly less SAE forms in the third year of the study than in the first. They argued that students were associating SAE specifically with literacy activities, and in general not extending its use to other functions in the classroom. They suggested the lower rate of SAE forms as children became older might be linked to their development of social identities strengthening their ties with the community, and expressed through increased use of their home language (Fraser et al. 2018:259) (see Section 3.2.2).

In order to address the research questions described above, it was necessary to define the context in which BE was variable, and select predictors which might be influencing BE variation. The next section describes the variable context for BE (Section 5.2), and is followed by a description of the predictors chosen for analysis (Section 5.3).

5.2 Defining the variable context for BE variation

BE can occur in a number of forms and grammatical environments. For statistical analysis it was necessary to define clearly the contexts in which BE was variable: where it could be both

present (in full and contracted forms) and absent in the children's language at school (Tagliamonte 2006:86). This section describes the variable context for the tokens of BE collected. Defining the variable context is a complex process. As Labov (1969a:728) describes, 'The final decision as to what to count is actually the solution to the problem in hand; this decision is approached only through a long series of exploratory maneuvers.'

The Appendix presents a more detailed examination of the variability of BE in a number of grammatical contexts. The results of that discussion are summarised in this section, along with other considerations in defining the variable context for statistical analysis.

5.2.1 Variants of BE

In the corpus of classroom recordings for this thesis, there are three options for the expression of the BE variable in the present tense, BE in its **full** forms, (*am* [æm]*, is* [ɪz] and *are* [ɐ:])*,* in **contracted** forms (*'m* [m], *'s* [s] or [z], and *'re*[38]), and the **absence** of BE. Because the verb BE has different present tense forms depending on the person and number of the subject, present and contracted BE are each realised in three different ways (*am/m, is/s, are/re*).[39]

As reported in Appendix A.1, BE (*am/m*) with a first person singular subject occurred at a high rate (92%) in contracted form (as *I'm* or *ahm*). This was in contrast to tokens with second and third person singular, and all plural subjects, which contracted at rates from 8.5% to 18.5%. Tokens with first person singular subjects were not included in the variable context, due to the high rate of contraction (following Blake 1997). Tokens with subjects of other person and number types were included in the variable context for statistical analysis.

The analysis focused on contexts with present and future temporal reference. Past tense *was/were,* infinitival and imperative *be* and *be* following a modal were excluded, because different forms of BE occur in these contexts, and are categorically present (Labov 1969a:719). Utterances referring to past time, or with ambiguous time reference, were excluded because it is unclear whether an absent form of BE would have been *am/are/is* or *was/were* (Walker 2000:70). For example, utterances like (73) (past tense) and (74) (following a modal) below were not included.

(73) *ah was da firs one doin dat,* (Terrance, 120605-Yr2-1B 6:16)

(74) *a:y; dey can't be still playing,* (Jara, 121114-Yr2-1 1:54)

[38] As noted in Section 4.7.1, the contracted form *'re* is realised by a set of suppletive morphemes, such as [wɪə] or [wɛjɐ] for *we're,* the contracted form of *we are*, and [jɔ:] and [ðɐ:] for *you're* and *there are* (O'Shannessy 2013:340)

[39] These written forms are used throughout to represent the spoken forms listed above.

5.2.2 Grammatical and phonological contexts not included in the statistical analysis

Typically, tokens where BE appears in clause final position or in emphatic or stressed contexts are excluded in studies of African American English (AAE) and English-lexified creoles, as BE occurs categorically in full form in these positions (Blake 1997:61-62). As described in Appendix A.3, in the classroom corpus, BE did not appear to be categorically present in all clause-final contexts. However, due to the difficulty in coding for all the predictors (such as following phonological environment and following grammatical environment), BE in these contexts was not included in the statistical analysis.

As described in Appendix A.4, in both polar and wh- questions, subject and verb were variably inverted in the classroom corpus. For example, in wh- questions, students said both *where is da letter 'C'* and *what dis number is*, and in polar questions, students said both *Miss am I still on dis one?* and *You're doing da pictures?.* As a result, if BE was absent, it was not possible to determine the position that it was absent from, causing issues in coding for preceding and following phonological context. Polar and wh- questions were therefore excluded from the statistical analysis.

Tokens with *it*, *that* and *what* as subject were not included in the statistical analysis because, as described in Appendix A.2, they occur at high rates (93.2%, 93.8% and 73.7% respectively) in contracted form. As with first person singular subjects, this revealed an idiosyncratic pattern of variation which differed from utterances with other subject types.

Tokens with *dere/there* or *ere/here* as subject were not included in the statistical analysis. These utterances all occurred with following noun phrases, and followed a different pattern of subject-verb agreement, with a large proportion of plural subjects occurring with the *is/s* form of BE. As summarised by Blake (1997:65), utterances with *there* subjects are frequently not included in statistical analyses of BE variation for these reasons, and this decision was applied in the current thesis.

Tokens with the subject *mine* were also not included, because this was produced variably by the children as both *mine* and *mines* in all contexts. For example,

(75) *Mine deadly, look at mines la;* (Rhyanna, 110906-Prep-2 3:52)

(76) *Ah look at mines; iss neater dan Samuel's* (Declan, 110906-Yr1 15:41)

(77) *Mines all're square now Marden,* (Joelle, 130508-Yr3-2B 10:40)

(78) *Mines all deadly; look;* (Seamus, 110906-Prep-2 11:58)

Because *mine* variably has a final /s/ in contexts like in (75),(76) and (77), it was not possible to accurately judge whether contracted *'s* was used in contexts such as (78).

Tokens were excluded where contracted and absent BE could not be distinguished phonetically because of the following segment. In Australian English (as in other varieties of English, Blake 1997:65, Labov 1969a:729), this includes a third person singular subject with a following sibilant, for example *he sitting/he's sitting.* Blake (1997:66) argued that preceding sibilants are not problematic for distinguishing contracted and zero forms of *is/s*, because they found it to be easier to distinguish full, contracted and absent BE with preceding than following sibilants at a normal rate of speech.

Studies of American varieties of English also exclude examples where a context for BE with a second person singular or plural subject is followed by an r (Blake 1997:65; Rickford et al. 1991; Wolfram 1969). In Australian English, /ɹ/ is not pronounced after a vowel, unless it is also followed by a vowel (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965:39, O'Shannessy 2013:340). This means that *we* and *we're, you* and *you're,* and *they* and *they're* are distinguished only by vowel sounds unless followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Following 'r' was not an issue for the data in this study, so these tokens were included.

5.2.3 Speech production

Tokens were excluded where characteristics of natural spoken language made the variant or its context unclear or ambiguous. This included fragmented utterances, long gaps and restarts (Tagliamonte 2006:94). Tokens which could not be heard clearly and confidently coded for relevant factors were similarly excluded from statistical analysis. In cases of repetition, it is usual practice in variationist sociolinguistic studies to include only the first token, to avoid skewing results (Tagliamonte 2006:94).

Repetition is a prominent feature of the children's talk in the classroom corpus. The children's conversations are dominated by single clause turns, which frequently partially or fully repeat aspects of previous turns from the same or other children. In this corpus, this was a common way the children talked about topics of conversation. Extract 2, below, illustrates this kind of interaction. Repetition was also frequently used as a resource for attracting the attention of an addressee, in a context where there were many demands on students' and teachers' attention. In instances where exactly the same subject, form of BE and complement were repeated by the same speaker, only the first token was counted.

This did, however, still leave a substantial amount of partial repetition and repetition of phrases by different speakers (again, see Extract 2 below). This conversation takes place among a group of Prep students who are sitting at a table together working individually on an activity. The topic of age is brought up as part of a dispute – one student accuses another of putting glue in his mouth, he retaliates by jabbing the glue stick in her direction. She tells him to stop with the argument *ahm older dan you,* (line 1 below). Utterances with variants of BE are highlighted in bold.

Extract 2 "ahm older dan you" (110908-Prep-Part1 2:17-2:50)

1 Doreen : Stop it Dirk ah; liddle boy ah; **ahm older dan**
2 **you,** (0.7) **you only five,** ahm- **me an Nomi (only)**
3 **s:::ix;**
4 (0.4)
5 David : No, **you fi::ve Doree:n;**
6 (0.8)
7 Doreen : **E's fi:::ve** a:h;
8 Naomi : **Ahm si:x,**
9 (0.2)
10 Doreen : **Ahm six too:,**
11 (1.4)
12 Noah : Ere; [ahm;
13 Doreen : [**Me an Nomi; (.) si:x;**
14 Noah : **Ahm six [too: a:y;**
15 Doreen : [**an Titania only;** (1.0) **Titania only**
16 **fou:r;**
17 (0.6)
18 Naomi : Fi:ve;
19 (1.1)
20 Doreen : O:::h; **de:y fi:::::[::v]e;**
21 Naomi : [Oh nah,]
22 Naomi : **Dem two dey four;**

The text below shows twelve tokens drawn from this extract. Given the criteria given above, of excluding only utterances where exactly the same subject, form of BE and complement are repeated by the same speaker, all the following tokens are included in the analysis, with the exception of one incomplete utterance (Example (88) below).

(79) *Ahm older dan you,* (Doreen, line 1)

(80) *You only five,* (Doreen, line 2)

(81) *Me an Nomi (only) si:::x;* (Doreen, lines 2-3)

(82) *No, you fi::ve Doree:n;* (David, line 5)

(83) *E's fi:::ve a:h;* (Doreen, line 7)

(84) *Ahm si:x,* (Naomi, line 8)

(85) *Ahm six too:,* (Doreen, line 10)

(86) *Me an Nomi; (.) six;* (Doreen, line 13)

(87) *Ahm six too: a:y;* (Noah, line 14)

(88) *Titania only;* (Doreen, line 15)

(89) *Titania only fou:r;* (Doreen, lines 15-16)

(90) *De:y fi:::::::ve;* (Doreen, line 20)

(91) *Dem two dey four;* (Naomi, line 22)

This kind of repetition is interesting in that it provides opportunities for comparison across utterances that differ only slightly. With the speech context and following grammatical environment constant (as the numbers 'four', 'five' and 'six'), BE is seen to occur in contracted form *m* with all first person singular subjects (as discussed in Appendix A.1) and as *s* with the pronoun *e.* BE is absent with pronouns *you* and *dey*, the name *Titania,* and the combined pronoun and name *me an Nomi* as subjects. However, Extract 2 shows students repeating the utterances of others (for example in lines 5, 10, 14), and repeating parts of their own and other students' utterances (seen throughout the extract). It is possible that this is influencing the choice of BE form in a way that is unaccounted for in the statistical model.

To summarise, the variable context for this study consists of utterances with present or future time reference, with imperative and modal constructions excluded. Utterances where BE occurs phrase finally were also excluded. Utterances with first person singular or *it/that/what* subjects, and BE in questions were not included for the variation analysis. When the form of BE was difficult to determine due to neutralisation contexts, utterances were excluded.

Ambiguities or skewed distribution of forms of BE arising from speech production in the recordings also resulted in some utterances not being included.

Utterances fitting the variable context defined in this section were collected from the classroom recordings. This collection was the underlying dataset used for the statistical analysis that is described in the remainder of this chapter. The next section describes the predictors chosen for analysing the variable presence and absence of the verb BE in the children's speech at school.

5.3 Predictors chosen for analysis

Each utterance containing BE and fitting the variable context was coded for a set of predictors, to explore how linguistic features of the utterance, social or interactional features of the context in which it was spoken, and individual characteristics of the speaker might affect choice of absent, contracted or full forms of BE. This section describes these predictors and the categories coded. A summary of these is provided in table form in Section 5.4.

As discussed in Section 5.1 above, interactional predictors (particularly the addressee and topic of talk), and change over time, were of particular interest in addressing the research questions for this thesis. For the statistical model to accurately account for the variation in the data, it was necessary to include all predictors that might contribute to explaining the variation. For this reason, the linguistic factors described below were also included in the analysis. As explained for each predictor, these linguistic factors were selected on the basis of previous literature indicating their impact on BE variation in other English-lexified varieties, or varieties of English.

5.3.1 Linguistic Factors

5.3.1.1 Polarity

Affirmative

(92) *You gonna win Dolphin* [Joelle]*;* (Kenny, 111116-Yr1-Part1 9:02)

Negative

(93) *e's not dangerous,* (Jamie, 130603-Yr3-Part6 2:04)

(94) *Miss; Warra not sittin on e bottom;* (Amelia, 111116-Yr1-Part4 4:59)

Utterances were coded as Affirmative or Negative polarity. Utterances with negative polarity in this variable context use 'not' as a negator, directly following the verb BE (or the position it is absent from). Contractions of the negative particle *not* (i.e. *isn't*, *aren't*) were not used in this corpus. Utterances with negative polarity are frequently excluded in studies of BE variation in varieties where the status of *ain't* as a form of BE is unclear (Blake 1997:70-75). As *ain't* is not used as a negator in the classroom corpus, negative utterances were included, with polarity coded as a possible predictor of BE variation, to determine its effect.

5.3.1.2 Ay

Utterances including *ay*

(95) *Look at my lyrebird; iss deadly ay;* (Declan, 120903-Yr2-3A-Part1 10:52)

(96) *Dey're da green beans ay;* (Amelia, 201604-Yr2-Part3A 12:52)

(97) *Miss e makin blue ay;* (Laurelin, 110606-Yr1-Part2 9:39)

Utterances not including *ay*

(98) *You gonna win Dolphin* [Joelle]*;* (Kenny, 111116-Yr1-Part1 9:02)

Utterances were coded for whether they included *ay* /æɪ/ phrase finally. *Ay* is used to seek confirmation for an assertion from an interlocutor, as in Examples (95)-(97) above. *Ay* is associated with the community variety (see Section 2.2.3) and use of this particle has not been considered in other studies of BE variation (because varieties studied did not include this word). In the classroom corpus for the current study, because *ay* and BE absence are associated with the community variety and not with SAE, it was considered worthwhile to test whether there was a relationship between the rate of BE absence, and the use of *ay.*

5.3.1.3 Subject type

Subject type was coded as personal pronoun (pp), other pronoun (op) (following Rickford et al. 1991:111 and Walker 2000:73) or noun phrase (np).

Personal pronoun

(99) *She not your slave, Titania, you go get it ay* (Doreen, 110608-Prep-Part2 7:27)

(100) *You're still ma friend,* (Sampson, 111114-Prep-2 9:47)

Other pronoun

(101) *This the head; an dis's da big fat belly* (Noah, 120607-Yr1-Part1 6:17)

Noun phrase

(102) *Da lyrebird is ugly* (Harry, 120903-Yr2-3A-Part1 3:19)

(103) *Ma father an ma mother comin* (Rhyanna, 120904-Yr1-1C 4:07)

Studies of BE variation in AAE and Caribbean creoles have found that pronoun subjects favour contracted and absent BE, while noun phrase subjects favour full forms of BE (Labov 1969a:730).

Rickford et al. (1991: 111) used the category 'other pronoun', 'e.g. *these* and *somebody*', and their results showed that utterances in this category patterned differently to those with personal pronoun and noun phrase subjects. Walker (2000:73) also created an 'other pronoun' category including '*there/here, this/these*'. Similarly, an 'other pronoun' category was used in the analysis for this thesis, and included *dis, dese, no one, nobody, anybody*. Tokens with *dere/there* and *ere/here* as subjects were not included in the analysis, as described above in Section 5.2.2.

5.3.1.4 Person/number of the subject

Tokens were coded for the person and number of the subject. As described above (Section 5.2.1), tokens with a first person singular subject were excluded from the analysis. The second person plural and singular categories were combined because of the small number of tokens with second person plural subjects, and because they share a form (*you are*), creating ambiguity in determining the number of the subject. The children did additionally use the second person plural pronouns *youfla* and *yous*, but there were not enough utterances to model tokens with these as subject as a separate category.

5.3.1.5 Following grammatical environment

The verb BE occurs in a number of different grammatical environments. In AAE and Caribbean creoles, this has consistently been found to be an important predictor of BE variation. A reasonably stable pattern in the effect of following grammatical environment has been reported for these varieties, in the order stated below. From left to right, this shows the contexts most favouring full forms of BE, to most favouring BE absence (Labov 1969a:732, see Sharma & Rickford 2009:62-64 for a summary across many varieties of AAE and Caribbean creoles).

_Noun Phrase < _Locative < _Adjective < _*-ing* verb < _*gonna*

The relative ordering of following locatives and adjectives has been found to be the most variable aspect of this pattern across varieties. In Caribbean creoles, adjectives have been found to behave more like V + *-ing* and *gonna* in favouring absent BE. The relative ordering of the effects of following locatives and adjectives in historical and present day varieties of AAE have been much discussed in terms of implications for the creole or non-creole origins of AAE (Holm 1984, Poplack & Sankoff 1987, Poplack & Tagliamonte 1991:321, Walker 2000:66).

Children's first language (L1) acquisition of English copula BE follows a similar pattern. Becker (2002) found that children aged two to three years omitted the copula at a higher rate with following locatives than following noun phrases. The pattern for adjectives was similar to either noun phrases or locatives, depending on the semantic properties of the adjective and its use in the utterance. Adjectives which represented a temporary state ('stage-level'), for example 'he is hungry', patterned like locatives, which also generally describe a temporary state of affairs. Adjectives which represented permanent characteristics of the subject ('individual-level'), for example 'he is tall' followed the same pattern as the noun phrases, with higher rates of BE presence. Cukor-Avila (1999) tested the effect of this semantic distinction between adjectives, adding a category for participials – past participles functioning as adjectives, as in 'she's gone' (Cukor-Avila 1999:346). Stative ('individual-level') adjectives patterned like noun phrases as expected, with higher rates of BE presence. Participials also followed the expected pattern, favouring higher rates of BE absence like BE with following verbal elements (V-*ing* and *gonna*). Nonstative ('stage-level') adjectives however were treated differently by different age groups within the study. For older speakers, stative and nonstative adjectives followed the same pattern, so nonstative adjectives had higher rates of BE presence. In contrast, for younger speakers, nonstative adjectives patterned with participials, favouring BE absence (Cukor-Avila 1999:347).

To explore whether the AAE/ Caribbean creole pattern reflected a consistent pathway in the acquisition of the English verb BE, Sharma and Rickford (2009) compared the AAE/Caribbean creole pattern to L2 varieties of English in four different regions (Indian English, South African Indian English, Singaporean English and Spanish English). They found that the effect of following grammatical environments did not follow the same pattern in the L2 varieties as in AAE and Caribbean creoles, although there was a tendency for verbal predicates (following V-ing and *gonna*) to favour higher rates of BE absence in the L2 varieties, as in AAE and Caribbean creoles. This suggests that this pattern does not reflect a universal pathway in second language acquisition of the verb BE.

The tabulation of rates of BE presence and absence in the Queensland speech survey data (Allridge 1984:15, see Section 5.3.2) follows a remarkably similar pattern to that observed for AAE and Caribbean creoles, despite differences in the definition of the variable contexts, and the limits of the data. The rate of BE presence is highest with following noun phrases (86%), intermediate with following adjectives and locatives (both 50%), and lowest with following V + *-ing* (33%).

For the reasons discussed above, following grammatical environment was included as a predictor, and coded according to the following categories:

Gonna

(104) *No, she not gonna go dere, ay;* (Joelle, 131111-Yr3-Part3A 10:38)

Verb + *-ing/-in*

(105) *Ma pen running out.* (Cameron, 131112-Yr3-Part2 6:10)

Adjective

(106) *Look at da teddy bear**, e green**,* (Noah, 110906-Prep-Part2 2:06)

(107) *Our bus broken* (Randall, 111115-Prep-Part2 0:23)

Locative

(108) *Ma sun, is above the island,* (Rhyanna, 130508-Yr2-Part3A 6:08)

NP

(109) *Dey're da green beans ay;* (Amelia, 120604-Yr2-Part3A 12:52)

In addition to these categories, utterances with a following clause were initially coded as 'misc' (following e.g. Baugh 1980). These were subsequently excluded from the analysis because of the low number of tokens. Following locatives were initially divided into prepositional phrases (e.g. *above the island*) and deictics (*ere, dere*) (following Walker & Meyerhoff 2006:154), but these were subsequently combined. Adjectives formed from past participles were initially separated from other adjectives (following Cukor-Avila 1999, Walker & Meyerhoff 2006:154), but these groups were also combined as there were not enough participle tokens. Stative and non-stative adjectives were also initially separated (following Cukor-Avila 1999), but followed a similar pattern and were subsequently combined.

5.3.1.6 Immediate phonological environment

Preceding phonological context was coded for Vowel (V), Consonant (C) and Sibilant (S). Labov (1969a:745) found that among adolescent and adult groups of AAE speakers, a preceding vowel favoured contraction, while a preceding consonant favoured absence. With the pre-adolescents, higher rates of both contraction and absence occurred with a preceding vowel. Labov (1969a:745) suggested this follows a general tendency for 'rules to develop more phonological conditioning with age'. Baugh (1980) reanalysed Labov's (1969a) data using the variable rule statistical program and found that, when all conditioning factors were taken into account simultaneously, the effect of preceding phonological segment was not as strong as Labov's (1969a) analysis had indicated.

Following phonological context was coded for following Vowel (V) and Consonant (C). Following sibilants were excluded from the statistical analysis (following Blake 1997, see Section 5.2.2) because of the ambiguity in distinguishing whether contracted 's' is present.

5.3.2 Interactional Factors

5.3.2.1 Addressee

Descriptions of Aboriginal English point to both addressee and speech context as drivers of variation (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:78, and see overview in Young 1997). The naturally occurring classroom data used for this study records the children talking to a range of interlocutors: peers, adults from the community who speak the community variety (these are all teacher aides in these recordings), and SAE-speaking teachers. It was expected that the children would use more of the variants associated with SAE at a higher rate with SAE-speaking teachers (see Section 5.1.1).

Addressee Type was classified into four categories, teacher (adult speaker of SAE and not of the community variety), teacher aide (adult speaker of the community variety)[40], student, and 'general'. 'General' was used for utterances that were not directed at a particular interlocutor, such as self-talk, and announcements to a mixed audience of teachers and students. A category for 'other' interlocutor was also initially coded. Children's talk that treated the microphone as an interlocutor, or talk mediated by some other prop (for example a toy

[40] Note that one teacher aide did not consider herself to be a speaker of the community variety, but was a speaker of a variety from a different area of Queensland which shared linguistic features with the community variety (see Section 4.4). In the recorded classroom corpus, this teacher aide switched between SAE and a variety sharing non-SAE features with the children's classroom talk (see Section 7.2). This presented a complication for the coding system for the statistical analysis, and this teacher aide was coded as 'teacher' (speaker of SAE and not of the community variety).

telephone), were placed in this category. There were not many of these 'other' interlocutor utterances, and some seemed to have some unique characteristics, such as the adoption of an American accent for one student talking on the toy phone, and so these tokens were excluded. Utterances with an unknown interlocutor were also excluded.

5.3.2.2 Topic of talk

This predictor explored the relationship between the topic of the utterance and expression of BE. This was coded for four levels: *Not school task related* (N), *meta-task* (meta)– concerned with some aspect of a school task outside the educational content itself, such as finding pencils or books, comparing quality of work, or competing with other students, *school-task related* (Y) – talk about curriculum content, and *literacy* (L) – talk directly accomplishing a literacy task, using resources provided to the student, such as reading materials or a set phrase drilled by the teacher. It was expected that the children would be more likely to use the variants associated with SAE, with BE present, when performing a school task, or speaking about a school topic.

With speakers of AAE, Labov (1969a:729) observed some differences between different speech contexts, which he associated with stylistic shifts. In spontaneous group sessions, contrary to the expectations of speakers of Standard English, there was generally a higher rate of full forms of *is* than in single one-on-one interviews. The rate of absent *is*, however, was also higher, so that the rate of contracted *'s* was much lower in the group 'excited interaction' context than in the one-on-one interviews. This effect was found to be much higher with adults and older adolescents than with groups of younger adolescents and pre-adolescents. Wolfram (1969:177) found a much lower rate of BE absence when participants were reading than in interview contexts.

5.3.2.3 Configuration

In this thesis, 'Configuration' was a measure of the interactional structure the utterance took place in. This was divided into three categories: 'Whole Class', 'Small Group', and 'Individual Work'. Whole Class configurations were led by a class teacher or teacher aide, who addressed a large group of students. Student utterances directed at other students, the teacher or a teacher aide during whole class activities were classified as 'Whole Class' configuration. Small Group configurations involved smaller numbers of students (usually around 2-6 students) with or without a teacher or teacher aide, working on a shared task. In Individual Work configurations, students were working independently on their own tasks. Configuration was

included to test whether there were any other effects of the type of classroom activity (outside of the type of addressee and the topic of conversation).

5.3.3 Speaker characteristics

5.3.3.1 Gender

The speaker was coded as male or female. Wolfram (1969:178) found a lower rate of BE absence for female speakers of AAE than male speakers across all social groups. This is typical of many sociolinguistic studies, where females have been found to use features of the more standard variety at a higher rate than men. However, it is not necessarily expected to be the case with young children in a context like the one this study focuses on.

5.3.3.2 Cohort

Two cohorts of students were recorded over the three years of the study, one from grades 1-3, and the other from Prep to Grade 2 (see Section 4.4). The older year group has been called Cohort A, and the younger year group Cohort B. This has been included as a predictor to understand whether the different experiences of the two cohorts, in terms of different class teachers, and any differences in teaching content or styles, had an impact on their use of the verb BE. This will of course also include incidental differences in the types of lessons and activities we recorded and that were included in the BE data set.

5.3.3.3 Year at school

Year at school (Grade) was intended to test whether there was a change over time, as students spent more time at school. Students were recorded across the first four years of school (Prep to Year 3). Because the recording took place over three years, with the same two cohorts of students being followed across the three years, Cohort A was recorded from Year 1 to Year 3, and Cohort B from Prep to Year 2 (as represented graphically in Section 4.4). Thus Cohort A contribute all of the Year 3 tokens, and Cohort B contribute all of the Prep tokens. Each token is coded for the year level of the speaker.

Children are able to choose between variants with social meaning for particular effects from a young age (See Eckert 2000:10). With the BE variable, Wolfram (1969:178) found higher rates of BE absence among 10-12 and 14-17 year olds than for adults.

As discussed in Section 5.1.2 above, there are a number of competing hypotheses for age related effects. It might be expected that students' exposure to SAE over an increasing amount of time would result in increased acquisition (and thus use) of SAE forms. As Fraser et al.

(2018:259) suggested, it might also be expected that students would choose affiliation with the school or community outside school, and mark this through linguistic choices to an increasing degree as they become older and gain new awareness of social dynamics. If students are increasingly associating SAE with the school environment and the community variety with the rest of the community, we might expect greater differentiation between variants used during literacy and other pedagogical activities versus interactions with peers on non-school topics.

5.3.3.4 Speaker

Only utterances from children who were present in all of the three years of the study were included for the statistical analysis. Twenty-three (out of a total of fifty-four) students fit this requirement, eleven from Cohort A, and twelve from Cohort B.

The name of the individual speaker was coded and included as a random effect, to take into account that tokens from the same speaker are not independent, because an individual is likely to produce tokens more similar to their other tokens than would be expected by chance (Johnson 2009:363; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012:146).

5.4 Summary of coding

As with the interactional analysis in Chapters 6-9, data for this quantitative analysis was drawn from the classroom corpus of everyday interactions in an Aboriginal community in Queensland, described in Section 4.5. Tokens for the analysis of BE variation were located in 23.5 hours of transcribed recordings from Cohorts A and B (see Section 4.7.1). Utterances were identified as possible BE tokens from the transcripts, then checked individually in the video and audio data. This process identified 3273 utterances containing present tense inflected forms of the verb BE. Defining the context in which there was variation between absent, contracted and full forms of BE (described in Section 5.2 above) resulted in many of these utterances being excluded from the statistical analysis (including utterances with first person singular or *it/that/what* subjects and questions). Some patterns in these excluded contexts are described qualitatively in the Appendix. The remaining data set for the statistical analysis of BE variation consists of 742 tokens.

Table 5-1 below provides a summary of the predictors included in the analysis, as described in Section 5.3.

Table 5-1: Predictors included in analysis of BE variation

	Predictor	**Coded as**	**Levels**	**Coded as**
Clause features	Polarity	Polarity	Affirmative Negative	Aff Neg
	Question with clause final "ay"	Ay	Yes No	Y N
Arguments	Subject Type	BEsubj	Noun Phrase Personal pronoun Other pronoun	np pp op
	Person/Number of subject	PerNum	2nd person 3rd person sg 1st person pl 3rd person pl	2all 3sg 1pl 3pl
	Following Grammatical Environment	BEfoll-owinggram	*Gonna* Verb + *-ing* Adjective Locative Noun Phrase	gonna ing adj loc np
Phonological	Preceding phonological context	BEprecphon	Vowel Consonant Sibilant	V C S
	Following phonological context	BEfoll-owingphon	Vowel Consonant	V C

Interactional	Addressee Type	AddType	Student/s Teacher Teacher Aide General	S T TA G
	School Task related	SchooLTask	Literacy Yes No Meta-task	L Y N meta
	Configuration	Configuration	Individual work Small Group Whole Class	Indiv Small Whole
Speaker Characteristics	Gender	Gender	Male Female	M F
	Cohort	Cohort	Older cohort Younger cohort	A B
	Year at school	Grade	Prep Year 1 Year 2 Year 3	P 1 2 3

5.5 Logistic regression analysis results

The logistic regression analysis described in this section models a choice between absent BE (= Zero/Z), vs. contracted or full forms of BE (combined) (C + F).[41] The logistic regression analysis

[41] The appropriate method for ordering the analysis of the three outcomes (absent, contracted and full forms of BE) has been debated in studies of BE variation, and has an impact on the results and comparability of studies (see Rickford et al. 1991 for an overview). Studies of BE variation have typically been structured as two consecutive, binary analyses. The reasoning for this was theoretical in early studies, for example, Labov (1969a) argued that deletion of BE in African American English in New York was only possible in forms that had already been contracted. Subsequent studies have questioned this

focuses first on predictors associated with the choice between absent and present (contracted and full) forms of BE. A second logistic regression analysis briefly considers the factors favouring full forms of BE over contracted forms. This is followed by an analysis with conditional inference trees, using a different method to provide additional insights into how the linguistic and social factors contribute to the form of BE used.

Table 5-2 shows the distribution of absent, contracted and full forms of BE in the data.

Table 5-2: Distribution of absent, contracted and full forms of BE

VARIANT	N	%
ABSENT	574	77.4
CONTRACTED	76	10.2
FULL	92	12.4
TOTAL	**742**	**-**

This shows that BE was absent in 77.4% of the utterances, with rates of contracted and full forms of BE similar, at 10.2% and 12.4% respectively.

A logistic regression analysis was carried out, to investigate the effects of the factors described in Section 5.3 on the children's absent BE, vs. present (full and contracted combined). An initial analysis was run with all 13 predictors included. 9 non-significant predictors were then removed, resulting in an improved model.

Table 5-3, below, presents the results of the analysis with the remaining predictors: following grammatical environment, preceding phonological environment, addressee type and topic of talk.

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ordering of the analysis (Rickford et al. 1991; Romaine 1982:219; Sankoff and Rousseau 1989) and presented alternatives. Some of the most recent studies of BE variation (Walker 2000, Walker & Meyerhoff 2006) have used Sankoff and Rousseau's (1989) reasoning to evaluate the best ordering by testing which fits their data sets the best.
The present study models a choice between absent BE vs. contracted or full forms of BE (combined). This method has been chosen to fit with the questions for this study, which focus on when the children use linguistic resources associated with SAE or the community variety. Because both contracted and full forms of BE are possible in SAE, and absent BE is only grammatical in the community variety, this is the division between the variants of particular interest. The lower numbers of contracted and full tokens in this data set meant that it has been difficult to attempt to structure the analysis in the other possible ways to test how the different processes of analysis might fit the data (as done by Walker and Meyerhoff 2006).

Table 5-3: Logistic regression analysis of factors contributing to BE absence and presence

ABSENT VS. FULL + CONTRACTED BE

TOTAL N	742		
INPUT PROBABILITY	0.915		
	Log odds	***N***	***Proportion***
TOPIC OF TALK			
SCHOOL RELATED	0.151	164	0.829
NOT SCHOOL RELATED	0	326	0.844
META-TASK	-0.251	152	0.842
LITERACY	-2.633	100	0.35
FOLLOWING GRAMMATICAL ENVIRONMENT			
LOCATIVE	0.767	150	0.813
VERB + *-ING, GONNA*	0	298	0.859
ADJECTIVE	-0.577	156	0.679
NOUN PHRASE	-0.914	138	0.652
ADDRESSEE TYPE			
TEACHER	0.0497	111	0.865
STUDENT	0	474	0.831
TEACHER AIDE	-0.853	34	0.765
NO ADDRESSEE	-1	123	0.472
PRECEDING PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT			
SIBILANT	0.317	97	0.753
VOWEL	0	491	0.827
CONSONANT	-0.587	154	0.617
SPEAKER (RANDOM EFFECT)			
STD.DEV	*0.691*	*742*	*0.774*

The predictors are listed in Table 5-3 in order of the extent to which they provided an explanation for the variation between absent and present (full + contracted) forms of BE in the data. This is displayed in more detail in Table 5-4, which shows the change in the fit of the model if each predictor were removed (*AIC if dropped*, where an AIC closer to 0 indicates a better fit), and shows a measure of the significance of each predictor (*p-value*).

Table 5-4: Effects of predictors (Z vs. C+F)

PREDICTOR EFFECTS	*DEGREES OF FREEDOM*	*AIC IF DROPPED*	*P-VALUE*
TOPIC OF TALK	3	+44.83	<0.001
FOLLOWING GRAM	3	+16.47	<0.001
ADDRESSEE TYPE	3	+6.81	<0.001
PRECEDING PHON	2	+2.62	0.0365

Topic of talk, following grammatical environment, addressee type and preceding phonological environment were all significant at the p <0.05 level.

Table 5-3 shows the effects of each level of these predictors on the children's choice between absent and present (full + contracted) BE. The *log-odds* column shows the degree to which each level of a predictor favoured or disfavoured absent BE, in comparison to the level chosen as the baseline (for each predictor this was the level with the highest number of tokens, as recommended by Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012:150). The *N* column shows the number of tokens coded as each level of the predictors. *Proportion* shows the proportion of tokens with BE absent within each level. For example, the proportion of utterances on a non-school related topic in which BE was absent was 0.844 (or 84.4%).

These results show the strongest effect for the topic of talk. Literacy contexts, where students were engaging with a standard English model as a written text or set phrase provided by the teacher, strongly favoured full and contracted over absent BE. Following grammatical environment had the next greatest effect, with following locatives most favouring BE absence, followed by Verb + *-ing* combined with *gonna* and followed by adjectives. Following noun phrases most favoured full and contracted BE. Addressee type had the next greatest effect. 'No addressee' and teacher aide addressees favoured BE presence over student and teacher addressees. Preceding phonological context had the weakest effect. Preceding consonants favoured BE presence in comparison to preceding sibilants and vowels.

'Speaker' was included in the model as a random effect, to account for individual patterns in use of absent and present BE. Table 5-5 below shows the individual variation between the

children, with speakers who most favoured absent BE at the top of the table, and speakers who most favoured present (full + contracted) forms of BE at the bottom.[42]

Table 5-5: Individual results for speaker

SPEAKER (RANDOM EFFECT)

	Log odds	***N***	***Proportion***
STD.DEV	*0.691*	*742*	*0.774*
BRIANNA	0.936	43	0.86
CLINT	0.826	35	0.971
TITANIA	0.79	19	0.947
SEAMUS	0.516	35	0.886
NAOMI	0.291	44	0.909
MALCOLM	0.29	36	0.917
TERRENCE	0.204	16	0.875
DECLAN	0.13	73	0.863
DOREEN	0.119	35	0.857
BARRY	0.0872	20	0.75
JOELLE	-0.0122	12	0.833
AMELIA	-0.0366	14	0.786
LAURELIN	-0.0954	54	0.815
NOAH	-0.116	23	0.87
SAMPSON	-0.133	17	0.706
CARLOTTA	-0.145	28	0.429
SAMUEL	-0.241	42	0.786
JAMIE	-0.291	28	0.714
SAPPHIRA	-0.355	29	0.586
WARREN	-0.404	5	0.6
RHYANNA	-0.506	36	0.722
HARRISON	-1.035	35	0.514
JARA	-1.398	63	0.524

This shows that all children used absent and present forms of BE variably, and that there was a substantial amount of variation between students in the extent to which they favoured absent or present BE.

Factors affecting the choice between contracted and full forms of BE were further considered, through a second logistic regression analysis. Table 5-6 below shows that topic of talk and

[42] As stated in Section 4.3, all names are pseudonyms.

subject type were selected by the model as strong predictors in determining whether BE was full or contracted.

Table 5-6: Effects of predictors (C vs. F)

PREDICTOR EFFECTS	*DEGREES OF FREEDOM*	*AIC IF DROPPED*	*P-VALUE*
TOPIC OF TALK	3	+66.99	<0.001
SUBJECT TYPE	2	+40.17	<0.001

The effects for predictor levels in determining choice between contracted and full forms of BE are shown in Table 5-7 below. This shows that literacy turns strongly favoured full forms of BE. Noun phrase and other pronoun subjects also favoured full forms of BE, while personal pronouns favoured contracted forms of BE.

Table 5-7: Logistic regression analysis of factors contributing to BE contraction

CONSTRACTED VS. FULL BE			
TOTAL N	168		
INPUT PROBABILITY	0.947		
	Log odds	***N***	***Proportion***
TOPIC OF TALK			
META-TASK	0.903	24	0.792
NOT SCHOOL RELATED	0	51	0.725
SCHOOL RELATED	-0.0662	28	0.643
LITERACY	-4.902	65	0.0308
SUBJECT TYPE			
PERSONAL PRONOUN	0	73	0.781
NOUN PHRASE	-3.215	76	0.197
OTHER PRONOUN	-3.979	19	0.211
SPEAKER (RANDOM EFFECT)			
STD.DEV	*0.132*	*168*	*0.452*

5.6 Conditional inference tree analysis

A conditional inference tree analysis uses a different method to logistic regression to answer similar questions: how different factors contribute to the outcome of the dependent variable (as explained in Section 4.7.2). Figure 5-1 shows a conditional inference tree including all of the predictors described in Section 5.3. This tree shows which predictors were identified as most effective for dividing the data into the three forms of BE (absent, contracted and full).

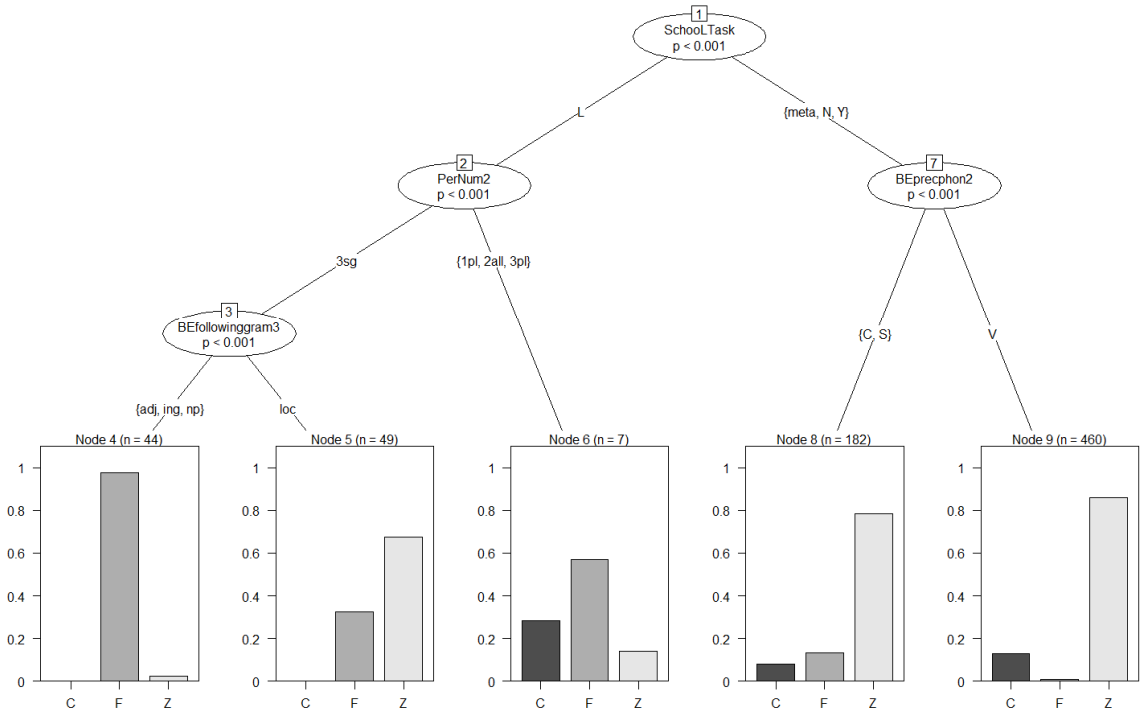


Figure 5-1: Conditional inference tree

The first split was made using the 'school task related topic' predictor, with a split between Literacy utterances, and all other topics of talk. This means topic of talk was judged to be the most powerful predictor for determining which of the outcome variants (absent, contracted or full forms of BE) was produced. The literacy utterances were further split by person and number of the subject into a group with first person plural, second person and third person plural subjects, and another group with third person singular subjects. As can be seen in the bar charts, the group with first person plural, second person and third person plural subjects had all the contracted tokens, and a high rate of full tokens. The third person singular group was further split by following grammatical category, into locative following environments, and

adjective, verb + *-ing* and np following environments. The locative following environments had a higher rate of absent BE, while the adjective, Verb + *-ing* and noun phrase following environments were predominantly full tokens.

The Year 2 lesson on describing location (see Section 9.1) contributed the majority of the 'literacy' utterances with following locative grammatical environments. These differ from many of the other 'literacy' utterances, in that while the format with the verb 'be' and following prepositional phrase was supplied by and rehearsed with the teacher, students were not directly reading from a standard English written text.[43] This may explain the higher rate of BE absence than with other utterances from 'literacy' contexts.

On the right-hand side of the tree, utterances on non-literacy topics were split by preceding phonological context. This split was made between preceding vowels, and preceding consonants and sibilants. Most of the full forms of BE fell into the group with preceding consonants and sibilants, and the group with preceding vowels had a somewhat higher rate of contracted BE. Comparing predicted and observed values for the tree in Figure 5-1, the predicted values for the tree match the observed values for 83.4% of the tokens.

5.7 Summary of findings

This section discusses the findings of the statistical analyses with reference to the two parts of Research Question 1. As explained in Section 5.1, the impact of certain interactional predictors, and of time, were of particular interest in addressing Research Question 1 for this study. Sections 5.7.1 and 5.7.2 below discuss the results regarding parts (a) and (b) in turn. Further discussion bringing together quantitative and qualitative findings is found in Chapter 10.

Although not central to the research questions for this study, linguistic predictors were also included in order to account for the patterns of variation as completely as possible. The patterns observed with respect to these linguistic predictors were comparable to previous studies of BE variation in English-lexified varieties, and varieties of English worldwide. Following grammatical environment and preceding phonological environment were found to

[43] In this lesson, students used a format (including the verb BE) which was provided, repeated and rehearsed with the teacher, but then independently produced these utterances as they performed the activity of describing locations of symbols on a map to their partners. In contrast, other 'literacy' utterances were predominantly reading aloud or repeating after a teacher, where the students had direct access to a standard English BE variant in a much closer time frame. An analysis of the data set with the tokens from the locations lesson removed showed following locatives still favoured BE absence the most strongly, but there was less difference between the locative category and V-*ing*, which favoured BE absence at the next highest rate.

be significant predictors of the form of BE chosen in the logistic regression analysis, and were similarly identified as important predictors in the conditional inference tree analysis. Following locatives favoured BE absence most strongly, following by verb + *-ing*, *gonna* and adjectives, with following noun phrases most favouring BE presence.

NP < Adj < *gonna* and V + *-ing* < Loc

Overall, this follows a similar pattern to that found in a number of previous studies in AAE and Caribbean creoles, with verbal predicates favouring BE absence, and noun phrases and adjectives favouring BE presence (see Section 5.3.1.5).[44] A preceding consonant was found to favour BE presence in comparison to preceding sibilants and vowels, consistent with studies of BE variation in In AAE and Caribbean creoles (see Section 5.3.1.6).[45]

The rest of this section discusses the results concerning the interactional and Year at School predictors in greater depth, and the implications for the two parts of Research Question 1.

5.7.1 Research Question 1(a): Effect of interactional factors linked to the school environment

Research Question 1(a) asked "Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?"

As discussed in Section 5.1.1, it was expected that BE would be present at a higher rate in the children's speech in contexts more closely linked to the formal purposes of the school environment, and speakers of SAE (i.e. class teachers) in that environment. That is, if students in the classroom corpus had sufficient knowledge of full and contracted forms of BE, were associating BE presence with a school way of talking, and were choosing to use this school way of talking themselves. Patterns observed in previous studies of Aboriginal L1 speakers of varieties other than SAE, in SAE speaking classrooms, provided the basis for these expectations (see Section 5.1.1). This was tested in the analysis reported in this chapter through the Addressee and Topic of talk predictors.

[44] With the exception of the result for following locatives, where following locatives would usually be ordered at an intermediate point between noun phrases and verbal predicates (see Section 5.3.1.6). As noted in the description of the conditional inference tree in Section 5.6, the Year 2 lesson on describing location may have had an effect on these results. Overall, the pattern for following grammatical environment is similar to that found for AAE and Caribbean creoles, and appears to be more similar to these varieties than found by Sharma and Rickford (2009) for L2 varieties of English.

[45] Preceding pronouns also favoured contraction, while preceding noun phrases favoured full forms of BE. In AAE and Caribbean creoles, absent or contracted BE is similarly favoured by preceding pronouns and full forms of BE are favoured by noun phrase subjects (see Section 5.3.1.6).

Contrary to expectation, Addressee type was not found to be a significant predictor in the conditional inference tree analysis. In the logistic regression analysis, addressee type was found to be a significant predictor at the $p < 0.001$ level. The direction of the effect of addressee type was unexpected, with the General (no addressee) category most favouring BE presence, followed closely by teacher aide. Student addressees most favoured BE absence as expected, but there was little difference between the effect of teacher and student addressees. The effect for teacher aide, as favouring BE presence over SAE-speaking teacher addressees was unexpected, as the teacher aides were speakers of the community variety and like the children varied between absent and present forms of BE.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this unexpected result. Firstly, it may be that students had an incomplete knowledge of the full and contracted forms of BE.[46] As part of the process of acquiring these variants in the process of learning SAE, they may have been targeting full and contracted forms of BE, but may not have acquired the forms to the degree that they were able to choose them when addressing an SAE-speaker. However, if this was the whole explanation, an increase in BE presence over time might have been expected, which was not the case (see Section 5.7.2).

Secondly, it may be that students knew the full and contracted forms of BE, but were choosing not to use them at a higher rate when speaking with SAE-speaking teachers. Studies of Second Dialect Acquisition describe the particular role of expressing identity in the choice between variants when there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between varieties (see Siegel 2010:171). If students were choosing to align with the community and their peers, and to express this through choice of variants associated with the community variety, such as BE absence, this might provide an explanation for the lack of differentiation between rates of BE presence with teacher and student addressees.

A third interpretation might be that students have knowledge of absent and present BE variants, but do not associate BE presence with SAE, a school way of speaking, or with talking with teachers, in a strong way. This would fit with observations about the low level of metalinguistic attention drawn to SAE and the community variety as different ways of speaking from all the participants in the interactions recorded (as discussed in the next four chapters). It may be that all three of the interpretations above played a role in producing the findings for

[46] Tokens coded as full or contracted and included in the analysis were forms of BE as used in SAE. As explained in Appendix A.1, full and contracted forms of BE with non-SAE person agreement with the subject of the clause were not included in the analysis

Addressee, or contributed to the behaviour of different children. It is difficult to draw conclusions about this on the basis of the corpus of classroom recordings.

Topic of talk was found to have a strong effect on choice of BE variant. 'Literacy' utterances, where students were engaging with an SAE phrase provided by the teacher, or reading or writing a written text, strongly favoured BE presence, and full forms of BE. This was the effect expected on the basis of previous studies (see Section 5.1.1). 'Meta-task' utterances, where students were organising or commenting on aspects of a school task (separate to talk centred on the lesson content), favoured contracted forms of BE.

The results regarding Topic of talk show a strong association between BE presence and literacy tasks. It is likely that there was an effect here from SAE forms being directly modelled in speech from teachers or from students reading SAE texts including full and contracted forms of BE. The findings for Topic of talk show some evidence of students choosing forms associated with SAE with an interactional context focused around educational goals. As will be seen in Chapter 8, lessons where the focus is on written texts were the only contexts in the interactional analysis in which teachers frequently commented on linguistic aspects of students' speech production, and directed students to use SAE forms. The fact that students did use non-SAE forms at a lower rate in these contexts aligns with the findings of the interactional analysis in Chapter 8.

5.7.2 Research Question 1(b): Change over time

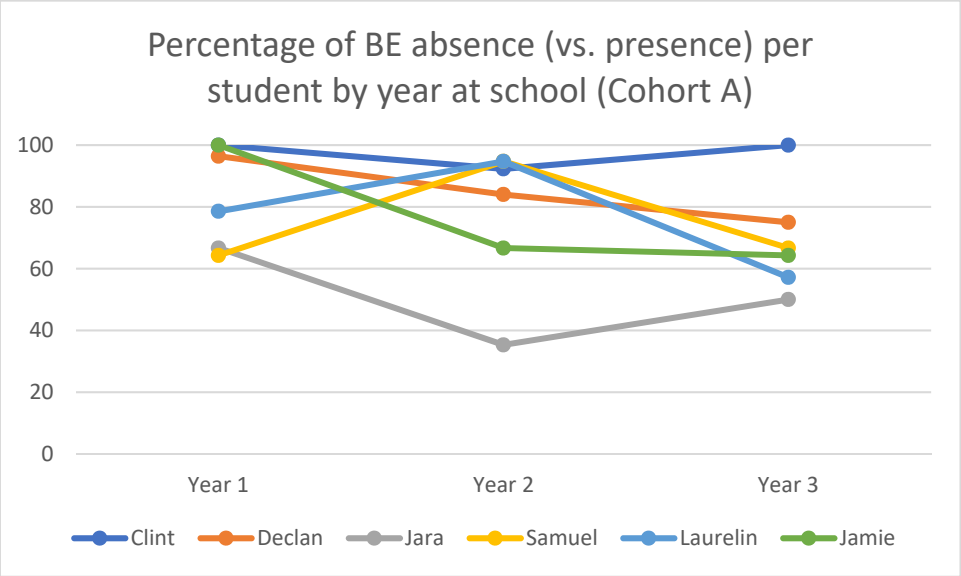
Research Question 1 (b) asked "Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?"

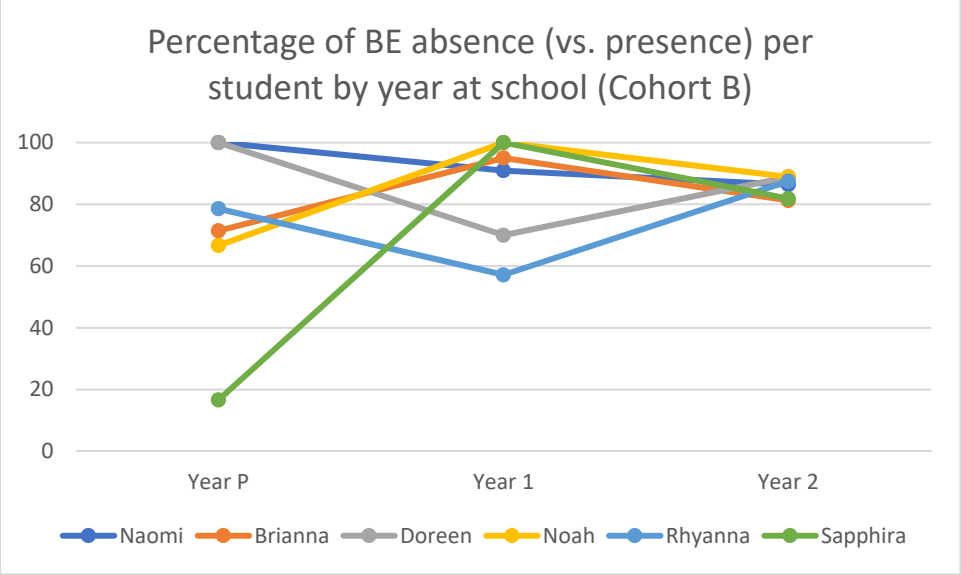
As discussed in Section 5.1.2, it was expected that students would increase in their rate of BE presence over time, with having spent more time at school, if they were increasingly acquiring and targeting SAE at school over time. This was tested through the 'year at school' predictor. Year at school was not found to have a significant effect, in the logistic regression or conditional inference tree analyses.

The lack of evidence for change over time is similar to the findings of Fraser et al. (2018:259), though that study showed an increase in the use of the non-SAE variants of articles and demonstratives in the third year of the study. Dixon (2017:221) showed some increase in the separation between home and school varieties as the children grew older. However, these differences may have been made plainer in Dixon's (2017) study by the clear separation between the home context, with Alyawarr addressees, and the school context, with SAE-

speaking addressees. As the classroom corpus for the current study includes some 'school sub-contexts' contexts not included by Dixon (2017:91), and focuses on language use at school only, it is not possible to be certain whether the language used by children in and outside school becomes more distinct over time.

It is possible that different students did follow patterns of change over time, but that this information was lost in combining the data. To consider this, the graphs below show the percentage of BE absence (vs. presence), for the six students in each cohort with the largest number of tokens in the data set.





There were no clear patterns apparent among these individual students with regards to change over time. Looking at the raw numbers to graph the data in this way does not take into

account the effects of all predictors simultaneously, in contrast to the logistic regression and conditional inference tree analyses presented above.

There are a number of possible explanations for the finding that Year at school was not a significant predictor of rate of BE absence or presence over the four years of the study. These are related to the interpretation of the results for Addressee discussed above (Section 5.7.1).

It may be that students were not acquiring SAE forms to a greater degree over this period of time. It may be that students were increasingly acquiring and targeting SAE forms, but that this was not apparent in the analysis. This analysis only considered one aspect of SAE, use of the verb 'be'. Students may be orienting to other aspects of SAE which were not examined in this thesis. It is possible that analysis of the BE variable over a longer time span may reveal changes over time. It may also be that greater orientation to SAE variants over time, and the use of these in literacy activities specifically, would not have shown up in this analysis. In the next chapter, Section 6.1 shows students orienting to SAE variants in their self-talk during writing activities. However, these sequences include a number of utterances with self-repair and not produced as full clauses, which would not have been included as tokens in the statistical analysis.

It may be that students did associate BE presence with a school way of talking (i.e. SAE), and BE absence with a home, community or peer way of talking (either increasingly, or from the beginning of their time at school), but chose not to increase their use of the forms associated with SAE (BE presence). As discussed above, this would fit with some claims about speakers expressing identity in choice of linguistic features, particularly in contexts where all variants can be understood by interlocutors. Findings showing increasing use of non-SAE forms (like the findings of Fraser et al. 2018:259) might have fit better with this idea than the absence of an effect for time, as that might show increasing awareness of the social meaning of particular linguistic forms and varieties, with a choice to align with the community way of speaking.

Another possibility, as discussed regarding Addressee above, is that students did not strongly associate BE presence with a school way of speaking, and were unaware of the expectation stated in educational documentation (see Section 1.1) that they should be increasingly learning SAE and using it in school tasks, as they progress through their years of schooling.

It is not possible to draw clear conclusions from this analysis about which of the above possibilities, or which combinations of the above possibilities, might provide an explanation for change over time not being a predictor of students' rate of BE absence or presence. As will be

discussed further in Chapter 10, lack of discussion and awareness of SAE and the community variety as different ways of speaking is a consistent theme through the interactional analysis in the next chapters, as well as the previous literature on this topic (as described in Section 3.3), suggesting this might also contribute to explaining the effects observed for change over time in students' BE variation.

5.8 Summary

This chapter addressed the first research question, regarding how students in this classroom corpus make choices between variants associated with SAE and the community variety. This was analysed with regard to variable absence and presence of the verb 'be' in the children's language at school. Logistic regression and conditional inference tree analyses found similarities in linguistic factors conditioning variation to previous findings in other English-lexified varieties worldwide. Regarding Research Question 1 (a), concerning interactional factors in the classroom, topic of talk was found to have a strong effect, with literacy tasks favouring presence of BE, as in SAE. Addressee type, however, did not have the expected effect of SAE-speaking teacher addressees favouring BE presence. In answer to Research Question 1 (b), year at school was not found to be a significant predictor of BE absence or presence, raising questions about the extent to which students were acquiring variants of BE associated with SAE over the three years of the study. The next chapter (Chapter 6) investigates Research Question 1 (a) from a Conversation Analysis perspective, examining classroom interactions to consider how students chose between variants in their linguistic repertoires.

6 Students' choices between linguistic variants in classroom interactions

This chapter examines how children in the classroom corpus orient to, and choose between, alternatives in their linguistic repertoires. This continues to address Research Question 1, "How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school?" While Chapter 5 considered both parts of Research Question 1 from a variationist sociolinguistic perspective, Chapter 6 takes a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach to examine Research Question 1 part (a) "Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?"

Section 6.1 presents extracts in which two students navigate between multiple variants expressing similar meanings while carrying out writing and reading tasks. Section 6.2 examines extracts where students collaborate on literacy tasks and choose between SAE and non-SAE variants.[47] Section 6.3 provides some examples in which students' actions suggest that they associate certain social meanings with particular ways of speaking.

6.1 Students' self-talk engaging with linguistic alternatives

This section presents extracts in which students demonstrate their understandings of different ways of expressing similar meanings, choosing between variants which reflect SAE or community variety usage. The extracts in this section show students navigating between the resources in their linguistic repertoires while working individually, engaging with written texts.

[47] As discussed in Section 4.1, the scope of this thesis did not include analysis of children's or adults' ways of talking in the community outside the school. Because of this, and because many linguistic aspects are shared by both SAE and the community variety, it is difficult to state with certainty which aspects of the children's speech are community variety usages. This chapter (and the analysis of interactional data continued in the following chapters) makes a distinction between SAE and non-SAE forms, which is a relevant distinction in an educational context (e.g. in the text from curriculum documents cited in Section 1.1). Understanding where students' speech reflects community variety usage is of course very important in understanding the linguistic repertoires they bring to school. Section 2.2.3 drew attention to non-SAE features of the students' speech relevant to the analysis in this thesis, making comparisons to linguistic descriptions of ex-Reserve varieties in Queensland (including the community variety), and other descriptions of English-lexified Aboriginal varieties in Australia. The analysis chapters refer to Chapter 2.2.3 for evidence that certain features of the children's speech are likely to reflect community variety usage. As explained in Section 2.4, it is assumed that the community variety is the main input to children in this community as they acquire their first language, and so is the first language of most children in this community. Additional non-SAE elements in the transcripts are translated in footnotes with reference to previous linguistic descriptions.

For children in the early stages of learning to write, their written texts themselves may show signs of grappling with alternate variants. For instance, in Williams' (1989) study (see Section 3.2.4), students' crossing out and rewriting left evidence of their process of choosing between variants, for example, 'We ~~was~~ ~~were~~ was in the park.' (Williams 1989:196). The extracts presented in this section show a kind of verbalised version[48] of this process, through students' self-talk[49] as they carry out individual reading and writing tasks. The section begins with a longer example of a Year 3 student constructing a written sentence, and considers how she shows awareness of alternate variants, and the process she engages in to create the final written sentence. This is followed by two shorter extracts, where a Year 2 student verbalises his choices between variants reflecting SAE and community variety usage, in the process of reading aloud, and then writing a sentence.

The first extract, Extract 3, shows a Year 3 student's work to choose between competing forms to produce a written sentence. In this example, the student seeks out and is aided by various resources in the classroom: the teacher, writing that has been provided for the class on the board, and the help of another student. Earlier in the lesson the class has been instructed to write sentences about an illustration of a snail riding a motorbike, with a particular focus on using adjectives to describe the snail and the motorbike. During the instruction phase of the lesson the teacher has written an example sentence on the board 'The tattooed snail is on a black motorbike', along with a list of adjectives suggested by the class, and three 'sentence starters', 'He is', 'Look at', and 'I like'. This extract begins after the student has copied the example sentence and is beginning a new sentence.

Extract 3 "e is getting a loveheart" (130603-Yr3-Part6 12:19-16:27)

1	Amelia	:	**e: go:t,** ((looking down at page)) ((Looks up, craning neck, gaze in direction of board))
2			(0.9)
3	Amelia	:	**e:;**

[48] The act of verbalising speech while constructing a written text has been described with adult speakers (Kristiansen 2017), in the context of university students' collaborative group work. In this context, students used 'writing aloud voice' as a way to display to group members their process of formulating text on behalf of the group. The prosody of the university students' turns was like that used in reading aloud. As young students verbalise their writing tasks in the extracts in this section, this slow 'reading aloud' prosody can also be observed.

[49] Self-talk, or private speech, has been linked to children's development of cognitive processes (Vygotsky 1962). It is also known as a strategy in children's acquisition of a second language, where repetition of the utterances of others, practicing of linguistic forms, and word play in the L2 have been observed in children's private speech (Saville-Troike 1988).

4 (2.1)
((looking at board))
5 Amelia : **He; (0.2) bee ee? (0.2) bee, (.) ee?**
6 (1.8)
((Amelia turns around in chair to look at Miss N, who is sitting with a student in the row of desks behind hers))
7 Amelia : Miss;
8 (11.2)
((Miss N is talking to another student))
9 Amelia : **Miss how do you spell he:?**
10 (0.6)
11 Miss N : **He? Heh ee:;(0.8) two letters. [heh eh.**
12 Jara : [Like in po:ny::;
13 (0.5)
14 Amelia : **Hait[ch ee:;**
15 Miss N : [No::, **haitch ee.**
((Miss N looks at Jara while saying "No", turns to Amelia and nods as she says "haitch ee." Amelia turns around and looks back at her work.))
16 (8.6)
((Amelia is writing))
17 Amelia : **He: got a, (0.7) got,**
18 (1.0)
((Amelia turns around in chair to look at Miss N))
19 Amelia : **Ho:w do you spell go:t;**
20 (28.3)
((Miss N is speaking to another student, Amelia is looking at Miss N, then turns to look at work))
21 (1.5)
((Amelia looking at work, holding pencil))
22 Amelia : **He: i:s,**
23 (0.9)

((Amelia looks up, towards board, then looks down again))

24 Amelia : **Hi:s, (0.3) e:, (1.3) e (0.4) is,**

25 (2.0)

((Amelia is writing))

26 Amelia : **I:, (2.9) ess;**

27 (9.0)

((Amelia looks up at board after the 9.0s))

28 Amelia : **He:, (0.4) i:s,(0.8) |go:t, (0.2) geh geh go:t;**
|((Amelia looks down at work again))

29 (1.1) **he:, (1.2) e: i:s, (0.9) getting a; (1.2)**

30 **wha? (2.0) e is getting, (0.4) a: ta:ttoo: on**

31 **e:, (0.7) leg.**

32 (2.4)

33 Amelia : **e:, ge:dding,**

34 (1.8)

35 Amelia : **e is gedding,**

((Next 49.0s not included in transcript. Amelia talks to other students on other topics, teacher tells class to finish the sentence they are on then close their books for the end of the lesson. Transcript begins again from 15:07))

36 Amelia : **Miss ow you spell he:?**

37 (0.4)

38 Miss N : **He? You just did it before; heh ee:;**

39 Amelia : a:h;

40 (1.7)

41 Amelia : **He:, (0.8) i:s, (1.3) he is getting, (0.3) Miss**

42 **ow you spell getting? Ehh**

43 (0.8)

44 Laurelin : **Jee: ee:, (0.9) tee:,**

45 (0.5)

46 Amelia : **Jee [ee tee:,**

47 Laurelin : **[I: en jee:;**

48 (7.5)

((Amelia writing))

49 Amelia : **a jee:,**
50 (3.4)
51 Amelia : **jee:,**
52 (0.9)
53 Amelia : **eh; a:h Hamster whats come after ee?**
54 (2.7)
55 Laurelin : **tee:,**
56 (2.2)
57 Amelia : **tee e:ye; a:y;**
58 (1.2)
59 Laurelin : Yea:h;
60 (2.6)
61 Laurelin : **e:n,**
62 (0.6)
63 Amelia : **Wha?**
64 (0.3)
65 Laurelin : **E:N;**
66 (2.6)
((Amelia writing, looks at Laurelin after 2.6s))
67 (1.2)
((The boy seated between Amelia and Laurelin slowly leans forward and puts his head on his desk, so Laurelin and Amelia both lean forward then back to maintain gaze))
68 Laurelin : **Jee:;** [heheh
69 Amelia : [a:h heheheh .hh
70 (1.2)
71 Laurelin : **Gitting.**
72 (1.2)
73 Amelia : **ehm; (0.5) a::hm; (0.7) .hh he: i:s ge:tting**
74 **(0.7) a:, (0.5) oh a:r;**
75 (6.4)
((Amelia writing))
76 Amelia : **Getting,**
77 (4.9)
78 Amelia : **Fi:ni::sh; e:, (.) is getting, (.) a:, (1.1)**
79 **ludart** [loveheart].

Figure 6-1 below shows Amelia's finished work. This shows that her second sentence corresponds clearly with her talk during the activity: 'He' is spelled 'H' 'E', as she discussed with the teacher in lines 9-15, and as the teacher told her again in line 38. In line 26 she vocalised the letters 'I' and 'S' to write 'is'. 'Getting' is spelled in the way another student, Laurelin, told her in their dialogue in lines 44-71. Line 74 showed her breaking down 'a' into the letters 'O' and 'R'. And to complete her sentence (perhaps partly due to the lack of remaining lesson time), Amelia has rendered 'loveheart' with a heart symbol.

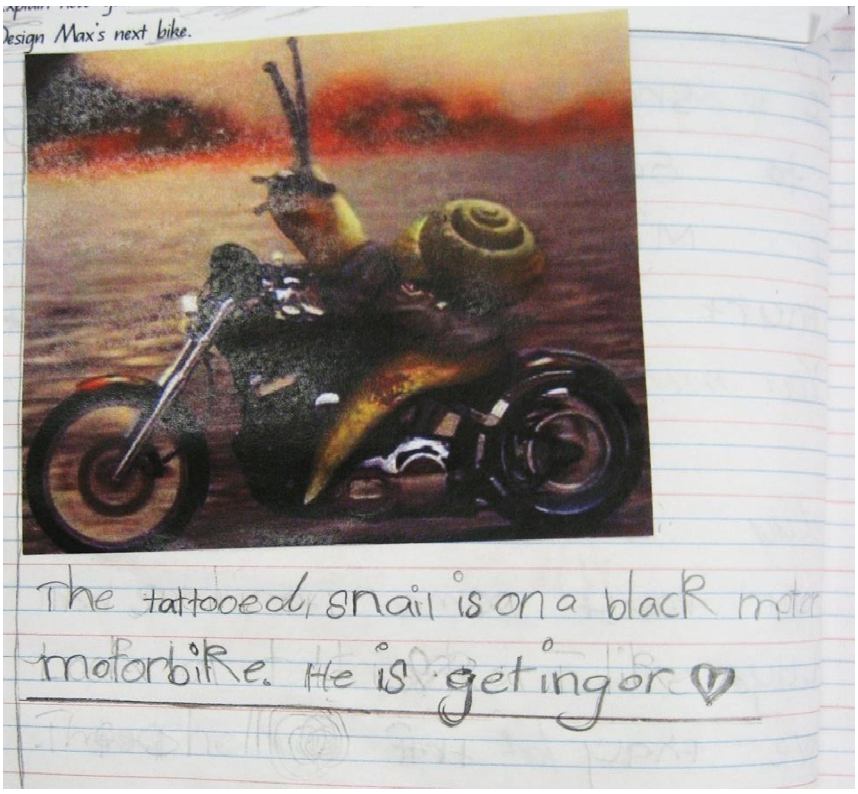


Figure 6-1: Amelia's worksheet

Of particular interest in this extract is the progression between what seems to be Amelia's intended sentence when she begins, and her completed work. This seems to be influenced both by the number of alternate grammatical forms she is able to draw on from her repertoire, and the practical resources she is able to access in the moment for spelling her intended sentence accurately. It is clear that accuracy in spelling is a particular concern for her throughout this extract, from her repeated questions to the teacher (lines 9, 35 and 40-41), and her uptake and pursuit of another student's offer of help (lines 43-73).

Amelia begins her intended sentence verbally as self-talk, *e: go:t,* (line 1). Before this extract begins she has already copied the teacher's sentence from the board ('The tattooed snail is on a black motorbike'), which names as a subject 'the tattooed snail'. Her use of the pronoun 'e'

refers back to this subject. We see Amelia immediately begin to figure out how to produce this on paper. She looks at the board, repeats her first word *e:;* (line 3), and then changes this to the equivalent SAE form *He;* (line 5). This word is written on the board (which the video data shows she is looking at), but line 5 suggests she may not be attending to this, as she sounds out *bee ee? (0.2) bee, (.) ee?*. Amelia does not seem to be satisfied with this attempt however, as she next turns in her seat to address the teacher who is seated in the row of desks behind her, helping another student. She asks the teacher *Miss how do you spell he:?* (line 9), and the teacher prompts her to sound out *Heh ee:* (line 11), and confirms her answer *haitch ee:;* (lines 14-15).

Amelia returns to her work and writes, and begins verbally on the next part of her sentence, *He: got a, (0.7) got,* (line 17). Again, she seeks to use the teacher as a resource, turning around and asking *Ho:w do you spell go:t;* (line 19). This time she receives no response from the teacher, who is occupied with another student. She turns back around to her work and begins verbally *He: i:s*, before looking to the board where some words and phrases (including 'he is') are written. She manipulates this phrase verbally (line 24), with a combination of these sounds *hi:s*, followed by repetition of *e* and *is*. Over the next five seconds she writes, naming the letters 'I' and 'S' as she works. She seems to complete writing this word during this time, as in line 28 her self-talk moves on the next word.

In lines 28-31, Amelia works through possibilities for the rest of the sentence. She begins with adding 'got', in line with her original formulation in line 1, and repeats the first sound in this word, *geh geh go:t*, possibly a sounding out strategy preparing for writing. However, the beginning of Amelia's sentence has changed since line 1, and now includes 'is' following 'he'. Amelia does not attempt to write 'got', suggesting she may not consider 'he is got' grammatical, and instead continues to manipulate the sentence verbally in line 29, breaking it down from the beginning again and repeating *he:, (1.2) e: i:s*, switching between SAE 'he' and non-SAE 'e' forms of the third person singular pronoun. She chooses a different form of the verb 'got', 'getting', which in SAE always follows a form of the verb 'be' (such as the third person singular form 'is' which she has written).

She asks herself *wha?* (line 30), then formulates the entire sentence again in answer, adding an object for 'getting', *e is getting, (0.4) a: ta:ttoo: on e:, (0.7) leg*. She returns to the part of the sentence she is up to (having already written 'he is'), and repeats *e:, gedding,* (line 33), *e is gedding*, (line 35), self-repairing to incorporate the 'is' that she has written. In the community

variety, the auxiliary verb *is* is not required before present tense progressive *-ing* suffixed verbs (see Section 2.2.3).

After almost a minute in which Amelia talks to students on other topics, and the teacher instructs students to finish the sentence they are on as the lesson is about to end, Amelia returns to her sentence (line 36), starting again from the beginning and asking the teacher how to spell 'he', though she has already written this down. She moves on to the spelling of 'getting' (lines 41-42), and gets no response from the teacher to her question about this, but is instead offered help by another student, who lists the letters required. Amelia writes these letters and asks the other student to repeat them as needed until the word is complete (lines 43-71). She then repeats the sentence, and sounds out the next word, 'a', rendering it 'O' 'R', and pronounces that she is finished, reading out again the sentence in full *e:, (.) is getting, (.) a:, (1.1) ludart* [loveheart] (lines 78-79). Looking at her completed work reveals why we do not hear her working through the spelling of the word 'loveheart' – she has represented this with a love heart symbol.

Amelia's intended sentence develops and changes throughout this extract, as she verbally experiments with a range of variants to construct and reconstruct her sentence. In lines 1-17, 24 and 28-36 she switches between 'e', a non-SAE form likely to reflect community variety usage (see Section 2.2.3), and 'he', the SAE equivalent, selecting 'he' when she questions the teacher about the spelling, and renders this word in written form. Her use of 'got' (lines 1, 17 and 28) is also described for Queensland ex-Reserve varieties (see Section 2.2.3), which while used in non-standard varieties of Australian English, would not be considered academic written SAE. This word does not get any feedback from the teacher, and is modified by Amelia (lines 28-30), seemingly due to the addition of 'is'. Lines 28 to 35 show Amelia working through an appropriate form of *get* to use with 'he is'. She first says *he is got, geh geh go:t,*, then tries *he, e is getting,* (line 29), which she further repeats, first with the verb *be* absent, (line 33), *e:, ge:dding*, then with it present, (line 35) *e is gedding,*. Both are grammatical in the community variety (see Section 2.2.3), but only the form with *is* is grammatical in SAE. She has already written 'is', and so 'he is getting' is the form she ends up writing. Her intended conclusion of the sentence *a: ta:ttoo: on e:, (0.7) leg.* (lines 30-31) uses a non-SAE pronoun 'e' signalling possession, but in the completed written work this part of the sentence is shortened and so not included.

In her self-talk around these possibilities for her sentence, Amelia seems to draw on variants associated with both SAE and the community variety as a range of options, rather than

displaying an explicit distinction between forms based on variety. The forms she chooses to write in this sentence are more SAE-like than the ones she does not write. She chooses 'he' rather than 'e'. She uses 'is' – though this may be drawing on the resources written on the board, so she can copy the sentence starter 'He is'. The form of 'get' she arrives on uses a progressive *-ing* suffix. While for an SAE speaker this changes the meaning from the state of possession she seems to have originally intended ('he got') to suggest the snail is in the process of obtaining a loveheart, the *-ing* form corresponds grammatically with the form of the verb 'be' that precedes it. Although there is no evidence she perceives these variants as belonging to different varieties, Amelia shows that her linguistic repertoire includes community variety and SAE knowledge, and also that she chooses some of these variants as better options for a piece of written work at school, with the variants she chooses being SAE variants.

The next two extracts are from the other cohort of students in Year 2, and show Harrison working by himself, reading aloud and then creating a written answer to a comprehension question about this book. In the first extract he is reading aloud from the book.

Extract 4 "they're snuggly an snoozy" (131113-Yr2-3B 3:45 – 4:11)

1	Harrison :	I: do:n't kno:w mu:ch abou:t ca:ts; (0.4) he
2		sai:d, (1.3) ca:ts a:re frie:ndly:; (1.1)
3		Ma:ggie to:ld hi:m. (2.6) a:n:; (0.7) **de:y're:,**
4		**(1.0) they:, (0.4) they:'re:;** (0.4) snu:ggly?,
5		(0.9) a:n snoo:zy; (0.5) sai:d ↑Pe:te, (1.7) jus
6		li:ke, (0.6) my: ki:tten.

In contrast to Extract 3, this extract is drawn from self-talk in reading aloud, as Harrison works by himself in a reading group lesson. It shows Harrison reading smoothly with a slow staccato rhythm, seen in the lengthening in each word and frequent pauses. The fluent reading of this page of the book is interrupted (lines 3-4) when Harrison reaches the word 'they're' in the text. He reads this first as *dey're,* with community variety initial [d] (see Section 2.2.3), which he then self-repairs with SAE initial [ð] in *they:,* and finally changes back the final vowel with *they:'re:;* to include the SAE contracted form of *are*. As he reads aloud elsewhere he pronounces the words written 'that' and 'the' with equivalent community variety phonological forms *dat* and *da*, but in this extract, he orients to the SAE form *they* as appropriate for this reading task.

This progression between variants in reading the words 'they're' may illustrate the process analysed and modelled by Brown et al. (2015) (see Section 3.2.4), who found that phonological mismatches between AAE and standard American English created additional processing demands for learning to read aloud. This extract suggests Harrison is performing extra work as he reads aloud, transferring between multiple phonological variants in his repertoire.

In the next example, Extract 5, Harrison is completing a writing task related to the book he was reading aloud in Extract 4. In this extract, Harrison more explicitly states his own awareness of the choice between multiple variants, and shows his apparent experience of a non-SAE feature used in the community variety as more familiar than an equivalent SAE variant.

Extract 5 "ah keep writin he;" (131113-Yr2-3B 13:15-13:42)

1	Harrison :	I:n; hi:s sli:ppers;
2		(2.9)
3	Harrison :	I:n,
4		(4.2)
5	Harrison :	I:n;
6		(1.4)
7	Harrison :	Hi:s;
8		(4.2)
9	Harrison :	**Hi:s::; ah needa wri:te; (0.3) i:s::;**
10		(1.6)
11	Harrison :	**I:s:;**
12		(2.9)
		((Harrison gets a rubber out of his desk and starts rubbing out on his page))
13	Harrison :	**Ah keep wri:tin he:;**

In this extract, Harrison orients to his own use of different variants of the masculine possessive pronoun (a feature Amelia was also engaging with in Extract 3).[50] Harrison is writing the phrase 'in his slippers', as part of an answer on a worksheet about his favourite part of the book he has just read. He verbalises each word as he writes it, but stops writing after verbalising *Hi:s::;* (line 9), admonishing himself with *ah needa wri:te; (0.3) i:s::;* switching to a variant with no initial [h] (a phonological feature of ex-Reserve varieties, as described in Section 2.2.3). He starts rubbing out what he has written, and comments further, *Ah keep wri:tin he:;* (line 13).

[50] Extract 36 (Section 8.3.1) additionally includes a teacher aide using the masculine possessive pronoun 'e'.

Harrison uses three different variants for this pronoun in the extract. He does not seem to orient to a difference between 'his' and 'is', which differ only in the presence or absence of initial [h], but he explicitly orients to writing 'he' as inappropriate in this context. Despite this awareness, he complains that he 'keeps writing' it. This explicit metalinguistic orientation from a student to specific forms as appropriate or not for a written school task is very rare in the data. This extract was recorded in the last of the twelve recording visits, and Harrison was one of the most advanced readers and writers in the class. This suggests that this metalinguistic awareness may reflect learning over time. However, it appears that the awareness is centred on the correctness of using particular variants in a writing task, rather than indicating that the student conceptualises the variants as being associated with different varieties, which might be equally appropriate in different contexts.

6.2 Collaborative linguistic negotiation with peers

As with the individual self-talk revealing students' choices between variants (in Section 6.1), students also negotiate with each other between different variants in their linguistic repertoires as they collaborate in classroom tasks. This kind of collaborative work was seen briefly in Extract 3 above, where Laurelin told Amelia how to spell 'getting'. As will be seen with teachers' orientation to specific language features (see Chapter 7), this peer negotiation mostly takes place during literacy tasks. The next two extracts provide examples of such collaboration.

The first extract is taken from a Year 2 small reading group, where three students are taking turns to read pages from a text. Brianna and Titania choose to read together, and this extract shows them negotiating between possible readings. The page they are looking at shows an image of three people riding bikes, and has the text: 'There are small paths for walking and for riding bikes.'

Extract 6 "me an you do it bro" (131113-Yr2-3B 6:13 – 6:53)

1	Miss D	:	Let's read thi:s one;
2			(0.2)
3	Brianna	:	Das me: turn e:n?
4	Miss D	:	Ye:p.
5			(0.7)
6	Titania	:	**De:[re,**
7	Brianna	:	**[The:re, a::[re;**
8	Titania	:	**[A:re;**

9 Brianna : **Sma:[:ll,**
10 Titania : **[Sma::[ll,**
11 Brianna : **[Pla:ce;**
12 Titania : **Pla:ce**
13 (0.9)
14 Titania : **f::;**
15 (0.2)
16 Miss D : **Sou:nd it ou:t,**
17 Titania : **Fo:r a[:,**
18 Brianna : **[Fro:m:,**
19 (0.3)
20 Titania : **[Pa:rk;**
21 Noah : **[PLA:c[es.**
22 Brianna : [(wi:ng;)
23 (0.2)
24 Miss D : **Sou:nd out thi:s one,**
25 (1.2)
26 Brianna : **Peh arts; pa:rts, (0.6) o:f, (0.6) s::[:**
27 Titania : **[Wa:lk,**
28 (0.2)
29 Brianna : **Weh, (0.6) we:h;**
30 (0.3)
31 Titania : **Me an you: ( ) do it bro:; (0.3) wa:lk; ay bro:;**
32 (0.4)
33 Brianna : **Wa:lk, (0.4) ng[:,**
34 Titania : **[A:[n,**
35 Brianna : **[Wa:lking,**
36 Miss D : **W[a:lking,**
37 Titania : **[Fo::r, (0.4) roa:d,**
38 Brianna : **An [fo:r,**
39 Titania : **[Bi:kes;**
40 (0.4)
41 Brianna : **Rioa:d bi:kes;**
42 (1.4)
43 Miss D : Noah's tu:rn, now gi:rls you need to be qui:et
44 for No:ah.

In this extract, the group of students read aloud together, repeating or modifying each others' readings. There are two points at which students negotiate between forms associated with the community variety, versus SAE forms. The first is at the beginning of the extract, where Titania begins reading *De:re,* (line 6), and Brianna reads in overlap *The:re, a::re;* (line 7), with SAE initial [ð]. The second is in reading the word written 'paths'. Brianna reads the word written 'paths' as *Pla:ce;* (line 11), a word beginning with the same letter as 'paths' which has come up earlier in the book. Titania repeats 'place' (line 12), and continues sounding out the beginning of the next word *f:::;* (line 14). The teacher indicates to the word 'path' and says *Sou:nd it ou:t,* (line 16). Titania suggests *Pa:rk;* (line 20), while the other student in the group, Noah, calls out *PLA:ces.* (line 21), which modifies the word suggested by Brianna (line 11) by adding the SAE plural -s suffix. The teacher asks them again to *Sou:nd out thi:s one,* (line 24), referring to the word 'paths', and Brianna sounds out *Peh arts; pa:rts,* and continues *o:f, (0.6) s:::* (line 26). Although the reading of the word written 'paths' as 'places' is incorrect, this interaction shows Noah modifying 'place', as read by Brianna and Titania, with a variant marked as plural in SAE, 'places'.

The next example, Extract 7, does not relate directly to differences between the community variety and SAE, but shows students jointly critiquing each others' work, and building a new example through their engagement with the task. It shows how they orient to the social meaning of the lexical item they come up with as transgressing the norms of classroom discourse.

In this lesson, Year 2 students are writing and drawing pictures of words beginning with a set of consonant clusters. Harrison begins by showing Rhyanna and Naomi a picture of a bird that he has drawn as a second example in his 'cr' box, where he has already written and drawn a crab.

Extract 7 "ahm doin drunk" (130606-Yr2-Part 4 16:32-17:17)

1	Harrison	:	.hh Look at ma du:ck, look at ma du:ck, ˚khhh
2			Ahahah[ah˚
3	Rhyanna	:	**[No:, du:ck doesn start wid a cr:::,**
4			(2.1)
5	Naomi	:	**St[art wid a dee::;**
6	Rhyanna	:	[Cra:b;
7			(0.6)
8	Naomi	:	↑e::ahah

9 (0.3)
10 Rhyanna : **Deh u:ck;**
11 (1.0)
12 Naomi : **Dee a:r;**
((Harrison puts his head on his arms on the table))
13 (1.6)
14 Rhyanna : **Dru:ck druck druck;**
15 (0.3)
16 Naomi : Dr:uck; (0.2) dru:ck;
17 (0.2)
18 Rhyanna : **Dru:nk;**
19 Naomi : Dru:ck (0.3) ↑dru[:ck,
20 Rhyanna : [Dru:nk;
21 (0.2)
22 Naomi : ↑Dru:ck, (0.2) ↑dru:ck,
23 (0.6)
24 Rhyanna : **Ahm doin dru:nk,**
25 (0.8)
26 Naomi : ↓**Dr[u:::nk,**
27 Rhyanna : [Dee:, or dee a:r;
28 (0.2)
29 Naomi : A:y; dru::nk;
30 (0.7)
31 Harrison : A::h; hehehe[heh
32 Naomi : **[Knock it o:ff Yan::na;**
33 (0.7)
34 Harrison : A:hh hehe[heh;
35 Naomi : **[heh heh ↑she ba:d a::y;** (0.3) .hhh
36 (1.0)
37 Harrison : **Naomi you too:, you bad for sa:yin it;**
((Harrison sits up in his chair again))
38 (1.1)
39 Naomi : Dru:nk?
40 Rhyanna : Ahm doin dru:nk,
41 (0.5)
42 Naomi : A:hna do dru:nk.

43 (2.1)
44 Harrison : **Ahm tellin [Mi:ss;**
45 Naomi : [Dee:, a:r; (whe:re;)
46 (0.7)
47 Harrison : Mi::ss;
48 (0.6)
49 Naomi : **Ahm not do:in it, ahm ony ga:mmin[51], you a dibby**
50 **do:bber.**
51 (0.3)
52 Rhyanna : Ahm do:in dru:nk,
53 (0.3)
54 Naomi : .hh He dibby dob a:::y;

Harrison shows Rhyanna and Naomi his bird picture, saying *Look at ma du:ck, look at ma du:ck,* (line 1) and laughing. He has drawn this picture in the 'cr' box on the worksheet, which Rhyanna objects to, *No:, du:ck doesn start wid a cr:::,* (line 3), and Naomi corrects *Start wid a dee:::;* (line 5). Rhyanna sounds out *Deh u:ck;* Naomi spells *Dee a:r;* (lines 10-12), and Harrison drops his head onto his arms, leaning on his desk. The task was to think of words beginning with six consonant clusters specified by the teacher. 'dr' was the most similar of these consonant clusters to the beginning of the word 'duck', so Rhyanna and Naomi transform 'duck' into 'druck' and repeat this (lines 14-22). Rhyanna quickly identifies the similarity to *Dru:nk;* (line 18). Naomi continues repeating 'druck', until Rhyanna announces *Ahm doin dru:nk,* (line 24). Naomi's response to this conveys shock, through repetition of ↓*Dru:::nk,* at a lower pitch, lengthening the vowel. Rhyanna begins spelling it out (line 27), as Naomi leans over to look and reacts further *A:y; dru::nk;* (line 29). Harrison, with his head still on the table, begins to laugh. Naomi admonishes Rhyanna *Knock it o:ff Yan::na;* (line 32), as Harrison continues laughing. Naomi joins in, and exclaims ↑*she ba:d a::y;* (line 35). Harrison reproaches Naomi as well, saying *Naomi you too:, you bad for sa:yin it;* (line 37), and sits up again. Naomi repeats *Dru:nk?* (line 39), while Rhyanna announces again *Ahm doin dru:nk,* (line 40). Naomi aligns with Rhyanna, also announcing *A:hna do dru:nk.* (line 42). Harrison orients further to this transgression of appropriate classroom subject matter, threatening *Ahm tellin Mi:ss;* (line 44), which he then begins to carry out, calling *Mi::ss;* (line 47). Naomi backtracks, *Ahm not do:in it, ahm ony ga:mmin,* [pretending] (line 49), accusing Harrison, *you a dibby do:bber.* (lines 49-50). Rhyanna reaffirms *Ahm do:in dru:nk,* (line 52) and Naomi appeals to Rhyanna to confirm *He dibby dob a:::y;* (line 54).

[51] Lying or pretending (see Section 2.2.3)

In this extract, we see the students collaboratively engaging with the word 'duck' and the goals of the task, and generating a similar sounding word, 'drunk'. Naomi and Harrison's responses to Rhyanna's decision to use this word for a school task demonstrate an understanding of this word as unusual and likely to be considered inappropriate by the teacher in this context. Naomi and Harrison convey this through intonation, laughter, direct censuring of Rhyanna and Naomi as 'bad' for saying it, and threats to tell the teacher. Rhyanna's repeated announcements that she will use this word also seem designed to provoke this response from the other students. As the activity progresses after this extract, both Rhyanna and Naomi write and draw pictures for 'drunk' on their worksheets.

6.3 Orientation to social meaning of ways of speaking

Extract 7 ("ahm doin drunk") showed students treating the word 'drunk' as a taboo in the classroom, indicating their understandings of the social meanings associated with one word. Section 6.3 presents additional extracts which suggest students associated certain linguistic forms with particular ways of talking.

In the first example, students in a Year 2 class are working with peers to practice reading sight words. This extract shows the reading task turn into word play, as students link the word 'now' to other usages of the words 'now' or 'na', which may reflect the ways these words are used in the community.

Extract 8 "get in da bath now" (130509-Yr2-2 9:02-9:55)

1	Brianna	:	Ne:w,
2			(0.4)
3	Brianna	:	You ne:w ay; or no:w; (0.5) ne[:w?
4	Noah	:	[ne:w,
5			(0.4)
6	Noah	:	No[:w;
7	Brianna	:	[No:w; (.) ne:w no:w; (0.5) **yous two no:w;** ((Brianna pointing at Noah with outstretched index finger))
8			(1.4)
9	Brianna	:	ah[eh,
10	Titania	:	[Me an you ne- you- ahm ne:w an she no:w;
11			(0.6)
12	Titania	:	Ahm ne:w you no:w;

13 (1.3)
14 Brianna : **Ge:t in da ba:th no::w;**
15 Titania : ahehe[heheh
16 Noah : [A:y hh heh
17 (0.7)
18 Brianna : .hh [hh
19 Noah : [**Get a ba:t [bath]; (.) no:w;**
20 (0.6)
21 Titania : **A:y; (.) you: no::w; (0.7) you no:w; a:y;**
22 (0.5)
23 Noah : **You: no:w; get in da ba:t [bath];**

This extract begins with Brianna reading the words 'new' and 'now' from the page of sight words. She and Noah repeat these words (lines 1-7), and Brianna extends this to address the other two students *yous two no:w;* (line 7), pointing commandingly at Noah with her index finger outstretched. Titania continues on Brianna's earlier track (see line 3), allocating the words 'new' and 'now' to the students in the group. Brianna expands her mock command *Ge:t in da ba:th no::w;* (line 14), which the other students now respond to with recognition, laughing (lines 15-16), and repeating and reformulating themselves, *Get a ba:t* [bath]*; (.) no:w;* (Noah, line 19), *A:y; (.) you: no::w; (0.7) you no:w; a:y;* (Titania, line 21) and *You: no:w; get in da ba:t* [bath]*;* (Noah, line 23).

The children's word play with their sight word 'now' links it to usage of 'na' in the children's classroom talk, and in teacher aide's talk in the classroom, likely reflecting community variety usage. Examples of 'na' utterance finally are illustrated on the Cherbourg language awareness poster (examples listed in Section 2.2.3). Extract 9 additionally shows 'na' used phrase finally, with discourse functions including association with commands, in directives from the teacher aide Rosalee.

Extract 9 "pass it ere na" (120605-Yr2-1B 2:38-2:57)

1 TA Rosalee: **[Pass it e:re; Arry,**
2 Harry : [Lemme loo:k at it;
3 Harry : Lemme look a:t i:t;
4 (2.9)
5 Harry : Ah ave te:n do:llar;
6 (1.2)
7 TA Rosalee: **Pa:ss it ere na:,**

8 (1.6)
9 TA Rosalee: We'll put it ba:ck in e:re;
10 (6.1)
11 TA Rosalee: **Pa:ss it e:re na:,**

In this extract, Rosalee uses 'na' phrase finally with imperatives (lines 7 and 11), telling Harry to give back some fake money that they are using for an activity. The students in Extract 8 use the word 'now' in similar imperative contexts. The extended, exaggerated repetitions and gestures, along with laughter, treat this style of talking as incongruous and comical within a school sight word activity. SAE 'now' and 'na' in the children's and teacher aide's classroom talk have closely related forms and meaning, but the students appear to be displaying their understanding of differences in the way they are used in different ways of speaking.

There are very few clear examples of students using forms associated with the community variety and SAE with different interlocutors. In the next extract, Extract 10, Jara appears to switch to using more SAE features in her repeat of a question to the teacher.

Extract 10 "are you gonna pick a person" (130508-Yr3-Part4 3:03-3:24)

1 Samuel : Mi:ss; (0.4) when we go li:brary, we goin; (0.3)
2 >sport den<;(.) a::h; school;(0.2) a::h;[lu:nch.
3 Jara : **[Miss**
4 **do you gotta pick a pe:rson; when [we go-**
5 Miss N : [Say agai:n?
((to Samuel))
6 (0.8)
7 Samuel : After library we go:in; (0.9) big [lunch,
8 Davida : [Luh-
9 (0.7)
10 Davida : L[u:nch;
11 Miss N : [To spo:rt?
12 (0.4)
13 Jara : No: a:[:fter [li:brary;
14 Samuel : [No lu:nch.
15 Miss N : [To lu:nch. Yea:h; so li:brary
16 then lu:nch. (0.4) Y[ep.
17 Davida : [The:n [sports.
18 Jara : [Mi:ss,
19 (0.9)

20 Jara : **A:re you gonna pick a pe:rson to go:; da**
21 **[(computer)**
22 Miss N : [Ye:s Ma:rden's gonna pick a pe:rson.

Samuel is asking the teacher about what activities they will be doing for the rest of the day at school (lines 1-2). Jara joins in, asking a related question *Miss do you gotta pick a pe:rson; when we go-* (lines 3-4), breaking off when the teacher shows she is attending to Samuel by initiating repair on his turn (line 5). The teacher, Samuel, Davida and Jara establish that the order of activities is library, then lunch, then sport (lines 7-17). Then Jara asks her question again *A:re you gonna pick a pe:rson to go:; da (computer)* (lines 20-21). The teacher answers *Ye:s Ma:rden's gonna pick a pe:rson.* (line 22). For this second question, Jara uses the full SAE auxiliary 'are', with the subject and auxiliary inverted. In contrast, Samuel's questions do not use auxiliary 'be', and Jara's first question uses a non-SAE form with 'gotta', *do you gotta* (line 4). It is possible that Jara is choosing a more standard construction for her repeated question to give it a better chance of being understood and answered by the SAE-speaking teacher after her earlier question was unsuccessful in receiving a response.

The final example (Extract 11) shows a rare metalinguistic comment about language from a student. In this lesson, students in a Year 2 class are colouring pictures of the animals their sports teams are named after, for the upcoming sports carnival. Each student has a picture of a horse, a scrub turkey or a crocodile. Jara asks the teacher aide at her table which sports team ('what side') she is on.

Extract 11 "dat what dey call a orse" (120605-Yr2-2A-2 11:13-11:29)

1 Jara : What si:de?
2 (0.8)
3 TA Rosalee: What si::de;
4 Jara : Yea:h;
5 (2.1)
((Rosalee looks up, looks at Jara's work))
6 TA Rosalee: Ya:duman;
7 (0.5)
8 Jara : Yaduman;
9 (0.3)
10 Declan : Cause you go:t da o:rse; (0.8) ya:duman; (1.6)
11 dat what dey call a o:rse:; (.) ya:duman.
12 (0.4)

13 Kenny : Yea:h;

This sequence begins with Jara asking *What si:de?* (line 1). Rosalee looks at the picture Jara is working on, and tells her *Ya:duman;* (line 6). Jara repeats *Yaduman;* (line 8), and Declan explains *Cause you go:t da o:rse; (0.8) ya:duman; (1.6) dat what dey call a o:rse:; (.) ya:duman.* (lines 10-11), and Kenny agrees *Yea:h;* (line 13).

Horses are a normal part of life in the community and can often be seen on the streets or around the outskirts of the town. 'Yaduman', or 'yarraman', is a word meaning 'horse' used in Aboriginal languages throughout Queensland and NSW (Walsh 1992, see Section 2.2.3). Interestingly, in this extract, Declan recognises the word, but disassociates it from his own linguistic repertoire, attributing it to others, presumably speakers of the community variety who use this word, by saying *dat what dey call a o:rse:;* (lines 10-11). In explaining the meaning of this word, he also implies it is not already known to Jara. This may point to a generational change, or an orientation to a distinction between language used in the community outside school, as compared to the language used at school.

6.4 Summary

This chapter addressed Research Question 1 (a) through the analysis of classroom interactions from a CA perspective. It examined how children in the classroom corpus oriented to and chose between alternatives in their linguistic repertoires, considering how interactional factors influenced students' choice of variants associated with SAE or the community variety.

The extracts showed that students had knowledge of both variants associated with the community variety (see Section 2.2.3) and SAE variants, and that students negotiated between these in engaging with written texts individually (Sections 6.1) and with peers (Section 6.2). Students made few metalinguistic comments in the corpus of recordings collected, and did not appear to overtly distinguish SAE from a community way of speaking. Students' word play initiated by and drawing on words and sounds in school tasks demonstrated some understandings of social meanings associated with particular linguistic forms, possibly reflecting their knowledge of how particular features are used at school and in the community (Section 6.3).

The next three chapters continue to examine classroom interaction in order to address the second research question, concerning teachers' practices and the teaching of SAE.

7 Norms and expectations for ways of speaking in the classroom

Chapters 7-9 address Research Question 2, concerning how (and to what extent) teachers present SAE as a learning focus for students in lessons. This chapter centres on the first part of the question, that is, 2 (a) "What are the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices?"

As will be seen throughout the extracts presented in Chapters 7-9, the class teachers speak SAE almost exclusively in the recorded corpus. The class teachers set the direction of most lessons, leading whole class instruction sessions and introducing, explaining and providing materials for other activities. As a result, most of the content to be learned, and much of the organisational aspects of life in the classroom are conducted through SAE. As discussed in Section 1.1, class teachers are directed by a (national) curriculum and resources provided in SAE. However, as demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, children at this school are not exclusively speakers of SAE. This chapter begins to consider teachers' practices in responding to non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk. This chapter addresses Research Question 2 (a) as follows:

Section 7.1 observes that there is no metalinguistic discussion of SAE and the community variety as distinct in the classroom corpus. However, examples are presented that show differences between the children's classroom talk and the class teachers' ways of talking. While these differences were not commented on explicitly by participants, it appears that teachers and teacher aides may be responding implicitly to non-SAE aspects of students' utterances through recasts. These recasts package SAE reframings of student utterances with other actions.

Section 7.2 considers teacher aides' interactions with students, and the implications on the norms and expectations conveyed to students about ways of speaking in the classroom. Section 7.3 examines when misunderstandings arise in spoken communication between SAE-speaking teachers and students, and what these misunderstandings are attributed to. Section 7.4 analyses three extracts involving teachers' explicit correction of students' speech for pragmatic reasons, in compelling students to use particular constructions and SAE markers of politeness in making requests.

7.1 No explicit attention to choice between varieties in spoken communication

This section presents extracts showing that, for this corpus, explicit rules or expectations were not conveyed to students regarding their ways of talking in the classroom. While these extracts show clear differences between linguistic forms used by students and SAE-speaking teachers, these differences were not commented on explicitly by participants. Although linguistic differences were not commented on explicitly, this section argues that by juxtaposing students' non-SAE forms with SAE forms in recasts, teachers may be implicitly orienting to linguistic differences.

Throughout the corpus of classroom recordings, there were no instances where teachers, teacher aides or students explicitly referred to the community variety and SAE as distinct. There were no terms used by participants to name or differentiate a community or home way of talking from SAE. However, it was apparent that there were differences between the students' and class teachers' ways of talking in the classroom. In speech in the classroom generally[52], these differences were not attended to overtly by teachers or students.

The first example, Extract 12, shows an instance in which students and teacher continue using their own forms of the masculine possessive pronoun, without directly orienting to the different form used by their interlocutor. In this extract, the teacher's repetitions of her pronoun form come as she continues to reinitiate a directive to perform a task until it is completed by the students.

Extract 12 "Jack an e mum" (120604-Yr2-Part3A 6:23)

1	Miss D	:	So we need to find the one where he's m- with
2			**[J a: c k, a n] is mum.**
3	Amelia	:	**[Jack an e mu:m;]**
4			(0.5)
5	Joelle	:	Jack,
6	Miss D	:	**Jack an is mu:m;**
7	Malcolm	:	Done i::t;
8			(2.2)
9	Miss D	:	Now we need to have a loo:k cause there's a
10			cou:ple of **Jack an is mu:m,**
11			(0.5)

[52] With the exception of speech focused on reading and writing tasks, as discussed in Chapter 8

12 Joelle : Miss ah got lo:::t a paper; ah cut (so much
13 out);
14 (0.9)
15 Malcolm : a:h don go makin ( )
16 Miss D : **Ja:ck, an is mu:m;**
17 (0.4)
18 Joelle : Ah found **Jack an e mu:::m,**
19 Miss D : An then it gre:w,

In this extract the teacher is helping several students complete an activity putting the events of a story in chronological order. The phrase *Jack an is mum*/ *Jack an e mum* is repeated by the teacher and students, as key to the task – they are finding the picture of 'Jack and his mum'. The teacher repeats the phrase using non-standard spoken English for the possessive pronoun *is*.

Although the teacher uses this form four times (lines 2, 6, 10 and 16), students use a non-SAE form, *e* (as described for ex-Reserve varieties, where possession may be expressed through nominal apposition, see Section 2.2.3).[53] They use this form at the beginning of the sequence, when Amelia says *Jack an e mu:m;* in overlap with the teacher's initial turn (line 3), and following the teacher's repetitions, when Joelle announces her completion of the task *Ah found Jack an e mu::m,* (line 18). The teacher does not pursue the students using her form or orient in any further way to one being more appropriate than the other for the activity.

In the corpus, near repetition from a teacher of a student's utterance occurs frequently, with the teacher using SAE forms where the student used non-SAE. Extract 13 provides an example in which a teacher's answer to a comment from a student reformulates non-SAE features of the student's utterance. While the teacher does not directly repeat the student's first turn utterance, she orients to its structure in her response.

Extract 13 "da boys, they bein naughty dere" (120221-Yr1-Part3A 17:33)

1 Titania : Da bo:ys, they bein nau:ghty dere;
2 Miss L : A:re they; well the:y're gonna miss out on
3 sta:rs; are:n't the:y;
4 (0.4) ((Titania nods once, teacher nodding))
5 Miss L : Yeah. (.) you:'re being good though are:n't you;
6 ((Titania backs away and leaves))

[53] Also see Extracts 3 and 5 in Section 6.1, and Extract 36 in Section 8.3.1 for use of this form in the classroom corpus.

Miss L's response to Titania in this extract uses a similar grammatical structure to Titania's report in line 1 but prominently includes forms of the verb 'be' absent from Titania's utterance. In this extract, Titania has approached Miss L for the purpose of reporting on the behaviour of some other students. Her report (line 1) includes a number of non-SAE features: the article *da*, absence of auxiliary *are* in *they bein nau:ghty*, final [n] rather than [ŋ] in *bein* and the deictic *dere*. These are all features of ex-Reserve varieties, as described in Section 2.2.3.

In contrast to Titania's utterance with auxiliary verb 'be' absent, the teacher uses five successive clauses where the verb 'be' is used as an auxiliary in a range of SAE forms. The teacher accepts Titania's report with the newsmarker *A:re they?*, (line 2) (Gardner 2001; Heritage 1984), which begins with the full form of *are,* absent from Titania's utterance. She uses contracted *are* twice, as she formulates the potential consequence for the other students, *well the:y're gonna miss out on sta:rs* and expresses the contrasting behaviour, *you:'re being good though* (line 5). She additionally uses corresponding contracted negatives with *are* in the tag questions *are:n't they* and *are:n't you* (lines 3 and 5).

Extract 12 and Extract 13 show a juxtaposition between linguistic forms used by teachers and students, which is not commented on explicitly in general communication in the classroom. Teachers in these recordings do not explicitly comment on non-SAE aspects of students' speech in the classroom, either by naming features as incorrect or correct, or by providing equivalent SAE forms and requesting that students say these instead.

However, as in Extract 13 above, there are many instances in which teachers respond to students' utterances by reformulating students' speech, using SAE to express the same, or a related meaning to that just expressed by the student. These reformulations could be considered recasts, which are an implicit form of feedback familiar in Second Language learner interactions with teachers or native speakers of the L2 (Ellis & Sheen 2006; Long, Inagaki & Ortega 1998; Lyster 2001; Lyster & Ranta 1997). In SLA contexts, Ellis and Sheen (2006) described recasts as follows:

> A learner utterance that contains (or is perceived as containing) an error… triggers the recast, which reformulates the utterance in accordance with the interlocutor's own linguistic norms. (Ellis & Sheen 2006:576)

Teacher's reformulations of students' utterances in the classroom corpus bear a particular similarity to recasts described in native speaker (NS) discourse with non-native speakers (NNS)

(Kurhila 2001). Kurhila (2001) analysed NS/NNS conversations in non-pedagogical contexts, either in service-based settings, such as a hotel reception desk, or in informal conversation between friends. In these conversations, recasts were the primary means by which NSs offered corrections of non-standard elements of NNSs' language. Kurhila (2001) found that these recasts were done in conjunction with the NSs providing appropriate responses to utterances from the the NNSs, such as giving an answer.

Kurhila (2001) suggested that this use of recasts was a means for the NSs to provide the standard form without disrupting the progressivity of the interaction with a repair sequence. It was also noted that NSs in these non-pedagogical contexts may wish to avoid presenting themselves as 'language teachers' through corrections that would draw attention to their asymmetric positions in L2 knowledge (Kurhila 2001:1108).

Analysis of extracts in the classroom corpus show that teacher/student interactions align closely with the pattern observed by Kurhila (2001) in NS/NNS discourse. Teachers' orientation to non-standard features of the children's language (when not directly engaging with or producing a written text[54]), primarily takes the form of reformulations or recasts of students' utterances as SAE, produced in conjunction with other actions.

The next example, Extract 14, shows a teacher reformulating morphosyntactic and lexical aspects of children's classroom talk as part of her third turn feedback[55] on children's utterances. This extract is from a Year 1 lesson, where the teacher and a small group of students are sitting on the floor, identifying pictures of things that begin with the letter 'Z'. This extract begins with the teacher's question (line 8) interrupting a conversation between Malcolm and Declan about Declan's sandbuggy.

Extract 14 "does lightning have zz?" (110905-Yr1-2 3:58-4:22)

```
1  Malcolm  :   E:re; De:cky;
2               (0.5)
3  Declan   :   Wha[:;
4  Malcolm  :      [a:h; ah sa:w your sa:ndbuggy,
5               (0.3)
6  Declan   :   Iss not fi:x;
7               (0.4)
8  Miss D   :   ↑What abou:t; what's thi:s De:clan?
```

[54] See Chapter 8

[55] See Section 4.6.2 for an outline of Initiation, Response Feedback (IRF) sequences, including the role of teachers' third turns

9 Declan : Ma: sa:ndbuggy; (0.3) u:m; da li:ghtning;
10 (0.3)
11 Miss D : The li:ghtning; ds li:ghtning have zz::[:;
12 Malcolm : [No[:;
13 Declan : [Nu:h,
14 (0.6)
15 Miss D : No:; (0.4) (bo:;) what happen i:f; if the
16 lightning ge:ts you;
17 (0.7)
18 Declan : Da:; da po:wer go off;
19 (0.5)
20 Miss D : An ↑wha:t happens to you:; if the:;
21 Malcolm : |A:h kno:w, (.) **it sho:ck u:fla**;[56]
|((Malcolm leans forward towards teacher, waves
pencil in hand near her face))
22 (0.4)
23 Miss D : **Ma:ybe it'll sho:ck you**; (0.6) an dyou think
24 you'll go Z<u>A</u>:P,
25 (0.9)
26 Declan : ((nods once))
27 Miss D : You: mi:[ght,
28 Declan : [(You: screa:m;)

In this extract, students use non-SAE features in their interpretation of a picture, and subsequent explanations of what happens 'if the lightning gets you' (lines 18 and 21). The teacher's responses reformulate Declan and Malcolm's answers as SAE, using SAE *The* rather than Declan's *da* (lines 9, 11), and a different pronoun and syntactic structure to that used by Malcolm (lines 21, 23).

The group are identifying the word represented by a picture. The goal of the task is to find words beginning with the letter 'Z', and the sequence of questions from the teacher result in a word beginning in 'Z' being identified ('zap', line 24). Declan initially identifies the picture as depicting *da li:ghtning;*. (line 9). The teacher accepts his answer by repeating it, reformulating *da* as SAE *the* (line 11).[57] The teacher links the word provided by Declan to the task of the

[56] 'Us' (see Section 2.2.3)
[57] As described in Section 2.2.3, 'da' is a feature of ex-Reserve varieties.

worksheet, asking *ds li:ghtning have zz:::;* to which Malcolm and Declan respond in the negative (lines 12-13).

The teacher then prompts a different interpretation of the subject matter of the picture, by asking *what happen i:f; if the lightning ge:ts you;* (lines 15-16). Declan gives one possible consequence *Da:; da po:wer go off;* (line 18), but the teacher shows she is searching for a different answer, by adding more specificity and repeating the question, *An ↑wha:t happens to you:; if the:;* (line 20). Malcolm jumps in enthusiastically with *A:h kno:w*, leaning in towards the teacher and waving his hand and the pencil he is holding near her face, and gives the answer *it sho:ck u:fla;.* (line 21). As with her acceptance of earlier answers (lines 11 and 15), the teacher repeats Malcolm's answer as a third turn in the sequence, with falling intonation, reformulating lexical and morphosyntactic features of Malcom's answer as SAE. Malcolm's answer used the pronoun *ufla*, a first person plural pronoun from the community variety (which could be translated here as 'us', see Section 2.2.3), and his answer had no overt marking for tense. The teacher's repetition (line 23) uses an SAE pronoun *you*, and marks it as potential with *ma:ybe* and contracted *it'll.* She finally introduces a 'Z' initial word, *an dyou think you'll go ZA:P,* (lines 23-24), emphasising *zap* with louder volume and lengthening. Declan nods in agreement, and expands on the theme, saying *(You: screa:m;).* The teacher's responses to Declan (line 11) and Malcolm's (line 23) answers both use a full repetition of the students' utterances to accept their responses, while simultaneously reformulating non-SAE features as SAE.

For the class teachers who are speakers only of SAE, a question is raised as to whether it is an option for them to offer repeats which include the non-SAE features associated with the community variety that are used by the students. However, as with the recasts described by Kurhila (2001) in NS/NNS conversations, the teachers do not need to be speakers of the community variety for their SAE reformulations to be considered recasts, and to be implicitly orienting to differences between the children's classroom talk and SAE. There are other ways that the teacher could have accomplished the actions in these turns without providing full responses using similar words and grammatical structures to those used by the students.

Teacher aides who speak both the community variety and SAE do have a choice between community variety and SAE variants when they respond to students.[58] The next extracts show a teacher aide reformulating non-SAE features in students' utterances as SAE, in a similar way

[58] Or in Lilian's case, another Queensland English-lexified variety that shares features with the community variety, see Section 4.4

to the class teachers in Extract 13 and Extract 14. Extract 15 shows a parallel to Extract 13 ("da boys, dey bein naughty dere"), in that the teacher aide reformulates a student's utterance by including the verb 'be', where it was absent in the student's turn. In this extract, a student is checking his work with the teacher aide Lilian.

Extract 15 "all of dese one right?" (120905-Yr1-3B 6:37-6:40)

```
1  Micah     :   All of de:se one right?
2                (0.7)
3  TA Lilian:    All these ones are ri:ght,
```

Lilian confirms Micah's questioning *All of de:se one right?* by repeating the sentence in full, with SAE where Micah used non-SAE features. Lilian uses SAE *these* rather than *dese,* uses the SAE plural suffix *-s* in *ones,* and includes the copula *are.*[59] The default answer to a yes-no question like Micah's (line 1) would be 'yes' (Raymond 2003:947), which would have been an adequate response from Lilian in this interaction. The full sentence design of Lilian's response (line 3) gives her scope to recast Micah's utterance in SAE while simultaneously answering Micah's question.

The next extract, Extract 16, similarly shows a teacher aide reformulating a student's utterance as SAE. This extract shows a parallel to Extract 14 ("does lightning have zz?"), in that the teacher aide reformulates morphosyntactic and lexical features of the the student's answer, while simultaneously providing third turn feedback. The teacher aide and students in this extract are reading a book about things that have wheels, and the teacher aide is questioning students on this topic.

Extract 16 "does a aeroplane have wheels" (110906-Yr1 5:07-5:12)

```
1  TA Lilian:    Does a ae:roplane have whee:ls?
2                (0.3)
3  Harry     :   E:h; yea:h,
4                (0.5)
5  Declan    :   YEA:H, (0.2) when iss go do:wn;
6                (0.3)
7  TA Lilian:    When it comes to la:nd; a:y;
8                (0.2)
9  Harry     :   Yea[:h;
```

[59] These three differences between Lilian's and Micah's utterances reflect differences between SAE and ex-Reserve varieties (see Section 2.2.3)

10 Declan : [Yea:h;

Declan's response to the teacher aide's question (*Does a ae:roplane have whee:ls?*, line 1) includes the description *when iss go do:wn;* (line 5). Lilian accepts this response with a repeat, but reformulates Declan's answer with an SAE present tense verbal *-s* suffix *comes*, and uses a different phrase to describe an aeroplane's descent: *when it comes to la:nd* (line 7). This is similar to the teacher's lexical and morphosyntactic reformulation of Malcolm's response in Extract 14. The teacher aide in this extract adds the community variety tag *a:y;* to the end of her feedback (line 7, see Section 2.2.3), requesting confirmation from the students. This is in accordance with the ways this teacher aide switches between SAE and community variety resources in her interactions with the students, as will be discussed in the next section.

The extracts presented have shown teachers offering feedback on students' responses, while simultaneously reformulating students' utterances into equivalent SAE. These could be seen as recasts, which implicitly orient to differences between the children's classroom talk and SAE, and to some extent imply that SAE is the preferred choice for speech in the classroom.

Regardless of whether the teachers intend such reformulations or recasts of children's classroom talk as corrections, these practices display only a minimal orientation to differences between the students' ways of talking and their own, and convey only a minimal signal that teachers consider SAE to be more appropriate for speech in the classroom. The lack of explicit attention to students' linguistic choices implies that there is no established rule about the variety to be used for communication in the classroom. The next section examines teacher aides' ways of speaking in the classroom, and the implications of this for norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking.

7.2 Teacher aides' ways of speaking in the classroom

Teacher aides who were speakers of the community language were present during many of the lessons forming this corpus. Teacher aides typically worked with small groups of students, or individual students one-on-one. Different teacher aides used features associated with the community variety and SAE with differing frequencies in the classroom recordings, with some speaking predominantly the community variety, and some predominantly SAE. Across the corpus, all the Aboriginal teacher aides who were speakers of the community variety used features associated with both SAE and the community variety.[60] However, as with the

[60] Note that one teacher aide, Lilian, did not consider herself a speaker of the community variety, but was a speaker of a variety which shared linguistic features with the children's classroom talk (See Section 4.4).

children's linguistic repertoires, this is not alluded to explicitly within the day-to-day classroom discourse.

This section presents extracts showing teacher aides' ways of speaking in the classroom, which forms part of students' day-to-day experiences at school, and contributes to the norms and expectations regarding ways of talking at school. This section is divided into three parts: First (7.2.1), discussion of teacher aides as speakers of the community variety, shared by the students and as experts on local language and culture, second (7.2.2) teacher aides' linguistic choices when teaching students curriculum content, and third (7.2.3), teacher aides switching between SAE and the community variety.

7.2.1 Teacher aides as speakers of the community variety

Teacher aides speak the community variety when communicating with students in a variety of types of interaction in the classroom. It is clear that teacher aides expect students to understand them, and students show that they do understand.

In Extract 17, the teacher aide, Rosalee, uses forms associated with the community variety when reprimanding a student. The student's response likewise uses non-SAE features described for the community variety (see Section 2.2.3).

Extract 17 "no it never" (120605-Yr2-1B 17:47-17:56)

		((Clint looks in the drawer of the desk he's sitting at))
1	TA Rosalee:	GET OU:TTA DERE CLI:NT, DAS NOT YA DE:SK,
2	Clint :	Ma di:ng wen in e::re;
3		(1.3)
4	TA Rosalee:	No it ne:ver?,[61]
5		(0.3)
6	Clint :	It di:d,
7		(1.3)
8	TA Rosalee:	Get ou:t of de:re;

By reprimanding Clint in the community variety, Rosalee positions Clint as being a speaker of this variety, fully understanding her instructions and responsible for not obeying them.

Teacher aides are sometimes acknowledged, and display knowledge, as experts on local culture and language. In Extract 18, the students are colouring pictures of animals which

[61] 'didn't' (see Butcher 2008:634; Language Perspectives 2013; Munro & Mushin 2016:87)

represent the three schoolwide sports groups, for the upcoming sports carnival. One of these animals is a crocodile, and the teacher aide Rosalee corrects the SAE-speaking class teacher on her pronunciation.

Extract 18 "how do youfla say da crocodile?" (120605-Yr2-2A-2 11:41-11:49)

```
1  TA Rosalee:   Miss how do you:fla;[62] (.) ow do you:fla say da
2                u:m; (.) cro:codi:le?
3                (0.7)
4  Miss D    :   Bi:lamew,
5                (0.8)
6  TA Rosalee:   Iss bi:lgamu;
```

Youfla is a community variety second person plural pronoun, equivalent to 'you' (pl) in SAE (see Section 2.2.3). The teacher aide initiates this short sequence, asking the class teacher how she and the other teachers are pronouncing a local word meaning 'crocodile', which is the name of one of the sports groups. The teacher replies *Bi:lamew,* which the teacher aide corrects *Iss* [it's] *bi:lgamu;*.

7.2.2 Teacher aides as teachers

Teacher aides also speak the community variety in teaching and instructing students. In the next extract, Extract 19, the teacher aide, Marden, is working with a small group of students on an activity about shapes. This extract is taken from the beginning of the activity, where Marden is explaining the task to the students. The layout of the worksheet they are using is shown in Figure 7-1 below.

[62] 'You' (pl) (see Section 2.2.3)

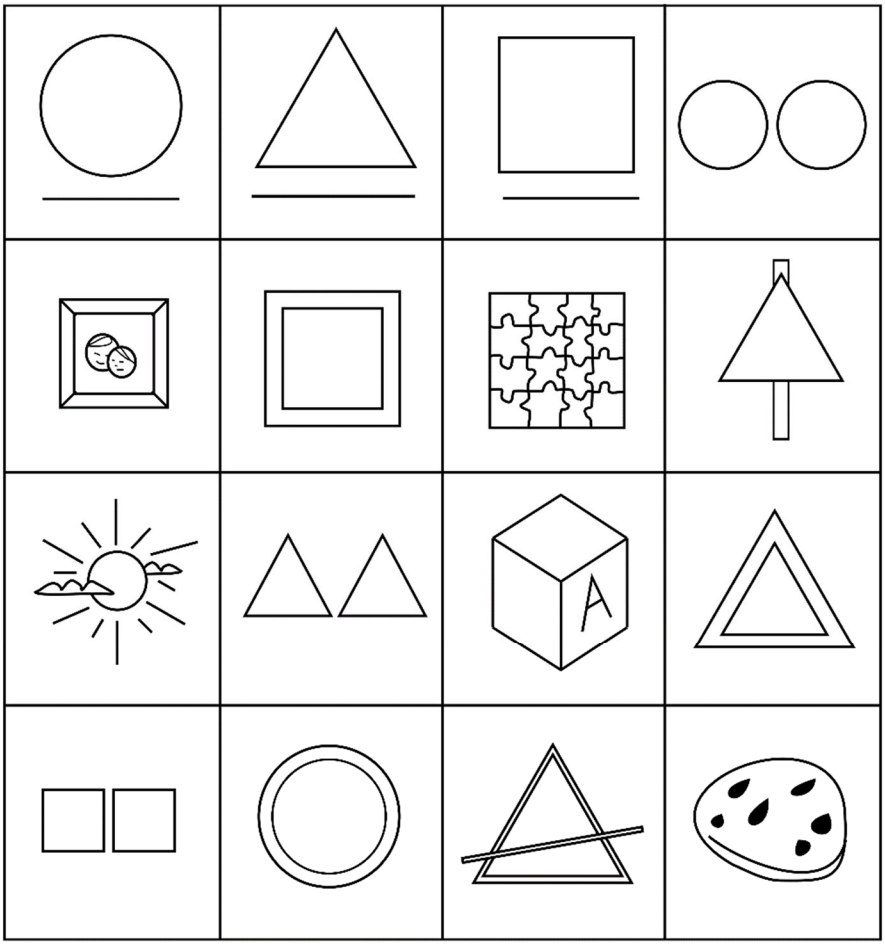


Figure 7-1: Layout of shape worksheet for Extract 19

Extract 19 "find all da circles, you put em down one side" (130508-Yr3-2B 0:55-1:37)

1	TA Marden:	Up e:re na look e:re;
2		(0.5)
		((Marden holding up worksheets, taps them on the table))
3	TA Marden:	|**What is tha[:t;**
		|((Marden points to picture of circle))
4	Luka :	[a::h;
5		(0.5)
6	Terrance :	Ci[:rcle;
7	Warren :	[Ci[:rcle;

8 Joelle : [C[i:rcle;
9 Luka : [Circ|[le.
|((Marden points to picture of triangle))
10 Terrance : [Tr[i:angle;
11 Declan : [Swe[:::cle;
12 Warren : [Tr[i:angle;
13 Luka : [Tri:angle;
14 Clint : [Tri:angle;
15 (0.3)
((Marden points to picture of square))
16 Luka : Sq[ua:re;
17 Terrance : [Squa:re;
18 Joelle : [Squa:re;
19 Warren : [Sq[ua:re;
20 Clint : [Squ[a:re;
21 Declan : [a:re;
22 (0.2)
((Marden points to picture of two circles side by side))
23 Declan : [Ci:rcle;
24 Terrance : [Ci:rcle;
25 Warren : [Ci:rcle;
26 Joelle : [Ci[:rcle;
27 Clint : [Ci:rcle;
28 Luka : [Ci:rcle;
29 (0.2)
30 TA Marden: **Ri:ght. what you gotta do:, you gotta |cu:t,**
31 **(0.3) cut em ou:t,**
|((Marden moves finger in a square shape around one of the boxes containing a shape on the worksheet))
32 (1.6)
((Marden points to first shape on worksheet with outstretched hand then single finger))
33 TA Marden: **n; (1.0) on o:ne si:de,**

((holding his hand out flat, Marden moves fingers along table from his left to right in front of him))

34 (0.8)

35 TA Marden: **Ri:ght, you put; |(0.4) whas a:t;**
|((Marden points to first shape on worksheet, the circle, holds hand in place))

36 (0.7)

37 Clint : Ci:rcle;

38 TA Marden: Ci:r[cle.

39 Terrance : [Ci:rcle.

40 (0.2)

41 TA Marden: |**Find all da ci:rcles, you put em down o:ne side**
((Marden gestures in a circular motion down the worksheet, then moves hand across table left to right as before))

42 (0.4)

43 TA Marden: **You find all |da:, (0.6) [tri:angle;**
|((Marden points to triangle on worksheet))

44 Declan : [Tri:angles;

45 Clint : [Tri:ang-

46 (0.2)

47 TA Marden: **You put em down o:ne side;**
((Marden moves hand left to right across table))

48 (0.3)

49 TA Marden: **You [find all |da:, (.) [squa:re;**
|((Marden points to square on worksheet))

50 Warre : [(da shapes are)

51 Joelle : [squ[a:re;

52 Declan : [a:re;

53 Warren : Sq[ua:re;

54 TA Marden: **[|Put em (one side). |What dat i:s?**
|((Marden moves hand as before left to right across table))

```
                                        |((Marden points to
                picture of two circles))
55              (0.4)
56 Terrance :   [Ci:rcle;
57 Warren   :   [Ci[:rcle.
58 Declan   :      [Ci:rcle.
59 Joelle   :      [Ci:rcle;
60 TA Marden:   An where da ci:rcle go; under [|dis o:ne?
                                               |((Marden points
                to triangle))
61 Declan   :                                 [|dat one de:re la
                                               |((Declan points
                towards the first circle))
62 TA Marden:   |Di:s; one;
                |((Marden points to square, then points to
                 triangle))
63 Declan   :   D- [no::; dat [o n e    [de:re;
64 Joelle   :      [Na-
65 Luka     :      [Na;                 [Ye:s;
66 TA Marden:                 [|Dis one;
                               |((Marden points to first circle
                on worksheet))
67 Joelle   :                           [Yea:h;
68 Terrance :                           [Ye:s;
69              (0.2)
70 TA Marden:   Ri:ght; you know what to do n[a?
71 Warren   :                                [iss- iss [got all=
72 Declan   :                                          [Yea::h;
73 Terrance :                                          [Yes.
74 Warren   :   =da sha:pes;
```

Marden's instructions are interactive and formulated using examples. He begins by asking the students to identify the three types of shape (lines 4-29), which all the students do unproblematically. He then explains the task, *what you gotta do:, you gotta cu:t, (0.3) cut em ou:t,* (lines 30-31), and describes the process of sorting the pictures into types of shapes by repeating equivalent instructions for each of the three types of shape, *Find all da ci:rcles, you put em down o:ne side.*(line 41). These three instructions are each matched with the same

gesture, pointing to the shape and then sliding his hand from left to right in a line on the table in front of him. He then checks the students' understanding by asking them to identify the shapes in the fourth box of the top line on the worksheet, *What dat i:s?* (line 54) and asking *An where da ci:rcle go;* (line 60). He indicates to two incorrect shapes, which the students tell him are incorrect, before finally pointing to the first circle, which the students say is correct (lines 60-68). He concludes by asking *Ri:ght; you know what to do na?* (line 70), and students say that they do (lines 72-73).

Marden's initial question *What is tha:t;* (line 3) is formulated with a construction used in SAE (contrast the same question with a community variety structure *What dat i:s?* (line 54) that could not be used in SAE, see Section 2.2.3). Apart from this, Marden appears to predominantly speak the community variety throughout to explain this activity, using a number of non-SAE features described for ex-Reserve varieties (e.g. determiners such *dat, dis, dere, da*, final *na* (line 70), unmarked plurals (lines 43, 49), see Section 2.2.3). Students demonstrate their understanding of Marden's speech by giving appropriate responses.

Teacher aides and students variably use linguistic features associated with SAE and the community variety, and teacher aides also frequently use the same strategies as SAE-speaking class teachers, such as breaking down a word into the sounds it is composed of, to prompt students to write the letters represented by each sound. In the following extract, a teacher aide and student both say the word 'then' with an initial [ð] sound as in SAE, rather than using the community variety equivalent word 'den' with an initial [d] (see Section 2.2.3).

Extract 20 "how you spell then" (130603-Yr3-Part6 6:10-6:24)

```
                ((Davida puts her hand up))
1  TA Marden:   (You ri:ght?)
2               (0.2)
3  Davida   :   How you spell the:n;
4               (0.6)
5  TA Marden:   Wha?
6               (0.2)
7  Davida   :   Th:e:n;
8               (0.4)
9  TA Marden:   Th:e:n?
10              (0.7)
11 TA Marden:   The:h e:n:;(0.3) the:h; (0.9) the:h; (1.4)the:h;
12              (0.6)
```

13 Davida : **Tee:?**
14 (0.4)
15 TA Marden: **Tee:,**
16 (0.8)
17 Davida : **Hai:[tch,**
18 TA Marden: **[Ai:tch,**
19 (0.7)
20 Davida : Ee::,
21 (0.8)
22 Davida : E:n.
23 TA Marden: That's (it)

In this example, the word *the:n* is first pronounced with an initial [ð] by the student (line 3), as she asks the teacher aide *How you spell the:n;* (line 3) and also when she repeats the word in response to his repair initiation (line 7). The teacher aide repeats the word with the same phonological form, then breaks the word into the sounds it is composed of, beginning by repeating the initial sound as *the:h; (0.9) the:h; (1.4) the:h;* (line 11), which Davida suggests is represented by the letters 'T' then 'H' (lines 13 and 17), which are confirmed one by one by the teacher aide (lines 15 and 18). Davida completes the rest of the word (lines 20 and 22) and the teacher aide indicates it is complete and correct (line 23).

In this example, we see that speakers of the community variety know and use SAE language features as well as non-SAE features associated with the community variety. The fact that this is a lesson at school focused on writing sentences using SAE written conventions might be prompting the teacher aide and student to use the SAE forms in this example.

7.2.3 Teacher aides as speakers of multiple varieties

One teacher aide, Lilian, did not grow up in the community, but was a speaker of a related English-lexified variety spoken by Aboriginal people in a different part of Queensland. This teacher aide most frequently speaks SAE with the children in the classroom, but there are a number of interactions in which she clearly alternates between linguistic features associated with the community variety and SAE.[63]

[63] Lilian uses non-SAE forms which are associated with the community variety (see Section 2.2.3). As Lilian was not a speaker of the community variety, but was a speaker of an English-lexified Aboriginal variety from a different part of Queensland (see Section 4.4), it is not clear whether she is speaking the community variety, or using a similar way of speaking which shares features with the community variety.

The next two extracts show Lilian doing this in small group reading activities. In the first of these, Extract 21, she uses SAE and then non-SAE associated with the community variety, to ask the same question twice.

Extract 21 "what sort of hair do you have" (120905-Yr2-1A2 0:39 – 1:19)

1	TA Lilian:	**What sort of hai:r do you have;**
2		(0.6)
3	Amelia :	mbla:ck;
4	TA Lilian:	↑Bla:ck? (0.7) o::r bro:wn? (0.7) n: you gonna
5		say cu:rly::; or s:traight?
6	Luka :	ERA:::::::H,
7		(1.7)
8	TA Lilian:	LU:ka.
9		(0.4)
10	Luka :	(no [ah:s o:h;)
11	TA Lilian:	You: are no:t the only (0.2) chi:ld in this
12		r[oo:m.
13	Luka :	[oo:h;
14		(1.5)
15	Luka :	°S::la::::h[hh°
16	TA Lilian:	[So u:se your whi:spering voi:ce
17		plea:se?
18		(1.2)
19	TA Lilian:	Hai:r.
20		(0.6)
21	Amelia :	Hai:r;
22		(0.2)
23	TA Lilian:	**Wha:t sort of hai:r you go:t.**
24		(0.6)
25	Amelia :	Bla:ck,
26		(0.5)
27	TA Lilian:	Bl:a:ck. Oka:y. (0.5) spe:ll bla:ck;

Lilian asks Amelia the same question twice in this extract, before and after their conversation is interrupted by another student. The first question is spoken in SAE, and the second uses features associated with the community variety. In the first question, Lilian asks Amelia *What sort of hai:r do you have;* (line 1), using the verb 'have', and constructing the question with SAE

inclusion of 'do', and inversion of 'do' and the subject 'you'. Amelia replies 'black' (line 3), and the teacher aide repeats this with raised intonation, and offers some other options, implying a question as to whether Amelia's hair should be considered black or brown, and prompting Amelia to add another descriptor, *n: you gonna say cu:rly::; or s:traight?* (lines 4-5).

Before Amelia responds, the teacher aide moves her attention to Luka, who is making loud noises, and tells him to be quieter (lines 6-17). She returns her attention to Amelia, establishing the topic again *Hai:r.* (line 19), and asking *Wha:t sort of hai:r you go:t.* (line 23), this time with a community variety formulation of the question, with the verb 'got', and no addition of 'do' (see Section 2.2.3). Amelia again responds *Bla:ck,* (line 25), which Lilian accepts, repeating it this time with falling intonation, and *Oka:y*. (line 27), and moves on, saying *spe:ll bla:ck;* (line 27).

In a second example from a different lesson (Extract 22), Lilian alternates between SAE and a construction used in the community variety in asking questions to the students. In this reading group, they have just read a book about things with wheels, and are discussing trains.

Extract 22 "Where you went on the train" (110906-Yr1 4:42-5:04)

```
1  TA Lilian:   Who's bee:n on a trai:n befo:re;
2               (0.2)
3  Jara     :   ↑Me[:::::;
4  Harry    :      [Me[:::,
5  Julian   :         [Me:[::;
6  Warren   :             [M[e::::;
7  Samuel   :               [ahm goin Cai:rns on [da trai:[n;
8  Declan   :                                    [↑ME:::: [ahm
9               go:in; To:wnsvi:lle;
10              (0.2)
11 TA Lilian:   Whe:re you went on the trai:n;
12              (1.0)
13 Declan   :   U::::m; (0.6) (when) we ws go:in twa:rds
14              To:wnsville; lo:ng time ago:;
15 TA Lilian:   (to) To:wnsvi:lle;
16              (0.8)
17 Samuel   :   Ah gone [Cai:rns; (.) wid (Aunty Molly;)
18 Declan   :           [We goin twards To:wnsville ne:xt wee:k;
19 TA Lilian:   You went to Cai:rns on the trai:n.
```

20 (0.8) ((Samuel nods once))
21 Samuel : wid (Aunty Molly;)
22 (0.3)
23 TA Lilian: **Did it take a lo:ng time, or wa:s it very**
24 **qui:ck;**
25 (1.2)
26 Samuel : Lo:ng time.

Lilian begins with a question in SAE *Who's bee:n on a trai:n befo:re;* (line 1). Four students chorus 'me' (lines 3-6). Samuel tells her *ahm goin Cai:rns on da trai:n;* (line 7) and Declan joins in ↑*ME:::: [ahm go:in; To:wnsvi:lle;* (line 8-9). The students have volunteered information about future train plans, but Lilian continues questioning about past train experiences, this time with a construction used in the community variety, *Whe:re you went on the trai:n;* (line 11) (see Section 2.2.3). Declan and Samuel alter their answers to describe previous train trips, then Declan repeats and expands on his future train plans, *We goin twards To:wnsville ne:xt wee:k;* (line 18). The teacher aide repeats Samuel's response, reformulating or recasting this in SAE, *You went to Cai:rns on the trai:n.* (line 19), which he confirms by nodding and repeats who he travelled with (line 21). Lilian continues her questioning with SAE constructions, *Did it take a lo:ng time, or wa:s it very qui:ck;* (lines 23-24).

These extracts show Lilian using SAE resources and linguistic forms associated with the community variety in discussing the subject matter of reading group texts. In each of these examples, she uses the community variety forms while relating the text to the children's own experiences, but switches to SAE to recast or clarify students' utterances.

7.3 Establishing shared understandings in teacher-student interactions

This section considers what happens when misunderstandings arise in spoken communication between teachers and students. It examines whether and how differences between the children's classroom talk and the teachers' SAE are oriented to by participants as a source of misunderstanding. As described in Section 4.6.2, in the process of resolving misunderstandings in communication, participants demonstrate how they interpret the causes of the misunderstanding (Bolden 2014). This section presents sequences in which participants do not orient to linguistic differences as a relevant factor in difficulties in understanding, despite signs that this may be playing a role.

The first example, Extract 23, shows a teacher's work to attribute a misunderstanding to a set of causes other than difference between the children's classroom talk and SAE. The lesson topic is spelling words that begin with consonant clusters. In this extract, the teacher is asking the students to think of words that begin with the letters 'dr'.

Extract 23 "I will drag you out the door" (130606-Yr2-Part 3 11:56-12:25)

```
1  Miss R   :   ((points to and nods at Doreen))
2  Doreen   :   Dr:a:(v);
3               (1.3)
4  Miss R   :   Dra::g?
5               (1.4)
6  Doreen   :   ((nods head))
7  Miss R   :   Dra::g, yep, [can you put that in a senten[ce=
8  Noah     :                [Der::;                      [De:r;
9  Miss R   :   =to me so I thi:nk I've got the right wo:rd?
10 Harrison :   .hhh,
11              (1.4)
12 Seamus   :   °°dr- um°°
13              (0.2)
14 Doreen   :   I wi:ll; (0.7) dra:v you [ou:t da doo:r;
15 Seamus   :                            [°°(            )°°
16              (0.2)
17 Miss R   :   Dr:i::ve; (0.5) ↑coo::l; I: wi:ll [dri:ve [you:;
18 Seamus   :                                     [°°(drung)°°
19 Sampson  :                                              [A::y;
20              (0.5)
21 Doreen   :   Ou:t [da [doo:r;
22 Seamus   :        [°°(drung)°°
23 Sampson  :            [(dra::gg[in;)
24 Miss R   :                     [↑OUT the DOO::R, oh dra::g
25              >you out the door;<=I'm so:rry; it's my
26              [hea:ring;
27 Seamus   :   [(dr::;)
28              (0.3)
29 Miss R   :   My o:ld a:ge hea::ring;
30              (0.5)
31 Seamus   :   °°ah kno[w;°°
```

32 Miss R : **[I will dra:::g you:; (.) oka:y?**

This extract begins with the teacher selecting Doreen to provide a word beginning with 'dr'. Doreen says *Dr:a:(v);* (line 2). The teacher shows that she is having some trouble understanding this word, by repeating a candidate interpretation *Dra::g?* (line 4) with rising intonation, which Doreen confirms by nodding her head. The teacher continues to treat the interpretation of this as problematic, by requesting *can you put that in a sentence to me so I thi:nk I've got the right wo:rd?* (lines 7 and 9). Doreen gives the sentence *I wi:ll; (0.7) dra:v you ou:t da doo:r;* (line 14), following which the teacher reinterprets the target word as *Dr:i:::ve;* (line 17), assessing this new understanding as ↑*coo::l;* and repeating *I: wi:ll dri:ve you:;;* (line 17). This repetition is constructed as designedly incomplete (Koshik 2002), with the final word lengthened and continuing final intonation, prompting completion from the student. Doreen takes this up by repeating the end of her sentence *Ou:t da doo:r;* (line 21). The teacher reacts with surprise to this, repeating ↑*OUT the DOO::R* with louder volume and at a higher pitch, marking her new understanding with *oh* (line 24) (Gardner 2001; Heritage 1984) and repeating the sentence in full, lengthening the problematic word *dra::g >you out the door;<* (lines 24-25). She takes full responsibility for the misunderstanding, apologising, *I'm so:rry* (line 25), and attributing the difficulty to her own ears and age *it's my hea:ring;* (lines 25-26) *My o:ld a:ge hea::ring;* (line 29). She concludes by repeating the phrase with the word 'drag' lengthened, *I will dra:::g you:;* (line 31) and confirming her understanding with *oka:y?*.

In this extract, the teacher goes to some trouble to identify the word the student is using, and to take upon herself the responsibility for the repair sequence and misinterpretation. It seems likely that linguistic differences are contributing to how this sequence unfolds, with phonological differences between SAE and the community variety possibly having an impact on the vowel sound used by the student in 'drag' (see Section 2.2.3). However, the teacher and student do not orient to this explicitly as a possible factor, or any other feature of the student's speech production, such as her utterance being at a low volume. Instead the teacher attributes the problem to her own hearing.

The next example, Extract 24, shows a teacher working to understand a story about a bike told to her spontaneously by several of the students, with conflicting accounts from different students. It also shows students' efforts to make their different accounts clear to her. This sequence takes place at the beginning of the day, with the whole class seated on the carpet before they begin the formal lesson. Neither the teacher nor the students appear to orient to differences in their ways of speaking as a possible issue in making themselves understood. In

this extract, the students refer to each other with nicknames: Deedee is Seamus, Yanna is Rhyanna.

Extract 24 “da chain come off” (120904-Yr1-1C 4:41-5:25)

```
1  Noah      :   E:re Mi:ss;
2                (0.5)
3  Miss L    :   Yea:h,
4                (0.4)
5  Noah      :   U:m; on Deedee:’s bike de:re, where; where
6                Ya:nna place de:re, when ah jumped on it da
7                chai:n, when ah was ri:din i:t,
8                (0.6)
9  Doreen    :   D[a chai:n slip;
10 Noah      :    [u:m; iss chai:n come o:ff, an when ah fi:xed
11               it, (0.9) (alright/ah ride,) da chai:n come
12               o:ff;
13               (0.6)
14 Miss L    :   O::h; the chain came off your bi:ke;
15 Rhyanna   :   On ma: bi:ke;
16               (0.2)
17 Noah      :   No::, (.) on Deedee bi:ke;
18 Rhyanna   :   [On ma: bi:ke;
19 Miss L    :   [O:h no:;
20               (0.6)
21 Miss L    :   Did someone fi:x it?
22               (0.4)
23 Rhyanna   :   E fix [it ese:lf;
24 Noah      :         [No:, it was; was bro:ken;
25               (0.4)
26 Miss L    :   O:h, ok[a:y,
27 Harrison  :          [E fix it ese:lf,
28               (0.7)
29 Miss L    :   Did you fix it yourse:lf;
30               (0.6)
31 Rhyanna   :   [Yea:h;
32 Noah      :   [No Dee:dee de:re; when ah ri:de it,
33               (0.8)
```

34 Seamus : Ah ne:verd?[64]
35 (0.5)
36 Doreen : Ah hahahahah ha[hahahahahah
37 Noah : [It bro:ked agai:n;
38 Miss L : **O:h n[o:; you might have to a:sk,**
39 Seamus : [ah caa:n[65] even fix bi:ke,
40 (0.4)
41 Seamus : Na[:h ga:mmon[66], ah- ah [ca:n,
42 Harrison : [Bu:t a:h cou::ld,
43 Miss L : [**Ro:ger to fix it he:y?**
44 (0.6)
45 Miss L : **Al[ri:ght guys that's enough now Dee:ds, thank=**
46 Seamus : [Na:h, ah did ay No:ah;
47 Miss L : **=you,**

This sequence is initiated by one of the students, Noah, who seeks to tell the teacher about events which have happened outside school. Throughout this complex story, the students consistently use non-SAE associated with the community variety, and the teacher consistently speaks SAE, with each treating the other as able to fully understand their speech. Although the students do not accommodate to the teacher's use of SAE, the telling and clarifications from students are clearly intended to make the story known to the teacher. In this way, the teacher and students position each other as able to understand their own way of speaking.

Noah gets the teacher's attention with *E:re Mi:ss;* (line 1), and then begins telling her *U:m; on Deedee:'s* [Seamus's] *bike de:re, where; where Ya:nna* [Rhyanna] *place de:re, when ah jumped on it da chai:n, when ah was ri:din i:t,* (lines 5-7). At this point, Doreen adds in *Da chai:n slip;* (line 9) in overlap with Noah continuing his story *u:m; iss chai:n come o:ff, an when ah fi:xed it, (0.9) (alright/ah ride,) da chai:n come o:ff;* (lines 10-12). The teacher responds *O::h; the chain came off your bi:ke;* (line 14), the initial *o::h;* and the recast expansion of Noah's final utterance (*da chai:n come o:ff*) suggesting that the teacher has just reached this understanding of Noah's story.

The students immediately repair this formulation of the story, targeting the teacher's use of *your* (line 14) which referred to the bike as Noah's. Rhyanna says *on ma: bi:ke;* (line 15) which Noah contradicts in line with his original account (line 5), *No::, (.) on Deedee* [Seamus] *bi:ke;*

[64] 'didn't'' (see Butcher 2008:634; Language Perspectives 2013; Munro & Mushin 2016:87)
[65] 'can't'
[66] 'pretending'/'joking' (see Section 2.2.3)

(line 17), in response to which Rhyanna reasserts *On ma: bi:ke;* (line 18). The teacher ignores this, treating the students' responses as confirmation that the chain did come off the bike and sympathising *O:h no:;* (line 19), asking *Did someone fi:x it?* (line 21). Again, the students give conflicting answers, with Rhyanna saying *e fix it eself;* (line 23), and Noah orienting to the final state of the bike *No:, it was; was bro:ken;* (line 24), to which the teacher responds *O:h, oka:y,* (line 25). Harrison treats this as an insufficient response, repeating Rhyanna's claim *E fix it ese:lf,* (line 27), which the teacher takes up, asking *Did you fix it yourse:lf;* (line 29). Rhyanna confirms *Yea:h;* (line 31), but Noah himself denies this, saying *No Dee:dee* [Seamus] *de:re; when ah ri:de it,* (line 32). Seamus retorts *Ah ne:verd?* [didn't] with strongly rising intonation, which Doreen responds to with laughter. Noah continues *It bro:ked agai:n;* (line 37), explaining why he referred to it as broken earlier (line 24). Seamus reacts further to the claim that he fixed the bike, saying *ah caa:n* [can't] *even fix bi:ke,* (line 39), and then immediately taking this back with *Na:h ga:mmon, ah- ah ca:n,* (line 41), while Harrison asserts *Bu:t a:h cou::ld,* (line 42). In overlap with this, the teacher suggests a solution *O:h no:; you might have to a:sk, Ro:ger to fix it he:y?* (lines 38 and 43), and then shuts the topic down *Alri:ght guys that's enough now Dee:ds* [Seamus]*, thank you,* (line 45) while Seamus again claims that he did in fact help Noah fix the bike *Na:h, ah did ay No:ah;* (line 46).

In this sequence, the students consistently use non-SAE features (corresponding to the community variety),[67] and the teacher consistently speaks in SAE. The complexity of the differing accounts from multiple students speaking simultaneously makes the story difficult to follow, but it seems likely that linguistic differences are also playing a part in how the teacher is able to understand what the students are saying. This is evidenced by how she works to establish her understanding of the story by offering candidate interpretations of the children's utterances which translate non-SAE forms to SAE, such as *O::h; the chain came off your bi:ke;* (line 14) (contrast *da chai:n come o:ff;* (lines 11-12)), asking questions about further details in the story *Did someone fi:x it?* (line 21) and seeking to confirm claims made by other students with the original story teller *Did you fix it yourse:lf;* (line 29). The students also work to make sure the teacher understands the story accurately (or their account of the story) with Rhyanna and Noah supplying corrections to the teacher's interpretation (lines 15-18), and repeating elements that the teacher has not paid sufficient attention to, for example with Harrison's *E fix it ese:lf,* (line 27).

[67] Such as the words 'gammon' and 'neverd', use of uninflected verb forms to express past time reference ('e fix it', 'da chain come off'), absence of possessive 's ('on Deedee bike'), absence of initial [h] ('e'). See Section 2.2.3

This section has described how one teacher dealt with trouble in understanding a student's answer, attributing difficulties to her own hearing without reference to language differences as a possible factor (Extract 23, "I will drag you out the door"). In Extract 24 ("da chain come off") the teacher and students similarly did not orient to differences between their ways of speaking as a possible factor in understanding, with students consistently using elements of the community variety, and the teacher consistently speaking SAE, as the students told a complex story.

7.4 "Ask nicely": a context where teachers require specific linguistic forms

One aspect of spoken communication that teachers explicitly attended to and required students to repair involved linguistic choices which signal politeness in SAE. The next three examples (Extract 25 to Extract 27) show teachers modelling and inducing students to repeat specific lexical items and grammatical constructions in making requests. These practices for compelling students to redo their utterances with different linguistic forms contrast to the examples above, where teachers did not explicitly correct non-SAE features of children's classroom talk, but oriented to them implicitly. In the earlier examples, teachers made use of interactional opportunities to repeat and reformulate or recast children's language as SAE, but did not require the students to produce these SAE forms themselves.

The first example, Extract 25, shows the teacher aide Lilian requiring that Jerry frame his request to Sapphira in a certain way ('asking nicely') before she lends her authority to compel Sapphira to do what Jerry has asked. Jerry and Sapphira are sitting next to each other, with a basket of pencils placed on the far side of Sapphira.

Extract 25 "if you ask her nicely" (120905-Yr1-3B 3:23-3:44)

```
1  Jerry     :   .hh E::re; ↑put it de:re; (tell er,)
2                (0.2)
3  Jerry     :   [Miss tell er to: put it in da ma- [mi:ddle;
4  TA Lilian:   [No 'cee:';                        [Sh:::::;=
5               =Wh[at's the ma:tter?
6  Jerry     :      [↑Te:ll er ↓to put it ↑de:::re;
7  TA Lilian:   Put wha:t; yea:h; (0.3) if you a:sk her ni:cely;
8               a:sk her,
9               (1.0)
10 TA Lilian:   Je:rry?
```

11 (2.4)
12 Jerry : **Phi:ra, put it in da mi:ddle de:re;**
13 (0.2)
14 TA Lilian: **Plea:se,**
15 (0.9)
16 Jerry : [**Plea:se,**
17 TA Lilian: [Pu:t it in the mi:ddle; so you can sha:re.
18 (0.3)
19 TA Lilian: Tha:t's be:tter; Je:rry,

This extract begins with Jerry demanding that Sapphira place the basket of pencils in the middle of the desk, using a second imperative to co-opt the teacher aide Lilian into enforcing his demand (line 3). Lilian shifts her attention to Jerry but indicates that she did not hear the content of his utterance by asking *What's the ma:tter?* (line 5). Jerry repeats his request ↑*Te:ll er* ↓*to put it* ↑*de:::re;* (line 6) with extreme changes in pitch and lengthening of *de:::re* additionally marking the request as a complaint. Lilian interprets his request (line 7), but orients to the format of Jerry's request, instructing him *if you a:sk her ni:cely; a:sk her,* (lines 7-8). When Jerry delays, the teacher aide prompts him by saying his name with rising intonation *Je:rry?* (line 10). Jerry reformulates his request to Sapphira (from line 1), in a more subdued style without the extreme changes in pitch and lengthening, addressing her by name and specifying further where he wishes her to move the basket, but still using the imperative format, *Phi:ra, put it in da mi:ddle de:re;* (line 12). Lilian prompts again with an SAE marker of politeness *Plea:se,* (line 14), which Jerry takes up and repeats (line 16). Lilian shows that the format of the request now meets her requirements, by offering her support in instructing Sapphira to put the basket in the middle, with the justification *so you can sha:re.* (line 17), and praising Jerry's modified request *Tha:t's be:tter; Je:rry,* (line 19).

In the next extract, Extract 26, a teacher similarly insists on a student using a specific word and grammatical construction to make a request. In this extract the teacher prompts Barry to modify the format of his request in general terms, this time with the question 'what's the magic word'. The teacher also supplies a modified utterance for a student to repeat, presenting this as a more acceptable format. This interaction takes place while the teacher is giving out stickers to her reading group, at the end of the lesson.

Extract 26 "ah wan pink; please," (120222-Yr1-3A 20:54)

1 Barry : Miss, cn [ah,
2 Miss L : [There's one for you: Barry,

3 (0.2)
4 Barry : Oh,
5 (1.3)
6 Carlotta : (**Get [a) pu:rple o:ne;**
7 Miss L : [One for you: Phi:ra:,
8 (0.6)
9 Barry : |ch[chchchch
|((Barry pointing sticker on finger towards Carlotta))
10 Miss L : **[Wha:t's the magic wo:rd;** ((looking at Carlotta))
11 (0.5)
12 Barry : **Da:nk you::;** [Miss;
13 Miss L : [The li:ttle pu:rple one, or a big
14 pi:nk one; ((to Carlotta))
15 Barry : **Miss ah wan[68] a bi:g o:ne;**
16 (0.3)
17 Barry : **Miss AH WAN a bi:g one;**
18 (0.8)
19 Miss L : You want a gree:n o:ne; (.) a bi:g [gree:n one;
20 Sapphira : [Miss;
21 (0.6)
22 Barry : **.hh ah wan [big purpl-**
23 Miss L : **[What's the ma:gic word;**
24 (0.2)
25 Barry : **A:h wan a big pu:rple one;**
26 Miss L : There no: big purple ones.
27 Barry : De:re;
28 (0.3)
29 Miss L : That's pi:nk.
30 (0.2)
31 Barry : O:hoh;
32 (0.5)
33 Barry : **Ah wan pink; plea:se,**
34 (1.0)
35 Miss L : **Can I have pi:nk plea:[se;**

[68] 'want'

36 Barry : **[Can ah ave pi:nk plea:se;**
37 Miss L : Good boy.

In this extract several students are simultaneously requesting different colours and sizes of stickers. The teacher responds to Carlotta requesting *(Get a) pu:rple o:ne;* (line 6), by asking *Wha:t's the magic wo:rd;* (line 10). Barry, who has already received a sticker, provides a response to this, calling out a lengthened *Da:nk you:::;* (line 12). When the teacher introduces the choice of a big sticker to Carlotta (lines 13-14), Barry begins to express his desire for a big sticker, *Miss ah wan* [want] *a bi:g o:ne;* (line 15), and repeats and emphasises this with louder volume *Miss AH WAN a bi:g one;* (line 17) when the teacher does not respond, being engaged with getting stickers for other students. The teacher interprets Barry's request as *You want a gree:n o:ne; (.) a bi:g [gree:n one;* (line 19) which Barry corrects *.hh ah wan big purpl-* (line 22), in overlap with the teacher prompting again *What's the ma:gic word;* (line 23). Barry repeats *A:h wan a big pu:rple one;* (line 25). When this colour has been identified by the teacher as pink rather than purple, Barry asks again *Ah wan pink; plea:se,* (line 33), orienting to the teacher's 'magic word' prompt by adding the word *please*. The teacher, however, does not accept this, but provides an alternate format for the request, as a question with the verb 'can': *Can I have pi:nk plea:se;* (line 35). In overlap with the end of her utterance, Barry repeats this enthusiastically (line 36), and the teacher praises him *Good boy.* (line 37).

In the final example in this section (Extract 27), the teacher again insists on the 'can' syntactic construction for expressing a request politely according to SAE conventions. In this extract, it appears that additional misunderstandings may be arising, influenced by differences between the student's speech and SAE.

Extract 27 "can ah ave water please" (120222-Yr1-3A 18:54-19:09)

1 Carlotta : **Can ah ave wa:ter plea:se;**
2 (0.4)
3 Miss L : Hu:h?
((Miss L leans slightly sideways, bringing ear closer to Carlotta))
4 (0.4)
5 Carlotta : **Can ah a wa[:ter;**
6 Sapphira : [(Deh-)
7 Sapphira : (Ha::h; do hat;)

8			(2.4)
			((Miss L looks at Carlotta, brings her face closer to Carlotta's))
9	Carlotta	:	**°(Can a ave [water)°;**
10	Noah	:	[Miss (do co:me;)
11	Miss L	:	**You would like a drink.**
12	Sapphira	:	H[a:h;
13	Miss L	:	**[Say; can [I have a dri:nk.**
14	Noah	:	[No:;
15			(0.2)
16	Carlotta	:	**Cn ah ave a dri:nk.**
17			(0.2)
18	Miss L	:	Ve:ry qui:ckly:;

In this extract, Miss L appears to have difficulty understanding Carlotta's request (lines 1-9). As with Extract 23 ("I will drag you out the door"), the teacher orients to this difficulty as a problem with hearing, without reference to linguistic differences as a possible factor. The teacher initiates repair by saying *Hu:h?* (line 3) and moves her ear closer to Carlotta. Carlotta repeats *Can ah a wa:ter;* (line 5), but the teacher shows she is still having difficulty understanding her, by moving her face closer to Carlotta. Carlotta repeats again *°(Can a ave water)°;* (line 9), this time more softly, but the teacher understands sufficiently to offer a candidate interpretation of Carlotta's request, *You would like a drink.* (line 11).

Having interpreted Carlotta's request, the teacher instructs Carlotta to produce it in a different format, *Say; can I have a dri:nk.* (line 13), which Carlotta repeats immediately *Cn ah ave a dri:nk.* (line 16). The teacher concedes to the request, but implies it is a distraction from the main task by instructing her to do it *Ve:ry qui:ckly:;* (line 18).

Each student was wearing an individual microphone, so the teacher was not necessarily able to hear as clearly as can be heard in the audio recordings. Carlotta speaks softly and it is clear that there are a number of demands on the teacher's attention, with Sapphira (lines 6, 7, 12) and Noah (lines 10 and 14) speaking on other topics in this extract. However, it seems possible that Carlotta's use of *water* in this context, with community variety phonology in the words *ah* [I] and *ave* [have] (see Section 2.2.3), may be having an impact on the teacher's understanding in this extract, as she recasts *water* as *drink* (lines 11, 13).

The teacher's insistence that Carlotta use the format *can I have a drink* to make the request is somewhat confusing, as Carlotta's initial request (line 1), *Can ah ave wa:ter plea:se;* used the

same modal construction with *can*, and additionally marked the request as polite with *please*. As noted above, the teacher indicated that she had trouble interpreting this initial request, and so the sequence results in the students' expression for requesting being corrected, despite her original attempt to use the same grammatical construction as the corrected format, with an added marker of politeness.

These examples demonstrate strategies teachers used for explicitly directing children to modify their spoken classroom talk, in these cases, in order to make requests in formats considered appropriate by the teachers. This is very different to the teachers' orientation to non-SAE features in the children's spoken classroom talk more generally, which were not explicitly marked as inappropriate. Section 7.1 showed how teachers instead oriented to these implicitly, reformulated non-SAE features as SAE, in conjunction with carrying out other interactional activities such as answering students' questions, and third turn acceptances of student answers.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented analysis of interactions addressing Research Question 2 (a) concerning the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices.

This chapter showed that teachers did not generally convey an explicit expectation that students should speak SAE in spoken communication in the classroom. More broadly, there was an absence of metalinguistic discussion of the presence of different ways of speaking in the classroom (Section 7.1). Although both students and teacher aides (Section 7.2) used non-SAE ways of speaking associated with the community variety, this was not something oriented to explicitly by teachers, teacher aides or students. Instead, it appeared that teachers might be responding implicitly to non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk through recasts.

Teacher aides spoke in ways associated with both the community variety and SAE, in a range of speech contexts, including disciplining students (Section 7.2.1) and teaching lesson content (Section 7.2.2). Two examples showed a teacher aide switching between SAE and non-SAE (community variety) grammatical constructions (Section 7.2.3), using forms associated with the community variety in relating lesson content to students' own experiences.

Section 7.4 showed that, in contrast to the interactions analysed earlier in the chapter, teachers did express explicit expectations around students' ways of speaking in matters of

politeness. In the extracts presented in this section, teachers directed students explicitly to use particular SAE constructions and markers of politeness in making requests.

The next chapter examines interactions centred on reading and writing tasks, to address Research Question 2 (b).

8 SAE as a learning focus in literacy lessons

This chapter addresses Research Question 2 (b) "Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?" This chapter presents extracts demonstrating that teachers did overtly orient to non-SAE features of students' speech or writing during literacy lessons, in contrast with spoken communication in the classroom more generally (see Chapter 7). The extracts in this chapter show specific non-SAE elements in children's classroom talk becoming the focus of interactions, as teachers either treat them as acceptable forms to be used in literacy activities, or treat them as incorrect. However, although explicit attention is drawn to the choice between individual forms, this is still without a broader framework in the classroom discourse that treats the community variety as distinct from SAE. Teachers' strategies for problematising non-SAE features, and correcting these with SAE further display a lack of awareness of students' existing linguistic knowledge, by treating SAE features as known to the students, and available through intuition. A number of extracts demonstrate that students do not always display this existing knowledge of SAE.

While SAE forms are identified explicitly in these literacy lesson extracts, and students are instructed to use them, this is not within a framework where SAE is being taught as an additional language/dialect. Instead, there is evidence that language/dialect differences are treated primarily as problems in reading or writing. Although non-SAE forms are explicitly attended to, these extracts show that the students' linguistic backgrounds and status as learners of SAE remains largely invisible.[69]

Section 8.1 introduces the differences seen in lessons focused on reading and writing, as compared to general communication in the classroom, showing that in tasks related to written texts, teachers did explicitly comment on non-SAE forms in children's classroom talk. Section 8.2 shows that teachers did not always treat students' non-SAE linguistic forms as incorrect, but in some cases accepted and incorporated them in literacy lessons. In these cases, the non-SAE linguistic features were whole words well known from the community variety. Section 8.3 presents extracts in which teachers treated non-SAE phonological and morphological forms as problematic. This section examines how teachers communicated that they considered non-SAE

[69] Supporting the findings of Angelo and collegues, who coined the term 'invisible' in referring to similar contexts in Queensland (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013), as discussed in Section 3.3.1.

forms incorrect, and prompted students to identify SAE forms. These extracts provide some indications of assumptions teachers made about students' existing linguistic knowledge.

Section 8.4 discusses an extended sequence in which a teacher assists a student with a spelling challenge unrelated to differences between the community variety and SAE. Unlike the earlier examples in the chapter, where teachers used spoken SAE as a major resource for linking spoken and written forms, in this sequence the teacher provides the student with additional resources to discover the conventional SAE spelling of a word. These additional resources include a dictionary and a spelling chart. Section 8.5 concludes by drawing out evidence from throughout the chapter that teachers oriented to students' production of non-SAE forms as literacy problems, rather than treating students as learners of both spoken and written SAE, and as speakers of a community variety that overlaps in complex ways with SAE.

8.1 Teachers explicitly comment on non-SAE forms during literacy activities

Teachers were found to respond differently to students' use of non-SAE forms in literacy activities,[70] in comparison to general spoken communication in the classroom (the topic of Chapter 7). In literacy activities, teachers did explicitly comment on students' non-SAE linguistic features.[71] The first example (Extract 28 and Extract 29) shows a teacher explicitly treating a non-SAE phonological feature as incorrect, and instructing students to use the equivalent SAE form, as the whole class of Year 3 students read a word aloud.

These two extracts are taken from the beginning of the whole class lesson on the verbs 'be' and 'have' (discussed further in Section 10.2). The teacher is displaying forms of the verbs 'be' and 'have' on the electronic whiteboard, and saying each of these words, with the students repeating them after her.

Extract 28 "has. it's got a heh at the start" (130508-Yr3-Part4 0:02-0:12)

```
1  Miss N   :   Ne:xt wo:rd;(.) h:a::s::;
2               (0.3)
3  Warren   :   Ha::[s;
```

[70] Activities centered on reading or writing a written text.

[71] The focus in this chapter is on students' production of non-SAE linguistic features which are likely to represent or reflect community variety usage. The data analysed in this thesis does not provide evidence about the children's (or adults') ways of talking in the community outside school, but parallels are apparent between the children's classroom talk and linguistic descriptions of Queensland ex-Reserve varieties (see Section 2.2.3). Although this evidence is indirect, it suggests that certain patterns in the children's classroom talk, shared with other English-lexified varieties, are likely to be features of the community variety.

```
4  Joelle   :       [H::a:s;
5  Terrance :       [A[::s; a:h Clint;
6  Amelia   :         [H[a::s;
7  Laurelin :           [Ha::::s;
8  Malcolm  :           [H[a::s;
9  Samuel   :             [Ha:s;
10 Davida   :             [A[:s;
11 Jara     :               [Ha::[s::;
12 Declan   :                    [zz:::[::;
13 Miss N   :                         [Not a:s, li:sten,
14             (0.3)
15 Miss N   :   [H:a:s.
16 Gabriel  :   [H:a:[s.
17 Jara     :        [H[:a:s;
18 Warren   :          [Ha:s;
19 Luka     :          [Has.
20 Davida   :          [H[a:s;
21 Declan   :            [A[s.
22 Joelle   :              [Has.
23 Laurelin :              [H[a::s;
24 Samuel   :                [Ha:[s.
25 Malcolm  :                    [A:[s;
26 Miss N   :                       [Ha:s; it’s got a he:h at
27             the sta:rt.
```

Extract 29 Repetition of “has” (130508-Yr3-Part4 0:27)

```
1  Miss N   :   Ha:[s:;
2  Samuel   :      [Has;
3  Joelle   :      [H[as;
4  Laurelin :        [H[:a:s;
5  Davida   :          [A:s;
6  Gabriel  :          [H[a:s;
7  Amelia   :            [Ha:s;
8  Jara     :            [H[a:s;
9  Malcolm  :              [A[:s;
10 Clint    :                [Ha:s;
```

In the first reading of the word 'has' (Extract 28, lines 1-12), the teacher explicitly orients to the absence of initial [h] in some students' production of this word, stating that this is incorrect with *Not a:s,* (line 13), and repeating *H:a:s.* (line 15), emphasising the initial [h] by lengthening it. The class repeat after the teacher (lines 17-25). About 20s later, the teacher displays the word 'has' on the electronic whiteboard again, and again reads it for the students to repeat (Extract 29).

Across the three group repetitions of the word 'has', the number of students who read it with the initial [h] absent is low, but stays around the same before and after the teacher's correction, with two students (different students in each repetition) saying *As* (with no initial [h]) each time. Some of the students variably use both forms across the three repetitions. For example, Davida says *A:s* (line 10) the first time, *Ha:s* the second time (line 20), after the correction, and returns to *A:s* in the repeat (Extract 36, line 5). Malcolm begins *Ha::s;* (line 8), and says *A:s;* in the two repetitions (line 25, Extract 36, line 9).

In these extracts the teacher marks the non [h] initial form as incorrect *Not a:s, li:sten, (0.3) h:a:s;* (lines 13-15). She uses repetition, emphasising the initial [h] to make this sound available to the students, and explicitly draws attention to the initial sound by saying *Ha:s; it's got a he:h at the sta:rt.* (line 26).

Teachers explicitly drawing attention to non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk in reading and writing activities differed from general communication in the classroom (analysed in the previous chapter, Chapter 7). Chapter 7 showed that in general communication in the classroom, teachers oriented minimally and implicitly to non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk.

Extract 30 provides an example of the contrast between tasks engaging directly with a written text, and spoken communication more generally. In Extract 30, a teacher and small group of students discuss their interpretations of a picture in a book, and then the students read the text on this page aloud. The students discuss the page using a number of non-SAE linguistic forms. The teacher does not comment on this during the discussion, but does comment when the students use one of the same non-SAE forms while reading aloud.

The page in the book reads 'I taught her to sit and she sat on me.' and shows a picture of a child lying down, with a dog leaning on the child's back. In lines 1-35 the group discuss the picture. From lines 45-65 they read the text aloud together, and the teacher comments on a non-SAE form used by the students.

Extract 30 "I taught her to sit an she sit on me" (131113-Yr2-3A 12:14-13:13)

Miss R : What's happening in thi:s picture he:re; (0.3)
Ca:rl[ie?
Sapphira : [E [la:yin-
Carlotta : **[E pla:y wid er; (.) ay; (0.7) da dog**
pla:yed wid im;
(0.2)
Sampson : Oh [oh oh,
Miss R : [The dog's pla:ying with him h[e:y?
Carlotta : [a:h; siddin
do:wn wid im;
(0.5)
Sampson : u:m;
(0.8)
Miss R : What [did the boo:k [say was happening;
Sampson : [Da do:g;
Sapphira : [.hhh hh hh oh;
Miss R : Sa:mpson?
Sampson : **Da lo- (0.2) da do:g, iss; iss la- (.) iss**
la:yin on im;
Miss R : >mheh< is that what it sa:ys in the [boo:k?
Natasha : [a:h;
(1.6)
Miss R : uh uh uh, ↑Do:n't o:pen the ↓boo:k?, thank you:,
(0.3)
Sampson : Yes;
(0.2)
Natasha : **E:; (0.5) e to:ld im to sit an e sit.**
(0.7)
Miss R : A::h; whad do you think Sapphi:ra?
(1.7)
Sapphira : u:m; (0.9) **sh:e, she: layin do:wn, (.) an da dog**
up top er;
(0.7)
Miss R : Alri:ght, do:n't open your boo:k, [Ba:rry can
you put it do:wn,
Sampson : [Mi:ss;

```
37 Sampson  :   Could ah; um; go blow [ma no:se?
38 Sapphira :                         [(see;)
39 Miss R   :   Ye:s you can.
40              (1.0)
41 Carlotta :   (de:re;)
42 Miss R   :   Here we go:,
43 Barry    :   >Me too Miss,< plea:se Miss, can ah blow ma
44              [no:se?
45 Miss R   :   [Le:t's all rea:d this toge:ther;
46 Carlotta :   I::[:, tau:ght he:r to: si::t,
47 Natasha  :      [I: t[au:ght he:r to: si:t,
48 Sapphira :           [I::, au:ght e:r to la::y;
49 Barry    :           [I:, tau:ght e:r, to: (l)i:t,
50              (0.4)
51 Natasha  :   [A:nd; she: si:t o:n;
52 Carlotta :   [o- a:n; [she: si:t o:n;
53 Barry    :            [A:n; she si:t; on me::;
54 Sapphira :            [A:nd she si:t o:n me:;
55              (0.4)
56 Miss R   :   It'[s not ss: i:h teh,
57 Carlotta :      [An she [sa::t; on me:;
58 Natasha  :              [sa::[t;
59 Miss R   :                   [ss: a:h teh;=lo:vely; do:n't
60              forget your [sou:nds.
61 Carlotta :               [She sa::[t on me:;
62 Natasha  :                        [o:[n;   [me:;
63 Barry    :                           [o:n; [me::;
64 Miss R   :                                 [So:, Na:tasha was
65              right; (.) o:ka:y?,
```

This extract provides an example of a pattern seen across the corpus of classroom recordings, where teachers explicitly commented on non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk in the context of reading aloud or writing activities, while not conveying explicit expectations for the children's way of talking in the classroom more generally.

In the first half of this extract, the teacher listens to each of the children's interpretations of the picture in turn, without comment (lines 1-35). Carlotta's description, *E pla:y wid er; (.) ay; (0.7) da dog pla:yed wid im;* (lines 4-5) is recast by the teacher (similar to examples in Section

7.1) in SAE as *The dog's pla:ying with him he:y?* (line 8). The teacher asks each of the other three students for their interpretations, and does not respond with feedback about either the content or linguistic forms of any of these three answers. The students' interpretations include a number of non-SAE forms which are features of the community variety (see Section 2.2.3). These include absence of initial [h] in *e*, *im* and *er*, use of *da* rather than SAE *the,* absence of the verb *be* in *she layin down* and *da dog up top er*, (Sapphira, lines 31-32) and use of *sit* to refer to past time, in *e told im to sit an e sit* (Natasha, line 27)

Following this discussion, the teacher asks the group to read the text on the page together (lines 45-54). When they read, all four students reading render written 'sat' as spoken 'sit' (lines 51-54). This corresponds to Natasha's non-SAE use of 'sit' to refer to past time in her interpretation of the picture (line 27). Unlike in the discussion phase, the teacher does explicitly treat the non-SAE 'sit' as incorrect when the students read aloud.

The teacher marks 'sit' as incorrect by saying *It's not ss: i:h teh,* (line 56), targeting 'sit' and articulating slowly the three sounds that make up this word, with rising intonation prompting students to offer another alternative. Carlotta and Natasha anticipate the teacher's correction and repair the second half of the sentence to replace 'sit' with 'sat' in overlap with the teacher's correction (lines 57-58). The teacher repeats this, breaking down the sounds separately again, *ss: a:h teh;=* (line 59) and praises this as *lo:vely;* (line 59).

This extract provides an example where a teacher explicitly marked a non-SAE feature as incorrect when directly interacting with a written text, in contrast to not orienting to non-SAE features in spoken communication more generally. This extract additionally introduces a central theme in how teachers explicitly responded to students' non-SAE in literacy activities. Despite evidence that the non-SAE form (*sit*, referring to past time) reflects a grammatical difference between the community variety and SAE, it is treated as a reading error in this extract. Natasha's similar production of *sit* in spontaneously describing the scene in the picture, *E:; (0.5) e to:ld im to sit an e sit.* (line 27) provides locally available evidence of forms for past time reference differing in the children's classroom talk and SAE. In the community variety, past time reference can be expressed with simple verb forms (see Section 2.2.3). In this extract, there is no acknowledgment that some non-SAE forms used by students may reflect community variety use.

The principle generalised by the teacher from this sequence is *do:n't forget your sou:nds.* (lines 59-60). With this interpretation, the teacher frames the students' error in reading *ss: i:h teh,*

(line 56) as a misidentification of the sound related to the letter ‘a’. There is no explicit orientation to a possibility that this might be affected by the community variety.

8.2 Teachers accept and include whole words from the community variety in literacy lessons

In a small number of examples from the classroom corpus, teachers explicitly commented on non-SAE linguistic features in order to accept and incorporate them in reading or writing activities, rather than treating them as incorrect. This section presents extracts where non-SAE items from the children’s classroom talk are not treated as a problem for understanding and are included explicitly by teachers in literacy activities. All of these non-SAE forms are whole words.[72]

In Extract 31 and Extract 32, community variety lexical items are formally incorporated in the vocabulary students are instructed to use during writing activities. In Extract 31, the teacher is asking Year 3 students to contribute adjectives that they could use to describe a picture of a snail on a motorbike in a writing activity. The teacher accepts a community variety adjective.

Extract 31 “deadly motorbike” (130603-Yr3-Part4 10:31-10:50)

1	Miss N	:	Ha:nds u:p if you can describe his mo:torbike;
2			(0.3) it might be how it goe:s. it might be what
3			co:lour it is. A:nythink to descri:be his
4			mo:torbike. What do you: think Wa:rra?
5	Warren	:	Mm::::;
6			(0.2)
7	Miss N	:	His mm: mo:torbike.
8	Laurelin	:	°Dea:dly,°
9	Warren	:	**A dea:dly?**
10			(0.9)
			((Miss N gestures towards her ear))
11	Laurelin	:	Dea[:dly;
12	Warren	:	[Iss dea:dly,
13	Miss N	:	**Dea:dly motorbike; good man; well done;** what

[72] In addition to the extracts presented in this section, a number of other extracts in this thesis show teachers responding to students’ word choices. In Extract 48 (Section 9.1.2) the teacher accepts the somewhat non-standard use of ‘up top’ in a student’s location phrase. In Extract 44 (Section 9.1.1), the teacher took up the alternate word ‘gumballs’ suggested by a student and uses this instead of ‘lollies’ which she used initially. In contrast, in Extract 14 (Section 7.1) Miss D rephrased a student’s response ‘it shock ufla’, including the community variety first person plural pronoun ‘ufla’ as ‘maybe it’ll shock you’.

14 else could you sa:y; ((points to Gabriel))

The adjective accepted by the teacher is 'deadly'. This is a very common word in English-lexified contact languages spoken by Aboriginal people around Australia, and well known to people who do not speak these varieties, including the SAE-speaking teachers at this school (Butcher 2008:638). Butcher (2008:638) describes the word 'deadly' as having the sense of 'terrific', 'wonderful', 'really good' in SAE.

In this extract, Warren displays some hesitation in answering the teacher's question (line 5), and Laurelin, who is sitting next to him, says *˚Dea:dly,˚* softly (line 8). Warren repeats *A dea:dly?* (line 9) louder, with rising intonation. The teacher makes a gesture towards her ear, which the students treat as a repair initiation, indicating she has had trouble hearing, with both Laurelin and Warren repeating the answer (lines 11-12). The teacher repeats *Dea:dly motorbike;* (line 13), and praises Warren, *good man; well done;* (line 13).

Extract 32 shows the same teacher accepting the students' word for an animal found locally, making clear that three different terms for this animal would all be acceptable in a writing activity. This extract is from a Year 3 writing lesson, where students used alliterating adjectives to write sentences about Australian animals. The teacher began the lesson by showing a set of images of Australian animals, which the class identified. The extract begins with a picture of a spiny Australian monotreme appearing on the electronic whiteboard.

Extract 32 "porkipine" (131112-Yr3-3A 6:45-6:55)

((picture of echidna appears on the electronic whiteboard))

1 Davida : P[orkipi:ne;
2 Clint : [Porkipine;
3 Amelia : [P[o:rkipine.
4 Jara : [Echi:dna;
5 Cameron : [P[o:rkipine;
6 McKenzie : [P[orkipi:ne; chidna!
7 Declan : [Porkipine;
8 Malcolm : [Po:rki[pi:ne;
9 Gabriel : [Po:rkipi[ne;
10 Miss N : **[Po:[rkipine,(.)w[ha:t's=**
11 Jara : [Ech-
12 Miss N : =**the o:ther word [you could u:se;**
13 Declan : [Ch[i:dna;

14 Jara : [Ech[i:dna;
15 McKenzie : [Chi:dn[a;
16 Gabriel : [Po:r[ki;
17 Miss N : **[Echi:dna;**
18 **So e::chidna, or po:rki:pine. O:r if you just**
19 **write po:rki is that alri:ght?**
20 (0.2)
21 Gabriel : [Yea:h;
22 Malcolm : [Y[ea:h;
23 Declan : [Yea:[h;
24 Miss N : **[Ye:p.**

All of the students except Jara identify the animal as a 'porkipine' (lines 1-9), while Jara calls out *Echi:dna;* (line 4). McKenzie says *Porkipi:ne;* then *chidna!* (line 6). The teacher accepts the majority answer *Po:rkipine,* (line 10), then asks *wha:t's the o:ther word you could u:se;* (lines 10-12), to which Declan and McKenzie reply 'chidna' (lines 13 and 15), Jara repeats *Echi:dna;* (line 14) and Gabriel calls out a third alternative, *Po:rki;* (line 16). As described in Section 2.2.3, the word 'porki' means 'echidna' in the community variety.

The teacher's response encompasses all of the students' responses, accepting *Echi:dna;* (line 17), then repeating this with the initial 'e' lengthened and emphasised *e::chidna,* (line 18), perhaps in response to Declan and McKenzie's form of this word with no initial 'e' sound. She adds *O:r if you just write po:rki is that alri:ght?* (lines 18-19), to which three students respond 'yeah' and the teacher confirms *Ye:p.* (line 24). This question and the students' response suggest that it is a familiar practice in this class to accept community variety lexical items, including shorter forms with a longer or perhaps more formal alternative, like 'porki' (compared to 'porkipine').

When they come later in the whole class instruction phase of this lesson to brainstorm alliterative adjectives to describe this animal, the teacher and students refer to it exclusively as a 'porki'. While all students initially call the animal a 'porkipine' in this extract, it was observed that the more common term for it in everyday conversation was the shorter 'porki', as also represented in phrases contributed by community members in the recent language awareness posters for Cherbourg and Woorabinda (Language Perspectives 2013, 2015; See Section 2.2.3).

Extract 32 showed the teacher listening to the words used by the children, repeating them herself, equating them with other words that have the same meaning, and encouraging the use of any of these in the written activity. The final extract for this section, Extract 33, is from a

small group interaction. This sequence shows a teacher aide accepting and repeating a student's use of a community variety adjective in discussion of a book.

Extract 33 "Is it a real dragon?" (111114-Yr1-1A 7:05-7:11)

1 TA Lilian: Is it a rea:l dra:gon?
2 (0.4)
3 Clint : [No:;
4 Declan : [No iss g-; (0.3) **a ga:mmon one;**
5 TA Lilian: **A [ga:mmon one;**
6 Declan : [See la da [(goin in dere);

In this extract, a small group of Year 1 students are reading a book about a parade with the teacher aide Lilian. They have identified a picture of one of the participants in the parade as a dragon. Lilian asks *Is it a rea:l dra:gon?* (line 1). Clint and Declan reply in the negative, with Declan calling it *a ga:mmon one;.* 'Gammon' is a common word in the children's home variety and other English-lexified contact varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in Australia, and means 'pretend' (Allridge 1984:107; Butcher 2008:636, see Section 2.2.3). In contrast to other examples (Extract 15, and Extract 16 in Section 7.1) where Lilian recasts non-standard morphological and phonological features with SAE equivalents, in this extract Lilian repeats the exact words used by Declan, *a ga:mmon one;* (line 5), in her third turn acceptance of his answer.

The extracts in this section show lexical items which differ clearly from SAE and are well known features of the community variety being accepted explicitly by teachers and incorporated into literacy activities.

8.3 Teachers treat non-SAE phonological and morphological forms as problematic in literacy activities

While Section 8.2 showed teachers accepting and including words from the community variety in literacy activities, it was seen in Extract 28 ("has. it' got a heh at the start") and Extract 30 ("I taught her to sit an she sit on me") that teachers treated some non-SAE phonological and morphological forms associated with the community variety as problematic in reading and writing activities. This section looks at how teachers communicated that they considered non-SAE phonological and morphological forms to be incorrect, and how they prompted students to identify and use SAE forms. However, rather than being clear instances of SAE teaching, the

extracts presented show how teachers' strategies for problematising non-SAE forms frequently assumed that students had prior knowledge of spoken SAE.

Section 8.3.1 analyses strategies teachers used for linking sounds and letters, and the prior knowledge these strategies assumed. Section 8.3.2 examines one extract where students demonstrated they did not have the prior SAE knowledge assumed by the teacher, in a sequence of questions which endeavoured to prompt students to identify an absent SAE morpheme. Section 8.3.3 presents the small number of cases in which teachers or teacher aides explained the meaning of SAE morphemes to students. While these explanations provided some teaching of the SAE forms and their meanings, they did not acknowledge alternate ways of expressing the same meanings in the children's classroom talk (or the community variety), and so continued to simply represent SAE forms as correct and non-SAE forms as incorrect.

8.3.1 Strategies for linking sounds and letters assume SAE spoken forms

This section presents three extracts centred on linking sounds to letters. Examining these extracts reveals assumptions about students' existing linguistic knowledge underlying the strategies used by the teachers. In the first and second extracts (Extract 34 and Extract 35), the teachers make use of the SAE spoken forms of words in prompting students to identify that these words are written with an orthographic initial 'H'. This differs from the children's classroom talk (and the community variety, see Section 2.2.3), where [h] is frequently absent word initially. The third extract, Extract 36, provides a contrasting example, where a teacher aide does not assume an SAE spoken form in assisting a student to write a word with a written initial 'H'.

The first example, Extract 34, shows a teacher's strategies for prompting a student to name the sound represented by the letter 'H'. The strategy relies on a spoken production of the word 'house' with an initial [h], which the student does not use in her production of this word. The extract begins with the teacher turning up the letter 'H' on a flashcard in the course of a small group literacy activity. The teacher is asking each student in turn to identify the sound associated with a letter. Each flashcard shows the letter written, and a picture corresponding to a word beginning with that letter, in this case, a house.

Extract 34 "what's the first sound in heh house" (131113-Yr2-3A 8:51)

((Miss R shows card to Sapphira))

1 Sapphira : **ch:::; cheh;**

2 (0.3)
3 Miss R : **Think about thi:s, it's a:,**
4 (0.4)
5 Sapphira : **Ou:s[:e;**
6 Miss R : **[Hou:se.**
7 (1.5)
8 Sapphira : **Ai[:tch.**
9 Barry : [hhhh;
10 Miss R : **[What's the fi:rst sound in; (0.2) he:h;**
11 **hou:se;**
12 (0.4)
((Sapphira opens mouth but cannot be heard saying anything))
13 Miss R : |**He:h.**
|((Miss R nods once))

Sapphira displays difficulty identifying the sound associated with letter 'H', saying *ch:::; cheh;* (line 1). As a prompt, the teacher directs the student's attention to the picture on the card, saying *Think about thi:s, it's a:,* (line 3), leaving the utterance incomplete with the final word lengthened to signal that the student is to provide the word to complete it (Koshik 2002). Sapphira identifies the picture as a *ou:s:e;*, which the teacher recasts in SAE phonological form with an initial [h] (line 6). Sapphira names the letter *Ai:tch.* ['H'] (line 8), but the teacher is targeting the sound it represents. She asks *What's the fi:rst sound in; (0.2) he:h; hou:se;* (lines 10-11), emphasising the initial sound as *he:h;.* Sapphira opens her mouth and may make an inaudible *heh* sound. The teacher confirms *He:h.* with falling intonation and nods her head.

The strategy the teacher uses to help Sapphira identify the sound associated with the letter 'H' assumes a spoken representation of the word 'house' with an initial [h] (see lines 10-11). As seen in line 5, the word 'house' does not always begin with the sound [h] in Sapphira's spontaneous production of this word. The teacher's repetitions of the word 'house' (lines 6 and 11), emphasising the initial [h], make this sound more available to Sapphira, and the teacher is eventually satisfied that the sound has been identified (line 13).

The following extracts shows how an SAE-speaking teacher and a teacher aide from the community, who speaks the community variety, respond differently to a spelling issue arising from phonological differences between SAE and the children's classroom talk, which is again the presence or absence of an initial [h] sound, this time in the word 'his'. These two

interactions arise during one Year 3 writing lesson, where students are working individually, writing sentences to describe a picture of a snail riding a motorbike. The first extract, Extract 35, begins with the SAE-speaking class teacher coming to check on Malcolm's work.

Extract 35 "I like the flame on is motorbike" (130603-Yr3-Part6 2:37-2:53)

1	Miss N	:	**Alright; I like the fla:me o::n, (0.6) i:s**
			((reading aloud from Malcolm's work))
2			**mo:dorbike. (0.3) we're gonna change tha:t one**
3			**to on h:i:s modorbike. (0.2) so if that says**
4			**i:s, (0.3) what sound do you put at the start to**
5			**make it say he:h i:s;**
6			(0.6)
7	Malcolm	:	**(aitch)**
8	Miss N	:	**hai:ch; good ( );**

In this extract, the teacher is immediately specific about the aspect of the student's work she finds problematic. She reads aloud the student's written work, states that they are going to change the second part of the sentence to *on h:i:s modorbike*, explicitly identifies what the student has written *i:s,* (line 3), and breaks down the SAE form she is looking for into the sounds *he:h* and *i:s*, (line 5) indicating that the student will need to add a 'sound' to the start. The student gives the name of the letter, 'aitch', which the teacher accepts as correct. There is no explicit orientation to the existence of multiple varieties in the classroom, or to the students as learners of SAE. The teacher uses a questioning strategy to induce the student to provide the answer she is looking for, but makes the SAE form available for the student by breaking it down slowly herself (line 5), so that the student's task is to identify the initial sound from her spoken production, rather than produce the SAE form from his own intuition or memory.

A second extract from the same lesson shows how a teacher aide deals with a similar issue in the spelling of 'his', with a different student. The teacher aide is a speaker of the community variety. In this extract, the teacher aide spells the word 'his' for a student with an initial 'h', while his own spoken production uses a community variety form 'e's', with no initial [h] (see Section 2.2.3). Unlike the the teacher in Extract 35, the teacher aide does not use questioning strategies which require the student to identify the written initial 'h'.

Before this extract begins, the teacher aide has verbally elicited the sentence Clint wishes to write, and is now dictating it back to him to produce in written form. They are up to writing the word 'e's'.

Extract 36 "I like e's shiny motorbike" (130603-Yr3-Part6 5:30-6:07)

1	TA Marden:	**I li:ke,(0.5) e:'s shi:ny motorbike;**
2		(0.6)
3	Clint :	**E:'s;**
4		(0.4)
5	TA Marden:	**E's.**
6		(0.6)
7	Clint :	**E:; (1.0) [is;**
8	TA Marden:	**[I like e:,**
9		(2.0)
10	TA Marden:	**E:'s;**
11		(1.0)
12	Clint :	**Do a ee;**
13		(0.7)
14	TA Marden:	**No I like e:'s, (0.4) haitch eye ess,**
15		(6.7) ((Clint writing))
16	TA Marden:	Shiny now, where's shi:ny;
17		(3.1)
18	Terrance :	Ah know where shi:ny, (1.0) dere la;
19		(0.2)
20	Clint :	Down dere la; secon las a:y?
21		(0.3)
22	TA Marden:	Yea:h; that's it,
23		(2.3)
24	TA Marden:	An; what; shi:ny?
25		(0.8)
26	Clint :	Motorbike;

In this extract, the teacher aide dictates a third person singular masculine possessive form from the community variety, *e:'s* (line 1). Clint signals trouble in working out how to write this. He repeats *e:'s;* (line 3), which is confirmed by the teacher aide's repetition in line 5. Clint repeats *e:;* (line 7), then after a second's pause, says *is;*, another third person singular masculine possessive form in the community variety (see Section 2.2.3), in overlap with the

teacher aide repeating the beginning of the sentence. The teacher aide repeats *e:'s;*, and Clint attempts to repair this, asking *Do a ee;* (line 12). The teacher aide answers this in the negative, repeats the beginning of the sentence again, *No I like e:'s,* (line 14), and immediately spells out the problematic word, *haitch eye ess,* (line 14).

The teacher aide does not attempt any questioning strategies for the student to produce this spelling himself, suggesting that he does not treat the spelling of this word as easily recoverable by 'sounding out', or breaking down the oral form of the word slowly. For SAE-speakers the spelling conventions for many words are irregular and must be memorised rather than worked out logically from the sounds the word is composed of. The teacher aide seems to treat the word 'his' as one of these words for himself and for Clint, and simply provides the correct spelling.

8.3.2 Strategies for prompting students to notice the absence of an SAE morpheme assume SAE-speaking intuitions

This section presents an extract from a Year 2 writing activity, in which the teacher prompts students to notice the absence of an SAE morpheme. The teacher uses a sequence of questions to attempt to prompt students to identify the absence of a third person singular *-s* suffix on the verb *eat*, and repair this with the SAE form *eats*. The students' responses demonstrate they do not have the prior SAE knowledge or intuitions the teacher's questions expect.

Extract 37 takes place during a written comprehension activity about a book the class has read previously. The whole class is seated at desks, with the teacher addressing the group from the front of the classroom. The teacher is working through an example worksheet, which has spaces to write three sentences about the appearance, habitat and diet of lyrebirds. After this demonstration the students will be completing the worksheet individually. In this extract, the teacher is asking questions to elicit a sentence she can write as an example about what lyrebirds eat.

Extract 37 "what does the lyrebird eat?" (120903-Yr2-Part2B 3:01-3:57)

1 Miss D : What does the lyrebird eat;
2 (1.0)
3 Declan : Food;
4 (0.2)
5 Jara : **Bu[g.**
6 Kenny : [Food;

(0.4)

Miss D : **Bugs.** So ha- can you put it into a sentence Jara?

(0.3)

Declan : Ah know, (0.3) da:; (0.4) u:m; (0.7) ah what da, what dat ca:ll?

(0.5)

Jara : **Da [lyrebird eat [bugs.**

Malcolm : [Spider,

Declan : [Eat da f- (0.5**) e eat da bugs,**

(0.3)

Miss D : **Now are w- we gonna say ea:t? (0.2) the lyrebird eat bugs?**

(0.6)

Declan : No, (0.2) [**da lyrebird ea:t da: bug;**

Malcolm : [da lyrebird

(0.5)

Miss D : **Well we can write eat the bugs, (0.4) or, what do we need to add to ea:t;**

(0.7)

Jara : **Ea:ting;**

(1.1)

Miss D : **We just need to add one letter.**

(0.5)

Declan : **ee, [ee,**

Miss D : [**ee:; (0.3) eats::::**

(0.4)

Jara : [EATS;

Harry : [Eats

Declan : [Eats

(0.8)

Miss D : So we're [gonna write,

Harry : [ts::::

(0.7)

Declan : Eat[(s);

Miss D : [The,

(3.2)

44 Declan : Lyrebi[rd,
45 Miss D : [Lyrebird,
46 (0.7)
47 Declan : **Eat,**
48 (0.8)
49 Miss D : **Is it [eat?**
50 Jara : [Ea-
51 (0.4)
52 Jara : **Eats.**
53 (0.8)
54 Miss D : **Eats,** (0.5) what does he eat again?
55 (0.5)
56 Jara : Bugs.
57 (0.3)
58 Declan : Bugs; (0.4) bee,
59 (1.0)
60 Jara : u::::[:::geh
61 Declan : [yoo::::
62 Miss D : [**And what comes at the end?**
63 (0.3)
64 Declan : [Full stop.
65 Jara : [Full stop.

This extract shows the teacher targetting Jara and Declan's non-SAE use of *eat* (lines 14 and 16), and working to correct this with the SAE form *eats.* The teacher uses a series of increasingly specific questions, which attempt to prompt the students to notice the non-SAE form, and to identify the appropriate SAE form. The students' responses demonstrate that they do not have the SAE-speaking intuitions expected by the teacher, which would be required to identify the targeted *-s* morpheme from the teacher's open questions.

The questioning practices the teacher uses treat the *-s* suffixed form of 'eat' as available to the students by intuition or prior knowledge. First, she isolates 'eat', and emphasises it through lengthening, calling it into question with the polar question *Now are w- we gonna say ea:t?* (line 18), and repeating Jara's sentence *the lyrebird eat bugs?* with rising intonation (lines 18-19). This marks 'eat' as problematic, but does not tell the students why it is problematic. The repetition of the whole phrase with rising intonation includes the entire utterance in the repair initiation, inviting students to identify the problematic element and self-repair.

Responses from Declan and Jara show their attempts at identifying the problem that was signalled by the teacher. Declan and Jara give a number of answers which are not accepted by the teacher, and the questioning sequence ends with the teacher supplying the answer herself. First, Declan suggests 'da' is the missing element by repeating his answer *da lyrebird ea:t da: bug;* (line 21). The teacher accepts this as a possible alternative, but not as the answer she is targeting. She focuses in again on *eat*, by asking *what do we need to add to ea:t;* (lines 24-25). This question again has a number of possible responses. Jara's answer adds an appropriate SAE morpheme to *eat, Ea:ting;* (line 27), but this is not accepted by the teacher, who gives a more specific clue about the response she is looking for – *We just need to add one letter.* (line 29). Declan's response is to name a letter, 'E', which is available as the beginning sound in 'eats'. The teacher then simply states the answer herself, *eats::::* (line 32), lengthening the final *-s* to bring it into focus as the sound she was searching for. The diversity of the responses provided by the students as they try to guess the form the teacher is targeting suggests that the students do not have the SAE-speaking intuitions of the teacher, in order to identify that a present tense verb with a third person singular subject would require an *-s* suffix in SAE. Instead, the students' production of *eat* with no *-s* suffix aligns with the community variety, where *eat* would be acceptable in this context (see Section 2.2.3).

After the teacher provides the answer *eats::::* (line 32) herself, three students immediately repeat *eats* (lines 34-36), showing that they have attended to the teacher's focus on the final *-s.* However, 'eat' is brought into focus again a few seconds later as the teacher asks the students to verbalise the sentence word by word for her to write on the example worksheet. In line 47 Declan provides the form 'eat' again, and the teacher uses a polar question again to call this into question *Is it eat?* (line 49). This time, Jara immediately offers the form 'eats' that the teacher established she was looking for in the previous sequence. This second sequence shows an incomplete uptake of the correction from Declan, who again uses the non-SAE form *eat* (line 47), but shows Jara drawing on the earlier correction to identify the SAE form the teacher is targeting (line 52).

Analysis of this extract has shown the teacher treating a non-SAE feature of the children's classroom talk as problematic, by using questioning strategies which require students to identify the non-SAE feature, and to correct it with the appropriate SAE feature. The students' responses demonstrate that this SAE feature was not readily available to them by prior knowledge or intuition. When these questioning strategies do not result in students providing the targeted SAE morpheme, the teacher provides the answer herself. These strategies do not offer the students an explanation for why a form (*eat*) which would be acceptable in the

community language is treated as incorrect by the teacher in a writing lesson. Although the verbal *-s* suffix has been the focus of two correction sequences by the end of this extract, the teacher does not differentiate its usage in the community variety and SAE, or generalise the SAE rule for where this suffix would be required with other verbs. The students' usage with the word *eat* has simply been marked as incorrect and replaced with a different form by the teacher.

This extract also shows the teacher orienting strongly to the activity as a literacy exercise. She insists (line 8) that the answer be given as a complete sentence with subject, verb and object, and follow punctuation conventions by being completed with a full stop (lines 62-65). Her treatment of 'eat' suggests she sees this as a problem for written language. The production of the sentence is framed as a written process, *Well we can write…* (line 24), *So we're gonna write,* (line 38), and the modification to 'eat' that she is searching for (line 29), is to add 'one letter' (rather than a sound). While it makes sense that a writing lesson would focus on written production, this section draws attention to a pattern where non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk are treated as a literacy problem, without a framework which acknowledges the community variety and teaches spoken SAE. This is discussed further in Section 8.5.

8.3.3 Explanations of SAE morphemes ignore alternate ways of expressing the same meanings in the community variety

This section presents three extracts in which teachers provided some explanation of the meanings of SAE morphemes, in the process of correcting students' non-SAE spoken or written forms to SAE. Such sequences elaborating on the meanings of SAE forms were uncommon in the recorded corpus. As with other examples throughout this chapter, the explanations did not refer to SAE and the community variety as different ways of talking, but rather presented the SAE forms as the only correct forms. As will be seen in this section, although this assists students in understanding the meanings of SAE forms, it treats students' alternate ways of expressing these meanings as incorrect, ignoring that the students' ways of expressing these meanings may be grammatically correct in the community variety.

In the first extract, Extract 38, the teacher comments on one student's production of an SAE past tense morpheme, when a group of students have variably produced SAE and non-SAE past tense forms. This extract is from the same Year 2 reading group activity as Extract 30 ("I taught her to sit an she sit on me"), and similarly shows students using a simple (present tense) form of the verb in referring to past time. In this extract, the teacher names the SAE form explicitly as 'past tense', and praises one student's use of this SAE form. The group are reading aloud a

book about a child and a dog, and the text on the page reads 'I taught her to walk and she walked with me'.

Extract 38 "I taught her to walk and she walk with me" (131113-Yr2-3A 13:13-14:27)

```
1  Carlotta :   I: tau:ght [he:r;
2  Sapphira :              [au:ght e[r,
3  Miss R   :                       [>uh uh< a:ll toge:ther.
4  Natasha  :   [I: tau:ght he:r to: (.) wa:lk,
5  Carlotta :   [I[: tau:ght he:r to: (.) wa::lk?,
6  Sapphira :     [I: tau:ght he:r to: wa:, wa:lk,
7  Barry    :     [I: tau:ght he:r (.) to: ( a:lk,)
8  Sampson  :     [I: tau:ght e:r to: pla:y;
9               (0.3)
10 Natasha  :   A:n [she: wa::lk t (0.4) wi:th me::;
11 Barry    :       [A:n; (   e) walk; (0.7) (er    e;)
12 Carlotta :       [An she: ja- wa:lt; (0.7) wit me:;
13 Sapphira :       [Ha:n (de ch-) walk; (0.7) [with (.) me:;
14 Sampson  :                                  [wit [me:;
15 Miss R   :                                       [I love how
16              I heard Na:tasha use the- ((clears throat))
17              (0.3) use the pa:st tense. (0.6) >I taught her
18              to< wa:lk, (0.2) an she wa::lkt (0.7) with me:;
19              that's lo:vely:;
```

After the group have read the sentence aloud, the teacher praises Natasha, who has used the SAE *-ed* suffix in *wa::lk t* (line 10)*,* saying *I love how I heard Na:tasha use the- (0.3) use the pa:st tense.* (lines 16-17). She repeats the sentence with SAE pronunciation, focusing on the two different forms of the word 'walk' by lengthening them in relation to the surrounding speech *>I taught her to< wa:lk, (0.2) an she wa::lkt (0.7) with me:;* (lines 17-18), particularly emphasising the second *wa::lkt* by pausing after saying it (line 18). She then praises this as *that's lo:vely:;* (line 19).

The teacher provides some explanation of the meaning of the SAE form, by naming it as *pa:st tense.* (line 17). However, this is brief and is a technical way of framing the meaning, and it is unclear from this extract how well it is understood by the students. The teacher characterises the form with an *–ed* suffix as correct, by praising Natasha for using it. This also shows a

different strategy for drawing attention to an SAE form, in that the teacher chooses to praise a student who uses the SAE form, rather than target and correct students who use a non-SAE form. As seen in Extract 30, the children used simple verb forms to refer to past time in their classroom talk, in line with the community variety (see Section 2.2.3). As with the previous extracts, the SAE form is treated here as the only correct form, with the implication that the non-SAE (community variety) form is incorrect.

In the next two extracts, teachers explain more extensively the meaning of SAE features, in the course of correcting students' work in literacy activities. In the first of these, Extract 39, an SAE-speaking class teacher orients to the absence of the SAE possessive marker *'s*, in a Year 3 student's written work. She characterises this as 'missing one letter', and gives some explanation of the difference between 'snail tattoo' and 'snail's tattoo' in SAE, but does not orient to 'snail tattoo' possibly already expressing possession for the student. In this extract the class are writing sentences describing an illustration of a snail riding a motorbike.

Extract 39 "I like the snail tattoo" (130603-Yr3-6 - 7:41-8:17)

1	Samuel	:	Dere Miss ah do:ne it;
2			(3.0)
			((Teacher looks at Samuel, Samuel gestures toward work with head and arm which is tucked inside his t-shirt, teacher looks at his work for about 2s))
3	Miss N	:	Ye:p, (.) you ju:st, ↓alri:ght; let's see **you're**
4			**missing o:ne le:tter; ready:? (0.5) I: li:ke**
5			**tha:, snai::l, taddoo:.**
6			(0.6)
7	Miss N	:	**What e:lse could you put i:n; I: li:ke tha:,**
8			(0.9) **so:mething taddoo:; s:nai:l?, (1.2) ss::;**
9			**(0.4) the snai::l's:; taddoo:; (0.2) put an e:ss**
10			**on the end of snai:l's.**
11			(0.8)
			((Samuel begins writing))
12	Miss N	:	Yea:h.
13			(1.2)
14	Miss N	:	Ye:p.
15			(1.0)
			((Samuel continues to write))

16 Miss N : **So instea:d of saying I: li:ke the snai::l**
17 **taddoo:, you're sa:ying, (0.4) I: like the**
18 **↑snai:l's taddoo:;** (**0.7) So you're ta:lking**
19 **about (hi:s |)**
|((Teacher gestures at the picture of the snail with a circular motion))
20 (0.6)
21 Miss N : Alri:ght? >Good ma:n.<
((Samuel rapidly takes pencil off page and leans back))

This extract begins with Samuel telling the teacher he is finished, and the teacher looking at his work. She identifies an issue with his sentence, and tells him *you ju:st, ↓alri:ght; let's see you're missing o:ne le:tter; ready:?* (lines 3-4), and reads his work aloud *I: li:ke tha:, snai::l, taddoo:.* (lines 4-5). The teacher tries a questioning strategy to ask Samuel to identify this missing letter, *What e:lse could you put i:n; I: li:ke tha:, (0.9) so:mething taddoo:;* (lines 7-8) removing the entire word *snail* and substituting it with the word *something*, and then immediately saying *s:nai:l?,* slowly, with rising intonation, a strategy teachers use to prompt students to complete their utterance (Koshik 2002). Samuel does not respond and the teacher completes the word with *ss*::; (line 8), and repeats the phrase *the snai::l's:; taddoo:;* (line 9), lengthening the word *snail* and the final *s* sound. She tells Samuel explicitly to add an 'S', and tells him where to put it, *on the end of snai:l's* (lines 9-10).

As Samuel writes, the teacher elaborates on this, reiterating what he is not saying (his original sentence) *I: li:ke the snai::l taddoo:,* (lines 16-17) and what he is saying, *I: like the ↑snai:l's taddoo:;* this time emphasising *snail's* as the key word with a change in pitch. She summarises *So you're ta:lking about (hi:s)* (lines 18-19), gesturing in a circular motion at the picture of the snail, possibly indicating the relationship between the snail and tattoo as grouped.

The teacher treats the possessive '*s* suffix as essential for the meaning of the sentence, that for the phrase to indicate possession the '*s* must be included. This implies that Samuel's original phrase did not mean the tattoo was possessed by the snail. This is true for SAE, but in the community variety (see Section 2.2.3), the phrase 'the snail tattoo' can also mean that the tattoo is possessed by the snail. While the teacher's explanation makes the function of the SAE *'s* suffix clear in this context, it may be confusing for the student if he already meant to express possession. By not orienting to this as a difference between the community variety and SAE,

the teacher treats the issue as an error in meaning in Samuel's sentence, rather than a language difference between the varieties in how to express this meaning.

The final example, Extract 40, shows a teacher aide providing an explanation of the SAE plural *–s* suffix, in a way that does not attempt to draw on the student's prior knowledge, and instead treats the function of the *–s* suffix as something the student is learning.

Extract 40 "look at my painting" (120905-Yr2-1A1 3:41-4:05)

```
1  Jamie     :   Loo:k, (0.7) a:t, (0.5) my:::; (0.3) pai:nting.
2                (0.5)
3  TA Lilian:    Pai:ntings::; good bo:y; (0.6) it's got da e:ss
4                dere?,(0.5) >so if it's-< we cover it u:p, (0.3)
5                #then it says# pai:nti:ng; (0.6) ↑look at my:
6                pai:nti:ng; (0.2) that means we only have o:ne;
7                (0.7) but when we put a e:ss the:re, (0.3) that
8                means there's lo:ts of paintings; a:y;(0.6)
9                so;=↑loo:k ↓a:t my |↑pai:nti::ngs;
                                    |((Lilian points to each
                 word, then traces a circle with finger))
```

Jamie reads aloud a sentence from the book, *Loo:k, (0.7) a:t, (0.5) my:::; (0.3) pai:nting.* (line 1). The teacher aide recasts the word *pai:ntings::;* (line 3) with emphasis on the final *-s*, which Jamie did not use when reading, and praises him, *good bo:y;* (line 3). She follows the recast and praise by directing the student's attention explicitly to the final letter 'S' in the text, and explaining its meaning. The teacher aide first directs Jamie's attention to the 'S' with *it's got da e:ss dere?,* (lines 3-4). She then uses the written text as a resource to demonstrate its function. She covers the 'S', tells Jamie this says 'painting' (line 5), (which was what Jamie said in line 1), and tells him *that means we only have o:ne;* (line 6). She contrasts this to the meaning when the 'S' is present, *that means there's lo:ts of paintings;* (line 8), appealing to Jamie for confirmation with *a:y;* (line 8). She concludes by reading the sentence again slowly, with animated intonation, modelling this process for the student and reinforcing the SAE pronunciation.

In this extract, the meaning of the final *-s* in the word 'painting' is oriented to as something the student is learning. The teacher aide does not use questioning strategies to invoke the student's intuitions about whether the *-s* is missing or what it means, instead drawing his attention to it directly, and explaining the SAE meaning when the *-s* is both present and

absent. The *a:y;* in line 8 asks for student confirmation, which may reflect this being a reminder of something the student will have been exposed to (he is in Year 2, his third year of school), or may also be a check of the student's understanding of her explanation. The teacher aide did not grow up in the community, but is a speaker of a similar variety spoken in a different part of Queensland.[73] Extracts presented in the previous chapter show this teacher aide using linguistic forms which are also features of the community variety for various purposes in conversation with the students (See Section 7.2.3), and it is likely that her knowledge of a similar variety to the community variety makes her more sensitive to SAE features which the students would benefit from having explained explicitly.

The extracts throughout Section 8.3 have shown that non-SAE phonological and morphological forms used by students were treated as problematic in reading and writing activities, without reference to whether these are grammatically correct in the community variety, which is understood to be the variety the children learn as their first language (Munro & Mushin 2016:85; Mushin, Angelo & Munro 2016:385). This section has discussed the assumptions about students' existing linguistic knowledge underlying teachers' practices for correcting non-SAE features as SAE. The extracts have shown that teachers frequently use strategies which attempt to prompt students to identify non-SAE forms, or corresponding SAE forms, using their own prior knowledge or intuitions, which students did not always demonstrate that they possessed.

Two examples (Extract 36 "I like e's shiny motorbike" and Extract 40 "look at my painting") showed teacher aides demonstrating different assumptions about students' prior knowledge, in that they did not assume the students had access to the SAE spoken form, and did not attempt to prompt students to identify the SAE form from their prior knowledge.

Overall, classroom interactions around specific non-SAE phonological and morphological features still did not reveal a framework acknowledging that the students' first language is not SAE, and that the students are learners of SAE. Instead, these extracts show teachers treating SAE forms as correct, and non-SAE forms as incorrect within reading and writing tasks.

[73] As discussed in Section 4.4

8.4 Strategies other than intuition: how a teacher addresses a spelling challenge unrelated to differences between the community variety and SAE

A final example shows a teacher helping a student with spelling, with a sound which can be represented in a number of ways in written English. This extract shows the additional strategies the teacher draws on for resolving a writing problem that cannot be solved for an SAE speaker by sounding out or using intuition. The student is attempting to spell the word 'cranky', which does not differ in phonological form in SAE and the children's classroom talk. The student has trouble choosing the correct spelling for the final sound in the word. The extract begins with Titania spelling out the letters to write 'cranky', with help from the teacher. The teacher has already been helping her for several minutes to reach this point in spelling the word.

Extract 41 "dyou wanna use our dictionary?" (130606-Yr2-Part4 15:49-16:27)

```
1  Titania  :   See,
2               (0.3)
3  Miss R   :   Cr:::;
4  Titania  :   A:r;
5               (0.3)
6  Miss R   :   [A::y,
7  Titania  :   [A::y,
8               (0.6)
9  Miss R   :   Nn::[::
10 Titania  :       [Nn::; (0.4) e:n;
11              (0.8)
12 Miss R   :   Ke:h; (0.8) keh as in ki:tten,
13              (0.2)
14 Titania  :   Ka:y,
15              (1.2)
16 Miss R   :   ^(the:re,) o::h; (0.4) creh- o:::h;|one of th-
17              o::h; I see:; (0.8) sorry I ws-
                                                |((Miss R
                moving hand in a circular motion vertically in
                front of her))
18 Titania  :   [Cra:ky:;
19 Miss R   :   [thinking
```

20 (0.4)
21 Miss R : It's a cr::a:nk;
22 (1.2)
23 Titania : **Cra:nk; (1.0) k:e::y;**
24 (0.7)
25 Miss R : **How do you spe:ll it;**
26 (0.4)
27 Titania : See::, (0.4) a:r; (0.2) a:y; (0.2) e:n; (0.7)
28 ka:y; (1.1) **ee:; (0.8) ee: after a ka:y;**
29 Miss R : **Oo:::h; not the ee::, (0.8) what do you thi:nk;**
((Miss R turns and points to the spelling chart on the wall))
30 (0.6)
31 Titania : See:;
32 (1.1)
33 Miss R : Oo:h; no:; don't just ↑guess,
34 (3.1)
35 Miss R : **Dyou wanna use our di:ctionary?**
36 (0.6)
((Titania nods head))
37 Miss R : Alri:ght;
((Miss R and Titania get up to go and use the dictionary))

Titania spells out the letters that begin 'cranky', with the teacher verbalising sounds and repeating the letter names after Titania (lines 1-10). When they reach the letter 'K', the teacher refers to the phonetic teaching method they have been working with, which relates different ways of spelling the same sound to example words. The sound [k] can be spelled with a 'C' or a 'K', so the teacher prompts *Ke:h; (0.8) keh as in ki:tten,* (line 12). A chart representing these different ways of writing the same sounds, and the example words, is displayed on the wall of the classroom.

After Titania identifies the letter *Ka:y,* (line 14), there is a pause, and the teacher appears to make a realisation.[74] She exclaims *^(the:re,) o::h; (0.4) creh- o:::h; one of th- o::h; I see:; (0.8) sorry I ws-* (lines 16-17), and moves her hand in a circular motion, signalling that she has

[74] With her 'oh' prefaced clauses signalling a change in knowledge state, revising her earlier understanding that Titania intended to write the word 'cranky' (Heritage 1984:312).

interpreted Titania's behaviour as showing she has finished spelling, and that the word she was attempting to spell was in fact 'crank'. Earlier in the interaction (before the beginning of the extract), 'cranky' had been established as the word Titania intended to write.

Titania indicates that teacher's new interpretation is incorrect, reiterating *Cra:ky:;* (line 18), in overlap with the teacher completing her formuation of her new understanding, *sorry I ws- thinking It's a cr::a:nk;* (lines 17-21). Titania corrects her, repeating *Cra:nk; (1.0) k:e::y;* (line 23), with a gap and emphasis on the final [iː] sound. The teacher returns to the spelling, *How do you spe:ll it;* (line 25), and Titania spells out the word again (line 27), sounding out *ee:;* and concluding *ee: after a ka:y;* (line 28). The teacher responds *Oo:::h; not the ee::,* (line 29), and directs Titania's attention to the spelling chart on the wall to identify a different way to write the 'ee' [iː] sound.

Titania suggests 'C', which is unrelated to this vowel sound, and which the teacher treats as not a relevant response *Oo:h; no:; don't just ↑guess,* (line 33). The teacher offers another strategy to solve the problem, *Dyou wanna use our di:ctionary?* (line 35), and Titania agrees.

The next extract picks up this interaction again, with Titania and the teacher having moved to near the teacher's table to refer to the dictionary. Titania has spelled out the first letters in 'crank', and they have turned to this in the dictionary.

Extract 42 "the ee sound as in pony" (130606-Yr2-Part4 17:43-18:51)

1	Miss R	:	**What makes the ee:: sou:nd; dyou thi:nk;**
2			(1.0)
3	Titania	:	**Iye;**
4			(3.2)
5	Titania	:	**Tee:;**
6			(1.4)
7	Miss R	:	**Cra:nki:t? (.) no:::;**
8	Titania	:	**Cra:nky;**
9			(1.2)
10	Miss R	:	So ma::ybe no:t, (0.3) so we:'ll (.) go ba:ck,
11			wh- **what e:lse can make the:; (2.1) ee: sou:nd;**
12	Titania	:	Cr:a::ke (ah sai:d;)
13			(1.2)
14	Miss R	:	Wha:t did you sa:y?
15	Titania	:	u:m; (0.4) cra:nk;
16			(0.6)

17 Miss R : Cr::a:nk? (0.3) no: you di:dn't, you said
18 [cranky::;
19 Titania : [aheheheh
20 (0.7)
21 Miss R : **What makes the ee: sou:nd;**
22 (1.7)
23 Titania : **Ee::;**
24 (2.2)
25 Miss R : A:ri:ght;
26 (0.4)
27 Titania : **Wy:;**
28 (0.7)
29 Miss R : **O:::h; (0.2) so:: clo:::se, (0.6) it's the wy:;**
30 **good gi:rl. (0.4) see a:r, (0.6) a:y e:n, (1.1)**
31 **ka:y, (0.5) wy:;**
32 (1.8)
33 Miss R : So:, (0.4) cra:nky::, (0.2) if you have a look
34 on our boa:rd, (1.1) **the ee: sou:nd, (0.7) as**
35 **in**, (0.7) **po:ny:;** (0.4) see a:r, (0.5) >so we
36 got the< cr::: (0.7) a:ng, (0.6) ke:::y; (0.3)
37 as in po:ny; (0.9) so le:t's go ba:ck, (0.3) see
38 a:r, (1.0) a:h; No:ah; you can turn arou:nd;
39 thank you:,
40 (0.4)
41 Titania : A:::r;
42 (1.0)
43 Miss R : A:y e- ↑a:::y; (0.3) see:, we were so: clo:se;
44 it was just that la:st ee: sound.

Having turned to 'crank' in the dictionary, the teacher asks Titania *What makes the ee:: sou:nd; dyou thi:nk;* (line 1). Titania suggests letter 'I' (line 3), then after a long pause, adds 'T' (line 5). The teacher adds these to 'crank', *Cra:nki:t?*, to demonstrate this is wrong, and evaluates *no:::;* (line 7). Titania repeats the target word *Cra:nky;* (line 8). The teacher asks for another attempt, *what e:lse can make the:; (2.1) ee: sou:nd;* (line 11). Titania then claims that she was actually aiming for the word 'crank' (lines 12-15), which we saw was the teacher's misinterpretation earlier (Extract 41, lines 16-21), but this time the teacher rejects this, saying *Cr::a:nk? (0.3) no: you di:dn't, you said cranky::;* (lines 17-18). Titania responds by laughing, suggesting this may

have been an attempt to fool the teacher and take a quick route to resolving the spelling difficulty.

The teacher repeats *What makes the ee: sou:nd;* (line 21). Titania suggests letter *Ee::;* (line 23) (as in Extract 41, line 28), which the teacher agrees to and begins looking up, *A:ri:ght;* (line 25), and then Titania adds *Wy:;* (line 27). The teacher responds *O:::h; (0.2) so:: clo:::se, (0.6) it's the wy:;* (line 29), praising her, *good gi:rl.* (line 30), and spelling out the whole word (lines 30-31). The teacher consolidates all of this work, by pointing Titania's attention to the spelling chart, and identifying *the ee: sou:nd, (0.7) as in, (0.7) po:ny:;* (lines 34-35). She spells the word again, emphasising *ke:::y; (0.3) as in po:ny;* (lines 36-7), and directs Titania to return to her desk, reinforcing the spelling by repeating it as they go. As Titania writes, the teacher encourages her *see:, we were so: clo:se; it was just that la:st ee: sound.* (lines 43-44).

In Extract 41 and Extract 42, the teacher used the dictionary and a spelling chart as resources to assist Titania in writing a sound which can be represented in a number of different ways in written SAE. This differs from the earlier examples, in using strategies other than intuition to discover the conventional spelling of a word. In written SAE there is not a one-to-one sound-letter correspondence for the spelling of the 'ee' [iː] sound, which, as Titania identified, may be represented by letter 'E' or 'I' in other words, as well as by 'Y' in 'cranky' or 'pony'. Phonological differences in the community variety and SAE mean that for students, spelling conventions may be similarly opaque in some words which appear more straightforward to SAE-speakers, as was seen with initial 'H' orthographically in 'house' and 'his'.

8.5 Conclusion: orientation to non-SAE forms as a literacy problem

This chapter addressed Research Question 2 (b) "Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?"

It was shown that, in contrast to spoken communication in the classroom more generally, in activities involving reading and writing, teachers did explicitly comment on non-SAE forms in students' classroom talk or written work (Section 8.1). While teachers accepted some non-SAE whole words and incorporated them in lessons (Section 8.2), correction of non-SAE phonological and morphological features to SAE was far more common in literacy lessons in the recorded corpus. Teachers' strategies for prompting students to notice non-SAE forms in their own work, and prompting them to identify and use SAE forms in their place, were shown to assume that students had prior knowledge of the SAE forms, which students did not always demonstrate (Section 8.3.1 and 8.3.2). As illustrated by the final example (Section 8.4),

teachers have access to, and make use of other resources in helping students link spoken and written forms when writing challenges are not easily solveable for SAE speakers by referring to spoken SAE.

In a number of the extracts in this section students' responses showed that they did not necessarily have the knowledge of spoken SAE, or SAE-speaking intuitions expected by the teachers' practices, or else did not share the teachers' preferences for using SAE features in these contexts. Teachers' use of strategies that depended on the students having SAE-speaking intuitions suggested a lack of awareness of the children's existing linguistic knowledge.

A further observation which emerges through the extracts in this chapter is that students' use of non-SAE community variety forms is discussed primarily with regard to written texts, implying that non-SAE elements are treated as literacy problems: as reading or writing errors (without attention to how these non-SAE elements relate to the community variety). Students were instructed to use SAE forms in these lessons, but this centred on use of these forms in literacy tasks. Teachers commented on and corrected students' non-SAE spoken forms and written features of students' work in the service of teaching them to produce and read aloud written texts with SAE pronunciation, spelling and morphosyntactic features.

When teachers' attention is focused on written forms, this overlooks the fact that learning to read and write draws on students' existing repertoire of spoken language. Treating non-SAE forms in children's reading or writing as primarily literacy problems suggests that teachers may be conflating literacy and language (as also observed by Angelo 2011; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012) and may not be seeing the bigger picture in terms of students' existing knowledge and specific needs in order to acquire SAE. Although teachers explicitly attended to non-SAE forms in these literacy lesson extracts, their strategies for doing so showed that the students' linguistic backgrounds and status as learners of SAE remains largely invisible (Angelo & Hudson 2018; Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013).

9 SAE as learning content for whole lessons

This chapter addresses Research Question 2 (c) "Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?" Chapter 7 demonstrated that teachers did not convey an overt expectation that students speak SAE in classroom interactions. Chapter 8 showed that in literacy lessons, teachers did explicitly notice non-SAE features of students' speech and writing and direct students to use SAE forms. Chapter 9 broadens the focus to consider how teachers engaged with SAE as a learning topic for students across entire lessons. Three lessons are analysed as a whole to consider whether, and how, teachers presented SAE as an additional language or dialect as the main content to be learned by students. These lessons were chosen for analysis because they seemed to be the best candidates for lessons with SAE teaching as the main focus. Of the lessons recorded in the classroom corpus for this thesis, the content presented to students as the topics of these three lessons appeared to have the greatest degree of explicit focus on teaching SAE linguistic elements.

Section 9.1 examines two maths lessons, where teachers explicitly teach specific words, with a focus on applying these words to mathematical concepts. These lessons show the teachers using a range of strategies to teach these words explicitly, identifying when students show difficulties in understanding and responding in ways that result in students demonstrating understanding. However, evidence throughout these extracts suggests that a more general framework of SAE as a second language or dialect teaching is not a primary consideration in these lessons.

Section 9.2 presents extracts from a literacy lesson where the teacher has chosen to focus on SAE subject-verb agreement with the verbs 'be' and 'have'. Unlike the two lessons presented in Section 9.1, in this lesson the teacher has identified this topic as a difference between the children's classroom writing and SAE and has chosen to explicitly teach SAE usage. However, the extracts bring to light a number of problematic elements in the way the SAE auxiliary verbs are presented, stemming from the fact that the lesson is not structured in a way which takes into account the children's existing linguistic knowledge.

9.1 Explicit teaching of lexical items in two maths lessons

This section analyses two maths lessons which focused explicitly on specific words and their meanings. Initially, these lessons seemed to be the best candidates in the corpus for lessons where SAE might be the learning focus. In both of these lessons, the teachers introduce

specific words, use a number of strategies to explain the meanings of these words, and provide opportunities for students to practice using them. Through these actions, the teachers present the target words as the clear learning content for the lessons.

On analysis, however, the SAE focus in these lessons is restricted to the specific target words. As the analysis in this section demonstrates, the teachers model the target words within SAE phrases, but focus attention on students' SAE usage of the targeted words only. Students' choice of variety more generally is not attended to in these lessons, and the lessons are not presented as part of a larger framework where students are treated as learners of SAE. As the targeted words are specified in the mathematics curriculum as learning topics, there are questions raised as to how different these lessons are to how these topics might be approached with students who speak SAE as their L1.

Section 9.1 unpacks these ideas through analysis of extracts from the two lessons. The first lesson is a Prep class, where the teacher explicitly teaches the words and meanings of 'more' and 'less', 'full' and 'empty', through a series of explanations, followed by the children working individually on a worksheet. The second lesson took place two years later, with the same cohort of students in Year 2. This lesson focuses on describing location using prepositions, specifically in the format 'The X is [preposition] the Y' (see Watts, Gardner & Mushin 2017). This lesson involves explanations from the teacher, an embodied activity where the teacher asks students to move to locations in the room relative to other objects, and a mapping task, where students draw icons on a map and then explain the locations of these icons to a partner, using the prepositional phrase format. The lesson ends with a revision activity, where students are asked to place an object in different positions relative to their desks.

The topics for both lessons ('more', 'less', 'full' and 'empty, and using prepositions to describe location) are specified in the Australian National Curriculum as a learning topic for all students, including L1 SAE-speaking students. The topic of the Prep lesson fits into the following outcome in the Foundation curriculum:

> Use direct and indirect comparisons to decide which is longer, heavier or holds more, and explain reasoning in everyday language (ACMMG006) (ACARA 2015b)

The topic of the Year 2 lesson fits within the following Year 2 outcome, which is part of the Mathematics Location and Transformation unit:

> Interpret simple maps of familiar locations and identify the relative positions of key features (ACARA 2015c)

However, the focus on prepositions in this lesson also bears similarities to the Foundation curriculum outcome:

> Describe position and movement interpreting the language of location and direction, such as 'between', 'near', 'next to', 'forwards', 'towards' (ACARA 2015a)

Section 9.1 is structured as follows. Section 9.1.1 examines how teachers positioned students as learners of the target words in the teacher-led instructional phases of these two lessons, by presenting information in a way that did not assume the students already knew it. This section shows the range of intentional strategies teachers used to teach the target words explicitly. Section 9.1.2 looks at the activity phases of the two lessons. This section analyses students' orientation to the lexical items presented as new, considering the ways in which the students demonstrate they are learners of this material, and construct themselves as learners or otherwise. Section 9.1.2 also examines teachers' practices in the activity phases of the lessons, exploring how teachers correct and lead students to use the targeted linguistic elements in the way taught explicitly during the lesson. This analysis reveals that teachers accepted students' non-SAE expression of all other elements, so long as they demonstrated an understanding of the SAE meaning of the targeted words.

9.1.1 Teacher led phase of maths lessons: lexical items presented as new information

This section presents three extracts from the teacher-led instructional phases of the two lessons, in which the teachers explicitly explain lexical items, or introduce them as new. The first two extracts are from the Prep lesson. Extract 43 is taken from the beginning of the lesson. In this extract the teacher introduces the topic: the terms 'more' and 'less', 'full' and 'empty'. For the rest of the extract the focus is 'more' and 'less'. Extract 44 is taken from later in this same class and shows the beginning of the discussion on 'full' and 'empty'. The third extract, Extract 45, is from the Year 2 lesson on the topic of describing location. It shows the teacher summarising the meaning of four prepositions and providing opportunities for students to practice using them.

In Extract 43, the Prep teacher Miss P presents the words 'more' and 'less' as the main learning focus for the lesson. This extract shows the teacher using a variety of strategies to explain the meaning of these words and assess the students' understanding as the interaction progresses, constructing her actions in response to the level of understanding the students display. However, comparison to other studies which have focused on young children's use of the words 'more' and 'less' in non-second language/dialect contexts suggests that this lesson is

designed as application of SAE words to academic context, rather than specifically as second language/dialect teaching (Cohrssen & Church 2017; Walkerdine 1988).

Extract 43 "less means it doesn't hold as much as the other one" (111115-Prep-Part1 1:08-2:19)

Miss P : **Toda:y, we're gonna look a:t, (.) some o:bjects**
that hold mo:re or le:ss, (0.6) an some- (.) an
a:lso if a contai:ner is fu:ll or e:mpty:; (.)
A:daly:nn,
(2.2)
Seamus : F[u:ll or e:mpty:,
Miss P : [Alri:ght.
(0.8)
Madelina : No:ah t[oo:,
Miss P : [**So u:p here:, it says, which wa:ter**
bo:ttle ho:lds le:ss;
(1.1)
Madelina : Ah: [did da:t,
Miss P : [**Let's have a thi:nk about tha:t.**
David : Bi:g o:ne.
Noah : [No:,
Miss P : [**Whi:ch wa::ter bo:ttle ho:lds less; so [le:ss=**
David : [Bi-
Miss P : **=mea:ns, that it doe:sn't ho:ld, (.) as mu:ch as**
the o:ther o:ne;
(2.7)
Miss P : Have a thi:nk about i:t; (.) which wa:ter bottle
ho:lds le:ss;
Naomi : The [BI:G;
Madelina : [Mi:s;;
(0.7)
David : Bi:g;
Joseph : Da, d[a,
Miss P : [**Le:ss means it doe:sn't ho:ld as mu:ch as**
the o:ther o:ne;
David : Li:ddle one;
Naomi : Li:ddle one;

33 (1.4)
34 Rhyanna : Bi:g one;
35 Miss P : Let’s [have a loo:k at our bo:ttles;
36 Doreen : [Bi:g.
37 (0.3)
38 Miss P : If we: were to fi:ll it up with wa:ter, (0.3)
39 we:’d get a lo:t in this one, wou:ldn’t we:;
40 Doreen : [Yea:h.
41 Naomi : [Ye[a:h.
42 Titania : [Ye[a:h;
43 Madelina : [Yea:h;
44 (0.5)
45 Miss P : But would we ge:t as mu:ch in thi:s o[ne?
46 Doreen : [No[::;
47 Valensia : [N[o:;
48 Naomi : [No:;
49 Barry : [No:;
50 Miss P : **We’d ge::t(.)le:ss; can everyone say le:s[s;**
51 Joseph : [Le:ss;
52 Randall : [Less-
53 [Le:ss;
54 Joseph : [Le:ss;
55 Naomi : [Le:ss;
56 Madelina : [Le:ss;
57 Adalynn : [Le:ss;
58 Doreen : [LE::SS;
59 Valensia : [Le:ss;
60 Titania : [Le:ss.
61 Noah : [˚Le:h;˚
62 Brianna : [L[:e:ss;
63 Barry : [Le:ss;
64 Tom : [Le:ss;
65 (0.9)
66 Miss P : **An we would ge:t, (.) [mo::re;**
67 Brianna : [Mo::re(d);
68 Naomi : [Mm:
69 (1.0)

```
70 Miss P   :   [Mo::re;
71 Brianna  :   [Mo::re(d);
72              (0.5)
73 Miss P   :   Cn we [say tha:t?
74 Joseph   :         [More hea:vier;
75 Randall  :   [Mo:re;
76 Madelina :   [Mo:::re;
77 David    :   [Mo:re;
78 Brianna  :   [Mo::re;
79 Titania  :   [M[:o::re;
80 Valensia :     [M[o:re;
81 Barry    :       [o[::r;
82 Miss P   :         [Mo:r[e.
83 Noah     :              [Mo::re;
84              (1.5)
85 Joseph   :   More hea:vier Mi:ss;
```

In this extract, the teacher introduces the words 'more' and 'less' and their meanings as the focus of the lesson (lines 1-3). The meanings of the words are drawn out through a concrete example (*which wa:ter bo:ttle ho:lds le:ss;* in lines 10-11), which requires understanding of the meaning of the word 'less'. The teacher treats the meaning of this word as something not already known by the students from the start, marking it as something requiring thought, *Let's have a thi:nk about tha:t.* (lines 14, 22), using multiple repetitions of the question (lines 10-11, 17, 22-23), and giving an explicit definition of the meaning of 'less' *le:ss mea:ns, that it doe:sn't ho:ld, (.) as mu:ch as the o:ther o:ne;* (lines 17, 19-20, 29-30).

The students' contributions demonstrate confusion and a lack of consensus as to the meaning of 'less', with the students giving conflicting answers as to which bottle holds 'less' (lines 15-16, 24, 27, 21-32, 34). Rather than accept either answer, the teacher responds by building on her definition of 'less' with a more extended explanation involving imagining the process of filling the bottles (lines 38-50). She describes *If we: were to fi:ll it up with wa:ter, (0.3) we:'d get a lo:t in this one, wou:ldn't we:;* (lines 38-39), appealing to the students for confirmation with the tag question, to which a number of students respond 'yeah' (lines 40-43). She contrasts *But would we ge:t as mu:ch in thi:s one?* (line 45), and the students respond 'no'. She equates this with the meaning of 'less', *We'd ge::t (.) le:ss;* (line 50), and further orients to the word 'less' as a focus of learning for the students by asking them to repeat it, *can everyone say le:ss;* (line 50). The students chorus 'less'. Gesturing to the larger bottle she says *An we would*

ge:t, (.) mo::re; (line 66), again emphasising the key word 'more' through lengthening, and a repeat *Mo::re;* (line 69). One student takes this as a prompt for immediate repetition, which the teacher then requests explicitly, *Cn we say tha:t?* (line 73), and the children repeat 'more' (lines 75-83).

Throughout this extract, the words 'less' and 'more' and their meanings are presented as new information, and the students' responses demonstrate that for some students at least, their initial understanding of the meaning of these words or how to apply them to the volume of containers was in fact incomplete. We see the teacher sensitive to student displays of knowledge, modifying her explanation in response to the understandings demonstrated by the students, in adding further repeats and explanations.

However, although this extract shows targeted teaching of specific words, there is not evidence that this lesson was intended primarily to teach SAE as an additional language/dialect. Use of the words 'more' and 'less' with British pre-schoolers at home[75] has been reported to differ from use of these words at school (Walkerdine 1988:19-27). Walkerdine (1988:19-27) showed that in spontaneous talk between the pre-schoolers and their mothers, 'more' and 'less' were not generally used as a contrasting pair at home. Instead 'more' was predominantly used in relation to intake of food and drink, contrasting with 'no more', or 'not as much'. The need to learn to expand the range of meaning of known words is common to all children learning to apply English words to new academic topics when they begin school, rather than being unique to children learning SAE as a second language/dialect. The inclusion of this topic in the Australian Curriculum for children from all language backgrounds, including L1 SAE speakers, aligns with this.

In a recent Australian study with non-Aboriginal preschool children, the interpretation of the word 'more' was a source of trouble for children during a graphing activity, and was targeted for additional explanation by the teacher (Cohrssen & Church 2017). Children in Cohrssen and Church's (2017) study were four years old, of a similar age to the students in this Prep class. The teacher's strategies in Cohrssen and Church (2017) showed similarities to Extract 43 above, with the teacher emphasising the focus word 'more', repeating questions which students showed difficulty in answering, naming the question as 'a bit tricky', and including a visual demonstration of 'more' in the construction of a later question.

[75] In two corpora: one of conversations between middle-class and working-class British girls (average age 3.9) and their mothers, a second of six pre-school children, aged 2.5 to 3.5, recorded at home (Walkerdine 1988:13).

Comparison of Extract 43 above, and the interaction described by Cohrssen and Church (2017) shows the similarities between the teaching methods and student understandings of the terms 'more' and 'less' in both an Aboriginal second language/dialect context, and with other Australian students in a non-second language/dialect context. This provides additional evidence that although the lesson discussed in this section is focused on defining and using specific words, the focus is not second language/dialect teaching of SAE, and could instead be viewed as primarily an application of SAE language to an academic, mathematical context.

Extract 43 and Cohrssen & Church (2017) also show the two teachers' sensitivity to the difficulty the students displayed with the terms 'more' and 'less', and their responses in constructing subsequent turns to provide information about the meaning of these words. This shows ways in which teachers are adept at explicitly providing explanations which lead students to a greater understanding of concepts, when these concepts are construed as the topic of teaching for the lesson.

In the next extract (Extract 44), also from the Prep lesson, the students do not display confusion, and are instead unanimous in identifying the correct containers as 'full' and 'empty'. As with the 'more' and 'less' extract, the teacher uses pictures and a question which requires an understanding of the meaning of the word 'full' to demonstrate the meaning of the words and gauge student understanding. While in the previous extract the teacher had the pictures prepared and began the sequence with the question *which wa:ter bo:ttle ho:lds le:ss;* (Extract 43, lines 9-10), in this sequence the teacher's process in setting up the example is designed to provide the information the children will need to eventually answer the questions (Extract 44, lines 44, 52) identifying the 'full' and 'empty' containers. The teacher also sets up this example orienting to engaging the students' attention, using objects she knows they have experience of and an interest in the quantity of (lollies), and changing her descriptor of these objects to one offered by a student midway through the sequence (gumballs).

This extract took place ten minutes into the lesson, after the discussion of 'more' and 'less' (Extract 43) which continued with additional example questions displayed on the electronic whiteboard and discussed, expanded to include the related terms 'most' and 'least'. The extract begins as the teacher changes the topic to 'full' and 'empty'.

Extract 44 "something that's full an something that's empty" (111115-Prep-Part1 10:33-11:47)

1 Miss P : Alri:ght. (0.3) no:w. (1.0) **I: wanna ta:lk**
2 **abou:t something that's fu:ll, (0.2) an**

something that's e:mpty:.
(1.5)
Miss P : So I'm gonna dra:::w, (1.0) a lo:lly ja:r. (0.3)
cause I kno::w [you a:ll lo::ve lo:llies.
Naomi : [Ya:nna me an you never ad a
tu:rn a:y;
(2.3)
Miss P : Let's dra:w a lolly jar up e:re;
(6.2)
Rhyanna : A:s a gu:mball ja:r;
(0.8)
Miss P : I'm gonna draw two:. (1.0) two: gumball jars.
(1.4)
Randall : Mi:ss da:s look like a::; (.) das [look li-
Miss P : [No:w **thi::s**
o:::ne, (2.3) i::s; (0.5) fu:ll,(1.2) o::f,
((teacher drawing on board throughout this turn))
(0.5)
Harrison : [Gu:mball;
Joseph : [Lo:llies;
(0.4)
Miss P : Gu:mballs.
(3.0)
Rhyanna : ( ) we ea:t dem,
(0.6)
Madelina : [We ea:t dem too;
Titania : [We eat; ( )
(0.3)
Joseph : I eat dem too:,
Miss P : A:bsolutel[y,
Doreen : [Me too:,
Miss P : **Fu:ll of gu:mballs.**
Naomi : Me: too::,
(0.7)
Miss P : **No:w thi:s, >ds this one have any< gu:mballs?**
Randall : [No:::;

38 Titania : [No:::;
39 Valensia : [No:::;
40 Seamus : [No:[::;
41 Naomi : [No:::;
42 Harrison : [No:;
43 (0.4)
44 Miss P : **So whi:ch one's fu::ll,(0.6) which [one's fu:ll.**
45 Titania : [d:a:t,
46 (0.3)
47 Doreen : [Da:t o::ne;
48 Brianna : [Dat (.) one.
49 Miss P : **C- e:veryone poi:nt. which one's fu:ll.**
50 Naomi : Da:[t.
51 Harrison : [A:::h;
52 Miss P : [**Which one's e:mpty**;
53 Joseph : [ha- dat o:ne;
54 (0.4)
55 Joseph : Da[t o::ne;
56 Doreen : [Dat o::ne;
57 Miss P : **Ho:w dyou know it's e:mpty:;**
58 (0.4)
59 Joseph : [Cause there nu-
60 Doreen : [Cau[se e::::r;
61 Rhyanna : [Cause we see no:thing;
62 Miss P : **It's got no:thing i:n i:[t;**
63 Joseph : [Cause it- [no:thing=
64 Miss P : [Goo:d;=
65 Joseph : =o:n it;
66 Miss P : =Alri:ght.

In Extract 44, two lexical items are again the explicit focus of teaching, and the teacher does not treat the meanings of these words as already known by the students. Instead, she carefully sets up an example with two pictures to illustrate the meanings of 'full' and 'empty', applied to describing quantities within containers, incrementally providing students with examples of the use of 'full' relating to one of the pictures.

The teacher begins by reintroducing the words 'full' and 'empty', *I: wanna ta:lk abou:t something that's fu:ll, (0.2) an something that's e:mpty:.* (lines 1-3). The teacher's delivery of

this introduction emphasises the words 'full' and 'empty'. The teacher then begins to set up her example, verbalising her actions, *So I'm gonna dra:::w, (1.0) a lo:lly ja:r. (0.3) cause I kno::w you a:ll lo::ve lo:llies.* (lines 5-6).

The teacher presents this subject matter (lollies) as one that she expects the students find familiar and interesting, an expectation supported by the students repeating *Gu:mball;* and *Lo:llies;* (lines 20-21), and volunteering their experiences with variations on *we ea:t dem,* (lines 25-34). When one student, Rhyanna, calls out *A:s* [that's] *a gu:mball ja:r;* (line 12), the teacher incorporates her contribution, by adopting Rhyanna's word 'gumballs' on her next verbalisation of her actions *I'm gonna draw two:. (1.0) two: gumball jars.* (line 14).

The teacher's process in the structuring of the discussion begins with the more straightforward and increases incrementally in complexity. She begins by filling one of the jar pictures with circles, giving the students information, *No:w thi::s o:::ne, (2.3) i::s; (0.5) fu:ll,(1.2) o::f, Gu:mballs* (lines 17-18, 23). This description of her process incorporates one of the words introduced as a focus, 'full', linking the process of drawing many circles, and the resulting abundance of gumballs, to the word 'full'. The teacher concludes drawing by intensifying *A:bsolutely, Fu:ll of gu:mballs.* (lines 31, 33), repeating 'full' again in reference to this drawing. The teacher then asks the students a question about the other jar picture, *>ds this one have any< gu:mballs?* (line 36). This question only has two possible answers, and the information to answer it is directly available in the picture. The students treat the answer as straightforward, chorusing 'no'.

The teacher moves to the task of labelling the two jars using the target words 'full' and 'empty' (lines 44-56), and asks *So whi:ch one's fu::ll,* (line 44). Students point, some saying *dat o:ne;* (lines 45-48). The teacher asks all students to participate, *C- e:veryone poi:nt. which one's fu:ll.* (line 49), and the students point to the picture of the jar with the gumballs inside. The teacher then introduces the other key lexical item 'empty', asking *Which one's e:mpty;* (line 52), which the students correctly identify as the other jar by pointing.

The sequence finishes with the teacher asking the abstract metacognitive question, *Ho:w dyou know it's e:mpty:;* (line 57), which asks students to explicitly formulate their understanding of the meaning of this word. Students' answers begin to relate 'empty' to the jar having nothing in it. For this, students may be drawing on the teacher's earlier description of this jar 'ds this one have any gumballs' as relevant in defining 'empty'. The teacher formulates this fully as *It's got no:thing i:n i:t;* (line 62), accepts the student responses as *Goo:d;* and says *Alri:ght.* to move on (lines 64, 66).

Although the words ‘full’ and ‘empty’ are presented as new in this sequence, the children do not display any difficulty in understanding and applying them correctly in this extract. However, Extract 47 below (taken from the individual activity phase of this lesson) suggests that these terms may not be fully familiar to all students. The teacher’s process in providing information both verbally and visually, and testing students’ understanding incrementally may have contributed to students’ understanding in the whole class discussion. As with Extract 43, Extract 44 shows a teacher successfully using a variety of strategies to explain a linguistic topic (the meanings of the words ‘full’ and ‘empty’) when this is targeted as the focus of the lesson. As with Extract 43 however, these words are designated as a topic of study for all students within the national curriculum, rather than providing an example of specific teaching of SAE as an additional language/dialect.

The final extract from the teacher-led explanation phases of the lessons, Extract 45, is taken from the Year 2 lesson on what the teacher refers to as ‘location language’. The focus of this lesson is using phrases with prepositions to locate items in relation to other objects. This extract shows the teacher summarising the topic part-way through the lesson in order to instruct a student to carry out a task. With the class seated on the floor, the teacher is showing a picture of a pirate map on the electronic whiteboard, and has selected Barry to place a symbol (of a lightning bolt) somewhere on the map, and name the location he puts it in. This is the activity the class will later be doing individually with their own maps, and then discussing with a partner.

As with Extract 43 and Extract 44 from the Prep lesson, this Year 2 lesson orients to a linguistic topic as the explicit teaching focus. This linguistic topic is again a set of lexical items which the mathematics curriculum area identifies as important for understanding and talking about spatial concepts (ACARA 2015a, 2015c).

Extract 45 “I want you to use some language” (130508-Yr2-Part1, 11:45-12:23)

1	Miss R	:	Okay, I’m gonna co:py, (.) that lightning bo:lt,
2			(0.2) an I’m gonna o:pen my pi:rate’s fla:g, an
3			whe:re would you: like that to go:; (1.2) bu:t,
4			Ba:rry, **I want you to u:se some la:nguage.** (0.5)
5			**on to:p,**
6			(1.1)
			((Miss R’s index finger outstretched, curves finger upwards))

7 Miss R : **Ne:xt,**
8 (1.0)
((Miss R moves finger down and slightly to her right))
9 Miss R : |**Belo:w, (.) or nea:r;**
|((Miss R curves finger downwards, then returns hand to lap))
10 (0.2)
11 Miss R : **So:, (0.3) cn >everybody say<** (.) o:n to::p,
((most students repeat 'on top'))
12 Miss R : Ne:xt,
((most students repeat 'next'))
13 Miss R : Nea:r,
((most students repeat 'near'))
14 Miss R : Belo:w;
((most students repeat 'below'))
15 Miss R : [Alri:ght.
16 Harrison : [Mi[:ss;
17 Doreen : [Cn you please mo:ve Di:rk,
18 (0.3)
19 Harrison : An outsi:de;
20 (1.3)
21 Barry : **Belo:w da boa:t.**
22 (0.3)
23 Miss R : **Belo:w the boa::t; what a fa:nta:stic**
24 **se:ntence.Good bo::y. That's using some rea:lly**
25 **grea:t loca:tion language.**

In this extract, as with Extract 43 and Extract 44, the teacher treats specific lexical items, the locational prepositions, clearly as the focus of the lesson, and orients to these words as to some extent unknown by the students. The teacher begins by asking Barry to choose a position to place the lightning bolt symbol on the map (line 3), and names 'language' as the focus of this task *bu:t, Ba:rry, I want you to u:se some la:nguage.* (line 4). She specifies the content of this 'language' by listing four prepositions they have used earlier in the lesson, when students were asked to position themselves in different places around the room. As she lists these four prepositions, the teacher makes small gestures to represent them, moving her finger upward and across as she says *on to:p,* (line 5), downwards and to the side as she says *Ne:xt,* (line 7),

and downward as she says *Belo:w,* (line 14). The teacher then asks the class to repeat each of these words in turn, which the majority of students do (lines 11-14). Barry completes the task he was instructed to carry out, formulating a description of the location where he wishes to place the lightning bolt symbol, *Belo:w da boa:t.* (line 21). Barry uses one of the four prepositions revised by the teacher. The teacher responds positively to Barry's answer, repeating it, *Belo:w the boa::t;* and offering strong praise *what a fa:nta:stic se:ntence. Good bo::y. That's using some rea:lly grea:t loca:tion language.* (lines 23-25).

The teacher presents the locational prepositions as the teaching focus of this lesson by re-listing words the class has used earlier in the lesson, providing gestural information about their meanings (lines 5-9), encouraging students to use these lexical items by rehearsing them (lines 11-14) and using them in the activity (lines 4, 21), and by praising Barry in terms of his use of the words, *That's using some rea:lly grea:t loca:tion language*. (lines 24-25).

The three extracts in this section provide evidence of teachers carrying out sophisticated explanations of academic applications of SAE words. The extracts show explanations stepping from simpler to more complex information, providing concrete examples and visuals for the students, and show the teachers' responsiveness to student displays of understanding, elaborating on concepts that students demonstrate trouble with. However, it is not clear that these linguistic explanations have been designed for an SAE as an additional language or dialect audience, as the topics are specified by the curriculum and Extract 43 ("less means it doesn't hold as much as the other one") showed similarities with lessons on the same topic in non-second language or dialect contexts.

9.1.2 Activity phase of maths lessons: lexical items treated as focus of task

Section 9.1.2 examines the activity phases of the same two lessons described in Section 9.1.1. As with the examples in Section 9.1.1, the three extracts in this section show how the target words are treated as a learning focus. In the activity phases of the lessons, we see more clearly how the students position themselves as learners of these words. Extract 47 and Extract 48 also show teachers continuing to treat these words as the focus, as they assist students in carrying out the set tasks. In these extracts there is no evidence that teachers expect students will speak SAE while carrying out these tasks, beyond SAE use of the target words. This reinforces that learning and using SAE as an additional language/dialect is not the main aim of these lessons. In Extract 48, the teacher additionally accepts a student's use of a non-SAE preposition, as the student demonstrates understanding of the spatial relationship.

Extract 46 below is from the activity phase of the Year 2 lesson on location. The task is for students to name the location of symbols on a partner's map, using prepositions in the format set by the teacher ('the X is [preposition] the Y').[76] Like the teacher in Extract 45 ("I want you to use some language"), the students orient to the prepositions as the focus of the location descriptions, while also treating the identification of the symbols and landmarks on their maps as important for carrying out the pair-work task. The use of 'is' in the target location framework ('the X is [preposition] the Y') is not treated as vital to the task. Extract 46 shows Harrison using the verb 'be' (in the form 'is') in his location descriptions, while Seamus does not.

Extract 46 "da love eart is below da palm tree" (130508-Yr2-Part3A 4:42-5:27)

1	Harrison	:	Loo:k at ma li:ghtning;
2			(4.0)
3	Seamus	:	Da:;
4			(0.5)
5	Harrison	:	E:re;
6			(0.5)
7	Seamus	:	O:h; (1.0) **da:::; (1.4) da [lo:ve eart,**
8	Harrison	:	**[Da lo:ve (.) ea:rt,**
9			**(0.2) i:s belo::w, (0.2) da pa:lm tree:;**
10			(1.0)
11	Seamus	:	E:re, whas dis, whas dis, (what ere) Ha:rr, whas
12			da:t?
13			(1.0)
14	Harrison	:	As ju:st a liddle fla:g; (0.9) an das a fella
15			goin slee:p, an e ge- e got sho:ck by
16			li:ghtning;
17			(1.1)
18	Seamus	:	(an what dis;)
19			(0.3)
20	Harrison	:	An da:s da liddle kid screa:min; (0.5) an dere's
21			sha:rks de:re.
22			(0.5)

[76] This activity involves locating symbols on a map in relation to drawings of landmarks. As such, the activity is constructed on a 2D plane, so that some locational prepositions, such as 'above', 'below' and 'on top of' must be understood by the students in a relational sense, construing one edge of the paper as the 'top' and the opposite edge as the 'bottom'.

23 Seamus : **Da sta:r, (0.2) belo:w da:;**
24 (0.4)
25 Harrison : **Da lig:htning, (.) is;**
26 (0.9)
27 Seamus : Ha:rr; look e:re la; (0.7) is di:s, (0.7) is
28 di:s da i:sland;
29 (0.3)
30 Harrison : No das da:; mo:ney;
31 (0.6)
32 Seamus : **Da: sta:r, (0.4) belo:w da mo:ney.**

In this extract, Harrison and Seamus orient to using the location framework introduced by the teacher ('the X is [preposition] the Y') as constituting the task, uttering these phrases much slower than their surrounding speech, and breaking up the phrases with pauses as the teacher did in her examples. This pair of students was one of the more successful in keeping to and carrying out the task set by the teacher. Although Harrison enthusiastically describes the pictures he has drawn on his map, they return quickly to carrying out the task of formulating descriptions of the location of the symbols using the target format.

There are two completed location language phrases in this example, one from each student. From Harrison, *Da lo:ve (.) ea:rt, (0.2) i:s belo::w, (0.2) da pa:lm tree:;* (lines 8-9), and from Seamus, *Da: sta:r, (0.4) belo:w da mo:ney.* (line 32). Harrison's utterance grammatically follows the format modelled by the teacher, with phonological features of the community variety and use of 'da' (see Section 2.2.3). Seamus's utterance again follows the format modelled by the teacher, but grammatically conforms to the community variety, where the copula 'be' (or the 3rd person singular form 'is' here), is not required before a prepositional phrase (see Section 2.2.3). This extract shows these students orienting to the use of prepositions, in the format set by the teacher, as constituting the learning task for this lesson. While both Harrison and Seamus include the SAE copula 'be' in some of their utterances in this activity, use of SAE outside the targeted prepositions is not treated as essential for the task.

Extract 47 is taken from the activity phase of the Prep lesson. In the instructional phase (see Extract 43), many of the students displayed difficulty in correctly identifying pictures as representing 'more' or 'less'. Extract 47 shows one student demonstrating that he is having difficulty with a task identifying pictures of containers as 'full' or 'empty'. This student positions himself as a learner of these words by requesting assistance from the teacher aide. In

contrast, another student interrupts this interaction, calling out the answer and positioning herself as more knowledgeable.

Before Extract 47 begins, students have cut out pictures of containers that are either full or empty. They are classifying these pictures into a full column and an empty column. Tom asks the teacher aide for help, showing her one of his pictures.

Extract 47 "full or empty" (111115-Prep-Part2 6:25-6:43)

```
1  Tom       :   Di:s one?
2                (0.4)
3  Nan Nelly:   What's tha:t; fu:ll or e:mpty;
4                (1.0)
5  Tom       :   E:mpty;
6                (0.4)
7  Nan Nelly:   You ave look at it; is it fu:ll or e:mpty;
8                (1.2)
                 ((Tom points to one of the columns on his
                 sheet))
9  Nan Nelly:   No, have a look at di:s; (1.6) is it fu:ll or
10               e:mpty;
11               (0.4)
12 Tom       :   E:mpty;
13               (0.2)
14 Nan Nelly:   Is there some i:n there?
15               (0.3)
16 Brianna   :   Fu:ll; (0.5) fu:ll;
17 Nan Nelly:   So: it's [wha:t;
18 Brianna   :           [Fu:ll; full (five);
19 Tom       :   Fu:ll.
20 Nan Nelly:   Bria:nna do your o:wn work.
```

In this extract, Tom displays difficulties in applying the terms 'full' and 'empty'. The teacher aide uses a set of questions which attempt to provide Tom with strategies for working out whether the picture shows a full or empty container. Her first three questions (lines 3, 7 and 9-10) instruct him to look at the picture he is holding to see if it is full or empty. Tom consistently answers 'empty', which the teacher aide does not accept as correct, and which suggests that Tom may be having trouble understanding the meanings of these words. The teacher aide's

next question, *Is there some i:n there?* (line 14) gives a hint about what Tom should be looking for, whether there is anything inside the container. Tom correctly answers *Fu:ll.* (line 19) with the teacher aide's final prompt, after another student has also been calling out the correct answer.

The teacher aide's initial repetitions of the question 'is it full or empty', with reference to the picture do not prove effective in helping the student choose the correct answer in this extract. However, after she breaks the question down into two steps, *Is there some i:n there?* (line 14), *So: it's wha:t;* (line 17), Tom correctly describes the container as 'full'. However, Tom's final understanding of the meanings of the words 'full' and 'empty' is not entirely clear in this example, as the teacher aide's repeated non-acceptance of 'empty', and Brianna's calling out of *Fu:ll; (0.5) fu:ll;* (line 16) are likely to have contributed to Tom choosing the alternate answer.

The final extract for this section, Extract 48, shows the Year 2 teacher working with three students during the pair work phase of the locations lesson. Here, Sampson and Noah have asked the teacher for help, and she has just demonstrated the task with Natasha as her partner. As in Extract 46 ("da love eart is below da palm tree"), the task is to name the location of symbols on a partner's map, using prepositions in the format set by the teacher.

Extract 48 "my love eart up top da boat" (130508-Yr2-Part3A 7:15-8:17)

1	Miss R	:	**>Okay;< where's your lo:ve hea:rt.**
2			(1.7)
3	Sampson	:	A:[::h
4	Brianna	:	[M[iss; ah finish; ((from another table))
5	Noah	:	[U::m;
6	Miss R	:	Oka:y; gi:ve us a se:cond.
7			(3.0)
8	Miss R	:	**O:h; I: can see: i:t,**
9			(9.8)
10	Noah	:	De:re.
11			(0.4)
12	Miss R	:	**Okay? So:; (0.3) ho:w do you say it.**
13			(0.3)
14	Noah	:	(Gi)
15	Miss R	:	**The lo:ve heart i::s,**
16			(0.6)

17 Noah : Belo:w;
18 (1.0)
19 Sampson : Be:la:;
20 (0.5)
21 Miss R : No >no no<, i- this is you:r turn; **the love**
22 **heart i::s; is it (.) belo:w the pi:rate?**
23 (0.8)
24 Noah : Belo:w da boa:t.
25 (0.3)
26 Miss R : **Oo:h; it's not belo:[w,**
27 Noah : [Nea:r.
28 (0.3)
29 Miss R : Oo::h; you can say nea:r, ve:ry goo:d.
30 (0.5)
31 Miss R : **Alright, where's you:r love heart.**
((To Sampson, teacher points quickly towards his worksheet))
32 (2.0)
33 Sampson : ˚Mmhhhhh˚
34 (1.9)
35 Noah : <[(where] dere);>
36 Miss R : [That's okay.]
37 (1.0)
38 Noah : Whe:re ah pu:t it; na:?
39 (2.5)
40 Sampson : E:re.
41 (0.4)
42 Noah : De:re la.
43 (0.9)
44 Miss R : **Oka:y, so:,**
45 (2.1)
46 Sampson : U:p, (.) to:p,
47 (1.2)
48 Sampson : **My love eart up- (1.0) a::h; (0.3) u:p (0.2)**
49 **top, (1.0) da: boa:t.**
50 (0.3)
51 Miss R : O::h; fanta:stic.

In this extract, the teacher focuses on the sentence frame including a preposition and accurately expressing the spatial relationship between the symbol and landmark, but does not comment on the use of non-SAE morphosyntactic features. She also accepts a non-SAE preposition which expresses the spatial relationship.

In this extract the teacher leads the students through a number of steps to complete the task. She begins by asking *>Okay;< where's your lo:ve hea:rt.* (line 1), which selects the symbol Noah must describe. Noah initially locates the love heart using a deictic *De:re.* (line 10). The teacher prompts Noah to give the answer in the target format, *Okay? So:; (0.3) ho:w do you say it.* (line 12). When the response is again not the target, the teacher begins the statement herself, *The lo:ve heart i::s,* (line 15) slightly lengthening 'is', and ending with rising intonation to indicate Noah is to complete the statement (Koshik 2002).

Noah produces the preposition *Belo:w;* (line 17) (which the teacher used in her example before this extract begins), and the teacher indicates there is trouble with this by asking *is it (.) belo:w the pi:rate?* (line 22). Noah locates the trouble in the landmark, correcting this to 'boat', *Belo:w da boa:t.* (line 24). The teacher says, *Oo:h; it's not belo:w,* (line 26), indicating the trouble is with the preposition. In overlap, Noah suggests *Nea:r.* (line 27), which the teacher accepts as *ve:ry goo:d.* (line 29).

Next the teacher turns to Sampson, beginning with the same question as to Noah, *where's you:r love heart.*(line 31). Again, the heart is initially located with deictics by both boys, *E:re.* and *De:re la.* (lines 40 and 41). This time, the teacher only says *Oka:y, so:,* (line 41), the sequence immediately previous providing context for Sampson to give a preposition, *U:p, (.) to:p,* (line 46) and incorporate this into the template, *My love eart up- (1.0) a:::h; (0.3) u:p (0.2) top, (1.0) da: boa:t.* (lines 48-49).

Sampson uses a preposition *U:p, (.) to:p,* (line 46) that is not used in SAE, and the teacher accepts it as *fanta:stic.* (line 51). This preposition is composed of words used in SAE, and the teacher's acceptance of this as correct suggests she has understood it as a combination of these words, a position vertically higher, equivalent to SAE 'on top of' or 'above' (the student's map shows the heart above the boat). Sampson's location phrase 'my love eart up top da boat' (lines 48-49) additionally does not use the verb 'be' (or here the form 'is') as would be required in SAE.

In this extract it appears that the teacher's purpose is for students to produce full sentence utterances describing location using a preposition, but that she is not concerned about

whether this is done in SAE. In this case, the teacher even accepts a non-SAE variation on the target prepositions, although one where the meaning is transparent to an SAE speaker.[77]

In both of the lessons described in this section, the focus is on lexical items designated by the Australian Curriculum as important for talking about and learning mathematical concepts. These words are taught explicitly in the lessons, with both teachers and students orienting to them as new content. Teachers provided students with assistance in understanding these targeted terms, and with opportunities to apply and practice using the terms themselves. This is in contrast to the way in which we have seen teachers and students approach SAE as an additional language or dialect more generally so far (Chapters 7 and 8), where the only explicit attention given to linguistic aspects of students' classroom talk was ad hoc correction of non-SAE forms during reading or writing activities.

In these two maths lessons, outside the targeted terms, there appeared to be no expectation that the variety used for talking about the mathematical concepts would be SAE. This provided further evidence that these were not lessons aimed at teaching SAE as an additional language or dialect. In the absence of other lessons where SAE as an additional language or dialect is the learning focus, these students may be at a disadvantage in learning maths as well as other curriculum content, because they are not being supported in acquiring the school variety (SAE), or alternately being provided instruction in the variety they already speak (the community variety).

As seen in the extracts throughout this section, the class teachers conducted the lessons in SAE, requiring students to understand this variety to access the teacher's instructional talk. One teacher in Edmonds-Wathen's (2015) study of mathematics teaching in a multilingual community in the Top End of the Northern Territory of Australia described the learning of mathematical terms and their associated concepts as 'an extra, another leap forward' in a context where there was not a shared understanding between teachers and students of the variety used for education (Edmonds-Wathen 2015:53). In the lessons described in this section, although there is a focus on explicit teaching of the 'extra' mathematical applications of certain words, the foundation of a shared variety for communication appears to be largely ignored.

[77] It is unknown whether 'up top' is a preposition in the community variety or whether Sampson is targeting SAE, but Extract 30 in Section 8.1 shows another student similarly using the preposition 'up top', suggesting it is not an innovation from Sampson in the moment.

9.2 A lesson focused on SAE subject-verb agreement

Section 9.1 analysed how teachers presented a set of words as the learning focus of two maths lessons, without treating SAE as an additional language or dialect as a topic of teaching more wholistically. This section analyses a third lesson where a linguistic topic was the focus. In contrast to the lessons in Section 9.1, where the content was stipulated by the national curriculum, in this lesson the teacher presents this topic as a response to her observations of the children's classroom talk.

This section describes how SAE forms are presented through the entire lesson, showing the explanations and resources the teacher presents to the students as strategies for choosing the appropriate SAE forms for different grammatical contexts. While it is clear the lesson has been carefully and creatively designed by the teacher, the students' responses reveal a number of ways in which the strategies taught for choosing the SAE form are incomplete, and do not take into account students' existing linguistic knowledge.

Structure of the lesson

While in most of the classroom recordings linguistic differences between the students' classroom talk and SAE are not explicitly oriented to or addressed, in one Year 3 class the explicit focus is SAE subject-verb agreement, with the verbs 'be' and 'have'. As the only whole lesson recorded which directly responds to a particular aspect of the children's classroom talk, this lesson is of particular interest for the questions of this study, as it might be expected to show how the teacher and students approach teaching and learning of SAE at its most explicit.

At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher gives a reason for choosing this lesson topic, saying 'So when we've been writing, we've been muddling up some of our words.' (130508-Yr3-Part3B 00:31). From the teacher's justification 'So when we've been writing…' it appears that the teacher has initially oriented to this linguistic topic as an issue in the children's learning of written SAE. This matches the pattern seen in Chapter 8, where non-SAE features of children's classroom talk were discussed explicitly in relation to written texts, and learning to read and write.

The aims of the lesson are stated explicitly by the teacher at the beginning, and are written on a board at the front of the room as follows:[78]

[78] In line with an Explicit Instruction pedagogical framework, the approach used by the teacher in this lesson (Archer & Hughes 2011; Fleming & Kleinhenz 2007; Hollingsworth & Ybarra 2009).

> WALT [We Are Learning To]: Understand what words to use in our sentences – for singular – for plural
>
> WILF [What I'm Looking For]: You can choose the right word to complete the sentences

These aims refer to 'words' and 'the right word' in a general way, but as the topic develops these words are shown to be specifically past and present tense forms of the verb 'be', and present tense forms of 'have'. From the beginning this explanation of the aims of the lesson treats the students as learners, but not as learners of SAE as an additional language or dialect. The targeted words are not defined as SAE words, but as the right words. The students have been found to be making errors in their writing, 'muddling up' words, and the aim of the lesson is framed as learning to choose the right words.

After outlining the lesson aims, the teacher plays a video. The video begins by stating 'Today we'll be looking at verbs, and how they must agree with the subject in the sentence, so the sentence makes sense.' (130508-Yr3-Part3B 00:57). It then presents sentences, for example 'I are going home', and asks whether the sentence 'sounds right' and 'makes sense', following these up with the correct SAE sentence. The video draws attention to whether the subject is singular or plural, associating certain forms with each of these. As they watch the video, the teacher asks the students to nod if they think the sentences sound right, or shake their heads if they think it does not.

The video is followed by a worksheet, which the teacher leads the class through with a copy of the sheet projected on the whiteboard. The teacher has made an effort to incorporate elements of the children's experiences in creating the worksheet. The example sentences include members of the class, and common activities for the children, for example, 'we __ swimming at the creek', 'Luka and Declan __ black hair'.

The students fill out their own worksheets at their desks. This begins with listing the different verb forms, divided into 'singular' (*am, is, has, was*) and 'plural' (*are, have, were*).[79] Then the class work through a set of sentences where students must choose the correct form of the verbs to agree with the subject. Example sentences in the video use the verb 'be' in the present tense as a copula preceding an adjective, and as an auxiliary preceding verbs with *-ing* suffixes (V*ing*). On the worksheet, all of the 'be' examples are in this auxiliary function, and the list of options includes both present (*am, is, are*) and past tense (*was/were*) forms. Examples

[79] At several points during the lesson, the teacher explains that 'singular' means one, and 'plural' means two or more.

with ‘have’ use it as a main verb, for example, ‘The orange has seeds’. Another activity at the bottom of the worksheet, which the class does not reach in this lesson, uses ‘be’ as a copula followed by noun phrases and adjectives, and uses ‘have’ in conjunction with ‘got’, both different to the types of constructions with ‘be’ and ‘have’ in the first half of the worksheet.

The three extracts in this section show students and the teacher engaging with the sentence activity during the worksheet phase of the lesson. In the first example, Extract 49, the teacher targets a non-SAE use of *was* suggested verbally by one student, correcting this forcefully. In the second, Extract 50, a student has selected an answer that is not grammatically correct in either SAE or the community variety and we see the strategies the teacher uses to work with him individually to choose an appropriate SAE response. In the third example, Extract 51, two students use non-SAE constructions involving the verbs focused on in this lesson, and display some confusion around the worksheet. These extracts are presented and described in sequence, and then discussed further as a group at the end of the section.

Extract 49 “we was swimmin at da creek” (130508-Yr3-Part4 13:30-14:50)

1 Miss N : Le:t’s do this ne:xt one. (1.0) we, (0.2) so
2 we’re talkin- >we could be< the who:le cla:ss;
3 couldn’t we;
((pointing to the board with one hand, gesturing in a circular motion at the class with the other arm))
4 (0.3)
5 Miss N : **We:, (0.4) mm, (0.2) swimming, a:t the:**
6 **cree:k.** (0.4) you need to pick fro:m the:, (0.2)
7 plu:ral box. (0.4)
8 Davida : [˚ A:re] swimming;˚
9 Gabriel : [A:re;]
10 Miss N : [We a:re swimming at the creek, (0.7) we ha:ve=
11 Joelle : [(Plu:ral;)
12 Miss N : =swimming at the creek, (0.6) we we:re swimming
13 at the creek;
14 Davida : A:re [s::
15 Miss N : [There’s mo::re than o::ne [that’s ri:ght.
16 Gabriel : [A:re; we [a:re;
17 Miss N : [Pick

18 [which one; that's a good one;
((looks at and points to Gabriel))
19 Davida : [We: a:::re;
20 Declan : **[We: wa:s; swimmin at das; (.) creek;**
21 Gabriel : We [are ˚swimmin
22 Miss N : [**Not wa:s, look Declan,**
23 Gabriel : ˚at [da,˚
24 Miss N : **[De:clan;**
25 (0.6)
26 Gabriel : [˚Creek;˚
27 Clint : [We-
28 Miss N : [**Wa:s, (0.4) i:s,**
29 (0.3)
30 Laurelin : [O:ne;
31 Miss N : [**O:nly if [you're saying o:ne person;**
32 Clint : [Mi:ss; Miss;
33 Clint : Miss;
34 (0.8)
35 Miss N : **STO:P; I wanna talk to De:clan. (0.3) De:clan;**
36 **(0.3) you could sa:y; (0.4) De:clan was swimming**
37 **at the creek, because [i:t's,**
38 Amelia : [Nya::h; ((to Declan))
39 Declan : Ta:h; ((to Amelia))
40 (0.7)
41 Miss N : **O:ne [pe:rson;**
42 Declan : [teheh
43 (1.1)
44 Miss N : **If we're talking about this who:le cla:ss; (0.3)**
45 **you need to pick from, (0.3) [he:re.**
((points to place on board))
46 Gabriel : [Two:;
47 Luka : ( ) [swimmin at da creek,
48 Miss N : [**So you're no:t allo:wed to use**
49 **wa:s; (0.7) cause there's more than one. (0.5)**
50 **De:clan; pick we a:re swimming (0.5) we [ha:ve**
51 **swimming at the creek,**
52 Luka : [( )

53 Declan : We wa:s;
54 Miss N : **Or [we we:re swimming at the creek;**
55 Malcolm : [˚Have;˚
56 Declan : **We [wor:;**
57 Terrance : [We [were swimmin
58 Miss N : [**Tha:nk you; that's a [better choi:ce.**
59 Joelle : [˚We wo:r;˚
60 Declan : **Which one, we:,**
61 (1.1)
62 Miss N : Good, how did you go tha:t one Te:rrance?
63 (0.3)
64 Declan : **Where da we: one:;**
65 Miss N : Alright, which one do you think sounds right
66 mate? ((to Terrance))
67 Terrance : (Da bottom [one;) a:re;
68 Declan : [A::h;
69 Miss N : [We [a:re swimming at the [creek,
70 Samuel : [Ah say a:re; ((to Malcolm))
71 Res R : [That one;
((pointing on Declan's page))
72 Miss N : [We ha:ve swimmin[g at-
73 Declan : [Vvv:::;
74 Terrance : [We:re;
75 Teacher : Yeah; we we:re swimming at the creek. That
76 sounds good.
77 (0.2)
78 Miss N : So maybe this mo:rning, or ye:sterday, we
79 [we:re swimming at the creek.
80 Declan : [**We we:re; we we:re; swimmin at da creek;**
81 (0.4)
82 Miss N : **Yeah that sounds much better Declan, good man.**

In this extract, the teacher targets and pursues correction of Declan's non-SAE use of *was*. The strategy the teacher explains to Declan for choosing the appropriate SAE form for this context uses a distinction between the forms identified earlier in the lesson as 'singular' and 'plural'. Declan's response to the teacher's correction continues to display confusion.

In this extract, the teacher is leading the class through filling in the blanks in a sentence on the worksheet. She sets up the question by indicating that 'we' refers to many people (lines 2-3), and so belongs in the plural category established earlier. The teacher reads the example sentence *we:, (0.4) mm, (0.2) swimming, a:t the: cree:k*. (lines 5-6), marking the missing word with *mm*. She tells the students their task *you need to pick fro:m the:, (0.2) plu:ral box.* (lines 6-7).

Students begin calling out answers, with Davida and Gabriel suggesting 'are'. In overlap, the teacher reads each of the 'plural' options within the full sentence *We a:re swimming at the creek, we ha:ve swimming at the creek, we we:re swimming at the creek;* (lines 10-12). Another student repeats 'plural' as she is saying this, and Davida calls out her answer 'are' again (line 14). The teacher tells the students that more than one answer is right (because both the present and past tense forms of BE have been included as options). Gabriel repeats his answer 'are' two more times (line 16). The teacher continues with her instruction *pick which one;* (lines 17-18), breaking this off to accept Gabriel's response – *that's a good one;* (line 18), pointing to him. Davida repeats her answer 'are' again, and overlapping with this, Declan calls out a different response *We: wa:s; swimmin at das; (.) creek;* (line 20).

The teacher focuses in on Declan's response forcefully: *Not wa:s, look Declan,* (line 22). She repeats *De:clan;* (line 24), and tells him *Wa:s, (0.4) i:s, o:nly if you're saying o:ne person;* (lines 28 and 31). While she is saying this, Gabriel and Laurelin call out their own responses, and Clint attempts to get the teacher's attention, repeating 'Miss' (lines 32-33). The teacher says loudly *STO:P; I wanna talk to De:clan.* (line 35) and continues her explanation, giving an example of where 'was' would be acceptable *De:clan; (0.3) you could sa:y; (0.4) De:clan was swimming at the creek,* (lines 35-37) with the justification *because i:t's, o:ne pe:rson;* (lines 37 and 41). She tells him the options for the current sentence *If we're talking about this who:le cla:ss; (0.3) you need to pick from, (0.3) he:re.* (lines 44-45) and indicates to the 'plural' column. She summarises even more forcefully *So you're no:t allo:wed to use wa:s; (0.7) cause there's more than one.* (lines 48-49), and begins listing the options from the plural column, each incorporated into the sentence: *pick we a:re swimming (0.5) we ha:ve swimming at the creek,* (lines 50-51). Declan joins in, again suggesting *We wa:s;* (line 53), and the teacher continues, completing the three alternatives *Or we we:re swimming at the creek;* (line 54).

Declan responds *We wor:;* (line 56), with a different vowel sound to both 'was' and 'were', in overlap with Terrance also repeating *We were swimming* (line 57). The teacher responds *Tha:nk you; that's a better choi:ce.* (line 58).

Although the teacher treats the sequence as complete here, and moves on to help Terrance individually (line 62), Declan shows continued confusion, immediately initiating repair *Which one, we:,* (line 60) and when he gets no response, asking again *Where da we: one:;* (line 64). One of the researchers standing near Declan points to a word on his worksheet (line 71). Meanwhile, the teacher has been working with Terrance, asking him *which one do you think sounds right mate?* (line 65), to which he initially responds 'are' (line 67), then switches to 'were' (line 74) after the teacher repeats *We a:re swimming at the creek,* (line 69). The teacher confirms *Yeah; we we:re swimming at the creek. That sounds good.* (line 75-76), and then demonstrates that this form refers to past time, by elaborating *So maybe this mo:rning, or ye:sterday, we we:re swimming at the creek.* (lines 78-79). Declan repeats *We we:re; we we:re; swimmin at da creek;* (lines 80) and the teacher says *Yeah that sounds much better Declan, good man.* (line 82).

The next extract (Extract 50) occurred immediately before Extract 49 in the lesson. Extract 50 begins with the teacher approaching Terrance to talk with him one-on-one. Terrance appears to have written 'am' for the sentence 'she __ running around'.

Extract 50 "she am running around" (130508-Yr3-Part4 12:50 –13:29)

1	Miss N	:	Alri:ght; let's listen to thi:s one; rea:dy? (.)
2			**she: (.) a::m; (.) ru:nning arou:nd. (.) Ds**
3			**tha:t sound the be:st?** (0.2) li:sten to these
4			o:ther ones.
5			(1.2)
6	Miss N	:	Li:sten, these are your o:ther choi:ces; she
7			ha:s running arou:nd, (0.4) she: ↑i:s running
8			arou:nd; or she wa:s running arou:nd. Which one
9			sou:nds goo:d.
10	Declan	:	She wa:s runnin ar[oun.
			((Declan is at the back of the classroom, calls
11			this out loudly))
12	Miss N	:	[Mm:::; not this o:ne;
			((to Terrance, Miss N shaking her head))
13			(0.3)
14	Miss N	:	**These ones do:n't make se:nse; the:se ones**
15			**wo:rk. You pick one of the:se. She: (0.2) ↑i:s**
16			**running around, that means she's do:ing it,**
17			**(0.3) o:r, li:sten,(0.6) she wa:s running**

18 **arou:nd, that means that ea:rlier on she was**
19 **do:ing it. (0.7) so either i:s, (0.2) or wa:s**
20 **makes se:nse.**
21 (2.7)
((Terrance writes something then sits up))
22 Miss N : Alri:ght.

In this extract, the singular/plural distinction does not help Terrance in identifying that 'am' is ungrammatical in this context in SAE. Instead the teacher attempts to draw on intuition to identify which form 'sounds the best', and when this proves ineffective, tells Terrance which options do and do not 'make sense'.

The interaction in this extract is prompted by Terrance choosing an option, 'am', from the 'singular' column, which matches the number of the subject 'she' (singular), but is ungrammatical in SAE. The teacher calls this response into question by reading the sentence aloud *let's listen to thi:s one; rea:dy? (.) she: (.) a::m; (.) ru:nning arou:nd.* (lines 1-2), and asking Terrance *Ds tha:t sound the be:st?* (lines 2-3). As in Extract 49, the teacher uses the strategies of repeating the alternative sentences, and asking the student *Which one sou:nds goo:d.* (lines 8-9) to prompt him to choose an answer.

Terrance still does not choose one of the answers intended by the teacher, as she responds to him making a choice by saying *Mm:::; not this o:ne;* (line 12), and shaking her head. The teacher uses the list of verb form options to distinguish *These ones do:n't make se:nse; the:se ones wo:rk.* (lines 14-15), telling Terrance *You pick one of the:se.* (line 15). She repeats the two correct SAE options from the singular box (lines 15-19) and summarises, *so either i:s, (0.2) or wa:s makes se:nse.* (lines 19-20). Terrance writes something, and the teacher accepts this and moves on with *Alri:ght.* (line 22).

'Am' is not used with third person singular subjects in SAE or the community variety. In the children's classroom talk in this corpus, the vast majority of 'be' with first person singular subject pronouns occur in the form 'ahm', (see the Appendix). However, present tense constructions with V*ing* commonly occur with third person singular subjects followed directly by V*ing*, with auxiliary 'be' absent (as in 'she running around'). It may be that Terrance is choosing an option at random, because his intuitions tell him no verb is required to fill in the blank space to make the sentence 'she __ running around' 'sound right'.

The next extract shows students' talk with each other around the activity, and shows one student modifying a sentence in line with community variety grammar.

Extract 51 "Luka an Declan gotta mm black hair" (130508-Yr3-Part4 14:37-15:15)

```
1  Samuel   :   Ah say a:re; (0.7) (swi:mmin;) (1.3) ha:ve,
2               (0.8) swi:mmin;
3               (1.4)
4  Samuel   :   You gotta stop copy(in im;)
5               (0.4)
6  Laurelin :   A:h no:t,
7               (0.8)
8  Samuel   :   You i:s,
9               (0.8)
10 Laurelin :   Loo:k e:re;
11              (5.0)
12 Laurelin :   Ahm not SaMUE:L,
13 Samuel   :   Y[ou i:s,
14 Miss N   :    [Sh::::::;
15 Samuel   :   Luka an Declan; (1.8) go:tta; (0.7) mm: (0.4) ]
16              bla:ck (.) ai:r;
17              (0.6)
18 Miss N   :   O:::h; my:::; (0.3) Malkie you:'re gonna be just
19              lo:nely on that computer on (friv) ma:te, (0.8)
20              lo:ts of people (with chat); sh:ush:;
21 Laurelin :   Luka an De:clan; (1.4) bla:ck hai:r.
```

Samuel is verbalising his choices for the worksheet *Ah say a:re; (0.7) (swi:mmin;) (1.3) ha:ve, (0.8) swi:mmin;* (lines 1-2). He then tells Laurelin, who is seated two desks away with Malcolm in between, *You gotta stop copy(in im;)* (line 4). Laurelin replies *A:h no:t,* (line 6) which Samuel contradicts *You i:s,* (line 8). Laurelin argues louder *Ahm not SaMUE:L,* (line 12), and Samuel repeats *You i:s,* (line 13). The teacher responds *Sh::::::;* (line 14) to their arguing. Samuel goes back to his work and reads *Luka an Declan; (1.8) go:tta; (0.7) mm: (0.4) bla:ck (.) ai:r;* (lines 15-16). The teacher continues reprimanding students for the noise level (lines 18-20). After this, Laurelin also reads aloud the sentence, *Luka an De:clan; (1.4) bla:ck hai:r.* (line 21), with her reading imitating the written sentence in not including 'gotta', and additionally including the SAE initial [h] in 'hair', unlike Samuel's reading (in line 16). As this directly follows Samuel and Laurelin's argument in lines 1-13, where Samuel made accusations about how Laurelin was

carrying out her work, it seems possible that Laurelin's utterance is designed to be heard by Samuel as conforming more than his to the written text and the task as an SAE task.

This extract shows forms of 'be' used by the children in their classroom talk, with Samuel using 'is' with second person 'you', *You i:s,* (lines 8 and 13), and Laurelin using contracted and absent 'am' in *Ahm not SaMUE:L,* (line 12) and *A:h no:t,* (line 6). Samuel's non-SAE use of 'is' here would not be classified as non-standard by the 'singular' and 'plural' distinction made by the teacher in this lesson, as 'you' refers to one person, Laurelin, and 'is' was one of the options in the 'singular' column.

Throughout this lesson it is clear that the teacher has identified non-standard subject-verb agreement with 'be' and 'have' in the students' work, and has devised an activity to help teach explicitly when to use the different SAE verb forms. In this class, the video and the teacher present several strategies for deciding on appropriate forms of the verbs 'be' and 'have'. The strategies include choosing from a list of forms allocated to singular and plural subjects, and using intuition by saying the sentence and deciding whether it 'sounds right' or 'makes sense'.

There are reasons why both of these strategies might lead to confusion for learners of SAE. The singular/plural distinction does not fully explain the SAE usage of this set of verb forms. It is not possible to choose *am* or *is* for all singular subjects, first person singular subjects take *have* (rather than the 'singular' *has*), and the 'plural' forms are used with second person singular subjects. Although the plural/singular distinction may have been chosen as a simple beginning point for young students, these inconsistencies could be a source of confusion. This may have been the case for Terrance in Extract 50.

The notion of 'sounding right' is also problematic for a cohort of students who do not speak SAE as their first language or dialect. As demonstrated in these extracts and in Section 8.3, the students do not have the same SAE speaker intuitions as the teacher. The community variety does not require the use of 'be' as an auxiliary preceding V*ing* constructions, or as a copula in constructions preceding an adjective or noun phrase (as described in Section 2.2.3). The examples on the worksheet require the use of forms of 'be' in these contexts, but the possibility of 'be' absence is not raised in this lesson.

The community variety also allows variable use of 'was' and 'were' with second person and plural subjects (as described in Section 2.2.3). Extract 22 (Section 7.2.3) provides examples of Declan, who was the target of the teacher's correction in Extract 49, using past and present tense 'be' + V*ing* constructions in conversation (two years earlier, when he was in Year 1). With

first person plural ‘we’ subjects, he uses ‘was’ in the past tense, *(when) we ws go:in twa:rds To:wnsville; lo:ng time ago:;* (Extract 22, lines 13-14), and an absent ‘be’ auxiliary referring to future time, *We goin twards To:wnsville ne:xt wee:k;* (line 18). This use of ‘was’ is clearly intuitively correct for Declan, as is absence of the verb ‘be’ in constructions with present or future time reference. It is unsurprising that Declan displays confusion at the teacher’s response to his use of ‘was’ in Extract 49.

Similarly, ‘have’ is unlikely to be used as an auxiliary in the community variety (as described in Section 2.2.3), particularly before ‘got’, and ‘got’ is used as a main verb indicating possession in many contexts where ‘have’ would be used in SAE. Samuel’s addition of ‘gotta’ into the phrase ‘Luka and Declan __ black hair’, *Luka an Declan; (1.8) go:tta; (0.7) mm: (0.4) bla:ck (.) ai:r;* (Extract 50, lines 15-16) shows his intuitions about this construction. Extract 21 (Section 7.2.3) shows the teacher aide Lilian switching between SAE and community variety use of ‘have’ and ‘got’ with reference to hair colour in her questions, *What sort of hai:r do you have;* (line 1) and (line 21) *Wha:t sort of hai:r you go:t.*

The teacher does not orient to which of the forms of ‘be’ and ‘have’ the students are, in practice, choosing between. This lesson treats all forms of the verbs ‘be’ and ‘have’ as equal options in the examples given, and does not take into account another real possibility in the students’ linguistic repertoires, absence of the verb ‘be’ in some of these contexts.

There seems to be little guidance to teachers in the best way to make this kind of SAE grammar explicit to students. This topic of instruction appears to have been identified by this teacher as arising out of issues in the students’ writing. This teacher had identified and responded to needs observed in the class, but this means that a need for explicit teaching of SAE is likely to be going unnoticed in other classes of students with similar non-SAE backgrounds. It also means resources may not be easily available to teachers to fully understand and explain the underlying linguistic patterns to students who don’t have their SAE speaker intuitions. The fact that the teacher had identified this topic out of literacy concerns – having noticed non-SAE verb form usage in the students’ writing, is in line with observations made by Angelo (2011) (and discussed in Chapter 8), that the concern of the curriculum and assessment is literacy, and this literacy focus can obscure the need for students to be taught SAE explicitly as an additional language or dialect.

The teacher in this lesson had high expectations for the students, had an active concern for them to improve their outcomes at school and was skilled at engaging the students’ attention and teaching them explicitly and clearly. These extracts show explicit teaching of a feature of

SAE, but not in a framework that acknowledges the community variety as a legitimate variety within the lesson. Constructions which are grammatical in the community variety were characterised as not sounding right, not making sense, or not allowed. An increased understanding of the community variety could help teachers present SAE grammar in a way that does not unintentionally devalue aspects of the children's first language as 'wrong', 'incorrect' or 'not making sense'.

9.3 Summary

This chapter addressed Research Question 2 (c) "Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?"

Three lessons were analysed as a whole to consider how teachers presented SAE as a learning topic for students across entire lessons. These lessons were chosen for analysis on the basis that the focus of the content for these lessons showed the greatest degree of explicit teaching of SAE linguistic elements, out of the recorded lessons in the classroom corpus.

Section 9.1 presented an analysis of two maths lessons, where teachers explicitly taught specific words. These lessons showed the teachers instructing the students explicitly in the meanings and use of these target words, showing sensitivity to the level of understanding displayed by students, and using a range of strategies to support students' improved understanding. However, there was not evidence in these two lessons of a more general framework of teaching SAE as an additional language or dialect. It was not clear that the teaching of the targeted words differed from how these topics might be approached with students who speak SAE as their first language, learning to apply these words to a mathematical context. Outside the targeted terms, there appeared to be no attention to students' use of SAE or non-SAE forms.

Section 9.2 presented extracts from a literacy lesson with a focus on SAE subject-verb agreement with the verbs 'be' and 'have'. In this lesson, the teacher had identified a difference between the children's writing and SAE and chosen to explicitly teach SAE usage. However, strategies for teaching the SAE forms were found to be problematic for students, in that the strategies did not acknowledge the grammaticality of particular non-SAE forms in the community variety and the children's classroom talk, and treated students' forms simply as not 'sounding right' or not 'making sense'. Strategies for teaching the distribution of SAE forms additionally did not fully account for SAE usage. These issues were linked to the absence of a

framework in this lesson acknowledging that the students' L1 is not SAE, and the lack of systematic teaching of SAE as an additional language or dialect.

The final chapter (Chapter 10) further discusses the findings of the analysis in Chapters 5-9 and the implications of these findings.

10 Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has addressed questions relating to the everyday experiences of Aboriginal students who do not speak SAE at home, but encounter SAE as the medium of education in their early years of school. It has considered whether these students were treated as learners of SAE, and how teachers' interactional practices positioned students as language learners. It also examined the awareness shown by students of different ways of talking, and how students made choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires.

Two methodologies were used to consider this from different perspectives. A Conversation Analysis approach was used to consider how teachers and students oriented to issues around language in their interactions in the classroom. A variationist sociolinguistic approach was used to analyse factors influencing children's choice of variants of the verb 'be' associated with the community variety and SAE as the children moved through three years of early schooling.

This chapter begins by reviewing the findings from these two analyses (Section 10.1), discussing the findings in relation to the two thesis questions set out in Section 1.3. It then discusses implications of these findings for Aboriginal students' acquisition of SAE as an additional language or dialect in educational contexts, with regard to the implications of students not being seen as learners of SAE, implications of associating SAE with literacy tasks, and implications for language awareness (Section 10.2). The chapter ends with concluding statements for the thesis (Section 10.3).

10.1 Findings of the interactional and variationist analyses

The two overall questions for this thesis, set out in Section 1.3, were:

1) How are students choosing between variants in their linguistic repertoires as they talk during class time at school,
    a. Do students choose variants associated with SAE or the community variety according to interlocutor, topic of talk or the type of activity they are engaged in?
    b. Are there changes in students' rate of use of SAE and non-SAE variants in their speech in the classroom over three years?
2) To what extent, and how, do teachers present SAE (as an additional language/dialect) as a learning focus for students in lessons,

a. What are the norms and expectations for students' ways of speaking in the classroom, as revealed through teachers, teacher aides and students' practices?
b. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as a learning focus in literacy lessons, and how?
c. Is SAE (AL/D) presented as the main content to be learned in any lessons, and how?

This section synthesises findings regarding these questions, drawing on both the CA and variationist sociolinguistic analyses.

10.1.1 Students' choices between linguistic variants

The first research question for this thesis concerned students' awareness of, and choice between, variants associated with their community variety and SAE. This was addressed by both analysis of classroom interactions through a CA approach (Chapter 6), and quantitative analysis of BE variation from a sociolinguistic perspective (Chapter 5).

In addressing Research Question 1 (a), the interactional analysis revealed students showing some awareness of competing forms associated with SAE and the community variety in carrying out writing and reading tasks. Self-talk in the course of composing written sentences (Section 6.1, Extract 3, "e is getting a loveheart" and Extract 5, "ah keep writin he") revealed students testing and choosing between alternate forms to represent on paper. These extracts provided a real-time parallel to examples of written work in Williams (1989), in which students' crossed-out words showed evidence of switching between first dialect (D1) and second dialect (D2) variants. As with the written examples in Williams (1989), students in the extracts for this thesis showed knowledge of more alternate forms in their self-talk than they finally represented on paper, with both Amelia and Harrison in Extracts 3 and 5 eventually choosing SAE variants for their writing tasks. Harrison additionally displayed metalinguistic awareness of this process, commenting on the fact that he continued to write the non-SAE variant 'he' (Extract 5). Such navigation between variants may illustrate the additional mental processing that Brown et al. (2015) argued is involved in transforming knowledge of spoken forms into written forms, when students who speak a variety with similar (but differing) forms to the standard variety learn to read and the standard variety.

Addressing Research Question 1 (a) from a quantitative variationist sociolinguistic perspective, with analysis of children's variable use of the verb 'be' as a case study, provided a different perspective on students' choice between variants associated with the community variety and SAE. This analysis centred on some possible factors influencing this choice: the addressee,

topic of talk and the type of activity the student was involved in. Similar to the observations from the interactional analysis described above, the variationist sociolinguistic analysis found a strong connection between literacy contexts and students' use of the variants associated with SAE, 'be' presence. Contexts in which students were engaging with a written text or phrase provided by the teacher favoured presence of the verb 'be'.

However, the variationist analysis did not show a clear separate effect of addressee in influencing students' choice between variants. The effect for addressee was that a 'general' addressee, where there was no specific interlocutor, seemed to favour BE presence. The interactional analysis showed students' self-talk (with no specific interlocutor) while carrying out literacy work, so there may have been some kind of association with talk during literacy tasks being more likely to have no specific addressee. However, it is not clear otherwise why these utterances would have had a higher rate of BE presence.

Contrary to expectation, children speaking to SAE-speaking addressees did not appear to favour BE presence. This result contrasted with Fraser et al.'s (2018:254) finding, that SAE variants of articles and determiners were favoured in utterances with teacher addressees in literacy contexts. It was also in contrast to a common observation in studies of Aboriginal English-speaking students in second dialect contexts at school, which observed students to use more standard speech in talking to SAE-speaking addressees (Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:78). This finding also raises interesting questions in relation to Dixon's (2017:92) choice to define the school speech context for her study as children's speech addressed to SAE-speaking teachers. If Dixon (2017) had compared children's speech with peer versus SAE-speaking teacher addressees in the school context, what kinds of differences would have been observed? It may be the case that the features described in these previous studies are more available to students to alter according to addressee. Nevertheless, the differences evident between findings in this thesis and previous research suggest the need for further study.

Reasons for the lack of differentiation between teacher and peer addressees in the BE variation analysed in this thesis may include the following. It may be that coding simply for 'addressee' and 'topic of talk' did not entirely take into account the complex ways children make use of their linguistic repertoires. This was seen in Extract 7, "ahm doin drunk" (Section 6.2) and Extract 8, "get in da bath now" (Section 6.3), where children's creative use of language, indexing ways of talking in the community, was mixed with talk on school-related topics.

However, the interactional analysis suggested that teachers showed little orientation to students' use of non-SAE features in their speech outside of literacy contexts. There appear to be few signals in these lessons interactionally that students might be expected to use SAE features in their speech in the classroom (as discussed further with regard to Research Question 2 below, Section 10.1.2). For example, it was seen that comparatively implicit recasts were, for the most part, the way in which teachers oriented to students' use of non-SAE forms in spoken language. While the curriculum states that children are expected to access education through, and become proficient in SAE (ACARA 2014:6), which includes spoken SAE as well as standard written English, this expectation appeared to be conveyed only very subtly to children in this corpus.

The interactional analysis provided insight into students' awareness of the distinctiveness of the community variety and SAE. Section 6.3 showed students orienting to certain words as being associated with ways of talking from outside school. For example, the students' use of 'now' (Extract 8), jumping off from a sight word task, appeared to display their understandings of how the word 'na' is used in directives in the community. The students' treatment of this as humorous suggested that they found this use of 'now'/'na' incongruous within a school activity. In a rare metalinguistic comment, Declan identified the word 'yaduman', as 'dat what dey call a orse' (Extract 11). This suggested that Declan was aware of different ways of speaking in the community. It also seemingly disassociated Declan from the group of speakers who use this word, or perhaps indicated this is not the usual term for 'horse' at school.

As will be seen with regards to teachers' practices in the next section, it seems that lexical items might be more available to speakers for this kind of explicit association with particular varieties. Berry and Hudson (1997:27) also suggested community names for animals as a topic for discussion for raising awareness of different ways of talking. Differences between SAE and community variety words for animals were apparent in a number of extracts. In addition to the discussion of 'yaduman' in Extract 11, the terms 'porki' and 'echidna' were talked about in Extract 32 (Section 8.2), and the teacher aide Rosalee corrected the class teacher on her pronunciation of a word for 'crocodile' in Extract 18 (Section 7.2.1).

Students additionally demonstrated their understanding of other kinds of social meaning associated with ways of speaking, outside of orientation to use of the community variety and SAE. In Extract 7 (Section 6.2), students treated the word 'drunk' as transgressive in the context of a school literacy activity. This suggests that children at this young age do have

awareness and understanding of meanings associated with different words and linguistic choices.

In summary, although students showed some signs of linking certain linguistic forms[80] to ways of talking at school, or in the community outside school, this did not seem to be operationalised in their choice of forms of 'be' at school, beyond an association with literacy activities. Children's choice of overt forms of 'be', associated with SAE, was strongly favoured in the context of literacy tasks. As the next section discusses, this was supported by observations regarding Research Question 2, which showed literacy tasks were the main contexts in which teachers oriented to the use of SAE forms.

Research Question 1 (b) concerned another element in students' choices between variants in their linguistic repertoires: the length of time they have been at school. This question was also explored through the variationist sociolinguistic analysis described in Chapter 5 of this thesis. This analysis showed that increased time at school did not appear to result in students choosing variants associated with SAE more frequently (Section 5.7.2). Possible explanations and implications of this are further discussed below, in Section 10.2.1.

10.1.2 Teachers' practices in presenting SAE as a learning focus

Research Question 2 concerned the extent to which, and how, teachers presented SAE (as an additional language/dialect) as a learning focus for students in interactions in the classroom. This included exploring which aspects of SAE were treated as learning content for students, and the practices used for teaching these.

In answer to this question, the interactional analysis found that teachers treated students as learners of SAE in only a limited way. It was observed in the classroom corpus collected that there was no explicit metalinguistic reference to the community variety and SAE as distinct varieties in any lessons, from either teachers or students. Within these lessons, there were no established names used to refer to these varieties. While teachers acknowledged aspects of the children's classroom talk as different from SAE within certain types of lessons (primarily literacy lessons), the lack of discussion of SAE and the community variety as distinct varieties meant that non-SAE aspects of the students' speech were generally framed simply as incorrect.

With regard to the norms and expectations conveyed regarding students' ways of speaking in the classroom (Research Question 2 (a)), the primary means by which teachers oriented to

[80] Associated with the community variety or SAE on the basis of previous literature.

students' use of non-SAE features was through recasts (as demonstrated in the extracts presented in Section 7.1). This implied that there was no established rule about the variety to be used in general spoken communication in the classroom. The absence of such an established rule was in contrast to previous studies in multilingual educational contexts, where norms regarding language choice were oriented to explicitly and implicitly by teachers and students (Copp Jinkerson 2001; Jakonen 2016).

Such rules were not oriented to in the lessons analysed for this thesis. Instead, teachers' use of recasts was found to show similarities to strategies for minimally orienting to language difference in Native Speaker (NS)/Nonnative Speaker (NNS) discourse (Kurhila 2001). Teachers recast students' non-SAE as SAE in the course of carrying out actions made sequentially relevant, such as giving an answer to a student-initiated telling or question, or providing third turn feedback on a response from a student. Teachers' turns in these positions were not required to repeat students' turns, and could have been achieved without recasts. However, these actions provided a sequential position in which a repeat of the students' utterance, and the opportunity to recast it as SAE, was sequentially relevant.

In the study of NS/NNS talk, Kurhila (2001) suggested that recasts provide a minimal way NSs can respond to NNSs' nonstandard L2 usage, which does not provide an impediment to the progress of the main goals of the interaction. In that study, many of the NS/NNS conversations took place in service settings, such as at a hotel reception desk. Kurhila (2001) also suggested that orienting to nonstandard features through recasts had the effect of not setting the NS up as a language teacher, avoiding drawing attention to their asymmetry in knowledge. It also avoided the implication of a teacher-student relationship that would be inappropriate in a non-pedagogical setting.

In the classroom corpus used for this thesis, the use of similar strategies for covertly orienting to non-SAE forms implies that SAE learning, and speaking of SAE in general conversation in the classroom may similarly not be perceived as the main goal of the interactions analysed in this section. Instead, the goals of these interactions seemed to be more overtly centred around children gaining understanding of educational content, and in some cases on students correctly linking spoken forms to written forms (Chapter 8).

One context in which teachers did overtly make children's speech a matter for correction and instruction was in the forms children used to make requests (Extracts 25 to 27, Section 7.4). These three extracts showed teachers insisting that forms that are considered polite in SAE be used by the students, with teachers not complying to the requests until students used the

required forms. In contrast to orientation to students' non-SAE features through recasts, this insistence on particular forms for requests was overt, and created embedded correction sequences, rather than being done in conjunction with other actions. It was also seen that teachers' understanding of students' speech may have played a role in these sequences, with teachers appearing to insist on structures which had already been used by some students (Extract 27). This may have been because the initial requests were delivered at a low volume, or with non-SAE phonology difficult for the teachers to understand.

Chapter 8 of this thesis explored Research Question 2 (b), considering SAE (AL/D) in literacy lessons. Literacy tasks were found to be the main context in which aspects of students' speech were oriented to by teachers as different to SAE. However, the ways in which teachers oriented to students' non-SAE features treated students primarily as learners of literacy, rather than as learners of SAE. These interactions showed teachers' practices in response to students' use of non-SAE features in literacy tasks. Some of these strategies relied on questioning, with an assumption that students shared the SAE-speaking intuitions of the teacher. For example, in Extract 37, "what does the lyrebird eat?" (Section 8.3.2), the teacher used open-ended prompts in an attempt to get students to identify that they had not used a verbal -s suffix with the word 'eat', as is required with third person singular subjects in SAE. Students' responses demonstrated that they did not have the expected intuitions. Instead, their attempts to modify their utterances in response to the teacher's prompts produced a range of morphological and lexical changes but not the targeted -s suffix. In this way, the teacher's strategies treated students as speakers of SAE, which was found to be problematic. In a repetition of the word 'eat', one student continued to use a form with the -s suffix absent, suggesting an incomplete student uptake of the teacher's correction.

One sequence showed a teacher's more diverse strategies to assist a student with a spelling issue that did not relate to differences between the children's classroom talk and SAE (Extract 41, "dyou wanna use our dictionary?" and Extract 42, "the ee sound as in pony" (Section 8.4). In this example, the student was attempting to write a word containing a sound which can be orthographically represented in a number of ways in English. The teacher worked with the student to discover the correct spelling, drawing on a dictionary and classroom sound chart as resources. Throughout this sequence the teacher did not expect the student to rely on intuition, but instead provided other ways of working towards a solution for finding the correct spelling. This may have been because the answer was also not available to an SAE speaker (such as the teacher) by intuition.

Similarly, a teacher aide's assistance to a student in spelling the word 'his' did not assume a spoken form with initial [h] (Extract 36, "I like e's shiny motorbike", Section 8.3.1). The teacher aide did not treat this sound as available to the student through sounding out the word. Instead, he directly gave the student the information, naming the required letters. An SAE-speaking teacher's strategies to assist in spelling the same word ('his') made use of sounding out the word with an SAE spoken form, though she assisted in making it available to the student by emphasising the initial 'heh', as she spoke the word aloud herself (Extract 35, "I like the flame on is motorbike"). Likewise, a teacher's prompts for a student to identify the first sound in house assumed an SAE spoken production with [h] present (Extract 34, "what's the first sound in heh house").

Although in these interactions there was little orientation to students being learners of SAE, in a number of instances, teachers made an effort to incorporate students' ways of speaking and familiar experiences in their lessons. For example, in Extract 44, "something that's full an something that's empty" (Section 9.1.1), the Prep teacher quickly incorporated the word suggested by a student, 'gumballs', in place of the word 'lollies' which she had begun with. In the auxiliary verbs lesson described in Section 9.2, the teacher had incorporated named students in the class in the worksheet examples. In another writing activity, the same teacher sourced and incorporated students' words, 'porki' and 'porkipine', as well as the SAE 'echidna', acknowledging and accepting students' words and knowledge (Extract 32, Section 8.2). Acceptance of students' non-SAE forms in other activities was also predominantly with lexical items, such as 'gammon' (Extract 33, "Is it a real dragon?") and 'deadly' (Extract 31, "deadly motorbike") (Section 8.2).

The majority of these cases where teachers accepted and incorporated non-SAE aspects of students' classroom talk in their lessons were with lexical items. These cases suggest that teachers were not opposed to acknowledging, and in some cases actively sought to include students' ways of speaking and knowledge. They suggest however, that teachers' linguistic understanding of the children's classroom talk and the community variety made only the most salient and well-known features of the community variety available to them: in these cases words not used in SAE. Chambers (1992:677) found that lexical items were among the first features of a new dialect acquired, and that they were acquired rapidly. This suggests that lexical items may be among the most available features to people encountering a new variety.

Teacher aides, as speakers of the community variety, showed signs of being sensitive to the students' need to have grammatical aspects of SAE explained, as in Lilian's explanation of the 's' in 'paintings' (Extract 40, "look at my painting"). Teacher aides switched between SAE and the community variety, sometimes in the context of relating lesson tasks to students' experiences (Extracts 21-22, Section 7.2.3). Teacher aides used the community variety in a number of classroom interactional contexts, including discipline and explanation of tasks (Extract 17 "no it never" and Extract 19 "find all da circles, you put em down one side"). Students generally responded with understanding to this use of the community variety. In addition to this, teacher aides also used similar strategies to SAE-speaking teachers (e.g. Extract 20, "how you spell then"). SAE-speaking teachers offered explanations of some SAE features, orienting to these as a topic of learning (Section 8.3.3). These explanations tended to be brief, arising in the course of literacy tasks.

Research Question 2 (c) explored further whether any lessons presented SAE (AL/D) as the main content to be learned in the lesson. Three candidate lessons were analysed in Chapter 9. The first two lessons analysed had a focus on specific lexical items, in the contexts of mathematics topics (Section 9.1). In these lessons, students appeared to be treated as learners of specific SAE words and their meanings. However, the targeted words were designated in the Australian Curriculum as a topic of study, for the purpose of discussing and understanding mathematical spatial concepts. These are topics of study for all students in Australia, including first language speakers of SAE, and the focus in these lessons appeared to be on the understanding of the concept, and a new application of SAE words presumed to be known. There was not evidence that this was situated in a framework of teaching SAE as an additional language or dialect. The focus of these lessons was on the targeted lexical items. Other linguistic forms used to discuss them, and with which students expressed their understanding of the concepts, were not an explicit focus of the teachers' attention in the lessons.

In these lessons, teachers used explicit teaching practices to define the target words, check students' understanding, provide opportunities for practising the use of these words, and correct and assist students in carrying out the practice tasks. The targeted and explicit teaching of these words differed markedly from the approach to students' learning of SAE overall, which was not made the subject of lessons recorded in this corpus.

Of the lessons recorded, the auxiliary verb lesson (Section 9.2) came closest to explicit teaching of SAE. However, the teacher's explanation did not fully explain the SAE usage of these verbs. While the criteria given by the teacher for choosing between verbs was clearly explained, presented in an engaging way with a variety of strategies, and seemed to be understood by the students, it did not give them all of the information for identifying the SAE forms accurately. Dividing the forms into singular and plural did not fully account for SAE usage. Other strategies relied on verbally testing phrases and asking what 'sounds right'. These were problematic for students who did not have the same grammatical intuitions as the SAE-speaking teacher.

In the auxiliary verb lesson, students' non-SAE patterns of subject-verb agreement were targeted for correction, but not in a framework which acknowledged or allowed for discussion of specific differences between SAE and the children's classroom talk. As a result, the teacher's explanations were unable to build on students' existing knowledge. As discussed in Section 3.2, students already have linguistic knowledge which overlaps with the SAE targeted for instruction, and they build on their existing knowledge in acquisition of SAE. In the auxiliary verb lesson, students were instead taught as though they were equally likely to choose from all possible auxiliary options. In addition to this, the possibility of copula and auxiliary absence was not oriented to as an option, despite this being the most likely non-SAE construction students would use with some of the targeted verbs (for example, with present tense forms of 'be', as analysed in Chapter 5).

As mentioned above, the teacher in this lesson was clearly motivated to help students improve their SAE writing, and had creatively developed materials to assist them with this. She had made an effort to make a specific linguistic feature the target of the lesson. It is likely she would have been greatly assisted in this task by access to more training and resources for teaching SAE as an additional language or dialect to Aboriginal speakers of English-lexified varieties.

In summary, there was no framework in these classroom interactions whereby students were treated as learners of SAE. Instead, teachers minimally oriented to students' non-SAE features in their classroom talk through recasts combined sequentially with other relevant actions. Two lessons which appeared on the surface to have SAE linguistic forms as their focus were targeted at specific applications of SAE words in the teaching of mathematical concepts. Teachers oriented to students' non-SAE features in writing and reading tasks, but frequently made use of pedagogical strategies assuming SAE speaker intuitions.

Teachers were found to display some sensitivity to aspects of the children's ways of speaking and knowledge by accepting and incorporating them in instructional sequences. However, these aspects of the children's classroom talk were primarily lexical items not used in SAE. It may be inferred from this that teachers have some desire and intention to acknowledge and include students' ways of speaking and experiences, but that features of the community variety which overlap with SAE may not be straightforward to identify without further linguistic training.

Some extracts showed teachers treating students as learners of SAE by offering explanations of SAE features. However, again, there was evidence that teachers would benefit from additional training and resources in order to take into account students' existing linguistic knowledge, rather than assume shared knowledge of spoken SAE.

10.2 Implications for Aboriginal students' acquisition of SAE as an additional language or dialect in educational contexts

This section considers the implications of three aspects of the findings discussed above. These are, firstly, the implications of students not being seen as learners of SAE. Secondly, the implications of the focus on linguistic forms being confined to literacy tasks, whereby students appeared to primarily associate use of SAE with written work. And thirdly, some implications for promoting awareness of varieties spoken in the classroom for teachers and students.

10.2.1 Implications of students not being seen as learners of SAE

As observed in Section 10.1.2 above, although there is an expectation within the Australian education system that students will access education through, and become proficient in, spoken SAE (ACARA 2014:6), this appeared to be conveyed only subtly to students in the corpus for this thesis.

The analysis of BE variation showed that increased time at school did not appear to result in students using BE variants associated with SAE more frequently. The year group of students (as Prep, Year 1, 2 or 3) was not a significant predictor of BE absence or presence. However, the observation that there was little orientation in classroom interactions to students' linguistic choices raises questions as to whether absence of change over time is surprising. It may be that it is unreasonable to expect students to learn and choose to speak SAE at school simply from being exposed to it in the class teacher's speech.

It is possible that three years was not a long enough time period to show changes in rate of use of BE variants as a result of time spent at school. This could be addressed through a study of children's classroom talk over a longer period of time, or a comparison of students at a wider range of school year levels. However, the finding of little change over time shows similarities to the findings of Fraser et al. (2018) with the same group of students. Fraser et al. (2018:259) found that students increased their use of non-SAE variants of articles and determiners in the third year of the study, rather than increasingly using variants associated with SAE as expected.

A possible explanation for the absence of a trend towards students increasing their use of SAE over time may stem from implications for identity. It may be that children are choosing to associate themselves with their peers and the community by targeting the community variety, and thus disassociating themselves from the school environment. This has been described by some (e.g. Labov 1972a) as a major factor in nonstandard dialect speaking children distancing themselves from the standard variety and educational system.

In the extracts analysed for this thesis, students did not generally show a reluctance to participate in classroom activities. In whole class sequences, there was often competition to give an answer, with calling out and choral responses from multiple children (e.g. Extracts 43, 44 and 48 (section 9.1). Extracts where students were carrying out school tasks showed them to be engaged in the set tasks, and actively seeking to accomplish them well. For example, Extract 3 ("e is getting a loveheart", Section 6.1) showed Amelia's extended efforts to write her sentence, and in Extract 46 ("da love eart is below da palm tree", Section 9.1.2), Seamus and Harrison engaged enthusiastically in pair-work describing locations of symbols on a map. This is in contrast to previous studies, such as Moses and Wigglesworth (2008), in which there were extended silences in teacher-directed pedagogical sequences.

Overall, it was not apparent that students had an attitude of distancing themselves from school activities and the school environment. This does not mean, however, that students were at all times engaged in the tasks set. For example, Extract 7 ("ahm doin drunk", Section 6.2) and Extract 8 ("get in da bath now", Section 6.3) showed conversations between groups of students moving away from their set tasks. It would be of great interest to further investigate the impact of peer group participation and connectedness as a factor in linguistic choices and educational engagement. A number of 'third wave' sociolinguistic studies (Eckert 2012) have

demonstrated the insights of analysing the effects of communities of practice in determining linguistic choices among students at school (Eckert 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2008). Such a method has also been recently applied to linguistic choices in Lajamanu in the Northern Territory, where Aboriginal children aged 6-12 made lexical choices to construct themselves as competent Warlpiri or Light Warlipiri speakers (O'Shannessy 2015).

Observations in this thesis suggest that students' minimal increase in speaking SAE in the classroom over time may be linked to their not being treated as learners of SAE. However, is the implication of this that students should be more overtly treated as learners of SAE? It is clear that the way in which this is done requires careful consideration.

The examples presented in this thesis provided additional evidence that 'correction' of non-SAE forms associated with the community variety may be confusing for students, and may not result in students understanding the SAE usage of the feature corrected (see Section 3.2.2 for discussion of literature on this topic). Extract 49 ("we was swimming at da creek", Section 9.2) showed one student remaining confused after being told 'you're not allowed to use was', and being instructed to use 'were' in its place. In Extract 37 ("what does the lyrebird eat?", Section 8.3.2), students continued using the same non-SAE feature despite the teacher's attempts to prompt them to use the equivalent SAE.

Previous studies have suggested that such corrections, without the context of language or dialect learning and acknowledgement of the students' home variety, may lead students to question their intuitions and discourage them from attempting independent work (Williams 1989). While it is difficult to make this link with certainty in the interactions analysed in this thesis, there was evidence of students being reluctant to use their own words in writing tasks. In the writing lesson about lyrebirds, from which Extract 37 was drawn, only two students in the class produced their own sentences independently, rather than copying the teacher's examples.

Instead, the findings of this study suggest the value of discussion leading to awareness of different ways of talking in the community (including the community variety and SAE), of the kind recommended in a number of existing works (Berry & Hudson 1997; Malcolm et al. 1999; Sharifian et al. 2012; Siegel 2010:210, see Section 3.3.3) and of language or dialect teaching that explains SAE and takes into account students' existing linguistic knowledge.

10.2.2 Implications of associating SAE with literacy tasks

Both the CA analysis and the analysis of 'be' variation in this thesis found that SAE forms were closely associated with reading and writing (as discussed in Section 10.1 above). In the interactional analysis, literacy tasks were the main context in which teachers overtly oriented to non-SAE features of the children's classroom talk, and stipulated that SAE forms be used. In the variationist analysis, topics of talk connected to literacy activities favoured 'be' presence as in SAE. This section considers the implications of SAE being primarily associated with engaging with written texts in literacy tasks.

As discussed in the previous section (10.2.1), students did not appear, in general, to be treated by teachers as learners of spoken SAE. However, knowledge of spoken SAE is foundational for learning to read and write SAE, as observed by Angelo (2011) (see Section 3.3.1). Angelo (2011) found that the focus of teaching for the L1 Torres Strait Creole speakers in her study was on the structure of the narrative genre. However, students' low proficiency in SAE was found to be an obstacle in producing successful written texts. Angelo (2011) argued that SAE teaching would be of more benefit in improving students' writing than additional focus on teaching of literacy conventions. Similarly, in extracts in Chapter 8 (e.g. Extracts 37), there was a focus on writing conventions such as punctuation. As found by Angelo (2011), literacy teaching was primarily conducted as though students were already speakers of SAE (as discussed in Section 10.1.2 above).

In a number of extracts presented in Chapter 8, students' non-SAE features in writing tasks were treated as literacy issues. In Extract 37 ("what does the lyrebird eat?", Section 8.3.2), the teacher characterised the difference between the students' absence of verbal -s and the SAE form as 'we just need to add one letter'. In Extract 30 ("I taught her to sit an she sit on me", Section 8.1), the teacher's response to students reading aloud 'sat' as 'sit' was 'don't forget your sounds'. While in the context of literacy activities it is relevant to talk in terms of these sound-letter correspondences, such reactions overlook the reasons why students would consistently appear to have trouble with reading and writing these SAE forms – that is, because they are systematic differences between the students' first language and SAE.

These examples fit with descriptions of a systemic conflation of language and literacy within the Australian education system, as discussed by a number of previous studies (Angelo 2011, 2013; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012). McIntosh, O'Hanlon and Angelo (2012:448) argue:

> As improving Indigenous students' (English) literacy performance is targeted at both national and state levels, it is critical that language be clearly distinguished from literacy, so as to determine their respective roles in student performance. (McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012:448)

This thesis provides additional evidence of SAE AL/D learning needs being hidden within a focus on literacy. The examples above showed linguistic differences being treated as literacy issues, and, as discussed in Section 10.2.1, there was a more general absence of orientation to linguistic choices outside the context of literacy activities.

Observations in this thesis also suggest that students' general SAE learning needs are hidden by a focus on learning subject specific terminology. This terminology is taught as though students are already speakers of SAE, extending use of very specific lexical items. In the case of the examples in Section 9.1, these were lexical items for talking about mathematical concepts. However, as in the case of learning literacy, the absence of teaching of spoken SAE is again problematic in these other subject areas. As mentioned in Section 9.1, this is described in comments from teachers in Edmonds-Wathen's (2015:53) study, who called the learning of specific mathematics terminology 'an extra, another leap forward' without a foundation of shared language for communication between teachers and students.

10.2.3 Implications for awareness of different ways of speaking

As discussed in Section 10.1.1 above, the interactional analysis showed that students demonstrated some awareness of different ways of speaking. As an implication of this, it seems likely that explicit discussion of different varieties, and different ways of talking, as recommended in language and dialect teaching programs (Berry & Hudson 1997; Sharifian et al. 2012; Siegel 2010:210, see Section 3.3.3), could be possible and beneficial. Teachers showed signs of doing this to some extent, for example, in the discussion around the use of the words 'porki', 'porkipine' and 'echidna' in Extract 32 (Section 8.2). With more training in understanding other aspects of the community variety and SAE, such as morphosyntactic and phonological features, teachers might be better equipped to discuss features beyond differences in vocabulary. They might also be equipped to draw out children's understandings of how these are features of different ways of talking. This might have been of benefit in, for example, the lesson on auxiliary verbs, which, as discussed above, was somewhat problematic (see Section 9.2).

Promoting awareness of the community variety and SAE as separate would provide a framework in which discussion of specific linguistic differences, and teaching of SAE features might become more meaningful for students. Awareness of the existence and validity of multiple varieties, including SAE and the community variety, could also provide a framework in which students could be taught SAE without their community variety being treated as incorrect in classroom tasks such as literacy activities.

10.3 Conclusions

This thesis has provided insight into children's experiences as speakers of an Aboriginal English-lexified community variety encountering SAE in the early years of school. It has provided support for previous observations in such educational contexts, which describe students' linguistic repertoires and SAE learning needs as 'invisible' (Dixon & Angelo 2014; McIntosh, O'Hanlon & Angelo 2012; Sellwood & Angelo 2013). Analysis of classroom interactions and of factors influencing students' choice between variants of the verb 'be' have offered insights into how this invisibility is constructed in everyday classroom interactions, and the effects on students' use and acquisition of SAE.

For students in the classroom corpus analysed, the fact that they were not already speakers of SAE was minimally oriented to by teachers. Students were treated as learners of literacy and subject (mathematics) specific vocabulary, but generally not as learners of SAE. Teachers' strategies frequently relied on SAE-speaker intuitions, with the assumption these were shared by students. The community variety was spoken by teacher aides, though in general not discussed overtly.

Students showed awareness of differences between ways of talking at school and in the community. Interactional analysis showed students navigating between forms associated with SAE and the community variety as they engaged with creating and reading written texts. However, students also connected SAE most directly with literacy activities, as shown through analysis of their variable use of the verb 'be', where presence of 'be' was favoured in literacy contexts. When the students' classroom talk was incorporated into lessons, the focus was on lexical items. This suggests that additional linguistic training and resources might be helpful for teachers, in enabling them to discuss and take into account other aspects of students' linguistic repertoires and to teach SAE explicitly.

While it is clear that students are becoming independently aware of some differences

between the varieties of home and school, it appears that they are receiving little assistance with this. The fact remains that this is an additional task for students in SAE as an additional language or dialect contexts, which is not faced by students who already share the language of instruction of teachers and the school system. Such a system places students in a 'sink or swim' environment (Siegel 2007:70), where 'submersion' in SAE offers little framework for helping students navigate becoming aware of, and acquiring SAE as the variety by which they are expected to access education.

Appendix: Variable context for BE

This appendix describes some aspects of the children's use of BE in detail, to show where BE absence and presence is variable. It begins by discussing differences with the forms *am, is* and *are*, showing that variation with these forms differs, with a high proportion of *am* tokens occurring in contracted form (Section A.1). Second, the pronouns *it, that* and *what* as subjects of clauses are described, showing that these also occur at a high rate in contracted form (Section A.2). In Section A.3, the children's use of BE in constructions where it is clause final are described. Unlike in SAE and other English-lexified varieties such as AAE and Caribbean creoles, it appears that BE may be variably absent in clause final contexts in the classroom corpus. Finally, BE in questions (Section A.4) and negative constructions (Section A.5) is described.

Description of the extent to which BE is variable in these grammatical contexts formed the basis for what was included as the context in which the form of BE was variable for the statistical analysis in Chapter 5.

A.1 Am, is and are

This section describes how the children used different forms of present tense BE (*am, is* and *are*), considering whether BE follows the same patterns of variable absence and presence in these forms. Where overt forms of BE occurred in the classroom data, they overwhelmingly followed the same patterns of person and number agreement as in SAE, with *am/m* occurring with first person singular subjects, *is/s* occurring with third person singular subjects, and *are/re* occurring with all other subject types. There were only a few exceptions to this across the corpus (for example Samuel's repeated *you i:s,* in Extract 51, Section 9.2).

There is disagreement in studies of African American English (AAE) and English-lexified creoles as to whether *am, is* and *are* should all be included and combined in statistical models of BE variation (Blake 1997; Rickford et al. 1991). A large proportion of such studies have found that *am* occurs almost categorically in its contracted form, combined with the first person singular pronoun, as *I'm* (as reviewed by Blake 1997:60). Because clauses with a first person singular subject follow this idiosyncratic pattern of (non-)variation, they are frequently excluded from statistical analyses of BE variation. For example, Walker (2000:79) found that *am* occurred in contracted form 77-98% of the time across the three corpora of historical AAE studied, a much higher rate of contraction than with *is* and *are*. Similarly, Rickford et al. (1991:107) found an almost 100% rate of contracted *am* in their data from 30 AAE speakers in East Palo Alto,

California. Labov et al. (1968:178) observed a high rate of contraction with *I'm* in AAE in New York City, with the full form *am* used rarely, and with BE almost never absent with first person singular subjects.

Some studies of BE variation have found more variable absence and presence of BE with first person singular subjects. Poplack and Sankoff (1987:304) found similar rates of contraction with first person singular *I* in Samaná English as with *he* and *she* (80%, 82% and 74% contracted, respectively). Winford (1992:34) also included first person singular subjects in his statistical analysis of BE variation in Trinidadian Creole. In Trinidadian Creole copula absence with first person singular subjects occurred at a much higher rate than contraction or full forms, except with following noun phrases, where *is* was used as the copula form.

In English and English-lexified varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in Australia, there is evidence that the frequencies of BE contraction and absence are not the same with each of the forms *am, is* and *are*. Elwell (1979:197) described second language English in Milingimbi, and found that *am* (most commonly in contracted form *'m*) was almost categorically present. Elwell (1979:197) additionally described *is* as being more frequently absent than *are* in second language English in Milingimbi. In the mixed language Light Warlpiri spoken in the Northern Territory, O'Shannessy (2013) described grammaticalization of the -m morpheme (from English *I'm*) across the paradigm, marking a new realis category innovated to express both past and present tense.

Allridge (1984:16-18) did not compare *am, are* and *is* in the quantification of BE absence and presence in the Queensland speech survey data from Palm Island, Yarrabah, Woorabinda and Cherbourg. However, three of the eleven examples provided in which BE is present contain contracted *I'm,* and none of the examples of BE absence have a first person singular subject.

Turning to the classroom corpus for this thesis, Table A- 1 below shows the distribution of full, contracted and absent BE with first person singular subjects.

Table A- 1: Tokens with first person singular subjects

	COUNT	**PERCENTAGE**
AM	3	0.5
'M	563	92
Ø	46	7.5
TOTAL	**612**	**100**

Table A- 1 above shows that 92% of instances of BE with a first person singular subject in this data occured in the contracted form *ahm.* This is in line with studies of BE variation in AAE and creole languages in which first person singular tokens were excluded due to the high rate of contraction.

In the data, the first person singular pronoun was most commonly pronounced [ɐ:], contracted with *'m* as [ɐ:m]. This is represented as *ah* and *ahm* orthographically in this study. The [ɐ:] realisation has also been documented in Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2013:344) and in Fitzroy Valley Kriol where there is variation with *ai* [ɑe] (Hudson 1983:44). Dixon (2017:182) describes the realisation of *I* in Alyawarr children's speech as ranging from [ʌ] to [ai], with *am* (*I* + *-m*) realised as [ʌm].

Is and the contracted form *s* occurred as the overt forms of BE with third person singular subjects. When BE occurred in full form with present tense second person and plural subjects, it was in the form *are.* While not all studies of BE variation in AAE and Caribbean creoles consider *is* and *are* to fall into the same variable context (for example, Labov 1969a focuses on variation with *is*), subsequent studies have found that it is reasonable to analyse *is* and *are* variation together (Blake 1997:63, Rickford et al. 1991:109-112, Wolfram 1974), as they follow the same patterns of conditioning by the same factors. There are also advantages in having more tokens and treating person and number of the subject as a factor that may be influencing the presence or absence of BE (Blake 1997:63, Rickford et al. 1991:109-112).

Table A- 2 compares rates of full, contracted and absent BE across contexts in which *is* and *are* occurred as the full forms of BE, with second person, third person and first person plural subjects. The table excludes tokens with *it, dat/that* and *what* as subjects, as discussed in Section A.2.

Table A- 2: Full, contracted and absent tokens by person and number of subject

	FULL	%	CONTRACTED	%	ABSENT	%	TOTAL COUNT
3SG	82	16.9	41	8.5	362	74.6	485
1PL	1	1.5	12	18.5	52	80	65
2ALL	3	2.1	15	10.5	125	87.4	143
3PL	6	12.2	8	16.3	35	71.4	49
TOTAL	92	-	76	-	574	-	742

Table A- 2 shows a similar, high rate of BE absence (71.4% - 87.4%) with subjects of all person and number types included. This contrasts with the distribution of tokens with first person singular subjects, which, as shown inTable A- 1, had a much lower rate of BE absence (7.5%), and a high rate of contraction (92%). This suggests that, as in the other English-lexified varieties described above, contraction of *ahm* followed a different pattern to contexts where *is* and *are* were used. Because of this, tokens with first person singular subjects were not included in the statistical analysis described in Chapter 5. Tokens with subjects of other persons and numbers were analysed together.

A.2 It/that/what

Tokens where the subject is *it, that* or *what* are typically excluded from AAE studies of BE variation (Baugh 1980; Labov 1969a:719; Walker 2000:70), because they occur almost categorically in the forms *is, whas* and *thas,* and the status of these forms as contractions or frozen forms is uncertain (Blake 1997:69). Poplack and Sankoff (1987:302) did include *it, that* and *what* tokens in their study of Samaná English, as they found the *is/thas/whas* forms, e.g. *thas my daughter,* varied with full forms, e.g. *that is my daughter*, and absent copulas, e.g. *that Ø my daughter.*

Table A- 3 below shows the distribution of full, contracted and absent BE with *it, dat/that* and *what* subjects in the classroom corpus. Tokens of *iss, das/thas* and *whas* were recorded as contracted.

Table A- 3: Full, contracted and absent tokens with* it, dat/that *and* what *subjects

	FULL	%	CONTRACTED	%	ABSENT	%	TOTAL COUNT
IT	6	2.1	261	93.2	13	4.6	280
DAT/THAT	6	1.5	380	93.8	19	4.7	405
WHAT	7	4.6	112	73.7	33	21.7	152
TOTAL	19	2.3	753	90.0	65	7.7	837

Table A- 3 shows that *it, dat/that* and *what* subjects occurred as *iss, das/thas* and *whas* at a high rate (90%) compared with full (2.3%) or absent (7.7%) forms. It can be seen however, that the rate of *whas* (73.7%) was somewhat lower than *iss* (93.2%) and *das/thas* (93.8%). The rate of BE absence with *what* was substantially higher, at 21.7%, compared to *it* 4.6% and *that/dat* 4.7%. The tokens with *what* as subject differed from the others in that they were structured as

wh- questions. As described in section A.4 below, subjects and verbs were frequently not inverted in questions in the children's classroom talk.

A.3 Clause final BE

Labov (1969a:720-721) found that in AAE, *is* and *are* occurred without exception in full form in clause final position. Examples of contracted or absent BE were not found in these contexts, either in Standard American English, or in AAE. Wolfram (1969:166) defined this clause final context as 'when the copula is in clause final position (as a result of ellipsis, embedding, or inversion of some type)', and gave as an example 'I know that's what they are, (but not *I know that's what they)'.

For Labov (1969a:720-721) and Blake (1997:61), these clause final contexts included contexts of ellipsis, in response to another utterance:

(110) *(You ain't the best sounder, Eddie!) I ain't! He is!* (12, Cobras, 489) (Labov 1969a:720)

With ellipsis in comparative constructions:

(111) *He is better than the girls is, now. (35, S.C., 729)* (Labov 1969a:721)

(112) *It always somebody tougher than you are. (25, Fla., 825)* (Labov 1969a:721)

(113) *Bill is taller than John is* (Blake 1997:61)

(114) **He's as nice as he says he* (Blake 1997:61)

And in embedded wh- clauses:

(115) *That's what he is: a brother.* (14, Cobras, 492) (Labov 1969a:721)

(116) *I don't care what you are.* (16, Jets, 580) (Labov 1969a:721)

(117) *Do you see where that person is?* (15, N.Y.C., YH35) (Labov 1969a:721)

Kautzsch (2002:94) gave a similar example of a clause final context where the copula was categorically present in early AAE:

(118) *I don't know where Jack is.* (Kautzsch 2002:94)

Turning to the classroom corpus for the present study, and taking each of these categories in turn, in affirmative declaratives with ellipsis, a form of BE was always present, as in Extract 52. Note that BE is absent in the teacher aide's statement in line 1.

Extract 52 "You not funny," (120905-Yr2-Part1B 12:12-12:17)

1 TA Rosalee: Stop showin off Clint, cause you not fu:nny;
2 Harry : **Dat i:s,**
3 (0.3)
4 Samuel : **E i:s,**

BE was not categorically present in negative contexts with ellipsis, for example, marked in bold in line 6 below,

Extract 53 "You not bingo," (120905-Yr2-Part1A2 9:25-9:30)

1 Jamie : Bi:ngo:::::;
2 (0.7)
3 Clint : You not bi:ngo,
4 Jamie : Ye:s,
5 (1.0)
6 Clint : **You NO:T,**

However, as these tokens are infrequent and it was not possible to code for some factors, such as following phonological segment and following grammatical environment in clauses with ellipsis, they were not included in the statistical analysis.

In comparative constructions with *than*, utterances in the children's data differed from the examples given in these studies of AAE (examples (111) to (113)) in never including the verb BE clause finally. For example,

(119) *E older than you,* (Naomi, 110608-Prep-2 8:30)

(120) *Mine are bigger than yours too;* (Jara, 110610-Yr1-1 6:35)

(121) *E faster than him* (Madelina, 110608-Prep-2 7:52)

Constructions of this type are also possible in standard English (see Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1113). Labov et al. (1968:183) observed that ellipsis of the copula is possible with comparatives in standard American English and AAE, though contracted forms are not possible in these clause final contexts (Labov et al. 1968:186).

In the embedded wh- clause contexts, BE was not categorically present in the children's classroom recordings. As the examples below show, the children used BE variably in these contexts. There were no examples where BE occurred in contracted form clause finally.

(122) *Miss, ah did a cross where dis one* (Noah, 110906-Prep-Part2 4:25)

(123) *Das where ma Nan place ay;* (Samuel, 120223-Yr2-3-Part2 5:04)

(124) *Miss, ah don know where my English book* (Joelle, 121112-Yr2- Part8 2:36)

(125) *Ah know which one da other one* (Declan, 130508-Yr3- Part4 4:59)

(126) *Me an you know where circle is ay;* (Laurelin, 120223-Yr2- Part4-1 8:30)

Extract 54 below shows one student using clause final BE variably in the same conversation, locating places on a map.

Extract 54 "Do you know where Africa?" (121113-Yr1-Part5 4:17)

1 Barry : **Miss do you know where A:frica?** (0.3) on e:re?
2 (0.6)
3 Barry : A:frica;
4 (0.5)
5 TA Lilian: Where's Africa;
6 (0.3)
7 Barry : Ah don know;
8 (5.9)
9 TA Lilian: Le:t's see if we can it; a:h, f::: (1.0) starts
10 with an a:h; (.) f::
11 (0.6)
12 Barry : Miss ah know where, (.) **Miss ah know where our**
13 **town is Miss**, (0.4) our town e:re;

This suggests that these wh- word contexts, particularly with *where,* might be a particular construction in the children's classroom talk where BE is not required clause-finally. This may be by analogy with wh- questions, which were most commonly formed without the verb BE. If BE is present, it may be not inverted with the subject. For example (and discussed further in section A.4 below):

(127) *Where da pen* (Titania, 110608-Prep-Part2 17:12)

(128) *Where zip is* (Declan, 110905-Yr1-Part2 2:55)

(129) *What colour dis is* (Malcolm 130508-Yr3-Part1 12:29)

A.4 Questions

In SAE, wh- questions with copula or auxiliary BE obligatorily involve inversion of the subject and the verb. Polar questions generally also invert the subject and verb, but may also be marked by a tag, intonation or context with a declarative structure. Questions are excluded in a number of studies of BE variation in AAE, due to subject-verb inversion occurring variably with both polar and wh- questions (Blake 1997:67; Walker 2000:70). For example, both *Why you don't like him?*, and *Why don't you use it like a man, punk?* were recorded by Labov et al. (1968:294). Because of this variability, it was not possible to determine the syntactic position BE was absent from, and so the preceding and following phonological and grammatical environments were ambiguous.

As described in Section 2.2.3, polar questions in varieties of Aboriginal English are often formed as a declarative with question intonation, which may be followed by *eh?* (*ay*) (Allridge 1984:99; Butcher 2008:632; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:94). This includes questions where BE could be used as a copula or auxiliary, for example *he sweet?* (Palm Island)*, an' you getting' me some?* (Woorabinda), *Sun Hook, you tryin' to kill me?* (Palm Island) *you gonna have a talk?* (Cherbourg) (Allridge 1984:99).

In some varieties of Aboriginal English, wh- questions are typically formed with a statement preceded by a wh- word, without inversion of subject and auxiliary (Butcher 2008:632; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:94). This is also the pattern in English-lexified Australian pidgins and creoles (Allridge 1984:101). In the Queensland Speech Survey data, there were examples of present tense BE inverted with the subject in wh- questions, *where's this* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:100), and absent *What the card?* (Palm Island), *What that thing there?* (Cherbourg), *Now what this then?* (Yarrabah), *Where that big dice?* (Palm Island) (Allridge 1984:101). There were examples of past tense BE in wh- questions without inversion, *What that was?* (Woorabinda), *Where they was?* (Palm Island), but no examples of this in the present tense.

Polar and wh- questions in the classroom corpus for this study showed variable absence and presence of BE, and variable inversion of subject and verb, as seen in Examples (130) to (139) below.

Polar Questions:

Inverted

(130) *Are yous still goin;* (Gabriel, 131111-Yr3-3B 11:12)

(131) *Is it dat way miss?* (Amelia, 120223-Yr2-5 02:34)

Non-inverted

(132) *You're doing da pictures?* (Jara, 120904-Yr2-7A 02:18)

Absent

(133) *You comin pictures?* (Seamus, 120904-Yr1-1A 06:21)

(134) *Miss dis one right?* (Sampson, 120905-Yr1-3B 04:51)

Wh- Questions:

Inverted

(135) *Hey you- what are you starin at;* (Brianna, 110906-Prep-2 11:48)

Non-inverted

(136) *What dis number is. What dis number is.* (Luka, 110406-Yr1-1 02:56)

(137) *Miss which level ahm on* (Malcolm, 130508-Yr3-1 01:28)

Absent

(138) *Who ya friends* (Naomi, 111115-Prep-2 16:54)

(139) *Miss where ma pencil* (Julian, 110905-Yr1-2 05:47)

The syntactic variation between inverted and non-inverted subjects and verbs in question formation in Aboriginal English matches the variation in AAE discussed above. As with these studies of BE variation in AAE, questions were not included in the statistical analysis reported in Chapter 5 due to difficulties in coding for relevant predictors.

A.5 Negatives

Negatives are excluded in some studies of BE variation in AAE, because the status of *ain't* is considered unclear, as to whether it constitutes a form of the verb BE, the kind of contraction it has undergone, and whether it has been frozen in its current form (Blake 1997:70-75). Some

studies (Rickford et al. 1991) exclude all negatives because removing only *ain't* might have a skewing effect on data analysis.

Ain't is not used as a negator in Australian English-lexified varieties, including the variety under analysis here. Negatives in Australian English-lexified varieties are usually formed with a negative particle, occurring before the first element in the verb phrase (Allridge 1984:92). Negative particles may include *not, never, no, nomo* (Northern Australia), and there may also be double negatives (Butcher 2008:633-634).

In varieties of Aboriginal English, modal auxiliaries and the copula, when they occur, are usually followed by the negative particle (Allridge 1984:95; Kaldor & Malcolm 1982:92). From the few examples of negatives in the Queensland Speech Survey data, Allridge found both the *not*/*n't* particle following the copula, and one example where *not* occurred without the copula (Allridge 1984:98). Of the examples she gives with the copula occurring, two are with the first person singular subject *I* (*I'm not a good spearer, I'm not frightened*), and the other is past tense (*If you wasn' my boy*). These are both contexts where studies of BE variation in other English-lexified contact varieties have found near categorical rates of copula presence. In the one example where BE was absent in Allridge's (1984) data, *you not game to run,* the subject is second person, and other studies would predict variable copula use (as discussed in Section A.1). Dixon (2017:134) also found all V*ing* forms were negated with *not* in Alyawarr children's speech at school in an Aboriginal community in Central Australia, and in their speech at home, all V*ing* and V*bat* verbs were negated with *nat* ('not').

In the children's data, *not* was used as a negator, directly following the verb BE, or the subject if BE was absent. This is shown in Examples (140) to (142) below.

(140) *She not your slave, Titania, you go get it ay* (Doreen, 110608-Prep-2 07:27)

(141) *a::h Micah; you not on dat chair;* (Carlotta, 111114-Prep-2 07:51)

(142) *but e's not faster dan me,* (Terrance, 130508-Yr3-2B 11:49)

Because preliminary observations suggest that BE variation in negative constructions may be conditioned by the same factors, such as subject type, as in affirmative constructions, negatives were included in the statistical analysis presented in Chapter 5.

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