

**Resisting dominant language and literacy ideologies through family multilingualism and
the making of ikhaya**

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Plagiarism Declaration

I, Babalwayashe Molate, declare that this thesis is my own work, undertaken with the normal guidance of my supervisor.

I have specifically and appropriately attributed the ideas and words of others contained therein using the APA 7th edition referencing style.

This work has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other degree at the University of Cape Town or elsewhere.

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Ndingaba ndinetyala ukuba andinokukubulela ngokukodwa Caro ngendima enkulu oyidlalileyo ekufezekiseni lo msebenzi. Enkosi ngentsebenziswano entle ukususela ngo2016 ukuzokuthi ga ngoku saphumelela kunye izidanga zeHonours, Masters nesi ke sePhD esindilindileyo – ewe impumelelo yam yimpumelelo yethu. Singcambaze kunye yonke le minyaka undifundisa, undixhasa, undikhuthaza ukwandiqhwebela izandla ndaqingqa ndade ndabe ndaiyazimela ngokuphelelo. Ndikubulela nangakumbi ngokhokelisa ubuntu kwindlela osebenza ngayo nabantu nakwintsebenziswa yethu. Mathol’ anyongande kukudlelana – calves have long legs because they graze together!

Ndibulela nangakumbi kuni bantu (endingazukuniabiza ngamagam) anindivulele ikhaya lenu nandipha nexesha lenu nathatha inxaxheba kolu phandolwazi endinika ingxelo ngalo kule thisisi. Ndiyabulela ngukwabelana nam ngamava nembono zenu ezilulutho nobutyebi obungaphaya kokuqonda kumsebenzi wam wokupha ulwazi nokwabelana ngalo nabantu ngabantu. Maz’ enethole!

Le mibongo mibini sisinikezelo sam kwiminombo yookhokho bethu abasihlahlela indlela. I dedicate this thesis to you.

bookhokho

minombo yookhokho bethu abazimfundimani zantlandlolo,
amaqab' imbola angqondo ziqeqeshekile,
izifundiswa zolwazi ezilutye de zalutyekeza.
zilutyekezela kwizizukulwana ngezizukulwana; thin' aba.
sazityela ke loo mfundo de sabe nathi siyayityekeza; sith' aba.

khaya

mamvulane katata,
msuthu onyok'emnyama ecand'iziziba.
nxasana katata,
mpondomise elililelwa ziintombi zibang' ukuzekwa.
marhadebe kamama,
hlubi elingumafuz'efulele njengelifu lemvula.
ntsundu kamama,
mthembu oyinkonjan'emnyama ebhabel'emafini.
magawu - uMsuthu,
yashe, gxebe, hiyashe mhlaluka - iMpondomise,
zilwa - iHlubi,
kotoyi - uMthembu.
zizwe zihlangene,
mnomb'oxubene,
makhay'ahlobene,
khaya.

Multilingualism is a social practice that humans have negotiated and managed uninhibited, long before the understanding of ‘language policy’ as regulating mechanism with its oppressive monoglossic language ideologies (Romaine, 1990) came into being. As a consequence of occupation and division of African regions into colonies, monolingual ideologies that favoured European languages while marginalising African languages were passed along, thus denying the heteroglossic nature of African multilingualism (Makalela, 2018). Against the backdrop of this tension of interactions between monoglossia and heteroglossia, I examine family discourses in everyday language use of a South African family. In this family, processes of attribution of value to linguistic forms and practices are inscribed together with the construction of social difference and social inequality with which they are associated (Heller, 2007). Drawing on language socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and epistemologies of the south (Escobar, 2016) as theoretical frameworks, this study examines language and literacy practices and ideologies of an African-language(s) speaking family with a child who attends an historically white, English-medium school in South Africa. Using linguistic ethnography and digital ethnography, I constructed and analysed the case of an isiXhosa-speaking mother-child duo as focal participants, who traverse between their township and rural homes, thus challenging Western notions of household arrangement and ‘nuclear/extended’ family. Further, reflecting on the making of family and the variety of language registers and literacy practices observed offered insights into how the complex, fluid and dynamic structure of family mirrors the same complexity in heteroglossic language practices. With this insight, I introduce the term *ikhaya*, the isiXhosa word denoting both family and home, and expand on the definition of ‘family’ in the African context. I argue that *ikhaya* captures the domain of home that is distributed across multiple physical homesteads and geographical spaces, as well as family, showing how language and home literacy

practices in digital and physical spaces are pivotal in constructing family and resisting dominant language ideologies.

Ubulwimininzi yindlela yokusebenzisa ulwimi esekelwe kwintsbenziswano yabantu ngeelwimi zabo, kwaye kudala bakwazi ukuphila kakuhle neelwimi ezininzi kungekabikho ‘mgaqonkqubo wolumi’ oza neengcamango zokukhetha nokubeka phambili ukusetyenziswa kolwimi olunye kucinezelwa ezinye (Romaine, 1990). Ukwahlulahlulwa nokwabiwa kwemimandla yaseAfrika isenziwa iikoloni kudale imo yezolwimi ekhetha nebekela phambili ulwimi olunye nexabisa iilwimi zaseYurophu logama kunyhashwa ilwimi zamaAfrika, nto leyo enxamnye nemo yesiqhelo yosetyenzisokunye kwelwimi ezininzi kubulwimininzi bamaAfrika (Makalela, 2018). Kweso sizikithi sale mbambano phakathi kokuxabisa ukusetyenziswa kolwimi olunye, imonoglossia nokusetyenzisokunye lweelwimi, iheterossogissa, kulapho umdla wam wokuphonononga iindlela ikhaya elithile elicinga nelusebenzisa ngayo ulwimi lwemihla ngemihla, eMazantsi Afrika. Kweli khaya ndichonge ukuliphonononga, ndifunamise ukuba ukuthathelwa phezulu kwelwimi ezithile nokuzicalula kudibene kudala ukungalingani phakathi kwabantu kwaye lo mkhetho udalwe ngabom (Heller, 2007). Ndiyendacaphula kwithiyori yeLanguage Socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) kunye neEpistemologies of the South (Escobar, 2016), endithe ndazisebenzisa njengesakhelo sokuphonononga iindlela zokusebenzisa ulwimi nelitherasi kwaneendlela zokucinga ngolwimi zekhaya lamaXhosa elinomntwana ofunda kwisikolo sesiNgesi esifudula isisikolo sabantu abamhlophe eMzantsi Afrika. Ndisebenzise iindlela zokuqhuba uphando ezibizwa iLinguistic Ethnography neDigital Ethnography, ze ndokha ndikwahlalutya esi sifundo, icase study, esiqwalasela isibini sekhaya esingumama nomntwana wakhe, abaphila kumakhaya akwiziza ezibini eziselokishini bekwagodukela kwikhaya labo elikwisiza esisezilalini. Umba wokuba neendawo zokuhlala ezinzi ezingamakhaya iphikisana ngamandla nendlela iNtshona echaza ngayo ukuba yintoni ikhaya ingoobani abantu abenza ikhaya, kwaye iyayikhaba imbono yaseNtshona ecalula ikhaya isithi libabiza izizalwane ezikude, i-‘extended family’ ngoxa abanye bebizwa, nguba yi-‘nuclear family.’ Ngapha koko, ulwazi

endiluzuzileyo ngokuqwalasela eli khaya lamaXhosa neendlela zabo ezininzi abasebenzisa ngayo ulwimi nelitherasi lundinike ingqiqo ngokuntsokotha nokubanemida ethambileyo kwesakhelo sekhaya, ntoleyo ebonisa ukuntsokotha kosetyenzisokunye kweelwimi, zikwaxutywa. Ngale mbono, ndeza isiphakamiso sokuba kungalulutho ukusebenzisa isigama esithi 'ikhaya' xa kusenziwa izifundo ngefemeli, kuba eli ligamal esiXhosa elisetyenziswayo elineentsingiselo ezimbini – elichaza abantu nelichaza indawo. Amandla esi sigama alele ekubonakalisaeni ububanzi nokubandakanyeka kwabantu abaninzi kwisakhelo sekhaya, iconstruction yefemeli ngelasemzini. Ndiqwela ndikwaxhathisa ngelithi eli gama lithi ikhaya libonakalisa ikhaya (home) njengento enokukhonjwa kwindawo ezininzi likwachaza ukuba ikhaya aliphelelanga kwigcuntswana labantu elibandakanya abazali nabantwana babo njengoko eligama lithi usapho lixela. Kwaye, linakho ukubonakalisa indlela zokusebenzisa ulwimi nelitherasi, nkqu nakumakhasi onxibelelwano asebenzisa iteknoloji, ezininika umkhondo wokuba abantu bachaza bani xa bethetha ngekhaya labo bekwalulwa njani ifuthe leengcamango ngolwimi zaseNtshona ezongameleyo.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BELA – Basic Education Law Amendment

BLM – Black Lives Matter

Black People of Colour - BPoC

ES - Epistemologies of the South

FAL – First Additional Language

FLP – Family Language Policy

HL – Home Language

IIAL – Incremental Introduction of African Languages

LE – Linguistic Ethnography

LiEP – Language in Education Policy

LOLT - Language of Learning and Teaching

LS - Language Socialisation

SA – South Africa

SAL – Second Additional Language

SGB – School Governing Body

TA – Thematic Analysis

WCED – Western Cape Education Department

NOI – Naturally Occurring Interactions

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Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Description
,	Short pause
„	Long pause
?	Questioning intonation
!	Exclamatory intonation
//	Overlap
	Imitation
=	Latched utterances
-	Speech cut off
(xxx)	Indistinct
:	Sound stretching
	Singing
(bracketed text)	Description or explanation
bolded text	Analysis focus
<i>[italicized text]</i>	English translation

1.Introduction

Introduction

This thesis is a contribution to a growing body of research that broadly explores language socialisation in the context of African-language speaking multilingual families in South Africa. Specifically, I present a single case of a family comprising of a mother-child duo as focal participants, and explore how the child is apprenticed and encultured into the ways of being and doing of an African society. That is, a socialisation *to use* language and *through the use* of language (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a). I observed the language and literacy practices and routines of the family's everyday lives using linguistic ethnography and digital ethnography. In this chapter, I present, from-the-ground-up, the narrative of the research problem and the context from which the research idea and, subsequently, questions emerged. I also connect the seemingly localised research problem to broader existing research and provide a rationale for the significance of undertaking this study. I outline the contribution it can make to knowledge building in family multilingualism, as well as offering new directions for further research in this field. I do this by offering reflections on current literature and the language context in South Africa – in schooling and among African-language speaking families. In studying family language socialisation, I frame the home as a loosely bounded domain that is connected to, and which continuously interacts with, the school and its practices and ideologies of language. I will reflect on the language in education policy and constitutional language provision and evaluate the government's response and provisions for multilingualism in official domains in which the education system is central. I also provide a contextual overview of language offerings in historically white English medium schools as a landscape from which my research problem and questions emerged, and offer the motivation for pursuing this inquiry. Specifically, I interrogate the extent of language consideration for African-language speaking children since the (racial) desegregation of these schools post-Apartheid. Lastly, I provide an outline of the thesis.

Language policy in multilingual South Africa

The valorisation of English and Afrikaans at the expense of African languages in South Africa has long been flagged and critiqued by several scholars, and particularly those working in the context of language in education (e.g. Alexander, 2005; Plüddemann, 2015) and language in society in general (or sociolinguistics) (Banda, 2009; Heugh, 2013; Tshotsho, 2013). This reality of the elevated status of English above African languages stands in stark contrast with the language milieu of South African society, and indeed the global south, which confirms multilingualism as typical amongst its people. Importantly, this existence of language diversity is legitimised as a national resource and source of pride that must be sustained and protected as legislated in policy documents such as the Constitution (RSA, 1996), South African Schools Act (1996), Language in Education Policy (LiEP) (DoE, 1997) and the Incremental Introduction of African Languages (IIAL) draft policy (DoE, 2013). Part of the aims set out for the LiEP was to redress the language injustices of the Apartheid government (pre-1994), which apportioned a higher status to English and Afrikaans in schooling at the expense of African languages (Tshotsho, 2013) in both underserved public schools and elite public¹ and private schools.

Similarly, the IIAL draft policy was aimed at strengthening the position of African languages in the schooling system (Plüddemann, 2015), which would make it mandatory for elite schools, especially, to also offer an African language as a school subject. The IIAL particularly targeted introducing African languages and gradually increasing the uptake of an African language in schools that did not previously teach African languages as subjects. Historically white schools, that have opened admissions to African-languages speaking children since the end of apartheid, and that only offered English and Afrikaans would be the kind of schools that needed to include African languages. While the access to African languages as subjects (at minimum) in these schools is a socially just move for the protection of the language rights of African-languages speaking children and families,

¹ Elite public schools are fee collecting for most families but they do also offer fee exemption or bursaries for qualifying parents based on financial need and on a case by case basis.

the IIAL shows how the African child is not particularly the target/imagined child when scrutinised closely. The imagined child is identified as ‘non-African’, expressed in the motivation for introducing African languages in all schools as being to “ensure that all non-African home language speakers speak an African language” (DoE, 2014:6). It is thus clear that while African children are admitted in these historically white schools, the very policy that is intended to support the redress of African languages that have been historically marginalised in education is unwittingly prioritising the needs of non-African home language speakers.

At the inception of this study all elite public primary schools in the Western Cape, which is the context of the focal child in this study, required a child to be fully proficient in English to be admitted to the school. Further, English and Afrikaans maintained their pre-apartheid status and were thus taught as the learners’ first and second languages, respectively, in these historically white schools. This is with the exception of Afrikaans medium schools, where the order would be Afrikaans as a child’s first language and English as a second language. In the terminology of the South African curriculum, these would be Home Language (HL) for a first language and First Additional Language (FAL) for a second language. Any third language learnt in addition to the first two languages is called a Second Additional Language (SAL). One of the distinguishing material differences between the three language levels is the amount of teaching time per week that is allocated to each language. According to the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), the following time must be spent teaching languages at these levels in the intermediate phase (Grade 4 to 6) in primary schools: 6 hours per week for a HL and 5 hours per week for a FAL. Further, both HL and FAL are compulsory, and according to the programme requirements and promotion guidelines set out by the Western Cape Department of Education (see appendix 1), a SAL is optional and individual schools must find time to teach it in the 27.5 hours of a school week. When I conducted my fieldwork, the time allocated for isiXhosa was only 1 hour per week. This was also the trend for many elite primary schools who had opted to include a SAL since the Incremental Introduction

of African Languages was introduced in 2015. This seemed like a progressive move for previously white only schools to now include an African language in their subject offering, albeit falling short of the more equitable plan of two FALs proposed in the IIAL draft policy. However, the status of African languages in historically white primary schools in the Western Cape remains poor (Molate & Tyler, 2020). Further, as pointed out above, the idealised child in the inclusion of African languages as SALs (and even FALs), like isiXhosa in the Western Cape, does not appear to be a child from an African-language speaking family. Where then does this leave African languages and African-languages speaking children attending historically white schools in the Western Cape province and what are the roots of this language exclusion/marginalisation?

Language in historically white primary schools in South Africa

Despite more than thirty years since the abolishment of Apartheid, South African society remains racialised and unequal. One of the sectors of SA society in which apartheid remains highly visible is in the schooling system that is two-tiered, with the majority of children attending under-resourced schools in townships (urban and rural) and villages (rural) areas while a minority attend well-resourced or relatively better resourced schools in the urban areas, which are historically white². I refer to these and well-resourced private schools as elite schools henceforth. One of the defining language factors between schools in the underserved and well-resourced schools is the composition of learners and the medium of instruction in the Grades 1 to 3. Schools in townships and villages serve African-languages³ speaking children. What remains a common experience to all African-languages speaking children is the marginalisation of African languages which

² Historically white public schools are now minimally funded by government and get most of their income with parents paying fees. The wealthier the parent body, the more the school can charge and the better resourced the school with those at the elite end being very similar to elite private schools. However, there are also historically white schools in the suburbs which cater to working class and unemployed parents who can nevertheless afford transport fees. The annual fees collected by these schools is a fraction of that of the elite schools. However the infrastructure at these schools is still generally better since they were built to serve white children during apartheid.

³ All children make this switch except Afrikaans speakers in Afrikaans schools who can continue in Afrikaans to the end of their schooling and English Home Language (HL) children who continue with English.

can no longer be used as medium of instruction from Grade 4 upwards, while the status and utility of historically colonial languages remains unchanged. Thus language in schooling remains a contentious issue as the high status of Afrikaans and English is maintained and these are the only two languages which are in use as media of instruction in local universities thus sustaining their power (De Klerk, 2002). Historically Afrikaans single medium universities have since changed to become bilingual English and Afrikaans institutions. The continued marginalisation of African languages shows language as being entangled in ideologies and power struggles (McKinney, 2017; Christie & McKinney, 2017). This is true of the South African education system in general, but in the context of historically white schools, admission of Black African learners and the teaching of African languages can be seen as a critical part of the process of inclusion and transformation. While the learner racial demographics have diversified since the end of apartheid, one of the issues that persists is the devaluing of African languages.

It is stated in the founding constitution that:

1. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
2. Recognising the historically diminished use and status of indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

(Republic of South Africa, 1996: 4)

Congruently, it is stated in the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) preamble that:

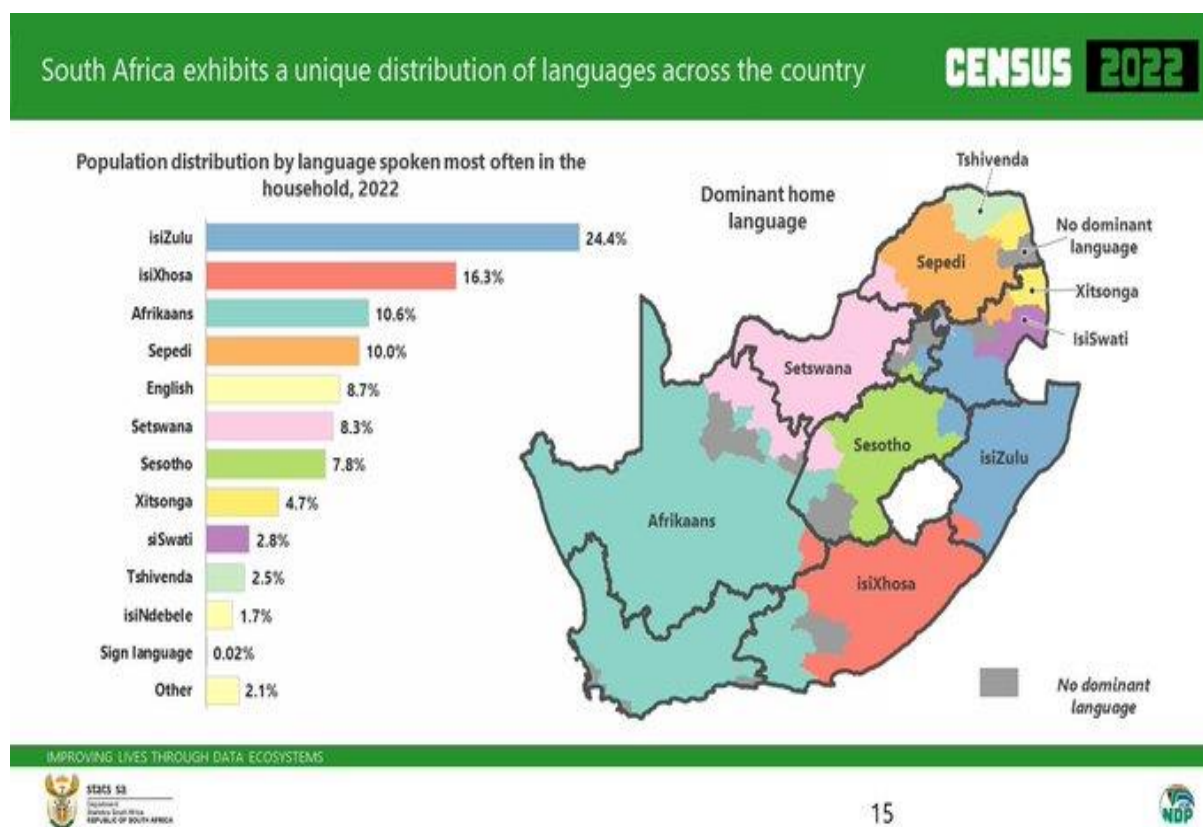
In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognises that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and respect for all languages used in the country, including South African Sign Language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution.

(Department of Basic Education, 1997: 1)

While the Constitution (RSA,1996) and LiEP (DOE, 1997) seem to champion multilingualism through the official recognition of nine African languages in addition to English and Afrikaans, as pointed out above, English continues to dominate in schooling,

government and most official public domains. Moreover, the maintenance of English as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) is not reflective of the language demographics of African children nor the language fluidity that can be expected in multilingual nations. The latest statistics of census 2022 presented in the map in Figure 1 below confirm this language diversity:

Figure 1.1: Population distribution by household home language



Source: Statistics South Africa (2022b: 30)

Figure 1.1 maps out the distribution of the 12⁴ official languages most spoken in each of the nine provinces. This data is derived from the counting of households as well as determining the home language of individual members in each household. According to

⁴ Although the 1996 constitution recognised 11 official languages, in 2024 South African Sign Language (SASL) was legally included as the 12th official language.

the Stats SA (2022: 98) report, a ‘household’ is identified by a “group of people who live together at least four nights a week, eat together and share resources, or a single person who lives alone”. In the same report home language is defined as “the language most often used by the individual at home, whether or not they consider it their mother tongue.” (Stats SA, 2022a: 98).

Table 1.1 : Percentage distribution of home language in the households of Western and Eastern Cape provinces

Language	Western Cape	Language	Eastern Cape
Afrikaans	41.2%	isiXhosa	81.8%
isiXhosa	31.4%	Afrikaans	9.6%
English	22.0%	English	4.8%
Other Languages	5.4%	Other languages	96.2
Total	100%	Total	100%

Source: Table has been adapted from the distribution table all provinces and official SA languages (and more) (Stats SA, 2022a: 24)

Research problem

To summarise, African languages are largely undervalued by most historically white public primary schools in South Africa. Specifically, in the Western Cape, isiXhosa is often not taught as a school subject, and when it is this will be at the lowest level, that is as a third language. Materially, this means that learners in these schools receive no more than one hour classroom time per week of isiXhosa tuition. Conception of HL is not based on the learner’s language identity. Rather, it is the language that the school has chosen as HL and to use as language of instruction.

Recently in South Africa, alumnae and current students from historically white schools surfaced on social media platforms aggrieved and protesting multiple past and current

injustices experienced by Black people and People of Colour (BPoC). In the South African context, BPoC are people racialised as African, Coloured⁵ and Indian. This came after the establishment of the global Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2020, which was sparked by protests against police brutality and racism. In South Africa, at the core of the protest, initiated by the #yousilenceweamplify movement (You Silence We Amplify, 2020; Haffajee, 2020), was to call to account the various elite schools for what they described as systemic violence against BPoC. More importantly, it was to put a spotlight on the structural racism that has prevailed even several years after alumnae have left the schools. Some of these brave former students gave accounts of racism and symbolic violence meted upon them, now speaking as adults who have found their voice. One of the prominent themes in their narratives is the issue of language – the lack of opportunity to study their African languages, the ridiculing of their accents, ‘butchering’ of their African names by fellow white learners and teachers and the negative positioning of Black isiXhosa teachers and/or the language in general. Coincidentally, this online protest happened in the time I was being approached by a parent of a school I am affiliated with who also questioned the insufficiency of literacy development in isiXhosa at the school. In hindsight, the parent was noticing a lag in the isiXhosa literacy development of her Grade 4 child in comparison to English and Afrikaans that she was learning as subjects. The parent’s specific concern at the time was that her child had difficulty in reading and writing in isiXhosa whereas her literacy in English (and Afrikaans to a lesser extent) was commendable. The intervention she had envisioned was my support in ensuring that her child’s ability to read and write in isiXhosa improved to match her ability to read and write English.

⁵ “The term ‘coloured’ as one of the categories in the Population Registration Act of 1950 used to classify people of ‘mixed-race’ descent has generally been viewed as an apartheid construction” (McKinney, 2007: 221). More recently, research has shown how the category has been appropriated with many people positively self-identifying as ‘coloured’ (e.g. Erasmus, 2017).

With the untransformed offering of marginalised African languages as academic subjects in historically white primary schools as well as parental concern, my interest was piqued to explore the language practices of African families who send their children to historically white English medium schools but who are also seemingly supportive of isiXhosa literacy learning. I became increasingly curious about the ideologies fuelling the parents' decisions along with how they navigate language support for their children. The family that I selected was one of three who were explicitly concerned about the status of isiXhosa at their children's schools. While my curiosity reflected my position as an 'outsider' attempting to understand the deep-seated language and lived experience of African-languages speaking families raising children in school environments characterised by Anglonormativity, I was also an 'insider' in my research problem through myself having a similar profile to the pool of families I was selecting my case study from. Alongside being a researcher, I am an African language-speaking multilingual person who became conscientised about language and power when I became a parent to two children in a household with two African languages, isiXhosa from the maternal side and Setswana from the paternal side.

When my eldest child Kago started Grade R in 2018, the language profiles of my two children had changed drastically from when we moved from Gauteng and settled in Cape Town in 2016. They shifted from predominantly speaking isiXhosa and Setswana, with a pinch of Disney cartoon English for the eldest child, to predominantly speaking English. This was after two years of being in an English medium preschool located on the campus of the university where I was enrolled for my postgraduate studies. Prior to that, they had been staying at home with an array of language exposure ranging from isiXhosa and Setswana from myself and their father; Sesotho, isiXhosa, isiMpondo from their different helpers⁶, including our last helper before relocation who spoke all the SA official languages. She responded with hesitation and great discomfort when I asked her to tell

⁶ Helper (Also called uSisi/uAnti oncedisayo in isiXhosa) is a domestic worker whose duties can be child-minding or housekeeping or both.

me what her home language was. In hindsight, this was because she grew up and continued to live in an area of Gauteng where language groupings co-existed in families and individual community members with relative ease.

My children's experience outside the home was also met with similar diversity. Most of the friends we interacted with regularly were in cross-ethnolinguistic partnerships and families with more than one African language (as well as English) in each household. There were less isiXhosa speaking families in our family friendship group than other African languages, and none of the schools in our city offered isiXhosa. This suited our family because we had the option of Setswana which is one of the family languages that we were well resourced in to support our children once they started school. And when we moved to Cape Town I was excited that the children could choose isiXhosa which is also a language in our family that we were well resourced to support them in.

However, the development of their isiXhosa resources in formal education was unfortunately not to be because their preschool taught through English, and the many staff members who were isiXhosa speakers were disempowered to use isiXhosa with the children. The language development of the children (6 months to 5 year olds) in the preschool was built around proficiency in English. It was in those preschool years that I began to see my children's linguistic resources in African languages diminish, despite my persistence in using isiXhosa with them. Their productive use of isiXhosa was more impacted, but their comprehension skills continue to grow as I continued to use isiXhosa (alongside English and Setswana, to a lesser extent). I was particularly pleased that they still enjoyed reading our favourite isiXhosa stories together. They also loved listening to my folktales and 'Bana ba sikolo' the Setwana song that their father used to sing to them in their baby and toddler years in Tshwane in the Gauteng province. The Setswana song had me joining in with the isiXhosa version called 'Mntakwethu ulele na?', as can be anticipated to be the practice for parents from different linguistic backgrounds and constantly trying to find equivalents and connections between their different languages. This family tradition of singing and reading and telling stories in isiXhosa, particularly,

persisted despite the language experience the children were having at pre-school. It also helped that the children regularly spent time with my isiXhosa speaking family in the Eastern Cape during school holidays, and that my family would also visit us in Cape Town to spend time with us from time to time during the children's pre-school years.

It was not so apparent that my children were increasingly using English, initially. But this became more noticeable when I would watch video recordings of the girls playing together that I took for my family or when asking them to select their favourite books to read at home. My youngest, Kgolo (3 at the time), would particularly choose an isiXhosa title like 'Ngamazinyi kabani la' (whose teeth are these) but would read it with the book upside down and narrating the story in English. There were also occasions where English speaking strangers would overhear my interaction with my children and would express their puzzlement at how we were having a seemingly flowing conversation with my children speaking in English and I speaking in isiXhosa (or a different language from the children). I found it strange that people would be surprised at this dynamic because, it is the norm in environments where people use more than one language, such as Tshwane where the children were born. I continued speaking to the children in isiXhosa until 2018, when Kago started Grade R at an elite historically white school. On one occasion when I was dropping her at school around the second quarter of the year, we said our greeting at the entrance of the school as per the custom when dropping her off in the morning. The conversation started with my 'bhabhayi sisi, umama uyakuthanda nhe' (good bye sister [term of endearment], mommy loves you) and ended with her saying 'don't speak to me in that language, mama'. I walked away feeling struck, stuck between the feelings 'how did we get here?' and looking at the school environment thinking 'this is what got us here'. A few years later, I am writing a thesis trying to make sense of the same dynamics of language socialisation in multilingual African-languages speaking families who send their children to English medium schools. In hindsight, this is the motivation for my study, thus positioning me as both an insider and an outsider in understanding my case study family's lived experiences.

This study is also inspired by the gap in knowledge about the current and dynamic language socialisation practices of children growing up in South Africa, whether in relatively under-resourced or affluent multilingual communities. Although the case study family lives in a township in Cape Town, the focus child in this study attends an elite historically white school in the suburbs. She was in Grade 4 (Intermediate Phase) at the beginning of my fieldwork. The child's family identify isiXhosa as their home language. While families who send their children to elite public schools constitute a numerical minority in comparison to the majority of Black children in exposed (underserved) schools (Black, Spreen & Vally, 2020) and communities, I would argue that knowledge about the language practices and ideologies of these families is critical in debates about transformation possibilities and prevailing coloniality in historically white and now desegregated schools.

This study is also prompted by the complexity of South African multilingualism. Multilingualism is a norm in Africa and worldwide (Wolff, 2000); and Aronin (2017: 174) further describes it as the "prevailing human condition" in post-postmodernity. Its relevance as a topic of academic research and public debate has been maintained since the period of the end of World War II (Heller, 2007;1). With the consideration for the multilingual milieu of South African society and the drive for embracing this linguistic diversity and equitable use of languages as articulated in the various aforementioned policy documents, status planning and corpus planning (Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017) feature strongly in the national language planning agenda. Status planning refers to the outlined use of distinct languages in particular domains and for specific purposes; while, corpus planning is concerned with decisions about language forms and norms, which also includes terminology development (McCarty & May, 2017: xiii). One of the purposes of status planning is to improve the status of marginalised languages, a critical consideration in the African-languages speaking family who exists in a schooling context where African languages are marginalised. Tied to status planning is the educational function of language that is addressed by acquisition planning, another type of language

planning, which impacts on decisions such as media of instruction and learning languages as subjects in the schooling system (Groff, 2007). With the nation's language landscape being characterised by families possessing African languages identities, multilingual repertoires and hybridity in language practices, policy aspiration shows little consideration for heteroglossic classroom language practices and the linguistic resources children bring to schools. Several scholars' findings attest to the multilingual repertoires and hybridity in language practices of Black African children, describing these practices as heteroglossic (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; Busch, 2012; McKinney, 2017).

Additionally, the identity of children in a dynamic multilingual society is multifaceted (Norton, 2010 in Mkhize, 2016: 45); conditions of mobility and interethnic connections between their parents and caregivers present challenges to narrow conceptions of language identity. Concepts of 'mother tongue', 'home language' and 'first language' that form a critical component of language-in-education planning and national census data fall short in articulating the complex sociolinguistic situation in South Africa because they assume that speakers are monolingual with a single home language (Makalela, 2019: 241). Makalela argues that the utility of these terminologies is limited in African societies, even though they may be used more successfully in Western societies. However, there is also critique of these terminologies in Western societies due to superdiversity and accompanying linguistic diversity through immigration (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Blommaert & Rampton, 2012: 12). Additionally, the conceptualisation of multilingualism in South African policy reveals gaps between societal and individual multilingualism (Banda, 2009).

Seemingly, a disconnection exists between the multilingual repertoire of individuals and language planning in education that fails to meet the demands of the rich multilingual repertoire of South African children. A restricted view of language identity becomes evident in the language-in-education policy, which although it promotes (societal) multilingualism, expresses the ideological view that languages are stable entities that belong to neat categories. The same gap in understanding exists with 'home language'

identity of multilinguals – policy assumes that African children acquire multilingualism sequentially rather than simultaneously. This is then realised through the current South African curriculum, CAPS, where language subjects are hierarchically categorised into Home Language (HL), First Additional Language (FAL) and Second Additional Language (SAL) as explained above. Individual school policies are likely to conceptualise languages similarly to the overarching national language policy.

But language planning does not only occur in the official institutional domains. Like governments, families undertake explicit and overt planning relating to language use in their homes and among their members (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008). Both Family Language Policy (FLP) and family multilingualism surface the relationship between the private domain and public spheres. Families are often caught between the realities of succumbing to social pressures, political imposition and public educational demands, and their personal desire for cultural loyalty and family language resources (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). In Africa, it is often a negotiation between desire to connect to cultural and linguistic resources of their African languages and the material benefits of proficiency in English. My own earlier research about a Black middle-class multilingual family's language socialisation practices reveals that the parents of an emergent multilingual child desired their children to speak their heritage languages for identity reasons while also wanting them to speak the dominant language, English, in order to 'fit in' with their English-speaking peers and to access learning at school (Molate, 2019). This points to the post-apartheid language situation that scholars such as Alexander and Bloch (2003: 91-92) report on, arguing that African languages have limited high status functions. Additionally, they report the attitude of most African-languages speakers as reflecting a willingness to accept confining the use of their languages to community and family while showing no political will to develop and modernise them for use in high-status functions such as the economy and politics, as is the case with colonial languages like English (Hornberger, 2010: 553). Alexander and Bloch also maintain that the dominance and hegemony of English is due to its global status as the language of

business but also owing to it having been relatively mythologised as the language of liberation and national unity during the apartheid years (Alexander & Bloch, 2003: 91).

The idea of language 'choice' is not a simple matter of people merely choosing one language over another, particularly for bi/multilingual individuals and societies. Hornberger and Johnson (2011: 285) present findings showing that language practices in schools and societies are not necessarily controlled by top-down policies. Rather, educators and other members of society can use their agency to interpret, appropriate and/or ignore such policies in creative ways. Additionally, the socialisation process has generally been acknowledged as relatively multidirectional in LS research (Duff & Talmy, 2011: 97). An interchange of roles can exist between those who socialise others and those who are being socialised. Children can switch to the role of expert and act as information advisors or language brokers in instances where parents are not well versed with a certain language, e.g. English (Tuominen, 1999: 72). In this study, I am interested in establishing and describing the socialisation roles between young and adult members in their homes. I would also like to understand the interplay of roles of participants and language choice between their homes and the school domain.

It is also important to extend the understanding of 'language policy' to include the decisions made at the community and family level (Smith-Christmas, 2017:35). With Family Language Policy (FLP) being recently formalised as a field of study, and picking up momentum in the past decade, globally, it becomes imperative to explore FLP within the multiple sociolinguistic contexts in Africa. There is a scarcity of these studies locally, and the available international studies focus mainly on transnational/immigrant families. The African context, however, presents a language situation where African languages are minoritized despite their speakers being the numerical majority (McKinney & Molate, 2022), and where multilingual repertoires are the norm. Furthermore, an in-depth understanding of the concepts of 'family' and 'household' in South African society could add valuable insight into how FLP is negotiated locally. One of the interesting dynamics in SA is an unusual arrangement of dual housing - families having two homes and

members traversing between a home in the city and another in a rural village, particularly Black families (Hall & Richter, 2018: 25). Even though extended households continue to predominate in African communities and the kinship care of children remains prevalent, the framing of a 'nuclear' family as the norm and the key site for care persists in post-apartheid South African social policy (Hall & Mokomane, 2018: 43), as it does in FLP. It is thus imperative to consider the definitions of both 'family' and 'household' in extending our understandings of FLP theory, enabling us to explore and contextualise FLP for the South African cultural and sociolinguistic landscape.

Additionally, with language planning generally invested in negotiations between members of families and society and across various spheres of language socialisation, my interest is to explore the intersection of FLP and language-in-education policy. This knowledge is important for policy makers, School Governing Bodies (SGBs), educators and parents who make decisions about children accessing learning and their sense of belonging in any domain. It is in light of these tensions and negotiations between the private and public domains that my main research question arises. Further, I do not view the home and public domains as neatly bounded spheres that exist in isolation from one another; rather, a 'semi-permeable membrane' exists between them that enables "external forces to penetrate, through language socialisation, into family domain, and at the same time and to a certain degree, allow inner forces of FLP to pass in the opposite direction into society" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018: 422). The implication of broadening understandings of 'family' and 'multilingualism' in FLP to research language practices of Black African multilingual families has the potential to generate new knowledge that may be useful in realising more inclusive school language policies for underserved communities, and legitimizing the actual language practices of both teachers and children in schools. More importantly, I would argue that a young child entering the schooling system with a fully inclusive language policy that is crafted with clear insights from the home socialisation practices, stands to benefit in their schooling career.

Research questions

This ethnographic case study of an African-language speaking multilingual family where the mother is committed to the development of her child's multilingual, and especially isiXhosa, proficiency aims to answer the following question:

What are the language and literacy practices of an African-language(s) speaking family with child(ren) in an historically white English-medium school in South Africa?

As the fieldwork progressed the question evolved to include the following sub-questions:

- What constitutes 'family', and in what ways does the construction of a family intersect with language and literacy socialisation in the home?
- How are language and literacy socialisation practices enacted?
- How does the family navigate (make sense of) language and literacy practices between the family/home environment and schooling?

Conclusion and thesis outline

Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides the language in education policy context for the research.

Chapter 2 presents the conceptual framework which is grounded in Language Socialisation and Epistemologies of the South as well as the literature review: theorizing multilingualism from the global south as well as theorizing family multilingualism and conceptualising ikhaya.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach and methods used. I discuss how the case study was constructed, and how I employed linguistic ethnography to make sense of the languaging and literacy practices in ikhaya lakwaMakoma.

Chapters 4-7 present and analyse the data. Chapter 4 focuses on family-making through languaging, or the making of ikhaya. Chapters 5 and 6 explore practices of family

language and literacy socialisation analysing examples of fixed and fluid languaging, of the performative and literate nature of oral language practices and the blurring of multiple binaries. Chapter 7 accounts for the relationship between the language and literacy practices of ikhaya and of the school domain, foregrounding the innovative ways in which Nosi and Siya resist the monolingual and Anglonormative ideologies of language in school.

Lastly, I offer my concluding thoughts in Chapter 8, wherein I outline the key contributions to knowledge that this study makes, with particular attention to the indigenous concept ikhaya, and offer insights for further research as well as my recommendations.

2. Conceptual framework and literature review

Introduction

This study focuses on how communities and individuals participate in the socialization process concerning their language and literacy practices and ideologies. In this chapter, I draw from Language Socialization (LS) as a theoretical framework which shows the learning of language and literacy as involving both direct and implicit socialisation of people into ways of using language in particular cultures and communities that reflect their distinct values, ideologies, and practices (Duff, 2007). Further, I explore conceptual themes in language socialization through the lens of Epistemologies of the South (ES) as a necessary and crucial means of centering African epistememes. In this chapter, I provide an understanding of the ES and its relevance in the context of the study; I outline the framework of LS, its use and evolution; I also provide an account of multilingualism as theorised from northern and southern perspectives. The key concepts of translanguaging, linguistic and spatial repertoires as well as language ideologies are explained. I then move on to review studies in family multilingualism reflecting on the concept of Family Language Policy (FLP) that emanates from the Language Socialisation (LS) framework. I conclude with a critique of the notion of ‘family’ in FLP and make the case for the use of an indigenous concept ‘ikhaya’ which embraces both family and household as well as significant kinship ties in the South African context.

Epistemologies of the South

The contextual and culturally relevant inductive theorising approach needed in this research has informed my choice to consider epistemologies and ontologies of the global south – the perspectives that represent views and knowledges of people it encompasses. More than being a geographic representation, the global south represents ways of knowing and being of the people of the south in which the geographic north can participate (Antia & Makoni, 2023). It also represents societies that have endured various forms of systemic injustices, which include colonialism. I locate ‘post-colonial’ South

Africa within the global south, geographically. And more critically, I conceive the larger population of South Africa as having endured and as continuing to endure systemic injustices in which language (in education) as a remnant of colonialism, I will argue, is one. The Epistemologies of the South (ES) offers insights with which these systemic injustices can be examined and resisted (Escobar, 2016). Scholars within the ES framework deem it necessary to interrogate and disrupt the dominance of northern theories (de Souza, 2023: xvii). This interrogation and disruption demonstrate a conviction that the Eurocentric worldview is not the only legitimate understanding of the world (Santos, 2014, in Makoni, Kaiper-Maquez & Mokwena, 2023: 2).

Expressing the diversity and multiplicity in the world and countering universalist ideas espoused in Western epistemes, Escobar (2016: 15) presents the world as being “made up of multiple worlds, multiple ontologies or realms that are far from being exhausted by the Eurocentric experience or reducible to its terms”. Escobar’s assertion, here, rejects the experiences and existence of people in the world as monolithic or homogenous, and viewings such a perspective as limiting. And among other dualistic conceptions, Escobar suggests that a geopolitical epistemological consideration can dismantle the binary between the individual and the communal (2016:28). Likewise, Christie and McKinney (2016) reject the binarizing between different epistemes - a substitution of western epistemes for southern epistemes – and argue for a pluriversality rather than a universalist approach. Mignolo (2018) describes pluriversality as involving an entanglement of perspectives/worldviews (or ontologies) that are plotted along a power hierarchy. The pluriverse can be imagined as the tool for displacing a dualistic ontology making space for a non-monolithic worldview (Escobar, 2016), or provision of “resonance to those other worlds that interrupt the one-world story” (Blaser et al, 2014, in Escobar, 2016:22).

While the theoretical orientation reflected in this study prioritises the south, I do draw from the significant scholarly work of the north as a means of giving an account of the foundations in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics which, conceivably, require

broadening. Moreover, I use existing literature as a useful springboard from which gaps in knowledge and research can be recognised and critical insights taken forward in favour of centring and learning from the south (Makoni et al, 2023). As means to expand northern theorising and bringing in new dimensions to existing theories, I reflect on the enduring African epistemes to register the construction of spatial and linguistic resources of Black multilingual people in South Africa. This is made possible by drawing on local terminologies drawn from people's lived experiences that deconstruct certain notions of society's organising systems. I do this not as an endorsement of a monolithic ethos, but rather, to present the experiences and perspectives of another world – another story. Richards (2014) frames capturing 'lived experiences' as a resistance tool for countering universalist ideas that muddle the separation between "objects of knowledge and producers of knowledge" (140). This is necessarily important in the field of multilingualism where views on the concept have largely centred on Eurocentric language practices and ideologies.

The recently published second edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (McKinney et al, 2023) is timely, amid conscientizing in the field with a focus on surfacing the voices of scholars in the south. The editors of the book expressly set out their aim in multilingualism research as "decentring the 'Global North' and Eurocentrism in research as well as recognising the partiality of all knowledge systems" (McKinney et al, (2024: xxi). Partiality of knowledge systems speaks to the bias in the unequal valuing of knowledge systems. Richards (2014: 147) urges scholars to challenge any knowledge system that naturalises organising groups of people along the structure of a power hierarchy. With its arguably expansive contribution from emerging scholars, another recent publication - *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Global South/s* - foregrounds a non-dualistic and non-monolithic approach in the study of 'language/s' in conceptualising and theorising about 'language/s' and the 'global south/s' (Makoni et al, 2023). In their advocacy for southern theorising, Makoni et al (2023: 5) caution against being misconstrued as choosing one way over another in their theorising about issues of

inequality. Further, bringing into discussion the geopolitical and ethical responsibility of scholars, Antia and Makoni (2023) deem the work of identifying, interrogating and interrupting compliance and even complicity with the evident “universality or neutrality” of theories of language to rest with scholars aligning themselves with the epistemologies of the south. Relatedly, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2019) believes that decolonising research methodology is also central in attaining epistemic freedom that requires the thinking and unthinking of popularised ways of producing knowledge. While I do not expressly draw from the decolonial theoretical framework in this thesis, I find it forming part of (or even deriving from) the ES discourse and thought.

Focusing on family multilingualism, Gomes and Lanza (2022) also foreground the need to engage with theories of southern epistemologies and decoloniality as necessary orientations if we are to call into question the hierarchizing of knowledge systems. Further, they propose a rethinking of conceptual and methodological approaches that are rooted in colonial thinking. Engaged in this line of inquiry, I ponder some of the colonial conditioning and hierarchizing of knowledge systems that needs to be re-evaluated in both the theoretical and methodological theorising of language socialisation research. To this end, I introduce *ikhaya*, a term in isiXhosa that I motivate to use as a conceptual foundation for understanding and registering familial and spatial organisation in the southern context, which is particularly important for early language socialisation research in Africa. As an example of the affordances of the ES lens, the isiXhosa term *ikhaya* representing both the people (family) and space (home). *Ikhaya* affords us crucial understanding in the organisation and context of language and literacy socialisation in the South – critically showing the home ‘domain’ as distributed across different spaces and kinship ties or networks. The choice to present the languaging spaces, thus, - the linguistically non-hierarchical and semiotically fluid spaces - in my research as domains is not an uncritical one. The use of the term domain in linguistics is unmarked (McKinney & Tyler, 2024). As such, I refer to domain to mean language socialisation spaces, whether virtual or physical, that connect, interact and are interdependent.

Language socialization

Language Socialisation as a tool for navigating language as culture serves both a practical (involving language practices) and ideological (involving language ideologies) purpose. This is well reflected in Schieffelin and Ochs's description of LS as a functional and symbolic interface between language and culture (1986b). wa Thiongo (1986) also makes the connection between language and culture, and places 'language as culture' as representing the collective archive of people's experiences from time immemorial. wa Thiongo argues that "culture is almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its transmission from one generation to the next" (1986: 15). More than language and culture being inseparable, wa Thiongo expresses the facilitation role of language in the movement and archiving of culture across time. The implication for this transportation role of people's practices and knowledges across generations has a bearing on their literacy socialisation from the southern epistemological framework. Anthropologists have long abandoned the view of culture being homogenous, bounded and unchanging (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012), thus I conceive of the collective archiving of culture as transportation of knowledges (of language and through language) and preserving of histories of our being and practices with which we can navigate and make sense of the present. Similarly, Sapir, (1921, in Copland & Creese, 2015: 14) relates language and culture as entangled. Considering this intertwining and inseparability, the paradigm described by Schieffelin and Ochs is particularly useful in this study in exploring the ways members of a family participate in language socialisation in and across the spaces they traverse - the home, the school and the broader community. In some of the foundational LS studies (Heath, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a), the aforementioned spheres of socialisation are examined as micro and macro contexts, in which language is learned and used. This work is typically done through longitudinal research designs, which utilise ethnography and linguistic/discourse analytic methods (Duff & Talmy, 2011:95). The broader community

as a sphere of socialisation, thus, constitutes a macro context while the whole family – and interaction between individual family members – counts as a micro context.

The field of language socialisation primarily emerged from linguistic anthropology but it also draws from sociology, cultural psychology, sociolinguistics and education (Duff, 2007: 310). From the linguistic anthropology perspective, LS, is described as both a theoretical framework and methodological approach (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Duff & Talmy, 2011). Similarly, He (2012: 588) frames LS as an approach that is rooted in linguistic ethnography, which focuses on how individuals become competent members of society by observing their language use in social activities. Lee and Bucholtz (2015: 324) further maintain that the commonality between LS studies is the ethnographic perspective that seeks to gain insider insights into cultural meaning by undertaking a longitudinal design to record detailed descriptions and interpretations of linguistic and embodied social connections in multiple spheres, and across settings. I discuss its methodological dimension in the next chapter. Moreover, LS is deemed the social approach of sociolinguistics, where the social processing of acquiring and learning language is core rather than the individual (Mesthrie et al, 2009: 4).

A social rather than individual focus in language acquisition aligns with how African society is set up to value the role of community in the raising of a child, which includes processes of language socialisation. This is indeed the sentiment carried by the African philosophy and practice of Ubuntu, expressed through the common saying ‘it takes a village to raise a child’. This points to the collective effort and responsibility with which teaching, providing and caring for a child is placed within community. Ubuntu itself is a word from the Nguni languages (also called botho in the Sotho languages), which means humanity or humanness and it responds to the connection of the individual to community. It is thus also an African concept and philosophy that situates the individual as connected to a community and foregrounds living in relationships and interdependence of the connection (Nzimakwe, 2014; Makalela 2018; Ramose, 2020). The relevance of ubuntu/botho in the field of language socialisation is placed in the

principle of interconnectedness between the individual and community, and indeed between languages (Makalela, 2016). Makoni et al (2023) argue for the necessity of the field of applied linguistics to use ES concepts, which can provide a social emancipatory role by offering an alternative and expanded repertoire with which multilingualism can be analysed. Ubuntu, for instance, as Makalela (2016) points out, provides us with a reflection on the mutual dependence of languages; another concept, *nepantla* (a Latinx word that signifies borderlands or in-between spaces) can offer understanding about how languages are ‘unstable intermediate entities rather than being firmly bounded’ (Makoni et al, 2023; 4). In this thesis, the concept of ubuntu is particularly relevant in theorising language socialisation for two reasons. It provides a framework for understanding the dynamics of ethnolinguistic diversity in Africa that existed from precolonial times (Makalela, 2018), which is important for understanding how precolonial societies navigated multilingualism. It also provides an example of how we can explore existing local knowledges, terminologies and philosophies which are useful for understanding notions of family organisation and how they relate to multilingual language practices and ideologies, for instance.

While consistent with Schieffelin and Ochs’s (1986b: 163) original definition of LS as “socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language”, Lee and Bucholtz’s (2015) perspective additionally highlights the aspects of ‘competence’ and ‘communities of speech’ (Gumperz, 1960) in the process of language socialisation. The idea of speech community links to Hymes’ (1966) ‘communicative competence’, in which he signals language as communicative practice rather than as system (in response to Chomsky’s (1965) notion of ‘competence versus performance’). LS thus can be seen as a counterview to narrower cognitivist and psycholinguistic views of child language acquisition. An earlier Chomskyan concept, ‘linguistic competence’, was also found to be lacking in accounting for knowledge of how to use language appropriately in different contexts and for different purposes and as such, Hymes (1965) argued for communicative competence as a useful alternative in describing the social matrix of

language acquisition in children (Johnstone & Marcelino, 2010: 3). In this paradigm, Hymes is describing the kind of competences children are acquiring, beyond knowledge of grammatical system and vocabulary. The LS paradigm is thus useful in understanding development of linguistic and cultural competence through various ways people interact within their communities of practice (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015).

Historically, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies' individual and cognitivist focus has largely ignored language learning in multilingual contexts. Initial studies in this field, both from psycholinguistic and language socialisation perspectives, focused on monolingual or first language acquisition. Later studies focused on second language acquisition and currently there is recognition of the need to focus on bi/multilingual language acquisition and socialisation and to reframe SLA as the process of becoming multilingual (Ortega, 2009). To extend Ortega's framing, I would append 'and of being multilingual', that is the study as well as the process of becoming bi/multilingual. In this way, multilingualism is not seen as the exception, nor the addition to bounded languages as is often framed in northern theorising. Rather, it is acknowledged as a typical experience as seen in indigenous multilingualism. This is important in the Southern context where indigenous multilingualism – children growing up with two or more languages - is typical (Garcia & Lin, 2018). Additionally, despite the growing awareness of multilingualism, the field of SLA has not given much consideration to multilingualism as a social practice, nor to the typical language practices of multilinguals who draw from their multilingual repertoires rather than the named languages people acquire successively (Erdei, 2010: 6; Cenoz, 2013; 105). Consistent with Busch's (2010) point stated above – the awareness of diversity within multilingual communities rests on the concept of heteroglossia rather than separate bounded languages.

While the SLA field has a history of being informed by the cognitivist approach (Dwight, 2011: 1) - a focus on the internal individual mental processes of language learning rather than observed behaviour – a shift has since occurred. Since the mid-nineties, the field has been going through a process of transformation that has critiqued the cognitive basis

of the discipline and made way for the development of the socially oriented reconceptualization of second language learning (L2) (Douglas Fir Group, 2016; Ortega, 2014; Canagarajah, 2007). Similarly, Canagarajah (2007: 923) reflected on the works of several authors who flagged the binarizing between individual versus community, purity versus hybridity, fixity versus fluidity and monolingual versus multilingual. Rather than calling for the revision of the foundational thinking from which the SLA field was built, Canagarajah's critique raises awareness about how this expanded understanding of language learning has brought forth and given relevance to "diverse communities in different historical and geographical contexts" (924). The subject of historical and geographical context is particularly pertinent to the setting of this study, South Africa and by extension the global south, where multilingualism is both the norm and language acquisition carries linguistic diversity and complexity as a strength rather than a condition requiring a remedy. This is consistent with Ruiz's (1984) concept of language, and by extension, multilingualism, as a resource. What then is multilingualism in this context? And what frameworks have represented and misrepresented the people of the south?

Language and literacy as social practice

The language socialisation paradigm has long taken an all-encompassing perspective of literacy, that is, considering literacy as both the acquisition of cognitive skills and the cultural training of novices "into a community's values, social positions, and identities, which are associated with locally shaped literacy practices" (Sterponi, 2012: 227). This aligns with the idea of literacy as social practice which hinges on history, culture and is "always ideological" (Street, 1997: 48). The view of literacy as ideological and as social practice (as expressed in New Literacy Studies), has resulted in major challenges and revisions to earlier conceptions of literacy over the past few decades. One of the developments was the growing critique of what literacy studies scholar Street (1984) called the 'autonomous model' of literacy. He flagged this as a literacy oriented towards an essayist form of writing that is prevalent in Western culture, which is also supported

in schooling. According to Gee (1986:731), the autonomous model claims that literacy has cognitive effects that are separate from the contexts it exists in and the way it relates to a particular culture. In this way, literacy is viewed as a set of decontextualized and transferable skills. Further, Gee characterises the autonomous, or skills-based, approach to literacy, often centred on reading and writing (Brandt & Clinton, 2002), as carrying the ideologies and practices of school, privileging a mainstream middle-class way of making sense. Similarly, in her study of LS in three communities, Heath (1983) flagged mainstream, middle-class ways of knowing as privileged in schooling and problematized the so-called 'great divide' between orality and literacy. Heath (1983) argues that the dichotomies between the oral and literate traditions, unilinear models of child language development and dichotomised cognitive styles are inadequate in giving a full account of what constitutes literacy (49). This "oral-literate dichotomy" has since been rejected by scholars working from literacy as social practice perspective (Brandt & Clinton, 2002: 341). From the social practice understanding of literacy, thus, orality and literacy, in reality, often interact fluidly to the point that the boundaries between the two overlap and become barely detectable. This articulation of literacy as social practice provides me with a conceptual frame in this study to interrogate the boundaries/binary between languages – the separate construction and/or extent of fluidity – as observed through language practices in encounters of language-in-use.

Although, research in literacy studies has often neglected language practices (Stephens, 2000), in this research therefore, I study language and literacy as closely intertwined phenomena. Matching these two has been the dominant approach in classic ethnographic Language Socialisation (LS) studies such as Heath's (1983) *Ways with Words* and Gee's review paper (1986) *Orality and Literacy: from the Savage Mind to Ways with Words*. One of the propositions Heath makes is that broader sociocultural analysis is necessary in the study of the development of language use – the language practices, particularly relating to written materials in the home and community (1983: 49). Both Heath and Gee's studies draw attention to the inadequacies of linear and dichotomised

understandings of language development and of what constitutes literacy. They cast light on the dynamics of power and acculturation to the 'mainstream' worldview. Gee (1986) asks for instance: "But what is literacy?" Further, Street (2003: 77) reflects on the complexity of what counts as literacy at any given time and place and as such probes "... 'whose literacies' are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant". The decades old question posed by Gee is still pertinent today and remains unresolved. This is certainly the case in the South African context where mainstream ways of doing and knowing continue to dominate in society and official domains like schooling.

Specifically, language practices most proximal to English are valued in the same way that literacy practices that conform to Western forms are valued, via schooling, while neglecting oral practices like storytelling, which is undervalued in language curricula in SA schooling. Furthermore, these questions demand probing and critical engagements with our concept of literacy - literacies. Reflectively, I would add to Gee's question, 'whose knowledge, and whose language?' are dominant. These reflective questions are in consideration to the valuing of African epistemes and the wealth of knowledges that emanate from the south, along with the people's ways of being as produced and transported by language as well as marginalisation of African languages in South African schooling. The southern (or the context-specific) lens is useful, thus, as it demands a renewal of thought and action to move from an epistemic space of Western social theory to other ways of knowing that also consider the relational ontologies of marginalised worlds (Escobar, 2016: 16). The epistemic space of Western social theory, I argue, is conceptually constraining, presenting the world as monolithic, and thus missing the multiple ways of knowing that exist which shows the ways of doing of marginalised people.

The intertwining of language and literacy described by Stephens (2000) is well reflected in Hornberger's idea of 'continua of biliteracy' (Hornberger 2010) where she illustrates the co-existence of and intersection between languages, literacies and the connection between language and literacy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000:96). Viewed in the

context of bi/multilingual learners, the 'continua of biliteracy' suggests that it would be simplistic to characterise dimensions of language (bilingualism) and literacy as opposite; comparisons such as first language versus second language; monolingual versus bilingual individuals, or oral versus literate society. Furthermore, she argues that the lines are so muddled and blurred that it would be more accurate to view these dimensions as interrelated components that form a highly complex whole (Hornberger, 2003: 5). Reflecting on the broad interrelatedness of language and literacy and considering that classic language socialisation studies (such as Heath's) include literacy, it is surprising that the LS paradigm refers exclusively to language. Similarly, Garcia (2014) pointed out the same misalignment in the conception of biliteracy development in earlier language studies, with programs such as English as Second Language (ESL) as a case in point. Garcia (2014) reflects on how language and literacy were treated as separate entities, taking the "sequential view of biliteracy" (153), akin to the northern conceptualisation of multilingualism that, in my view, overrepresents language acquisition/learning as sequential rather than also simultaneous. Sequential bi/multilingualism refers to a case of a second language having been acquired and/or learned successively after the first one has been acquired while more than one language is acquired at the same time refers to simultaneous bi/multilingualism (Erdei, 2010).

Further, Alderson (1984: 24) presents a useful reflection on the intricacy involved in separating language and literacy through the question: "If a student is having difficulty reading a text in a foreign language, should this be construed as a reading problem or a language problem?" I believe this question highlights the interrelation of these two practices as described by Hornberger (2003). Essentially, the concept of 'continua of biliteracy' is useful in describing the interface and fluidity between language and literacy and various biliteracy dimensions. Hornberger's continua of biliteracy, thus, renders the idea of categorising language learning separately from literacy as illogical and it presupposes the existence of flexible boundaries between languages. Moreover, this concept shows oral and written language as connected and simultaneously developing

in perpetuity. In this thesis, thus, I explore the ways in which the integration between multiple languages, and multiple literacies is reflected in the language socialisation practices of an African family. Further, I will argue that in multilingual societies, it is imperative to adopt a LS paradigm that explicitly foregrounds language and literacy as integrated and fluid phenomena that cannot be observed and studied in isolation from each other.

Theorizing multilingualism

Conceptualisations of multilingualism have varied across time and are woven with complexity across contexts (Aronin, 2017). Endeavouring to map out the origins of multilingualism, Romaine (2001) makes a critical point about multilingualism being a social practice that humans have negotiated and managed uninhibited, pre-modernity, and long before the understanding of ‘language policy’ as regulating mechanism with its oppressive monoglossic language ideologies. Here, Romaine situates multilingualism, and indeed language management, within community and heteroglossia (or hybridity). Importantly, she presents people’s navigation of multilingualism as predating the formalised/codified understating of ‘language regulation’, and centres on centuries old ontological and epistemological orientations to language. Additionally, she draws attention to the oppressive nature of promoting the use of one language in societies that are ordinarily multilingual, who have successfully navigated existing in a linguistically varied and diverse world for ages. Moreover, monoglossia has been flagged as an imposition of the North and, as such, a Eurocentric ideology (Romaine, 2001).

More recently and reflecting on what he calls African multilingualism, Makalela (2018) makes a similar point about multilingualism and indeed heteroglossia as predating colonial times. In his paper where he engages with community elders to gain insights about indigenous epistemes and translingual practices Makalela maintains that, along with the occupation and division of African countries into colonies, monolingual ideologies that favoured European languages at the expense of African languages were

also passed along. In the next section, I explore these different conceptions from the north to south and along with the language ideologies that underpin the theorising and practice of multilingualism globally.

- **Multilingualism from northern perspectives**

Northern theorising of multilingualism has been largely driven by the context of migration and increased mobility of people across borders, physically or virtually through digital technologies and the internet. Additionally, understandings of multilingualism have ranged from the paradigm of competency to that of affordances. According to the European Commission, in 2007, multilingualism encompasses the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, regularly, with more than one language in their daily routines (Cenoz, 2013: 5). It is from this perspective that we can glean the reason for the broad categorisation of multilingualism into ‘societal’ and ‘individual’ multilingualism. This categorisation appears in Cenoz (2013) among others, where individual multilingualism points to a person’s ability to use more than one language, while societal multilingualism refers to the society’s use of more than one language. One facet of this paradigm is that it is possible for a nation to be characterised as multilingual while having individuals within the same nation who operate monolingually, and vice versa. Described this way, multilingualism is framed from the perspective of competence (abilities) and the common binary identification of multilingualism as being generally individual or societal. While these distinctions are made between societal and individual multilingualism, the sociocultural lens perceives of humans as social beings, connected to their environment - the community.

Canagarajah (2022) argues that seeking to define ‘language competence’ is grounded on the understanding of ‘ability’, and hence ‘competence’, as the norm which has been critiqued by several scholars in applied linguistics in the global South. At the crux of the critique is multilingualism that is constructed and understood around the idea of named language, nomolanguages (Krause, 2022), as separate and existing in silos that rest on the individual rather than language (thus multilingualism) as social practice. This makes

me ponder about the ideology such construction of multilingualism and their appropriateness thereof in the context of language and learning as social interaction, rather than individual endeavour where assessing levels of proficiency, thus competence, is valued. One of my objectives relating to the concept of multilingualism, thus, is to show the contextual disparities between northern theorising of multilingualism and African multilingualism. In contrast to the northern context, Makalela (2016) explains how language ecology in southern Africa has always been multilingual and that language use has often been fluid. Mohanty (2019) reports a similar multilingual context in India and other post-colonial nations. Thus, it is imperative to revise and expand the northern theorisation of multilingualism. Ultimately, southern theorisations of multilingualism rooted in the African context and the rest of the global south are necessary.

While South Africa is evidently multilingual, officially and in practice, language in schooling has a long history of privileging English as a language of learning and teaching for most of the school years of a child while African languages remain at the periphery. I view this dynamic as a paradox where the country proclaims being multilingual (with 12 officially recognised languages), while privileging being monolingual (in English). I liken this complexity to the language paradox noted in the north. While multilingualism is clearly acknowledged as a global norm and clearly embraced in the region, there is a self-contradiction that exists where monolingualism is normative in the Eurozone (Jaspers, 2015 in Prinsloo, 2024). And in this dynamic, individuals can be identified as multilinguals within a nation while the nation itself maintains a monolingual identity.

The monoglossic ideology as an imposition of the north is also well reflected in some earlier scholars' identification and critique of the ideological bias that exists in European history with aims to socialise communities towards one language (McKinney, Makoe & Zavala, 2024). One of the motivations of this socialisation stems from conceptualising multilingualism (evident in language planning strategy) as a problem (Ruiz, 1984), and establishing nations' and communities' identities around one language (Singh, 1998 in Liyanage & Canagarajah, 2024); privileging a single language of dominant communities

(May, 2001). The ideological load that affords English its status and hegemony in high status domains in South Africa shows its connection to being an imposition of the north. In contexts where languages are commodified, sociolinguistic hierarchies may emerge (Barakos & Selleck, 2019). It is perhaps this commodification which gives status to certain languages, the colonial languages in SA, as fit for use in high status domains while other languages are minoritized and relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy and become unequally valued, as is the case with African languages.

- **Multilingualism from southern perspectives**

Moving from the northern conceptualisation of multilingualism onto the southern experience of multilingualism, what Mohanty, (2019) and Garcia & Lin, (2018) call grassroots/indigenous language multilingualism, I turn to the research of Indian scholar, Mohanty. Despite multilingualism being a norm in Africa and globally, the belief that more than one language is a burden that splits human thinking capacity continues to prevail (Mohanty, 2019). Earlier, Ruiz (1984) identified this conceptualisation of ‘multilingualism as a problem’ as one of the ideological biases that have characterised European history in language planning (in McKinney et al, 2023). It is through Western conceptions of multilingualism that the under-researched multilingualism of African societies (and the global South) and children is seen in deficit terms rather than as a resource. Further, Mohanty (2019:20) maintains that while the dominant monolingual perspective sees individuals and societies as having to deviate to become and remain bilingual, in India (for instance) it would be unnatural for individuals and societies to remain completely monolingual. Intrinsically, multilingualism in India, as in South Africa and many other African countries, is not merely a deviation from the norm but part of citizenries’ natural order of being.

Mohanty (2019: 15) finds the definition of multilingualism in terms of the binary individual or societal multilingualism problematic. He argues that the multiple use of languages in diverse contexts and the complexity of such contexts, is not well-reflected in such categorisations. Furthermore, entrenched in researchers’ view of multilingualism are

their own experiences, backgrounds and ideologies (Kemp, 2009 in Mohanty, 2019: 15). And embedded in people's views about multilingualism would be their language histories, current language use and the ideas and the assumptions they hold about others' languages and language practices, i.e. their language ideologies. Like the sociocultural framing of language and literacy as social practices, multilingualism can also be described as a social practice that goes beyond the use of named languages.

Critically, Banda (2009) also challenges Western conceptions of multilingualism. He problematises the characterisation and promotion of multilingualism in South Africa through giving official status to nine African languages in addition to English and Afrikaans. Banda highlights what the policy communicates, which is "the promotion of 11 monolingual streams of distinct languages in their equally homogeneous speech communities, and bilingualism is paradoxically said to arise through education using a singular language (albeit the mother tongue)" (Banda, 2009:1). With this statement, Banda points to the irony of promoting bi/multilingualism, using a single language of instruction as is the case in schooling. Further, the terminology of 'mother tongue'/home languages/native languages poses a challenge because this depends on a view of languages as separate entities that exist in silos (McKinney, 2017). Makoni and Pennycook (2012) also maintain that terminologies such as 'mother tongues' and 'indigenous language' that are habitually used in applied linguistics reflect a colonial logic rather than 'the natural order of things'. Not only are the terminologies of language identity problematic in the way they are framed, but they also narrow the understandings of lived experiences (Busch, 2017) of multilinguals whose language practices are characterised by multiplicity and fluidity. This brings into consideration the question of how multiple languages are acquired, whether sequentially or simultaneously as I have mentioned above (Erdei, 2010). Given the prevalence of simultaneous bi/multilingualism in the South, Garcia and Lin's (2018) concept of Indigenous multilingualism already dispels the assumption which presupposes that languages are necessarily acquired sequentially. They characterise indigenous multilingualism as a case of children typically

growing up with more than one language as the norm, which is common in numerous contexts worldwide and most certainly in Africa, Asia and the Pacific (Garcia & Lin, 2018). Locally, a recent ethnographic study of children from a cross-ethnicity (Xhosa-Tswana parents) family confirms this reality in South Africa where people grow up with an indigenous language as well as English, at minimum, as the norm (McKinney and Molate, 2022).

Aligning with indigenous multilingualism is what Hans (2013, in Ortega, 2019) terms grassroots multilingualism, a description of multiple language learning as typically naturalistic and fluid, a perspective that I liken to language socialisation theory, rather than through only formalised language instruction/learning. Moreover, it is the lived experience of communities who have been minoritized together with their languages with very little choice or support for their indigenous languages or the learning of majority/postcolonial languages (Ortega, 2019: 27). In stark contrast to grassroots and indigenous multilingualism is elite multilingualism, which includes competence in European languages and is typically acquired through formal instruction, (Ortega, 2019; Garcia & Lin, 2018) – thus generally involving sequential multilingualism. Like Banda, Ortega argues that it is through schooling that many multilinguals have been socialised into an ideology of language separation and are bearing the misfortune of seeing and feeling language monoglossia in normative ways at the cost of their linguistic confidence and well-being (2013: 32). McKinney (2017: 19) also critiques the dominant construct of language as “separable and bounded” that prevails in schooling and identifies this as monoglossic. A monoglossic ideology is premised on a view of named languages/nomolanguages (Krause, 2022) as bounded, autonomous and stable systems that exist with or without the speakers (Guzula, McKinney & Tyler, 2016: 212). Grassroots multilingualism as described by Ortega (2019) and Mohanty (2019), thus, shows that multilinguals’ language practices are heteroglossic rather than monoglossic. This is consistent with Romaine (2001) and Makalela’s case for heteroglossia characterising multilingualism. Following Bakhtin, the term heteroglossia denotes the “the complex

simultaneous use of a diverse range of registers, voices, named language or codes, in our daily lives as well as the potential tension between these” (Guzula et al, 2016: 212). Acknowledging heteroglossia as the norm rejects the myth of multilingualism as an anomaly (Romaine, 2001; Ruiz, 1984) and the European ideology that has tended to unify communities and identities around a single language (Singh, 1998 in Liyanage & Canagarajah, 2024). Thus, the fundamental character of multilingualism is complexity – it is a condition of plurality, fluidity and dynamism as also is reflected in translanguaging.

Makalela also identifies the segregationist view of language (L1, L2, etc) and assumption of sequential acquisition/learning of language(s) as problematic and as favouring a monoglossic curriculum (2016: 191). Further, he shows the numerical ordering of languages into 1st, 2nd, etc as inapplicable in contexts where children grow up bi/multilingual; thus, also flagging the expectation in the concept of a single ‘mother tongue’ as inaccurate. With this view, Makalela’s perspective aligns with the knowledge that indigenous multilingualism is indeed the norm in the African context. It is also consistent with Banda’s argument about the irony of promoting bi/multilingualism through monolingual Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) as is the case in ‘mother tongue’ instruction in education. Further, despite the literature that discusses simultaneous bilingualism, the seemingly well-meaning promotion of multilingualism in policy and schools, for instance, is often limited to narrow and rigid understanding of multilingualism as parallel monolingualisms (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). This is very far removed from the language biographies and language practices of African societies. It is for this reason that Makalela proposes an:

alternative system based on African cultural competence, the ubuntu translanguaging model and its attendant ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy as conceptual frameworks that can guide language planning and literacy development for knowledge access and identity affirmation (2016: 194).

Makalela (2016) describes cultural competence of ubuntu as being rooted in how the speakers use their languages to make sense of their world. In his concept of ubuntu

translanguaging, Makalela uses the value system of ubuntu as a relational ontology to demonstrate and argue that languages are interdependent and thus interconnected (Makalela, 2018: 838). Relatedly, Anzaldua introduces the word *nepantla* – “a Nahuatl word for the space between two bodies of water, the space between two worlds” (Anzaldua, 1987 in Scott & Tuana, 2017: 1) - as relating to the borderless boundlessness of language (Makoni et al 2023), which together characterise language heteroglossia that underpins translanguaging as a concept and in practice. Fluid language practices where the boundaries of language practices are porous is a typical language practice of multilingual speakers (Bakhtin, 1991; McKinney, 2017: 24), and is a characteristic of the fluid language practice termed translanguaging (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Garcia 2009). Garcia and Li Wei (2014: 2) describe translanguaging as:

... an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages.

An individual translanguages drawing from their multilingual repertoire. It is apparent from the thoughts of scholars above that language cannot be viewed as a bounded object but rather as a multiplicity of expressions within a person.

The shift in sociolinguistics has been to move from describing people’s competence in separate named languages towards their use of linguistic and semiotic resources. The concept of translanguaging, then, describes the fluidity of bi/multilingual language practices more comprehensively than the diglossic language separation that is implied in code-switching (Garcia & Lin, 2016: 4). Furthermore, another feature that sets translanguaging apart is that it allows for development of a speaker’s full repertoire without confining language use to socially and politically defined named languages (Ricardo, Garcia & Reid, 2015, in Garcia & Lin, 2016: 7). Moreover, scholars such as Ricardo, Garcia, Reid, Li Wei and Lin recognise translanguaging as having social justice

implications for bilingual students' education. Described this way, translanguaging shows the complexity of the very concept of multilingualism. As such, multilingualism cannot be described in simplistic terms that limit its orientation to matters of just ability or functionality. It would be important, thus, to explore the conceptualisation of multilingualism and to interrogate whether dominant ideologies serve the contexts of the varied and complex multilingual repertoires of language users. Repertoires do not only relate to the individuals but span across people, space and time as well as material objects as captured in the concept of spatial repertoire (Canagarajah, 2018). Localising Garcia's concept of translanguaging to reflect South Africa's historic past and sub-Saharan Africa's linguistic diversity, Makalela (2016: 187) coined ubuntu translanguaging as an alternative term. It describes the interdependence and the fluidity of African languages, and the complexity of multilingual practices of Africans (Makalela, 2019: 239).

- **The concepts of linguistic and spatial repertoires**

I now turn to two critical interrelated concepts in the expanded theorising about multilingualism, linguistic repertoire and spatial repertoire. I show how these concepts diverge from earlier conceptualisation of multilingualism, and their alignment to southern theorising and languaging in the contemporary period. Viewing the embodiment and use of multiple languages in terms of repertoire is useful for breaking away from the separationist view of language that dominates in conceptualisations of multilingualism in policy and in schooling. The term verbal repertoire (Gumperz, 1964) that was coined in the sixties has been an important starting point for recent theorising of the concept of linguistic repertoire by numerous scholars (Busch 2017 & 2012; Blommaert and Backus, 2011; Johnstone and Marcellino, 2010). It is built on interactional sociolinguistics and the grounding of language as social practice (Heller, 2007; Busch, 2012: 503) with speakers and boundaries as social actors and products of social action, respectively (Heller, 2007).

Busch also proposes that the approaches of poststructuralist scholars such as Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler can be useful in exploring language desire, for instance.

Conceptualising linguistic repertoire as a social phenomenon, Busch (2012) draws on Jacques Derrida's concept of deconstruction and Judith Butler's notion of normativity and agency. And drawing from her empirical study with immigrant children in Austria, Busch takes on a biographical and multimodal approach in exploring linguistic repertoire. She develops a linguistic portrait as a tool that gives a visual representation of a person's repertoire and uses this to explain and explore this concept. Jacques Derrida drew from his writing about his personal language trajectory (Busch, 2012: 507), at the same time developing his important concept of deconstruction. He thus deconstructs his own language history, pointing out that a linguistic repertoire is not limited to telling what language one has, but can also index what one is lacking, what one might be desiring or feel deprived of. Butler, on the other hand, looks at the relationship between linguistic repertoire and language, and argues that "the restrictive power of categorisation is particularly felt when language is not self-evidently available" (507). This refers to the way people are not legitimized or do not legitimize themselves as speakers of a particular language. Referring to Butler's (1997: 16) notion of agency of the speaker, Busch (2012) argues that a repertoire can be viewed as a place for restrictions and potentialities for the speaker. A speaker can be held back from or access their full communication potential.

The terms linguistic repertoire and verbal repertoire are conceptually connected. Verbal repertoire links to a particular speech community (Busch, 2012: 504); where members of this community share the same norms and values about language in how they communicate. Gumperz (1964) also puts forth the notion of the multilingual repertoire, where named languages and varieties are viewed as a unit despite the distinctiveness of their grammars that separate them into bounded entities (Busch, 2012: 504). This wholeness of languages relates to current debates about the concepts of language crossing and translanguaging. Thus, the concept of language repertoire, used within a framework of social interaction is viewed as defying normative and constraining categorisation of speakers' speech styles and languages (Busch, 2012: 504). The idea of 'speech community' has been scrutinised and critiqued as being essentialist and as

idealising the early experience of living in families and stable speech communities as fundamental to achieving grammatical competence and coherent discourse (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012). Further, several sociolinguists regard this idealisation as contrary to conditions of diversity, mixed languages and multilingualism (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012: 11). 'Communities of practice' where people are members of more than one community organised around particular activities is seen as more practically grounded and appropriate in describing language use in relation to groups and their speakers. And according to Wenger (1998), the notion of communities of practice encompasses a negotiated space with collective participation from members with shared practices and linguistic repertoires over a varying period. The home or a classroom in a school could be characterised as sites for a range communities of practice with shared language practices and linguistic repertoires.

Blommaert & Backus (2011: 9) trace the trajectory of one's language knowledge by looking at language in terms of 'learning' rather than 'acquisition', motivating that their choice takes a view of language development as an on-going process. Language learning is connected to the traditional approach of studying languages in school, usually focusing on the grammatical rules while acquisition requires a subconscious assimilation into language (Gee, 1990: 5). Their approach matches Garcia's (2009: 322) description of emergent bi/multilingualism as a process of potential in multiple language development. Like Busch (2012), Blommaert and Backus (2011) also situate the notion of linguistic repertoires within a sociolinguistic paradigm. They view repertoires "as biographically organised complexes of resources that follow the rhythms of human lives" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 9). Viewed in this way, one's linguistic repertoire is a portrayal of one's life experience that shows the multiplicity of their language resources and the changing nature of language; it also portrays language learning as process rather than a destination. Further, one of the ways in which linguistic repertoires get expanded in language learning is through what Blommaert and Backus (2011: 12) refer to as 'encounters' with languages, arguing that through mobility across the globe, people may

encounter and learn minimal forms of languages. They name these minimal forms of language learning as age-group slang learning, temporary language learning, single word learning, and recognising language (Blommaert & Backus: 2011). With the first form, people may learn certain bits of language popular in a certain age group which ceases to be part of their language repertoire in the later age stages of their lives. Thus, language learning is not a linear incremental development of resources, rather, it also encompasses 'unlearning' of bits of language that we no longer use or need. Also, through travel encounters for example, a person can learn short phrases in a particular language to fit a particular purpose but later forget those phrases.

Blackledge and Creese (2017: 250) assert that "translanguaging has a spatial dimension" and therefore that interactional space is a key consideration as part of a multimodal analysis of interaction. Building on the proposal of the term by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), Canagarajah describes spatial repertoires as distributed repertoires which exist in a place, or are assembled there, by participants in an activity. They incorporate any "semioticized resources" (Canagarajah, 2018: 37). In Canagarajah's view, spatial repertoires are not just individual but distributed across people, space and time as well as material objects. Space enables the researcher to account for objects, the physical world and co-present participants which comprise a stage on which different modes and languages interact and are backgrounded and foregrounded at different times. While a linguistic repertoire can be imagined as sitting within the individual, the consideration for spatiality as well helps us to see how the repertoire is constructed 'in situ' the coming together of particular people, in a particular place at a particular time and including the material objects that enable communication (Canagarajah, 2018). Drawing from the notions of linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012) and spatial repertoire (Canagarajah, 2018), I explore the fluidity and indistinctiveness of the boundaries between named languages and space in family multilingualism. Further, I use the concept of repertoire in understanding multilingualism and language ideologies underpinning the language socialisation dynamic of the focal family in this study. Moreover, I examine the family's

linguaging. Borrowing from Veronelli, (2015: 122), I conceive of linguaging “...not [as] an instrument of representation but a bringing about and moving in a space of co-existence” – a coexistence between linguistic/semiotic resources. Like the affordances of digital media observed in the literary socialisation practices of youth in Santa María, Aliagas and Rutten’s (2022) study, there is spatial interaction that transcends boundaries between the virtual and the physical space as people interact with an authentic audience through their postings on social media. Through words, symbols, and voice/sound mediated linguaging on digital platforms, participants take on fluid identities and roles as they go about their daily lives with their audience – family and/or community.

Language socialisation and language ideologies (in schooling)

The school is one of the dominant contexts of language socialisation research in which children’s involvement with literacy is shaped through a process of literacy socialisation. When viewing literacy socialisation from the New Literacy Studies paradigm, literacy is “a set of historically contingent, culturally organised, and ideologically shaped social practices” (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012: 118). Like literacy, language practices, ranging from monolingual to multilingual practices, are shaped and laden with ideology. Aligning with Heller’s (2007) perspective of multilingualism as both ideology and practice, in this study, I also explore participants’ language ideologies and how these are expressed through their views on language as well as embodied through their actual language use. Conceptually, language ideology as an area of inquiry is concerned with investigating discourses, where processes of attribution of value to linguistic forms and practices are inscribed together with the construction of social difference and social inequality with which they are associated (Heller, 2007: 15). Language ideologies thus are frameworks of social beliefs that reveal the kind of named languages and practices that are valued in a society. In South Africa, valorisation is reflected in the perceived and experienced superiority of colonial languages like English in society. McKinney’s (2017:8) notion of Anglonormativity - “the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English and are deficient, even deviant, if they are not” aptly describes the dominant perception

of the superiority of English as pitted against African languages and their speakers here in the south and globally. Further, language ideologies are a representation of people's cultural beliefs that are encoded in linguistic forms and that frequently shape their language practices (Riley 2012: 477). That is, embedded in people's language usage are assumptions, attitudes and beliefs about language which are connected to the social behaviour and norms in their societies.

Drawing on the works of several scholars (Blommaert 1999; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, 2000; Blackledge & Pavlenko 2002, Makoe and McKinney 2014, amongst others) I define language ideologies as beliefs, values and cultural frames that people attach to language, which dominate in society, influencing their concept of language, its usage and representation. Makoe and McKinney (2014) further maintain that a monolingual ideology, the idea of a single legitimate language which dominates among government and policy makers, prevents teachers from recognising the range of their learners' linguistic resources (662). In the context of historically white schools where the socialisation of children from diverse linguistic backgrounds through the English monolingual bias that is visible in admission policies, for instance, I would argue that children's linguistic resources (and literacies) in African languages are disregarded and miss the chance of being developed (Makoe 2007; Christie & McKinney 2019). Further, Plüddemann (2015: 188) argues that policy is not merely a text but a process that carries an ideological load; the different ways it is interpreted by different groups is reflective of the power relations that exist between them. There is certainly a power dynamic between English and African languages that can be observed in practices, the de facto language policy, even when such an imbalance cannot be pinned down in written policy.

Aligning with the conceptualisation of multilingualism from the north, parallel monolingualism is accompanied by the (northern) perspective of sequential acquiring/learning of multiple languages. This connects to Silverstein's (1996) 'monoglot ideology' with the assumption that societies enforce and make provision for monolingualism even though citizens are in effect conducting their daily lives

multilingually; legitimate language practices that show grassroots multilingualism and linguistic diversity are thus denied (Ricento, 2013: 4). In South Africa, children are expected to achieve monolingual fluency in English in order to succeed in schooling.

The implications of monolingual and native speaker biases as well as Anglonormativity are that African language children from multilingual communities may never match up to these unfair expectations. Moreover, these ideologies present monolingualism in English at the centre as something to aspire to while their multilingual repertoires are undermined. In this study, I observed the language practices in the home and school domains and examine the different ways language ideologies shape the language practices in each domain and across domains. Further, I would investigate the children's language identities through exploring concepts of 'native speaker' or 'mother tongue' (these terms have now been updated to 'home language' in official documents). This is particularly significant because in the context of my case study African languages or 'mother tongue' instruction is not available in the Grade 4 child's school. And furthermore, African languages (isiXhosa in the Western Cape) in historically white (and often elite) public schools are mostly absent or very limited judging by the language policies of schools reviewed in 2019 (Molate & Tyler, 2020).

The mother tongue ideology has also been scrutinised by several scholars in Africa. McKinney (2017) finds this concept as perpetuating the view that all individuals have a single language that they learn from birth. Native speaker ideology is also premised on the same view, and both ideologies have a monoglossic orientation to language. Rampton (1990: 108) also critiques the use of 'mother tongue' and 'native speaker' terminologies, arguing that most multilingual children typically encounter two or more languages from an early age. Thus, these terminologies perpetuate false assumptions about the identity of bi/multilingual children. Further, Norton (2010) argues that the identities of multilingual children cannot be limited to defined categories, such as national and ethnic languages, cultures and race (Mkhize, 2016: 45). Erdei (2010) also contends that the idea of 'mother tongue' is rooted in monoglossia, assuming that all

children acquire multilingualism sequentially. Conceptualised this way then, the mother tongue ideology rests on the northern theorising of language and disregards the reality of indigenous multilingualism that is typical in the South.

In the above sections, I have used ES to navigate and review key concepts and orientations in this thesis: conceptualising language and literacy as social practice; exploring the dynamics of language and literacy socialisation in multilingual spaces; contextualizing and theorising multilingualism and exploring the intricacies of family multilingualism in South Africa.

Theorising family multilingualism and ikhaya

In this section, I review studies in family multilingualism reflecting on the concept of Family Language Policy (FLP) that emanates from the Language Socialisation (LS) framework. The theoretical foundation of this study is in LS, combining the established subfield of FLP along with Epistemologies of the South. Incorporating an EP perspective, also, this study takes a more critical approach to the study of family multilingualism, which has the potential to grow FLP by addressing the underrepresentation of southern theories in sociolinguistics (Gomes, 2018). I conclude this section with a critique of the notion of ‘family’ in FLP and make the case for the use of an indigenous concept ‘ikhaya’ which embraces both family and household as well as significant kinship ties in the South African context.

- **The family and language socialization**

Ronjat’s study in the early nineteen hundreds about his son’s simultaneous development of French and German is considered to have been the birth of Family Language Policy (FLP) research (Smith-Christmas, 2017: 23). As subfield, FLP emerged from Language Policy and Language Socialisation (LS) theoretical frameworks (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). In one of the earliest classic FLP papers, King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) describe FLP as a comprehensive theoretical framework that is mapped by pulling

together two disconnected fields: language policy and child language acquisition. Child language acquisition is concerned with exploring the mechanisms and the conditions through which children learn language in their early childhood (Berko-Gleason 2005, in King et al, 2008: 908), which includes First Language Acquisition (FLA) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Its scope has since been broadened by the emergence of LS, which expanded the field to include social, cultural and interactional contextual considerations, where different kinds of knowledge and language are learned in both the formal and informal domains (Duff, 2007). The field of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) that emerged in the twentieth century, is widely understood and has received much scholarly attention as a critical link to creating new nations in the post-colonial era (MacAlister & Mirvahedi, 2017: 1). LPP appears amid political manipulations and battles between political, social, economic and personal ideologies and language practices that ensue as people in authority seek to regulate society (Shohamy, 2006: xv).

The family, education system and media all play crucial roles in the language socialisation process involving children in their formative years. While the education system plays a great role in determining which language and culture become more important and powerful (Skuttnab-Kangas, 1997), the family is a significant site for socialisation where parents shape their children's linguistic futures (Erdei, 2010:7). More than parents being directors and managers of their children's language development, several researchers have shown children's agentic participation in the socialisation process (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012; King & Wright Fogle, 2013; King & Lanza, 2019). A local example is Reynolds' (2013) study, which sought to investigate language shift and maintenance, in the homes of bilinguals. Reynolds noted how children showed attitudes towards and made choices that determined what languages are taken up or discarded in the home. Similarly, Mkhize's (2016) study confirms children's active participatory role through their literacy practices that positions them as co-constructors of knowledge, flexibly exchanging roles of teaching and learning with 'knowledgeable others' (45). Mkhize's study focused on observing the everyday literacy practices of bilingual Grade 4

learners learning English as an Additional Language (EAL) and their families in a rural community in Kwazulu-Natal province. Further afield in LS research, Ochs (1986:1) notes Mead's argument that confirms individual agency in socialisation despite external influence. Additionally, Ochs maintained that it is through taking part in language-mediated-interactions that children acquire implicit knowledge about the social language order and the embedded systems of beliefs (2). Thus, I would argue that language ideologies play a significant role in family language socialisation. However, there is space for both resistance and assimilation, as well as a mix of these, in what hegemonic beliefs and practices are rejected or taken up – whether implicitly or otherwise.

- **Family language policy (FLP)**

The design of FLP itself can be likened to Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy theoretical framework, which Gomes (2018: 55) articulates as a language regulatory mechanism, a de facto policy, that operates in the home domain. As a developing concept, its emergence can be traced to Luykx's (2003) study about gender and family language policy, in which she contrasts the language planning strategies of bilingual Aymara households between the public and home domains. Lanza and Gomes (2020: 153) also acknowledge Luykx's (2003) work in language policy in the family sphere, who first used the term family language policy. The establishment of the field, however, is attributed to King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) who took up the term Family Language Policy as a theoretical approach. In King et al (2008), FLP is defined as the explicit and overt language planning that a family undertakes within the home and among family members. It is also a field of study that has gained momentum and is constantly expanding through the quest of scholars to understand and describe an array of bi/multilingual contexts – especially in the past few years since the beginning of the writing up of this thesis. Following on King et al's (2008) understandings of FLP as being explicit and overt, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) and several scholars add that it is also the "implicit and covert planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within the home domains

and among family members” (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018: 420). Through the observation of the daily use of language in families, values ascribed to particular languages and parents’ desire to use language in particular ways become visible.

Family Language Policy is a significant mechanism in LS which shows how families negotiate and regulate language use. Even though families express their language desires through FLP, the home is not an isolated domain whose language practices can be separated from other domains such as the school. Curdt-Christiansen (2013) maintains that FLP brings out the language interplay between the home and school domains, and families are often conflicted between maintaining their own language and cultural desires and succumbing to social pressures, political desires and public educational demands. Whether covert or overt, Curdt-Christiansen (2018) argues that the decisions caregivers make about literacy practices and language choice in the home domain are always connected to broader ideologies and policies in education. In this thesis, I also consider the interplay between home language policies and school language policies, and attempt to determine the extent to which families and school role players are conscious of explicit and covert language policies in their daily language use.

Further, Schieffelin and Ochs (2015) identify community and context as key features of the socialisation process when defining LS. Most studies available globally focus on FLP in multilingual contexts with transnational or immigrant families (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2018; Tannenbaum, 2012; King & Lanza, 2019; Lanza & Gomes, 2020, etc). Given that South Africa presents a different context by way of the concept of multilingualism and understandings of what constitutes a family or household in previous research, I argue that it is imperative to extend the understanding of the concept of family in FLP and family multilingualism research to include different multilingualisms and families that are located in Africa and the global south in general, where multilingualism is the norm. As discussed above, the work of Mohanty (2019) and Makalela (2019) is useful in locating multilingualism in southern contexts where the majority of the population often do not enjoy institutional inclusion of their languages.

Central to my research inquiry prior to completing fieldwork was observing language and literacy events and practices in the family domain – with an open consideration that my participants’ sense of family may include ‘extended’ family members and dual households as per the norm in South Africa. This hunch was informed by the review of literature in family sociology as well the learnings from my Master’s degree research (Molate, 2019) of the expansive sense of family – a finding which sent me on a quest to understanding.

While FLP and LS research has grown and is diversifying its scope, available studies in this field remain largely northern – both geographical and conceptually - with only limited research on FLP and LS in African contexts. The few studies that are available are largely positioned in applied linguistics/sociolinguistics more generally - and my study necessarily merges the exploration in the home sphere with a strong consideration for its connection to schooling. However, existing studies in my context are useful springboards from which to ask deeper questions about the field itself. This is certainly the case with Coetzee’s (2018) study and others which I reflect on below. I thus review the studies that focus on family multilingualism in South Africa, which include Reynolds (2013), Coetzee (2018), Anthonissen and Stroud (2021) and McKinney and Molate (2022). Research on family multilingualism in the African continent is similarly scarce. Unlike the studies mentioned above, the few available African studies largely follow northern conceptualisations, such as of ‘family’ in family language policy, and ‘language maintenance’ for minority languages (see Maseko & Mlilo, 2022; Maseko & Mutasa, 2019; Kamuangu’s (2006) thesis in DRC/SA context; Moore (2016) in Cameroon; Namazzi & Kendrick (2014) in Uganda; Maseko & Mlilo (2022) in Zimbabwe). An exception to this list is Offiong and Mensah’s (2012) study in Nigeria whose focus is on indigenous multilingualism although also working with the western concept of nuclear family.

Kamuangu’s (2006) study explores language socialisation practices among four Congolese immigrant families to South Africa and the impact of in-family policy on the relationships outside the home. Similar to the contexts of most northern studies,

Kamuangu's case study is concerned with language socialisation and heritage language maintenance of transnational families who are numerical minorities. Concerned with the implication of intergenerational language transmission management on language shift and maintenance, Offiong & Mensah (2012) examined the language choice and policy of families in inter-ethnic marriages in Nigeria. Interestingly, they attribute the results of children being 'unbalanced' multilinguals as a result of the family's failure to provide sufficient bonds and indigenous language activities. Looking to examine the religious language policies of families in a Muslim community in Cameroon, Moore (2016) sought to establish the connection between language choices in the home sphere and extent of influence of the public sphere in the way the faith, language and learning are conceptualised and practised. And in a rural Ugandan context, Namazzi and Kendrick (2014) presented the case of a child-headed family, examining how children learned in informal contexts and how this understanding could inform support for children in formal education. Their findings revealed the ways in which children take up literacy (stories, songs, riddles, etc) from their multilingual cultural environment in situated ways as they respond to the dynamic contexts of their worlds. Further, in Zimbabwe, Maseko and Mlilo (2022) sought to explore the connection between children's language practices at school with their Tonga (a minoritised language in Zimbabwe) speaking families residing in the multilingual Binga district. Despite parents' desires and a Tonga-centric language socialisation at home, children's repertoires became more multilingual and reflective of a school language experience where teachers and peers spoke Ndebele and Shona.

Locally, Coetzee's (2018) research draws from a case study of children of young mothers in a marginalised community in South Africa. In this study, Coetzee explores the language ideologies that inform language practices in the home. One of her critical findings is the perceived role of 'extended' family in influencing language ideologies behind the language practices of children. She maintains that parents' discourses such as children's learning of swear/taboo words being pinned on family members outside the 'nuclear family' show that the "the 'process of family making' (King, 2016: 728) is not based on

nuclear structures but rather on each parents' extended family" (Coetzee, 2018: 302). While Coetzee, (2018) draws on FLP as a theoretical lens with which to explore ideologies relating to swearing and children in multilingual settings, she is cognisant of the need to critically assess the notion of 'family' in FLP studies. As such, she casts light on the dynamic of 'nuclear family' and 'extended family', reflecting on some of the families' discourses that acquisition of swear words has been influenced by 'extended family' or neighbours (2018: 302). Anthonissen and Stroud's (2021) study focuses on linguistic diversity as a consequence of migrancy within African migrant families in South Africa. They explored the choices families make with regards to family language vs community language. They argue that migrant families living under precarious and temporal conditions seldom have time and/or have limited capacity to reflect on their available language choice. Thus at the centre of their 'choices' of language is contending with vulnerability and what they describe as 'temporality' – such as families in an unstable housing arrangement - which are important dynamics to be considered in FLP research.

Another contribution to FLP in a southern context has been McKinney & Molate's (2022) research on family multilingualism in an inter-ethnic (isiXhosa and Setswana speaking family) in South Africa. The study explored the language experience of children born post-apartheid and the role of Anglonormativity in the family language strategies as well as the influence on language practices of the dynamic of dual household arrangements that is prevalent among Black South Africans. This research together with Coetzee (2018) shows the need to break away from what has been the dominant conception of 'family' in FLP research, that is, the focus on the 'nuclear' family as the core while other variations of family are conceptualised as deviations or break aways from the nuclear family. Another dominant discourse is the focus on immigrant families and minoritized languages (Lanza and Lexander, 2019; Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018); Hua and Wei, (2016); (Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018; Hua and Wei, 2016), heritage languages and language revitalization (e.g. Higgins, 2019; Maseko, 2016). While this research is important, it leaves the normative indigenous multilingualism of the majority of families in the global

south underexplored. And it also unwittingly perpetuates the conception of languages as separate entities, conceiving of language identity in singular terms.

- **Family multilingualism and the making of ikhaya in South Africa**

In this final section, I focus on the conceptual and material making of African family in South Africa, particularly among amaXhosa as a means to understand and offer an analytic framework for multilingualism among family. Drawing on studies of sociology of family, like Hall and Mokomane's (2018) study, is useful in extending conceptions of family in FLP. This connects to Wright's (2020) paper where she argues that the understanding of family and the diverse kinship systems and configurations are, in fact, more fundamental in FLP than language itself. Although it is already established in international research that nuclear families are not the norm (Higgins & Wright, 2022), not much consideration has been given to contexts where so-called extended families are the norm. While the impactful contribution of FLP as a useful concept and theoretical framework in language socialization studies globally is undeniable, in this thesis I present a perspective that ponders on the building blocks of FLP. As such, I stand together with the thoughts of scholars (Russell, 1994; Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998) who question the relevance of the concept 'extended family', which implies that the nuclear family is the norm, in African societies.

To appreciate the complex structure of family, and how this complexity is, in reality, the norm in South Africa in contrast to the Western construct of family, it is important to understand the distinction between two foundational constructs - 'family' and 'household'. Both of these are critical for theorising FLP and establishing methodological frameworks for FLP research. Hall and Makomane (2018: 32) describe 'family' as referring to "social groups that are related by blood or bonds of marriage, non-marital union, adoption or some other affiliation, and which endure over time and space". The term 'households' on the other hand refers to "an arrangement of co-residence with shared consumption and production (even though household members may not be co-resident all the time)" (Hall and Makomane, 2018: 32). Drawing from literature in family sociology

in the South African context and using terminologies informed by southern epistemologies that are reflective of the kinship organisational system of amaXhosa, I construct an understanding of family that is more expansive than the terms 'nuclear' and 'extended' family allow. This comprises of concepts like ukuzalana – 'to know and to relate to each other' (Masola, 2020) as troubling the nuclear family/extended family divide that does not give careful depiction of who counts as family in the African, and in my case South African, context. The Population Census of 1970 that was based on a white population in South Africa used the term 'nuclear' as the default meaning for family. Family was described as consisting of any of these configurations: "husband and wife; father, mother and children; or mother and children" (Hall & Richter, 2018: 26). In contrast, extended family refers to members of the family related by blood but falling outside the defined configuration of a nuclear family.

Considering the centrality of 'family' as a concept, theorising FLP, and the demarcation of space and people in which family is defined, for methodological implications, I propose the concept of ikhaya as defining the making and space of family. Ikhaya is a word that is used by amaXhosa to describe family kinship, it is also a marker of space – the spaces in which abantu bekhaya – family members - live and move. The terminology 'family', itself, cannot be exempted from critical review. Most recently, Luykx (2022:300) describes it as an ideological term, asserting the importance of literature that normalizes different family types as instrumental in broadening the semantic field in FLP. Further, the understanding that monolingualism is connected to the nuclear family configuration (Wright, 2020), provides a starting point from which to think about the connection of different family kinships systems and configurations to multilingualism. Further, Wright (2020: 51) considers the circulation of dominant discourses - such as monolingualism and the nuclear family as the norm - and how this contributes to and/or shapes family multilingualism. This relates to my study, where I consider how the language discourses in the family and school space interconnect and interrelate, with school seen as an official domain that represents public discourse/s.

The significance of this, I will argue, lies in understanding that, in FLP the parameters of what constitutes a home, and the dynamics of family membership are fundamental in understanding the language and literacy practices that are being managed and the purpose thereof. Literature in sociology of family is very useful in exploring the parameters and organization of ikhaya – the family. Its relevance as a subfield of sociology stems from it being instrumental in evaluating the family structure as a social institution and unit of organization from various sociological perspectives. The fundamental organizing factors that I wish to foreground as relevant in exploring FLP within the local context are household arrangement as well as family kinship in South Africa.

Further, the terminology ‘extended family’ has been critiqued for its inadequacy in representing family and household arrangements in SA. In the African sense of family, household and social arrangements are organised around kinship principles on which a society is organised (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998; Russell, 1994). Russell further describes the notion of ‘extended family’ as non-existent. With this consideration, Siqwana-Ndulo (1998) challenges the Western idea of family as comprising of parents and children living in one household while members beyond this unit are called extended family. ‘Extended’ reinforces the nuclear family as norm – a colonial construct (McKinney & Molate, 2022).

Returning to the discussion about the terminology, ikhaya, (technically translated and widely used in standardized isiXhosa texts and orally), is also called ifemeli, a translingual borrowing of the English term ‘family’, and usapho the more standardized translation. The translations of family as usapho/ifemeli, are insufficient in describing family within the language socialisation paradigm, because they are based on an interpretation of family derived from the western construction of ‘nuclear family’ as the centre, thus creating a need to discriminate the so-called extended family as peripheral and separate. This is different to what ikhaya encompasses – which constructs family along a wider interconnected and interdependent kinship system. Understanding the family as ikhaya, I will argue in chapter 4, rests on indigenous knowledge and the lived experience of being

an African language speaker and participant in the culture. Thus, I use the term ikhaya along with the understanding of dual-household arrangements as useful lenses for exploring family language socialisation within an African context, particular SA.

In my review of studies in language socialisation and family multilingualism, I have argued for the need to consider our local context and to conduct research drawing from local epistemes to offer a more relatable theoretical framework and concepts, such as Indigenous multilingualism as a norm and epistemologies of the south. I have demonstrated, for instance, that the word ikhaya shows the understanding of ‘family’ and ‘home’ to be conceptually synonyms and this has implication for understanding family organisation for theorising and methodological benefit. I also emphasise the importance of working critically with Eurocentric conceptions of family and multilingualism. Consistent with multilingualism as the norm in global south contexts, the aim of this study is to enrich the theorizing of multilingualism drawing from epistemological framings of language and family from this region.

Conclusion

The focus for this chapter was to outline key concepts and orientations in this thesis and to theoretically frame the study, especially by drawing on Epistemologies of the South. In summary, I conceptualised language and literacy as social practice. This enabled me to review the dynamics of language and literacy socialisation in multilingual spaces, while contextualizing and theorising multilingualism and exploring the intricacies of family multilingualism in South Africa. I reviewed key studies in family multilingualism, which includes family language policy, both locally and globally. These provided me with a foundational thinking frame with which to expand the knowledge in family multilingualism beyond the predominant focus on transnational migration families and heritage language maintenance/revitalisation. Drawing from local epistemes and the existing critical reflections on the notion of ‘family’ in Africa (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998) specifically, and ‘family’ in family multilingualism research broadly (King, 2016; Coetzee,

2018; Wright & Higgins, 2022), I have made a case for the use of an indigenous concept 'ikhaya' which embraces both family and household as well as significant kinship ties in the South African context. I have also critically engaged with Southern Epistemologies to think about and challenge the colonial conditioning and hierarchizing of knowledge systems that needs to be re-evaluated in both the theorising and methodology of language socialisation research. Consequently, I adopt this approach/framework in my analysis of data in this study. In the next chapter, I demonstrate an application of the ES conceptual framework in the methodological approach to constructing, analysing and reflecting on the construction of my case study.

3. Methodology and Methods

Introduction

This study is methodologically grounded in a qualitative and interpretive approach. I conducted a case study of the language and literacy practices and ideologies of a multilingual family yamaXhosa traversing between their urban (township) homes, and the main family homestead in a rural setting. The family includes a child who attends a suburban historically whites-only English medium school and her mother who are the focal participants. The case study offers a comprehensive account of observations of the Maqoma (pseudonym) family's daily rhythms, routines and language-in-use. I use the evidence gathered from these observations to provide explanations, interpretations and directions for understanding and inductive theorising about multilingualism in African families, or ikhaya, in South Africa. In this chapter, I give an account of the research process, which includes the formulation of research questions, the design and focus of the case study, and the choice of linguistic ethnography and digital ethnography as both research methodology and methods. I will narrate my fieldwork experience and provide details about the processes I followed and choices I made; the kinds of data that was generated and how I worked with the data to produce my analysis. Furthermore, I consider research ethics in working with human participants, reflections on my positionality and the methodological choices made during the various stages of the research. I begin by reflecting on the research questions as stated in the first chapter in order to show the connections between the research questions and the methodological approach.

Research questions

The research questions emerged as part of the process of making sense of the research problem as stated in the introductory chapter. And as per research custom, a research problem statement often marks the beginning of a research inquiry. Hammersley and Atkinson (1999: 24) term these 'foreshadowed problems' - pointing to a set of issues or questions underpinning the research. The main question in this study essentially became

the foundation with which I made the determination to adopt a case study, using linguistic ethnography as the underpinning approach in the research design. Different from research methodologies where the starting point is established theories from which various hypotheses can be generated (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1999), my own research follows the ethnographic principle of offering description and explanations with the potential of developing new understandings and theories. It is important to note that the last sub-question, which I restate below, evolved and emerged during fieldwork as I sorted and reflected on data collected earlier. I navigated the dynamic of my case-study family and household structure against my methodological assumptions pre-fieldwork – literature-informed assumptions about what constitutes a family and consequently the demarcation for selection of participants. I share also my reflections about this later in the chapter and show how this developing insight potentially contributes to methodological approaches in language socialisation research involving families in South Africa, specifically, and in the global south, generally.

I asked the following questions:

What are the language and literacy practices of an African-language(s) speaking family with child(ren) in an historically white English-medium school in South Africa?

Sub-questions:

1. How are these language and literacy socialisation practices enacted?
2. What constitutes ‘family’, and in what ways does the construction of a family intersect with language and literacy socialisation in the home?
3. How does the family navigate (make sense of) language and literacy practices between the family/home environment and schooling?

Qualitative research methods and methodology

A qualitative study can be interpretive by design, and typically uses a theoretical lens to study subjects like the concept of culture, race, gender or class, which are often central

to ethnography (Creswell, 2009: 176). With this interpretive feature, the qualitative approach is concerned with generating meaning rather than proving a hypothesis. This approach aligns with the ethnographic orientation of my study, where I focussed on observing patterns of language and literacy practices and ideologies with the aim of providing descriptions and context-specific interpretations from a sociocultural theoretical lens. It serves the end-goal of generating new and expanded methodological and theoretical insights in the field of language socialisation. With an interpretive approach I am able to present a narrative about the lived language experiences of human subjects – the participants – in an attempt to tell “a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do” (Heller, 2008: 250, in Copland & Creese, 2015: 2). Also highlighting the benefits of ethnography is Hymes (1973), who argues for ethnography as fundamentally needed to describe the ways different social groups ‘take’ up knowledge from the environment (Heath, 1983: 74).

Further, Heath (1982) believes that ethnography that describes literacy events through a sociocultural lens presents possibilities for understanding cross-cultural patterns of oral and written language uses and the development of communicative practices. Literacy events refer to “occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive process and strategies” (Heath, 1982:50). While I see literacy events as identifiable events and a useful unit for analysis in sociocultural studies concerned with language and literacy from which language practices can be observed, the term itself has come under scrutiny in the digital age because it positions language practices as bounded by space and time. One such critique is from Burnett and Merchant (2014: 47) who offer an alternative description of literacy events as “porous and permeable”. Similarly, Brandt and Clinton (2002) also problematise the literacy event as the main unit of analysis when viewing literacy as social practice. Instead of using the term literacy events – which centres on reading and

writing and the oral-literate binary – they suggest the concept of literacy-in-action. They are of the view that the term literacy-in-action has the potential to invoke

analytical curiosity in any objective trace of literacy in a setting (print, instruments, paper, other technologies) whether they are being taken up by local actors or not. The double meaning of our term is intentional. We want to retain attention to the role of literacy in human action: how readers and writers mediate their social world through literate practice (i.e., literate action as part of our action)

(Brandt & Clinton, 2002: 349)

Consistent with the theoretical framework of language socialisation, ethnography allowed me to observe a family's patterns and processes of socialising a child 'to use language and socialisation through the use of language' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Green and Bloome (1997: 5) highlight that doing ethnography involves the framing, conceptualizing, conducting, interpreting, writing, and reporting associated with a broad, in-depth, and long-term study of a social or cultural group, meeting the criteria for doing ethnography as framed within a discipline or field. Fittingly, I adopt ethnography and the case study approach as both a method and methodology (Lillis, 2008). More specifically, I undertake linguistic ethnography as an interpretive approach. But first, I present my case study and discuss how it was constructed and developed.

The case study

This study is constructed as a single case study. I purposefully identify the case study as 'a construction', fully mindful of the scholars that bring into question the pre-existence of 'a case' and the lack of generalisability from a small sample/small-scale study. I justify my choice of case study and provide reflections on the affordances and limitations of my choice. A case study gives affordance to a focused in-depth investigation that allows time for comprehensive data gathering, which makes it compatible with a linguistic ethnography. Yin (2009: 18) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when

the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". The phenomenon being explored and described in this study is language and literacy socialisation in which the local context of the participants is pertinent. My own research, thus, describes a case where the real-world setting/context and the phenomenon of family language socialisation are impossible to separate.

There are tensions that exist in literature about the credibility of a case study, and more critically 'the ontological framing of a case study as both existing and constructed' (Miles, 2015: 311). A case study is also often critiqued for its lack of generalisability. Yin (2009) responds to this concern by clarifying that generalisability of a case study is based on theoretical premises rather than generalisability to a population. Selecting the small-scale case affords a testing of existing theories and a potential development of new theoretical insights in a niche research area that is currently underexplored.

The conceptualisation of the methodology and construction of the case study itself took form in the months preceding the global Covid-19 health pandemic in 2020. The home remained my physical research site as is common with the ethnographic approach in language socialisation research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1999; Copland and Creese, 2015; Papen, 2020). However, the limitations on accessing the home due to the Covid 19 outbreak and the movement restrictions that came into effect around the commencement of my fieldwork in March 2020 required a readjustment of the plan. The new plan saw the addition of digital space to this physical site, which in retrospect became a new opportunity for an enriched methodological approach and diversified the kinds of participant observation data collected. While this change of plans seemed like a threat to the researchability of my research question at the time, the reality of doing social research during a pandemic challenged me to think 'unconventionally'. This provided an unexpected opportunity to reconfigure my methodological approach - from traditional ethnography that requires 'researcher physical presence' to what is described as remote ethnography (Postil, 2016) as a result of mobility restrictions. As such, my methodology became a combination of in-person linguistic ethnography and digital

technology enabled remote linguistic ethnography. This approach, I argue is congruent with current mixed-mode language practices of the modern digital era and also an apt mirroring of people's daily routines.

- **Linguistic ethnography**

Linguistic ethnography describes a research strategy that reflects shared methodological and theoretical approaches by scholars studying language-in-use in social contexts (Tusting, 2020). Akin to the trend of sociolinguistics research becoming increasingly interdisciplinary (Tusting & Maybin, 2007: 576), my own study draws from multiple disciplines – applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, education, family sociology, and ethnography as both a methodology and a discipline. Theoretically and methodologically, Linguistic Ethnography (LE) draws from two different traditions - linguistics and ethnography (Shaw, Copland & Snell, 2015). The appeal of LE lies in its endeavour to show 'the invisibility of everyday life' and in 'making the familiar strange' (Copland and Creese, 2015: 2). This shows an interplay between the uncovering of *already* existing practices and patterns of languaging, and presenting what is already there as new. Further, Copland and Creese (2015: 13) describe LE as an approach that studies the local and immediate actions of language users from their own vantage point, placing attention on how these interactions are embedded in broader social contexts and structure. One of the intrinsic aims of ethnography, in general, is to provide interpretations from the perspective of the subject in a particular social group (Gregory & Ruby, 2011). Rich description through observation notes, audio transcripts, a variety of interview techniques, artefacts and textual documents are all valuable data collection tools that show the researcher's attempts to appreciate the importance of signs in ongoing communicative activity and situated social action (Copland & Creese, 2015: 27). These elements are aptly described in Pérez-Milans' (2015) argument about the objectives and affordances of a LE methodological approach:

LE allows the placing of mobility, instability and uncertainty at the centre of the picture in that bounded notions of language and community are never conceived

as starting points of data interpretation; instead, these notions are examined as possible emerging constructs that are interactionally constructed, negotiated and transformed by social actors in situated encounters, in the large-scale institutional and societal processes.

Pérez-Milans (2015:12)

- **Remote/Digital ethnography**

A range of terminologies like remote ethnography (Postill, 2016), digital ethnography (Varis & Hou, 2020; Podjed, 2021), internet ethnography (Sade-Beck, 2004) and social media ethnography (Postill & Pink, 2012), exist in describing ethnography wherein research site/s (whether partly or in full) are accessed via digital means. These vary from combining fieldwork comprising online and offline data to exclusively focusing on online fieldwork in some instances. While I view the term remote ethnography to be all encompassing, I also find it useful to use the term ‘digital ethnography’ (interchangeably) as directed by the methods specific to this study and the kinds of data that emerged. Varis and Hou (2020: 230) describe the focus of digital ethnography as concerning “the ways in which people use language, interact with each other, employ discourses and construct communities, collectives, knowledge and identities, through and influenced by technology”. While there has been an increase in the use of digitally enabled ethnography owing to the global health pandemic, conducting ethnographic research remotely is not a new practice. Other regional or global crises like wars and natural disasters have necessitated new ways of accessing research sites using various forms of media for a long period of time (Jaspen, 2023). In my fieldwork, remote observations of participants, e.g. via social media, afforded me more insight into the kinship ties of the family as well as their written language use which was invisible during my in-person site visits. As the fieldwork progressed, it became clear that it was not possible to separate online and offline domains as a participant could be using WhatsApp for example while I was physically present. A data collection tool that was initiated by restrictions of the Covid-19 pandemic gave me the opportunity to observe how participants communicated

using digital tools in their everyday lives, and this continued after restrictions on visiting their home were lifted.

Fieldwork overview

I conducted fieldwork using a range of data collection tools that are associated with traditional linguistic ethnography. These included participant observations, where I conducted site visits and spent time with participants in their home and creating fieldnotes. This also included participants self-recording audios of language mediated interactions of the family in my presence (during participant observations) and in my absence. The self-recorded family interactions centred on events such as child playing with friends, conversations at meal-times, afterschool family routine, storytelling and singing, and school work completed at home during school closures in the pandemic lockdowns. Remote ethnography tools included using mobile devices to observe participants' language practices on social media, as well as recorded voice notes and WhatsApp messages from the adult participant. This allowed for a close examination of the participant's posting of her thoughts, moods, actions, and interests using written language, emojis, photographs and videos. Essentially, both the tools and data became multimodal. Research that incorporates multimodality as a research tool can be seen as the expanded research methodology in linguistic ethnography and research in literacy studies. This is necessarily the case in this study where I identify social media engagement as a literacy practice in which language practices could be observed and collected for analysis. Further, these literacy practices offered insight into the world of the participants as told from their perspective and using the diverse linguistic/semiotic resources at their disposal. Through digital communication, the participant could provide an 'autobiography' of themselves as "a presentation of the self is shifted from the physical world to the digital platform in fluid forms, in varying degrees of orienting to public audiences" (Gillen & Ho, 2020: 46).

I had a few African languages speaking co-facilitators in the language club started at the school (as mentioned in Chapter 1), representing different configurations of ‘family’ – including two parent households and adults co-parenting from different households. The selection process led to the participation of a family categorized as a ‘single-parent household’ in family sociology literature (as mentioned in the previous chapter), who primarily reside in an urban township in the Western Cape Province in South Africa.

- **Focal participants**

My initial idea of what constitutes a family was shaped, and perhaps prejudiced, by dominant literature in language socialization prior to fieldwork. However, modalities and methodologies in researching language in families need to be reflective of the current nature of family in all its diversities (Higgins & Wright, 2022). In retrospect, the research sample could have included a wider complement of participants if I consider the connectedness and expansiveness of the sense of family in African families like the Maqomas. With an expanded understanding of family, members of the family residing at umzi kaNosi (Nosi’s house) as well as umzi kaMakhulu (Granny’s house) would form part of the focal participants. For pragmatic reasons, even as my understanding of family evolved, I did not seek to involve them halfway through the study though their integration with my mother-daughter duo became apparent. This was due to the lack of consistent availability of the rest of the family members, some of whom had moved to ‘quarantine’ in the Eastern Cape during the first year of the pandemic. This was also a time when access to people was often unpredictable and so I decided to continue to focus on just the two family members but with a plan to observe the different ways in which the rest of the family members were connected with them.

Ultimately, the research participants that I approached and who consented to be part of the research are Nosi and Siya, the mother-daughter duo primarily residing at umzi kaNosi. However other members of the family such as makhulu (granny) and malume (maternal uncle) are referred to when Nosi and Siya speak or write about them. Mother Nosi is a Grade R assistant teacher in a suburban English medium school not far from the

historically white English medium school that her daughter, Siya, attends. In South Africa, the highest qualification required for an assistant teacher is Grade 12, the final secondary schooling exit point. The 10-year-old Siya was in a Grade 4 class of an elite English suburban school located close to her mom’s workplace. Interestingly, both Siya and Nosi’s school and work contexts share similarities of being historically for white English-speaking children and have maintained this historical language policy despite the transforming racial and linguistic diversity of current learners.

Table 3.1. Overview of participants and physical sites

Province	Maqoma Households	Residents	Location
Western Cape	Umzi kaNosi (focal site) (Nosi’s house)	Nosi (focal participant) Siya (focal participant)	Urban township
Western Cape	Umzi kaMakhulu (Grandma’s house)	Makhulu Malume (Maternal uncle) Makazi (Maternal aunt) Other (including Nosi and Siya who share day-to-day activities such as childcare, house chores and material and non-material resources)	Urban township
Eastern Cape	Umzi wekhaya (Family home)	Makhulu Nosi Malume Makazi Other (any members sharing the same isiduko (clan name) with Nosi)	Rural village

- **Selection process**

The requirement for participation in the study was a single family that fit specific characteristics – a multilingual African family with children attending an historically

whites-only English-medium school. I also wanted to engage with families who were already explicitly showing interest in and support for the African languages' literacy development of their children, while having made the 'choice' to enroll their children in an English medium school. As explained in Chapter 1, my interest in families fitting this description was sparked by a personal interest as a multilingual African-language speaking parent raising children in a school whose language ethos, policy and practices appeared to be at odds with how they experience language at home. I was also interested in understanding how African-language speaking families seemed to be making an interesting language 'choice' - seemingly sending their children to an English dominant language school while also questioning the status of African languages in that school space. Because of the autobiographical nature of my research question, having some 'insider' experience of what happens in the context of such families, allowed for me to construct a case study where I could specifically explore the 'why' and 'how' questions. Participants were thus selected purposefully and from a sample of three families who started an afterschool isiXhosa program for their children that I was involved in as a co-facilitator. In ethnography, purposeful sampling entails the researcher using their discretion to consciously select participants that are part of a specific subculture (Higginbottom, 2004) and guided by the research questions.

- **Research site(s)**

The methodology of my study developed into a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1999; Walton, 2011) during the course of my fieldwork. This was not the plan pre-field work, but it became an organic and necessary adjustment informed by the family's patterns and movements of language-in-use in multiple spaces. Multi-sited ethnography shows a development in anthropology that has been influenced by new spheres of interdisciplinary work via media studies and cultural studies (Marcus, 1995). Multi-sited ethnography moves away from a focus on a single site, rather, it prioritises studying the connection between people, meanings and objects across multiple spaces (Deumert, 2014) in which they move and exist. Data was collected in-person and online (remotely) via a digital

device⁷ (mobile phone) and WhatsApp status update platform. And as such, I identify both the physical residence(s) of the Maqoma family and social media as research sites – one physical and the latter virtual/digital. In both spaces, I could observe the participants' language and literacy practices. Another layer of complexity that emerged is what counts as a home as the 'research site' and 'family' as the participants is the understanding of what constitutes a family in the African context, and the complex housing arrangement that is typical among Black families in South Africa. While the history of this spatial organization that is distributed across geographical areas has roots in the historical migrant labour system of the apartheid years, my focus in this thesis is to show how family and household transcends geographical dispersal to socially function as unitary *umzi*, a homestead.

The vernacular term *umzi* refers both to the physical structures of the homestead and to the people who live there. The layout of the 'houses' within the homestead can be regarded as a physical expression of the social units within the *umzi*.

(Davidson, 1998: 102)

To explain this dynamic, I present figure 3.1 and figure 3.2 below. Figure 3.1 is a map of South Africa that I have used to mark the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape as the two provinces in which *imzi* (plural of *umzi*) of the Maqoma family are distributed.

⁷ The child participant did not own a digital device. Only the adult participant's literacy practices on a digital device were observed. In the South African context, it is not common for a young child to have their own device with internet connectivity unless if they are in a financially well-resourced family. But parents can also choose to limit or delay children's early access to digital devices.

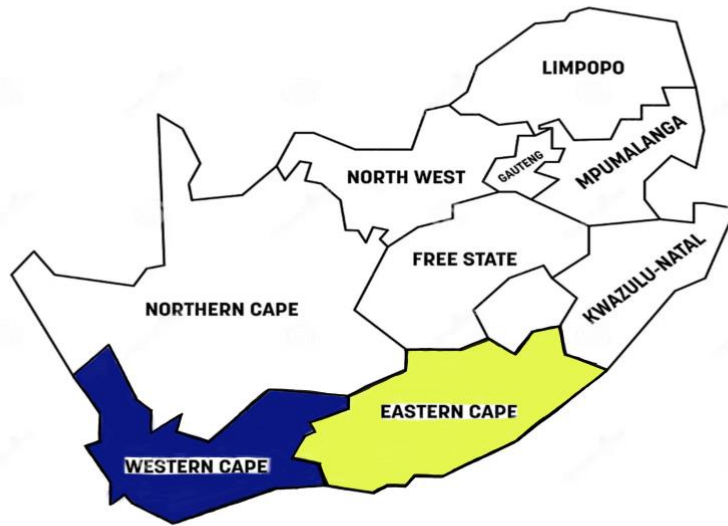


Figure 3.1: Map of provinces in South Africa ⁸

⁸ The map is not in scale

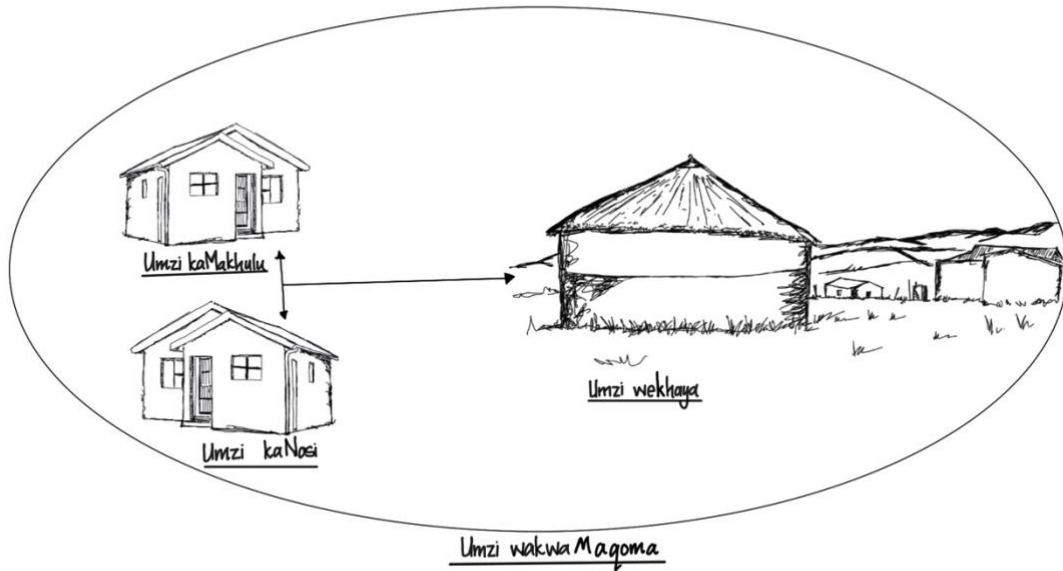


Figure 3.2: A drawing⁹ of family household arrangement

I present umzi kaNosi as the primary research site in my thesis. However, it is important to discuss the dynamic in which this site exists. I illustrate this with the map of provinces in figure 3.1 and a representation of the family household arrangement between the township and the village in figure 3.2 above. The map shows the nine provinces of SA of which the Western Cape (WC) on the south west of the map and the adjacent Eastern Cape (EC) on the south east form part. The sketched representation shows the household arrangement of the Maqoma homes that is distributed across the two provinces. The two homes in the WC are both located in a single urban township, a few hundred meters apart while the third home represented by the rondavel (thatch-roofed round structure) is located in a rural village in the EC. I have labelled the primary residence of the mother-daughter who are the focal participants in this study, categorized as a ‘single-parent

⁹ Drawing by Lana Mason guided by my description of the Maqoma family household arrangement.

household', umzi kaNosi. Appearing above it in the drawing is the second home of the Maqoma family, which I call umzi kaMakhulu (Grandmother's house). Both umzi kaNosi and umzi kaMakhulu form part of the mother-daughter-duo's everyday existence through connections and communal living with more members of the family who primarily live at umzi kaMakhulu. These family members include uMakhulu (the grandmother), uMakazi (the maternal aunt), uMalume (the maternal uncle) and Makazi's daughter who is umzala (cousin) to Siya, the focal child. This is the home the focal child frequented in the fieldwork, and participant observation and interview data show these homes materially connected. All family members are a single unit rather than the binary nuclear family (two parents and their children) versus extended family categorization that Western conceptions of family and living arrangements would determine. A similar connection exists between the two urban homes and rural home in the EC, and all members of the family traverse between umzi kaNosi and umzi kaMakhulu as 'a' single household and umzi wekhaya that is located in a different province roughly a thousand kilometres away. The family's movement between the WC and umzi wekhaya illustrates the dual-household arrangement that is identified in Hall and Makonane (2018) as typical among Black families, although there are three physical homes in this case. The dynamics of my participants' family and movements indeed confirm this prevalence. Additionally, I recognize this arrangement as the 'homesteading' (Davidson, 1998) that existed among African families, where adult children would be afforded land and housing on the same single piece of land as their parents, aunts, uncles, etc. This communal living makes the distinction between nuclear family and extended family inappropriate from an African perspective of the family kinship system. I expand on this notion further in chapter 4.

I present the WhatsApp social media application as the secondary research site. It emerged as such over my six months of interacting with the family and noticing how it is an integral part of their everyday lives. Blommaert (2019) troubles the distinction between online and offline and prefers the view that these are in a nexus in modern day society where people move and socialize in both their material and virtual worlds. Blommaert

brings this forth in illustrating the concept of offline/online nexus that exists and must exist in ethnographic research, which illustrates how the people's worlds consisting of both technology/digital devices and face to face or in-person interaction are jointly constituted. That is, physical site (offline) and remotely accessed site (online) activities are regularly and unavoidably intertwined with each other in daily life and thus in ethnographic research as observed by Gerster (2018) as well. Like the conditions described in Gerster (2018) and others (Postill, 2016), the Covid 19 global pandemic made visible the already existing online lives of participants alongside the offline aspect of their daily lives. In the time of the Covid19 world where people moved and interacted differently, I would argue that remote/digital data collection illuminated ways of living and socialization that already existed. And I would add, that for my fieldwork, constituting social media as another research site (thus hybridizing my research site) afforded me insight into forms of literacy and language use that I could have easily overlooked with an exclusive focus on the face to face language and literacy interaction between the adult participant and the community of users who form part of her online and offline interaction. Akin to the influence of digital media on the literary socialisation practices of youth in Santa María, Aliagas and Rutten (2022), a spatial interaction that transcends boundaries between the virtual and the physical space is created as Nosi interacts with an authentic audience through her WhatsApp status update. As such, I describe my methodology as combining both traditional linguistic ethnography and remote ethnography. Remote ethnography presents an interplay between 'being there' and 'being then', that is, the difference by being present in the physical research site (Projed, 2021).

The concept of "being there" should thus be understood in a different sense, perhaps by being present in time instead of in space – or being present in the same event instead of being present in the same place. The "event" could thus gradually become as – and often even more – relevant a unit of ethnographic research as the "site" (see Ahlin and Li, 2019)" (Projed, 2021: 279).

- **Generating data**

The approach I used to generate data in this study included semi-structured interviews, participant observations, recorded naturally occurring interactions (interactional data), fieldnotes, still photography and digital data. Dowling and Brown (2010: 89) maintain that the researcher must provide accounts of extracts generated from transcripts of interviews, observations, and provide ‘elaborated descriptions’ in order to account for the validity of the interpretive methodological framework. Generating diverse kinds of data enables the researcher to deepen the descriptions of social meanings and also ensures validity of research data triangulation thus also sharpening the analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1999). In the analysis chapters that follow, I draw on multiple sources of interactional data (among others) and utilize linguistic ethnography as an analytic tool for showing participants’ family identity, which they construct using language. Following the general guiding principles of the methodical processes involved in conducting ethnographic research and generating data (Green & Bloome, 1997), I provide an overview of the tools used and the range of data from which this thesis is constructed. These are presented in table 3.2 below as well as the breakdown of data collection over time. Fieldwork spanned a period of 12 months, starting in July 2020 and ending in July 2021.

Table 3.2: Data inventory

Phase I – July 2020 – December 2020		
Data methods	Data tools and description	Research site
Semi-structured interviews	Audio-recorded telephonic interviews	Home site accessed remotely via a mobile device call
Participant Observations	Observation of the participants after school/work routines captured via audio-recording and fieldnotes; audio-recorded naturally occurring conversations between participants and researcher	Home site accessed in person through sight visit and car journeys with participants

Naturally Occurring Interactions	Self-recorded audios of family interactions and literacy-in-action via WhatsApp's (WA) Voice note function – recorded at Umzi kaNosi and sent to researcher via WhatsApp end-to-end encrypted messaging	Home site accessed remotely through participants' self-recorded family interactions via WA Voice notes recording sent at the end of each interaction
	- Child's IsiXhosa Literacy Workbook - Captured in still photography and formed part of participant-researcher audio-recorded interactions. Also captures print material and artefacts in the home	Home site artefact accessed in person through still photography and audio-recorded interaction of the 'book walk'
Fieldnotes	Recorded in a researcher digital journal after every voice-recording received from participants and during in person participant observations	Revisiting the home site and virtual sites through reflective journaling at the end of each visit
Phase II – January 2021 to June 2021		
Data methods	Data tools and description	Research site
Participant Observation - Digital Messages	Captured screenshots of adult participant status updates on WhatsApp via researcher mobile device	Virtual site - accessed remotely through participants' WhatsApp status updates capturing
Participant Observation - Digital Photos	Captured screenshots of adult participant photographs and video status updates via researcher mobile device	Virtual site - accessed remotely through participants' WA

		status	updates
		capturing	

Working with the data

Linguistic ethnography informs the process of analysis in this research study. The audio-recorded data was transcribed verbatim by myself as the researcher, and categorized in files based on the kinds of data and chronology of events. It was then translated into monolingual English as presented in the glossed right-hand side column in the data analysis chapters. Importantly, I intentionally followed a non-linear approach to the translation process where analysis of thematically coded data preceded the translation. I could do this successfully because of the match of linguistic resources between myself and the research participants. More importantly, working this way allowed me to work with translingual and African languages terminologies and proverbs without the pressure to find the English equivalent that translation unintentionally presents. I gleaned this insight from my experience in translating and editing children’s literature. The sum of my analysis framework comprised of thematic analysis, interactional discourse analysis and multimodal analysis. Through coding of transcripts, I identified recurring themes as informed by literature, literacy-in-action, language practices, language repertoires and language ideologies.

I have used Thematic Analysis (TA) (Clarke & Braun, 2016) and Linguistic Ethnography (LE) as the main tools of data analysis. Data generated from participants’ social media participation was also analysed using these two analytical approaches with the inclusion of multimodal analysis. Lastly, the validity of the study was ensured by following a process of data triangulation - identifying similar themes and discourses from different data sources. Processing data started with transcription and ended with translation after I had coded and analyzed selected transcripts.

- **Data analysis**

My own decision to begin the process of analysis by working with transcripts of recorded interactions aligns with Widdicombe and Heinrichsmeier. In their words:

Perhaps the best approach is to make the fine-grained analysis of the recorded interactions our starting-point. This can give warrant to our claims and help us ground our interpretations in participants' own orientations. It can also help us avoid making our data fit theories that are shaped by our prior reading, preconceptions and all the other information we've gathered ethnographically (Widdicombe, 1998, pp. 202–204 in Heinrichsmeier, 2020: 172)

As mentioned above, beginning with the transcripts, I used Thematic Analysis (TA). According to Clarke and Braun (2016: 297), TA is useful for identifying patterns “within and across data in relation to participants' lived experience, views and perspectives, behavior and practices”; it is “experiential research which seeks to understand what participants think, feel and do”. TA follows an organic approach to the process of initially coding data transcripts and then generating themes from these codes that are congruent or at odds with concepts (Clarke & Braun, 2016). Clarke and Braun point out that as an interpretive approach, TA is not tied to a particular theory or set of theories. This allows the researcher to identify the theoretical concepts that they will bring to their process of coding and generating themes as well as to seek further conceptual tools as their analysis develops. TA helped me to identify, analyze and interpret patterns of meaning in the interactional, interview and multimodal data gathered, which I have used to generate recurrent/recurring themes. As is the norm in TA, these patterns and interpretation were guided by my theoretical orientation and, aligned with my research questions which evolved during the coding and theme development process.

In addition to thematic analysis, the analytical affordances of linguistic ethnography (Tusting, 2020; Copland & Creese, 2015) were central to my analysis of the data. Tusting (2018:8) points out that linguistic ethnography “combines ethnographic understanding of social settings with close analysis of linguistic data to generate unique insights into the workings of the social world, in a way which is sensitive to participants' meanings, values and

experiences". Linguistic ethnography enables a focus on language use in interaction at the micro level, applying the tools of discourse analysis (Gee, 2011; Slembrouk, 2020). I paid close attention to the multimodal nature of discourse (whether describing tone of voice where significant or analysis of the textual features of visual images such as photographs, emojis, and colour backgrounds to digital texts analysed).

Below I provide an example of my initial coding of multimodal data to illustrate the ways in which I combined the tools of thematic analysis and linguistic ethnography (See appendix I for further examples).

Social Media Status Updates Literacy Practice:

THEME	AUDIENCE
isiXosa - metaphors	All contacts
Cristianity	
Identity	All contacts
Family	
community	
Enlis	

Practices:

- Writing – Nosi writes in isiXhosa, translingual and
- Reading
- Storytelling (Narration of Nosi's life/perspectives)

Date	Status	Visual	Speech Classification	Languageing
6 Jan	Look at the view (emoji) my home village kodwa bethwa zisea breeze	A photo of a village showing a rondavel & the ocean	Nostalgia; general	Translanguaging
6 Jan	Zibotshwa noba zibhityile alk	A photo of Siya carrying a water bucket on her head, supporting it with one and, same background as previous status		isiXhosa mono
28 January	Ndingubodlinj, Nqele, Nomazele, Mbombo, Tanana, Krila, rharha, gcaleka ndinumxhosa ndizalwa lIMpondokazi mzukulwana WooLeta namaCete, sizukulwana samaQocwa, ooJojo, namantande ooDlomo namaTshawe ndinegazi lobukhosi emzimbeni wam (emoji)	A photo of Nosi wearing umbhaco omhlope neentsimbi		isiXhosa mono
9 February	Mic tis queen of ours (kiss blowin emoji)	A photo of Nosi with her mother in a village		English mono
9 February	ad a nice nap after work	Nosi is layin on sometin tat looks like a bed cover		English mono


Figure 3.3 Example of initial coding of multimodal data (status refers to the written status update on WA)

- **Transcription and translation**

I have drawn from Richard’ s (2003) list of transcription conventions, which are widely used by researchers working with the Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, to code my data transcript and generate the table 4.3 below. Researchers working with linguistic ethnographic data find these conventions useful for visually organizing oral narratives in a way that is performative to show the orientation of the speaker (Blommaert, 2005) as well as providing contextual detail or ‘stage directions’ (Rampton, 2006) that assists the reader and accentuates analysis (Copland & Creese, 2015). I found the contextual detail particularly useful in describing the kinds of stylisation necessary and explaining the actions of participants in instances such as singing, imitation of voices, speakers’ intention or noting when the speech got cut off, etc. Stylisation is a concept used by Jasper and Van Hoof (2020) to describe the language use of speakers in their everyday lives that is characterized by different kinds of identity performance as they construct social meaning. This was particularly the case with naturally occurring interactional data and participant observation data, where the participants language to construct family and construct their ideological positionings of multilingualism and literacy. I have also chosen to represent the English version of the data in italics, adjacent to the original language of interactions that moves between isiXhosa and English – combined and separated. The translation of data into English was preceded by analysis and is provided largely to fulfil the English language requirement of the thesis rather than for analysing the data.

Table 3.3: Transcription conventions

Symbol	Description
,	Short pause
„	Long pause
?	Questioning intonation
!	Exclamatory intonation
//	Overlap

	Imitation
=	Latched utterances
-	Speech cut off
(xxx)	Indistinct
:	Sound stretching
	Singing
(bracketed text)	Description or explanation
bolded text	Analysis focus
<i>[italicized text]</i>	English translation

Ethical considerations

Moved by both personal and institutional ethical responsibility for conducting research in a way that respects the dignity and consent of participants, I sought and received ethical clearance from the School of Education Research Ethics committee (refer to letter in appendix A) and followed the university ethics guidelines prior to commencing with the study. It is an important requirement for researchers working with human participants to have consideration for ethics in a number of areas. In addition to applying due ethical diligence required when working with human participants, the consideration for one of the participants being a minor and my research site being an intimate space was at the forefront of my planning when negotiating access and participation. This also held true for respecting the privacy of participants with observing the participants' use of social media – consent (and assent from the minor) was sought on an ongoing basis and participants were notified of the exact timelines their status updates were observed and captured as data. They were also reminded of their right to withdraw or ask for any sensitive data they did not wish me to use to be withdrawn from use in the research. Additionally, I have used pseudonyms for the participants and anonymised any data that makes their identity and/or place of residence recognisable (see appendix A and B).

Reflections

It is worth stating that my positionality in the duration of the research process for this study is one of complexity and entanglement. I mention this not as a barrier to valid ethical scientific research but rather as a critical researcher dynamic, providing sources of insight as I navigated the often binarized 'inside/outsider' researcher status (Geleta, 2014) in ethnographic research. I see myself as having assumed both the insider and outsider status during fieldwork and in my approach to data processing and analysis. I was an insider in the sense of the shared cultural and language background and practices between myself and the participants. Like myself, the adult participants originate from the Eastern Cape and grew up in an environment that was predominantly isiXhosa speaking, an experience that sees culture and language as materially integrated. We also share the experience of living and having lived between the city and the rural worlds where patterns of kinship ties and systems are similarly enduring, regardless of physical distance between family members. This dynamic experience necessarily offered me critical insight into the way I understood family and role players in the raising and socialization of a child in general (which I show as replicated in socialization around language). From these insights I could follow the ideas from Southern Epistemologies and consequently show how looking into local ontologies and epistemologies necessitate the use of terminologies like the 'euro-decentered' ikhaya, for instance, as resources for exploring and explaining (or giving fitting accounts) of our worlds and generating new theories. I would argue that in the context of research that seeks to understand participants' lived experiences and perspectives, it is precisely my subjectivity that afforded me greater insight in understanding the ways of being of the participants and the data collected. Further, the concern for bias was countered by my researcher positionality which afforded me 'outsider' status and a perspective informed by existing theoretical insights which I could draw on to analyse data, make determinations and gain understandings.

In addition to being multilingual, my expertise in the translation and editing of children's literature, working with isiXhosa and English, meant that I could analyse the data in the original language/s captured in the recording without having to grapple with intended meaning and cultural context that can be easily lost or misconstrued in the translated version.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how I have drawn from the principles of ethnography – a qualitative research method - as both method and methodology to construct the study of a single case. I have also shown how the choice to conduct my fieldwork both remotely and in person was borne from the need to adapt to the constraints of a global pandemic, but also how the crises opened me up to seeing the online-offline nexus that exists in the everyday lives and routines of people. Further, I presented linguistic ethnography, and the selection of a single case study as the most apt methodologies for responding to the research question, and how this influenced the research process. I outlined the research process including the process of formulating research questions; the selection of research site and participant data collection and generation as well as the approach to data analysis. I have engaged with ethical considerations; and provided a reflective account of my insider/outsider status. In the next four chapters to follow, I present and analyse the data generated.

4. Linguaging and constructing family

Introduction

Research about multilingualism in the family requires the understanding of what constitutes family as well as how language is used. Describing this social structure is integral to understanding the concept and nature of family. It has already been established that the view of family composition which centres on establishing the nuclear family as the norm is problematic in family sociology and language socialisation research. However, an analysis of the construct of family from the participants' perspectives has not yet been explored, particularly in the African context. Gaining such insight has the potential to launch an inquiry of the similar and dissimilar ways in which family is conceptualised and how homes are organised in the global south. This, I will argue, is critical for understanding language socialisation and language management and practice in the region. Drawing from local episteme espoused in the isiXhosa terminology ikhaya, I apply Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986a) framing of LS as an exploration of how, through the ways families use language, they socialise children to use language.

In this chapter, thus, I discuss the family kinship system and languaging, which includes the understanding of family identity derived from the knowledge of iziduko and izibongo (clan names), the language and cultural practice of ukuzithutha or ukuzibonga. I propose the conceptual framing of ikhaya as family and home, gleaning insight through the making and languaging around umzi wekhaya, umzi kaNosi and umzi kaMakhulu. I show how both the homes connect and how ikhaya transcends the space and binaries between multiple homes and the nuclear vs extended family divide. Umzi means a homestead as well as a household and I use it in this thesis to denote household, which includes main residence or a particular physical residence. Lastly, in this chapter, I draw on multimodal data to show how a participant in this case study performs ikhaya as family and home.

Prologue: challenging the language status quo

I have reflected in the previous chapter about Nosi’s participation in this research, which was characterized by an incidental shift between being a participant to becoming a co-researcher in the way she raised critical questions about the status quo in language planning and literacy development in Siya’s school. The extract below is from one such interaction with her during an audio-recorded participant observation, at the half-way point of my fieldwork. This interaction took place in the family’s open-plan lounge where Nosi and I were seated while Siya was busy with her afterschool routine/chores. This part of the conversation between Nosi and I was sparked, I suspect, by one of the questions I had asked some months earlier (during a telephonic interview) about what she feels about the language offering at Siya’s school. This question was driven by my interest in understanding her specific motivation for seeking support for her child’s isiXhosa literacy development. Moments before this I had expressed an interest to view Siya’s Grade 4 isiXhosa workbook to deepen my understanding of the family’s experience of isiXhosa in Siya’s school, which I examine in detail in chapter 6.

Extract 4.1: ‘umbuzo wam’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	umbuzo wam wena Babalwa why [Babalwa:hm] ilevel yabo yesiXhosa, umsebenzi wabo wesiXhosa ungafani nelevel yezinye iilangweji? [Babalwa:hm?] like bafunda izinto ezintsha everyday kwezinye iilangweji nhe? [Babalwa:eh’e] bathi why esiXhoseni iyinto enye okoko?	[my question Babalwa (is) why]/[Babalwa:hm] <i>their level of isiXhosa, their work in isiXhosa (,) is not the same as the level of other languages? [Babalwa:hm?] like they learn new things every day in other languages right? [Babalwa:yes] what do they say is the reason why in isiXhosa it’s one(same) thing over and over?</i>

December 2020, Onsite Participant Observation

This single long turn in extract 4.1 above is a conversation directed by Nosi, with the occasional minimal responses from me that signal to her to keep talking (hm), to elaborate (hm?) and showing a sense of agreement (eh’e). Central to Nosi’s utterance is her expressed concern about the level of isiXhosa at Siya’s school, which she explicitly states as a concern she has. By level, she is referring to the level of complexity in lesson

content taught in isiXhosa in comparison with language activities in Afrikaans and English – “why ilevel yabo yesiXhosa, umsebenzi wabo wesiXhosa ungafani nelevel yezinye iilangweji?” [why their level of isiXhosa, their work in isiXhosa is not the same as the level of other language] that are also taught as subjects at the school. She also picks up on the rising intonation of my second filler word that spurs her on to substantiate her claim, which she does with the example she gives about the learning experience in English and Afrikaans in contrast to isiXhosa. She states the difference between the languages as being new things being learnt every day in the other languages of English and Afrikaans – “bafunda izinto ezintsha everyday nhe?” [they learn new things every day in other languages right]. By this utterance she seems to be suggesting that isiXhosa is positioned lower when using the variety of content across subjects as a yardstick/indicator. The “nhe?” [right?] she ends off with serves the purpose of eliciting confirmation from me, which the response “e’e” [yes] satisfied. Nosi proceeds to make her dissatisfaction more apparent when she rephrases her question, putting the focus on isiXhosa, and ponders about why it is that in isiXhosa the same topic is being taught over and over again – “bathi why esiXhoseni iyinto enye okoko”, asking for the reason why it is that [in isiXhosa it’s one (the same) thing over and over].

This sparks a curiosity about what her questioning of the unequal level between isiXhosa and the two languages means for Nosi and what informs her sense of unease with the status quo. My hunch, thus, is to examine the question itself – what is being asked, how and why it is being asked and to whom. The ‘what’ part of her concern and ‘how’ she is asking is explicit. She clearly describes her concern being the seemingly unequal valuing of isiXhosa based on how it’s taught contrasted with how English and Afrikaans are taught. She is also emphatic in her asking, shown in the way she asks in the first part of the question ending with the rising intonation (?) and then rephrasing her concern in the second part, also ending with a rising intonation. The focus of my analysis lies in both parts: “umbuzo wam why– my question (is) why’ and ‘bathi why” [what they say is the reason]. Both these questions are inherently rhetorical. Rather than seeking answers to

these questions, I suggest that Nosi is clearly framing her thoughts and experience in a way that makes a point about and probes the status quo in schooling. That is, she has noticed and is concerned about the disparities between the depth of language offering in her child's school where isiXhosa is positioned as hierarchically lower than English and Afrikaans. To examine the potential source of Nosi's concern and probing, I investigate the makeup of Nosi's family that identifies as amaXhosa and examine the connection between family language practices and family identity in this domain. Researching language in families requires locating family language practices within the context of broader social dynamics, which provides us with better understanding of what families do (Higgins & Wright, 2022).

Constructing family through the cultural practices of amaXhosa

Practices around clan name use in the Maqoma family are one of the recurring themes that came up from different data sources – interviews, participant observations and audio-recorded interactional data generated by the family. I became increasingly interested in examining the family's languaging around these cultural practices as I reflected on literature on the entanglement of language and culture (wa Thiongo, 1986; Sapir, 1921, in Copland & Creese, 2015). I also approached the data with the understanding of how the process of language socialisation stands as a functional and symbolic interface between language and culture (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). In this first section of the chapter, I present five data extracts (extracts 4.2 – 2.6) that I use to examine Nosi and Siya's language practices to construct family through their use of iziduko, clan names, and participating in practice of ukuzithutha, reciting clan names.

- **Constituting family with iziduko**

Extract 4.2 below became one of the facets of the Maqoma family's identity that I explored. It shows data from a telephonic interview where the child participant Siya appears to be well acquainted with both the western and African cultural practice of self-introduction. In this extract I show Siya's linguistic and cultural knowledge relating to

identity. This extract appears at the beginning of the interview and as part of greetings exchange typical when people start to converse.

Extract 4.2: ‘isiduko sethu’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	Nje into ofuna ndiyazi ngefemeli <u>yakho</u> ne’nto enithanda u’zenza	<i>[Just something you want me to know about your family and the things you like doing]</i>
Siya	Okheyi, ifani yethu yefemeli nguMaqoma, isiduko sethu nguMaMbamba	<i>[Okay, our surname of the family is Maqoma, our clan name is MaMbamba]</i>
B	Yima ke sisi su’khawulezisa, uthe isiduko ngubani?	<i>[Hang on sisi don’t go fast, what did you say your clan name is?]</i>
Siya	Isiduko nguMaMbamba	<i>[The clan name is ma’Mbamba]</i>
B	maMbamba, okay	<i>maMbamba, okay</i>
Siya	As ifemeli into esithanda u’yenza :hm-m: Kukulhala sonke sincokoleni kube mnandi kupheke umama wam, nomalume wam	<i>[as a family the thing we like doing :hm-m: is sitting together conversing together and having a good time and my mom cooks, and my uncle]</i>

19 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

Siya introduces herself by both her surname and her clan name. She identifies her surname as Maqoma and her clan name MaMbamba. MaMbamba, with Ma- prefixed to the word Mbamba to signifying a woman or a girl. While she identifies her family by her surname as per traditional western practice, she also identifies herself by her clan name as is customary in African cultural practice, particularly among amaXhosa. My focus, however, is on isiduko as her identity because of the noticeable recurrence in interview data and interactional data during coding of my themes – there is no other time during my fieldwork that the family’s surname was mentioned by the participants. Isiduko (*pl. iziduko*) is known as a clan name in English, and it is prized for its role in marking identity. It is both customary and considered respectful to enquire about someone’s clan name among amaXhosa (Xhosa Culture, 2014; Opland, 1998). It is through the knowledge of clan names that a person can trace the lineage of their ancestors, forefathers and the accompanying praises called izibongo. While some ‘language varieties’ of ‘amaXhosa’ use the words iziduko and izibongo as synonyms, other scholars make a distinction

between these two terms. Kuse (1973, in Dowling 1996) describes iziduko as inherited names while izibongo are earned by the heroic person to whom they apply. From personal encounters with amaHlubi (Hlubi people) and amaMpondo (Mpondo people) for instance, iziduko are called izibongo and to recite clan names and clan praise is called ukuzibonga, which literally means 'to praise oneself'. In the standardized version of isiXhosa (which includes the variety of language spoken by amaHlubi and amaMpondo), the practice of reciting clan names is called ukuzithutha. Following the meaning these often interchangeable words have for the participants in this study, I use iziduko and izibongo (*sl.* Isibongo) as synonyms and ukuzithutha and ukuzibonga as also synonymys, respectively.

Siya also goes beyond marking her identity with isiduko. Her use of pronouns in talking about her identity expresses a sense of collective identity. Siya's use of "sethu" [our] shows how she thinks of isiduko as encompassing a collective identity thus centring her belonging on community rather than the individual self. Siya and I had just exchanged greetings, and I had re-explained to her the purpose of this telephonic interview appearing in the interaction above. I had asked her to tell me about her family first, as an icebreaker but was also interested in the kind of information she would give about her family. There are three important points worth examining that come up from this part of the interview. Siya gives her clan name as MaMbamba, with Ma- prefixed to the main word signifying a woman or a girl. I also notice how she consistently uses the plural forms of possessive pronouns "yethu" [ours] and "sethu" [ours], signifying collective belonging to the "ifani" [surname] and "isiduko" [clan name]. This is despite my apparent (but unintended) focus on individuality in the possessive pronoun "yakho" [your] when I ask her to tell me about her family in the opening turn of the extract. Following the same pattern of plural forms of possessive pronouns as Siya, the relevant substitution pronoun used in the first turn would be "yenu" [your]. It is of course impossible to notice what difference 'yakho' and 'yenu' makes when making this analysis from the English version of the extract as both words translate to 'your' which can be singular or plural. This is the

reason that all data extracts have been analysed in the original language of the interactions, which has provided me with some critical insights with which to conceptualise as I have discussed in the methodology chapter. Consistent with the use of the plural forms of possessive pronouns in the second turn, Siya also uses the inclusive quantitative pronoun 'sonke' in the last turn, which indicates that she is referring to a collective of more than two people when talking about the thing they like to do together as a family. The "sincokoleni" [conversing together] confirms this expansive inclusion of more than two people as belonging to the Mbamba clan name and sharing the Maqoma surname. Further, Siya's participation on the practice of using isiduko is indicative of the early language socialisation and/or ongoing socialisation around language and culture that the child is being apprenticed/has been apprenticed into.

Siya as an individual and unwittingly positions family as expressing an individual's belonging than of collective identity. But Siya rectifies this in the second turn when she articulates that it is 'ifani yethu' [*our surname*] and 'isiduko sethu' [*our clan-name*] when describing her family. Siya's way of speaking about her family begins to show an expansive sense of a family, which confirms the view of African scholars (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998), who argue against the divide and distinction between 'nuclear family' and 'extended family'. When Siya mentions a member of the family beyond the mother-child duo described as a nuclear and single-parent household, I begin to question the concept of family. Who counts as family and what constitutes a home? These are very important considerations for any ethnographic understanding of language socialisation. Gaining insight into the localised kinship system in the African context is significant for understanding the role players in setting up family language management strategies. It is also central to understanding possible motivations for language practices and language choices that families make or reject, and this is one of the fundamental questions and exploration I wish to address with this thesis.

It is not extraordinary for a child nor a person of any age to mention their name first when there are introducing themselves. I had expected this, and because we knew each other's

first names, it made sense that Siya would tell me her surname first. What I had not anticipated was the recitation of her clan names which came up towards the beginning of the interview, and which was not directed by any of the interview questions or follow up questions. It is perhaps because the measure of significance of iziduko bear more weight than surnames, among amaXhosa. To the extent and it is considered polite and respectful to inquire after someone's clan name when you meet them for the first time (Abongisocial, 2010; Xhosa Culture, 2014). Differently, a surname is considered a colonial invention. Ifani, the isiXhosa word for surname, is derived from the Afrikaans word for surname which is 'van' (/fʌn/) and is a consequence of language contact between isiXhosa speakers and others. While surnames are a visible feature that remain valued among Africans, my interaction with Siya in this interview and other data extracts I will present of her family, shows how prized clan names are as a marker of belonging. One of the valuable functions of clan names in African societies is their facilitatory role in establishing a person's identity (Thwala, 2018).

Another noticeable aspect of Siya's sense family identity, in extract 4.2, is who she includes as a member of her family. She lists her maternal uncle, whom she calls Malume, as a member of the family, who is part of the Maqoma family and Mbamba clan name. Differently to the custom of the patrilineal identity of clan names that children take, Siya is legitimised as Mbamba following a matrilineal identity because of her parents being unmarried. This explanation is important for understanding how Malume and Siya share the same clan name in particular. Malume appears to be the active member of the family, beyond the shared sense of family kinship, as shown by Siya telling that she enjoys sitting and chatting together and the cooking roles of her mother and uncle, activities that are common with family who live together or meet regularly. If Siya's family functions this way (bearing in mind that Malume is a resident in umzi kaMakhulu rather than umzi kaNosi) then it brings into question 'nuclear/extended family' divide. That is, Malume who is an 'extended family member' transcends the physical boundaries between two households and is part of Siya and her mother's daily routines. The

boundary between nuclear and extended appears to be flexible, or even non-existent, in practice, when we look at kinships system and caregiving arrangements in this case study. In this instance, Malume’s role as one of the people who cooks as part of the Maqoma’s favourite past times is telling of the sense of connectedness that her uncle plays in the Maqoma family, which would often be described as a single-parent nuclear family in literature. Siya’s uncle, Malume, is a member of her immediate family in Siya’s account. And furthermore, the role of being the family cook alongside Siya’s mother now presents Malume as a member of this ‘single-parent nuclear family’.

In addition to Malume whom she has mentioned as one of her family members, Siya expands on her list when I explicitly ask her to tell me the people who are in her family. Included in this list is another maternal uncle whom Siya calls malume – to differentiate between the two uncles I shall use a lower case spelling, **malume**. This additional information about Siya’s family members that I present in Extract 4.3 below came up during the same telephonic interview as the extract above.

Extract 4.3: ‘...nomalume...necousins’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	ewe, okay ke bhabha ngobani abasefemelini yakho? ngumama, ngumalume (referring to Nosi’s younger brother already mentioned), ngobani abanye/	<i>yes, okay then baby who is in your family? Its mama, malume referring to Nosi’s younger brother already mentioned),, and who else?</i>
Siya	ngumama, nomalume (referring to Nosi older brother), nomalumekazi, nomakhulu, no- nomakazi [B:hm-hm] necousins,,	<i>it’s mama, and uncle (referring to Nosi older brother), and aunt (uncle’s wife), and grandmother, and and aunt (mother’s sister)[B:hm-hm] and cousins</i>
B	tana yho, so uyababona bonke, ubavizithela nivizithelane?	<i>oh wow, so you see all of them, and you visit them and you visit each other</i>
Siya	ewe	<i>yes</i>

29 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

Siya's mother, maternal uncle and his wife, grandmother and maternal aunt are the list of people that she regards as family. This is the second maternal uncle she mentions, whom she calls Malume. I know this through verifying with Nosi, but it is also implied in the data extract from the first two opening turns between Siya and me. When I asked her who else is in her family, I lead with re-listing her mother and "ngumama" [it's mama], and she carries on adding to the list "nomalume" [and uncle] among others. Noticeable after malume, she adds "nomalumekazi" [and aunt] a word that refers to a maternal uncle's wife. Because the first uncle she mentioned who resides in umzi kaMakhulu in the township is unmarried, this confirms malume as the second maternal being mentioned by Siya. The uncle mentioned who was spontaneously mentioned in extract 4.2 resides with Siya's grandmother in umzi kaMakhulu and is the renowned family cook between the two township homes, which are about 400-500m apart. Additionally, Siya includes her cousins in the list, children who are Nosi's nieces and nephews. And she confirms that she does visit them, and they visit each other, thus suggesting a connection between the homes which I explore further in this chapter. It is intriguing that Siya instantaneously includes all these members in her list and does not differentiate between 'nuclear' or immediate family and 'extended family. I wonder if this has to do with the question of having been asked in isiXhosa and as such regarding family as the people that are integral to her socialisation or everyday living. Would she have answered differently if I had asked her 'who are the people in your family instead of "ngobani abasefemelini yakho?" [who is in your family?]. What has become the common understanding of family in our western socialisation is distinctions between nuclear and extended family, and whether it is a two parent household or single parent household. None of these distinctions in family dynamics surfaced in how the Maqoma's talked about or described themselves during my interactions with them. As such I believe the scholars who challenge the notion of extended family in the African context have good grounds to do so.

Siya's listing of various people residing in multiple homes and beyond the nuclear family in umzi kaNosi is indicative of the expansive view (and experience) she has about family,

when deriving the understanding of family as constructed along isiduko identity. Her identification of family members who are spread and oscillate between multiple established homesteads is quite consistent with some views in literature, which describe the notion of ‘extended family’ as non-existent (Russell, 1994) and challenge the idea of family comprising of parents and children who live under one roof (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998). Therefore, with the more Southern/African perspective of family organization, the Maqoma family set up is typical in the (South) African context - family kinship transcends the boundaries of a nuclear family. And through the multiple homes that they move between, the scope of homes as sites for socializing is wide and presents the possibility of varied in repertoires – the Eastern Cape rural home typified by isiXhosa monoglossia and the two urban township homes where the more heteroglossic language practices can be expected (Krause, 2021).

Also resonating with the expansive view of family and multiple residences, Nosi gives me a snippet of her family life and active involvement in her rural Eastern Cape home in umzi wekhaya: “No asifuyanga, kukhona kufuywa ngoku, bekuvaliwe kaloku ekhaya besikweli cala” [no we don’t have livestock, its only now that we are keeping livestock, it is because our home was locked up we were this side] – (9 December 2020 – onsite observations). Using the word ekhaya, at home, Nosi claims belonging and, I will argue, residency in the umzi wekhaya). Further, she explains that “besikweli cala – we were this side” to show the idea, and indeed the experience of home as expansive multifaceted. And during one of the onsite participant-observations, Nosi was explaining the frequency of their visits, which is determined by the school term breaks and the number of vacation days available to make the long trip worthwhile. On a different onsite participant observation, during a recorded conversation in our car ride between Siya’s school and their home, Nosi talks about her spiritual ancestral connection. Talking about her spiritual gift, she explains that:

“But ke ngoku le (exela isiphiwo sakhe sokuba ngumntu omhlophe) isuka **ekhaya** ndiyiphiwa ekhaya **ngabantu basekhaya** abangasekhoyo uyaqaphela” [but now this

(referring to her ancestral spiritual gift) comes **from home** I have been given **by the people of my family** (family members) who are no longer here you see]

(Nosi, 26 November 2020)

Again, she uses the word 'ekhaya' to indicate two meanings. The first and second ekhaya, at home, signifies residence and belonging. The third one, however, embodies belonging and 'family'. What is important to note about how she refers to 'ekhaya' is the mentioning of people who count as family members – "(ng) abantu basekhaya abangasekhoyo – family members who are no longer with us (passed away). In African culture, these family members would comprise of a variety of people with a ranging kinship proximity to Nosi. Nuclear and 'extended' family members who have passed away, alike, would be equally legitimized as family members who are directing Nosi's spiritual gift. In this instance she refers to her ability to see what is to come and praying as gifts bestowed upon her by family members, her ancestors. Nosi's expression fits with several scholars' discourse about the expansiveness of 'family'. Masola (2020) uses the concept of ukuzalana, relatedness, to argue against the view of 'extended family' as separate from nuclear family. Similarly, Russell (1994) goes to the extent of describing the notion of 'extended family' as 'non-existent' to emphasize the expansiveness of family kinship system in the African context.

- **Language and constituting family with ukuzithutha**

Exploring her sense of identity, I look at Siya's participation in the practice of 'ukuzibonga/ukuzithutha' - a critical cultural practice that has survived well into the modern days – and stays relevant and valued in urban, language hybrid context as well – like the township where Siya lives. Ukuzithutha is the practice of reciting clan names and tracing ancestral lineage. In the literal sense, ukuzithutha is to 'transport' oneself by way of recalling ancestral lineage (Xhosa Culture, 2014) as can be read from the word ukuzithutha or 'to praise oneself' as can be derived from the term ukuzibonga. This is particularly important to analyse because it is also a language and literacy practice that is telling of the kinds of cultural knowledge and values that are transported by language

and the epistemic access which provides for the family about who they are and what they do. Towards the end of the telephonic interview partly captured in the extract above, I asked Siya to take a turn in asking me any question, an attempt to level the researcher-participant power dynamic and to make her feel at ease for the rest of the fieldwork interactions where I am physically present. Interestingly, she takes the conversation back to how she had introduced herself at the beginning of the interview call and specifically asked for my surnames and clan name. This appears in extract 4.4 below:

Extract 4.4: ‘nam ndingazibinga?’

	Original languaging	English translation
Babalwa	Zikhona iiquestion ofuna ukundibuza?	<i>[are there questions you want to ask me?]</i>
	E’e	<i>[yes]</i>
Babalwa	Okay ungandibuza ke sisi	<i>[okay you can ask me]</i>
Siya	(xxx)	<i>(xxx)</i>
Babalwa	Yima ke, awuzundibuza umbuzo onzima andithi?	<i>[hang on, you won’t ask me a difficult question, isn’t it?]</i>
Siya	Ha-a	<i>[no]</i>
Babalwa	Hayi ndiya- ndiya- (chuckling) ndiyadla (laughs) ungandibuza nantoni na, buza ke ndimamele	<i>[no I I (chuckling) I am playing (laughs) you can ask me anything, ask I am listening]</i>
Siya	Ndifuna ukubuza ukuba eyakho ifani nesiduko ngubani?	<i>[I want to ask what to ask what your surname and clan name]</i>
Babalwa	Ubani sisi?	<i>[who sisi?]</i>
Siya	ifani nesiduko (turns omitted ¹⁰)	<i>[surname and clan name] (turns omitted)</i>
Babalwa	e’e then isiduko sam ndi- ndikunike sibe sinye okanye ndikunike zonke? ndiz’thuthe?	<i>[yes then my clan-name should i should i give you one or should i give you all of them? should i recite my clan name? (standardized variety of isiXhosa)]</i>
Siya	uzibonge	<i>[you should recite your clan names (uzibonge - the so called variety of isiXhosa)]</i>
Babalwa	ndiz’thuthe?	<i>[i should recite my clan-names?]</i>
Siya	uzibonge	<i>[you should recite your clan-name]</i>
Babalwa	oh ndizibonge? okheyi ndiza kuzibonga ke, ndingu- but andizazi zonke ndiyazazi ezininzi kodwa	<i>[oh i should recite my clan names? Okay i will recite my clan names, I am but i don’t know all of them but i know</i>

¹⁰ We got into a long conversation about my surnames - how I got to have a Setswana surname and pronunciation and spelling

	ndingumaNxasana, uSikhonza, uDunjane, uMkhiwa, uMalilelwa u-uBhili kaTotobe, uChulushe, ndiphelele apho	<i>most i am maNxasana, Skhonza, Dunjane, Mkhiwa, Malilelwa, Bhili of Totobe, Chulushe, that's it]</i>
Siya	nam, nam ndingazibonga?	<i>[can i, can i also recite my clan names?]</i>
Babalwa	ewe zibonge	<i>[yes recite your clan names]</i>

19 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

Siya appears to have been interested in the same kinds of details about my identity as she was keen to respond when asked her to tell me about her family. Akin to how she introduced herself, she asks me to give my surname and clan-name. And in the opening turn of this extract, I reveal my clan name: ‘then isiduko sam’ – [then my clan name] - but ask whether she requires me to give one or more, thereby bringing the word ukuzithutha – which entails the listing of a lineage of her forefathers in the family name a person belongs to. Interesting, when I ask whether ‘ndizithuthe?’ [must I recite my clan-name], she responds in a similar way as she did about isiduko. She responds with the confirmation; ‘uzibonge’, the synonym of ‘uzithuthe’. What is important to note in this interaction is how Siya participates knowing and showing good understanding of the differing terminologies, which are particular to this cultural practice valued by amaXhosa. The fact that she doesn’t ask me to clarify what I mean in both instances when I use the words isiduko and ukuzithutha despite maintaining the same terminologies from a different variety is also telling of her knowledge base and repertoire. I point this out to show the rich language practices that Siya is equipped with from home, and a language learning experience she would not have at school, despite taking isiXhosa as an ‘academic subject’.

In extract 4.4, Siya demonstrates her knowledge and experience relating to the cultural practices around iziduko. Intuitively, she names the practice in the way she asks me about my clan name, which I had not done at the beginning of our interaction as per the place of this practice. Not only does she correct this ‘irregularity’, my asking of reciting of my iziduko seem to have activated something in her and prompted her to demonstrate

her own knowledge and performance of this aspect of her identity. Hence, nam ndingazibonga. In a sense, Siya draws the social to languaging – showing her sense of identity rooted in the practice of ukuzibonga, which she pre-emptively invited me to partake. This participation in mutual languaging and cultural practice makes me think of ukuzibonga as literacy practice that both Siya and I have been encultured into as the next extract will demonstrate.

Extract 4.5: ‘ndandifundiswe ngumam’ m’

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	ndingu Mbamba ndinguKрила (xxx) ndingu Bhodl’inja (screeching sound)	[i am Mbamba , i am Kрила (xxx) I am Bhodl’inja (screeching sound)]
Babalwa	(u)ngubani?	[you are?]
Siya	ndingu Gragra	[i am Gragra]
Babalwa	hm	hm
Siya	qha	[that’s it]
Babalwa	yho, uyazazi! ufundiswe ufundiswe ngubani ukuzibonga? ukwazelaphi ukuzibonga umncinci?	[wow, you know them! who taught you who taught you how to recite your clan names]
Siya	ndandifundiswe ngumam’am	[i was taught by my mother]

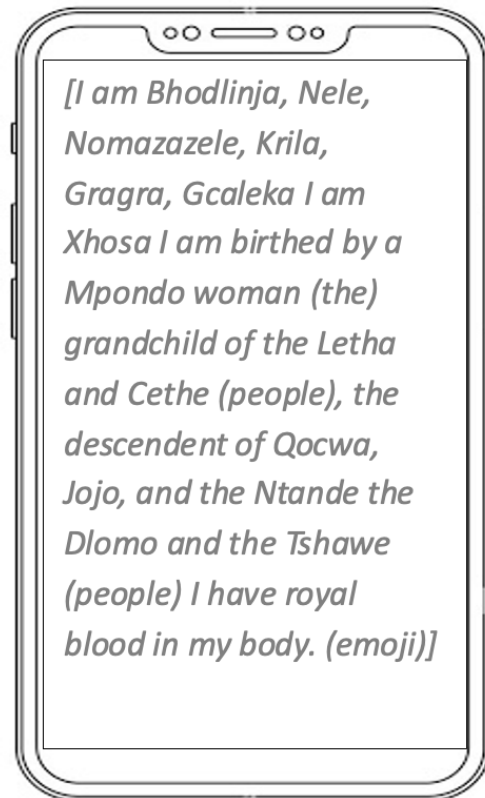
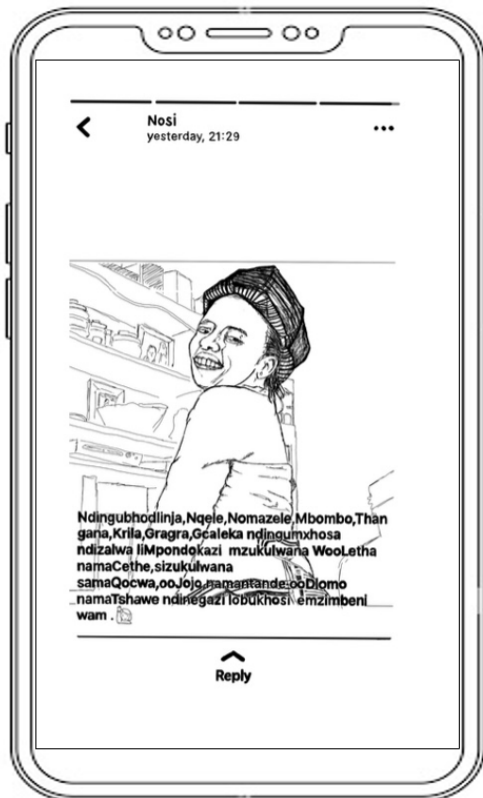
29 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

It is common for adults to marvel at and complement children on their ability to recite their clan names or ability to praise themselves - ukuzibonga. This was certainly my experience during this telephonic interview with Siya. While children ordinarily can recall their clan name, it is unusual when they go beyond this knowledge and can recite a list of their clan names as Siya did in extract 4.4 above. Perhaps my surprise stemmed from my limited perspective, in that moment, of the kinds of African language a child who spends most of their weekdays immersed in English dominant environments – as would be the case in Siya’s school - is exposed to. This intrigue is revealed when I appear to be impressed by her knowledge– “yho, uyazazi!” [wow, you know them!]. Furthermore, I become curious about her source of knowledge – “ufundiswe ufundiswe ngubani ukuzibonga?” [who taught you who taught you to recite your clan-names?] to which she references her mother, Nosi, as the teacher – the knowledgeable other. Important to note

is also the manner of speech she uses to respond to my question. While I ask the question using the past participle 'ufundiswe - who taught you', Siya locates the teaching in the past giving a sense that learning her clan names was part of her earlier socialisation: 'ndandifundiswe - I have been taught'. I classify the process of Siya's acquisition of an orientation to indigenous knowledge and socialisation into the language use in the home domain. The knowledge of one's name and surname are significant identity markers in the school domain (and any official domain) and part of elementary literacy expectation is for children to learn to write and read their names. But this is not the expectation for iziduko in schooling, regardless of the culture and demographics of learners. This is still quite prized knowledge and cultural (and linguistic) practice in many African societies. This is perhaps the reason why Nosi teaches Siya her clan names as part of affirming her family identity but also socialising her to the practice of the broader African society and communities that value this cultural practice.

The sharing of the practices of ukuzibonga and ukuzithutha, as seen between Nosi and Siya, is not limited to the home domain, it connects with a broader community as I will demonstrate with the next data extract. The next extract I present captures a moment in Nosi's day where through social media platform, she uses the practice of ukuzibonga to construct/perform her identity. Akin to the affordance of digital media on the literary socialisation practices of youth in Santa María, Aliagas and Rutten (2022), a spatial interaction that transcends boundaries between the virtual and the physical space is constructed as Nosi interacts with an authentic audience through her WhatsApp status update. The extract below is a screenshot captioned photo that has been reverted through drawing to anonymise identity and to make Nosi's lounge area of house showing in the background unidentifiable. Nosi posted the captioned photo in the evening, about four months after my interview with Siya (in extract 4.6 below) where she brought the interest for us to talk about isiduko (*pl.* iziduko) or isibongo (*pl.* izibongo) the synonym she showed knowledge of, or preference for.

Extract 4.6: 'ndinguBhodlinja'



27 January 2021, 21:29 (4 of 4)

Before I explore the language practices in Nosi's post, I turn the focus to language modes beyond words. In Extract 4.6 above, it is recognisable that Nosi is wearing umbhaco. Umbhaco is a long traditional skirt embellished with a skirting of horizontal lines and beads that amaXhosa wear. In use, the word includes its accompaniments – which include a head wrap and a whole array of patterned beads. Fittingly, Nosi is wearing the headwrap ordinarily worn with umbhaco with an umbhaco shawl wrapped around her torso, a variation of incebetha – an apron that covers the breast of women who have borne children (in the child-bearing stage and beyond). Because of the clothing that is visible, it can be assumed that she is indeed wearing umbhaco the skirt or a kind of matching

clothing associated with an amaXhosa cultural skirt. The importance of noticing Nosi’s appearance is that, via this status update, she is resurfacing a photo she has chosen as fitting, presumably, to communicate with her community (and/or perform for her audience) the kind of language identity that is represented in her print message thus mobilizing language and literacy between the virtual and physical world. This is why Marial et al (2022) aptly describe this kind of literacy practices on digital platform as moving practices.

Firstly, I highlight the differences and similarities between Nosi, Siya and my own ways of ukuzibonga. I do this cognizant of the affordances that different media bring to a languaging encounter – Siya is using oral language during an interview using a voice/audio call while Nosi is using written language with the accompaniment of a visual (photograph) and without, arguably, the constraints of time and consideration for turn taking as would be the case in an interview. But even so, some observations can be made about their respective approaches to ukuzibonga. Below is the display of the patterning:

Babalwa (Extract 4.4)	Nosi (Extract 4.6)	Siya (Extract 4.5)
<p>‘ndinguMaNxasana, uSikhonza, uDunjane, uMkhiwa, uMalilelwa u- uBhili kaTotobe, uChulushe, ndiphelele apho’</p> <p>I am Nxasana, Sikhonza, Dunjane, Mkhiwa, Malilelwa, Bhili of Totobe, Chulushe, that’s it</p>	<p>‘Ndingubhodli’inja, Nqele, Nomazele, Mbombo, Thangana, Krita, Gragra, Gcaleka’</p> <p>I am Bhodl’inja, Nqele, Nomazele, Mbombo, Thangana, Krita, Gragra, Gcaleka</p>	<p>‘ndingumBamba’ ‘ndinguKrita’ ‘ndinguBhodl’inja’ ‘ndinguGragra’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am Bamba - I am Krita - I am Bhodl’inja - I am Gragra

I liken ukuzibonga appearing in Siya’s turns that I have represented in the table above to elementary school recitation of a song or a poem. She correctly identifies four of her clan names in this instance and uses a simpler repetitive form of recalling starting with the prefix ndingu- [I am] for each name. Differently, during the same interview transcribed

into extract 4.2 and 4.4 the recall of my clan names comes in a form that shows a chronological listing of family ancestry. In this order, (Ma-)Nxasana would be the most recent. Similarly, but in written form, Nosi follows a similar ordering of ukuzibonga as mine. The differences of carrying an ancient practice with more fluency than the other between the young and the old is not extraordinary and not the focus of my analysis. My main interest is Siya's sense of understanding what iziduko/izibongo are, whether she gets the sense of history education and cultural practices that she is being socialized into through her mother having taught her ukuzibonga (extract 4.5). Nosi plays the knowledgeable other both in teaching a cultural practice and in modelling the language use accordingly, language practices that would not ordinarily be used or required in Siya's schooling context. Considering the kind of isiXhosa language practices that Nosi is socializing her into, it is not surprising that she expresses such concern for the (low) 'level' and insufficiency of isiXhosa instruction that Siya receives at school. As highlighted in the prologue of this chapter, Nosi is concerned about the marginal offering of isiXhosa and the unequal valuing of isiXhosa compared to Afrikaans and English.

Another aspect of Nosi's text speaks to her broader societal identity that she belongs to *isizwe*¹¹ samaXhosa. The other is retracing her ancestral lineage and clan name which the identity of a family, *ikhaya*, is formed around. Looking into the text itself, the four clan names Siya recited in extract 4.5 show up: 'Mbamba', 'Bhodl'inja', 'Kрила' and 'Gragra'. Mbamba, which features in Siya's recitation but not in Nosi's does appear to be important as it emerges again in a naturally occurring interaction between mother and child which I will analyse below. Seeing Nosi's spontaneously shared status update and reflecting on Siya's interest with including the recitation of iziduko as part of wanting to know me and introduce herself makes me inclined to explore this practice. I explore it using the framework of socialization to use language and through the use of language (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). That is, a socialization process of using isiXhosa in ways that are not

¹¹ *Isizwe* (*pl. izizwe*) is an isiXhosa word that has been mistranslated and often referred to as 'tribe' has no fitting translation. The closest translation would be 'nation' or 'kingdom' but without the national geographic boundaries associated with these.

available (or valued) at school. But also, as literacy practice, which encultures the child into indigenous knowledge and family history (or identity).

I also bring into focus Nosi's own declaration of identity. She uses words and a visual image (a photograph of herself) to assert her identity within the broader societal identity of being African. She identifies herself as umXhosa and sees it fitting to acknowledge her mother's identity too (who is referred to as uMakhulu – grandmother – in this thesis) – “ndingumxhosa ndizalwa liMpondokazi” [I am Xhosa, while her mother is from the Mpondo nation – I am birthed by the Mpondo woman]. With this statement, Nosi reveals her paternal and maternal identity. Typically, the offspring takes paternal identity (McKinney & Molate, 2022). This is true across different variations of cross-cultural marriages – children from parents from one linguistic ethnicity, cross-linguistic ethnicity, cross-nationality, etc. In my experience this has been true across different variations¹². (Thus, consistent with literature (and my own reflections), Nosi uses her father's identity as a marker of her own cultural identity. Additionally, I would also add that by acknowledging both her parents' identities, Nosi is also acknowledging her hybridity. Although amaXhosa and amaMpondo are officially classified as 'Xhosa', they are in fact two distinct izizwe (*sl.isizwe*) with distinct language variation. I draw attention here to traces of Nosi's hybridity using a monolingual text to pre-empt accounts of hybrid languaging interactions in the Maqoma family and between Nosi and Siya which are still to be discussed. The categorisation of the parent-child duo, the focal participants, as being a 'single-parent family' (in language socialization research as well as family sociology) does not hold when viewing family and home from the perspective of ikhaya – both in the demarcation of space and consideration of kinship ties between African people.

The unintentional binarizing in the construction of family as 'nuclear' and 'extended' requires probing when approached from the knowledge that the African family kinship

¹² I am reflecting on all families I have worked with and thinking of the case studies with the Congolese-Venda family, Xhosa-Tswana family & and the current family Xhosa-Xhosa parents who are unmarried)

system is expansive in nature. Following the reasoning of some African scholars flagging the notion of ‘extended family’ as inappropriate in the African context (Russell, 1994; Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998), I explore the extent to which current understandings of family in literature and policy is constructed along one-dimensional perspectives that are characteristic of the north and its accompanying worldview. Further, to decentre the north and consider perspectives and knowledges of the people of the global south, I turn to local epistemes to understand the concept and organisation of family from a southern perspective, particularly among amaXhosa. Drawing from my own knowledge of isiXhosa terminology and the observation of family and langauging patterns of the focal family in this study, I propose the use of ikhaya, conceptually, as useful for reflecting the transcendence of the binarizing between the nuclear and extended family. I use the concept of ikhaya as an analytical tool for exploring what constitutes family and home for the Maqoma family, which I will refer to as ikhaya lakwaMaqoma henceforth. Thus far, I have explored family belonging derived from the knowledge and intricacies of clan names in constructing family, and language practices in the recital of clan names exploring how this connects to the ‘process of family making’ (King, 2016). I have also shown how iziduko (s/l. Isiduko) present the Maqoma family’s expansive sense of family. I argue, therefore, that Siya’s disruption and identification of family invites us to interrogate the boundary between nuclear and extended family. I also argue that ‘family’ is flexible and expansive in the African context, and certainly amaXhosa. Moreover, I will argue that the same interrogation is necessary in demarcating what place counts as home.

Ikhaya for construction of family and home

In the methodology chapter, I described ikhaya lakwaMaqoma as distributed across multiple households in physical and geographic spaces and the expansive nature of African family kinship system. I also provided a map (figure 3.2) and a visual representation of the physical homestead (figure 3.3) to illustrate the geographical location and how the family moves and thinks of the spaces as home and family, ikhaya. I now show how ikhaya as a conceptual tool brings together the construction of family as

comprising of a wider network of people, and the home as distributed across space. This ontological understanding of family could provide a framework with which to understand the underlying ideologies behind the language question Nosi asks in the prologue and consequently the language practices analysed in this and the next analyses chapters. I now examine how family/home is constituted in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma.

During fieldwork, I used a digital journal (accessed from mobile device and laptop), to capture notes during a telephonic interview (or phone conversation), onsite participant observation and for writing reflections each evening after I had received a voicenote recording of family interactions from Nosi. This was particularly useful in the first couple of months of fieldwork when I had not yet accessed the participants' physical home to have sense of the spatial arrangement of the family's two township homes (umzi kaNosi and umzi kaMakhulu). The journal entry I present below, which was taken during the telephonic interview with Nosi at the start of my fieldwork reveals some information about whom the participants regard as family and the places/spaces they identify as home.

Grandmother – lives 1 street away from away the Maqomas helped with fetching Siva before lockdown; has stopped working since pandemic due to her age; has moved to ezilalini since then; this is where the Maqomas spend time every school holiday ordinarily

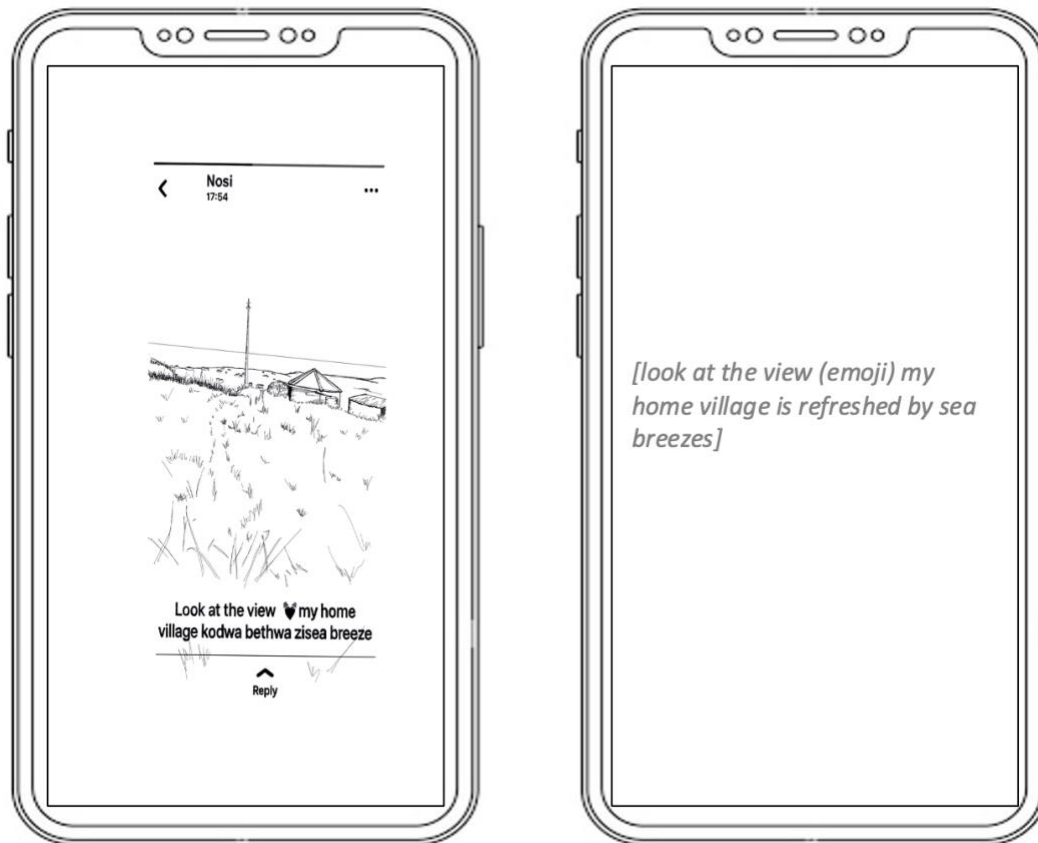
Nosi's Brother & Sister – Live with Makhulu; they help with checking on Siva every alternate day when it's homeschool day; she is left alone on these days as Nzukie has to report for work

22 July 2020, reflective digital journal

- Home as distributed across multiple spaces

Consistent with findings in sociology characterizing dual-household arrangement as the norm among African families in South Africa, the Maqoma family structure and their daily rhythms are organized between their two township homes and one rural homestead. I have named these umzi kaNosi and umzi kaMakhulu for the two township residences in the Western Cape, and umzi wekhaya for the residence located in the rural Eastern Cape (Chapter 3, Figure 3.3). Makhulu heads one residence, umzi kaMakhulu, while Nosi and Siya are the main residents in the second township home, umzi kaNosi. The village residence, umzi wekhaya, is an anchor home where Makhulu raised all the children, and various members of the family take residence simultaneously and/or interchangeably throughout the year. This includes Nosi's siblings. Inclusive in Nosi's definition of sibling are her cousins – she mentions in one of our interactions how cousins are essentially brothers and sisters according to the ways of amaXhosa. This is certainly my reality too as umXhosa. Consequently, I created the drawing of the family household arrangement (Figure 3.3) as a visual representation of how the family is organized and distributed across multiple spaces, resembling a homestead, umzi, using my own interpretation of metadata and observations of family routines. The next three data extracts that I present corroborate this organization and, I will argue, show how through languaging on social media, Nosi constructs umzi weKhaya as home. Extract 4.7 below is a screenshot of Nosi's WhatsApp (WA) status updates, which forms part of the participant observation data during the second half of my fieldwork. The photos have been re-versioned into drawings to protect the identity of the participants. The post itself is a photo of homes in a grassland region, which is backgrounded by the sea disappearing into the horizon of blue skies.

Extract 4.7: 'my home village kodwa'



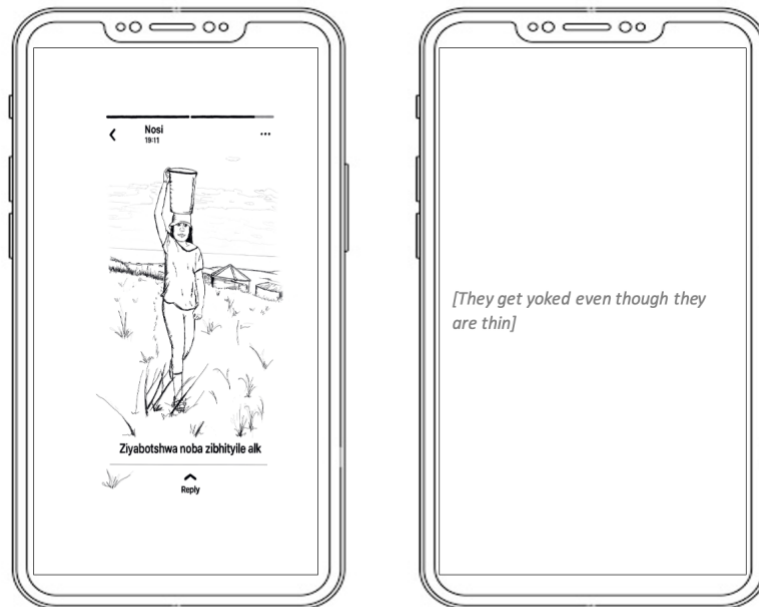
6 January 2021, 17:54 (1 of 2)

This data extract is one of the first multimodal data I started observing and documenting in the second part of my fieldwork. It shows Nosi as an active participant on social media to language with her community of users in her mobile device, whom she has allowed. I could notice her status updates because we communicated on WA regularly to communicate and to receive audio recordings of the family interactional data that Nosi captured using the Voice Note (VN) function on WhatsApp (WA). In this extract, Nosi is languaging and interacting with her audience and appears to be admiring her home when she posts an old photo of her home in the rural Eastern Cape, which she captions “look at the view (radiating heart emoji) my home village kodwa bethwa zisea breeze” [look at the view (emoji) my home village is refreshed by sea breeze] in extract 4.7 above (posted at 17.54). The photo itself, which I have reverted into a drawing for anonymity, shows

a hut called a rondavel with cone-shaped roof similar as shown in the visual representation of umzi wekhaya in chapter 3 (figure 3.3). In the same evening, at 19:11, Nosi also posted her second status update – a photo of the image of the same home village in the images in 4.6 above, but now featuring an image of a young girl who is walking towards the person who took the photo while carrying water in a bucket on her head. Nosi also captions this photo but languages differently from the first frame WA status update.

The hilly grassland landscape as well as the just visible, red-roofed rondavels typify the place as a village and Nosi confirms it as such in her status update caption (extract 4.6). It's a photo she is sharing with her social media community, which consists of different people whose contacts she has saved in her mobile device list. This status was posted in 2020 at a time when they could not travel to the EC due to Covid 19 lockdown regulations. Captioning the photo with: “look at the view (emoji) my home village kodwa (ibethwa) zisea breeze” [look at the view (emoji) my home village is refreshed by sea breezes]. Noteworthy here is that Nosi shows the same translanguaging practices in her writing as she does in her daily talk. She starts off her utterance in English, followed by the conjunction ‘kodwa’ (but) and with the isiXhosa prefix ‘zi’ she expresses ‘sea breeze’ in plural form. It is common for multilingual people to mesh language codes and indeed nomolanguages (named languages, Krause, 2022) in this way. But the use of social media, an informal writing platform, validates Nosi’s language hybridity and positions her as translingual in ways that, I argue, reflect oscillation between different language domains, the village, the township and her workplace in the suburbs. Additionally, she uses the typical isiXhosa users’ social media writing style of leaving off vowels – bethwa instead of ubethwa.

Extract 4.8: ‘zibotshwa noba zibhityile’



6 January 2021, 19:11 (2 of 2)

“Zibotshwa noba zibhityile alk” [they get yoked even though they are thin] is an idiomatic expression from isiXhosa that translates to ‘they get yoked even if they are thin’ in English and derives from the use/contribution of livestock in homesteading life. Literally, it means that cattle get yoked together to work the fields despite their size or form during ploughing season. There are obviously no thin cattle in this photo, but a picture of the young child Siya carrying a bucket on her head and walking up the hilly grassland of a village. The bucket is presumably filled with water which Siya is returning with to her home, umzi wekhaya. The idiom is thus used metaphorically to offer a pictorial description known as ‘captioning’ in social media language. Further, I notice the acronymized version of the isiXhosa conjunction kaloku in Nosi’s caption. Acronymized as ‘alk’ here, kaloku is considered an untranslatable conjunction as a stand-alone word in isiXhosa lexicography because it’s meaning only becomes possible within a speech context. It is used to show a wide inconclusive range of expressions such as: imbeko – politeness, isicelo – pleading, ugxininiso ekuchazeni/ekuyaleni – emphasis of an

explanation/instruction, ukukhumbuza – reminding, ukungqinisisa – affirmation, ukuthundeza – urging, ukuthethisa – reproach, and more (Mini, 1995). In this extract Nosi uses kaloku to express ugxininiso ekunikeni inkcazo – emphasis of information given. Using isaci (the proverb) Nosi tells us about her family life in the village and Siya’s contribution in the homestead. Metaphorically likening Siya to a thin cow who must pull in her weight and assist with gathering water for the family, Nosi also uses kaloku to show ukungqinisisa - affirmation of this role Siya must play as well as affirming that the image itself does depict a thin/young ox (a young girl) that must be yoked for the collective work of the oxen. In a sense, umzi wekhaya is home for both Siya and Nosi and marks their belonging

I also notice Nosi’s linguistic and semiotic repertoire when contrasted with the use of language in the WA status update shared within the same evening in extract 4.8. While kaloku is used in both posts though expressing different meaning and tone, the language use can be identified as translingual/hybridized in extract 4.8 while the register is more fixed in isiXhosa in the WA status update shown in extract 4.7. Thus, the boundaries that are thought to exist between isiXhosa and English have been meshed and transcended in the former while persistent boundaries around isiXhosa have been kept in the latter. This is nothing new from what is known about the linguistic practices of bi/multilingual people. Scholars in the north have characterized the movement between fixity and fluidity with terminologies such as “metrolingualism” (Ostuji & Pennycook, 2010) or “polylinguaging” (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, & Madsen, 2015). Blommaert and Rampton use the term ‘superdiversity’ (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) to contextualize this language complexity as a relatively recent consequence of migration (in Prinsloo, 2024). Scholars in the South, however, maintain that the existence of ethnolinguistic diversity and fluid languaging practices predates colonial times (Makalela, 2018; Makoni, 2021) and is not merely a consequence of the more recent waves of migration, in post-colonial times as the scholars of ‘superdiversity’ and ‘metrolingualism’ seem to suggest.

Nosi's metaphoric language use also tells us about her range of rich literacies and linguistic resources she draws from to talk about her everyday life. Linguaging this way shows how she taps into a secondary discourse, languaging in isiXhosa with people with a shared sense of cultural practice. Nosi's use of *isaci* (idiom) indexes a secondary discourse, different to the primary discourse which is written or oral language that is established within the family. A secondary discourse is language that is developed in/around social settings such as community, religious institutions, and schools (Gee, 1989).

Both WA status updates in extract 4.7 and 4.8 show Nosi's home village and were posted on the same day as reflected, at 17h54 and 19h11 as a series of two status updates. Important to note in the language use in these status updates is the contrast between her more fluid and more fixed register despite both texts referring to the rural home. This shows that it is not a simplistic case of monolingual isiXhosa for rural domains and translanguaging for urban domains. Linguaging is thus not tied to topics or domains. Moreover, fluid language use can be used to signal what may be considered traditional cultural experiences. The data, in extract 4.9, reveals another facet of Nosi's identity, which supports what we know about her sense of belonging that is diverse and rooted in collectivity rather than the individual. It was captured in February 2021. I have also put the photo in the status update into a drawing to protect the identity of the family while keeping the necessary details for analysis.

Extract 4.9: 'mic this queen of ours'



9 February 2021, 15:29 (2 of 2)

Through a WA status update, Nosi posts a picture of herself wearing a face mask and embracing her mother in her home village with a taxi appearing slightly in the background. This photo would have been taken in the previous December holidays in 2020 when the pandemic restrictions around interprovincial travel were relaxed – so Nosi travelled from the Western Cape to the Eastern Cape to be with her family in umzi wekhaya in that period. She revisits that moment using her semiotic and linguistic resources – a photograph accompanied by words and emoji caption. A close look on the photo in extract 4.9 shows Nosi and Makhulu in the same home village but at a different time, I notice yet another way Nosi is using language. She captions this status update: “Mic this queen of ours (emoji)”. Nosi is wearing the required pandemic face mask and a minibus taxi appears in the background signifying that she had just arrived in the village, kwaMakhulu. However, she posted this status while in her house in the township. Noteworthy, in this image, is Nosi’s flexibility to draw from any of the resources in her

repertoire despite where she is and the place or people she is referencing. What is remarkable in the images of the various WhatsApp status updates is the display of a wide repertoire – oscillating between and hybridizing two nomolanguages – isiXhosa and English. Linguaging in words and symbols here, Nosi writes the caption “Mic this queen of ours (heart kiss blowing emoji)”. Nosi’s expression of her thoughts in English here is different from the other instances of her linguaging I have presented so far where she has used a translingual form of linguaging:- “look at the view (radiating heart emoji) my home village kodwa bethwa zisea breeze” and monoglossic linguaging in isiXhosa in “ziyabotshwa nokuba zibhityile alk”, in this extract. This shows her linguistic repertoire is broad enabling her to present a multilingual identity that can also perform monolingualism, whether organic or intentional. While the language repertoire is not the main focus of analysis in this chapter, I bring this up to show my first written record of Nosi multilingual writing, which mirrors my observations of her linguaging during the first half of the work. A good example of this is the opening extract of this chapter (4.1) where I have transcribed Nosi’s oral talk verbatim thus capturing her translingual range which I now see with her own writing. This range in language use is also evident in her use of language for her social media community (or audience), where she moves from everyday language use to a more specific metaphoric use that may only be accessible to a niche community with shared cultural knowledge and literacy resources such as the use of *isaci* that is derived from historical and/or rural family and community life among amaXhosa. The range of linguaging in her status updates reflects Nosi’s spatial movement whether linguistically, virtually or physical as diverse, fluid and flexible, moving across languages, space and knowledges.

- **Moving and living between multiple households**

Expanding on the discussion of the concept of *ikhaya* and its relevance in FLP locally, the extract below presents insights into the use of *ikhaya* and *ukugoduka* as useful and more expansive terminologies for describing family and the dynamic of household-arrangement in South Africa. I draw from an onsite participant-observation of an after-

school event in the Maqoma home to show the connectedness of kwaNosi and kwaMakhulu, the two houses that are integral to Siya’s everyday life. Here, Nosi and I are having a conversation about Nosi’s nephew and his fondness for visiting her as his Dabs (Dadobawo – paternal aunt). I place focus on the integrated of the three homes through Siya and her cousins moving from one home to another, between the township homes as well as how Nosi sees her brother’s children as hers.

Extract 4.10: ‘ndisaya kwaMakhulu

	Original languaging	English translation
B	okay,, kumnandi abantwana bonwabe kwaDabs	<i>[okay,, it’s wonderful children are happy at their paternal aunt’s place (father’s sister)]</i>
Nosi	and bayakuthanda uzapha , bayadika ke naxa sigodukile kufuneke kunasiswe mna, iyandidika ke lo nto leyo	<i>[and they love coming here, but they are annoying (because) even when we have come home I am given the responsibility to look after them, that thing can be annoying]</i>
B	xa nigodukile e-? //	<i>when you have gone home to-?</i>
Nosi	xa siye ekhaya , akafun’uhlala pha kokwabo, u- u- ubrother wam, ngubrother wam ngoba ngumntana ka tat’omcinci, lo ngubrother wam endizalwa naye	<i>[when we have gone home (mothers house) he doesn’t want to stay at his house, my my my brother, he is my brother because he is my father’s younger brother’s child (junior paternal uncle), this one is my brother from my parents]</i>
B	eh’e	<i>[yes]</i>
Siya	ndisaya kwaMakhulu	<i>[I am going to Makhulu’s house so long]</i>
Nosi	usis’ Babalwa ugqibile kuqala?	<i>[firstly, is sis Babalwa done]</i>
B	eh’e ndigqibile	<i>[yes I’m done]</i>
Nosi	ugqibile ngaye neh?	<i>[you are done with her, right?]</i>
B	uzo- unto- uhamba yedwa?	<i>[is she- thingy- going to go alone?]</i>
Nosi	eh’e, ndizokubonisa kwaMakhulu kukufutshane	<i>[yes, I going to show you Makhulu’s house is close by]</i>
B	ewe undibonise, singasose siphume?	<i>[yes you must show me, should we also not go?]</i>
Nosi	u’ba ugqibile, singahambani sonke//	<i>[if you are done we can all go together]</i>
B	ndigqibile hm	<i>I’m done]</i>
Nosi	ngokabrother wam kuba ngumntana katatomncinci , so akathandi kuba pha kokwabo xa sigodukile ufuna ukuba kule ndawo-, but bathanda lo, bathanduSiya	<i>[he (Siya’s cousin) is my brother’s child because (my brother) is my father’s younger brother (junior paternal uncle), so he [doesn’t] like being at this house when we have gone home (rural home) he wants to be</i>

		<i>where- but they (cousins) like this one, they like Siya]</i>
Siya	mh?	mh?]
B	bathand'uSiya?	[they love Siya]
Siya	Ndinishiye?//	[should I leave you?]
Nosi	//silinde nana//	[wait for us baby]
B	//hayi// susishiya!	[//no// don't leave us behind]

9 December 2020, Participant Observation

In this extract, Nosi begins with articulating how regularly Siya's cousins come to her, indexing her home as dual – "bayakuthanda uzapha, bayadika ke naxa sigodukile...". Uzapha (ukuza apha) refers to them coming to her house (kwaNosi) while "naxa sigodukile" points to the nieces and nephews visiting even when they have gone to their home in the village, umzi wekhaya. While "ukugoduka" [to go home] does not necessarily mark one particular place as home, Nosi and I seem to have an understanding that she is referring to umziwekhaya, their village home. I respond to Nosi to verify what she means by gone home with "xa ugodukile e-?" [when you have gone home to-?], to which she responds by latching on my words: "xa siye ekhaya"[when we have gone home (referring to umzi wekhaya in the Eastern Cape) ...]. Reflectively, I understood ekhaya to mean eKhayakhulu because Nosi would have likely said 'apha/- here/' for kwaNosi or kwaMakhulu for her mother's township house, which Siya uses to notify us that she is going to her grandmother's house: "ndisaya kwaMakhulu" [I am going to Makhulu's house so long]. And later, Nosi offers to show me her mother's house and that "... kwaMakhulu kukufutshane – [Makhulu's house is close by]". As such, I argue that Nosi's expressions in the conversation above and her WhatsApp status update locate home in two physical spaces – the home in the Eastern Cape village (eKhayakhulu) and the two homes in the Cape Town township (kwaNosi and kwaMakhulu). Moreover, I would add that residency and the kinship system between the homes is as expansive and fluid as the Maqoma family's expression of who counts as family.

Reflective of this expansive sense of kinship and fluidity between households is the inclusion of Nosi's brother, uMalume, whom literature would ordinarily categorise as 'extended family'. The status update in extract 4.11 below reflects Malume's role and active involvement in the Maqoma 'single parent' household, kwaNosi. The focus of the analysis of the status updates below is on family dynamics and Nosi's and Siya's language. While up to this point in the data there is more representation of isiXhosa in interactions among the participants and between participants and me, a large number of audio-recorded interactions and text artefacts (social media status updates) show more heteroglossia. The latter case of observed language practices is of instances of naturally occurring interactions where I as a researcher do not feature. The kind of family organization observed in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma confirms research in family sociology that characterise the household arrangement system of Black South Africans as dual (Hall & Makomane, 2018). This refers to the household arrangement of Black African family of moving between a village home and rural home. While this is true, ikhaya lakwaMaqoma presents household arrangements as more complex than the rural-urban traverse, because of the way in which they show the same movement between two urban township homes in addition, thus compressing space and presenting the three homes as a single homestead, umzi, in the way language family and child rearing and socialisation moves.

'Performing' ikhaya with social media

Thus far, I have shown how ikhaya lakwaMaqoma uses isiduko to mark family identity as well as cultural practice of ukuzithutha to construct family. I have also shown how home and family are entangled and mirror each other and found drawing from southern epistemologies useful to explain the practical entanglement through introducing the terminology ikhaya as a conceptual framework for understanding the family kinship system as well as the household arrangement. Different terminologies such as usapho and ifemeli, which I have explained as framing family from western conceptions of family (and differently to what iziduko as family organization does) miss the important element of ontological understanding, the ways of being, of family. Following on the thought of

what is family and where is family in the African context, including cultural practices such as ukuzithutha that articulate this dynamic, which are in and of themselves performative, I explore the ways that Nosi uses social media to perform ikhaya, the home and family with the next two data extracts.

Extract 4.11 gives us glimpse of the everyday routine of ikhaya lakwaMaqoma where the subject is family kinship and cooking for a household involving Nosi and her younger brother, Malume, who resides in umzi kaMakhulu.

Extract 4.11: ‘...malume pheka’

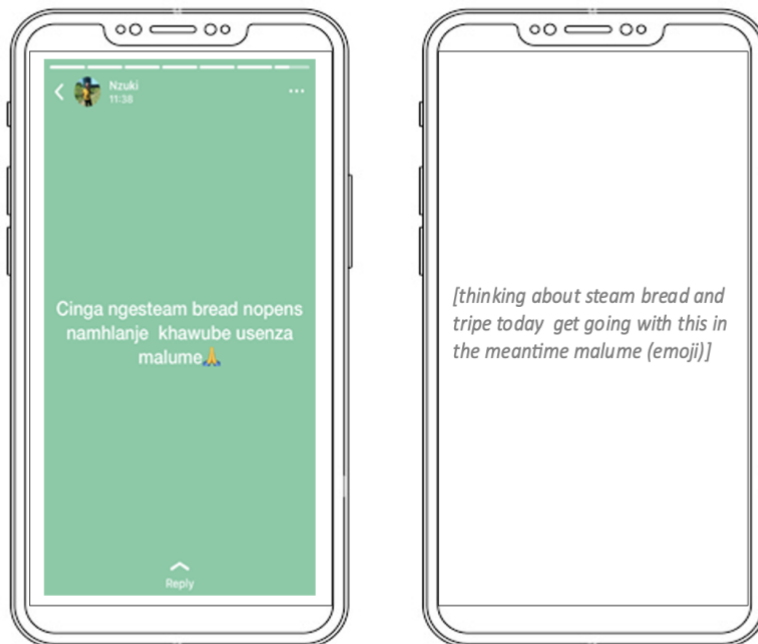


Thursday, 29 April 2021, 08:33 (1 of 1), NOI

As explained in the literature review chapter about the intended audience in WhatsApp status updates, it can be assumed that Nosi is communicating and interacting simultaneously in both the public and family domain. It is public in that her statuses can be seen by the broader community of people within her phone contact list (friends, neighbors, colleagues, etc) communicating a dynamic of her household and the role her

brother, Malume, plays. While Malume resides kwaMakhulu it can be argued that he is considered a resident in kwaNosi too. In the in the WA status update in extract 4.12, Nosi is talking about how cold it is “iweather ipersonal” [the weather is personal] and is requesting Malume to cook a hearty meal “Malume (silly face emoji) pheka (u)pens kaloku” [Malume (silly face emoji) cook tripe please]. Cooking is often a chore that is shared among family members residing in one household. And in families this role is shared among members or delegated to those whose schedules allow them to prepare certain meals. It was in the morning when Nosi posted this status (08:33) at a time she would have ordinarily been at work. She seems to be thinking about a dinner plan and has a meal in mind befitting the weather – tripe. I think Nosi could have easily asked her brother to prepare dinner via private messaging and the insertion of a silly face emoji likely indicates that she is being playful. But considering the feature of WhatsApp status updates that allows individual users to respond to a ‘publicly’ broadcasted message privately, it is possible that Nosi is making a genuine request to which her brother would respond. Another possibility would be telling others about a family member who shares the responsibility of preparing meals for her family. On a different day, presented in Extract 4.12 below, show another instance through a social media Nosi performs family through the message she broadcast to her brother, Malume about cooking for them.

Extract 4.12: ‘khawube usenza malume’



Thursday, 6 May 2021, 11:38 (7 of 7) - NOI

This status update was posted on a Thursday before noon, exactly a week after the status update in extract 4.11. The timing and subject of the post is strikingly similar shared by Nosi in the previous week. Just the previous week on the same day of the week in the morning Nosi had dinner on her mind and put out a request to her brother to cook tripe, a warm hearty dish, because the weather is gloomy. On this occasion, she expresses the same thoughts – thinking about dinner and whom to ask to prepare dinner, presumably away at work in this time as the lockdown restrictions had been largely lifted allowing people to return to work. Interestingly, tripe features again in Nosi’s post with an addition of steamed bread. And Malume is the person she thinks to ask: “khawube usenza malume (pleading and emoji)” [get going with this in the meantime malume]. While she had made the previous request to Malume in a humorous tone with the edition of a silly face emoji, she shows more seriousness in this post with the pleading hands emoji. While this may not be suggesting that Malume routinely cooks (a particular) dish for Nosi on Thursday, it does show the intertwinement and connection of their daily lives, which

includes Siya who spontaneously counts Malume as a family member regardless of Nosi's family as a 'single parent' household. Who also features in Siya talk about one of the people that she spends the family's favourite pastimes with – cooking together and conversing together. Further, it makes me wonder about the physical place where Malume would be cooking these requested meals – whether in umzi kaNosi's kitchen or in umzi kaMakhulu. While I did not find this out about the meals, Nosi mentioned how their share responsibilities like looking after Siya and or eating together in either of the houses when she took me to see uMzi kaMakhulu where Siya wanted to go play during one of the onsite visits to umzi kaNosi. Essentially, the movement between the two households appears flexible and fluid. Additionally, for ikhaya lakwaMaqoma, there is no division between nuclear and extended family in the ways they see each other and function in their daily lives. Also, considering that Nosi could privately text her brother to make these requests but chooses to put it as a public post is indicative of the performative nature of languaging and the affordances social media brings to enhance this element of appeal to communicate and perform for an authentic audience. More critically, I argue through languaging on social media, Nosi is implicitly performing both her family identity and sense of home which she is proud show – weather performing through her family identity and lineage through ukuzithutha (extract 4.6) or showing her sense of family and home belonging in all her status updates featuring in this chapter.

Conclusion

The focus of the chapter was to present data that shows the ways in which ikhaya, used to include both family and homesteads, is constructed through languaging as well as the ways this family kinship system/organization is reflected in their everyday language and literacy practices. To understand the connection between languaging and family, I began with the exploration and analysis of what constitutes family for the Maqoma's. Through the use of iziduko as identity, rather than surnames which is a western imposition they disrupt the nuclear/extended conceptualization underpinning language socialization research in families. Using the practice of ukuzithutha as the vehicle for moving

knowledge about family identity and a myriad of subjects about society, I showed how Siya is successfully socialised, using her impressive knowledge of the ukuzithutha practice as evidence. Like family organization, in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma ‘home’ is expansive and is distributed across three physical homesteads. Nosi’s linguistic repertoire mirrors this expansiveness through displaying a wide semiotic and spatial repertoire showing an ability to perform monolingual isiXhosa, monolingual English, and translingual and multimodal fluid use of isiXhosa, English and emojis. I began to make the case for the concept ikhaya to capture expansiveness of family and homesteads as well as interconnections between these. I showed the affordances of drawing from the southern epistemologies thus conceptually framing ikhaya as a tool to present the construction of family as comprising of a broader network of people who are distributed across spaces that combine to form umzi. I propose that this ontological understanding of family has potential to provide a framework with which to understand the underlying ideologies behind the language question Nosi asks in the prologue, and consequently the language practices analysed in this and the following analyses chapters. In the next chapter I will focus on describing and interpreting the literacy socialization practices in the Maqoma family as well as the ways in which language practices show the normative complexity of multilingualism and literacy practices.

5. Multilingualism and Literacy Socialisation in the Family (Part 1): Blurring Boundaries

Introduction

In this chapter, I draw on Language Socialisation and Epistemologies of the South in the African context and show how the Maqoma's language and literacy practices are reflective of language and literacy as social situated practice. I reflect on the focus family's languaging as operating on a spectrum that goes beyond current sociolinguistic definitions of language use in terms of fixity and fluidity. I also explore the ways that Siya is socialised into orality practices such as storytelling. The core themes emerging in this chapter, revolve around storytelling as both literacy practice and language practice thus blurring the lines between language, literacy and space binaries across domains. Social media status updates are viewed as a platform for storytelling and display of language repertoires specifically the rich linguistic and semiotic resources of the family and the community that they are a part of.

Multilingualism and oral practices as the norm

I begin with an interaction between Nosi and Siya that provides some insight on the interface and fluidity between language and literacy and various biliteracy dimensions. The data below has been extracted from a family event in umzi kaNosi, which was audio-recorded and sent to me via WhatsApp's Voice Note (VN). The interaction took place in the evening while Nosi and Siya were watching the music show 'Idols South Africa (SA)'. The interaction begins with Siya humming to a song on the TV and then a conversation about music and language emerges.

Extract 5.1: eyesilungu okanye eyesiXhosa'

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	<i>duhm duhm duhm! di di di! dhum dhum dhum! (sound of the tv playing in the ground)</i>	<i>dum dum dum! di di di! dum dum dum! (sound of the tv playing in the background)</i>

Nosi	yeyiphi ingoma oqodayo ukuba ungayicula kwiguitar?., uyaziyo, okanye omaziyo eyicula//	[<i>What song do you think you can sing with the guitar? The one that you know or that you know (she) sings//</i>]
Siya	eyesilungu okanye eyesixhosa?	[<i>an English one or an isiXhosa one?</i>]
Nosi	okanye ngubani omaziyo oculayo edlala neguitar?	or who do you know who sings while playing the guitar?
Siya	andazi Mama//	[I don't know mama]
Nosi	// artist	[an artist]
Siya	i don't know	i don't know
Nosi	cinga	think

30 August 2020, Naturally Occurring Interaction (NOI)

This interaction begins with Siya producing a strumming-like sound with her voice, with the sound of music playing in the background. When I was transcribing the audio recording of this interaction, I could tell that the music was coming from a television set because of the recognisable soundbite/jingle from a show called Idols SA. The show also plays on a Sunday evening, the same day that this extract was recorded and sent to me via a VN on WhatsApp. While I could not tell what the previous performance on the show was before Nosi started recording, I suspect that it was a performer who had been playing the guitar which likely moved Siya to start strumming at the beginning of this extract. This is possibly to the same song that Nosi is basing her question on in the second turn. She specifically wants to know what song Siya thinks she can sing with the guitar as an accompaniment: ‘oqodayo ukuba ungayicula kwiguitar? – (*that*) *you think you can sing with the guitar?*’. Instead of recalling a song, Siya responds with a question and that shifts the subject from a type of song to the language of the song: ‘eyesilungu okanye esesixhosa – *an English or an isiXhosa one?*’ Interestingly, Siya does this with no hesitation in her utterance. And when Nosi persists with her question, seemingly not picking up on Siya’s question she is met with the response: ‘andazi Mama – *I don’t know Mama*’ in isiXhosa followed by ‘I don’t know’ in English, her repetition showing a hint of annoyance with her mom’s persistence and perhaps feeling despondent that her mom has not given her the language cue she was hoping for.

The previous chapter provided evidence of the ways the ikhaya lakwaMaqoma use language as resource (Ruiz, 1984), drawing from a repertoire of linguistic and spatial resources to communicate and to construct ikhaya. This is often done spontaneously, drawing from isiXhosa and English as well as a mesh of these, specifically in data from self-recorded naturally occurring interactions of the participants. While using more than one language and spontaneous translanguaging is the norm for both Siya and Nosi, Extract 5.1 shows us another dimension of language use in this home: the language awareness on Siya's part that she has more than one named language to draw from. Her question of whether the song should be in English or isiXhosa provides direct evidence of this. As such, this extract begins to shed more light on the family's linguistic repertoires where isiXhosa and English (particularly) are used in both fluid and fixed ways in a variety of moments in the daily routines of the family members' lives. While Nosi's reason for recording this particular interaction may have been to capture one of the family's evening routines – watching tv, eating dinner and conversing (some of Siya's favourite past times mentioned in one of the interview extracts in chapter 4) with one another thus showing their language use, I am struck by the way in which Siya positions herself as a bi/multilingual person. Siya positions being bi/multilingual as the norm alongside declaring isiXhosa as their home language during interviews with both participants. Further, this extract reveals spontaneous translation as one of the naturalised language practices the family uses to navigate the use of more than one language. This is shown in Siya telling her mother 'I don't know', in isiXhosa and then English successively, despite her mother's comprehension of both languages. By using both languages here, I argue that Siya is positioning being multilingual as a resource.

While Siya explicitly draws from two named languages and languages in a way that acknowledges a shared sense of language awareness and resourcefulness between herself and her mother, there is another critical dimension in this family's multilingualism that is reflected in the same extract above. It is Nosi's movement from a single register to a hybridized register while speaking. Nosi asked about the artist Siya knows in three ways:

using the word 'omaziyo' in the first two instances followed by 'iartist' in the last instance. Omaziyo is an isiXhosa word that translates to 'that you know' in English, and the prefix o- shows that the speaker is referring to a human subject which is the artist in this case. Nosi thus uses isiXhosa twice before the last attempt to get a response from Siya in which she translanguages, akin to how Siya has moved between languages. While Siya clearly moved from isiXhosa to English, 'andazi' to '*I don't know*', the language use in 'iartist' is not as distinguishable. This is because Nosi has translanguaged to a hybridized register, transfusing the pre-fix i- which positions the word as isiXhosa and the word 'artist' which is clearly recognisable as English. It would appear then that it is indistinguishable whether Nosi has made an utterance in isiXhosa or English because based on the perception of the interlocutors involved, they are not hearing one or the other language. It would also seem insignificant to make a distinction between the languages among interlocutors with shared linguistic resources/repertoire. Further, I argue, that my own micro-analysis of this kind of translanguaging is informed by a perspective of languages as separate entities, which engages me in 'the practice of 'sorting things out' and bringing things together' identified by Krause-Alzaidi (2024: 681) as relanguaging. With this understanding of translanguaging, a hybridized register is a starting point in languaging as social practice, while a monolingual register is separation of language that requires conformity (or policing of language) thus perceiving of language as a set of grammatical rules. Further, comparisons such as first language versus second language; monolingual versus bilingual individuals, or oral versus literate society (Hornberger 2003; Canagarajah, 2007) are challenged by Nosi and Siya's languaging. Akin to how ikhaya lakwaMaqoma has constructed family to reflect the interconnection between a wider network of individuals that transcends the binaries between 'nuclear' and 'extended' family and foregrounds interconnection and interdependence (ubuntu) as the norm, I argue that the family's language practices also trouble and blur the boundaries between languages. The naturalisation of language hierarchies (in both ideology and practice) is also questioned and resisted. The next sections in this chapter explore the ways the family's resistance of dominant language and literacy ideologies is evidenced by their

language and literacy practices in naturally occurring languaging interaction – both physical and virtual- thus positioning multilingualism, home(/non-mainstream) literacy practices and heteroglossic practices as the norm.

Language socialisation through singing and storytelling

Orality practices such as music and oral storytelling tends to have been historically marginalized in South Africa in the formal schooling of Black children in favour of the autonomous models of literacy (Guzula, 2021). While music and oral practices do feature in the schooling of children in historically white schools, which is the context of Siya’s school, these practices are limited to English and/or as extramural activities outside of the formal curriculum. In the next few extracts, I will show how both singing and storytelling are prized literacy socialization practices in the Maqoma family and co-exist with valued school literacy practices such as reading in both a monoglossic and hybridized register.

- **Ukucula ingoma as literacy practice**

Ukucucula ingoma means to sing a song. Extract 5.2 below is another interaction from Nosi and Siya’s conversation about singing and the language of a song. While Nosi’s focus seemed to be on the music itself and no response was given to Siya’s question about language choice, Siya starts singing the isiXhosa song ‘ntengu tengu macetyana’.

Extract 5.2: ‘ntengu ntengu macetshana’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	yeyiphi enye ingoma oyazi-onoyicula wena xa udlala iguitar?	[<i>what other song do you know- that you can sing when you are playing the guitar//</i>]
Siya	(hums)! (🎸) ntengu ntengu macetshane (macetyana), undikhonzile-eh , ithemba lam, ungandibamba la// (🎸)	(hums)! (🎸) ntengu ntengu macetshane (macetyana), undikhonzile-eh , ithemba lam, ungandibamba la// (🎸)

Nosi	//hayi! (cheering)	<i>[//yes!] (while hayi means no, here Nosi uses it as a form of cheering Siya on to keep going hence glossed as yes)</i>
Siya	//(ǀ) undiyeke la (ǀ)	<i>[//] undiyeke la (ǀ)</i>
Nosi	yes!	yes!
Siya	(ǀ) undikhonzile-eh themba lam, ungandibamba la (ǀ)//	<i>(ǀ) undikhonzile-eh themba lam, ungandibamba la (ǀ)//</i>
Nosi	yes!	yes!
Siya	(ǀ) undiyeke la (ǀ)	<i>(ǀ) undiyeke la (ǀ)</i>
Nosi	hayi bo!	<i>[oh yes!]</i>
Siya	(ǀ) udikhonzile-eh themba lam! (ǀ)	<i>(ǀ) udikhonzile-eh themba lam! (ǀ)</i>
Nosi	hm!	hm!
Siya	(ǀ) ntengu ntengu macetshane (macetyana)!, undikhonzile eh themba lam (ǀ), nenyethi, ithini na kanene? awuyazi xxx	<i>[and another one that goes like, how does it go again? you don't know it xxx]</i>
Nosi	ndiyayazi ndim- ndim-, ndiyazazi mna, okanye yeyiphi enye oqondayo ukuba ungayidlala kwiguitar wena	<i>[I know it i- i-, I know it, or which other one that you think you can play with the guitar?]</i>
Siya	(ǀ) ntengu ntengu macetyane! (ǀ)	<i>(ǀ) ntengu ntengu macetyane! (ǀ)</i>
Nosi	eyakho!	<i>[yours!]</i>
Siya	(ǀ) undikhonzile(ǀ) yeyiphi na,,	<i>[which one is it again?]</i>

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While Siya did not tell her mother the name of the song and artist in Extract 5.1, she eventually recalls a song by singing the lyrics of the song. I recognised the song as ‘Thembalam’ by the late Afropop artist Zahara. Zahara sang with a guitar and largely wrote in isiXhosa though an enmeshment of other languages (named or not) can be identified in the lyrics of some of her isiXhosa songs. The song ‘Thembalam’ is one such example, which Siya starts singing. This can be noticed in the line ‘ntengu ntengu macetshana’ that Siya starts with. The same phrase is popularly known from a folktale about a bird that ‘makes a plan’. In the isiXhosa folktale, the last word is written slightly differently, appearing as macetyana instead of macetshane, which is recognised isiZulu and arguably isiMpondo too. Another language enmeshment that appears in this song that Siya sings is in the word ‘undikhonzile’ that also appears in the same line. Undikhonzile

means you have admired/respected me in isiZulu. However, the isiXhosa prefix und- would need to change to ungi- to make it a grammatically accurate isiZulu word. Here, the word is used with the prefix undi- which makes it sound/read like an isiXhosa word. The meaning of the word is shaped by the context of the song and lies in the root words which are in isiZulu despite the prefix used being in isiXhosa and the song itself being identifiable as an isiXhosa song. This kind of translanguaging is not atypical in South African music, particularly the music of African artists in genres such as Afropop, Kwaito, and Hip Hop. It is also the type of grassroots/indigenous multilingualism (Mohanty, 2019; Garcia & Lin, 2018) and translanguaging that is different to what I have shown in the previous chapter as it does not include a colonial language such as English. This kind of translingual practice typifies multilingualism from a southern perspective.

While the song is not composed by Siya, it shows the kind of language she is exposed to in her home environment which overlaps with environments outside the home through the various media that bring popular music to her home environment. In this case, she and Nosi are consuming popular culture along with the language that comes with it through the music show, *Idols SA*, that they had been watching in their living room. This communal experience gets them talking both about music and language. They talk about music through Nosi asking Siya to recall a song, but Siya brings up the language dynamic through asking whether she should sing an isiXhosa or English song as I have pointed out in extract 5.1. In the end, Siya chose a seemingly isiXhosa song but one in which African languages and language varieties are mixed, demonstrating grassroots or indigenous multilingualism at play (Mohanty, 2019; Garcia & Lin, 2018).

- **Ukubalisa iintsomi as literacy practice**

Ukubalisa iintsomi (pl. iintsomi with prefix 'ii') means to tell a folktale. A folktale or iintsomi (in isiXhosa) is a short narrative with no known author, which is told using the ordinary everyday language that people speak. Siya's song in Extract 5.2 is about intengu, a type of bird found in the African region that is called the fork-tailed drongo in English. The word intengu is the direct speech form of the word intengu, which often appears in the phrase

‘ntengu ntengu macetyana’ in various oral literature such as iintsomi (folktales), izaci (idioms) and amaqhalo (proverbs). It generally means the fork-tailed drongo is coming up with a plan because ‘macetyana’ means ‘the one with a plan’. It is also a play on words, mimicking the whistle-like sound or the call this type of bird makes that is likened to the whistles made whilst shepherding livestock. Extract 5.3. below features the continuing conversation between Nosi and Siya. After Siya sings ‘ntengu ntengu macetyana’, Nosi points out that a phrase in the song is connected to iintsomi/folklore.

Extract 5.3: ‘uyayazi ukuba yintsomi le...?’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	uyayazi ukuba yintsomi le ithi ntengu ntengu macetshane? , umakhulu wayesenzela lo ntsomi ebusuku (utsho ehleka), silale esabalisa umakhulu, abuze ekuseni, uyigqwethile (ethetha ngenye into), abuze umakhulu ekuseni , yewethu-//	<i>[do you know that ntengu ntengu macetyana is iintsomi?, makhulu used to tell that ntsomi at night (laughs), and we would fall asleep while makhulu is telling it, and she would ask ekuseni, you have it the wrong way around(referring to something else), and makhulu would ask in the morning, by the way-//]</i>
Siya	// ibisithi la ntsomi (finishing the utterance for her mother and imitating an elderly voice)	<i>[// that folklore went like this]</i>
Nosi	//ibisithi la ntsomi bendiyenza, njengawe umakhulu (exela umakhulu kaSiya) xa enibalisela iintsomi, ithini la ntsomi umakhulu adla ngonibalisela yona?	<i>[//the folklore I made (told) went like this, as with you when grandmother (Siya’s grandmother) tells you the folklore, what is the folklore that grandmother usually tells you?]</i>
Siya	 into encinananeee! (imitates a child’s voice)	<i>[something really smaaal!]</i>
Nosi	(uyahleka)	<i>[/(laughs)]</i>
Siya	owu umakhulu ekuseni, athi, kulate Siyamthanda (igama likaSiya eliqwetyiweyo elipheleleyo) vukani! Xa sisitya isidudu athi, ibisithini la ntsomi bendinibalisela yona (imitates grandmother’s voice) ibisithi, “hayi andiyazi mna makhulu! (imitates a high pitched voice)! [Nosi: hm] bendilele kaloku, Ohhh, umntana omncinananaaaaana!	<i>[oh grandmother would say in the morning, it’s late Siyamthanda (Siya’s full pseudonym) wake up! When we eat porridge she would say, what was the folklore I was telling you? it went like this, no I don’t know it grandmother!]</i> [Nosi: hm] <i>[because I was asleep, ho, a very smaaaaal child!]</i> [Nosi: hm] <i>[and I</i>

[Nosi: hm] ndithi ke mna ||**hayi makhulu ndiyakhumbula ubusithi umntana omncinananaana!**|| (imitating a child's voice) Ebehambe nomntana, nabantwana bakokwabo, beyotheng'itshipsi, hayi urongo!, ndithi, hayi andiyazi mna makhulu (uyahleka)

would say no grandmother I remember you were saying a very smaaaal child! Who had gone with (their) sibling, gone to buy crisps, ||no you are wrong!||, I'm saying, no I don't know it grandma (laughs)]

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Seemingly though, while Siya recognises the song 'ntengu ntengu macetshane' from a modern Afro Pop star, her mother Nosi connects the song to a memory of a literacy event from Nosi's childhood – the telling of intsoni, folk storytelling, by her grandmother (Siya's great-grandmother). Nosi asks Siya whether she knows that the song originates from intsoni that her grandmother (Siya's grandmother) used to tell her when she was growing up. Even though they do not go into a discussion or retelling of this particular intsoni, the pop song 'ntengu ntengu macetshane' leads Nosi to making a connection to her childhood and the practice of storytelling by her grandmother that she then recalls and shares with Siya. Nosi also makes a connection between memories of her grandmother's storytelling and how similar it was to her mother telling Siya intsoni. Nosi asks Siya "ithini la intsoni umakhulu udla ngonibalisela yona?" [what's that song that grandmother usually tells to you?]. Siya immediately recalls the name of the song and she is particularly amused by Siya's imitation of her grandmother's voice, a performance she carried through in her impersonation of her grandmother, uMakhulu. Drawing on storytelling is a practice that recurs in the Maqoma's interaction and talk and shows an inclination to embody stories through performance and voicing. Also clear in their interaction is that intsoni is an integral part of the family's routines and literacy repertoire. Siya's voicing of her Makhulu is an important element of storytelling, whether oral or written, which is used to convey the character's expression (Satriani, 2019).

Another feature of storytelling in the Mmaqoma family is retelling the same intsoni several times, which shows more clearly in the first turn of extract 3 when Nosi tells Siya the procedure that would follow in the morning after the telling of intsoni by her

grandmother who would ask how the story went - “abuze umakhulu ekuseni” – “*and makhulu would ask in the morning*”. Part of the storytelling practice involves recalling the instomi in the next morning. There is evidence of this practice being a common part of storytelling in the Maqoma home, when looking at instances where Nosi would be asking either Siya or Siya’s cousin, Liso, to recall instomi that were told the previous night. And so, the following extract shows how the rest of the interaction unfolds and focuses on the connection between singing and storytelling. Moreover, I highlight how storytelling is a literacy practice that is embedded in southern ways of knowing and being and as such legitimizes orality and the home domain as a valuable space for the development of African languages and language practices in isiXhosa in this context. Although storytelling is connected to singing, the conversation between mother and child has at this stage taken an expansive turn. It has moved from Nosi wanting to get a conversation going and presumably choosing music as the family activity she wishes to share with me (the remote researcher) to talking about the kinds of instomi that they are familiar with. And unsurprisingly, umakhulu comes up as the prominent link, once again, to ukubaliswa kweentsomi, the telling of folklore. But more intriguing is the shift that Nosi makes in the conversation about instomi - from talking and imitating the grandmother, her mother, as the storyteller to also observing Siya assume the role of a storyteller.

- **Siya’s literacy ideologies transcending orality /literacy binary**

Siya’s experience of literacy at home is not only limited to oral literacy practices. It also extends to the reading of books. This is demonstrated in another naturally occurring interaction that ensues between Nosi and Siya, presented in Extract 5.4 below. The extract below took place a couple of months after the recording of interactions in extracts 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 above. Extract 5.4 below examines the literacy socialisation practices and ideologies as observed in this self-recorded interaction between Nosi and Siya in the living room umzi kaNosi. Nosi’s younger sister, uMakazi and her child’s, indistinct voices could be heard from one of the bedrooms.

Extract 5.4: ‘uGoldilocks, uNwelezelanga’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	ohhh, wena umbalisele eyiphi umakhulu instomi?	<i>[ohhh, and what folktale did you tell grandma?]</i>
Siya	hayi hayi ndibalisa eyamabhere mna	<i>[no no, i tell one about bears]</i>
Nosi	eyiphi yamabhere?	<i>[which bears’ one?]</i>
Siya	uGoldilocks, uNwelezelanga	<i>[Goldilocks, Nwelezelanga (isiXhosa translated version of the book Goldilocks)]</i>
Nosi	awumbaliseli ezi uqhele ukumbalisela zona mna ?	<i>[don’t you tell her the ones you usually tell her that you tell me?]</i>
Siya	mh?	<i>[yes?]</i>
Nosi	awumbaliseli ezam? awusazikhumbuli ezam?	<i>[don’t you tell her mine? you don’t remember mine anymore?]</i>
Siya	mh-hm	<i>[no]</i>
Nosi	awuzikhumbili? hayi Siya! ,, zingaphi iintsomi endiqhele ukubalisela zona?	<i>[you don’t remember them? no Siya! ,, how many iintsomi do i usually tell you?]</i>
Siya	iyi-one qha!	<i>[there’s only one!]</i>
Nosi	uyaphosisa	<i>[that’s not true]</i>
Siya	zaziyi...two, ha-a, five six	<i>[they were,, two, oh-no, five six]</i>
Nosi	yeyiphi oyikhumbulayo? yeyantoni?	<i>[which one do you remember? what is it about?]</i>
Siya	ulentuka, uRedilocks noGoldilocks	<i>[thingy, Redilocks and Goldilocks]</i>
Nosi	uRedilocks? uRedilocks?	<i>[Redilocks? Redilocks?]</i>
Siya	uRed Riding Hood noGoldilocks	<i>[Red Riding Hood and Goldilocks]</i>
Nosi	andithethi ezi zasencwadini mna , ezi ndiqhele- ndithi kuwe, ndiqhele ukuzibaliselwa ngumakhulu, ndandizibaliselwa ngumakhulu wam , akho nenye oyikhumbulayo?	<i>[i am not talking about the ones in books, the ones I’m used to- I am saying to you, the ones grandma usually tells me, my grandma used to tell me, you don’t remember even one]</i>
Siya	(cwaka)	<i>[(silence)]</i>
Nosi	yho, sisi!	<i>[yoh, young child (literally sister)!]</i>
Siya	(uyahleka)	<i>[laughs]</i>
	(isandi sebhetri eliphelayo)	<i>[(beeping sound of battery warning)]</i>
Nosi	awungowobaliselwa shem!	<i>[shame, you’re not one to be told a story]</i>

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Nosi moves from talking about the song ntengu ntengu macetyana being from intsomi to reminiscing about Siya’s grandmother (and great-grandmother) as a storyteller. By this, she adds another dimension to the storytelling (oral tradition) discourse – she also legitimizes children as lead storytellers. Nosi asks in the opening turn of Extract 5. 4 ‘wena umbalisela eyiphi umakhulu intsomi? [and what instomi do you tell (narrate to) makhulu?]. Even though a grandmother (and grandfather) is often the institutionalised

storyteller in Nigeria (Kehide, 2020), children can assume a storyteller role in the practice of ukubalisa ibali, to tell a story. Maropa, Tyatyeka & Tyatyeka (1988) also cite the grandmother as storyteller among amaXhosa while children assume a role as an interactive audience. Siya and Nosi confirm the legitimacy of children as storytellers acknowledging that Siya also takes on this role when Nosi asks Siya what folktale she usually tells her grandmother to which she responds with “hayi hayi ndibalisa eyamabhere mna” [no no, I only tell the one about bears] in protest. But the protest does not relate to refuting her mother’s view of her being a storyteller. While the positioning of Siya as a storyteller may appear to contradict Kehide (2020) and Moropa et al (1998) who argue that the grandmother is popularly designated the role of being the storyteller, understanding the distinction between a story as ibali, and intsomi as type of story called a folktale, shows that there is no contradiction between these scholars and what happens in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma. The difference is that Siya and Nosi’s world of being encultured in folktales is the co-existence of both the culture of taking up western fairytales from print together with African folktales called iintsomi which are passed down orally. Accordingly, when Siya says she tells bears’ stories she is suggesting that she tells stories she read in books rather than oral stories. Heath (1982) describes the literacy practices of written stories and oral stories as ‘ways of taking’, the former being the expected school pattern while the latter is associated with home literacy practices. However, Heath dispels the myth of a dichotomy that exists between a ‘literate tradition’ and ‘oral tradition’, arguing that it is a researcher construct rather than a precise portrayal of reality across cultures (1982: 73). Further, Siya and Nosi use the word iintsomi more expansively and do not distinguish between folktales and stories. This makes the distinction between the meaning of iinstomi (folk tales) and amabali (stories) irrelevant in the context of use in this family. To make the distinction is however important insofar as trying to understand why elders such as a grandmother were traditionally assigned the role of telling iintsomi. The answer lies in the function of intsomi versus the function of short stories called amabali amafutshane in isiXhosa. One of the main uses of iintsomi

was to impart knowledge and wisdom about a variety of social issues often using animals as characters, while short stories largely focus on offering entertainment (Satyo, 1989).

Further, Nosi and Siya's interaction above is reflective of the two literacy traditions co-existing in Siya's world. The orality is evident in Nosi's question regarding the type of stories Siya shares with her grandmother. Firstly, Nosi reminds her child that she usually tells *iintsomi*. Her persistence with her request for Siya to recall *intsomi* that she has heard before, and her repeatedly raising the question is indicative of how oral storytelling is a common practice in this family. This is clear in Nosi's use of the word 'usually', initially phrasing it as "oqhele ukumbalisela" [that you usually tell her], referring to Siya's storytelling. Not only does Nosi want Siya to recall the names of *iintsomi*, but she is also convinced that Siya knows several because she asks her to enumerate them. Nosi repeatedly says that she often tells her daughter *iintsomi* and asking Siya to enumerate them, suggests that she tells her daughter stories that have been passed down orally from generation to generation. Consequently, Nosi telling Siya she is not one to be told stories because she failed to recall *intsomi*— could show some disappointment.

Siya expressing to her mother that she only tells the bears stories is indicative of another dimension to Siya's literacy socialisation. The bears stories she is referring to is the classic fairytale of the character Goldilocks and the three bears that is popular in western children's literature. Different from *iinstomi*, it comes written, in book form, thus, showing Siya as encultured into the western tradition of reading as a literacy practice. Additionally, the term 'Goldilocks' in English indicates both her use of English and the practice of reading as part of her repertoire. While both the language and the literacy practice can be identified as western practices, or mainstream literacy practices valued in schooling, there is no observable distinction between orality and written literacy. This is because Siya mentions the story Goldilocks as a story she tells, rather than a story she reads. She would have encountered the story in book form before she retells this. This becomes clear when she mentions 'uNwelezelanga', the isiXhosa version of the story, merely a short pause after mentioning Goldilocks. She also prefixes the word Goldilocks with the

isiXhosa u-, a heteroglossic practice that is typical with people drawing from a variety of languages in their repertoire. On a grammatical level, Siya follows the morphological convention of isiXhosa, which requires affixing a vowel to a noun when speaking in third person – “uGoldilocks” as she mentions it.

- **Nosi’s literacy ideologies around storytelling**

When Nosi persists to urge Siya to recall iintsomi, seemingly unsatisfied with the ‘book story’ Siya is offering, Siya gives another book story as an example of stories she usually tells her grandmother. She mentions the story of Little Red Riding Hood, another classic western fairytale. She first mispronounces it as ‘uRedilocks’, possibly connecting Red Riding Hood to the name Goldilocks. She eventually settles on the two book titles, Little Red Riding Hood and Goldilocks, despite her mom’s efforts to get her to mention iinstomi. I find Nosi’s persistence intriguing, particularly because this was a naturally occurring interaction, part of the data gathering brief was that she was free to record any family interactions that she was comfortable sharing with me, the researcher, and any activities that they liked doing as family. I suspect that Nosi wanted to show me how storytelling was integral to her upbringing and interacting with her grandmother, and how Siya to has been encultured in that practice. This speaks to Nosi’s role in the study that developed organically from participant to also becoming a co-researcher/fieldworker. Evidence of this is found in how she repeatedly reminds Siya that she knows iintsomi since both Nosi and Siya’s grandmother, uMakhulu, who is a storyteller in their family, have told Siya stories. She explicitly distinguishes the stories recalled by Siya as book stories and not oral stories – “andithendi ngezasezincwadini mna – I am not talking about the ones in books”.

The interaction between Nosi and Siya about written stories and oral stories makes it apparent that Nosi places a high premium on oral storytelling and positions iintsomi as a regular literacy practice in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma. However, Siya confirms her family participates in both reading and orality as regularly occurring literacy practices despite her mother’s exclusive interest in talking about iintsomi. One of the tentative conclusions

I draw from this extract is that both the literate and oral traditions are an integral part of Siya's literacy practices, and that she does not make the same distinction between them as her mother does. The written stories are largely influenced by Siya's schooling at a previously historically white school that values the literate tradition and western culture. The oral tradition of storytelling was influenced by the enduring tradition and literacy practice of storytelling in African languages, isiXhosa in this case, called – ukubalisa iinstomi which has been passed down from generation to generation. Heath (1982) and Gee (1986) have challenged the dichotomisation of these literacy traditions, rendering the oral/literate division baseless. And I would add that the further categorisation of these two forms of literacy (oral vs written) as 'Western vs African' is also problematic. Ikhaya lakwaMaqoma displays the use and valuing of both, through schooling literacy practices and home literacy practices.

Nosi starts explaining in detail about the practice of storytelling which was a significant feature of her childhood. In her explanation I notice the inclusion of features that I would categorise as the elements of storytelling – kuncwadi lomlomo, oral literature. These include: designated narrator/storyteller, the time of storytelling and the retelling, which usually happens in the morning after or at the next home literacy event (storytelling family event). I am referring to the apparent and prevalent practice of the grandmother asking the children to retell the story or recall certain details or events in the story. I find the grandmother's 'way of doing' intriguing but not surprising. And I liken it to one of the most prominent classroom literacy practices, where the teacher does an assessment of learning while it is happening and afterward asking questions to initiate the learners' recall of previous content they have learned. Through this the teacher checks what the learner can remember (or how much learning has taken place).

- **Children as oral storytellers**

Akin to the practice of oral storytelling in Africa (Kehinde, 2010), ikhaya lakwaMaqoma family largely apportion the role of the storyteller to the grandmother. This is consistent with literature that describes the grandmother as the institutionalized performer of

iintsomi (Kehinde, 2010: 3) or elders in general in aboriginal communities (Hare, 2011). And this role does extend to children as well, who often tell stories to their peers in the absence of adults. Kehinde (2010) contends that children typically tell each other riddles, jokes and songs as a pre-storytelling event, that is, before iintsomi. The orientation to storytelling in ikhaya lwakwaMaqoma refutes this view on numerous occasions as adults and children alike are asked to tell stories as well and thus lead storytelling too. Nosi's use of isifaniso, simile, "njengawe" [like you] confirms and legitimises children as storytellers like grandmothers. Nosi thus positions Siya in a way that constructs her identity as a storyteller. She also moves on to talk about the element I have already identified as the other aspects of storytelling – the time for telling iintsomi and the retelling. As it is known in both the western and African societies, the evening is the time of storytelling in a home setting. The children would gather around a fire with an adult for story time. In parallel, homes in middle-class western (and mainstream) societies who value school literacy would read to their children from story books at bedtime – what is popularly known as bedtime stories. Heath (1982, 1983) makes these particular observations about 'bookreading' and 'oral storytelling' (1982, 50) in her classic comparative study of language and literacy socialisation across three communities in the Piedmont region of the Carolinas. While the scarcity of books in Siya's home can be interpreted as a scarcity of children's literature, I argue that Siya is in fact immersed in a rich culture of literature – oral literature that has been passed down across generations. Satyo (1989) categorises literature into uncwadi lwemvelo/lomlomo (oral literature) and uncwadi lwangoku (book literature). And through participation in storytelling, or uncwadi lomlomo, the ikhaya lakwaMaqoma is able to facilitate rich learning and acquisition of their offspring. Part of Siya and Nosi's family language policy involves seeking ways to enrich Siya's literacy development in isiXhosa. Furthermore, in the next section, I look at Siya's experience of language and storytelling as she traverses between two domains – the home and the school.

This participation in storytelling between adults and children is not limited to Siya and Nosi and also takes place across the different sites that make up ikhaya lakwaMaqoma. An instance of that is an interaction Nosi recorded after she reportedly overheard Siya and her cousin Liso (pseudonym) telling each other iintsomi in the bedroom some days prior. Liso had apparently inquired about what else Siya does with her mother when they are ‘sitting on the bed and reading stories’. I received this data through a voice note in May 2021. When Nosi sent it, she followed up with a disclaimer Voice Note, explaining that she only started recording in the middle of the storytelling between the cousins because she had not anticipated the activity – and she tried not to interrupt them. While I have lost the short explanatory VN sent by Nosi about that interaction, the conversation between Nosi and Siya, presented in extract 5.5 below, shows how ukubalisa iintsomi is common practice in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma even beyond the mother-daughter duo and how children do also participate in storytelling at the request of adults or their peers. It was recorded during a time when Liso and her mother Liziwe, who primarily reside in umzi kaMakhulu, were sleeping over at umzi kaNosi.

Extract 5.5: ‘le ntsomi iyaqwetywa’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	ndiyabuza uLiziwe ¹³ (Makazi) ebesithini na okanye mna, uLiziwe ebeyenzile intsomi?	I ‘m asking (whether) Liziwe (Makazi) what she was saying or me, did Liziwe make intsomi?
Siya	ha-a (sounding playful)	Na-ah (sounding playful)
Nosi	uyaxoka ebeyenzile!	You are lying she did!
Siya	ndiyilibele kaloku!	But I have forgotten it!
Nosi	mna bendiyenzile?	Did I make one?
Siya	e’e	yes
Nosi	ibisithini?	How did it go
Siya	e’e,, ndiy’libele	Yes,, I have forgotten it
Nosi	heh yho ntombi, ulibala yonk’into	Heh yoh girl, you forget everything
Siya	hayi ndiye (indistinct)	No i- (insistinct)
Nosi	suphosisa Siya ubusowulele, uthe uLiso (cousin), makazi yitsho- ndicela wenze intsomi, uthe uLiso makazi hayi intsomi	Don’t lie Siya, you were already asleep, Liso (Siya’s cousin) said, makazi (what she calls Nosi) can

¹³ Liziwe is Siya’s maternal aunt (Nosi’s younger sister) who is also Liso’s mother. Siya call her Makazi.

	yenzwa nguwe kaloku, ndathi hayi hayi andizokwenza ntsomi mna	you please tell instomi, Liso said no makazi but you are the one that tells instomi, an i no no i'm not going to tell intsome
Siya	wagqiba wathi (exela uLiso) xelela uSiya akayenzi intsome	And then he (referring to Liso) said tell Siya she doesn't make instome
Nosi	ndithe hayi hayi andizokwenza ntsomi mna Liso ndim oqale watsho kuwe, hayi wathi, yitsho kuSiya enze eyakhe intsome =	I said no no I am not going to make intsome Liso I asked you first, no and he said, ask Siya to make her own instome =
Siya	=benditshilo	=I said so
Nosi	ndithi ha-a uyayingela, suphosisa uwuyazi	I am saying you are guessing, don't lie you don't know it
Siya	(edubula instini)	(laughing hard)
Nosi	ndathi uSiya ulele, wathi hayi izokwenziwa ngumama'm intsome , ndathi andifuni ntsomi kamama'kho mna ndifun'eyakh'intsome , heh wayenza ke uLiso eyakh 'intsome, ekaSiya kukho uSiya, uMalume kukho, ubani?	And I said Siya is sleeping, and he said no my mom will make instome , and I said I don't want your mom's intsome I want your intsome, heh and Liso made his intsome, about Siya and there was Siya, Malume and there is, who?
Siya	ndiyayikhubula kengoku!	Now I remember it!
Nosi	heh ngubani omnye ebekhona, andisayazi kodwa nakhwel'imoto, ndathi ha-a le ntsomi, mh-hm sana yinto ebaliswayo	Who else was there, I don't quite know it anymore but you got into a car (in the intsome), and I say no ways this intsome, mh-hm baby it's something that is being narrated
Siya	hm	hm
Nosi	Hehhh, bahamba baya eNkandla (laughs) baya eNkandla, uLiziwe wavuka waya epolice station (laughing) hayi hayi, ndathi ha-a, Liso! uyandixoka, oko undibetha ngezizwentsh' mfethu (tsositaal slang)! uthuLiso kum mandenze intsome ndaqonda ha-a sana ndozela kamnandi, ndilele esayincokola lo ntsomi yakhe, ndimane ndingamva ndiphinde ndimve, ndithi Liso andikuva kaloku! ndikweny'ikamera andikuva ngoku, aphinde mama, makazi! ndithi andikuva aphinde 'sahamba ke uSiya, sahamba ngemoto' ndiqonde ukuba ha-a le ntsomi iyaqwetywa sana, wagqiba wathi kum mandimenzele instome, ha-a ndisonqena, bendizonenzela ke	Hehhh, and they went to Nkandla (laughs) they went to Nkandla, and Liziwe woke up and went to the police station (laughing) no no, and I said no ways, Liso! You are lying to me, you have been telling me lies all along (using a tsositaal slang)! And Liso says to me I must make intsome but I realised I'm dozing off nicely, I fell asleep while he was still telling that instome of his, and I kept hearing (drifting) between hearing and not hearing him and I would say but Liso I can't hear you!

I have mentioned earlier the distinction between *intsomi* and *ibali*, and showed how Nosi does not make the distinction between these two in her use of *ukubalisa*. Extract 5.5 is another example of *ukubalisa instomi* as a recurring practice in *ikhaya lakwaMaqoma*. The conversation itself is between Siya and Nosi starting with Nosi wanting to find out whether Siya's Makazi, Liziwe, has told *intsomi* that night. In a series of back and forth turns between these two, Siya playfully denies this having happened and eventually confesses to not remembering whether her Makazi did in fact tell *instomi*. Nosi also recalls a moment when her nephew Liso (Siya's 4-year-old cousin) urged her to tell *instomi* to which she refused. The opening turn in this extract, therefore, expands the picture of the storytelling dynamic I presented earlier, where Nosi and Siya's recall of storytelling moments and impersonation centred on their grandmothers and was associated largely with their village home, *umzi wekhaya*, as the setting. Here, back in one of their township homes of *ikhaya lakwaMaqoma*, we find out how the practice of storytelling has been sustained. Moreover, through the mention of Makazi and Liso, it is apparent that the storyteller/ storytelling role can move between different family members, perhaps taking turns to be the storyteller – on request or self-initiated. Of interest to me in this extract is the participation of the children who take the role of storyteller, and I particularly want to discuss Liso's involvement in these practices as the conversation moves between Nosi and Siya in the rest of the extract.

Both Siya and Nosi bring in an element of performance and dramatization in their conversation as they fall into 'Liso's character' with their humorous impersonation of the four-year old's voice. Recalling what she heard of the conversation between her mom (whom Liso calls *makazi*) and her cousin Liso, Siya starts impersonating Liso with the line: "[|xelela uSiya akayenzi intsomi|]" [tell Siya she does doesn't make *instomi*] with Nosi adding to the performance with: "[|yitsho kuSiya enze eyakhe intsomi|]" [ask Siya to make

her own instomi] . By making instomi, they mean ukubalisa intsomi. In a sense, they follow the conversion of storytelling in their own talk in the way they recall and retell an event, thus embodying the practice of ukubalisa. This has been a recurring practice throughout some of the interactional data presented in this chapter. I argue that using language, the family gets involved in the process of enculturating the practice of storytelling as literacy practice and the use of language as performance. This becomes evident in the last part of this extract when Nosi identifies Liso's story as not merely retelling an existing folktale but rather constructing his own intsomi using his family members as characters, their natural environment as the story setting and made-up events to construct a story line.

As Nosi's recall goes, Liso's story characters are Siya, Malume and other people she does not remember, which instantly jogs Siya's memory to recall the story. During recollection of Liso's story, Nosi came to two critical realisations: that the story is something that is being narrated when she heard the title of the story being "ekaSiya", meaning (the story) of Siya, and the names of characters being people in the family who got in a car hence responding with: "ha-a le ntsomi, mh-hm sana yinto ebaliswayo" [no ways this intsomi, mh-hm baby it's something that is being, that is being narrated]. In the end she also makes the determination that "ha-a le ntsomi iyaqwetywa" [no ways this ntsomi is being made up]. Both these reactions are telling of Nosi's understanding of Liso's intsomi as different from what she expected to hear, which speaks to the differences between instomi often with animals or unbelievable characters and told by elders to impart knowledge and wisdom, and ibali which can be told by children. Despite the distinction between the types of stories and their material value in the socialisation of children (with and into language), I argue that the creative input and skill in crafting the 'made up' story confirms the attribute of stories as reflecting and expanding a child's imagination.

- **Performance and dramatization as a feature of ukubalisa**

Ukubalisa is a recurrent language practice in this family that is shaped by two prominent features of storytelling – performance and dramatization. I have indicated these features

in my transcription with the symbols ||, which show various moments when Siya and Nosi get ‘in and out of character’ as they mimic with their voices, often laced with humour, the people they are talking about, or lines they recall from iintsomi as told by themselves or others – particularly the elderly voices the grandmothers (referred to as **M**akhulu with a capital M for Siya’s grandmother and **m**akhulu with lower case m for Nosi’s grandmother). The extent of the imitation can be likened to that of actors improvising a scene in a drama-comedy – referred to as isketshi¹⁴ among amaXhosa¹⁵. This dramatized imitation of voice brings me to the thoughts of one scholar who associates this kind of talk with performance. In his dissertation about early literacy development in isiXhosa, Bara (2021: 32) draws on the words of Finnegan (1991) who describes oral performance as:

“... the delivery skill of the performer and the interaction with the audience. Folktales fulfilled an educational role and home teaching was achieved through the performance of folktales where, in the narration of a story, the performer would reveal the setting and demonstrate events through the action of the characters.”

This description points to the relationship that exists between the storyteller and the audience that creates a learning platform in the home, which also plays an important role in the literacy development of a child. I concur with the view (Bara, 2021) that iintsomi have always been used as a home literacy development tool whereby the storyteller would assume the role of an actor/performer in the way they performed iintsomi – which comprises of situating the events of the story in a particular time and place through roles of the characters. Although this particular extract is not showing storytelling in action, the way that Nosi and Siya imitate umakhulu begins to give an insight into the family’s language practices during storytelling. While this performance and dramatization centres on oral stories, the virtual and physical words exist symbiotically in the family’s daily routines and language use. This is certainly the case with Nosi’s observed habitual

¹⁴ isiketshi – the countable noun, sketch, which according to Collins’s dictionary refers a short funny piece of acting that’s usually performed as part of a comedy show.

¹⁵ amaXhosa – the pre-fix ama- is inserted before the word Xhosa to signify Xhosa people while the isi- points to the language as seen in the word isiXhosa.

participation in social media, thus giving evidence of the written and visual forms of literacy that would have been otherwise concealed from me if I had relied exclusively on observing and recording live oral forms of language use, and assessing the presence of writing on paper as a literacy practice in the home. As evidenced in the analysis presented in the previous chapter, Nosi also used social media to transcend binaries between physical and virtual spaces and this shows her combining semiotic/linguistic resources along with both hybridised and fixed registers. Through this practice, Nosi constructs both family and community – her social media audience and participants – as multilingual, having a shared heteroglossic linguistic repertoire that co-exists unpoliced. Following on the theme of ukubalisa and performative use of language, I turn to Nosi’s digitally enabled languaging as a social practice in which the ways Nosi thinks about isiXhosa and uses it on social media reveals her language and literacy ideologies. These practices include her use of metaphoric language, that is a performance of her rich linguistic resources for an authentic audience, and her awareness of the discourses around using isiXhosa.

- **Nosi’s metaphoric language use on social media**

Like *iintsomi*, genres such as *izaci* (idioms), and *amaqhalo* (proverbs), form part of a rich oral tradition in African languages and are useful for imparting wisdom and for optimising rhetorical effectiveness in the everyday communication of amaXhosa (Dlali, 2023). The use of *izaci* and *amaqhalo* embellish a language, showing the artistic expression and language expertise of the user, and are also passed down from generation to generation (Moropa et al, 1988). In Extract 5.6 below, Nosi uses figurative language as she connects with her interactive audience by means of a digital device.

Extract 5.6: ‘sidlala ngesixhosa sidlala ngolwimi’



12 June 2021, 10:36 (3 of 3)

As I have already shown in chapter 4, Nosi’s languaging includes the use of non-literal language through a social media app. In this WhatsApp status update, Nosi continues to showcase her creativity and expertise in her use of isiXhosa. She does this by using iqhalo, a proverb, a manner of figurative language that is usually used to teach a lesson or to give advice (Satyo, 1989). She writes: “Kungcono uNdlebende osesitalini, kunenkabi yehashe eseNkampini. Camagu” [The long-eared one (a donkey) in a stable is better than a stallion in a camp. We are playing with isiXhosa we are playing with the tongue/language. Let it be so]. True to what Satyo (1989) describes as one of the uses of iqhalo, the sentiment carried in this proverb is that of giving a warning or offering advice.

This proverb would be said as it is, with no alteration to its syntactic or morphological structure and would be used to advise a person that their situation of being stuck in what seems to be a difficult situation is better than being free but in danger or at risk, like that of a stallion that is used in war, hence the camp base. Her posting of this proverb appears to be an act of deliberately showcasing both her linguistic resources as well as the culture of amaXhosa people and the knowledge that her languaging transports. It captures wa Thiong'o's (1986) concept of 'language as culture' pointing to the intertwining of the two where language serves as a vehicle for the movement of knowledge from one generation to the next thus holding and reproducing a collective archive of people's experiences.

This sense of community and interconnection through using language is also reflected in the way Nosi includes her social media audience as participants in the languaging experience, confirmed by her uttering "sidlala ngesiXhosa sidlala ngolwimi". With the collective pronoun 'si- '(we), she is expressing collective enjoyment of using izigabantetho on the one hand by writing **sidlala**, when she could have written **ndidlala** (I am playing). This shows Nosi's awareness of her audience (i.e. her contacts who can see her status updates). But Nosi also displays an element of performance in the use of isiXhosa secondary discourse – showing both her linguistic competence and kinship in the culture/community. Nosi shares linguistic resources between herself and her audience and in her posts, she does not seem to expect that people would have any trouble understanding her. Additionally, the private reply feature that appears with each status update also seems to close the physical and virtual space divide, adding an interactive feature for conversation. This is what seems to be the case with Nosi because she ends her writing with "Camagu", an expression that is often said in the gathering of people to express thanks and/or good wishes to which the audience are expected to respond with 'camagu' in return in agreement. Nosi continues to enjoy the use and embellishment of isiXhosa and interacting with her audience drawing from her knowledge of idioms. In Extract 5. 7 below, another screenshot of a WhatsApp status update, shows that Nosi uses figurative language through social media. Different from the social media post

presented in Extract 5.6, Nosi uses an isaci here, an idiom, an expression whose syntactic and or morphological structure can be altered and meaning can change depending on the alteration of the syntactic structure of that particular idiom (Satyo, 1989; Mesatywa, 1954).

Extract 5.7: ‘uleqa isila sikajobela’



19 June 2021, 11:07

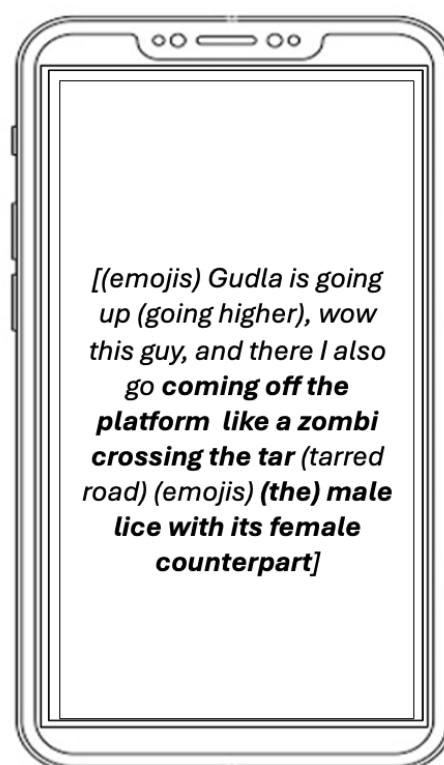
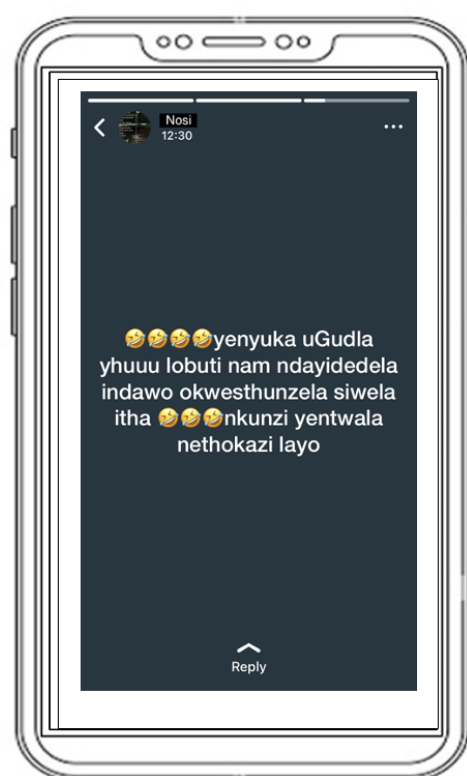
In this WhatsApp (WA) status, Nosi gives the idiomatic expression ‘ukuleqa isisila sikaJobela’. The phrase translates as ‘to chase jobela’s (the long-tailed widow bird’s) tail. Nosi changes the prefix of the verb ‘ukuleqa’ (to chase), to ‘uleqa’, (you/they chase) and

presents “uleqa isisila sikaJobela”. By doing this she has customised the idiom by introducing a subject to which this idiom applies, either as a direct speech – you are chasing jobela’s tail or speaking in third person, they are chasing jobela’s tail. The prefix u- works as a personal pronoun and is ungendered as all pronouns are in isiXhosa and other African languages in South Africa. I have thus translated this ‘u-’ to ‘they’ to indicate the non-gendered nature of the pronoun. Consistent with the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions, this phrase is not about a person chasing a bird. Rather it refers to a situation when a person is chasing something that is nearly impossible to catch or attain – a pointless exercise. Though this phrase would be used to make this reflection or comment about the improbability of an action a person is taking, I argue that Nosi is using social media to demonstrate her linguistic resources and creativity and is thus constructing an ideological positioning of language, and specifically isiXhosa, as a resource (Ruiz, 1986). This is confirmed by the next sentence she writes: “sityebe sinjalo isiXhosa” [that’s how rich isiXhosa is].

Like the previous example, Nosi is not only having fun with isiXhosa but she is also reflecting on her language use – a practice that I would explain as taking pride in her rich isiXhosa repertoire which includes taking part in secondary discourses that other people may not be privy to if they are outside of the isiXhosa culture or are not studying the language at home language level at school. I say this because the school curriculum during Nosi’s school days would have included a section of learning izaci and amaqhalo, as well as general knowledge – ulwazi gabalala. But unlike the previous WA status update reflection, Nosi makes no mention of her linguistic competence but rather, she gives recognition to the language itself – saying “sityebe sinjalo isiXhosa” [that’s the richness of isiXhosa]. Looking at the two extracts alone, one can begin to see how much Nosi valorises isiXhosa. She uses her status updates to perform her pride and appreciation of her heritage identity and affiliation. This expression of language pride has been reported on in language socialisation studies of families focusing on marginalised heritage languages and seeking to revitalise these (e.g. Maseko, 2021 & 2022, Higgins, 2019). It

was also found in McKinney and Molate's (2022) case study that African families place value and seek to maintain their indigenous languages to support and continue their isiXhosa culture and identity. I argue that Nosi's social media use of isiXhosa metaphors, and the subsequent reflection, shows a conscious appreciation of isiXhosa for enjoyment of its richness, and not just for identity performance.

Extract 5.8: 'okwesthunzela siwela itha'



19 June 2021, 12:30 (3 of 3)

Gudla is a radio broadcaster of a national isiXhosa radio station who hosts a maskandi music show that airs on Saturday mornings at 09:00 to 12:00. Looking at the time that Nosi posted this status update – at 12:30, it shows that she was still reeling from listening to the show and was clearly entertained by the radio host. Her use of a few laughing emojis to express her entertainment and the words on the status, together with the fact that Gudla was known for being infamously humorous, gives a clue about what Nosi is finding funny and her enjoyment. I will focus on two aspects of the language used in the post. One is the simile she writes: “ndayidedela indawo okwesithuzela ziwela itha” [there I go coming off the platform like a zombie crossing tar (a tarred road) - and the phrase “nkuzi yentwala nethokazi layo” (the male lice and its counterpart), which are both humorous. It does not seem like these come from Nosi, rather she is recollecting funny moments presumably from the show she tuned into thirty minutes earlier. What compels me to think this way is the “nam” [and me] she uses at the end, indicating that she is borrowing from Gudla’s language to tell her social media audience that, like him announcing the end of his show, she too is leaving the WA platform. It would appear so because this was also her last status update for the day, as indicated by the loading lines at the top of the screen showing that the image shown is the third slide of three. What this says about Nosi her awareness of the community in which she shares her linguistic resources, which position her ‘target’ audience as also encultured in this linguistic practice and aware of her ideological positioning of isiXhosa as a resource that travels across spaces.

Extract 5.9 below is a snippet from a conversation between Siya and her mother via WhatsApp, after she had gone away for a weekend to visit her aunt, Makazi, in the residence of an employer who lives in a coastal suburb. The interaction was audio-recorded using the WA voice note function. Here, I draw attention to Siya’s register when she gives her mom a recount of what she did and what she ate when she was away with her aunt, Makazi, for the weekend.

Extract 5.9 : ‘sagqiba xa sigoduka satya i-ice cream

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	hm, saphinda sahamba ke ngoku saty'iburger ilento icandy floss , sagqiba xa sigoduka satya i-ice cream	<i>hm and then we went again and ate a burger a thingy candy floss, and after that when we were returning home we ate ice cream</i>
Nosi	ha! kungabandi late xa nigodukayo? bekungabandi?	<i>ha! and does it not get cold later when you are going home? Was it not cold?</i>
Siya	ha-a	<i>oh no</i>
Nosi	nigoduka nimanzi? okay	<i>and you were returning home wet?</i>
Siya	safika phaya kwicar safika, sashawarisha sa- savasa , sagqiba sabukela i- salento- sa- sahamba sagqiba sabukela ithivi , sunday, sunday sahamba saya epulini	<i>and we arrived in the car we arrived, and we showered we- we washed (bathed), and then we watched the we thingy we- we left and then we watched the tv, on Sunday, on Sunday we went to the pool]</i>
Nosi	hm	

8 December 2020, NOI

One of the noticeable factors about Nosi's languaging in Extract 5.9 is the change in register from hybrid to fluid without being able to pinpoint what causes the change. Nosi and Siya's use of hybrid as well as fixed registers does not fit the narrative that urban languaging is typified by hybridity while people in rural settings will use a monolingual isiXhosa. I noticed a difference in languaging between interactions that are naturally occurring and interview data. During the interviews, both Nosi and Siya (including myself) largely used a fixed isiXhosa register. Increasingly over the fieldwork period, during their conversations at home they used a hybridized register except for cases around learning isiXhosa terminology and knowledge. Extract 5.9 is one example of how Siya not only meshed codes but presented different examples of translanguaging where in one instance, she uses vocabulary that is identifiable as English, meshing it with isiXhosa following isiXhosa morphology. Examples of these words are "icar" for car, "icandy floss" for candy floss and "saty' ibuger" for we ate a burger. In the same interaction she also uses a different strategy of translanguaging, where English or Afrikaans words have been 'borrowed' or 'xhosalised' by articulating them in isiXhosa hence I have transcribed them using isiXhosa orthography (spelling). Examples of these are "sashawarisha" for 'we showered' (from English) and "savasa" we bathed (from Afrikaans for wash, 'was'). This

type of languaging sees Siya not only crossing boundaries of distinct language codes, with the first example, but also making distinct language codes indistinguishable as the second example shows.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the different ways the family's implicit language and literacy ideologies, construct family multilingualism as dynamic through a range of home literacy practices that range from oral to written and include the digital. Through the data I present, I examined family languaging as social situated practice and show instances of spontaneous/incidental language practices between Nosi, Siya and other family members. These practices are made visible in their language use as they participate in discussions about songs and iintsomi, writing on social media, thus blurring the boundaries between oral/literate; public/private; monolingual/multilingual or fixed and fluid use of language as they go about their daily lives. Siya, in particular, languages in a way that shows her awareness of her bilingualism as she spontaneously asks Nosi which of her linguistic resources she should draw on thus positioning multilingualism as a resource. This is also shown in instances when Siya is being socialised into oral practices such as songs, iintsomi and ukubalisa, and the use of metaphoric language. Nosi also actively showcases the richness of her isiXhosa linguistic resources and language practices and her pride in these. In the interactions with Siya and Nosi, we see how she is socialising Siya into not only use of the resources and practices but also instilling pride in the language. At the same time, we also see the blurring of oral/literate divide as well as online/offline and virtual versus face-to-face interaction.

I also analysed Nosi's digitally enabled languaging as a literacy practice, and reflected on the ways a spatial interaction transcends boundaries between the virtual and the physical space as people interact with an authentic audience through their postings on social media. Binding together instances of language and literacy practices that transcend binaries between languages, between literacies and between spaces, I

illustrated the ways that Nosi and Siya move and shift between a hybrid and fixed register. In the next chapter I continue to discuss multilingualism and literacy socialisation in the family, but this time I focus on the family's learning and teaching of isiXhosa literacy, drawing from their rural-urban family environments as well as from their language repertoires.

6. Multilingualism and Literacy Socialisation in the Family (Part 2): Language as Socially Situated Practice

Introduction

In this chapter I continue to analyse the multilingual literacy practices of ikhaya lakwaMaqoma by drawing on naturally occurring interactional data showing how the participants use language to navigate schoolwork at home. I also explore how Nosi socialises Siya into the ways of knowing and doing that are excluded in the school curriculum for isiXhosa literacy, particularly for learners who learn isiXhosa as Second Additional Language (SAL) like Siya. Through selected moments of learning and teaching in the family, I examine Nosi's overt and covert strategies in teaching Siya, using her rich linguistic resources that derive from their environments – rural and urban –thus positioning them as taking up the idea of literacy as socially situated practice. More critically, I explore Nosi's idea of prized knowledge as I analyse teaching moments from 'ulwazi gabalala', or general knowledge, that Nosi draws from to centre ways of knowing and being that are not Eurocentric.

Moving between hybrid and fixed registers during schoolwork

The interaction in extract 6.1 below is taken from Nosi's recording of an interaction between herself and Siya in their home, ikhaya likaNosi. It was also during a time of the pandemic when children attended school on alternate days and accessed schoolwork online in order to do 'homeschooling' on the days they stayed at home. Nosi is assisting Siya to prepare for a project for her Grade 4 school subject called Life Skills. The project is based on the upcoming South African public holiday called Heritage Day in which learners must prepare a presentation about their heritage. Siya has decided to talk about umbhaco and also bring/wear one to class on the day of the presentation.

Extract 6.1: 'khowutraye ukuwuspela'

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	name, umbhaco /um ¹ ba ^o / ¹⁶ , kufuneka ndithi the name of the dress is umbhaco, the name and type of dress umbhaco	[name, umbhaco, I have to say the name of the dress is umbhaco, the name and the type of dress is umbhaco]
Nosi	name and type of dress is called umbhaco	[name and type of dress is umbhaco]
Siya	namhlanje (indistinct)	[today (indistinct)]
Nosi	umbhaco,, khowutraye ukuwuspela ,, U- with the capital letter, u-U	[umbhaco,, try spelling it ,, U with the capital letter U
Siya	u-m-bha-co /u/ /m̩/ /'ba/ /go/	/u/ /m̩/ /'ba/ /go/ (sounding out each syllable of umbhaco)
Nosi	umbhaco with an H, umbhaco not umbaco , no no no umbhaco, um-bha-, ewe, H yes, nankuyaa phezulu	[umbhaco with an H, umbhaco no umbaco , no no no um-bha-, yes, H yes, there it is up there
Siya	(indistinct)	[(indistinct)]
Nosi	mh-hm (saying no), um-bha, um-bha, B H,, awuzoyineeda ipicture yawo?	mh-hm (saying no), um-bha-, B H,, won't you need a picture of it?
Siya	mh?	mh?
Nosi	ipicture yawo awuzoyineeda?	are you going to need its picture?
Siya	ipicture yantoni?	a picture of what?
Nosi	ipicture yombhaco	a picture of umbhaco
Siya	mh-hm, kaloku zanditsho ndiza kuyipresenta ngomso ngolwesbini eklasini	mh-hm, the thing is I was just saying that I will present it tomorrow on Tuesday in class
Nosi	so kufuneka uye nawo ipicture yawo?	so do you need to take it with the picture of it?
Siya	ndizowunxiba eklasini (ndicinga ukuba ufuna ukuthi uza kube ewunxibile eklasini)	I will put it on in class (I think she is trying to say that she will go to class wearing it)
Nosi	oh okay, but then lo uzowunxiba wena awuzu-	oh okay, but then this one you will wear you won't...

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This interaction between Nosi and Siya centers on a piece of writing that Siya is working on to generate for her upcoming class presentation. It begins with her writing down the name of the item that she will be discussing, which is umbhaco. Umbhaco is a traditional

¹⁶ Umbhaco – traditional Xhosa attire

skirt worn by Xhosa women and girls. The more modern versions of it would include a dress that is made from the same material which gets embellished by horizontal stripes in black and beads like the traditional skirt version. Siya leads both the writing and talking but Nosi is involved, supporting this writing process, which entails making sure she has captured all the information she needs, the spelling of words and ensuring she has all the tools she needs for her presentation. Unsurprisingly, they both use a hybridized register as they process the information, drawing from isiXhosa and English. This is despite the reality that the presentation will be given in English, thus offering Siya a unique multilingual brainstorming experience which she would not have got had she prepared for the presentation in the classroom at school with her peers. Although the talk itself is bi or translingual, the writing she produces from this is monolingual. This is of course with the exception of the word *umbhaco*.

To illustrate this point, I focus on the first two opening lines of the extract: The first word Siya writes down is “name, *umbhaco*”, which she says out loud and slowly. What follows that is talking to herself as she reflects on the two words she has written. This reflection comes in isiXhosa with the utterance of “*kufuneka dithi*” [I have to say], and only then does she proceed to modify her writing seemingly deciding to write her point in a full sentence. The sentence she produces becomes “the name and type of dress *umbhaco*”. Nosi immediately edits this by repeating Siya’s sentence and adding the conjunction ‘is’ which is missing from what Siya offered. Ultimately, the writing that is produced is in monolingual English, in line with the LOLT of the subject she is preparing this presentation for. The languaging that follows for the rest of the interaction is hybridized as they work through Siya’s accuracy in writing the isiXhosa word *umbhaco* with Nosi functioning as the grammar verifier in this instance. She offers this language support along with checking whether she will present *umbhaco* as a picture, artefact or display it by wearing it on the day of the presentation to which Siya confirms she will have it on for the presentation.

Even though Siya seems to already have written the word 'umbhaco' considering the full sentence she has written down which Nosi helped her with editing, Nosi asks her to try spelling the word umbhaco, saying "khawutraye ukuwuspela" [try spelling it] using a hybridized register. This suggests that Nosi may have noticed that Siya has misspelt it. What follows is Siya sounding the word, following isiXhosa letter sounds, and breaking it down to its four syllables: "u-m-bha-co". Whether she is reading her first writing of the word or re-writing it as she sounds it out, Nosi does not approve of the spelling because in the turn that follows she notices that the letter H is missing and tells Siya it must be included, emphatically adding that the word is umbhaco not umbaco. In the end Nosi directs her to look up, presumably at the top of the page, to check for the correct spelling. She does this moving from an English register to isiXhosa even including and affirming Siya with a yes twice in the same turn, firstly in isiXhosa saying "ewe" then "yes" to her correctly spelling the word with an H this time around. This way of translanguaging where linguistic codes are more distinguished and movement between the two can be clearly identified is different to how Nosi translanguaged earlier in the extract when she asked Siya to try to spell the word, saying "khowutraye ukuwuspela" [try spelling it]. In the earlier variation, she maintains isiXhosa syntax but with English like lexical items, borrowing from the words 'try' and 'spell' which she changes by adding the appropriate prefixes and suffixes that align with isiXhosa morphological formation. Nosi continues to move in and out of named languages and meshing them including in ways where English words are used and pronounced using English phonology but affixed with isiXhosa prefixes which are pronounced following isiXhosa phonology. An example of this is in the word 'picture' that they both use in this interaction where Nosi utters "ipicture yawo uzowuyineeda?" [are you going to need its picture?] to which Siya responds with "ipicture yantoni" [a picture of what]. In such instances it makes it nearly impossible and even insignificant (to the languaging person) to determine whether they have uttered an English word or isiXhosa word because they have in fact transcended the binaries. And in the context of my study where I am drawing on the perspective of language as social practices rather than simply grammatical system, my intention of making this microanalysis of the words

is to show the arbitrariness of language as separate entities for the two languaging individuals. This is particularly the case in this instance where their objective is to negotiate meaning and complete a task in an environment where their languaging is unpoliced. It also shows how multilinguals can both perform as monolinguals when required or desired (consciously or unconsciously), in English or isiXhosa, and move to heteroglossic language practices uninhibited. Another example where the family shifts to a more fixed register is the next extract which is the continuation of the interaction in extract 6.1. Here, Nosi and Siya go further in adding content to the oral presentation that Siya is preparing. At this point, they are almost exclusively languaging English, however their heteroglossia becomes noticeable as they navigate the spelling of an English word, this time.

Extract 6.2: ‘uwrap akabhalwa kanje’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	Youuu got a dress, no it's a skirt, yes describe,, come on Siya I'm tired please finish,, it's a dress or first write the question,, sighs (long silence) it's a wrap around dress, actually, a wrap-around skirt sorry (silence)	
Nosi	Owu	Oh
Siya	(whispering to herself)	
Nosi	No describe	
Siya	Describe//	
Nosi	//how it's worn	
Siya	No describe, in, it, it, D-E-T detail,, and,, how,, it,,	
Nosi	It's worn	
Siya	Ha-a, how it is or how it's w-o-r (/wɔ:r/) (sounding out each letter)	No, how it is or how it's (/wɔ:r/)
Nosi	question mark	
Siya	shift shift, enter enter, no no, next please (sounds like she is typing)	
Nosi	okay! it's a wrap around skirt	
Siya	it, it's	
Nosi	Shooo (sighs)	
Siya	Uh /r/- wrap	

Nosi	/rɛp/, R E P (spelling the word)	
Siya	R E (whispering)	
Nosi	R E, R E,, R E P rep/rɛp/ around, rep/rɛp/ around	
Siya	R E P, kanje?	R E P, like this?
Nosi	Yes!	
Siya	R E P	
Nosi	Hm-h	
Siya	Wrap (/rɛp/)(dragging the r) /ə' / /rɔʊ/	
Nosi	/rɛp/, around skirt,, hayi bo!, wrap around, u-around ligama eliyi-one	Wrap around skirt,, goodness!. Wrap around, around is one word
Siya	Around	
Nosi	Skirt	
Siya	Wrap (/rɛp/), uwrap akabhalwa kanje , W /rɛp/	Wrap (/rɛp/), wrap (/rɛp/) does not get written like this, W /rɛp/
Nosi	Oh yes	
Siya	Uh-ha!	
Nosi	Wrap /rɛp/ around skirt, W	
Siya	Wrap/rɛp/ around (whispering) kha? kha-?kha-?, eish!	Wrap/rɛp/ around (whispering) can can can?, eish! (sounding frustrated)

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Extract 6.2 above begins with Nosi urging Siya to finish up her homework because she is tired. Siya is still busy adding more details to her presentation scripts, part of which is to add the description of umbhaco which she will be talking about. Umbhaco as a skirt is designed as a wrap-around skirt, which gets tied at the waist with two strings that are attached on each end of the skirt once it has been fully wrapped around. Nosi gives this input to Siya saying it is “a wrap-around dress”. As a person with a similar linguistic profile with Nosi and Siya relating to my proficiency in English as isiXhosa, my approach to spelling transcribed words was informed by what I heard and understood the words to be meaning in any of the languages (isiXhosa, English and translingual). But it also included my appreciation for phonological sensitivity in distinguishing between words of one language being pronounced using the phonology of another language. An example of this is the English word ‘okay’ that appears in many of the extracts I have analysed in previous chapters. Sometimes the participants (including myself in some data extracts) would pronounce a word using the English phonology hence deciding to spell it as such. But in

other instances, it would appear as 'okhey' /'okheyi' in articulations where the speaker is drawing from their isiXhosa phonology to pronounce the same word. This is precisely how I came to transcribe the "wrap-around" utterance appearing in Nosi's opening line of extract 6.2. It is only when I listened to her and Siya going through the process of writing down the word "wrap", breaking it down into letter sounds and the English names of the alphabet did I realise that the two are drawing from the phonology of the two distinct codes in their repertoire to determine the spelling of the English word 'wrap'. It is when Siya reacts to the spelling input from Nosi with "uwrap akabhalwa kanje" [wrap does not get written like this] thus challenging the spelling that would come out as 'reparound' that I realise that more than it being a misspelling of the word, Nosi is drawing from the isiXhosa vowel phonology when she uttered 'wrap around' where the English sound 'a' would be pronounced a 'u' in isiXhosa. In this case Nosi is pronouncing the letter 'a' as the letter sound 'e' which has the same sound in both the languages. I argue thus more than this being a spelling error from Nosi, it is an indication of her hybridised linguistic profile that may or may not be 'sorted', as the concept of relanguaging explains it (Krause-Alzaidi, 2024) into a distinct code as required. I am of the view that this is a mischaracterisation of 'language as problem' (Ruiz, 1984) as a result of analysing the languaging of multilingual speakers which draws on more than one language as interference or 'interlanguage' (Canagarajah, 2007). Further, it shows the trouble of working from a monoglossic perspective in analysing the languaging of multilingual speakers when they either use a hybridized register or fixed register but drawing from the phonology of a different language. To emphasise my point of Nosi's orientation in the misspelling and mispronunciation of the word wrap is contrasting it with Siya's experience of misspelling the word umbhaco, writing it as 'umbaco' thus drawing from the phonology of English. Moreover, this shows how phonological awareness of a specific linguistic code is shaped in early years, which speaks to Nosi and Siya's early schooling experience, where Nosi predominantly used and learnt isiXhosa as a home language in isiXhosa while Siya learnt English as HL thus creating different variations of bi/multilingualism between the two.

IsiXhosa literacy development through literacy as situated social practice

The idea of literacy as a set of decontextualised and transferrable skills has long been deconstructed by scholars such as Gee (1986) and Street (1984). Further, approaches to literacy that exclusively centre on reading and writing while ignoring orality (Brandt & Clinton, 2002) carry the ideologies and practices of school, which give privilege and dominance to western ways of making sense. In the next section of this chapter, I show the different ways the family language and literacy socialisation value all forms of literacy, focusing on the tacit strategy of developing children’s literacy in isiXhosa. I do this by analysing data showing moments of language-in-action (Brandt & Clinton, 2002) as units for observation. This includes the enriching of Siya’s linguistic resources in isiXhosa through drawing on terminologies from the family’s identity and environments across multiple spaces linked with their locally situated experiences.

- **Drawing from language about family identity**

Extract 6.3 below is a case in point where, during a naturally occurring interaction, Nosi’s bilingualism is evident as she translanguages between isiXhosa and English in her explanation about her teeth and the connection to their isiduko, MaMbamba. As such, I classify this as a literacy event that consolidates their identities and indigenous knowledge while teaching Siya new isiXhosa terminology. I particularly explore how Siya negotiates meaning.

Extract 6.3: ‘ooMaMbamba bathi hi!’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	kaloku ndingumamBamba, ngamabamba, uyayazi lo nto? We call this, la amazinyo amabamba ngesiXhosa, so nam ndingumaMbamba so	la[the thing is, I am MamBamba, and these are incisors, do you know that? we call this, these teeth, amabamba in isiXhosa, so (like these teeth) I am MamBamba so then they are long as such they stick out, the MaMbamba (personifies incisors) say hi!]

	made ke ngoku ayakroba, ooMaMba mba bathi hi!	
Siya	wena unje mna ndiyintoni ke ngoku?	[you are like this (you are this), so what am I?]
Nosi	awakho tsolo kaloku awakho, ndithi bendizonenzela enye intsomi etsha, ha-lala	[yours are obviously not pointy, I am saying I was going to tell you another new story, (ululates)]
Siya	uyaphosisa oko-//	[you are lying, you've been-]
Nosi	ekaNomvulazana, ndake ndanenzela intsomi kanoMvulazana	[Nomvulazana's, have I ever told you the story of Nomvulazana?]
Siya	ewe	[yes]
Nosi	ithini?	[how does it go]
Siya	andiyazi (laughs hard)	[I don't know]

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Krila – *Mbamba*, Thangana, Bhodlinja, Rhaso, Mbombo, Gcaleka, Nkomo zibomvu namathol'azo, Nqele, Bhurhu, Mayisithe, Nomazele, Gobingca, bhukuxa umthondo uwujongise emntwini – are the different clans name that identify and track the lineage of the nation of amaXhosa omthonyama, which are commonly referred to as 'tribes' since colonialization (Xhosa Culture, 2014). What is happening here, is that Siya is noticing a particular feature of Nosi's teeth as her mother talks. Siya seems to be intrigued by them because they are 'sticking out' and they are long. She is giving a description of what she is seeing rather than a single word. She clearly does not know what these teeth are called in isiXhosa. But I would think that she would know what they are called in English, which her mother does not concern herself with in this extract. I say this because, given her grade and the medium of instruction in her school, the syllabus would have covered the

different types of teeth by the end of grade 3. And she is in Grade 4. Going back to Nosipho's teaching moment, she confirms the visual characteristics of the teeth and proceeds to tell Siya what they are called in isiXhosa "la ngamabamba" [these are incisors]. She also makes a connection with the meaning of the name of these teeth, candidly, with her cultural identity: "kaloku ndinguMaMBamba, la ngamabamba, uyayazi lo nto?" [the thing is, I am MamMbamba, and these are incisors, do you know that?]. MaMbamba is a clan name and Mbamba would be the masculine version of the name. In South Africa, and among most Black Africans and language groups, clan names are ascribed a premium value with regards to identity – they also serve the purpose of tracking heritage and lineage among African families. They are believed to be marking blood ties between families and individuals, such that it is rarely permissible to intermarry within the same clan, even though there may not be immediate traceable relations between individuals from different families of particular clans. This sense of family would also contribute to the unique and complex concepts and practice of family in South Africa as discussed in chapter 4.

With clan names valued as a strong marker of identity and family relations, it is then unsurprising that Siya wants to find out about her own identity given her mom's identity – "wena unje mna ndiyintoni ke ngoku?" [you are like this (you are this), so what am I then?]. Unfortunately, this inquiry and teaching between mother and daughter ends with the mother only talking about the difference in physical appearance of their teeth: "awakho tsolo awakho kaloku" [yours are obviously not pointy]. While Nosi has given Siya an answer in this regard, I do not believe she has fully understood Siya's question nor the connections/inferences she is trying to make between the physical appearance of teeth and the cultural identity/clan name. In the early stages of my fieldwork, during a recorded telephonic interview with Siyamthanda, one of the subjects we talk about is clan names, as analysed in Chapter 4. (Siya recites her clan names as well as her mother and father's (with her mother's help). Interestingly, when at the end of the interview I give her the opportunity to ask me any question she wishes, she asks me to tell her my clan name and

to recite my parents'. What is also interesting is that we use different words/phrases in calling for clan name recital. While I use ukuzithutha (literal translation being 'to transport oneself' she uses ukuzibonga (literally, to praise oneself), but essentially, they have the similar meaning. Also, I am familiar with both terms and understand them to be associated with regional language varieties, with 'ukuzibonga' in closer proximity to isiZulu.

Isiduko, even more than a last name, is a marker of one's identity among amaXhosa. It points to one's belonging and kinship, that is, identifying the clan lineage one belongs to as well as ukuzalana of family members. Ukuzalana is to know and relate to each other, and ikhaya marks the ways this relatedness extends between the demarcation of what constitutes a nuclear family (Masola, 2021). The word family translates to usapho in standardized isiXhosa; ifemeli is also acceptable and much more widely used by amaXhosa. This latter translation fits the translanguaging paradigm and is popularly used in urban contexts. Its use can be referred to as 'Xhosalising' – the practice of inserting isiXhosa prefixes (and/or a suffixes) to English or Afrikaans stems (Paxton & Tyam, 2010: 255). Translanguaging as both a concept and practice, is based on the understanding that the language practices of bi/multilinguals constitute one linguistic repertoire rather than the traditional notion viewing it as the use of two/more autonomous language systems that are socially constructed

- **Intersecting urban and rural linguistic and spatial repertoires**

Extract 6.4 below is the continuation of the interaction between mother and daughter that I have shown above. It presents another learning and teaching moment in the Maqoma households. Here, Nosi and Siya are talking about ukhuko, a straw mat and umkhukhu, a shack (informal dwelling made of corrugated iron):

Extract 6.4: 'ekhukhweni not emkhukhwini mani'

Original languaging	English translation
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Siya	yho! Ndiyakhumbula ngalo mini, sasihleli emkhukhwini , yho!	<i>[yoh! i remember on that day, we were sitting in the shack, yho!]</i>
Nosi	uyaphosisa, sasihleli endlini	<i>[that's not true, we were sitting in the house]</i>
Siya	emkhukhwini!	<i>[in the shack!]</i>
Nosi	uroundi	<i>[it is round]</i>
Siya	kuroundi and then Mama sandlala ukhukho	<i>[it's round (there) and then Mama we laid the straw mat] (I think she means the rondavel by kuround)</i>
Nosi	ekhukhwini not emkhukhwini mani, umkhukhu uyawazi ukuba yintoni? awuwazi umkhukhu?	<i>[on the straw mat not in the shack man, the shack do you know what it is? you don't know a shack?]</i>
Siya	ndiyawazi	<i>[i know it]</i>
Nosi	yintoni?	<i>[what is it?]</i>
Siya	yinto le kuhlala abantu kuyo	<i>[it's the thing that people live in]</i>
Nosi	abatheni?	<i>[what kind of people?]</i>
Siya	hayi umkhukhu lo sihlala kuwo	<i>[not the shack we sit on]</i>
Nosi	yintoni umkhukhu?	<i>[what is a shack?]</i>
Siya	umkhukhu, yintoni le nto wawusithi yiyo?	<i>[a shack, what did you say it was?]</i>
Nosi	umkhukhu nokhuko asiyonto eyi-one	<i>[a shack not a straw mat it's not the same thing]</i>
Siya	yintoni umkhuko?	<i>[what is a mkhukho (meshing umkhukhu and ukhukho)]</i>
Nosi	umkhuku! umkhuku yindawo yokubasela eyenziwayo, njenga- apha eKapa ngamatyotyombe la kuhlalwa kuwo as in amtyotyombe enziwa umkhuku , jonga pha kulo, kuloLwando nooThabiso, uyabona ukuba lityotyombe eliya? But ibizwa ngokuba ngumkhuku ihlala itools, kubaselwe xa kunethayo	<i>[a shack! a shack is a place for making a fire that gets made, like er in Cape Town, it's amatyotyombe (a synonym for shack in the urban township context) there ones people live in as in amatyotyombe are used as a shack, you see there at Lwando and Thabiso's, can you see that is a tyotyombe?]</i>
Siya	oh umkhuku!	<i>[oh a shack]</i>
Nosi	emkhukhwini	<i>[yes at the shack]</i>
Siya	(uyakhohlela)	<i>[(coughs)]</i>
Nosi	ukhuko yile nto yondlalwayo, xa sihlalayo sasihlala ekhukweni , kuthwe hayi Siyamthanda sis' Nandi nantsiya ilightening heyi, thula! umntana omuncu hlala phantsi! uNandi engoyiki, umamakhe nam ndinqond'ba hm andisoyiki, noMakhulu, uyogqadaza apha, ndakumbetha mna lo mnntanakho ndithi mama hayi ungakhupheli istress apha kumntanam ngenxa usoyika, beka lo mntana phantsi, lo, uyandidika lo mntana wakho ndithi hayi mama myeke mntana	<i>[ukhuko is the thing that gets laid down, when we sit we sit on the straw mat, and they would say sis Nosi there's lightening, hey keep quiet! silly child sit down! and Nandi would be so scared, er mother and me and I would think hm I'm so scared, and Makhulu, she is pouncing about I will beat this child of yours and I would say no mama don't take out your stress on the child just because you are scared (of the</i>

lightening), [put that child down, your child is irritating me and I would say no mama leave the child alone]

24 October 2024 - NOI

Ukhuko and umkhukhu are particularly interesting words that come up in this conversation between Siya and Nosi. Both ukhuko and umkhukhu are isiXhosa terms which refer to a straw mat and a shack, respectively. The appearance of these two words in the mother-child conversation becomes an incidental teaching/learning moment that is particularly noteworthy. This is because it speaks of the symbolic representation of the various spatial and linguistic environments Nosi and Siya traverse, between the township and the village, which requires unpacking and contextualisation in order to access meaning. Differently put, starting with umkhukhu – it is Siya who brings this word in their talk, not because she doesn't understand it but as part of her linguistic repertoire/vocabulary. She is remembering the day of the event that her mother is talking about and recalls her physical positionality – “sasihleli emkhukhwini” [we were sitting in a shack]. And Nosi disputes this with “uyaphosisa, sasihleli endlini” [that's not true/you are lying, we were sitting in a house]. They then go into an elaborate debate about what Siya means, and the difference is between ukhokho and umkhuku, which can easily sound like any person whose language and vocabulary knowledge is still developing. Believing that Siya is confused about which word is which, Nosi describes umkhukhu as a place that is built for making a fire when it's raining and for keeping tools. This is how umkhukhu is still and was used in villages or emaXhoseni, as the Maqomas call it. But Nosi also brings in the evolved understanding of umkhukhu ¹⁷including its new purpose in the current urban township context – a place that is built for the purpose of housing people. She cements the explanation by giving examples of homes that Siya knows

¹⁷ Umkhuku – (I think this information is NB for reader to understand – especially non-South Africans will not know what a 'shack' is and how it is used for emergency/low-cost housing given the lack of housing – in Europe a 'shack' could be a beach cottage for e.g. – I think the word you use here – shed (often used for storing garden equipment and could house animals) is more familiar) comment from Caro – see sidenote in the net page.

offering physical locations – “njengalapha eKapa ngamatyotyombe la kuhlalwa kuwo” [like here in Cape town it is the shacks people live in” and creating a vivid picture by pointing to homes that Siya would know “jonga pha kuloLwando nooThabiso, uyabona ukuba lityotyombe eliya” [look at Lwando and Thabiso’s house, do you see that that’s a shack?]. She then gives her a new word that is popularly used to describe the repurposed mkhukhu, ityotyombe. So, what Nosi seems to be doing is making connections between Siya’s rural and urban lived experience of having seen and experienced a similar structured building that is now used for a different purpose and even given another name (although the word umkhukhu is also still used – even in isiZulu. The latest isizulu word equivalent to ityotyombe would be umjondolo). From personal experience, the evolved use of a tool shed or fireplace to housing humans speaks to the indignity of shacks (see appendix J). In my village, umkhukhu is also used as shelter for animals in bad weather, particularly winter season in Cacadu when it snows.

Nosi also differentiates ukhuko as something that you lay out and that is used for sitting on “ukhuko yile nto yondlalawayo, xa sihlalayo saihlayo sasihlala ekhukweni” [ukhuko is this thing that gets laid out, when we sit we used to sit on a straw mat]. She then rests the debate by reverting to her story of remembering a time in her grandmother’s house. Nosi also gets into the typical in-character performative talk and voicing that this duo consistently shows when retelling of past events or telling iintsomi. What I am still trying to make sense of is why Nosi is disputing Siya’s understanding of umkhukhu and ukhuko. Siya’s utterances show that she does understand the difference because she clearly says they were sitting emkhukwini, in a shack, and then they laid ukhukho, a straw mat. I can understand her disagreeing with her daughter about whether she was “endlini” [in a house] and not “emkhukhwini” [in a shack] as Siya is claiming. But her insistence on clarifying the two terminologies tells that she is not necessarily disputing her daughter’s version of what the term means.

Notice also the morphological distinction between **umkhukhu** and **emkhukhwini** where the first word is just the noun, but with the change of prefix and suffix, the word then

signifies a place. This is a literate practice – Nosi uses her knowledge of isiXhosa grammar (she gives a synonym ‘ityotyombe’ (shack) to help her child differentiate between the umkhukhu and ukhukho, whose meaning she reinforces by stating the purpose of ukhukho and reminding Siya of the time they sat on it when there was lightening in their village. When Siya calls out the noun ‘umkhukhu’ showing that she now understands, Nosi proceeds to emphasise its use by changing the prefix and suffix of the word. Expressed in this way, it clearly sets apart the object as a place to go in rather than an object to sit on, as is the case with ukhukho. This extract shows the strength of Nosi’s command and advanced use of isiXhosa which is in a stark contrast to the constrained experience she claims that Siya has in her isiXhosa SAL at school. Teaching/learning languages in this way also challenges the literacy/orality divide discourse that positions written language and school literacies as superior.

Lastly, it is striking how monolingual the conversations that I have presented in this chapter are thus far. This contrasts with the view that African languages used in urban areas are always ‘mixed’ (e.g. Makoni et al 2010). The next extract shows another moment in ikhaya lakwaMaqoma where Nosi continues to intentionally use a fixed register to talk about the process of sieving milk and other subjects relating to farm life in their homestead in the Eastern Cape when she was growing up.

Extract 6.5: ‘uyayazi luyahluzwa ola bisi’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	... yena akazohphakama pha kweza ngubo, aqale avase izandla, avase ubuso, axukuxe aphinde athufele apha kula manzi, ndiyochitha phandle, ndiyothela eziko ela bisi, silihluze, uyayazi luyahluzwa ola bisi ligqib’osengwa, ulihluze pha wenzele iti umakhulu	<i>...and she would not get up under those covers, and wash hands first, and wash the face, and brush teeth and goes on to spit in the same water, and I would go spill it outside, and go pour milk in the kitchen, and sieve it, do you know that you the milk that’s just been milked gets strained, you strain it there and make tea for grandmother</i>
Siya	hm	hm
Nosi	ndiqonba ndifuna nalo ti leyo enebisi, kufuneka siphunge xa kugqibe yena,	and I would think of how I wish for that tea that has milk, and we would have to

	asinophunga ngoku naye, simgalelele siphinde nathi sigalele? Ha-a, kufuneka aqale aphunge umakhulu agqibe ikhaphu zakhe zingaphi? Three ke sisi, agqibe, ibancinci ke ngoku iyacutheka uyabona, ndivele ndiyikhalale ke mna, ndavele ndayiyeka iti enobisi, ndayonyanya, ndonyanya pha iimpukane ebuhlanti, namakhalane kule nto kule nkomo isengwayo , yho ha-a	wait to drink tea after she was done, we could not drink right then with her, we would pour for her and then pour for ourselves? no, we would have to wait for grandmother to finish her cups, how many? three sister (using it as an endearing word), and she would finish, and it would be getting smaller and smaller you see, and I would not want it anymore, and I ended up not wanting tea with milk, I got repulsed by it, repulsed there by the flies in the kraal, and flies in the kraal, and ticks on the thing on the cow that gets milked , yoh no ways
Siya	amakhalane amakhalane (esebeza)	<i>[ticks, ticks (whispering)]</i>
Nosi	amakhalane awuwazi?	<i>[you don't know ticks?]</i>
Siya	oh ndiyawazi ndiyawazi	<i>[oh I know them I know them]</i>
Nosi	ziintoni?	<i>[what are they?]</i>
Siya	eza zinto zithanda ukubasenjeni	<i>[those things that you usually find in a dog]</i>
Nosi	azikhonjeni mani amakhalane, //iintakumba//	<i>[ticks are not found in dogs, man, //flea//]</i>
Siya	//ziintsho-// (ziintsholongwane)	<i>[they are ger-] (they are germs)</i>
Nosi	mh? ziiintakumba	<i>[they are fleas]</i>
Siya	hayi zikhona eza nto zibaroundi pha	<i>[no, you do find those things there they are round]</i>
Nosi	zisenkomeni kaloku not enjeni, amakhalane soze uwabone enjeni	<i>[but they are found in cow not in a dog, you'll never see ticks in a dog]</i>

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Again, as with the way that home language socialisation and literacy play out in any contexts, it is still during a conversation that more words emerge and meaning making is negotiated. Nosipho continues to tell Siya about her childhood in the rural Eastern Cape and what their morning routine would be in her grandmother's house. Nosi had told me that she lived with her grandmother in her early years to allow for her mother to come up to Cape Town and seek work as a domestic worker. The picture she is painting is that of a village life and the daily chores and routines children would have to do in a household. Her family had a garden where they ploughed and kept various livestock. They, like many villagers at the time, also owned large fields that they would use to plough maize and

pumpkins for personal consumption and to store for later use in winter. Anyone who has grown up in this type of village (or farm) lifestyle would be familiar with “amakhalane”, ticks and “ukuhluza”, to sieve. Although part of Siya’s life also involves spending long school holidays (in the winter and summer) in her village family home, her mother seems to be aware that Siyamthanda would be less immersed in the daily practices of their Eastern Cape village home than she was. This is probably because Siya has spent less time in their rural homestead than Nosi did as a child. Nosi has had the inverse experience of her daughter: she lived in the village but spent her school holidays in her other home, her mother’s urban township house in the Western Cape.

It is then fitting that Nosipho does not seem to think Siyamthanda would know the practices around the handling of freshly milked milk, including the word *ukuhluza* nor be knowledgeable about insects that relate to the lives and upkeep of livestock. Part of the story she is telling Siya involves mentioning that they used to bring milk to *eziko*, the kitchen, which can be in a separate room or a part of a multifunctional hut with a designated cooking area. Given that Siyamthanda spends time in their village home bi-annually, at minimum (they sometimes go quarterly), she would be familiar with practices like *ukusenga* – milking livestock, for instance. But she may not necessarily know the details of how milk is processed (unless observed from neighbours) because they no longer keep livestock in their homestead, in *umzi wekhaya* in the Eastern Cape. Nosipho had also told me that they stopped this farming of livestock when her grandmother died because they would not always have someone looking after the homestead when everyone was spending time in their township homes in the Western Cape. In the conversation with Siya in the extract above, Nosi explains what they would do after milking the cow: “*ndiyothela eziko ela bisi, silihluze*” [and I would go pour the milk in the cooking area and sieve it]. In the process of explaining this practice to Siya, she realised that her daughter may not know how milking works even though she understood the terminology itself, which is *ukuhluza*. Consequently, she stops to ask: “*uyayazi luyahluzwa ola bisi ligqib’osengwa?*” [do you know that the milk that’s just been milked

gets strained?]. Like the other words that the mother-child pair bring up and discuss, I notice a trend of Nosi usually being the one stopping to ask questions or to ascertain understanding with isiXhosa terminology that is particularly linked to cultural practices.

Nosi goes into detail explaining what happens to the milk after it has been strained. That it is used for tea, and also that the grandmother is prioritised over the children who would only serve themselves tea with milk once grandmother had finished her tea. She also connects this story to the kraal where the cows would be milked, making mention of how she would be put off drinking that milk because of the sight of many flies that would be flying in the kraal. It is also during this conversation about the kraal that Siya's mother brings up the word amakhalane. Again, there would be flies in the kraal hence Nosi saying "ndonyanya pha iimpukane ebuhlanti" [repulsed there by the flies in the kraal]. Siya responds with repetition of "amakhalane amakhalane" [ticks ticks], which suggests she is thinking aloud, trying to remember what amakhalane are. Nosi picks up on Siya's repeated whisper of the word and intervenes with the question: "amakhalane awuwazi?" [you don't know ticks]. They then go on talking and debating about the characteristics of amakhalane and the animals they are found on. Up to this point, Nosi has been largely assuming the role of the knowledgeable other and Siya as the student. But what I find intriguing is that they are disagreeing about amakhalane – Siya is rejecting her mother's knowledge about amakhalane being found only on cows and not on dogs. She makes a strong assertion that they are found in dogs. She uses an accurate description of the physical appearance of amakhalane to support her argument protesting with "hayi zikhona eza nto zibaroundi pha" [no, you do find those things there they are round]. While both agree about the physical appearance and characteristics of a tick, Nosi is disputing amakhalane being found in dogs. However, Siya is correct to stand by her submission because amakhalane are blood sucking parasites that can bite dogs and cows alike, including humans. Further, I find the translation of the word amakhalane into English helpful in verifying that they are indeed also found on dogs because of the abundance of information about ticks that is written in English. Such subject matter information, and

non-fiction texts in general, is limited in African languages which makes searching for the meaning of terminologies difficult, and reliant on language users with lived experience and dictionaries. Determining who is correct between the two is not the object of my analysis, however, I find this debating of isiXhosa terminology between Nosi and Siya fascinating in so far as it positions Siya as also the knowledgeable one. Even though the interaction ended without resolving the debate, I argue that such incidental knowledge where learning is derived from the child's environment creates a language rich environment for Siya in which language, thus literacy development in isiXhosa, is a social and situated practice.

The spontaneous moments of learning around isiXhosa terminologies and practices did not only emerge during Nosi and Siya's naturally occurring interactions. They also occurred during the semi-structured interview with Siya. An example of this is a moment towards the end of an interview when I had asked Siya about her experience of being in the village, which I present as extract 6.6.

Extract 6.6: 'ndiyakwazi nosinda norhida'

	Original languaging	English translation
B	kunjani ezilalini, kusezilalini andithi?	how is it in the villages, it's in the villages, right?
Siya	ewe kumnandi iwesi sihlala ngaselwandle, ngeespecial days siyelwandle (elunxwemeni)	yes it's nice especially because we live close to the sea, we go to the sea (meaning the beach)
B	hayi tana andarhala, nihlala ngaselwandle?, yazi ezam ilali kome kome kome kome yho nina nisondele elwandle kanti	wow ho I wish for that, you live by the sea?, you know in my village it's dry dry dry dry yoh so you are close to the sea
Siya	siya ngeenyawo kukufutshane so siya ngenyawo	we walk there it's close so we walk
B	so niyagena enxwemwni?	so do you go in the beach
Siya	ewe singena ezihlathini (emahlathini) siphume	yes we go into the forests and get through
B	hmmm yho yiyo lo nto kumnandi kangaka?	hmmm yoh that's why it's so nice
Siya	ewe	yes

B	okheyi, so kengoku ngoDesemba nizaphinda nigoduke?, nizophinda niye eee- kuuu-ezlalini?	okay, so now are you going to return home in December? Are you going to go to the village again?
Siya	e'e, ndiyakwazi nosinda norhida!	yes, I even know to ukusinda and ukurhida
B	uyakwazi no'thini?	you also know to do what?
Siya	nokusinda nokurhida	also ukusinda and ukurhida
B	Hay'udlala ngam, umncinci kangaka ukusinda nokurhida?, khawundixelele xa u- urhida yintoni edityaniswayo xa uza kurhida?	No you are playing with me, being this little and knowing ukusinda and ukurhida?. Could you tell me when you do ukurhida what do you mix together when you are going to ukurhida?
Siya	ngumhlaba nobulongwe	it's soil and cow dung
B	okay, yho hayi upasile, xa usundayo, udibanisa ntoni nantoni?	okay, yho you have passed, when you do ukusinda, you mix what and what?
Siya	ndigalela ubulongwe namanzi qha!	I pour cow dung and water only!
B	okay, kusindwa phantsi okanye kusidwa eludongeni?	okay, do you do ukusinda on the floor or on the wall
Siya	phantsi	on the floor
B	okay, then kurhidwe phi?	okay, and do ukurhida where?
Siya	pha phantsi	there on the floor
B	okay, uyakwazi ukutyabeka?	okay, do you know ukutyabeka?
Siya	ha-a	ha-a
B	awukkwazi ukutyabeka, uzobuza umama ukuba yintoni ukutyabeka	you don't know ukutyabeka, you will ask mama what ukutyabeka is
Siya	(indistinct - peaking to her mother in the background)	(indistinct – speaking to her mother in the background)
N	(indistinct)	(indistinct)
Siya	ohhh,, undixelele!	ohhh,, she has told me!
B	ukuxelele nhe?	she has told right?
Siya	ewe	yes
B	okay ke, hayi ke andizobasakubuza,, mhlawumbi xa uphinde waya ezilalini uzopractiza ukutyabeka	okay then, no but I won't ask you,, maybe when you go to the villages again you will practice ukutyabeka
Siya	okheyi	okay
B	okheyi ke sisi enkosi kakhulu 'yeva?	okay then sisi thanks a lot okay?
Siya	okheyi	okay
B	umxelele umama ndizothetha naye ngoWhatsapp	You will tell mama that I will speak to her via WhatsApp
Siya	okheyi	okay
B	okheyi ke bhabhayi enkosi	okay then bye bye thanks

29 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

I had already established the family's traverse between their different homes between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape where they reside. I also had a good sense of the routines of the family from the interview I had with Nosi in the earlier days of my fieldwork. During this interview, I had made a note to ask Siya about her experience of living in the village, especially because I knew the December holidays were coming up soon. The conversation became focused on practices around housekeeping and maintenance that distinctively relate to life in the villages.

Like the moment during the same interview, presented as extract 4.4 in chapter 4, Siya continues this spontaneous display of her knowledge about information that I would not have thought to ask her. In the aforementioned extract, Siya initiated the theme about *iziduko* (clan names) and *ukuzithutha* (reciting one's clan names) through asking me to participate in this cultural practice while volunteering to showcase her own knowledge of the practice. Siya's participation in *ukuzithutha* or *ukuzibonga* showed her as encultured in the practice of knowing and performing her family identity through languaging. In this extract Siya presents herself as a competent member of the family and community in the village through bringing into our interview conversation her knowledge of the practices of *ukurhida* and *ukusinda*. The first thing that seems to have sprung to mind about going *ezilalini* (to the village) in December is what she does the practices she engages in there: "ndiyakwazi nosinda norhida" [I know even how to do *ukusinda* and *ukurhida*]. *Ukusinda* is the practice of patterned 'polishing' of the floors with a mixture of freshly collected cow dung and water as a way of managing the dust of mud floors. Like *ukurhida*, the practice requires freshly collected cow dung but mixed with mud, which then gets smeared on the floor by hand for levelling purposes as a way of maintaining the integrity of the floor. Differently to *ukusinda*, it is done less regularly and is the first maintenance layering of the floor, before *ukurhida* which is a daily household chore mainly designated for children and youth. Having grown up in an urban area but frequenting my family rural homestead during school holidays and some weekends during my childhood, I did not expect that Siya would know the details of these practices. And I was further surprised considering

how many homes in the villages tend to install more modern floors. This is perhaps why I immediately started quizzing her as I was truly impressed that she had brought up these terminologies. Her responses quickly confirmed that she knew what these terminologies referred to were, explaining the ingredients that are mixed together for ukurhida as “ngumhlaba nobulongwe” [it’s soil and cow dung], and explaining her process of preparing a mixture for ukusinda as “ndigalela ubulongwe namanzi qha!” [I pour only cow dung and water only!] sounding very confident and a proud of her response with the rising intonation in her voice. Furthermore, Siya confirms that these practices are done on the floor, which is different to another practice requiring the use of the same ingredients in varying ratios, ‘ukutyabeka’ that I ask her about in the end, which is applied to the walls of a mud house.

Even though these practices are not as prevalent as housing structures and homesteading practices shift with time, some families do still keep them up either out of necessity or for the enjoyment of the unique aesthetic this brings to structures like the rondavel (round hut) that has a thatched roof. This experience and knowledge also position Siya as a competent member of ikhaya lakwaMaqoma, encultured in the linguistic and cultural practices of rural life while simultaneously performing the linguistic identity associated with urban township life and the suburban Anglonormative practices of her English medium school. For Nosi and Siya, this can be attributed to the multiple worlds they traverse, and the intersection of spaces and linguistic resources – between the virtual and the physical, between home and school and between the rural and urban. The practices of traversing these spaces are typical among Black African languages speaking families in South Africa. Extract 6.7 is another example of these family moments which can also be seen as Nosi’s performance of what she deems valuable as she (perhaps unconsciously) influences what recording counts as data through her choice of moments to record and share with me. Nosi recorded naturally occurring interaction between herself and Siya in 6.7 below as part of a recording about her experience of storytelling with her own grandmother. Through this performance, the

word ukuthintitha comes up, which creates another teaching and learning moment for Siya, connecting to a real experience of the terminology.

Extract 6.7: ‘umntu othintithayo uyamazi?’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	... amyeke umakhulu aphume xa ephumile athi Bonginkosi !! makhulu Yiz’apha! ,, wayithintitha ke umakhulu wam ethetha njengomntu othintithayo uyamazi unjani? Uthetha njengomama kaKwazi	<i>[my grandmother spoke like- do you know what a stuttering person is like (sounds like)? they speak like Kwazi’s mother]</i>
Siya	ewe	<i>[ewe]</i>
Nosi	athi i-i-i- =	<i>[and says the-the-the-]</i>
Siya	yhe-yhe-yhe-yhe- Themb’nkosi yi-yi-yizapha, yizapha’	<i>[hey-hey-hey-hey- Themb’nkosi co-co-come here, come here!]</i>
Nosi	‘izapha ntombazana’, eze, u-ulingise obo buso, u-ulingise obo buso, u-uzoyikisa amathole ph-pha e-entlanti’	<i>[‘come here girl’, then she comes, a- and fix that face, a- and fix that face, you- you will scare the calves outside th-there at- at the kraal’]</i>
Siya	thetha kakuhle Mama mani!	<i>[speak properly man Mama!]</i>
Nosi	(laughs) hayi ndilinganisa uMakhulu wam tyhini	<i>[no I’m imitating Makhulu (can’t you see)]</i>
Siya	Mama thetha kakuhle, uyabona ke!	<i>[Mama speak properly, you see now!]</i>
Nosi	awundiva ‘ba ndithini?	<i>[you can’t hear what I’m saying?]</i>
Siya	ewe!	<i>[yes!]</i>

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Ukuthintitha means stuttering. This word comes up in the same conversation of that Saturday morning where Nosipho and Siyamthanda are talking about Liso’s intsomi from the previous night and reminiscing about iintsomi in general. Nosipho is telling Siyamthanda about how the evenings of storytelling would go during her childhood in her Eastern Cape village with her makhulu, Siyamthanda’s great grandmother. She is both bringing another terminology into the conversation and illustrating the word with a performance. This is a further example of the performative talk that is a prominent literate practice in the Maqoma household which appears in instances of retelling past events – be it iintsomi or general experiences:

In this instance, Siyamthanda understands the meaning of the terminology that her mother is introducing and confirming understanding. When she is asked “umntu othintithayo uyamazi unjani?” [*do you know what a stuttering person is like?*] to which she responds with “ewe” [yes]. But before Siyamthanda could answer, Nosipho proceeds to illustrate ukuthintitha by giving her an example of someone othintithayo – *who stammers*, which would have helped Siya to figure out the meaning even if the word was completely new to her. Ordinarily (as observed in similar moments) Nosi would also demonstrate through performance, and she was intending to do this, but Siyamthanda interjected while she was busy saying “athi’ [and (she) would say...]. So, Siya illustrates a stutter with “yhe-yhe-yhe-yhe Themb’nkosi, yi-yi-yizapha, yizapha!” [he- he- he- hey Thembinkosi, co- co- come here, come here!]. Not only does she imitate her great grandmother’s stutter, but she also takes on her makhulu’s voice in a performative act as her mother usually does. In this case she takes a cue from her mother both in voicing and script – Nosi has already introduced what her makhulu talked about and the ‘character is her ‘story’ in the opening lines of this extract. Nosipho then carries on from Nosi with the imitation of the stutter, retelling the true story and performing in her grandmother’s voice. From having listened to the tone of their voices in the audio, this is a very energetic and playful moment between mother and daughter, with mother sounding much more candid. At the end, Siya wants her mother to stop as if saying ‘she gets the point of the lesson’ when she says “thetha kakuhle mama mani!” [speak nicely Mama, man!] and repeatedly urges her “mama thetha kakuhle, uyabona ke!” [speak nicely mama, you see now!]. In the end both mother and daughter have participated in a literacy event that has involved storytelling, sharing of knowledge and play. And the learning of the word ‘ukuthintitha’ is in context. So, in this learning/teaching moment where Siya already has good understanding of the word that her mother is explaining and illustrating, it appears that Nosipho seems to still be showing a need to explicitly teach her daughter. Ironically, Siya gets irritated when her mother imitates the stutter of the person she is imitating.

Conclusion

Drawing from data that shows Nosi and Siya using a hybridized register around written schoolwork, I have shown how ikhaya lakwaMaqoma offers Siya the opportunity to draw from a wider linguistic repertoire to sort through a topic that she must write about and present monolingually at school. I have also shown the family to be drawing from a variety of oral practices, where Nosi uses overt and covert strategies such as discussing terminologies, giving examples and making illustrations as well as in-character voicing and performance. Importantly, the extracts presented in this chapter demonstrate how multilingual people can move between heteroglossic and monoglossic practices, both consciously and unconsciously. This contrasts with a belief that languaging of people who reside in the urban township is largely characterised by a hybrid register (Makoni et al 2010). Furthermore, Nosi draws from both their lived experiences and environments, teaching Siya local knowledge which she values, thus resisting Eurocentric conceptions of what counts as knowledge through her languaging and semiotic practices.

7. Resisting Ideologies of Language in Schooling

Introduction

Existing in stark contrast to the prevailing multilingualism in South Africa is the continuous dominance and valorisation of one linguistic form over others. This is particularly the case in official domains like schooling where English is a compulsory medium of instruction. My interest has been the lived experience of Black multilingual families and how they navigate the dominant language ideologies in society. The focus in this chapter is examining the family's resisting of language ideologies in schooling. In South Africa, English (or Afrikaans in selective cases) is a compulsory medium of instruction from the fourth grade onwards. This is regardless of whether a child is in a historically white public school where the transition from home language to English medium of instruction does not apply; or the children are in historically Black schools where they start with their African languages as medium of instruction and make a complete switch in the fourth grade. This aspect of language socialisation is particularly important considering the scarcity of research that explores African language speaking parents' language interests, that is their expectations and desires relating to the use and teaching of African languages in education. According to Kamwangamalu (2003) closely related research in this regard tends to superficially focus on 'language choice' in studies that are looking at the 'language shift' - African languages to English - among families in urban South Africa. Firstly, picking up the discussion from the previous chapter of the concept of 'language choice', I trouble the idea of parents' choice of school as necessarily reflecting language choice in a context of limited quality schooling and the lack of bilingual options. This is particularly in consideration of the history of language in schooling and the monolingual and Anglonormative way in which the national language policy is implemented. Secondly, I explore the interactions between mother and daughter about language at school, through reflecting on Siya's experience of isiXhosa SAL juxtaposed with her language experience in the home environment/ekhaya. I will argue that there is a huge mismatch between these environments, and as such, I present

the neglect of African languages in schooling as an issue of social justice. Further, I will explore the position of English medium primary schools on African language (and bilingual) education through examining the SAL isiXhosa curriculum, Siya’s isiXhosa workbook and the school language policy. Lastly, I will make an argument about the integrated way in which curriculum design could work with an indigenous Multilingual Education and a Sociocultural approach to African language learning that would be more meaningful.

Prologue: questioning language hierarchy in schooling

In chapter 4, I presented Nosi’s questioning of the language hierarchy in Siya’s school as the preface for examining Nosi and Siya’s language ideologies and the way they use language to construct their family and home. Further, through this exploration, I identified the family’s languaging and ideologies, underpinned by the concept of ikhaya, as taking a southern perspective on multilingualism. This perspective recognises the harmonious co-existence and interdependence of language which, in practice, does not conform to the plotting of languages along a power hierarchy as imposed by northern conceptions of multilingualism. The data presented in extract 7.1 below is an extension of the conversation between Nosi and I that I presented in extract 4.1, chapter 4. Subsequent data presented in the same chapter showed the ways ikhaya lakwaMaqoma resist dominant language ideologies through their languaging and the construction of family and home, and by their very being. However, this chapter shows how that resistance comes from a point of systemic oppressions and marginalisation through their experience of language in Siya’s schooling. In extract 7.1 below, I bring into focus Nosi’s ideologies around the privileged status of English.

Extract 7.1: ‘iEnglish iyaqhubeka like ilevel igrades’

	Original languaging	English translation
Nosi	bendibona ndijonge le ncwadi_izolo ndizibuza lo nto ,, ukuba mani why i-	I was looking at this book yesterday asking myself that,, that, man, why is-

	cause ndijonga iEnglishi, iEnglish iyaqhubeleka [B:hm] like, ilevel igrades=	cause I look at English, English is progressing [B:hm] like, the level the grades=
B	=uyawubona umehluko	you see the difference
Nosi	eh'e uyawubona from grade R to grade 4	yes you can see it from Grade R to Grade 4
B	Hm	hm
N	But apha, umolo, igreetings yinto ebabeyenze//	but here, a hello, greetings is the thing that they were doing
B	Oko besithi molo kuGrade R	they have been saying hello since Grade R
N	Molo molweni, ngubani igama lam, yintoni le yintloko, oko from grade R up to now, bade bayophuma kuGrade 7 cause ndikhumbula <u>bendincedisa</u> u- <u>uMichelle</u> (pseudony), nhe?	hello hello everybody, what is my name, what is this this is a head, all the time since Grade R up to now, until they finish Grade 7 'cause I remember I was <u>helping Michelle</u> (pseudonym), right?
B	Eh'	Eh'
N	Ene- way'inantoni? Ene-oral or something yesiXhosa but naye it was about ibody parts	And what did she have? She had an oral or something concerning isiXhosa but for her too it was about ibody parts.

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This extract begins with Nosi pointing at the isiXhosa Grade 4 workbook “le ncwadi” [this book] that I had been viewing with Siya and taking photographs of each page. She continues taking a critical approach to the language status quo in Siya’s school, commenting on how languages are not being treated equally. This seems to have been a concern which she has an internal conversation with herself about. Like the emphatic way she agonises in “mbuzo wam wena Babalwa why” [my question Babalwa (is) why], presented in extract 4.1, Nosi continues to point at the problem using a questioning approach in this extract. In the same opening turn, she shows this questioning approach with the expressions “ndizibuza” [asking myself] and “mani why” [man why] to show her indignation. Interestingly, she gets her questions across in isiXhosa and using a translingual register that includes English. Having observed Nosi and Siya languaging in this way, where they unconsciously offer an interpretation of what they say in another language even when this is not required, I argue that they used this as a habitual strategy to emphasise a point they have just made. Evident here is that Nosi is pushing back

against the language hierarchy that is perpetuated by the privileging of English over isiXhosa. Previously (extract 4.1) Nosi mentioned that it is differing levels of teaching languages she is questioning. Here she justifies her concern with her observations of learning and teaching in English advancing consistently through the grades, shown by the utterance “iEnglish iyaqhubeka like, ilevel igrades” [English is progressing, like the level the grades]. She uses the conjunction ‘because’ and ‘like’ (used as an informal conjunction in this instance) to connect her reasoning for questioning the visible development of English compared to what she sees in Siya’s isiXhosa workbook.

The example she gives about the content taught in isiXhosa, which she claims does not progress like English is the elementary teaching of language which has focused on greetings from grade R up to grade 7 in Siya’s school. She confirms that there is a difference in what is being taught in English from one grade to the next when I latch on to her thought about there being a difference, and her response is that there is a noticeable difference from Grade R to Grade 4– “e’e uyawubona umehluko from Grade R to Grade 4”. Additionally, she recalls a time when she was assisting a learner in Grade 7 with her isiXhosa schoolwork and remembers how the topic was still naming parts of the body. Accordingly, she concluded that learners in Siya’s school learn about the body parts theme repeatedly from Grade R to Grade 7: “oko from grade R up to now, bade bayophuma kuGrade 7” [all the time since Grade R up to now, until they finish Grade 7]. She makes this determination from her experience with Siya starting Grade R at the school, Siya’s Grade 4 workbook, along with her experience assisting an older child (Michelle) who was doing the same work as Siya in a later Grade, thus showing a lack of progression in learning and teaching of isiXhosa as a school subject.

Essentially, Nosi is concerned that the level at which isiXhosa is taught is unequal to the other two languages offered at Siya’s primary school. It is currently taught at Second Additional Language (SAL) level from what I’m told by the family and judging by the time allocation of 1 hour of isiXhosa per week, which fulfils the CAPS stipulations for SAL. But considering that isiXhosa is placed in the ‘attitudes and values’ section of the report card,

with the learner graded on their 'enthusiasm and participation' rather than given a mark or numerical grade as per assessment norm for the other school subjects, it may not even be formally offered as SAL. As such, I would question the school's commitment to the teaching of isiXhosa—that is, developing the learners' abilities to meaningfully converse in the language, at minimum, and imagining it as a valuable resource in the futures of their learners, beyond their schooling years.

Seeing how troubled Nosi is about the lower positioning of isiXhosa and slower pace of progression of isiXhosa compared with the English and Afrikaans subjects on offer is quite telling of her language ideologies, and her awareness of the social injustices that exist in schooling relating to languages. She is clearly challenging the normative language hierarchy in the school. Moreover, her stance is also indicative of her valuing of isiXhosa. It is unsurprising that Nosi questions the sufficiency of the depth of isiXhosa that is taught to Siya in her class as a family who speaks isiXhosa at home along with the cultural practices and knowledge about their identity and environment that the language carries. This also makes me reflect on why Nosi had sought me out to help Siya if she could help her herself, seeing that she was already assisting a Grade 7 child with their work in isiXhosa. Perhaps she was seeking community, knowing my expertise in language studies and advocacy work around African languages, including having two children in the school who are having the same experience with isiXhosa as Siya. In the end we did collaborate to start an after school multilingual club that sought to enrich children's literacy in isiXhosa as a start. The club had to come to an abrupt halt in March 2020 because of the outbreak of COVID 19. This is why Nosi's family became a strong consideration of potential participants for my study along with two other families who were volunteer co-facilitators at the club. Moreover, understanding the relationship between practice and ideology, I also analysed the language policy in Siya's school to determine the elevated status of English that Nosi has been repeatedly challenging. Importantly, the evidence presented in the previous chapters about the ways the family is immersed in rich literacy practices as a socialising tool into isiXhosa language and knowledges is perhaps one

driving factor for Nosi's critical stance on their experience with isiXhosa. IsiXhosa SAL is clearly not intended for an isiXhosa speaking child. The question then becomes who is the idealised child that the isiXhosa offering, as experienced by Siya in her school, designed for? In the next section, I examine the school language policy to gain further insight into the ideologies underpinning the naturalised language hierarchies that impact on Siya's literacy development in languages at school.

Anglonormativity as the status quo

At the inception of this study, Ashford Primary School had no standalone language policy document as is the trend in many public schools in South Africa. However, a language policy clause appeared in their Admission Policy, which can stand as a determinant for whether a prospective learner will be accepted into the school. In extract 7.2 below, I show a condition in the admissions policy that outlines criteria for selection of learners into the school, where English proficiency is stated as the minimum requirement.

Extract 7.2: 'the medium of instruction is English'

SECTION 3. IT IS THE POLICY OF THE SCHOOL THAT:

No applicant will be refused admission on grounds of race, gender, culture, language, religious belief or financial circumstance. This aspect of the admissions policy will be applied with due cognizance of the following:

- A. Whereas it is determined that the school is a single-sex school, only members of the designated gender will be admitted.
- B. Whereas it is determined that the medium of instruction is English, applicants applying to the school in preference to a school where the language of learning and language of teaching matches the home language of the applicant, need to be sufficiently proficient in English so as not to prejudice their ability to progress academically.

Ashford Primary School Admission Policy, 2018 (see appendix F)

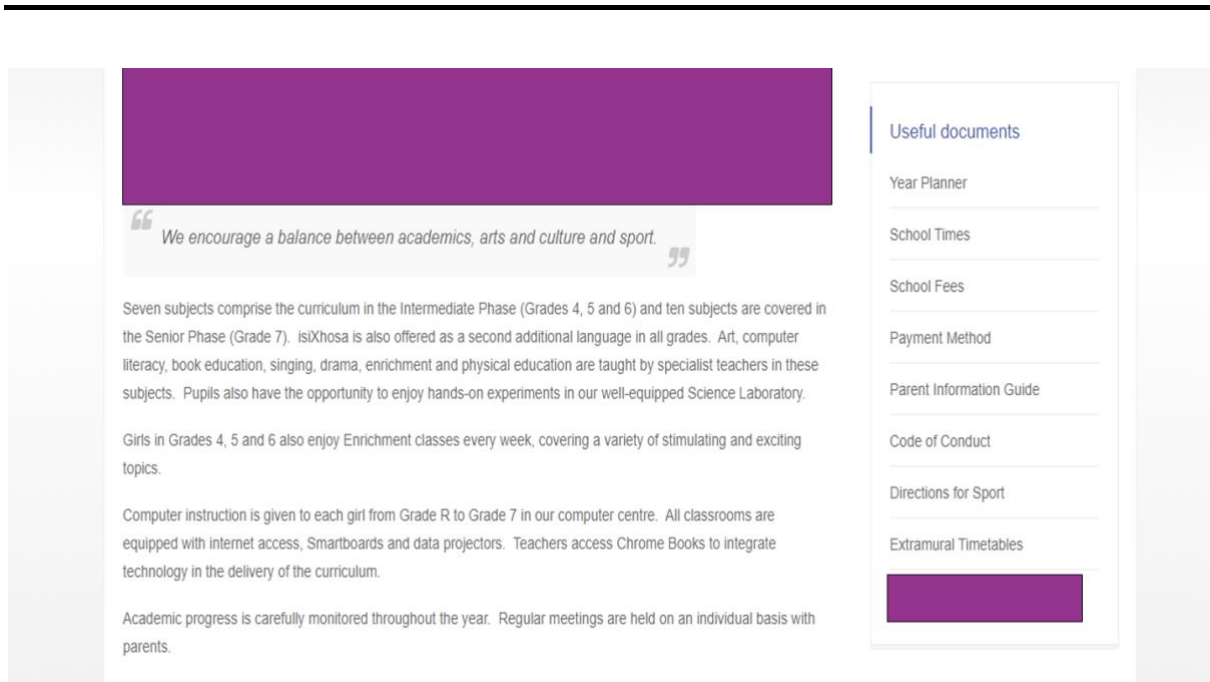
This language policy clause within APS's admission policy is not atypical in historically white SA schools. It is partly a declaration of the school's medium of instruction to prospective parents. Implied in this is the selection criteria for admission, with an embedded justification for a possible rejection of candidates who are deemed insufficiently proficient in English. Even though the school offers two additional languages, Afrikaans First Additional Language (FAL) and isiXhosa Second Additional

Language (SAL), there is no declaration of the school's position regarding this. As such, I argue that there is no consideration of prospective students' range of language repertoires beyond English. Thus, I also argue that the schools' language ideologies and practices are monolingual, and largely at odds with the local context, where South Africans are bilingual at minimum. Additionally, the school's selection criterion of language is certainly removed from the ideals and declaration of the national language policy. Based on the lack of mention of isiXhosa and consideration for multilingual children (largely African languages speaking children) in this language policy clause, it seems clear that the idealised child for such a language offering would not be an isiXhosa speaking child. The policy privileges English over any other language and requires that a child must be already proficient in English to be considered for admission in the school. While section 3 of the policy shown above begins with a claim that an applicant to the school will not be prejudiced on language among other diversities, the criteria set forward for admission being "need to be sufficiently proficient in English" directly contradicts the policy determination to be inclusive. The justification for learners to be sufficiently proficient in English is apparently in the interest of not wanting to prejudice their academic progression. However, one wonders what the implications are for isiXhosa speaking families who wish to send their children to this public school for whatever reason. Furthermore, I find intriguing that this measure of proficiency is directed to parents of a certain demographic of families who have shown preference for the school, while knowing that the language of learning and teaching is mismatched with their home language. The statement "...preference to a school where the language of learning and teaching matches the home language of applicant, need to be sufficiently proficient in English", thus suggests that the parents made the choice to come to an English medium school and the onus is on them to prepare their children to be proficient in English by the time they start Grade R at 6 years. And of course the measure of "sufficiently proficient" remains a grey area.

- **Positioning of isiXhosa in Siya’s school**

On the school website’s Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) tab, the school mentions all the core subjects that their curriculum comprises of and proceeds to mention that “*IsiXhosa*” (incorrectly capitalised initial “I”) is also offered as SAL in all grades. Writing about the academic offering in the Foundation Phase (Grades R-3), however, they note only English, Afrikaans, Mathematics and Life Skills as their core subjects with no mention of isiXhosa. Extract 7.3 below is a screenshot of the school website that shows the subjects for Intermediate Phase, which starts in Grade 4, the Grade that Siya is in. In this extract I focus on how the school positions isiXhosa.

Extract 7.3: School website



What is mentioned first is the academic programme which includes subjects in the intermediate phase. There is also mention of the number of subjects offered in Grade 7. IsiXhosa is mentioned next giving an indication to prospective parents who wish to apply to the school that this subject is available across all grades. While this advertising positions the school as inclusive in a context where few historically white schools offer

an African language, the level which isiXhosa is offered at is telling of the status it holds in the school. And more critically, isiXhosa being counted separately to the subjects in the IP curriculum is further evidence of its low value: it is grouped together with additional activities listed as being taught by specialist teachers outside the main curriculum. This is evidence by the isiXhosa teacher at Siya's school being referred to as a 'specialist' teacher (as named in the school year book – see appendix K) who teaches all the grades in the school – Grade R to 7. This together with the language clause in the school's admission policy that makes no mention of isiXhosa (nor Afrikaans) shows the lack of value ascribed to isiXhosa at Siya's school.

Siya's experience of the entrenched language hierarchy in curriculum

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the hierarchy privileging English (and to some extent Afrikaans) is very apparent in the South African schooling system. It is evident in the hierarchical categorising of languages into school subjects termed Home Language (HL), First Additional Language (FAL) and Second Additional Language (SAL) where more teaching time is allocated to a language at HL level, followed by SAL, while learners receive marginal exposure to a language offered as SAL. Unlike in historically Black schools where learners will take an African language as Home Language subject (while everything else is taught through English), in my case study, Siya has no option to take isiXhosa as HL but only as a third language, or SAL. To show how the family makes sense of this language dynamic, I present an extract from onsite participant-observation interactional data, which was recorded on the commute to umzi kaNosi and at the home itself. Nosi and Siya ordinarily commute between Siya's school and the township by bus or minibus taxi. But on this day, they allowed me to transport them home as a way of letting me in on their afterschool-home routine.

- **IsiXhosa as a third language**

The context in which isiXhosa has been introduced as a third language at the school (SAL) is that of the national department of education introducing a draft policy framework

document called the Incremental Introduction of African Languages (IIAL) which was designed to address the neglect of teaching of African languages in schooling, and particularly in historically white schools who offered only English and Afrikaans. Historically white schools had been transforming their demographics by admitting African learners without consideration for the language transformation that needed to take place to include African languages as school subject (Christie & McKinney, 2019; Makoe & McKinney, 2014). The Western Cape province in which Siya's school is located particularly lagged behind in offering indigenous languages in historically white. Extract 7.4 below is taken from an official communication of the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) (called a WCED 'Minute') in 2017 to show how part of the mandate to promote the status of isiXhosa in a school such as Siya's was neglected.

Extract 7.4: Policy implementation plan directive

Expected of all provincial education departments to achieve universal implementation by 2020.

4. In 2014–2016 the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) implemented the IIAL policy (isiXhosa as a third language) with relative success in 10 schools that were not offering a previously marginalised official language, however the WCED is still required to implement the IIAL policy in approximately 900 schools by 2020]
5. Due to current budget constraints the WCED is looking at innovative ways to support the implementation of the IIAL policy and to meet implementation goals by 2020.
6. This notice therefore serves to invite all schools (that currently do not offer isiXhosa SAL from Grade 1 and schools that currently offer isiXhosa as an extramural subject) who are willing to implement this policy to complete and return the attached form to nontsikelelo.nyamza@westerncape.gov.za by 20 February 2017. Further correspondence will reach these schools before the end of the first term regarding the way forward.
7. Schools that volunteer to implement the IIAL at their own cost will be required to:
 - provide a teacher who can speak and teach isiXhosa; and
 - continue to offer isiXhosa SAL in Grade 1 after 2017 and incrementally introduce the subject each year to the next grade and be willing to extend the Grade 1 timetable by 30 minutes per day.
8. The WCED will provide schools with:
 - lesson plans for Grade 1 and learner books;
 - teacher training and planning in the month of February; and
 - ongoing support for the IIAL teacher.
9. Please note that the IIAL will be formally implemented from the second term only and that no additional funding or resources will be provided by the WCED.

The full document is available in Appendix G. Here I want to focus on three critical issues that are noteworthy in points 4, 6 and 9. Point 4 reports on the piloting of implementation of IAL in 10 schools with the target to roll it out to 900 more schools by 2020. While this was a “relative” success according to the department, the mentioning of offering isiXhosa as a third language is a compromise or even a diversion from the original language redress plan in the IAL which made provision for schools to offer two first additional languages. Secondly, the implementation plan was not made compulsory for schools as is evident in the statement “who are willing to implement this policy.” This statement positions the department as lacking political willingness to commit to a more substantial language redress plan. And part of the reason for this is a non-willingness to be tied to the budgetary demands of such an implementation, as seen in the categorical statement in point 9. that “no additional funding or resources will be provided”. While the department must take responsibility to support the school with funding and needed resources, I argue that elite public schools such as Siya’s which collect high tuition fees have a responsibility to prioritise promoting the status of isiXhosa in the same way as they do not rely on the provincial department to equip their schools with sports resources, or books in their libraries. The consequences of being unintentionally complicit in marginalising the language of isiXhosa speaking children (which is the second largest official language in the province), I argue contributes to the marginalisation of African languages, as can be determined from Nosi and Siya’s reflections and analysis of the language status quo.

While I am critical about the unchallenged status of English as the default ‘first language/home language’ for all learners in historically white schools, my focus in the thesis is starting with the ‘low hanging fruit’ – questioning the limited options for a choice to take isiXhosa as an FAL (at the very least) for isiXhosa speaking learners in elite primary schools. This would be consistent with what similar schools are already offering in provinces such as the Eastern Cape and Gauteng where I have previously resided. The Western Cape thus lags behind. The introduction of the Incremental Introduction of

African Languages policy draft was meant to assist any school who did not previously offer an African language with a plan for this language redress, which included historically white schools offering two additional languages at FAL level. However, without provision for financial support to the school to implement the policy, it became optional for schools to follow through with this language plan. The result of this was schools opting to introduce isiXhosa (particularly in the WC) at a lower level (SAL), a low stakes subject whose learners' assessment scores have no bearing for progression.

In the times I have spent with this family during my fieldwork, during the telephonic interviews or the recorded conversation on our drive from Siya's school to their house, both Nosi and Siya have always expressed their views about their experiences about language in Siya's with great openness. I have found fascinating the ways in which they shared the same thoughts about their dissatisfaction with isiXhosa at the school, often getting into long dialogues which were laced with dramatizations as they filled me in on their experience. It felt like I was listening to and watching a story at times with their great oracy skills and illustrative gestures. Extract 7.5 is an example of such an interaction between myself and the mother-child duo. It is from a transcript of audio-recorded participant observation data generated during one of my visits in umzi kaNosi. In this interaction Nosi discusses the details of Siya's learning experience in an isiXhosa classroom.

Siya has now settled in after just returning from school and has joined in my conversation with her mom. Siya had been telling us about what they are learning in isiXhosa at school. It appears that, four years later, they have carried on with the 'body parts' theme they would have started with in Grade R. This is one of the themes prescribed for isiXhosa SAL CAPS (in the Foundation Phase, which is called 'Mna nomzimba wam' (My Body) (DoE, 2016: 19). But in the fourth grade this content should have been established, and it seems the objective of this theme is to build on isiXhosa vocabulary and translation of the naming of parts of the body from English to isiXhosa.

Extract 7.5: ‘qho sifunda iibody parts’

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	qho sifunda iibody parts	<i>[all the time (,) we are learning about body parts]</i>
Nosi	ebenifundisa zona namhlanje? (kuthleke ixesha elide))	<i>[is that what she taught you today?] (long silence)</i>
Nosi	nini, ngeperiod yesiXhosa?	<i>[when, during isiXhosa period?]</i>
Siya	hm-m	
B	anibhoreki?	<i>[don't you get bored?]</i>
Siya	kuyabhoreka	<i>[it's boring]</i>
B	//nithini-//	<i>//[and what do you do-]//</i>
Nosi	//cause niyazazi// nizifundiswa njani nizifundiswa njani Siya , uyanibuzazintoni okanye zindawo ni, unifundiswa njani?	<i>//[cause you know them// how does she teach them to you how does she teach them to you Siya, does she ask you what they are or where they are?, how does she teach you?]</i>
Siya	uyachaza ukuba ‘what is a face?’ bubuso wonke umntu seyeyazi lo nto, athi masijonge encwadini zethu ujonge like ujonga incwadi xa ebuza what is a face ujonga encwadini ubuso, wenza lo nto (evakala edikiwe)	<i>[she mentions that ‘what is a face?’ it’s ubuso everyone already knows that, then she says we must look in our books like you look at the book when she asks what is a face you look in the book for ubuso, you do that] (sounding annoyed)</i>

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The conversation begins with Siya expressing annoyance about having to learn to name body parts repeatedly. Nosi raises a question/concern regarding learning/teaching of isiXhosa at Siya’s school. The first question comes across as a reflection on what she has observed. The second question is directed at Siya, but still concerns what unsettles Nosi. Nosi seems to be invested in the process of Siya’s learning and the approaches used. I notice this in the way she engages and asks questions about Siya’s school work – but this is also noticeable in the more informal learning and literacy practices I have analysed in previous chapters that happen at home. Repeatedly, she enquires about how the Grade 4’s are being taught isiXhosa “nifundiswa njani nizifundiswa njani Siya” [how do they teach you how are you being taught (these)], which is asked in terms of collective responsibility of the school. Interrogating the theme of ibody parts she asks if they are being asked “ukuba zintoni” [what they are (to name them)] or “zindawoni” [where they

are (to point at them)]. Nosi seems to be really interested in the specifics, seeking understanding of what goes on in the classroom, but also, Nosi's own knowledge and experience as a Grade R assistant teacher is likely informing her questions. As already mentioned, the Grade R CAPS Life Skills includes 'My body' as one of the topics to be taught in the first term (DoE, 2011: 16). Furthermore, I argue that her questions are indicative of her belief that the level of complexity of isiXhosa curriculum is not advanced enough for Siya considering the Grade she is in and her experience of learning isiXhosa (and through isiXhosa) at home. Siya gives her own account of her isiXhosa classroom environment through her humorous dramatization of how their teacher interacts with them. While the data presented in 7.6 below is not about the content of learning isiXhosa as is the discussion in 7.5, it gives a sense of Siya and her peers' interest and engagement during one of the lessons she re-enacts.

Extract 7.6: 'can I please go to the toilet'

	Original languaging	English translation
Siya	ngelo xesha akastricti sana, ubuza yintoni le what is an ear in Xhosa, ubuso, 'yey, look in your book!' uqond'ba wooo//	[that time she is so strict baby (used as a term of endearment), she asks what is this what is an ear in Xhosa, ubuso, hey, look in your book!' and you think wooo//
B	oh niyathethiswa?	[you get scolded?]
Siya	mh? 'jonga encwadini yakho!' ubone ethe swe aka-understandi kwa-	['look in your book!' you see them (one of the classmtes) being like this (gesturing blankness) they don't understand anything]
Nosi	(uyahleka)	(laughs)
B	ngubani ngumlungu?	[who is that, is it a white person?]
Siya	kwanegama elinye 'jong'encwadini yakho!' athi ningandiphazamisi ndizochopha [B: hmmm] 'titshalakazi', 'mh?', 'can I please go to the toilet?', 'hamba', 'titshalakazi', 'mh?', 'can I please go-?' 'hambani, 'yazi ntoni, hambani nonke!'	[even just one word 'look in your book!' then she says don't disturb me I'm going to sit down] [B:hmmm] ['teacher', 'mh?', 'can I please go to the toilet?', 'go', 'teacher', 'mh?', 'can I please go-?' 'you must all go, 'know what, you must all go all of you!']

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Responding to the specificity of her mother's question, Siya recreates a classroom scenario where she takes us through what they would be learning, how they would be learning and what the teacher would be saying. She powerfully uses 'performance' and 'voicing' to do this by getting 'into character' when she imitates her teacher's voice saying, "what is a face?" This kind of 'in character performance' and imitation is consistent with what I have observed from the family's language practices at home, whether they are telling intsoni or recalling past events. It is as if you are listening to a story or watching a performance. In addition to the performative nature of Siya's recount of a moment in the isiXhosa classroom, she presents her isiXhosa teacher as bilingual through characterisation of what she would say in class. Imitating the teacher's voice, Siya utters "yey, look in your book!" in the opening turn, followed by "jonga encwadini yakho" [look in your book] in the third turn. The teacher utters these words in English first, and then provides a spontaneous isiXhosa interpretation to the learner she is addressing, which is telling about the linguistic resources of the learners in the classroom. Siya confirms that the learner being addressed would not understand a single word of the isiXhosa utterance, despite having been in isiXhosa SAL lessons once a week for almost four years, "ubone ethe swe aka-understandi kwa- [they don't understand anything]". During Siya's Grade 4 year, children from isiXhosa speaking families were in the numerical minority as is typical in most historically white schools in the Western Cape. Additionally, Siya provides an interesting example of a classroom moment where the teacher appears to be irritated. Children asking to leave the classroom to use the toilet can also be interpreted as a sign of not being engaged in the lesson and wanting an excuse to miss some of the lesson, hence the teacher's irritation. (Extract 7.6):

Learner: Titshalakazi – [*Teacher*']

Teacher: 'Mh?'

Learner: 'Can I please go to the toilet?'

Teacher: [Hamba – [*Go*']

Learner: 'Titshalakazi – [*Teacher*']

Teacher: ‘Mh?’

Learner: ‘Can I please go-

Teacher: ‘Hambani, yazi ntoni, hambani nonke’ – [Go, actually, go all of you’]

The teacher’s irritation is expressed in her admonishment “hambani nonke” [that they should all just go], while also knowing that it is highly unlikely any of the children who are not isiXhosa HL would understand her.

After considering Nosi’s concerns regarding the lack of valuing and the SAL status of isiXhosa as a language in Siya’s school, and her questioning of the depth and sufficiency of this program for her child, I now turn to Siya’s isiXhosa workbook. The workbook is the only written record of teaching and learning activities in isiXhosa SAL that has happened in the first three quarters of her Grade 4 year. It takes us about five minutes to complete the ‘book walk’, and Extracts 7.7 and 7.8 below are from the audio-recorded discussion between me and Siya. Nosi also joins the conversation as she was working in the open plan kitchen facing us and within earshot. In the next extracts (7.7 and 7.8) Siya, Nosi and I view the workbook and discuss its contents.

Extract 7.7: ‘yintoni iisingular neplural?’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	okheyi ke sisi, apha benisenza ntoni?	[okay then sisi, what were you doing here?]
Siya	le?	[this one]
B	ha-ana unga- noba awundixelelanga zonke, ndifuna undicacisele u’ba yimisebenzi eniyenzayo	[no you can, its fine if you don’t tell me about everything, I want you to explain the activities you do]
Siya	hm, ngoku sasiqala sasisenza into yombuliso like u’ba kubuliswa kanjani (uthyila incwadi) [B: hm] xa besesisiya ke ngoku xa sisiya ke ngoku safunda iibody parts , [B:hm-hm] iindawo zomzimba , then safunda iplurals nesingular , plurals	[hm, when we were starting we were doing the greeting] (turning the page)[B: hm] [as we o on now when we go on now we learnt body parts] [B: hm-hm] [the parts of the body, then we learnt about prurals and singular, plurals

Nosi	yintoni iisingular neplural?	<i>plurals and and singular (correcting herself) [what is a singulars and a plural? (in isiXhosa)]</i>
Siya	huh?	
Nosi	isinye, natoni?	<i>[isinye (singular), and what?]</i>
Siya	mh?	
Nosi	isinye nesininzi (chuckles)	<i>[isinye (singular) nesininzi (and a plural)]</i>
B	jonga uyanqwala (chuckles)	<i>[see she is nodding]</i>

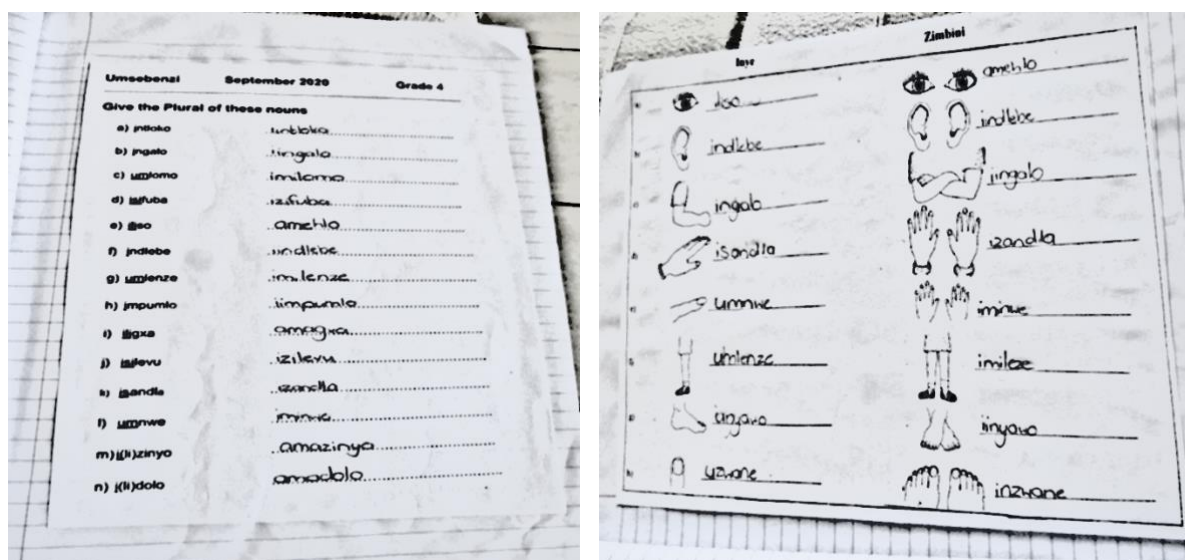
9 December 2020, Onsite Participant-Observation

In Extract 7.7, Siya takes me through the few pages of what they have done in isiXhosa class for the year. I was surprised at how little writing they had done for the year and wondered about how much of isiXhosa they had to put aside to make up for the contact teaching time that was lost during the Covid 19 pandemic lockdowns and accompanying school closures. While there was not much work recorded in the workbook, it served as confirmation of what Nosi and Siya have been irritated about: elementary level of teaching that focuses on one theme. However, this also surfaced another dimension of learning and teaching that they had not brought up in our earlier conversations, which is the teaching of grammar. Siya mentions this last in the list of things they learnt that year, in this extract, saying “then safunda iplurals nesingular” [then we learnt plurals and singular]. Nosi wanted Siya to demonstrate her knowledge of isiXhosa and asked her what singular and plural were. When Siya’s response shows confusion, Nosi leads her to the answer with “isinye nesininzi?” [isiXhosa terminology for singular and plural], to which we all responded with a chuckle while Siya nodded. Besides Nosi taking on the role of a teacher and a mother who is determined to enrich her child’s linguistic resources, which is a recurring practice, I also notice a trend of self-interpreting their utterance from one language to another in their language practice. An example of this here is requiring Siya to state the meaning of singular and plural in isiXhosa. This also happened with the naming of body parts, as well as in data presented in chapter 5, when Siya responded

with “uGoldilocks uNwelezelanga” when talking about what type of stories she likes retelling.

The focus on teaching grammatical structures such as singular and plurals are the different components that featured in Siya’s first three terms of her isiXhosa lessons in Grade 4. Identifying these from her workbook, Siya mentions learning greetings, names of body parts, singular and plural forms of words, vocabulary relating to the classroom and school, hygiene practices and pronouns. From the list of these activities, it is obvious that the teaching of vocabulary and various elements of grammar are valued components in Siya’s isiXhosa class. They do indeed appear in the workbook, mainly in the form of worksheets that learners completed and pasted into their books. Extract 7.8 shows a photograph of two pages from Siya’s isiXhosa workbook.

Extract 7.8: IsiXhosa workbook



9 December 2020, Home Observation Artefact – isiXhosa Workbook

Although this was towards the end of the year, there was nothing much written in the isiXhosa workbook which included a few pasted in worksheets such as those above. The learning content about naming and writing down the names of body parts corroborates

the conversations Siya and Nosi have been having about isiXhosa lessons, including Nosi's critique of isiXhosa lagging behind in comparison to what is taught and how the children are taught in English across the primary school grades. Part of Nosi and Siya's grievance with the low level of isiXhosa taught, I argue, lies in the contrast with the rich isiXhosa language and literacy practices that she is being socialised into ekhaya, which position language and literacy as social practice, and where the learning content is very much contextual. The example of the worksheets grade 4 learners must complete, as presented in extract 7.8, show language learning as decontextualised focusing more on building knowledge of isolated vocabulary items rather than facilitating social use of language, which could promote conversation between learners.

There are also some similarities between home and school language and literacy practices. An example of this is seen in how translation is used both in the isiXhosa classroom and in Nosi and Siya's teaching and learning moments in their everyday talk. How translation differs in use between these two spaces is that learners generally learn vocabulary in isolation or in construction of sentences at best at school, while in the home, the focus is on contextualised meaning making. Referring to the extract below (from chapter 6, extract 6.3), we see a conversation that starts with Siya noticing her mother's incisors revealed when she is laughing which Nosi turns into a teaching and learning moment:

Nosi	kaloku ndingumaMbamba, la ngamabamba, uyayazi lo nto? we call this, la amazinyo amabamba ngesiXhosa , so nam ndingumaMbamba so then made ke ngoku ayakroba, oomaMba mba bathi hi!	<i>[the thing is, I am MaMbamba, and these are incisors, do you know that? we call this, these teeth, amabamba in isiXhosa, so (like these teeth) I am MaMbamba so then they are long as such they stick out, ooMaMbamba (personifies incisors) are saying hi!]</i>
Siya	wena unje mna ndiyintoni ke ngoku?	<i>[you are like this (you are this), so what am I?]</i>
Nosi	awakho tsolo kaloku awakho, ndithi b endizonenzela enye instomi etsha, halala	<i>[yours are obviously not pointy, I am saying I was going to tell you another new story, (ululates)]</i>

24 October 2020 - NOI

Firstly, there is unconscious switching between the two languages in Nosi's talk. The focus is on giving her daughter an explanation about her teeth and as such she flexibly draws from the nomolanguages in her repertoire, isiXhosa and English, to make meaning. She assumes the role of her teacher with her methodical explanation, firstly (I would imagine) pointing at her incisors and offering Siya the appropriate vocabulary in isiXhosa for the teeth in question. She explicitly mentions the language – while there is no evidence in the interaction to confirm whether Siya knew the name of the teeth in English, her school language, it can be assumed that the word incisors may be familiar considering the English curriculum for the Foundation Phase. Furthermore, she re-enforces the new vocabulary (a noun) by connecting with the clan name “ndingumaMbamba” [I am Mbamba] and cements it with describing the action they make “ayakroba” [they stick out]. And with playfulness in her voice and rising intonation, she personifies the teeth to make a point about the action “ooMaMbamba bathi hi!” [the MaMbambas are saying hi]. I classify this moment in their interaction as incidental learning. Nosi had not planned this teaching moment but saw it as an opportunity to teach new isiXhosa vocabulary using her rich isiXhosa linguistic resources, which incorporates her sociocultural context and cultural identity. Moreover, I argue that Nosi's approach to teaching isiXhosa is rooted in the sociocultural concept of language as well as wholistic language learning. It is not only during incidental moments that Siya is engaged in language enriching moments at home. This practice is also evidenced by the literacy practice of storytelling that I have demonstrated in previous chapters is so endemic in the Maqoma family – both fictional and non-fictional.

The family's language desires

Akin to families often being conflicted between succumbing to political impositions and public education demands and their desire for cultural loyalty and access to languages with linguistic capital (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013), African families like ikhaya lakwaMaqoma often negotiate a desire to connect to cultural and family linguistic resources of their languages along with the material benefits of proficiency in many

languages. In the next section I present the family’s desire around rich orality and literacy, participating in language as socially situated practice and the desire for multilingual identity alongside their isiXhosa linguistic identity.

The extract below is from a telephonic interview with Siya, about two months into my fieldwork. I had already interviewed her mother some weeks prior and had received a series of audio-recorded naturally occurring interactions from the Maqoma family. In this extract I examine the details of Siya’s account of her experience of isiXhosa in Grade 4 and a brief reflection on the Grades prior. I also ask her to reflect on that experience and express her language desires for herself and her peers.

Extract 7.9: ‘... qha into edikayo qho sifunda sifunda ngeebody parts’

	Original languaging	English translation
Babalwa	and then eAPS niyasenza isiXhosa?	<i>[and then at APS(Ashford Primary School) do you do isiXhosa?]</i>
Siya	ewe siyasenza sisenziswa nguMisi Qunta	<i>[yes we do it we are taught by Miss Qunta]</i>
Babalwa	okay sinjani khawundibalisele ngeeklassi zesiXhosa	<i>[okay ow is it can you tell me about isiXhosa classes?]</i>
Siya	simnandi qha into edikayo qho sifunda ngeebody parts (screetching sound) everyday	<i>[it’s nice but the annoying thing (is) all the time we learning about body parts]</i>
Babalwa	yima, yima kancinci, Siya uyaqhawuka sisi, into edikayo kuba nifunda ngantoni? nifunda ngeebody parts //everyday//	<i>[wait, wait a bit, Siya you are breaking sisi¹⁸, the annoying thing is that you are learning about what? Body parts?] //everyday//</i>
Siya	//ewe//	<i>[yes]</i>
Siya	like sometimes asizitshintshi iisubject, like senze ezinye izinto not ‘ba senze iibody parts like everyday	<i>[like sometimes we don’t change subjects, like do other things not do body parts like everyday]</i>
Babalwa	okay kha- khawundenzele umzekelo ngeebody parts, zinto- i’nto ekufuneka nizifundile esiXhoseni,, kwagrade four	<i>[okay ca- can you make an example for me about body parts, what are the things that you have to learn in isiXhosa,, in Grade 4?]</i>

¹⁸ Sisi – term of endearment derived from the English word sister. Often used to show respect and age seniority of a girl or women, but also commonly used to show respect or affection to younger girls

Siya	iliso, imehlo [B: hm] nomlenze nengalo nobuso nempumlo neminwe [B:hm] ne- nelento, neenzwane	<i>[eye, eye (meant to be amehlo – eyes)] [B:hm] and the leg and the arm and the face and the nose and fingers] [B:hm] [and and thingy, and toes]</i>
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29 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

Siya reports enjoying her isiXhosa classes but as also seen in Extract 5.5 above, she expresses frustration at how unstimulated she is by experiencing repetitive content across grades – “simnandi qha into edikayo qho sifunda ngebodinye” [it’s nice but the annoying thing (is) all the time we are learning about body parts]. Carrying on from the interview conversation in the extract 7.9, the extract below focuses on what Siya values as beneficial learning and goes on to explain her perspective of the benefits and use of isiXhosa within her school and among her peers. Also noteworthy, is the intersection between race and language in the views expressed by Siya relating to her ideas about learning isiXhosa.

Extract 7.10: ‘sikwazi maybe ukuncokola ngesiXhosa’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	zeziphi ezinye izinto orhalela u’zifunda? ufuna kutshintshwe ku- kongezwe ntoni?	<i>[what other things do you wish to learn? What do you want to be changed what must be added?]</i>
Siya	ndifuna like abelungu, nathi like nam, abelungu bafunde ukusibhala isiXhosa nosilento nosithetha nathi sifunde ukusibhala as abaXhosa nathi sisithethe like kakuhle	<i>[I want like white people, and us like also me, the white people to learn to write isiXhosa and to thingy to speak it and us to learn to write it as amaXhosa and us to speak it like well]</i>
B	oh ufuna like basithethe kakuhle, abelungu ba- ba- bayakwazi u’sithetha?	<i>[oh you want like them to speak it well, can white people s- s- speak it?]</i>
Siya	ewe bayasithetha nabo	<i>[ewe they speak it also]</i>

B	bayasithetha nabo,, basibhale nosibhala	<i>[they speak it also, and also write it]</i>
Siya	ewe	<i>[yes]</i>
B	qha (kodwa) uthini? uthi ufuna basifunde kakuhle?	<i>[you are only saying, you are saying you want them to learn it well]</i>
Siya	ewe//	<i>[yes]</i>
B	//kanjani? ungandenzela umzekelo	<i>[how? can you make an example for me]</i>
Siya	laykhi laykhi sikwazi maybe like ukuncokola ngesiXhosa	<i>[like like for us to know how to maybe like converse in isiXhosa]</i>

29 September 2020, Telephonic Interview

Like her mother, Siya values the dominant literacy practices - the ability to read and write in isiXhosa. Both orality and literacy are valued at home when learning isiXhosa terminologies, stories and other knowledge, and Siya seems to recognise their power. The written forms of literacy appear in Nosi's use of digitally enabled languaging analysed in previous chapters. Intriguingly, Siya explicitly wishes that her white peers and her Black peers (who are mostly English home language speakers) would learn to write isiXhosa "ndifuna like abelungu, nathi like nam, abelungu bafunde ukusibhala isiXhosa nosilento nosithetha nathi sifunde ukusibhala as abaXhosa nathi sisithethe like kakuhle" [I want like white people, and us like also me, the white people to learn to write isiXhosa and to thingy to speak it and us to learn to write it as Xhosa people and us to speak it like properly] . Not only does she want to improve her proficiency in isiXhosa, but she values the possibility of being able to converse with her peers in school – to talk together, something she suggests is missing. By particularly singling out her white peers, Siya introduces the subject of race and connects it to language. Implicit in her desire is an awareness of how few white people speak an African language and how isiXhosa proficiency is racialised and limited to Black speakers. Siya sees value in being multilingual and being multiliterate in isiXhosa. In the previous chapter I showed the family's language and literacy practices that value multilingualism and heteroglossia as well as monolingual use of isiXhosa both in their home and in what Nosi expects from the teaching of isiXhosa at school. She has a rich linguistic history and language repertoire –

which shows in her valuing and practice of both orality and literacies most valued at school. In extract 7.11 below, Nosi reveals their language identity, and (implicitly) shows how her expansive sense of family is factored into her desire for Siya to be fully competent in isiXhosa. Additionally, Nosi expresses the value of isiXhosa beyond family identity and the home domain.

Extract 7.11: ‘nezinye andizikhabi iilwimi’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	so khoke uthi- khoke ulentoze uthi gqaba-gqaba kutheni ufuna, kutheni ungonelisekanga ukuba esithetha qha?kutheni ufuna akwazi ukusi bhala no- nokusifunda?	<i>[so can you thingy can you briefly talk about why you want, why you are not satisfied by her only speaking it?]</i>
Nosi	so Babalwa kaloku isiXhosa apha ekhaya apha endlini [B:hm] lulwimi lakhe uSiya okokuqala, uyaqaphela? [B:hm] lulwimi lwakhe lulwimi lethu apha endlini, so uh nezinye andizikhabi iilwimi ke ngoku andifuni ukuthi sona sibesemve whereas ilulwimi lakhe umntwana wam akhule ngalo kufuneke ethethile, apha endlini akazukuthetha sisNgesi [B:hm] because naxa sigodukile ekhaya akho bantu bazi siNgesi [B:hm] so akazuthi ukuba athethe athethe nam qha and ke ngoku kufuneka ekwazile ukusithetha akwazi ukusibhala akwazi ukusifunda, uyaqonda? [B:hm] ngeli hlobo azazi ngayo ezinye iilanguages [B:hm hm] uyaqonda? [B:hm] yeyona nto ingandivuyisayo leyo, zonke ke ngoku ukuba kuyenzeka angazazi ngendlela eyi-one zonke , but ke ngoku kungabikho esalelayo especially le iyeyakhe	<i>[so Babalwa the thing is isiXhosa here at home here in the house [B:hm] it's Siya's language first of all, do you realise? [B:hm] [it's her language it's our language here at home (in the house), so uh even the other languages I don't reject so now I don't want that it to be behind whereas it is my child's language that she has been raised with that she has to speak, here at home (in the house) she is not going to speak English [B:hm] because even when we have gone home there are no people who know English [B:hm] so it can't be that when she wants to speak (isiXhosa) she only speaks to me and so now she needs to know how to write it and know how to read it, do you understand? [B:hm] [in the same way she knows other languages [B: hm hm] [do you understand? [B:hm] [that would be the very thing that would make me happy, all of them if its possible that she would know them in the same way all of them, but now there must be no one that lags behind, especially this one that is hers]</i>
B	oh so awufuni isalele kodwa yona ibe iyeyakhe	<i>[oh so you don't want it to lag behind while it is in fact hers]</i>
Nosi	ibe iyeyakhe hm, so imenza ukuba abe ngolomntu anguye//	<i>[while it is in fact hers, so it makes her the person that she is]</i>

B	//i-isa-//	<i>[the- the abi-]</i>
Nosi	sorry?	sorry?
B	isakhono sokubhala nokusifunda isiXhosa, ucinga ukuba sizoku- siza kumnceda nganto?	<i>[the ability to write and read isiXhosa, do you think it will- it will be of any use for her?]</i>
Nosi	kakhulu sisi, kakhulu, and abanyabantu bazi- abanye abantu baziimbongi abany'abantu bazi-, like ininzi into oyenzayo, babhala iincwadi [B:hm] so, akunyanzelekanga ukuba umntu ukuze abe zezo zinto kufuneka abe azi- uzakuzibhala ngeEnglish qha uya-understanda?	<i>[a lot sisi, a lot and other people are poets others are-, like there is a lot you do, they write books [B:hm] [so, a person does not necessarily have to know how to write in English only to be those things do you understand?]</i>
B	hm, ndiyakuva	<i>hm, [I hear you]</i>
Nosi	angakwazi kuba abengumbhali weencwadi akwazi abeyipoet ngesiXhosa sakhe ngelwiimi aziva comfortable xa ethetha zona [B:hm hm]	<i>[She can be an author of books and can be a poet in her own isiXhosa in languages that she feels comfortable (in) when she speaks them [B:hm hm]</i>
Nosi	uyabona	<i>[you see]</i>

26 July 2020, Telephonic Interview

Having asked Nosi to explicitly reflect on her dissatisfaction with her daughter's written isiXhosa proficiency, despite her oral competency, Nosi prioritises home language identity in her response - "lulwimi lakhe uSiya okokuqala, uyaqaphela?" [it's Siya's language first of all, do you realise?]. She repeats that it is her daughter's language and proceeds to claim a collective sense of language identity. She uses the word "apha endlini" [here at home], which can be taken to mean both the house and the home, which is essentially family. In this instance, "apha endlini" means at home *and* with family members. This is reflected in the connection between "apha endlini akazukuthetha siNgesi" [here at home (in the house) she is not going to speak English] and "because naxa sigodukile ekhaya akho bantu bazi siNgesi" [because even when we have gone home (sigodukile) to our family (ekhaya) there are no people who know English]. As I have described in chapter 5, ukugoduka, from which sigodukile is derived, is an act of going home to your primary residence or to a secondary (rural) home as typically the case with Black South Africans. Relatedly, ekhaya can mean a home to our family, derived from the

noun ikhaya, the home/the family. Thus, I would claim that Nosi is considering the part of her family residing in umzi wekhaya in their village home in her valuing of isiXhosa. As such, I argue that collective language identity – whether expansive family definition or community (township or village) – is an important consideration in a family’s language management plan. Essentially, part of Nosi’s language desire for her daughter is to be well resourced in isiXhosa so that she can fit in with her family in the village who don’t know English. It’s interesting though that she claims that even when they go back home, in the village, “because naxa sigodukile ekhaya akho bantu bazi singes” [because even when we go back home there are no people who know English] in her village home, considering that those members, especially Siya’s grandmother, lived in their second township home and worked in an environment requiring communicative competence in English. Perhaps this is in consideration of the elderly members in the rural community. The other aspect of her language ideologies that come through are her values and attitude towards languages beyond isiXhosa. She clarifies that her desire for and embracing of isiXhosa is not at the expense or rejection of other languages – “so uh nezizinye andizikhabi iilwimi” [so uh even the other languages I don’t reject] and goes on to explain that her concern is having isiXhosa, which she re-emphasises as “[my child’s language]”, lag behind . She also brings up the desire for language equality between isiXhosa and the other languages. By other languages she is referring to English and Afrikaans which have been afforded a higher social status currently and in the history of education in South Africa. Asserting her position about the need for Siya to know how to speak, read and write in isiXhosa, she maintains that her daughter must be well developed in these skills in isiXhosa – “ngeli hlobo azazi ngayo ezinye iilanguages” [in the same way she knows other languages]. I argue that Nosi is taking a language activism approach and is explicitly intentional about the incorporation of literacy in isiXhosa as part of her family’s language management plan.

Lastly, Nosi believes in the capacity and use of isiXhosa beyond the home and the school domains. She mentions the different activities and professions where her child would use

isiXhosa. Included in the list are: being a poet and author of books, which she mentions repeatedly: “angakwazi kuba abengumbhali weencwadi akwazi abeyipoet ngesiXhosa sakhe ngelwimi aziva comfortable xa ethetha zona” [She can be an author of books and can be a poet in her own isiXhosa in languages that she feels comfortable (in) when she speaks them]”. She is mentioning languages in plurality here, but I wonder if she is not also suggesting flexible use of languages within Siya’s language repertoire as well as her choice to use any nomolanguage too. In foregrounding the activities of writing literature, Nosi also demonstrates her valuing of the literate tradition, the culture of reading and authoring novels and poetry. Here she demonstrates her valuing of the aesthetics of language and its contribution to life.

One of my objectives during my fieldwork was to establish Nosi’s attitude and value towards multilingualism in general, but also specifically the languages that are on offer at Siya’s school. The extract below is from a telephonic interview which was conducted before any participant-observation data was collected. In this section I explore the value and ways Nosi speaks about multilingualism as well as the language she uses to articulate her thoughts.

Extract 7.12: ‘andinangxaki ngeelwimi azifundayo like zonke’

	Original languaging	English translation
B	okay, so uziva njani ngeelanguages azifundiswayo esikolweni, isiNgesi ungahlomla ngeAfrikaans, ungahlomla noba uziva njani ngesiXhosa, masiqale kwisiNgesi	<i>[okay, how do you feel about the languages she does at school, English, you can express your views about Afrikaans, you can also express your views on how you feel about isiXhosa, let’s start with English]</i>
Nosi	kwisiNgesi uhhh, ndiziva kamnandi wethu Lulama, ndithi Lulama ngoku owu! (laughs)	<i>[with English, uhhh I feel good man Lulama, i’m saying Lulama now woah!]</i>
B	(laughs)	(laughs)
Nosi	Babalwa, <u>no</u> andinangxaki ngeelwimi azifundayo <u>like zonke</u>	<i>[Babalwa, no I don’t have a problem about the languages she is learning like</i>

<p>mandiyibeke ngolo hlobo, ndiya- ndiyavuya futhi <u>ukuthi</u> kuneelwimi azifundayo ezingezinye <u>because</u> ziza- zimvula ingqondo, zimvula naye ingqondo zimnika <u>i-</u> <u>ophotshunithi</u> ekukhuleni kwakhe ukuthi kuvuleleke amathuba emisebenzi <u>cos</u> ekugqibeleni ixesha ngoku nelizayo lithi umntu <u>at</u> <u>least</u> makabe neelanguages azaziyo noba zimbini zinthathu [B:hm] //zalapha, engummi walapha eSouth Afrika [B: hm-hm] so ja ndiyavuya xa kukhona iilwimi akwazi ukuzenza, [B:hm] //esikolweni sakhe</p> <p>B okay anga- anga- angalantuki-</p> <p>Nosi anga-</p> <p>B angathethi ulwimi olunye kuphela//</p> <p>Nosi angathethi ulwimi olunye qha yes, nokuba kungathiwa ziyongezwa futhi <u>bendingenokuba nangxaki</u></p>	<p><i>all of them, let me put it that way, I am glad actually that there are other languages she is learning because they will, they will open her mind, opening her mind and giving her opportunities when she is grown, for job opportunities to open up because ultimately the current time and time to come calls for a person to have languages they know even if it's just two or three] [B:hm] [local ones, being a South African citizen] [B: hm-hm] [so yes I'm happy that she has languages that she can learn] [B:hm] [at her school]</i></p> <p><i>[she mustn't- she mustn't- she mustn't thingy-]</i></p> <p><i>[she musn'-]</i></p> <p><i>[she mustn't only speak one language]</i></p> <p><i>[even if they would say they are adding more actually I wouldn't have a problem]</i></p>
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26 July 2020, Telephonic Interview

Reflecting on the language use first, this interview was conducted in isiXhosa. While I had prepared the questions in English, our shared linguistic repertoire meant that I could give Nosi the option of conversing in isiXhosa, which she gladly took. I notice Nosi's hybrid register in this interaction, though the interview itself appears to be predominantly monolingual isiXhosa. There is a pattern of use too. She infuses English when using conjunctions – 'like', 'because' and 'cos'. The use of 'at least' and i-ophotshunithi also appear. Intriguingly, Nosi articulates her thoughts from the perspective of problem versus opportunity and multilingualism vs monolingualism. She also expresses an appreciation for the learning of even more languages "[so yes I'm happy that she has languages that

she can learn] and “[even if they would say they are adding more actually I wouldn’t have a problem]”. Nosi’s repeated use of ‘no problem’ when expressing her approval or embrace of multilingualism is noteworthy. She initially states her present position with “no andinangxaki – no I don’t have a problem” and later affirms her future position “bendinenokuba nangxaki - I wouldn’t have a problem”, indicating that she would be happy with her child being introduced to even more languages. While Nosi’s response communicates a language ideology favouring multilingualism, what can also be read in her response is the defensive stance towards multilingualism she is seemingly taking. Nosi’s view is contrary to a monolingual ideology which positions multilingualism in African languages as a deficit. She acknowledges the opportunities provided by learning more languages in navigating Siya’s present and the future. To reinforce her position on multilingualism, she explicitly rejects monolingualism: “angathethi ulwimi olunye qha yes” [she mustn’t speak only one language yes]. Lastly, she motivates for placing a premium on multilingualism by citing some opportunities – opening the mind, future prospects for employment, and interestingly emphasises that the current times and the future demand that a person be multilingual. Additionally, by using ‘zonke’, Nosi shows she is referring to all three languages (isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans), not just the two dominant ones in both their repertoires.

Is school choice a reflection of language choice?

In South Africa where there is a scarcity of well-resourced schools and non-existence of African language medium of instruction beyond grade 4 onwards, how do we make sense of the idea of language choice in schooling? Debates around language choice and schooling have featured and continue to circulate in both scholarly and public discourse. This is particularly concerning middle class African language families raising children in suburbia who send their children to historically white schools. In attempts to interpret changing language practices and hybrid repertoires, some scholars have tended to make claims about language shift in families (De Klerk, 2002; Kamwangamalu, 2003) - from African languages to English. But these claims remain under scrutiny (Ndlangamandla,

2010) as moving from monolingual to bi and multilingual language use in the home does not necessarily lead to language shift in communities that are highly multilingual. Extract 7.13 below gives a glimpse of the seemingly contradictory move of parents' choices of sending their children to English medium schools while expecting and desiring their children to be adequately literate in African languages. During an interview with Nosi, I ask her about her motivations of sending Siya to APS:

Extract 7.13: 'izinto ezenzekayo ezilokishini ziyoyikisa'

	Original languaging	English translation
B	eh hmmm, ndiyasazi isikolo afunda kuso, usikhethe njani eso sikolo usikhethiswe yintoni, and bezikhona ezinye ii-alternatives? ezinye izikolo ubunozikhetha?,, so usikhethe kanjani uzikhethiswe yintoni	<i>[eh hmmm, I know the school she attends, how did you choose that (particular) school what made you choose it, and were there other alternatives? other schools you could have chosen?,, so how did you choose it what made you choose it?]</i>
Nosi	okay, esi sikolo ndisikhethiswe okokuqala kuba sikufutshane emsebenzini	<i>Okay, I have chosen this school, firstly, because it's close to my workplace]</i>
B	okay	
Nosi	ndiqonde ukuthi umntwana wam ndizokwazi ukuyomdropha ndiphinde ndiyomthatha ndibuye naye cos eyona nto eyona nto eyiyisoloko ingumnqweno wam kukuthi njengokuba ndihlala naye qha ndiyisingle mother [B:hm-m] ukuthi ndingabuyi angabuyi kuqala esikolweni [B:hm-m] then afike apha elokishini adinge, uya-understanda? [B:hm-m] because izinto ezenzekayo ezilokishini ziyoyikisa then ke ngoku zenza amaxhala [B:hm-m] so ndiyayazi ukuba xa ndiyomdropha esikolweni uza kuphinda ayothathwa ndim abuye enam	<i>[I figured I would be able to drop off and pick up my child and come back (home) with her cos the main thing the main thing that's been my wish is that because I stay with just her being a single mother [B:hm-m] that she must not return first (before me) from school] [then arrive here in the township and have no one, do you understand?] [B:hm-m] because the things that happen in townships are scary, then now they cause worries (anxieties) [B:hm-m] so I know that when I drop her off at school she will be fetched again by me</i>

While Nosi's family make up does not conform to the established neat categorisation of families, she explicitly identifies herself as a single mother instance and relays the experience of constant worry in raising a child in a township where crime is rampant. This speaks to the complexity of identity, where her languaging and lived experience positions her as rejecting the western norms of family, which are individualistic, while also having to take on the same identity to account for what she is responsible for as the 'sole' parent – the safety of the child. Also, with child abuse and gender-based violence being prevalent in our society, it would appear natural for any parent, whether single or partnered to prioritise the care and safety of their child. Consequently, she prioritises safety which appears repeatedly in this extract as a strong determining factor for the choice of school for Siya. Nosi wanted the school to be close to her workplace "okokuqala kuba sikufutshane emsebenzini" [firstly, because it's close to my workplace]. It would appear, thus, that Siya's suburban school being located in a safer area and being less than two kilometres away from her workplace, a preschool in a neighbouring suburb, are her primary concerns in school choice. Nosi's desire and provision for the safety of her child is expressed in Siya not having to use public transport alone which is the fate of many African children who commute from the townships to suburban schools – "so ndiyayazi ukuba xa ndiyomdropha esikolweni uza kuphinda ayothathwa ndim abuye enam" [so I know that when I drop her off at school she will be fetched again by me]'. Nosi's motivation disrupts the discourse about aspirational Anglonormativity driving African language speaking parents to send their children to English medium primary schools. This is not to deny the hegemony of English and the advantages it provides, especially regarding access to resources/upward social mobility (Alexander, 2005), but rather to emphasise that there are additional motivational factors besides language.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on examining the ideologies the family hold about language in schooling. I also explored Siya and Nosi's views about language in Siya's school, as well as their reflections on Siya's experience of isiXhosa in the classroom. Both Siya and Nosi are questioning the status quo and show a refusal to accept the exclusively privileged status of English. I also made a case for the integrated way curriculum design can work with indigenous Multilingual Education and a Sociocultural approach to African language learning that would be more meaningful, with ikhaya lakwaMaqoma taking on a multilingual identity through having the expectation of enriched isiXhosa curriculum and literacy teaching as example. Data analysed shows the family to resist the dominance of English, with their insistent desire for more meaningful, engaging content and pedagogy in isiXhosa, thus treating literacies of each language more equitably. This is not surprising considering both the multilingual identity of the family along with their rich linguistic resources in isiXhosa as shown in the previous chapter. There is thus a significant mismatch between language resources in Siya's home and school environments. As such, I present the prioritisation of African languages' literacy development as an issue of social justice, thus positioning Nosi and Siya's resistance to dominant ideologies as arising from a point of systemic oppression and marginalisation through their experience of language in Siya's schooling.

8. Conclusion

Introduction

In the introductory chapter of this linguistic ethnography, I introduced the case of an African language speaking multilingual family where the mother is committed to the development of her child's multilingualism, and especially her isiXhosa proficiency and knowledge, as my focal participants. In this concluding chapter I revisit and answer my research questions. I outline my contributions to knowledge in family multilingualism (or in FLP), as well as make a case for my contribution to Epistemologies of the South, or building theory from the south, through the concept ikhaya. My study aimed to answer the following main and sub-questions:

What are the language and literacy practices of an African-language(s) speaking family with child(ren) in an historically white English-medium school in South Africa?

- What constitutes 'family', and in what ways does the construction of a family intersect with language and literacy socialisation in the home?
- How are language and literacy socialisation practices enacted?
- How does the family navigate (make sense of) language and literacy practices between the family/home environment and schooling?

Key findings and contributions to knowledge

The contributions of the study are summarized from the research sub-questions, which I answer across four data analysis chapters (Chapters 4-7):

With the focus on describing the ways the family languages to construct family, chapter 4 addressed the question of: **What constitutes 'family', and in what ways does the construction of a family intersect with language and literacy socialisation in the home?** I answered this question by developing the concept of ikhaya, as a contribution to our understanding of what constitutes family in South Africa. As elaborated in Chapter

2, family multilingualism and FLP cannot be researched without knowing what constitutes family. The development of ikhaya is both a theoretical and methodological contribution that expands our knowledge about family for language socialisation research, language acquisition research and family multilingualism in applied and sociolinguistics, as well as in family sociology. Developing a nuanced understanding of how family is constituted as ikhaya also has important implications for policy shift and change in sectors that work with families.

I drew from local epistemes and the existing critical reflections on the notion of ‘family’ in Africa (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998) specifically, and ‘family’ in family multilingualism research broadly (King, 2016; Coetzee, 2018; Wright & Higgins, 2022). Rejecting the normative distinction between ‘nuclear’ families consisting of two parents and their offspring, and ‘extended’ families which include other family members such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, I made a case for the use of an indigenous concept ‘ikhaya’. Ikhaya embraces both family and household as well as significant kinship ties in the South African context. I also critically engaged with Southern Epistemologies to think about and challenge the colonial conditioning and hierarchizing of knowledge systems that needs to be re-evaluated in both the theorising and methodology of language socialisation research. I adopted ikhaya framework in analysing various sources of data in this study.

Although I have developed ikhaya around ties to space because of my analyses of the family’s spatial organisation, the concept itself is not tied to physical or geographical space. Rather, my understanding of family/home in ikhaya is based on ubuntu as a relational ontology of community. Conceptually, ikhaya captures the ways in which the family kinship system, home residences and language practices are interconnected and work interdependently to construct family. To illustrate my point, I present the ikhaya languaging model below as a developing concept. Ikhaya shows the interconnection and interdependence between the construction of space, people and languaging.



Figure 8.1: ikhaya languaging model

The ikhaya languaging model shows an overlap that exists between multiple residences (umzi kaNosi, umzi kaMakhulu and umzi weKhaya), between ‘nuclear family’ and ‘extended family’ (single-parent household - Makhulu, Malume, Makazi, cousin), between digital and paper based languaging; and between home languaging and school languaging and literacies. With this complex structure of connection between home, family and languaging, I argue that there is multiplicity, co-existence, and interdependence. Applying the philosophical underpinning of ikhaya helps us to understand the expansive and dynamic space that is characterized by connection, co-existence and interdependence of multiple worlds (language(s), space, people, ways of being and ways of doing) of people in the southern context of this thesis.

Further, ikhaya is based on the philosophy and values of ubuntu. ikhaya thus displays the organization of people and space in which co-existence and interdependence are foundational aspects of family organization – organizing around space, people and language. Epistemologically, ubuntu is a relational ontology underpinning human connectedness from which ikhaya as an ontological organization can be understood. I therefore propose the use of ikhaya to capture the domain of home that is distributed

across multiple physical residences and geographical spaces, as well as family, showing how language and literacy practices – both physical and digital – are central to the process of family-making. I draw from the knowledge of family as social construction that is made up of various components, the term family-making to indicate the process of constructing family or the kinship ties and languaging practices that construct family. Centrally, the data I presented in chapter 4 confirms that ikhaya is constructed and organized around family kinship, home residence and language practices. Using clan names as the organizing family identity rather than surnames, as evident in the data, exposed the inadequacy of drawing from Eurocentric ontologies for what constitutes a family. This is not to suggest the abolishment of surname use as a form of family construction, rather, ikhaya recognises that representations of family through surnames is inadequate and incomplete in our context. Ikhaya can be related to Makalela's (2015, 2018) concept of ubuntu translanguaging which describes multilingualism in the African context, accounting for the interdependence of languages (one is incomplete without another) and fuzzy boundaries between languages, in the same way that holds for the interdependence and community of people who use them (umntu ngumntu ngabantu or I am because you are).

The analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6 were guided by the question: **How are language and literacy socialisation practices enacted?** With this question, I examined the multilingual and literacy socialisation practices, focusing on how the family blurs boundaries with their practice and being as well as conceiving of language as socially situated practice as Nosi and Siya draw on their rural-urban environments to language and to develop isiXhosa literacy at home. Findings gleaned from these chapters showed that the fluid use of language as theorised by translanguaging does not prevent speaker's ability to perform monolingually when needed, or to produce the standard variety of a language. Nosi and Siya's languaging shows how they command both monolingual standard language forms of isiXhosa and English as well as being able to combine these resources effortlessly in their desire to make meaning. Contrary to Makoni, Makoni and

Mashiri's claim (2010:1), "urban vernaculars" have not "become "the" mother tongue of the greater part of Africa's population", though they may well be part of people's repertoires.

Chapters 5 and 6 also show the different ways the family's implicit language and literacy ideologies construct family multilingualism as dynamic through a range of home literacy practices that range from oral to written and include the digital. Through the data I presented, I examined family languaging as socially situated practice and showed instances of spontaneous/incidental language practices between Nosi, Siya and other family members. These practices are made visible in their language use as they participate in discussions about songs and iintsomi, and in their writing on social media, thus blurring the boundaries between oral/literate; public/private; monolingual/multilingual or fixed and fluid use of language as they go about their daily lives. Siya, in particular, languages in a way that shows her awareness of her bilingualism as she spontaneously asks Nosi which of her linguistic resources she should draw on in different moments, thus positioning multilingualism as a resource. This is also shown in instances when Siya is being socialised into oral practices such as songs, iintsomi and ukubalisa, and the use of metaphoric language. Nosi also actively showcases the richness of her isiXhosa linguistic resources and language practices and her pride in these. In the interactions with Siya and Nosi, we see how Nosi is socialising Siya not only into the use of the resources and practices, but also instilling pride in the isiXhosa language. At the same time, we also see the blurring of oral/literate divides as well as online/offline and virtual versus face-to-face interaction.

I analysed Nosi's digitally enabled languaging as a literacy practice, and reflected on the ways a spatial interaction transcends boundaries between the virtual and the physical space as people interact with an authentic audience through their postings on social media. Bringing together instances of language and literacy practices that transcend binaries between languages, between literacies and between spaces, I illustrated the

ways that Nosi and Siya move and shift between a hybrid and fixed register. Chapter 6 concentrates on the family's learning and teaching of isiXhosa literacy, drawing from their rural-urban family environments as well as from their language repertoires. I drew from data that shows Nosi and Siya using a hybridized register around written schoolwork to show how ikhaya lakwaMaqoma offers Siya the opportunity to draw from a wider linguistic repertoire to sort through a topic that she must write about and present monolingually at school. I have also shown the family to be drawing from a variety of oral practices, where Nosi uses overt and covert strategies such as discussing terminologies, giving examples and making illustrations as well as in-character voicing and performance. Importantly, the data extracts presented demonstrate how multilingual people can move between heteroglossic and monoglossic practices, both consciously and unconsciously. This contrasts with a belief that languaging of people who reside in the urban township is largely characterised by a hybrid register (Makoni et al 2010). Furthermore, Nosi draws from both their lived experiences and environments, teaching Siya local knowledge which she values, thus resisting Eurocentric conceptions of what counts as knowledge through her languaging and semiotic practices.

Lastly, Chapter 7 responded to the question: **How does the family navigate (make sense of) language and literacy practices between the family/home environment and schooling?** This chapter explored the ways in which the family resists dominant ideologies of languages in schooling. It showed how Nosi and Siya are resisting these ideologies with their very being, which values and embraces knowledge transported by their languages, through both monolingual and fluid or non-boundaried languaging. My findings revealed that Black African languages speaking parents who send their children to historically white English medium schools are not necessarily leaving their African languages or their home languages behind (though this may be a consequence of the school's exclusion of linguistic resources other than English). In this case, not only is Nosi determined to support Siya's multilingualism but also to socialise her into the ikhaya's ways of knowing and being so that she can belong in her community. Further,

their resistance is enabled through ordinary/everyday languaging and semiotic practices which are an integral part of being amaXhosa, while also being immersed in an English dominant workplace (Nosi) and in Siya's case, in an English medium school amongst other things. to

I gleaned this knowledge from examining the ideologies the family hold about language in schooling. I also explored Siya and Nosi's views about language in Siya's school, as well as their reflections on Siya's experience of isiXhosa in the classroom. Both Siya and Nosi are questioning the status quo and show a refusal to accept the exclusively privileged status of English. I made a case for the integrated way curriculum design can work with indigenous Multilingual Education and a Sociocultural approach to African language learning that would be more meaningful, with ikhaya lakwaMaqoma taking on a multilingual identity through having the expectation of enriched isiXhosa curriculum and literacy teaching as example. Data analysed shows the family's resistance to the dominance of English, with their insistent desire for more meaningful, engaging content and pedagogy in isiXhosa, thus treating literacies of each language more equitably. This is not surprising considering the multilingual identity of the family as well as their rich linguistic resources in isiXhosa. Finally, I presented the prioritisation of African languages' literacy development as an issue of social justice, thus positioning Nosi and Siya's resistance to dominant ideologies as arising from their experiences of the marginalisation of African languages, and consequently ways of knowing and being, in Siya's schooling.

Limitations of the study

The scope of the PhD which is time sensitive is a major limitation in perusing critical themes like the extent of languaging practices within the full organisation of ikhaya. Such a pursuit would have required a substantial extension of fieldwork period to include more family members and homesteads of the same family as I have argued in the thesis. Another limitation is the limited opportunity to understand indigenous multilingualism

that focuses on the co-existence, interdependence of languages without the use of a colonial language such as English. I am interested in exploring a case of early language socialisation and home literacies in families raising children with two or more named indigenous languages, e.g. Sesotho and isiXhosa (and the so-called varieties of these like isiMpondo in the context of isiXhosa). This would be important work to explore the claims of African scholars such as Makalela (2018) about African societies having long co-existed, navigating language diversity even before precolonial time and monoglossic Eurocentric oriented language policies were introduced. However, I am convinced that the thesis has satisfied the inquiry of addressing the ‘what’ question – describing practices and identifying the critical language ideologies that are at play in a multilingual family as they grapple with the naturalisation of language hierarchy and mono-centrally engineered society through the epistemological architecture of the West and its language imposition.

In closing, I hope that the developing concept ikhaya, and its application to research design, can bring to the table the affordances of epistemes of the peoples of the South – along with our ways of being and making sense of the world – in which the North is invited to partake and share.

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Appendices

Appendix A : Information letter



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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RESEARCH TITLE

The language practices and ideologies of two multilingual families of Black children in an elite public school in Cape Town

8 July 2020

Dear Parents

I, Babalwayashe Molate, a PhD Research student in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town, would like to ask your permission to carry out my research on how your family uses language/s in your interactions at home. Neither you nor any of the children or family members will be identified in the research – I will use different name (pseudonyms) for all household members. The exact location of your home will also not be identified.

Research data collection will start¹ on 13 July 2020 to 31 December 2020. I would like to collect data by observing², conversing, interviewing and audio and video recording the interaction of all household members over a period of six months, at least once a week. I also seek for permission to carry on with observations and self-recordings of children during the holidays even when they move to a different site if it is accessible. I will also leave an audio-recorder for family members to record interactions or family routines of their choice – you may choose to use your cell phone audio-recorder for the same purpose.

Please note that your participation is voluntary and that you can withdraw permission at any time. If you agree to participate, please see the attached consent form to be completed and returned to me before 13 July 2020. Consent forms may be completed manually or electronically

Yours sincerely,
Babalwayashe Molate

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0794938400

¹ The exact start date and frequency of data collection will be negotiated with the family and in accordance with identified family routines.

² Home observations will only be done when it is safe to do so and in line with the Covid-19 pandemic health and safety regulations.

Appendix B: Consent form



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

A/Prof. Carolyn McKinney
Supervisor

University of Cape Town, Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701
Physical address: Graduate School in Humanities Building, University Ave South, Upper Campus
Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 2757 / 2772 Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 3489
E-mail: carolyn.mckinney@uct.ac.za Internet: www.uct.ac.za/depts/educate

Parent Consent Form

I,

Consent to participating in research conducted by Babalwayashe Molate in my home for the study 'the language practices and ideologies of two multilingual families of Black children in an elite public school in Cape Town'.

- I understand that I may withdraw my participation in the study at any time during the data collection period.
- I understand that my name will remain anonymous to the public and any publications relating to the research.

I give consent for the following research activities during the data collection period:

	Please check box	
	Yes	No
1. I consent to home observations ¹ – These may involve the researcher taking notes and/or asking permission to record family activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I consent to audio-recorded conversations and video recorded interviews between myself, my family and the researcher - I understand that I may ask the researcher to exclude portions of the recording that I do not wish the researcher to use.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I consent to self-recording of selected family activities in agreement with the researcher – I understand that I can choose to delete parts of the self-recording that I do not wish to share with the researcher.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I consent to the photography of material and artefacts of relevance to the research – I understand that any still photos taken will not reveal the faces and identity of my family or my residential address.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I consent to having my children being observed, conversed with and interviewed with the aid of an audio-recorder in my home – I understand that assent with my children will be sought on an on-going basis during the data collection period.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Names of Children:

Signed

Full Name _____

Place _____

Signature _____

Date _____

¹ Home observations will only be done when it is safe to do so and in line with the Covid-19 pandemic health and safety regulations.

Appendix C: Child Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Children:

1. Tell me about your family and your favourite things to do with them
2. Tell me about your school and the different activities you do at school
3. How has it been like doing schoolwork at home during this Covid-19 lockdown?
4. What languages do your family, friends and teachers speak?
5. What different activities do you do during isiXhosa lesson and how do you feel about them?
6. What is your home language and how do you feel about it?

Appendix D: Parent Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Parents:

1. Tell me about your origin - your language, where you grew up and your early schooling years
2. What is your kids' connection to your extended family members?
3. How did the choice of school for your children come about, and what other alternatives were available?
4. What is the language offering at your children's school and how do you feel about it?
5. How did the decision to involve your children in an isiXhosa support club come about?
6. What are your language goals for your children and why?

Appendix E: Reflective Journal (pre-fieldwork)

Reflective Summary of Family Profile (22 July 2020):

I met [REDACTED] in 2019 via WhatsApp. I was connected to her by [REDACTED] who knew of her through their mutual friend. At the time [REDACTED] wanted to get in touch with me about advice on how to support [REDACTED]'s isiXhosa. [REDACTED] was in Grade 3 at the time and [REDACTED] was concerned that her child could not read nor write in isiXhosa despite having good oral proficiency of the language; she added that she was concerned that her reading ability in isiXhosa lags far behind English and Afrikaans. The school currently offers English and Afrikaans as academic subjects, which includes reading and writing literacies, from Grade R onwards. isiXhosa on the other hand is offered as a second additional language, which is worded in the school's website (Academic Programme Gr 1-3) as "isiXhosa is taught as an additional language through song, dance and stories". As far as I know, children's first encounter with writing literacy in isiXhosa is only in the first year of the intermediate phase, Grade 4. It is interesting to note that, also in the school website, the school maintains that with "and our new approach will see it being taught alongside the English curriculum."

This is particularly intriguing to me that this line has been on the website since 2017, and 3 years later, it remains so despite reporting (from [REDACTED]) that not much isiXhosa development. I know about what has been on the school's website threw a review of language policy of elite public schools in Cape Town during my Masters' data collection process. It would then be very interesting to find out during the interviews with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], what actually happens during isiXhosa lessons. It would also be interesting to me to see if there is any evidence of written work [REDACTED] brought home last year, or has brought this year – and how isiXhosa is taught during the lockdown homeschooling schedule. And, I would also want to find out why [REDACTED] is not satisfied with just oral proficiency for [REDACTED] but wants 'academic' development in the language too.

Regarding family and household set-up, the [REDACTED] household comprises of mother and child living in under one roof in a township. Not far from their household is other family member, Makhulu, malume and makazi, who live a block away from them. They seem to be the [REDACTED]'s support system – Makhulu has been helping with fetching [REDACTED] from school when [REDACTED] couldn't and malume helps with checking in on [REDACTED] during her home-schooling days when she is left home alone while [REDACTED] is at work. It is not yet clear to me why this family particularly lives in two different households, or why [REDACTED] is not moved to her grandmother's house during home schooling instead of malume coming to check-in (or why malume or makazi do not stay the full home schooling day with her until [REDACTED] returns from work).

What is also interesting to follow with the [REDACTED]'s is their dual-household arrangement via spending nearly all their school holidays in makhulu's other home in rural EC. I could, in fact, say that the [REDACTED] see to have a multiple household arrangement. During my fieldwork I would want to find out the dynamics of this family in terms of language histories, language use, language ideologies, language identities and members' role in the socialisation process involving children.

Appendix F: Ashford* Schools Admission Policy (2020)



ADMISSIONS POLICY

1 PREAMBLE

- 1.1 In terms of section 5 (5) of the South African Schools Act of 1996, the Governing Body of a public school must determine the admission policy of that school.
- 1.2 The Governing Body of Rustenburg Junior School for Girls has accordingly constituted the following as the admissions policy of the school, in the belief that its provisions are consistent with:
 - 1.2.1 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108/ 1996.)*
 - 1.2.2 *The National Education Policy Act (Act 27/1996) and any applicable policies determined in terms of this Act, including the Regulations for Admissions to Schools.*
 - 1.2.3 *The South African Schools' Act (Act 84/1996) and subsequent amendments.*
 - 1.2.4 *The Western Cape Provincial School Education Act (Act 12/1997.)*
 - 1.2.5 *The Promotion of Administrative Justice Act (Act 3/2000.)*
 - 1.2.6 *The Health and Safety Act.*
 - 1.2.7 *Judgments of the Constitutional Court on the rights, powers and obligations of school governing bodies.*

Appendix A: Grade R/1/2/3/4/5/6/7 application form

Appendix B: Deals with Capacity and Proximity

Appendix C: Acceptance of Position (will be provided by the school following a letter of acceptance)

SECTION 1: WHEREAS [REDACTED] IS A PUBLIC SCHOOL, THE SCHOOL GOVERNING BODY (SGB):

- A. acknowledges that it has been entrusted with a public resource which must be managed not only in the interests of those who are learners and parents at the time, but also in the interests of the broader community in which the school is located, and in the light of the values of our Constitution.
- B. defers to the relevant legal provisions and enactments to the extent that they are valid and binding upon them and take precedence over the right of the governing body to determine the admissions policy of the School.
- C. commits to working in partnership with the Head of Department, WCED, to find workable solutions to matters of disagreement, and to engage meaningfully and in good faith on any disputes, including disputes over this policy and any decision taken on the basis thereof.
- D. agrees thereto that any such engagement will be directed towards furthering the interests of learners, taking account of the best interests of the child insofar as this does not impinge upon the rights or best interests of other children.
- E. has approved the formation of the Admissions Committee comprising the Headmistress and the Admissions Officer delegated by the SGB to manage the procedures and decisions relating to admission of applicants and as required the Chairperson of the SGB; and one or more members of the School Management Team.
- F. accepts that the State cannot provide all the resources for the proper functioning of a high quality schooling system. So the School Body enjoined to take all reasonable measures within their means to supplement the resources supplied by the State in order to improve the quality of education provided by the school. The Governing Body has an obligation to raise additional funds through the active involvement of the parents, who in return for their financial contributions are given a direct and meaningful say in school governance and the employment of school funds. The School Governing Body thus has set its own school fees and will prepare budgets for approval at an Annual General Meeting of Parents.
- G. has a policy therefore that "parents", so defined on the application form, must agree to pay the school fees as per the resolution adopted by a majority of parents attending the Annual Budget meeting in accordance with the [REDACTED] Constitution. Parents must indicate their agreement by signing the application form. In the case of divorced or separated parents, it is the responsibility of the legal guardian applying at the school to obtain a signed copy of the application form from their divorced or separated partner.
- H. makes provision to budget for Fee Remissions from the income. The Remission is made available by a Remissions Committee on application after perusing detailed documents completed by the parents.

Page | 1

SECTION 2. IT IS THE AIM OF THE SCHOOL TO:

- A. provide an environment where the race, culture, religion and economic standing of the individual are in no instances an impediment to her access to, or progress in, any aspect of school life.
- B. manage the school's intake of pupils to include representation of the major demographic segments (ie: cultural, religious, ethnic and economic) broadly reflective of the composition of the community it serves, without prescribing or accepting any predetermined quotas, numbers or proportions in respect of such representivity.
- C. ensure that any applicant admitted to the school is admitted to the formal school programme, and will not be suspended from classes, denied access to cultural, sporting or social activities of the formal school programme (approved by the parents attending the Annual Budget Meeting) on the grounds of an inability by a parent to pay the laid down school fees.

SECTION 3. IT IS THE POLICY OF THE SCHOOL THAT:

No applicant will be refused admission on grounds of race, gender, culture, language, religious belief or financial circumstance. This aspect of the admissions policy will be applied with due cognizance of the following:

- A. Whereas it is determined that the school is a single-sex school, only members of the designated gender will be admitted.
- B. Whereas it is determined that the medium of instruction is English, applicants applying to the school in preference to a school where the language of learning and language of teaching matches the home language of the applicant, need to be sufficiently proficient in English so as not to prejudice their ability to progress academically.

Appendix G: Western Cape Department of Education (WCED) IIAL implementation minutes of the meeting

05/10/2024, 22:18

WCED Minute

[Close this Minute](#) [Maak omsendbrief toe](#) [Byela emva](#)



REFERENCE: 20170116-7290
12/2/11/P

ENQUIRIES: G van Wyk TEL: 021 467 2236 FAX: 021 467 9369

CURRICULUM GET MINUTE: DCG 0002/2017

TO: DEPUTY DIRECTORS-GENERAL, CHIEF DIRECTORS, DIRECTORS, HEADS: CURRICULUM COORDINATION AND ADVICE, CIRCUIT MANAGERS, DEPUTY CHIEF EDUCATION SPECIALISTS, FOUNDATION PHASE SUBJECT ADVISERS, PRINCIPALS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, FOUNDATION PHASE HEADS OF DEPARTMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

INCREMENTAL INTRODUCTION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES (IIAL) IN 2017

1. In 2013 the Department of Basic Education announced plans to strengthen the teaching of previously marginalised official African languages through the Incremental Introduction of African Languages (IIAL) draft policy.
2. The IIAL is a priority programme aimed at promoting social cohesion in our society. It is also intended to promote and develop previously marginalised official African languages as espoused in the provisions of the Constitution and National Development Plan.
3. Therefore, the aim of the IIAL policy is to introduce a previously marginalised official African language in all schools that are not currently offering any previously marginalised official African languages. It is expected of all provincial education departments to achieve universal implementation by 2020.
4. In 2014–2016 the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) implemented the IIAL policy (isiXhosa as a third language) with relative success in 10 schools that were not offering a previously marginalised official language, however the WCED is still required to implement the IIAL policy in approximately 900 schools by 2020.]
5. Due to current budget constraints the WCED is looking at innovative ways to support the implementation of the IIAL policy and to meet implementation goals by 2020.
6. This notice therefore serves to invite all schools (that currently do not offer isiXhosa SAL from Grade 1 and schools that currently offer isiXhosa as an extramural subject) who are willing to implement this policy to complete and return the attached form to nontsikelelo.nyamza@westerncape.gov.za by 20 February 2017. Further correspondence will reach these schools before the end of the first term regarding the way forward.
7. Schools that volunteer to implement the IIAL at their own cost will be required to:
 - provide a teacher who can speak and teach isiXhosa; and
 - continue to offer isiXhosa SAL in Grade 1 after 2017 and incrementally introduce the subject each year to the next grade and be willing to extend the Grade 1 timetable by 30 minutes per day.
8. The WCED will provide schools with:
 - lesson plans for Grade 1 and learner books;
 - teacher training and planning in the month of February; and
 - ongoing support for the IIAL teacher.
9. Please note that the IIAL will be formally implemented from the second term only and that no additional funding or resources will be provided by the WCED.
10. Kindly forward all queries to Ms Ntsiki Nyamza on tel. no. 021 467 9268 or email nontsikelelo.nyamza@westerncape.gov.za.
11. Your support for this important and transformational policy is appreciated

https://wcedonline.westerncape.gov.za/circulars/minutes17/CMminutes/edcg2_17.html

1/2

05/10/2024, 22:18

WCED Minute

12. Principals are requested to discuss this minute with the relevant staff.

SIGNED: PAD BEETS
DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL: CURRICULUM AND ASSESSMENT MANAGEMENT
DATE: 2017:01:20

Grand Central Towers, Lower Parliament Street, Private Bag X9114, Cape Town 8000
Please quote reference numbers in all correspondence
Employment and salary queries: 0961 92 33 22
Safe Schools: 0800 45 46 47

The following documents relate to this minute. *Adobe Acrobat Reader*® is required to view / print these documents. Click on a title below: the document will open in *Acrobat Reader*® where you can save and/or print a copy. To return to this minute, click on the *WCED Online* logo at the top of the screen.
[2017 IIAL Reply slip](#) (size: 52 KB)

go up

Appendix H: Stage 1 Fieldwork Data Inventory

Fieldwork Data Inventory (July – December 2024)

Date	Site	Raw Data File	Transcription File	Status	Duration
Interviews					
July, 26	Virtual Cross	2020.07.26_20.08_0 1.MP3 CALLBOX_26-7-2020 _20-8-46_p2773205	Interview_Falache Parent_BM2012620	✓	
September, 29	Virtual Cross	2020.09.29_15.44_0 1.MP3 CALLBOX_29-9-2020 15-52-51_p2773205	interview_BM2016020	✓	
Home Activities					
September, 4	Virtual Home	FTT-20200904-WA0 004.opus	BM20200904_NDI_5 tweet Play.docx	✓	
August, 4	Virtual Home	2020.08.04_19.17_0 1.MP3	BM20200804_NDI_5 upper Time (de)Woo	✓	
August, 12	Virtual Home	2020.08.12_18.54_0 1.MP3	BM20200812_NDI_5 upper Time (English)	✓	
August, 30	Virtual Home	FTT-20200830-WA0 003.opus	BM20200830_NDI_1 docs_SA.docx	✓	
October, 3	Virtual Home	FTT-20201003-WA0 003.opus	BM20201003_NDI_U Hokage mcSample	✓	
October, 7	Virtual Home	FTT-20201007-WA0 003.opus	BM20201007_NDI_Z Bibi (interview) pt4.M	✓	
October, 24	Virtual Home	FTT-20201024-WA0 003.opus	20201024_NDI_Int conv_Mikazi Sleepov	✓	17:07

November, 1	Virtual Home	FTT-20201101-WA0 001.opus	BM20201101_NDI_L Midterm Break.docx	✓	13:08
December, 8	Virtual Home	FTT-20201208-WA0 002.opus	BM20201208_NDI_L orig Weekend_Multi	✓	13:54
Home-school Activities					
September, 2	Virtual Home	FTT-20200902-WA0 003.opus	BM20200902_Home school_Math.docx	✓	
September, 11	Virtual Home	FTT-20200911-WA0 008.opus	BM20200911_Home school_Life Skills-DE	✓	
September, 17	Virtual Home	FTT-20200917-WA0 003.opus	BM20200917_NDI_H ethiopia Disk Fawelba	✓	
November, 11	Virtual Home	???	???	???	???
In-Person Observations & Conversations					
November, 26	Car/Home	2020.11.26_14.20_0 1.Drive to Rwanda.k	BM202011_Drive to Rwanda 2.docx	✓	1:28:29
November, 26	Home	2020.11.26_14.20_0 1.MP3	(duplicate - delete) I think I should separate the transcript above to car and home	✓	n/a
December, 9	Car	2020.12.09_13.11_0 1.MP3	BM20201209_Car_L orig Carve with No	✓	24:26
December, 9	Home	2020.12.09_13.38_0 1.MP3			1:35:18
Videos					
September, 4		VID-20200904-WA0 008.m4v			
Photographs/Artefacts					

Appendix I: Stage 2 Fieldwork Data Inventory (WhatsApp Status Updates Transcript)

Social Media Status Updates Literacy Practice:

THEME	AUDIENCE
isiXosa - metaphors	All contacts
Cristianity	
Identity	All contacts
Family	
community	
Enlis	

Practices:

- Writing – Nosi writes in isiXhosa, translingual and
- Reading
- Storytelling (Narration of Nosi's life/perspectives)

Date	Status	Visual	Speech Classification	Language
6 Jan	Look at the view (emoji) my home village kodwa bethwa zisea breeze	A photo of a village showing a rondavel & the ocean	Nostalgia; general	Translanguaging
6 Jan	Zibotshwa noba zibhityile aik	A photo of Siya carrying a water bucket on her head, supporting it with one and, same background as previous status		isiXhosa mono
28 January	Ndithubodini, Njela, Nomazele, Mbombo, Tanana, Krla, rharha, gcaleka ndinumxhosa ndizaiwa iMpondokazi mzukulwana Wooleta namaCete, sizukulwana samaQeeva, ooJep, namantande ooDlomo namaTshawe ndinegazi lobukhosi emzimbeni wani (emoji)	A photo of Nosi wearing umbhaco omhlope neentsimbi		isiXhosa mono
9 February	Mic is queen of ours (kiss blowin emoji)	A photo of Nosi with her mother in a village		English mono
9 February	ad a nice nap after work	Nosi is layin on sometin tat looks like a bed cover		English mono

22 April	*Mom is tired, Mom is stressed, Momo is trying ... But Mom won't give up. Shout out to all the Moms ivin it all* (3 waving and emojis) mothers	A forwarded/ quote poto		English mono
22 April	(3 emojis laughing with tears) Mats Rapper (5 waving and emojis)	Screensot of a video of Siya wearin school uniform in a classroom, rappin to Mats		
22 April	Pewu lowo uamba awatyutye wonke amatyotyombe equtywa nenqwelo zicomu unina ebefuna umkroboza izoto	Status update wit reen background		isiXhosa mono
24 April	Ntondo kanina	Aa old poto of Nosi wit your Siya in robes. In a ouse tat looks like teir primary ome		
24 April	Uyakunjulwa xelele no Ota noMandle	A poto of a wman standin in a street wit sakes in te background		
24 April	Mother wabantu	A caption selfie of Nosi		
25 April	Nkosi ndoqayisa nawe ndikuncame konke okukum andinatnto ndimenawe Wema uzinto zonke kum (music symbols & tankful emoji)	A status update wit a mauve background		
25 April	My favourite son from Siyamtanda (2 red lips emojis)	An animated poto of a kneelin iqira otind two sticks above er ead, eyes closed and wit tere candles lit infro of er.		
25 April	Unabantu bako Tixo (misspett) namaxesa	Status update wit a blue background		

	onke ubacina ubanceda endaweni zonke			
28 Aril	Molweni emva kwefreedom day (emoji)			
29 April	Weater ipersonal Malime peka (silly face emoji) pens alk	Status update wit reen backround		
6 May	Turnin 11 soon ncooo Ntombi zamama (erat and red lips)	Sowin te same poto of Siya rappin		
6 May	Apona Nonqiza kaNosi	A poto of toddler Siya in te Maqoma primary ome kibeon, posin in a red dress and ead wrap; It looks like te poto is a screensot of Nosis old status update from Facebook (judin by te emojis at te bottom), indicatin tat Nosi is quite an active social media user		isiXosa mono
6 May	Cinga nesteam bread nopens namlanje kawube usenza malume (tankul/bein emoji)	Status update wit reen backround		
6 May	Yuuu betuna nani imvula lyanilambisa? Ey ndibuyee (3 lauter emojis) ndiila iimbiza	A status update wit a brown backround		
7 May	Inqabe imali nasepupeni ayi sisbeto	Status update wit a reen backround		
7 May	Soup alk masityeni	Butternut (lookin) soup in a bowl written LA SPAETTATA and a wite spoon		
7 May	Nkulu katata bomama newele layo kumbula kodwa	A poto of a man and woman wearin imibaco emilope neentsimbi. It looks like tey are in a villae because of te		

		landscape in te bacround. I am uessin tat te man on te poto is Nosis eleders broter		
10 May	11yrs 2 day. (kiss blowin emoji and a pink eart) May te Mity Lord Protect you Sana lam ekukuleni kwako and Ive you many more yrs. (3 pink emojis)			
10 May	(kiss blowin emoji) ncooo ndiyabulela Siya	A poto of a letter from Siya: Dear Mom tank you for always bein by my side whenever I'm down You will always be in my eart Ave a wonderful Mote(r(aposrophe) s Day		
10 May	Special muntu wam (3 kiss blowin emojis)	A poto of Siya wit persed lips and doin a cellpone to ear sin. Se seems to be in a villae because of te type of reen ouse sowin in te backround and te jojo tank – Nosi ad told me tat tey don't ave rumnnin water/taps in te entire villae		
10 May	Ntobizanina kulisile kodwa (double pink earts vemoji and a 100 sin)	A poto os baby Siya lyn face up		
10 May	Ncooo lisana alk namlanje lalabafin (2 sweat drip lauin emojis)	A poto of Siya sat asleep in a plastic battub wit laundry, covered wit a duvet		
10 May	Ntinaye	A poto of Siya sittin on te couc wit two		

		adults (no faces shown) on either sides.		
10 May	Cutey pie yam (pink eart and red lips emojis)	A photo of younger Siya in er ym school uniform - looks like she may be in r R or r1		
12 May	Siyabona nanalemimi (tankul/prayin and emoji)			
12 May	Wen storms came your way, just Remember you know te Master of Te wind, wen sickness finds you, E mind yourself you know reat Pysician, wen your ara ets broken, just say I know te Potter. It doesn't matter wat we Face or o trou. Jesus is Te way, te trut, and te life. E is everytin we need. Amen	A screen rab of Nosis contact sowin an internet picture of a prayer quote by Kelays Treeouse		
12 May	Aybo Kanti Abantu banjn Na umntu anonqeni ukubizela ukuza into oyenza kwako ayi maan	A status update wit a reen background		
12 May	Nabenu olittle broter Bani supriser kanje betuna.noo enkosi mnatakamama (2pink earts emojis)	A photo of te Maqoma ouse wit new fencin - tere was no fensin last year wen I did my site visits		
14 May	Kanti benza lento Omalume kubatsana (2 sweat drip layter emojis) nawbanesono kodwa	A screen rab of one of Nosis contact, from whatsapp, sowin a circulation picture of a man sittin on a benc and eatin wile 3 cildren stare and salivate wit teir eyes		

15 May	Kona ndeza wasin opin tat its not oin to rain Zmoro	Status update wit reen background		
15 May	Bendisazonwabele kwanamlanje up until atyeni came and spoil it (2 ary emojis) yuuu unicapukisile kekona nimxelele	Status update wit blue background		
15 May	Ope ulomwabele usuku lwako Panqa nomtoboy kaTaPesy ukule yamza uTixo (seems purposefully misspelt) akupe konke okunqwenelewa (pink erat'yako late sweet unjalo b("anana) kamaLume (lauetr emojis)	A screenrabbed photo of a teenaer/young adult from Nosis contact. It seems like its Nosis cousin - te orinal status update is captioned (appy birthday panqa)		
16 May	Siyabona Libo Letu (tankul/prayer emoji)	Status update wit a maroon background		
16 May	Loadseddin (sad puupy eyes & ands over ead emojis)	Status update wit a pink background		
17 May	Kodwa Eskom (4 aner emojis)	Status update wit pink background		
18 May	Cin betuna Eskom undifumene vase namanzi abandayo pofu sileli siluti umpokoqo okrwada (4 lauter emojis) yawzcinela ke into ibisenzeka ezinubeni (3 lauter emojis)	Status update wit blue background		
19 May	Mkulu onakuti (tankul/prayer emoji)	Status update wit blue background		
20 May	Izenzele kewetu kum apa (2 cloud & emojis) noba lva kamnandi ke noku	Status update wit blue background		
21 May	Andifumaneki kuwaatsap te wole weekend if uyandifuna ndicela undifounele	Status update wit bronze background		

24 May	Yuu ndake ndafumana ipeace of mind kule wknd yazi ndiyadikwa smtmz nase ndibenexesa lam ndedwa	Status update wit pink background		
25 May	Leka Lo unditukayo 2 silly face emojis)	A screenrabbed poto of Nosi sittin on rass and lauin		
25 May	Yke inokwaziwa nuSiwe le nodabs nooOJ noTera (3 silly face and one embarrassed mokey eojis)	A screenrabbed status update of Nosis contact wit a circulatin picture of two animation people and te caption: Inoba kumandi banesipono , Amelo alala eVrandini oko		
25 May	(3 lauter emojis) ayi kenok siezo esi	A screenrapped status update f one of Nzukis contacts wit te circulatin poto caption: Umntu alite (emojis) kuba esiywe yindoda (emoji) Yenontombi kuko Abaasiywa ziingqondo kodwa basaleka nanamlanje		
26 May	Kumnandi ke kum xabonwabile qa kubeko tamkulu kaOta kesana wow Myeni kaNokbona siyamkumbula boo	Ascreenrab of a poto of Nosi wit 4 oter duls and a cile. Ses drawn a blue arrow pointin to te person or status update is about		
26 May	Wow Maroyi nase ubuye or ubjale ke cc	A poto of a woman and a man wearin imibaco neentsimbi, a poto		

		se as sared previously		
26 May	Nzxapona kodwa uyakunjulwa nzeeee	A screenrabbed status update poto of Nosis contact		
27 May	UnuKumkani wobuncwalisa Wena Kristu	Status update wit a purple background		
28 May	Dankie Mpilo (thankfu/prayer emoji)	A screen grab photo from one of Nosi's contacts status updates: "Ukuphuma Kwelanga Yindalo! Kodwa Ukuvuka Usaphila Yinceba Ka Thixo leyo Bulela (clapping hands and thankfu/prayer emoji)		
29 May	Ayinabungozi nayiphi nah imeko ojongene nayo.ubungozi kukuba uyibeke ndawoni kwintliziyo yakho,yeka imvula inethe ngaphandle sutivumela ingene ngaphakathi.yekaabant u bathethe ungavuni bangene ntliziyweni yakho (block delete & move forward)	Status update with gold background		
31 May	Andonele yimvula yhuuu	Status update with green background		
31 May	Enkosi mzali ngokusifihla ubusuku bionke nokuvuka sibulela inceba yakho ende (thankfu/prayer emoji)	Status update with purple background		
31 May	(4 laughter emojis) ow yhini sherm	A video of an old man with a doek		
31 May	Ndim lowo ntombikayise	A screen grab of a status update photo of one of		

		Nosi's contacts captioned "(hug emoji) mna kalok". The cropped photo reads: "Intle imedy efana notata wayo bantsa (8 hearts)" It is dated 21 May, and looks like it's from Facebook judging by the emoji		
31 May	(3 laughter emoji) mxmfika ngeszo yhuuu hayi ayingomntana	A photo of Siya posing in her formal winter school uniform. There is a couch in the background that looks like the one in the Maqoma primary house		
1 June	Thandazekaaa Bawo	A screen grab from one of Nosi's contacts' status updates from Tik Tok: JUNE, 01, 2021 Dear Lord, I start new moth lifting my hands in prayer and total praise to you. I worship you because you saved me and No weapon formed against me shall prosper and every tongue that rises against me shall be condemned in Jesus name, I pray. Amen		
2 June	Khumshelani nalobuti unomhlantla	A Tik Tok video captioned:		

		English is something else guys		
2 June	Siyabonga Nyangelemihla usuphephisa usitwelaeziphini (thankful/prayer emoji)	Status update with green background		
5 June	Yhuuu Sebenza kangaka washin, ironing, cleaning cooking haybo ngathi qeshiwe saba	Status update with mauve background		
6 June	Ungukumkani wobungcwalisa Wena Kristu (thankful/prayer emoji)	Status update with brown background		
6 June	Ndiyabulela MACZ ngenkoszo ibiphakame kangaka namhlanje	Status update with navy background		
6 June	Hope ubulonwabele usuku lwakho mntase abantwana bekugogo surely ulonwabele ukhule keMambamba uTixo akuphe eminye emininzi iminyaka (2 double pink hearts)	A screen grab of a captioned photo of her cousin/sister		
10 June	Engcobo	A Facebook screen grabbed photo of Nosi's brother and his new bride in the isiXhosa makoti regalia with a woman/irl in an orange umbhaco and a child. There is uthango, a goat and a bare garden in the background	I remember Nosi retelling me about this day of the handing over of the makoti how the different families regional wedding practices were at odds with each other	
12 June	Taru ngobubele bakho (thankful/prayer emoji)	Status update with a purple background		

12 June	Kungcono uNdiobene oswesitalini , kunenkabi yehashe eseNkampi.n.sidlata ngesixhosa sidlata ngolwimi.Camagu	Status update with a peach background		
13 June	Kuyo iNkosi yethu kukho izibeke nezokolelo.	Status update with gold background		
13 June	Siyabonga Dwala lethu (thankful/prayer emoji)	Status update with sage background		
13 June	Eyi lemvuselelo yanamhlanje ithi umntu xa esakwazi ubeka isonka etafileni makabulele inene kunzima kwelilizwe ngxee bantwabatsha.	Status update with yellow background		
16 June	Rest day kum since I'm not a youth (sweat drip laughter emoji)	Status update with brown background		
16 Junw	Siyamthanda	A screen grabbed status update photo of Siya from one of Nosi's friends		
17 June	Ndingavuswa ndifikela ebedin ndawvuka xa kufika isana lam	Status update with green background		
19 June	Uleqa isisila sikaJobela. Sityebe sinjalo isXhosa. Molweni (Hand raised emoji)	Status update bwith gery background		
19 June	Ntobikayise ndiyazazi nje ayindihluphi lonyo (silly face emoji)	Photo of Nosi in a grey robe		
19 June	4 laughter emojisjyenyuka uGudla yhuuu lobuti nam ndayidedela indawo okwesithunzela siwela itha (3 laughter emojis)nkuzi	Status update with a navy background		

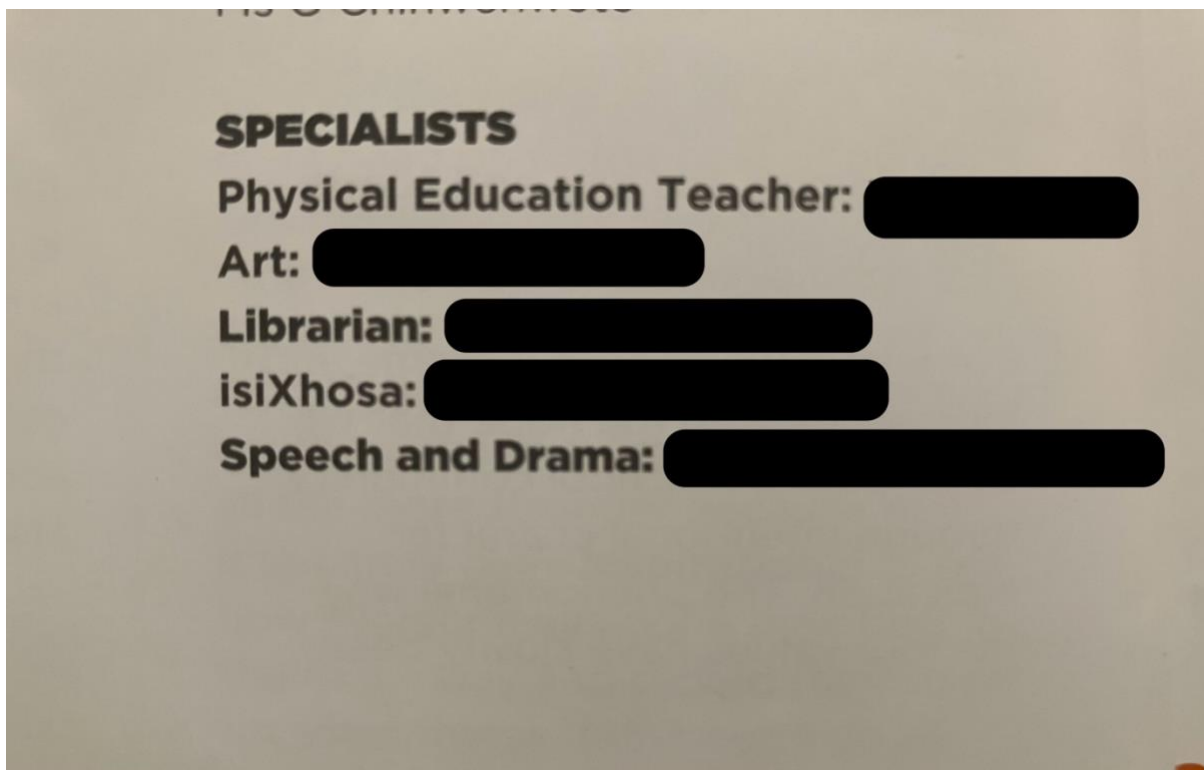
	yentwala nethokazi layo			
Monday	Lutsha lwethu Babyewle Nkosi (thankful/prayer emoji)	A photo of youth in church regalia		
Tuesday	Amen to this. Yanela yindawo okuyo qwaba.	A tik Tok video of a sermon and congregation captioned: "Ikhaya likhaya (hbdwriting and prayer emojis) yamkela imeko yakho		
Friday	Chin hayi Maan godola kangaka	Status update with navy background		

Appendix J: **Example of shacks in an informal settlement in South Africa**



Appendix K: **School Year Book**

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Appendix L: Western Cape Department of Education Circular, 2014

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WCED Circular

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REFERENCE: 25003
14/2/13/P

ENQUIRIES: Assessment Co-ordinators TEL: 021 467 2572 FAX: 21 467 9370

CIRCULAR : 0017/2014
EXPIRY DATE : 31 December 2014

TO: DEPUTY DIRECTORS-GENERAL, CHIEF DIRECTORS, DIRECTORS (HEAD OFFICE AND EDUCATION DISTRICT OFFICES), DEPUTY DIRECTORS, CHIEF EDUCATION SPECIALISTS, HEADS: CURRICULUM CO-ORDINATION AND ADVICE, CURRICULUM ADVISERS, CIRCUIT TEAM MANAGERS, HEADS: IMG CO-ORDINATION AND ADVICE, IMG MANAGERS, DEPUTY CHIEF EDUCATION SPECIALISTS, HEADS: SLES COORDINATION AND ADVICE, ASSESSMENT CO-ORDINATORS AND PRINCIPALS OF ALL SCHOOLS OFFERING GRADES R TO 12

BRIEF SUMMARY: This circular serves to communicate the programme requirements, progression guidelines and promotion requirements for Grades R to 12 which will be applicable for 2014.

SUBJECT: PROGRAMME REQUIREMENTS, PROGRESSION GUIDELINES AND PROMOTION REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADES R TO 12 FOR 2014

1. Introduction
 - 1.1 This circular replaces **Circular 0029/2013** (Programme and promotion requirements for Grades R to 12 in 2013).
 - 1.2 The purpose of this circular is to outline the programme requirements, progression guidelines and promotion requirements for Grades R to 12 in 2014.
 - 1.3 The following policy documents are applicable for 2014:

Grades	Policy documents
R to 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The National Policy pertaining to the Programme and Promotion Requirements of the National Curriculum Statement, Grades R to 12 (NPPPR); • National Protocol for Assessment, Grades R to 12 (NPA); and • The Regulations pertaining to the National Curriculum Statement Grades R to 12 (Government Gazette 36041).

2. Programme requirements
 - 2.1 Programme requirements for the Foundation Phase (Grades R to 3)

A learner in Grade R must offer three (3) subjects and a learner in Grades 1 to 3 must offer the four (4) subjects which are listed below, and complete the assessment requirements:

Programme requirements Subjects	Time allocation per week		
	Grade R	Grades 1 and 2	Grade 3
Official Language - Home Language (HL)	10 hours	7/8 hours	7/8 hours
Official Language - First Additional Language (FAL)		3/2 hours	4/3 hours
Mathematics	7 hours	7 hours	7 hours
Life Skills	6 hours	6 hours	7 hours
Total	23 hours	23 hours	25 hours

- 2.2 Programme requirements for the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4 to 6)

A learner in Grades 4 to 6 must offer the six (6) subjects as indicated below, and complete the assessment requirements:

https://wcedonline.westerncape.gov.za/circulars/circulars14/e17_14.html

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WCED Circular

Programme requirements Subjects	Time allocation per week
Official Language - Home Language (HL)	6 hours
Official Language - First Additional Language (FAL)	5 hours
<i>One of the two languages offered must be the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT)</i>	
Mathematics	6 hours
Natural Sciences and Technology	3 ½ hours
Life Skills	4 hours
Social Sciences	3 hours
Total	27½ hours
Second Additional Language (SAL) (optional)	School to arrange additional time to the 27½ hours