

Komiesa! Ko speel...

Heteroglossia and Multimodality in bi(multi)lingual children's play in a preschool space as a challenge to colonial language ideologies



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DNLSHA010

A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Applied Language and Literacy Studies

Faculty of the Humanities
University of Cape Town
2023

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ABSTRACT

This study examines teachers' and parents' language ideologies which in turn influence the choices about languages they choose for socialising young emergent bi(multi)linguals and determining their identities. It also explores bi(multi)lingual children's heteroglossic practices and multimodal communication in their play in a preschool setting and contrasts them with the teacher's language and literacy practices. The first part of this theoretical framework examines language ideologies such as monoglossia, monolingualism, Anglonormativity and raciolinguistic ideologies and how these position children as language learners. These ideologies are juxtaposed against the concept of heteroglossia to highlight how a paradigm shift offers a different way in which we could position children. The second part explores language and literacy as social practice from the NLS theoretical conceptualisation including, orality, multimodality and materiality and their relevance for children's language and literacy development and their personal development in general. It also draws on the sociocultural theory of Vygotsky with particular reference to playing and learning and concepts such as self-regulation, mediation, scaffolding, and the Zone of Proximal Development (the ZPD, where learners need assistance to develop their knowledge through assisted learning, mediation and encouragement to achieve mastery). The combination of these two strands of sociocultural theory enables one to understand the holistic development of children as the concepts encompass a greater spectrum of not only the children's sociocultural doings, communication and interaction with the environment but also how it affects how they are taught and how they learn.

The research methodology encompassed working within language and literacy as a social practice and the research design for this study was implemented as an exploratory, descriptive, interpretive and qualitative case study that draws on linguistic ethnographic data collection and analytic tools. Thus, it is not a full ethnographic study but draws on the important tenets of ethnography.

The research reveals that language ideologies of monoglossia, monolingualism, Anglonormativity and raciolinguistics are practised and propagated daily even though colonialism and apartheid have been seemingly abolished. Furthermore, it has shown that

standardised languages are promoted and have a value attached to them as well as the belief that should people master said languages, their economic and social status would improve. One of the consequences of these ideologies is foregrounded through the conflict experienced by the participants as, due to the negative attitudes towards Kaaps, they do not want to be perceived as uncultured and uneducated.

That teachers socialise the children to conform to school rules and are sometimes prescriptive in their pedagogy, which stifles their language development and communicative ability, has been illustrated in this study. It also shows how the children rebel against the stringent orderliness of the rigours of classroom practice when they are released to play. Moreover, the enormous value of play to children's holistic development highlights how it is irreplaceable for young children's development.

The study challenges the view that some languages or vernaculars are superior to others and argue for opportunities to incorporate the concept of Heteroglossia to offer a different way in which we could position the children. Also, multilingualism should be embraced and normalised in communities and schools and not be relegated to demarcated spaces of usage.

I also argue for a greater understanding of the children's language and literacy learning and how it is embedded in their daily socio-cultural ways to inform pedagogy from below. As children are accomplished at play, this activity should be encouraged, as opposed to it being restricted or used only as a reward. Furthermore, as play has been increasingly substituted by teacher-led academic instruction, it is important to research this aspect of pedagogy to try and find a balance. Lastly, this study highlights how important it is to listen to, observe and involve children in their development so that they are not overlooked and simply assimilated into the adult way of doing things.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my Lord and Saviour for paving the way and being with me day by day.

For my husband, Charles, my rock, supporter and believer in me, who keeps me grounded so that I can clearly see.

For Tami, daughter dear, you are always near.

In my heart, Mom, always my cheer.

And Dad, my guide, thanks for being by my side.

To the children who love to play, may you do so every day.

To the teachers, always know that you make a difference because you sow.

Dear Xolisa, my supervisor, your insight so valuable and true, guiding my path all the way through.

And Caro, cutting to the chase with not one word to waste.

To all who contributed, I thank you, without your love and support this work would not have come true.

Jer. 29v11

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Many studies on children's language and literacy development focus more on teachers' language and literacy practices or family attitudes to languages. They focus on the teacher as being the most important and central person in children's language and literacy learning such that, when the learners fail, the teacher is to blame. There are minimal studies that have been undertaken concerning the language and literacy development and practices of preschool bi(multi)lingual children during play in South Africa and when they do exist, they focus on monolingual children learning languages as home languages (HL) or as First additional languages (FAL) (Bock, 2016; Bloch, 1997). Home Language pertains to the primary language the child has learned and been communicated with from birth, whereas a First Additional Language would be a language that the child learns, either informally or at school after the home language has been established. Thus, bi(multi)lingualism is understood as the end product of the sequential development of home language and FAL. There is thus little understanding and recognition of simultaneous development of bi(multi)lingualism, such that, "bi/multilingualism is understood as multiple monolingualisms, or as equivalent proficiency in two or more named languages" (McKinney 2017:20).

In multilingual settings, bi(multi)lingual children learn to speak and read and write in both languages simultaneously, and these languages can both become the child's home languages. The children use both languages to express themselves in both oral and written communication, often codeswitching, translating and interpreting. It has also been argued that one of the advantages of being bi(multi)lingual is opportunities for bi(multi)lingual speakers to tap into funds of language (Moll, 2019) which enable them to communicate creatively, whereas FAL learners are mostly not proficient in this additional language as it is exercised for a limited period, for example, at school.

In South Africa, studies on bi(multi)lingualism have also tended to focus on Afrikaans and English-speaking bilingual children rather than on Kaaps-Afrikaans-English-speaking children (McCormick, 1986; Reynolds, 2013). This is understandable because, since the Union of 1910 to 1994, the South African State has been in the hands of the White Afrikaans and English leaders, who in 1925 decided to initiate a dual medium bilingual education model for Afrikaans and English-speaking children (Guzula, 2021). This tendency to foreground

Afrikaans and English erases Kaaps as a variety spoken in the Western Cape. Therefore, this research seeks to provide an opportunity to glean insights into the unique bi(multi)lingual language practices in the Kaaps-Afrikaans-English speaking preschool children's engagement with play to examine what we can learn from them to inform pedagogy and language policy from below.

In this chapter, I am including a brief history of the background to Kaaps to build a deeper understanding as to why it is so contested to finding its place in society and acceptable in mainstream circles. As language ideologies and attitudes towards Kaaps run throughout this research, this would give context to the importance of this study which highlights how the treatment of languages could influence the identity of children. I will then explain how this study provides an opportunity to understand the interaction of bi(multi)lingual preschool children's language and literacy socialisation, to glean insights into how they interact in their play, concentrating on their linguistic resources as well as their semiotic multimodal resources. Lastly, I state my research questions and objectives and provide a synopsis of the thesis outline.

I shall now provide a brief background to Kaaps.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: KAAPS, COLONIALITY AND APARTHEID - A VERY BRIEF HISTORY

"Yoh! That's kwaai ne!"¹, Ko os koep 'n dite"² ... most speakers of Kaaps know exactly what these utterances mean. This unique and expressive language has been a significant part of the Cape coloured community and has been used for centuries before the advent of Afrikaans. Yet, it is perceived as being a skollietaal³ or kombuistaal⁴. Kaaps or Cape Vernacular Afrikaans (Dyers 2015:57) has been stigmatised for centuries and is still being stigmatised today as it has never been recognised or acknowledged as a standard language.

¹ Wow! That's awesome.

² Let us buy food

³ Gangster Language

⁴ Language originating from the kitchen or lower echelons of society

van Rensburg (2019) states that dating from 1595, when the Khoikhoi started to learn Dutch words, Khoi Afrikaans, which is the original Afrikaans, was birthed. This Khoi Afrikaans included both Dutch and Khoi words and the Khoi were able to use their knowledge of this language to earn a living as it was understood widely. Currently, many words are still being used in Cape Afrikaans and have also been assimilated into Standard Afrikaans. Kaaps is therefore derived from several languages such as "Dutch and English, indigenous Khoi and San languages, and the words of African and Asian slaves, including Portuguese creole" (McCormick, 2002 cited in Cooper, 2018:32). These languages were spoken by diverse peoples during the colonial 18th Century as they interacted on the farms, the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), its employees' homes and its slave lodge (Cooper, 2018).

Afrikaans, even though it was created after Kaaps, received recognition as an official national language in 1926 because the Union of South Africa legitimised it as such through language ideologies. Janks (2013) foregrounds how dominant groups, for example, colonialists, legitimise their language practices by portraying it as being pure, sophisticated and educated, which leads to a hierarchical social order.

Alim, Williams, Haupt, and Jansen (2021) state that because Kaaps was framed as a substandard, impure version of Afrikaans by white Afrikaner nationalists, there has been the perception that Kaaps is unacceptable because it is spoken by the poor and uneducated. However, Alim *et al.* (2021) foreground that the root of Afrikaans is embedded in "contributions of indigenous Khoisan peoples and enslaved Muslims" (Alim *et al.*, 2021:24) from the East, though this is not acknowledged and was purposefully erased so that the Afrikaners could claim Afrikaans to be a white language only, forged by Dutch settlers to promote Afrikanerdom as a pure race with a pure and untainted language. Therefore, seeing as Afrikaans is imbued with a myriad of languages, could it be seen as "suiwer"⁵ or, has it appropriated others' intellectual property without permission and acknowledgement and made it its own? Neville Alexander, cited in Alim *et al.* (2021:6), argued, "If the Khoi and the San and especially the slaves were not forced to learn and speak Dutch, the language Afrikaans would never have been invented."

⁵ Pure

Alim *et al.* (2021) explain that the term Afrikaaps was coined by Jitsvinger⁶ who wanted to disrupt this Afrikaans' history and ideology by highlighting and acknowledging the African, especially the Cape indigenous contribution.

“...you can't remove a language from the culture it was born out of”, (Alim interview with Jitsvinger, 2017)

However, many people in the coloured community also seem to accept and embrace the deficit ideology of Kaaps and maligns it as well, by labelling it slang or gam⁷ and not speaking it freely. This shows that coloniality, as argued by Maldonado-Torres (2007), outlives colonialism. Maldonado-Torres (2007:243) explains that colonialism is when a power has taken sovereignty over and subjugated another nation. Coloniality occurs when the pervasive influence of this sovereign power, such as language, knowledge and culture persists in the colonised people as a perpetual legacy.

Dyers (2015) on the other hand, promulgates that as Kaaps is the oldest variety of Afrikaans, it should be given the dignity that it deserves. I can attest that Kaaps is spoken by Afrikaans and English speakers and I use Kaaps to express myself articulately when there is no other useful word or expression available. Speakers of Kaaps could consider owning their language and have a mind shift to bring it into mainstream usage, by proudly taking hold of their linguistic citizenship (Stroud 2001).

In this study, I am interested in researching language ideologies to Kaaps as its voice is silenced through attitudes towards its use in high status domains like education, health and in the economy and as such, it is relegated for use more in homes, families, and community domains. However, it is the language resource that many young, coloured children staying in the Cape Flats have by the time they start creche or Grade 1. But, because it is maligned, they are discouraged from using it as schools value standard languages, like English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa, which are implemented as policy and accepted by the constitution. This is so that the children might access the standard variety valued by the dominant groups in society. These children's identity and culture could be jeopardised so that they might be embraced

⁶ An artist and activist involved in the Afrikaaps language movement in the Cape Town Hip Hop scene (Alim *et al.*, 2021:3)

⁷ Kaaps term for non-standardised variety of Afrikaans

and welcomed elsewhere. They might also risk losing opportunities for meaningful learning in school since this familiar resource is discouraged. Schools in working class coloured communities are therefore complicit in maintaining dominant monoglossic language ideologies that maintain the power of English and Afrikaans while erasing Kaaps.

Thus, as far as languaging practices are concerned, this study seeks to explore language ideologies of adults socialising bi(multi)lingual children in the home and preschool domains as well as languaging practices of Kaaps-Afrikaans-English speaking multilingual children. However, as you will see in the next section on play, I am also interested in the children's languaging practices in so far as they integrate them with play because it is in play that children tend to express themselves more freely. Therefore, I wish to analyse how these compare to the languaging practices that adults seek to socialise them in.

In addition to language socialisation by adults, and the children's free expression in play, this study also aims to contribute to the few studies on imaginative play conducted by Joseph, Ramani, Tlowane and Mashatole (2014) and Harrop-Allin (2014). This study, therefore, explores what play reveals about the linguistic practices of Kaaps-Afrikaans-English bi(multi)lingual children during planned and spontaneous play to examine what we can learn from them to inform pedagogy and language policy from below. The research explores play in the different spaces (informal, spontaneous outdoor play, formal, organised indoor play and imaginative play) that they occupy. I also wish to understand how the children navigate their social domains by creatively utilising their semiotic multimodal resources other than only language, such as gestures, gaze, and artefacts to communicate with others. An important aspect of the research looks at where the children's knowledge and play originate, whom they were copying and which cultures they are accessing during their activities. Furthermore, greater knowledge for expanding learning opportunities could be cultivated when one examines Heath's (1982:2) proposition that one needs to consider the multicultural ways of knowledge acquisition from the environment which could lead to a better understanding of how children orient themselves in their communities and society. Paley (2007:1) advocates that imagination is a powerful tool for both pedagogy and play and explains how imaginative play, daily storytelling and dramatization strengthen opportunities for children to develop strong social and cognitive development and understanding. Therefore, crucial soft skills such as social competence, self-regulation and co-operation are

exercised through play, which enables children to coexist harmoniously in a social setting (Nicolopoulou, Schnabel, Ilgaz, Brockmeyer and de Sá, 2015). As Vygotsky (1978:99) explains, “Play is not the predominant feature of childhood but it is the leading factor in development”, we need to bear in mind that the value of play for young children is irreplaceable. This is pertinent as play has been increasingly substituted by teacher-led skill based academic instruction (Nicolopoulou, McDowell and Brockmeyer, 2006) and it is important to research this aspect of pedagogy.

Focusing on children’s language development in play, therefore, might help us to learn about how young children learn and how we can draw on their languaging and semiotic resources so that they may become teachers of teachers. For example, linguistically, what can we learn from children to improve how we teach them and how can we draw on multimodality to enhance children’s meaning making? It has been argued that play is a gateway to the child’s mind, that is how they think.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

Main Research Questions:

- How do parents, teachers and preschool principals socialise young preschool children to language and literacy in a preschool setting?
- What semiotic resources do bi(multi)lingual children draw on for self-expression in their play in a preschool setting and how do these compare with their socialisation by adults?

Sub-Questions

- What are adults’ language and literacy ideologies and how do these impact the language choices they make for the preschool language policy, pedagogy, and children’s identity formation?
- How do children draw on their heteroglossic resources during play?
- How do children draw on their multimodal and material resources during play?
- What do children learn from play as part of their language and cognitive development?

1.3 SYNOPSES OF CHAPTERS

In the next chapter (Chapter Two), I present a theoretical framework and literature review of language ideologies and their consequences. Secondly, I theorise and review empirical studies on language and literacy as social practice from the New Literacy Studies (NLS) perspective and Social Constructivism.

In Chapter Three, I outline my research design, where I expand on the methodology informing this study. Detailed information regarding data collection and analysis, the research site, participants and ethical considerations is shared. I also foreground my positionality and reflexivity as I was part of the participant's community and was accepted as an insider.

Chapters Four and Five are the presentation and analysis of data, largely based on a thematic analysis, discourse analysis and multimodal social semiotic discourse analysis.

Chapter Six is where I review and discuss research findings putting them in conversation with the literature review. I also highlight the contribution of the study to the field as well as the limitations of the study and some possible research projects for the future.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Working within the concept of language ideologies and the notion of language and literacy learning as a social practice, which includes not only literacy events and practices centred on print literacy, but also key concepts such as orality, multimodality and materiality, this study examines teachers' and parents' language ideologies which in turn influence the choices about languages they choose for socialising young emergent bi(multi)linguals and determining their identities. It also explores bi(multi)lingual children's heteroglossic practices and multimodal communication in their play in a preschool setting and contrasts them with the teacher's language and literacy practices. The first part of this theoretical framework examines language ideologies such as monoglossia, monolingualism, Anglonormativity and raciolinguistic ideologies and how these position children as language learners. These ideologies will be juxtaposed against the concept of heteroglossia to highlight how a paradigm shift offers a different way in which we could position children.

The second part explores language and literacy as social practice from the NLS theoretical conceptualisation including, orality, multimodality and materiality and their relevance for children's language and literacy development and their personal development in general. It also draws on the sociocultural theory of Vygotsky with particular reference to playing and learning and concepts such as mediation, scaffolding, the Zone of Proximal Development (the ZPD) and self-regulation. The combination of these two strands of sociocultural theory enables one to understand the holistic development of children as the concepts encompass a greater spectrum of not only the children's sociocultural doings, communication and interaction with the environment but also how it affects how they are taught and how they learn.

2.2 MONOGLOSSIC, MONOLINGUAL, ANGLONORMATIVE AND RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

*Moenie sturvy praati*⁸

In this section, my conceptual toolkit includes the concepts of language ideologies such as monoglossia, monolingualism (Makoe & McKinney, 2014; Blackledge, 2000), Anglonormativity (McKinney, 2017) and raciolinguistics (Rosa, 2016). Due to their agenda of power and dominance, I wish to highlight how the power of these ideologies could lead to a deficit discourse about the bi(multi)lingual Kaaps speaking children. McCormick (1986), who studied a closed community of District Six, highlighted this deficit discourse, where she stated that the Afrikaans speaking children experienced a deficit in the English language stream at school that their parents chose to place them in. Below I will discuss how choices are influenced by the belief that pure, standardised English, driven by the ideologies of English monolingualism and Anglonormativity, is regarded as the esteemed upwardly mobile language of access and success.

2.2.1 Monoglossic Language Ideology

The ideology of monoglossia advances the agenda that standard languages are more valuable than non-standard varieties (McKinney, 2017). As stated in the rationale for this study, Cape Afrikaans/English or Kaaps is spoken by many Cape coloured children as it forms part of their culture. This is a non-standardised variety of Afrikaans which is not valued in the mainstream schooling system. The children are therefore told that they can speak either mainstream English or Afrikaans, leading to a disconnect between the types of English or Afrikaans spoken at school and home. This also leads to a marginalised positioning of the children who could perceive their vernacular as being of a lower value by greater society. They could interpret this to mean that they are perceived as having lesser standing in society because language and identity are inextricably intertwined. As the children need to determine which linguistic resource to use to be socially acceptable, this leads to ambivalence and tension (McKinney,

⁸ *Do not use uppity, fancy language*

2017). Gee's "mushfaking" (Gee, 1996:145) construct highlights this conflict in that they might put on a façade to be accepted, leading to them not being true to themselves.

2.2.2 Monolingual Ideology and Dominant languages

The parents' choice to have their children learn in English not only promotes monolingual English education for many emergent bi(multi)lingual learners but also Anglonormativity as discussed below. Monolingualism incorporates the belief that there are countable named languages that are bounded and contained, and that people would speak a "pure" form thereof (Pennycook, 2004). This assumption that "monolingualism in a single mainstream variety of a language is the norm" (McKinney, 2017: 24) leads to the dominance of one language over another. We see this in South Africa, where languages spoken by the majority of its people are officialised through the constitution but are still minoritized (McKinney and Molate, 2021) in their use in education. However, dominant, colonial languages, especially English, French and Portuguese in Africa, remain and have grown exponentially in their acceptance as legitimate and valuable languages. "Bi/multilingualism, which is understood as multiple monolingualisms" (McKinney, 2017:20) is accepted, but when children use their various linguistic non-dominant resources, other than standardised English or a "pure" form of any language they are often ostracised. Furthermore, to get to the standard form and English proficiency and to "maintain dominant monoglossic language ideologies, schools often devalue and undermine mother tongue or non-standard varieties" (Guzula, 2021). Teachers, who translanguage, which is "the juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages or dialects." (McCormick, 2001: 447 cited in McKinney, 2017:24 and Garcia and Wei, 2014) to make teaching and learning easier, are disparaged (McKinney, 2017). A deficit discourse is formulated about these teachers and their learners. Many heteroglossic children are labelled as linguistically deficient because of monoglossic and monolingual policies (Guzula, 2021). McKinney (2017:43) explains that heteroglossia could be understood as "the complex, simultaneous use of a diverse range of registers, voices, named languages or codes, in our daily lives..." (Ivanov, 2000:100 cited in McKinney, 2017:43). However, heteroglossic children are marginalised instead of being lauded for originality and creativity for using a variety of linguistic resources to assist with meaning making, (McKinney, 2017). Therefore, to

counter deficit stereotypes, children with bi(multi)lingual repertoires should be encouraged to exercise them and be lauded for their efforts (Guzula, 2021).

2.2.2.1 Implications of monolingual ideologies

Busch's (2012) analysis of Pascal's linguistic repertoire foregrounds that the ideology of monolingualism bolsters nationalism and language. Busch (2017) explains that an internalised set of linguistic resources used for communication, such as the body, gestures, and emotions, which is drawn from previous knowledge, adapted both cognitively and emotionally, and which allows people to navigate their daily lives, is their linguistic repertoire. She calls it the lived experience or "spracherleben" (Busch, 2017:1) and substantiates that language is used when it is needed by the speaker. However, a disconnect occurs in people whose mother tongue (interior) is different from the standard language (exterior) because they have to translate before they speak. Therefore, Blommaert's (2010) advocacy, as highlighted by Busch (2012), foregrounds that an individual's linguistic repertoire should be linked to their life, as opposed to an idealised language or nation. McKinney (2017) further postulates that these ideologies could perpetuate social reproduction, as people are disabled due to not being able to utilise their natural resources and talents. The children's linguistic prowess and competence should be embraced instead, so that they are encouraged to extend themselves as meaning makers who can creatively tap into their reservoir of heteroglossic linguistic talents using their "Social-linguistic flexibility" (McKinney, 2017:24) as discussed in section 2.3 below.

Monolingual ideologies also influence pedagogical methodology. Gibbons (2009:3) attests that how we talk with students will determine how they learn. Whether they are perceived as conversational partners whose ideas are acknowledged or as those who need to be corrected all the time will determine whether they will be receptive participants or not. Gibbons (2009) advocates that in conjunction with understanding the language, being able to apply the language in broadened exploratory talk associations, and not simply being expected to supply one-or two-word answers is crucial for language development. However, as many children are not proficient or do not understand the standardised monolingual language they

are being taught, they cannot contribute. This could lead to the initiation-response-evaluation/feedback (IRE/F) methodology of teaching. This method entails the teacher asking a question to which s/he already knows the answer and the children reply (Gibbons, 2009). The merit of this method is that an immediate evaluation is provided of the child's acquirement and understanding of the presented content. If it is well planned and expanded upon, it could gauge the students thinking. However, most often, new language is not used as the child mainly repeats what the teacher has said and there is not much opportunity given for broadened exploratory talk (Gibbons, 2009).

2.2.3 Anglonormative Ideology

Anglonormativity as defined by McKinney (2017: 80), as “the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English, and are deficient, even deviant if they are not”, seems to be ingrained not only in the District Six community that McCormick (1986) studied but universally. The data excerpt below, from McCormick's (1986) study, illustrates this Anglonormative ideology well.

Mr A. If you want to become middle-class you speak English. You bring up your kids in English.
(McCormick, 1986:3)

This excerpt and the language ideologies discussed, highlight how language policy decisions are made by families in most working class coloured townships who have been led to believe that a mastery of the English language would elevate either their family's social and economic status. However, Stein and Newfield (2006) elaborate that despite the multilingualism of many Africans, because English is foregrounded in the language policy in practice and the CAPS⁹ curriculum, it leads to inequalities for many because it is taught both as a subject and is used as a medium for teaching other subjects. English as a hegemonic (dominant in a political sense), elite language has been shown to lead to inequality because of discrimination perpetrated against those who do not master it. Children are therefore disadvantaged due to

⁹ Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

a lack of prowess, understanding and access to resources (Janks, 2014). To counter this, Cope and Kalantzis, 2000:3) advocate for “A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies” with the ethos that promotes collaborative participation socially in education, which I discuss later.

2.2.4 Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Languagelessness

Rosa (2016) highlights that raciolinguistics is the ideology that uses standardised versions of a language to discriminate against linguistic practices that deviate from it. It profiles people into those who are linguistically competent and those who are not, and consequently “invokes broader ideas about the (in)competence and (il)legitimacy of entire racialised groups”, by linking these ideologies to everyday interactions, policy and theory (Rosa, 2016:1). For example, the deviation of a language by a white person is excused but not of a person of colour, who might be labelled as “language-deficient”. Furthermore, the ideology of languagelessness is characterised as people “using no language legitimately” (Rosa, 2016:16) and therefore being labelled as linguistically deficient. Rosa (2016) explains that while standardised language ideologies disparage certain linguistic practices, “ideologies of languagelessness” (Rosa 2016:1) deny the legitimacy of linguistic competence and as a consequence, people’s identity. He stresses that criticism of a language as being impure could lead to perceptions of inadequacies and disempowerment, leading people to believe that they lack proficiency in any language, as Kaaps speakers are profiled. In McCormick’s (1986) study, the participants would label Kaaps as “kombuistaal” because it is not “pure” and is used in informal situations like amongst friends and family. People are silenced because their usage of language is perceived as being “other”, (McKinney, 2017). Busch (2017) foregrounds that whether an individual’s spoken language garners respect and acknowledgement or not could determine whether the individual amends that language, conceals it, or discards it.

2.2.5 Influence of language ideologies on Family and Preschool language policies

Language ideologies influence decisions about language policies for both families and schools. Although these have become internalised and are seen as normative, these policies are wrought with complexities such as language usage and power (McKinney and Molate, 2021). Family Language Policy (FLP) is a crucial area for “multilingual development, language maintenance and cultural continuity” (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018:128), and many families have to use these parameters to make these decisions. McCormick (1986) claims that decisions about FLP could lead to ambivalence and stress for some children because they feel inadequate to use the designated language/s. Furthermore, their loyalty as well as their language and academic development might be challenged (McCormick, 1986).

While families might make decisions to maintain their children's family language resources such as Kaaps, if the children fail to speak the expected White English-speaking people's variety, the interplay between race and language can be seen. It could lead to a situation where children, particularly black children, can be positioned as having no language or as speaking an inferior variety of the language as discussed above in the Anglonormative and raciolinguistic ideology sections, which highlight how race and language work together to position black children with a deficit.

Heller (2007) cited in McKinney (2017: 52) claims that “language is conceptualized as a socially, culturally, politically and historically situated set of resources and as a social practice”. This means that language encompasses a diverse spectrum of ideologies encompassing raciolinguistics, culture, power and emotions and is not simply a set of autonomous linguistic resources. The linguistic ideologies portrayed above foreground the power that they could carry, especially when an ulterior agenda of dominance and power is promoted.

2.3. ALTERNATIVE IDEOLOGIES: HETEROGLOSSIA

“Aweh, ma se kinnners!”¹⁰

I shall now juxtapose the contemporary concept of heteroglossia against the dominant language ideologies discussed above to show how they might be contested. Bakhtin (2010:300) postulates that unitary language is constantly opposed to heteroglossia and tries to overpower it through "forces that unite and centralise verbal-ideological thought" to promote "sociopolitical and cultural unity" because heteroglossia causes disruption. This is because, as McKinney (2017) explains, that "heteroglossia is opposed to both monoglossia (the dominance of one standardised language) and polyglossia (the [monolingual] coexistence of two languages)". Bakhtin (2010) created the term *heteroglossia* to foreground that language is imbued with the essence of the speaker's ideas and perspectives as soon as utterances occur. These utterances are therefore as individualised and unique as the person who spoke them. I have coined the term, "*Engelkaaps*" which could be understood as the usage and integration of a variety of Kaaps by Cape coloured English speakers, in their predominantly English communication to enhance their communicative ability and to make their meaning clearer. I am multilingual and I use *Engelkaaps* interchangeably in my daily life as I integrate Kaaps seamlessly into my communication.

I understand what Busch (2017) means when she says one's linguistic repertoire embodies one, as Kaaps not only reminds me of my heritage but also embraces me. Bi(multi)lingual speakers have been reported as being able to exercise their voice to be heard and respected as they adapt and tap into funds of language because languages complement each other. This enables them to communicate creatively (Canagarajah and Wurr, 2011:6) because language is not a bounded system but is usually used interchangeably with other languages (Pennycook, 2004). Kaaps is used in this way and is seen by Dyers (2015:60) as people applying "integrated competence" (Canagarajah and Wuhr, 2010:6) to their communicative repertoire.

¹⁰ Hello friends!

Therefore, heteroglossia allows a researcher a greater range in which to observe the variety of language resources used by people of different socio-political backgrounds (McKinney, 2017). Heteroglossia as a concept affords us an alternative way with which to understand language practices of bi(multi)lingual children and these can include the use of one's linguistic repertoire, languaging, etc.

2.3.1 Voice

The ability to make oneself understood and be acknowledged in the proper context is what Blommaert (2005:68) calls "voice". It is a basic human need. Therefore, he explains, voice is a social issue and the social significance provided to it will determine whether it is valuable or not because all communication is hierarchical. Bourdieu (1977) cited in Blommaert (2005) states regarding social capital that value, meaning and function are not always as apparent as shape, yet language is judged on the form that it takes (e.g. accent or competence). Therefore, Blommaert and Dong (2007) explain that ways of speaking could divulge an individual's background and identity and be used as a parameter in society to label people and perpetuate inequalities. Language is the most visible sign of social change, Blommaert (2011) cited in Dyers (2015) and it reflects what is happening in communities concerning perceptions, beliefs and stereotypes. As people are categorized by using these parameters, to counteract this, greater awareness, insight, understanding and tolerance need to be cultivated.

Although the implementation of heteroglossia is laudable, in reality, dominant forms of language and knowledge still reign. There are arguments that languaging and linguistic repertoires tie children to their local varieties as they might be further marginalised through heteroglossia. Therefore, in order not to disadvantage children, according to Janks' (2013) model for critical literacy, we need to teach them about these valued forms of language and knowledge so that they can have access to it to diversify and be holistically prepared. Furthermore, the cultivation and development of children's critical ability are important so that they learn to question relations of power (Janks, 2014).

2.4. LANGUAGE AND LITERACY SOCIALISATION

In this section, I draw on two strands of sociocultural theory, that is, the New Literacy Studies strand which explores that literacy is a social practice embedded in literacy practices, literacy events, autonomous literacies, ideological literacies, orality, multimodality and materiality. I also draw on Vygotsky's sociocultural theory which theorises play as a site of learning as well as children learning by constructing new knowledge based on prior knowledge and through mediation and scaffolding. Within Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, I will also explore concepts such as the ZPD, learning through play and self-regulation.

2.4.1 Language and Literacy as Social Practice

Literacy encompasses our day-to-day social interactions with everyone and everything that we encounter. Therefore, drawing on the concepts of language and literacy as social practice from NLS scholars (Street, 1993, Gee, 1990) and Discourse (Gee, 1990), this study explores how children's language and literacy learning is embedded in their sociocultural ways of saying, doing, thinking, feeling and valuing (Gee, 1990). Sociocultural theory espouses that literacy, therefore, because it is socially situated, helps to shape social structures through practice as directed by communal values, rules, and regulations (Gee, 1990; Street, 1993; Lillis, 2008).

Thus, observing the various Discourses that play out between the participants leads to insights into their interactions and meaning making, which Kress (1997:7) sees as work or action. In these interactions, I need to be aware of the power and domination dynamics that occur, where social position and identities are important.

NLS conception of literacy encompasses language and literacy as a social practice paying attention to how oral language and reading and writing are used in people's daily social life. According to Gee (2015), children's early oral language acquisition, their Primary Discourse, is embedded from childhood as they are immersed in the culture of their family and community where they learn about acceptable social norms, language, as well as the role of

an “everyday person” (Gee, 2015:4). Gee (2015) also stipulates that language, in other words, the secondary discourse (written language or formal oral language of storytelling or poetry performance) as acquired from educational institutions or in places of social interest (ceremonies or sports), could cause conflict with a person’s identity as they might be in conflict with what was taught and learnt at home. Therefore, to be able to navigate our way successfully through the world, Gee (2015) reiterates that we need to understand the various roles or social identities that we need to perform to fit in. Therefore understanding “Mushfaking” (Gee 1996:145), which is the putting on of a guise and what the result of these actions could be and what identity shifts happen during communication are also significant (Jewitt, 2014). Observation of how the children use their oral language resources and multimodal resources, social factors and relationships need to be considered which could include educational and class aspirations, neighbourliness, linguistic and ethnic group stereotyping as mentioned by McCormick (1986). It is therefore imperative to be sensitive culturally as a researcher when observing these practices (Street 1993:2).

2.4.2 New Literacy Studies, Literacy Events and Literacy Practices

The fusion of concepts within literacy as a social practice, such as “orality”, “literacy events” (Heath, 1982:382) and “literacy practices” (Street, 2000:6) is noted in this research. Orality relates to formal discourses such as “storytelling”, “poetry performance”, “opening a homestead” in which the discourse is very different from an every-day conversation (Gough & Bock, 2001:3). Literacy events are instances “When talk revolves around a piece of writing, for example reading a bedtime story with a child and discussing it (Heath, 1982:382). These are instances where the strategies to analyse, interpret and understand written language are developed. These foundational skills are primarily built at home according to various traditions and cultures, as shown by Heath (1982) in her seminal study of literacy practices amongst three communities in Appalachia. She showed in her book, *Ways with Words*, that we need to bear in mind that various communities have different ways of socialising children and sharing knowledge, therefore their usage, interpretation and vocalising of written materials would vary. Street (2000:6) formulates that a literacy event enables researchers to observe what is happening during a certain frame of time in a certain space. He highlights the

fact that if the concept is used singularly, it would only be descriptive and would not garner the depth of understanding needed to fathom why certain meanings are created and developed. Language and literacy practices, conversely, link literacy events to a “broader cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts” (Street, 2000:6). Therefore, he postulates that literacy practices expand and deepens one’s insight because it encapsulates the applications and meanings of literacy. By realising that literacy is not simply skills that could be applied functionally, but is social practice associated with meaning, identity and social position in context, would lead to greater understanding. By working in an amalgamation of the conceptual frameworks of orality, literacy events and practices, I have a deeper understanding of not only what is happening but also why something is happening and the meaning making behind it.

2.4.3 Autonomous and Ideological Models of Literacy

We need to understand the differences, thought and power processes between the autonomous and the ideological models of literacy as defined by Street (1993), as these beliefs influence pedagogical practices, where mostly excellent academic results and milestones are desired.

The autonomous model embraces the thought that literacy is a highly technical and neutral technology that is divorced from social interaction. It proposes that skills such as reading and writing can be used unilaterally to alter cognitive ability and thought to realise prescribed goals but it does not focus on how the input is absorbed in a socially situated context.

Street (1993) developed the ideological model of literacy to challenge the autonomous model. His ideological model of literacy states that literacy is situated in a cultural setting and includes orality. Therefore, when literacy is viewed as social practice, one’s understanding is deepened regarding diversity and nuances in the meaning making process. Because language and literacy can create change, it cannot be neutral (Street,1993).

2.4.4 Implications/consequences of the autonomous model for pedagogy

The autonomous model of literacy is reflected in Durkheim's and Parson's views on education. McKay (1995:1) explains how Durkheim's views, which the South African educational system is primarily based on, as well as Parson's functionalist view, reflect that "external social reality" restricts and moulds individuals. The school's role is to train each child through socialisation education to think similarly, conform and have a specific occupational skill. Therefore, the children are trained to become exemplary citizens, whose unquestioning respect for authority is expected in a regulated and productive society (Janks 2009). Janks' (2009) concept of *flic dans la tete* (cop in the head) foregrounds how an individual, once the extrinsic behavioural modification has been applied and assimilated into acceptable behavioural patterns, can intrinsically police and discipline themselves. A person who does not conform would be seen as a deviant.

2.4.5 Black Box Literacy

McKay (1995) illustrates that the meritocratic system allocates merits for achievement due to individual ability, intelligence and hard work, which reflects the autonomous literacy viewpoint that when independent and neutral skills are applied across contexts and assessed universally, success is achievable. Individuals are led to believe that according to this functionalist system, they are to blame for their failures due to, for example, laziness or personal problems, as socio-economic conditions, language barriers or the curriculum are not considered. This mindset is further highlighted by Prinsloo and Stein (2004:1) to foreground the early literacy learning research approach called "input-output" or "black box" studies, where it sees children as "decontextualised individual units" (Prinsloo and Stein 2004:1) devoid of social influence who are taught the skills of reading, embracing the autonomous literacy viewpoint.

2.4.6 Multiliteracies as an Alternative Pedagogical Approach incorporated within the Ideological Model

The term “multiliteracies” was coined by the New London Group (NLG) in 1996 and foregrounds that ideologies of monolingualism and monoculturalism, as well as of print only literacies are unrealistic. Globalisation and superdiversity were key factors in this paradigm shift as knowledge was not localised anymore. Superdiversity is a significant and rapid increase in the movement of migrants demographically, socially and digitally which results in a complex amalgamation of cultures, languages, religions and beliefs (Vervotec, 2007 cited in Busch, 2012:505).

This shift in mindset was brought about by the realisation that multiple and diverse domains and modes such as power dynamics, oral discourses, roles and identities and textual practices could be incorporated through this approach (Stein & Slonimsky, 2006). Stein & Slonimsky (2006) who cite Giroux (1994), argue for “border crossings” so that the multiple literacies practised in the home should be included in school literacies to broaden the field of inclusiveness.

Furthermore, Stein and Newfield (2006:2) highlight that due to the high status of English, it influences the identities of many people, as its mastery could lead to “societal power” and inequality. They argue for a revolution of thought concerning both the teaching of English as a subject and as a medium of teaching and learning, through multiliteracies and multimodal pedagogies, which would embrace and acknowledge diversity. Prinsloo and Stein (2004:2) advocate that early learning sites should be viewed as “complex multi-semiotic communitive environments” so that the teaching methodology can become more inventive and not simply incorporate prescriptive “black box” methodologies which could lead to the curtailment of creativity. However, Nicolopoulou, *et al.* (2006) stipulate that the value of play for young children has been increasingly substituted by teacher-led skill based academic instruction. Bloch (1997) also highlights that ECDs have moved away from the discover and play ethos to very rigid institutionalised schooling to get the children ready for big school, therefore the innate drive which incorporates creativity, questioning, exploration, problem solving and imagination is diminished. This is in direct contrast to Heath’s (2013:188) observations that

“Play, exploration, imagination and risk taking” are key factors for the development of creativity. Therefore Nicoloupou, *et al.* (2006) advocate for recognition that children's modes of learning are governed by their cognition, interests, and understanding of their world and it should not be substituted with adult centred perspectives. They state that a combination of complementary child-led and adult-led activities is the most effective educational method. They believe that play should be integrated into the curriculum and not simply be a segregated activity, so that children are engaged through their interests and initiatives.

Also, through "culturally disruptive pedagogy", San Pedro (2018) cited in Alim (2021:13) proposes that educators should stimulate and encourage cultural practices to rally against established racial ideologies. This is necessary because there is a gatekeeping ideology where an elite few, who embrace and implement the mainstream ideologies, achieve academic success because of insider knowledge. The education portals to others are closed or narrowed as their literacies are unacknowledged and sidelined (Janks,2014). Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele (2016:20) highlight how learners and teachers can be instrumental in "redrawing borders among languages", redistributing value to languages and pioneering ways in which pedagogics that embrace plurilingualism, can be applied. Therefore, the amalgamation of the multiple semiotic resources of children, in conjunction with critical literacy and greater academic knowledge, is important for the development of early literacy (Stein 2003; Prinsloo and Stein 2004; Janks 2013).

Multimodal social semiotics could be a framework that allows children to “think independently, dialogically and critically” (Newfield 2011:28) and that encourages and acknowledge the learners’ voice, agency, meaning, culture and beliefs, leading to enhanced interest, excitement and outcomes of creativity.

2.4.6.1 Orality

According to NLS tenets (Heath, 1982; Street, 1993), Nicolopoulou, *et al.* (2015) explain that young children need to master a greater variety of cognitive and language skills for comprehension than simply mastering letter recognition, decoding and phonological skills.

Therefore, orality and oral literature and their accompanying skills such as narration, storytelling and drama are crucial too. However, Heath's (1982) observations of the three communities foregrounded that those who embraced literacy differently for example, using stronger oral traditions, were mostly sidelined and ignored, whereas the mainstream school skills-based norms of reading and writing were acknowledged. Paley (2007) advocates that educators should include these oral skills in their daily routine so that they might understand their children better as these enactments reflect on real life happenings. This is because children create characters and plots in which they explain their place in the world and they use them to solve problems in their way.

2.4.6.2 Multimodality

Within language and literacy as a social practice theoretical framework, the focus on language as an exclusive means of communication is contested. New concepts such as multimodality and materiality afford us a fresh lens with which to observe communication and meaning making.

Multimodal social semiotics foregrounds how human beings use various semiotic communicative means that are both culturally and socially generated during interaction across a spectrum of environments to express meaning (Stein, 2003; Stein and Newfield, 2006; Pahl, 2014). It emphasises the belief that language is but one of the modes that we use to communicate. Kress (1997:6-7) explains that mode indicates that we convey meaning "from different stuff" (what message does the wearing of certain clothing indicate or what meaning does a glance convey). Kress (2011:17) expresses that "Multimodality includes all modes (e.g. action, movement, three-dimensional objects) as socially shaped resources for meaning making". He insists that we are constantly creating new signs and that the body and senses are central to multimodality. Semiosis is the study of meaning-making through these signs. Busch (2017) reiterates that multimodality is sometimes an overlooked factor when observing an individual's usage of linguistic resources as in conjunction with speaking, they are also immersed in communicative repertoires such as emotions and gestures, which is the lived experience (Busch, 2017).

Therefore, children who cannot elucidate their thoughts through speech eloquently have to try to convey their meaning multimodally such as by pointing (gesture) or staring (gaze). An absence of a gesture could also convey meaning. Observation of instances between various semiotic modes is important, especially which modes become dominant during communication. Therefore, not only the reason for the communication and the social context that it is carried out need to be understood but the meaning-making behind the multimodal action. As makers of meaning, children are quite experienced at self expression as they can convey to the outer world what is inside through any medium available, for example, a puppet or hoop (Kress, 1997; Bloch, 1997; Stein, 2003; Pahl, 2014).

2.4.6.3 Multimodality and Ideas

I, therefore, understand that multimodality stems from ideas first as Vygotsky (1978) explains that ideas and not objects lead to action. For example, the idea to use a table as a home. As children attach meaning to things, life experiences are transferred to play experiences (Vygotsky, 1978). These examples could highlight transmodality, which is when new forms of communication give rise to various multimodalities and changes (Prinsloo, 2004). For example, Heath (2013:190) claims that the hand can change thought or imagination into something tangible as it is an instrument for cognitive development. Kress (2011) stipulates that meaning and form are identical to the children e.g. a bench is a sign used for a cot. Therefore, children are always adapting as the need arises and Bock (2016:4) argues that these “meaning potentials” are crucial for the development of their agency, cognition and learning.

2.4.6.4 Materiality

Materiality is an interesting concept, that has piqued my interest as it promulgates that the environment and artefacts “whisper” (Hvit 2014:11) to children and entice them to investigate and play with them. Therefore the multimodal interaction by children with the

environment and adults, how they inspire each other and the significance behind their constant meaning making due to personal and social experiences and how it affects their learning is important for this research so that one can understand what draws them to learn. This leads one to Heath's (1982:2) proposition that one needs to consider the multicultural ways of knowledge acquisition and of taking meaning from the environment, which could lead to a better understanding of how children orient themselves in their communities and society. Heath (1982) emphasises that this knowledge could lead one to provide a greater variety of learning opportunities as opposed to the mainstream and acceptable schooled ways. Prinsloo and Stein (2004) highlight how young children, once they understand that there is meaning behind symbols, scribbles and drawings, they desire to explore how it all makes sense, especially their usefulness. If these early literacy experiences are enjoyable and nurturing, a positive perception would be planted.

Although the ideas behind the concept of applying multiliteracies are laudable, from experience, I know that the application thereof could be daunting for many educators. Some of the constraints could be overcrowded classes, a sense of losing control, researching and applying new and unfamiliar methodologies as well as more preparation yet limited time. Furthermore, the CAPS curriculum is restrictive and prescriptive and is heavily academic and assessment based. As Bock (2016) highlights, although a wider range of semiotic modes could engage more children, the school favours writing as the preferred semiotic mode whilst the more expressive and artistic forms such as physical education, music and art are downplayed and receive less time.

2.5 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

In conjunction with the sociocultural theory of the NLS of (Gee, 1990; Heath, 1982; Street, 1993; Lillis, 2008), I am also drawing on another strand of sociocultural theory which encompasses Vygotsky's (1978) social constructivism model. His model sees learners as active participants who build on their existing knowledge to achieve a greater and more challenging understanding by moving through the ZPD. This ZPD area is where the learner needs help to advance his knowledge through assisted learning, mediation and encouragement to achieve

mastery. The importance of incorporating this sociocultural theory helps one to deeply understand why children do the things that they do during their everyday lives and by understanding their social, language and literacy development, one could inform pedagogics from below. I shall now expand on the importance of play practices for children's development.

2.5.1 Play, encompassing the social and cognitive development of the child

“Play is not the predominant feature of childhood but it is the leading factor in development.” Vygotsky (1978:99) |

Play is a socially embedded cultural practice that children engage in and learn from. Fisher (2010) highlights that play and learning from play are inseparable and are integral for the strong foundation for many important aspects of educational and social and cultural navigation. Paley (2007:1), who desired to fathom how, through imaginative play and storytelling, children understand their world, highlighted how imaginative play strengthens opportunities for building strong social and cognitive development.

Vygotsky (1978:97), when he said: “In play, a child always behaves beyond his average age...” emphasises how important play is for children to experiment and create greater personas where they can imagine their future selves. Joseph *et al.* (2014) expand that when the child creates their world during play they are powerful, have hope and are masters of their life. Paley (2007:1) expresses that imaginative play is "a state of mind" where, although they pretend to be someone else in an unfolding story, it is very real to them. Play, therefore, allows children to hypothesise, where “variables, conditions, interactions and consequences” are used to store “ memories of the future” (Ingvar, 1998 cited in Heath, 2014:191) which they will apply later. Also, children will use their previous knowledge, interests and semiotic resources to create meaning, as well as experiment with fantasy learning (Kress, 1997). As language and literacy arise from an internal source, it is an ongoing creative process that occurs on site at a specific time during play (Gee, 1996 cited in Prinsloo, 2004). This is a powerful testament to play as Joseph *et al.* (2014) explain that Vygotsky's (1987) genetic law

of cultural development emphasises that the child first develops on a social level and then on an internal psychological level. Social competence, self-regulation and co-operation are crucial soft skills that enable children to coexist harmoniously (Nicolopoulou, *et al.*, 2015). Through socio-dramatic play and role playing, children show problem solving abilities as well as “empathy and theory of mind” (Heath, 2013:192). Furthermore, Paley (2007) highlights that during socio-dramatic play and role playing, as children try to find their place in the world, they create characters and plots. She states that children use orality to keep repeating a story or a theme to practise, listen to their thoughts and solve problems. I understand that this could be likened to adults mulling over something, but children acting out their thoughts verbally and practically.

Prinsloo (2004:1) illustrates that play offers opportunities for children to move through multiple social worlds where something new is birthed which lead to endless possibilities. Baker- Sennett *et al.* (2008) noted that in child-led activities as opposed to adult led activities, for example, in planning for play crafting sessions, the children co-operated in decision making, shared guidance and negotiation. They also improvised in that they "bounce ideas off each other in an open and fluid fashion" Baker- Sennett *et al.*, (2008:17). In direct contrast, adults find it challenging to share control with children regarding information transmission, ideas and decision making.

This is in keeping with Prinsloo (2004) when he stated that through play children can create meaningful inventions by receiving peer feedback. Paley (2007:8) calls imaginative play being inside a story and "sharing a moment of intimate knowledge" with others. Play, according to Vygotsky (1987:78) cited in Joseph *et al.* (2014:28), is both an escape from life and a reflection of life, which incorporates both rational thought and symbolic or fantasy play. As Vygotsky (1978) explains, children emulate what they understand to be the concept of, for example, a mother or sister and project what they think these roles should be. They apply the “rules of behaviour” (Vygotsky 1978:93) which, in reality, are unnoticed because they are part of their everyday life. However, these rules become evident to them because they have to apply them such as soothing a baby or helping others, to make the role realistic.

2.5.2 Rules and Self-Regulation

Constant playful interactions between children allow them to practice their self-regulation, communication and negotiation skills while discovering and understanding what is socially acceptable or not and it enables them to experience “action, causation and consequence” (Heath, 2013:192). Regulation initially comes from an external influence such as a parent, teacher or peer, before it becomes internalised. Vygotsky’s (1978:96) statement: “A child’s greatest self-control occurs in play”, implies that play hinders spontaneous impulses at times because the child is conflicted as to whether they should obey their impulses and break the rules or obey the rules and curb their impulses. The children must therefore exercise their willpower to decide what is necessary for harmony and Vygotsky (1978:96) highlights that when self-restraint is exercised, “the rule wins because it is the strongest impulse.”

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature on language ideologies and their consequences. This literature highlights how choices are influenced by the belief that pure, standardised English, driven by the ideologies of English monolingualism and Anglonormativity, is regarded as the prestigious upwardly mobile language of access and success. I have explained how monolingual ideologies influence the exponential growth of dominant, colonial languages because they are accepted as legitimate and valuable, to the detriment of less dominant languages. Furthermore, the denial of the legitimacy of linguistic competence through “languagelessness” (Rosa 2016:1) foregrounds how people could be silenced. Highlighting how these ideologies permeate pedagogy and how children could be disabled by not being able to use their natural resources and talents, which could lead to social reproduction is important for social justice.

I have also reviewed literature that provides alternative language ideologies such as heteroglossia that challenge these dominant ideologies and enables one to understand the language practices of bi(multi)lingual children better so that an alternative way could be

found. Janks (2013) model of critical literacy is foregrounded to highlight how valued forms of language and knowledge also need to be taught so that children can diversify and be holistically prepared.

In the section on Language and Literacy Socialisation, I have concentrated on two strands of sociocultural theory. These are the New Literacy Studies strand which argues that literacy is a social practice and Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory which theorises play as a forerunner for development. I have highlighted how working in the conceptual framework of literacy as a social practice, with an amalgamation of orality, literacy events and practices, could deepen the understanding of the meaning making behind certain occurrences.

Furthermore, because beliefs pertaining to the autonomous and ideological models of literacy (Street, 1993) influence pedagogical practices, these have been investigated to understand how they could impact children. I conclude the chapter with a section on social constructivism where I highlight Vygotsky's sociocultural theory which includes concepts such as constructing new knowledge based on prior knowledge, through mediation and scaffolding, the ZPD, learning through play and self-regulation. This would help one to understand why play practices are crucial for the children's social, language and literacy development so that one could inform pedagogics from below.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Working within language and literacy as a social practice, the research design for this study was implemented as an exploratory, descriptive, interpretive and qualitative case study that draws on linguistic ethnographic data collection and analytic tools. Thus, it is not a full ethnographic study but draws on the important tenets of ethnography. I start the chapter by describing what ethnography and linguistic ethnography are, as well as the tenets of ethnography upon which this study draws. Secondly, I describe the case study and how it has been constructed. Next, I discuss the research site and participants and will follow on with the process of collection of data. The section on my positionality and reflexivity depicts my awareness of my input to this study. I explain the data analysis segment in detail to orient the reader to this exciting and crucial yet laborious task. Lastly, the paragraphs on validity and ethical consideration highlight my awareness that this research should take the utmost care to maintain its integrity and the dignity of the participants.

3.2. ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH AND LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

This study takes on an ethnographic approach that foregrounds linguistic ethnography. Hammersley (1993:1) points out that ethnography is “social research” and that the approach is a non-prescriptive exploration of human behaviour in a natural setting. This can only be realised through direct contact as it looks at the unfolding of practices to gain a deeper insight into language and literacy interactions which are sited at the “intricate zones of culture and society” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011:12). I needed to view this unfolding by allowing the data to lead the way (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Copland and Creese (2017:14) explain that linguistic ethnography is an approach that examines how participants interact in "wider social contexts and structures and ideologies" and it uses an interpretive lens that looks at the participants' emic perspective. Linguistic ethnography is relevant to this research because

it foregrounds the overlooked, every day and mundane so that we can understand better how language and communication influence and impacts social practices and visa versa.

3.2.1 Linguistic Ethnographic Case Study

The linguistic ethnographic case study takes a comprehensive, in depth look at the occurrences and developments of a unit (person or community) to the environment over a time frame (Merriam-Webster, 2009) and is used to “understand complex social phenomena” (Yin, 2013:3). Yin (2013:2) explains that a case study is an ideal approach when descriptive questions such as “how” or “why” and the exploratory question of “what” are raised. Furthermore, Yin (2013:6) highlights that a case study encompasses a range of data collection possibilities such as evidence documents, artifacts, interviews, and observation. Case studies are ideal when the researcher has scant control over events that unfold unprecedentedly in a real-life context. As case studies are complex “bounded systems”, Stake (1988:256) cited in Dyson (1995), states that establishing and maintaining boundaries can be a momentous task, forcing the researcher to rethink the originally allotted spaces. This definition aptly describes my research as I was observing a group of 4- to 6-year-old children to see how they interacted between themselves, their teachers, their parents, and their environment in their preschool environment.

As Hammersley (1993:2) suggests, the source material was collected in an “unstructured” way by observing casual conversations, taking field notes and making audio recordings. The research design draws on studies done in preschool settings (Jensen, 2011; Hvit, 2014; Prinsloo & Stein, 2004). It drew on the ethnographies of literacy in the NLS tradition (Heath, 1982; Street, 1993; 2000). As mentioned previously, I incorporated an amalgamation of the concepts of “orality”; “literacy events”; “literacy practices”; “multimodality”; “materiality” and bi(multi)lingual communication as well as the social constructivist concepts of “play”, the “ZPD” and “self-regulation” as it was beneficial to the research to use these frameworks. As minimal research had been done in the field of observing language and literacy play practices of preschool bi(multi)lingual children, who speak Kaaps-Afrikaans-English, this research is exploratory.

3.3. RESEARCH SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

My research site was a preschool situated in a lower to middle-income working-class community of Rocklands in Mitchells Plain on the Cape Flats. It was established in 2010 by the owner's mother, who was well known in the community. The owner originally worked as a full-time teacher there but after her mother passed away, she ran the preschool to honour her mother's legacy. It is a very humble place with a prominent sponsored sign outside displaying a popular cola and the preschool's ethos of learning through play. The space is quite small with two rooms allotted to the preschoolers and another larger one for the younger children. The buildings are part of the main semi-detached house. The play area is a cement yard that links the buildings. Attempts have been made to make it cheery with painted murals, however, the paint is peeling and there are tired posters on the wall. The registration fees are R150, with monthly fees of R700 for the children who are toilet trained, R900 a month for those who are on a nappy and R100 a week for aftercare. The children are mostly referred via word of mouth.

The participants comprised mainly of 4- to 6-year-old children from the surrounding areas of Mitchell's Plain, their teachers and a parent. There were 27 children, aged from two to six years. They are mostly Black Coloured children with two Black African language speaking children. The adult participants were English and Afrikaans bi(multi)lingual speakers. The school follows the CAPS curriculum and teaches standard English but is not affiliated with any educational body. There are four teachers, of which the owner is qualified, with one teacher at college and the other two who are "Waiting to start." When I visited at one stage, an upheaval occurred where two teachers resigned due to salary disputes and the owner, although she only does the cooking and administrative duties, had to stand in temporarily.

Table of Interviewees						
Participant	Key	Date Interviewed	Biographical Sketch	Location of Interview	Duration of Interview	Appendix
Owner	O	04 March 2022	The owner (30) originally worked as a full-time teacher from 2013 in the preschool that her mother had established in 2010. She was educated at a Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College. After her mother passed away in 2020, she took over the running of the preschool to honour her legacy. She speaks Engelkaaps, English, Afrikaans and Urdu. She learnt Xhosa at primary school.	Preschool	20 minutes	Appendix D
Owner		01 July 2022		Telephonic	10 minutes	
Teacher 1	T1	04 March 2022	Teacher 1 still works at the preschool and is a qualified preschool teacher who was educated at a TVET College. She speaks English and Afrikaans and dislikes Kaaps. She is interested in Spanish and French.	Preschool	15 minutes	Appendix E
Teacher 2	T2	04 March 2022	Teacher 2 (27) was very nervous and her interview was quite short. She speaks Engelkaaps, English and Afrikaans. She is a qualified preschool teacher. She was educated at TVET College. She left the preschool after one year's service, during my observational stint there.	Preschool	10 minutes	Appendix F
Teacher 3	T3	04 March 2022	Teacher three (26) spoke easily and aired her thoughts freely. She speaks English and Afrikaans and knows Arabic from religious studies. She was educated at a TVET College. She left after one year at the preschool, at the same time as Teacher 2.	Preschool	15 minutes	Appendix G
Parent	P	18 March 2022	The parent (25) works at a call centre and her child was in the class that I observed. She spoke easily and interacted well. She speaks	Preschool	20 minutes	Appendix H

			Engelkaaps, English and Afrikaans. She learnt Xhosa at primary school.			
Drama Teacher	D	30 March 2022	The drama teacher (36) started his own drama school when he was retrenched as a teacher at the skills school. He was educated through a specialised performing arts college (London). He is trained in Playback Theatre, improvisational theatre and creative arts practice. He travels to various locations on the Cape Flats such as Lavender Hill, Mitchell's Plain and Lansdowne to teach. He speaks Engelkaaps, Kaaps, English, Afrikaans, isi-Xhosa and wants to learn Khoi.	Preschool	20 minutes	Appendix I

Table 1: Information about the interviewees and the interview process

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

I had initially been granted access to the preschool telephonically, but I needed to visit the proposed site to see whether it was conducive to my research, especially in line with the Covid-19 protocols. I also had to consider that my data collection could be delayed due to the closure of the schools due to the rise of Covid-19 infections in the third wave. Once the site had been confirmed, I introduced myself and familiarised the owner with what the research entailed during one (1) introductory session after which she informed her staff about the research. I then conducted informal, semi-structured interviews of about 10-20 minutes each at the preschool with the owner, preschool teachers, the drama teacher and one parent, who availed herself for an interview. The observation of the children occurred during six (6) one-hour sessions.

As observing the children and adults over six hours could potentially produce an avalanche of data, I restricted the observations to some bounded events such as classroom observation, free play with equipment, socio-dramatic play, unstructured mat time with building blocks

and drama lessons. This was necessary to enable me to capture the pertinent data for the type of close analysis I intended to do. It was fortuitous that the preschool was closely confined as I could simply watch from a vantage point.

3.5 OBSERVATION DATA

Prinsloo and Stein (2004) advocate that early literacy centres should be seen as environments where multi-semiotic communication occurs. I endeavoured to observe the spontaneous and unique occurrences of meaning making interactions between the participants, their environment and the artefacts during a variety of controlled and spontaneous play opportunities. I paid attention to perceived mundane artefacts or happenings, which might yield unexpectedly rich data due to the meaningful significance attached to them (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), for example, children playing with hoops. Furthermore, I observed whether the preschool promotes a language and literacy rich setting and whether it enhances the skills of the children through personal development and encourages them to live their identity and express themselves (Jensen, 2011). Finally, I explored how play and language practices are valued by parents and teachers.

3.5.1 Field Notes

Data was collected using observation of the preschoolers and their interactions with their peers, and adults in a socio-cultural context over a period of six (6) one-hour sessions.

As I mostly used field notes, I used a notebook to jot down any observations and thoughts during the process. I also made drawings to capture what I observed. The children became used to me scribbling in my notebook and I could eventually use it unobtrusively. The dialogue and interactions were noted down in situ and written down verbatim. I am quite adept at scribbling as I had been the main minute taker during meetings at schools where I had taught for many years. Consequently, I had learnt to listen and write quite quickly and accurately and therefore I am confident that I had captured the data correctly. Note taking allowed me to

immediately write down what I observed and thought in real time. The disadvantages were that I could not observe everything at once and had to decide what was of interest. I therefore might have missed salient data that a video might have recorded.

I opted not to use video recordings as the consent forms trickled in slowly from parents and I wanted to protect the children by preserving their anonymity. I, therefore, relied on my observational skills. As I had not received all the consent forms from the parents when I started observing them, I did not take photographs of them immediately either. As I relied on memory, this decision presented me with less data which would have been invaluable for understanding various multimodal gestures such as facial expressions and body language, etc.

These “extralinguistic features” (Kress, 2011:15) highlight that language is not the sole mode of communication. I also missed the opportunity for observing “practices unfolding in time” Kress (2011:16) where one can replay the recordings which would not be possible when one views the events in real time. Because videos allow for repeated viewings at different speeds, it enables one to do multimodal transcription more accurately, especially by observing micro-activity such as intentionality (Lancaster, 2003).

That said, some audio recordings of the interactions between the children during play and activities were made, although I did not include that data set because I believed that I had sufficient data for this research. I endeavoured to write up my field notes once I arrived home while the proceedings were still fresh in my mind, but as this did not always happen, the field notes were crucial to jogging my memory. Erikson (1990:147) cited in Copland (2015), advocates that write up not only triggers memory so that information can be added but also “stimulates analytic induction and reflection on relevant theory”, leading to greater insight.

3.5.2 Photographs

Linguistic landscaping of both spoken and written signs was noted to understand their usage. Photographs of the environment concentrated mostly on literacy artefacts, puppets and print such as posters, books, etc. I masked the children’s faces in the photographs that I took in

data collection, to retain anonymity. These photographs were essential for analysis. Because video recordings can also be paused and changed into still photographs, I feel that the photographs were sufficient for my purposes.

3.5.3 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews of the preschool teachers, a parent and the drama teacher elicited their viewpoints on the language question. Adams (2015) explains that a semi-structured interview (SSI) is an informal, relaxed and engaging conversational method used to gather information. A compilation of open and closed ended questions, as well as follow up questions such as “why” or “how” are used. I found this method helpful as I encountered that the dialogue wandered and would "delve into unforeseen issues", Adams (2015:4). Consequently, I also found the initially pensive participants became more relaxed and chattier, revealing some useful leads that led to rich data. I could also ask probing questions about independent thoughts, as the participants were probably more candid than if they were in a larger group for example, a parent being interviewed together with the teachers.

The disadvantages of this method are that it is time consuming and produces a vast amount of data that need to be transcribed and analysed. Note taking was used to document the data and my cell phone was used to record audio, which was invaluable for listening to nuances, pauses and intonations which produce insights into beliefs and meaning making.

3.6 POSITIONALITY / REFLEXIVITY

Positionality is aptly described by Coffey (1999:23) cited in Copland (2015), who states that “Fieldwork involves the enactment of social roles and relationships, which places the self at the heart of the enterprise”. McCormick (1986) suggests that to obtain natural speech, one needs to interview the participants when they are among friends or family members. Even though the interviews were one-to-one, spontaneous speech happened because they were informal in nature and I was part of the participant’s community and accepted as an insider.

As a qualitative researcher, I was therefore subjective, as I had an insider perspective regarding the culture and ways of speaking. I sometimes shared my experiences to break down barriers and as a strategy to stimulate conversation. Therefore, I am aware that I might have influenced some insights by sharing my own experiences, but this resulted in the participants trusting me with their stories and viewpoints. Jewitt (2014), states that multimodal research could lend itself to the criticism that it is open to subjective interpretation by the researcher. She counters this argument, however, by stating that the researcher needs to understand the meaning-making behind the modality and be aware of the social context and the function when the occurrence happened.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Copland (2015) advises that analysis should start immediately once data collection commences, and she stipulates that it is important to keep the research question and objectives in mind. I did this inconsistently at first but as I realised the critical importance of this advice, I became more diligent as the work started to snowball. Furthermore, Cameron (2001) explains that the first stage of analysing and interpreting is transcribing, where the researcher tackles the finer details of talk. By transcribing the spoken word, I could analyse it better because the fleeting orality had been transformed into a permanent record. I found this true because as I revisited my transcriptions, the attributes of spoken discourse could be probed more, Cameron (2001). I shall expand on the transcription process further in the section on the analysis process (3.7.4).

Once transcribed, I analysed the data through thematic analysis (TA), with some sections being analysed using discourse analysis and multimodal semiotic discourse analysis, which I shall briefly explain for clarity before expanding on the analysis process.

3.7.1 Thematic analysis (TA)

Thematic analysis is a method that identifies and analyses recurring themes or patterns in qualitative data (Clarke and Braun, 2013). Clarke and Braun (2013) explain that it is useful because it works across a range of research questions, it can be applied to different types of data, for example, interview questions or transcripts, large or small data sets can be analysed and it can be used for data-driven or theory-driven analyses. “TA can be used to provide nuanced and complex interpretations of data, to rework theoretical concepts, and to make arguments” (Clarke and Braun, 2013:4). For my initial analysis (3.7.4.1) I found the transcription table an extremely useful tool for TA especially when I colour coded the various emerging themes to identify them, for example, Language Ideologies (yellow), Multimodality and Materiality (purple), Identity (grey) and Language Policy (green). Some themes that unfolded were ones that I had originally envisioned such as beliefs concerning language ideologies, heteroglossia, etc. However, coloniality, languagelessness, voice and FLP were sub themes that emerged which added an interesting depth to the research.

3.7.2 Discourse analysis

Gee foregrounds that Discourses are the “sayings-doings- thinkings-feelings- valuings” of everyday life (Gee 1990: i) and that it is the “socially acceptable associations among a social group or network” (Gee 1996:131). He states that we enact various and multiple Discourses as and when needed. To understand Discourses is to understand society, the synergies of humans and their language usage (discourse). Jaworski and Coupland (1999:3) state concerning discourse that: “It is language in use but also beyond language in use”, meaning that we also have to investigate people’s ideologies, value systems, and behaviour in society. They foreground that language both reflects and moulds social order and the interaction of the individual on society. The purpose of discourse analysis is to understand the interaction, power relations and meaning making between people and society. Jaworski and Coupland (1999:6) refer to it as a “forensic activity”, where it looks at inequality in social groups. For the discourse analysis to be accurate, I paid attention to the transcribed audio recordings and listened carefully for emphatic speech, pauses, nuances and repetitions as interpreting the data enabled me to understand viewpoints of the participants.

3.7.3 Multimodal Social Semiotic Discourse Analysis

Multimodal Social Semiotic Discourse Analysis embraces the belief that language is but one of the modes that we use to communicate. It also highlights the need to understand “the role of the body and the senses in semiosis (the process of meaning-making through signs) which guarantees the multimodality of our semiotic world” (Kress 2000b: 184 cited in Newfield, 2011). That is, the interaction of the body for communicative purposes, for example, gestures, gaze, action, positioning, space and artefacts, and how important this is for meaning making in a social setting (Newfield, 2011; Kress, 2011). Through multimodal social semiotic discourse analysis, I strived to understand how the compilation of the meanings of the various modes contributes to the overall “making of meaning in social environments”, Kress (2011:3). In other words, how the parts contribute to the whole. I used audio recordings, photographs, field notes and drawings as I observed various communicative semiotic modes to understand the process.

I shall now explain the analysis processes, namely the Initial Analysis, Integrated Analysis and Microanalysis (Copland, 2014), used for my research.

3.7.4 Analysis Process

The process of data analysis entailed that all field notes, some observational data and interviews were transcribed. The transcription process, using the transcription code below was extremely time consuming, as I had to ensure that I listened to and captured the essential data as needed and I would strongly suggest starting immediately with this crucial data source. At times, I had to relisten to ascertain whether I had interpreted the tone or nuance or had captured the pause, repetition, or emphasis correctly. Although I had taken notes during the interviews, they could not encapsulate these nuances, pauses and intonations that the audio recordings captured, and which gave me invaluable insights. I must attest to the importance of storing the data safely because my cell phone had suddenly stopped

functioning permanently during my research, but I was able to retrieve the recorded data from the cloud.

Below is the transcription code I used while transcribing the data (see the full transcript in the appendices).

<u>TRANSCRIPTION CODE</u>	
Overlapping/simultaneous speech	//
Latching (two utterances that follow each other without pause)	=
Short pause	.
Long pause	..
Excitement/raised voice	!
Emphatic speech	<u>xxx</u>
Inaudible	((xxx))
Rising Intonation	?
Non-verbal actions	[]

3.7.4.1 Initial Analysis

During the transcription, I used an Analysis Table as suggested by my supervisor to firstly plot the individual transcribed interviews. She also advised that as I look for emerging themes, using TA (3.6.1) and that I colour code them as explained above. This was invaluable advice as one can become overwhelmed by the avalanche of data. Although these categories were still broad, they gave structure in which to work. The interview questions were placed in the first column with the respondents' answers in the next. By using the colour codes, I could place my interpretations in the relevant theme columns. I also discussed the data in relation to my literature in the last column, where I noted instances of new themes emerging. I needed to remember that the data could reshape my theoretical framework as it unfolds (Copland, 2017).

Analysis table of Interview Session – Owner

Date : 04 March 2022

Interview Question	Response/Evidence	Interpretation (Thematic Analysis, Discourse Analysis)				Discussion
		Language Ideologies	Multimodality Language & Literacy as social practice	Identity	Family language policy and planning & Family language biography	
S: Language in home?	O: I basically grew up speaking English	<u>Anglonormativity</u>			Her parents raised her as an English speaker.	Ref: Drama Teacher analysis
S: In Primary School?	O: English, Afrikaans as well as Xhosa. Xhosa was to me once a week. It wasn't a continuous thing. I can't say that I learnt anything from there.	Standard English and Afrikaans SA language policy and ideology - tried to implement a 3 rd language e.g. isiXhosa				<u>Anglonormativity</u> as defined by (McKinney, 2017: 80), as "the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English, and are deficient, even deviant if they are not".

Table 2: Analysis of the interview with the owner

After this initial analysis, I formulated individual thematic data analysis tables for my main themes. I then needed to read through all the transcriptions again, which enabled me to group the participants' responses to place them in the relevant tables for my integrated analysis.

3.7.4.2 Integrated Analysis

For the integrated analysis, I utilised thematic, discourse and social semiotic analysis tools simultaneously. I compiled three main thematic tables, namely Language Ideology, Children's Activities and Family Language Policy, where I could synthesise the various relevant interviews together. These tables were divided into two sections with Observational data/evidence in the first column and Interpretation in the second.

As the data started to reveal rich emerging subthemes such as languagelessness, colonialism, classism and self-regulation, the main themes were divided further. I still used colour coding where possible. This process enabled me to start writing my analysis formally. I continuously read and reread literature, as I found that it deepened my understanding and gave clarity to some concepts. As Copland (2015:18) states: "I looked at my own data in terms of others'

findings, cross-referencing accordingly.” My supervisor reminded me, however, that my voice had to stridently come through and I had to rewrite Chapter 5 accordingly, removing most of the referenced work. I found this process strange at first as I questioned what I could possibly contribute but eventually found it liberating as my confidence grew.

3.7.4.3 Microanalysis

I found the microanalysis extremely fascinating, and I had to pay intimate attention to the data. It was time consuming as I had to reread some transcripts or relisten to parts of the audio to check my interpretation. I constantly had to apply my analysis toolkit and found the discourse analysis most helpful when examining the data from the interviews and discourse and social semiotic analysis for the children’s activities. I sometimes found it helpful to leave the work and look at it later, when new insights would emerge, as I would sometimes reach a saturation point. I constantly had to ask: “Why the pause, the repeat or that gesture?” Copland (2015) highlights that researchers should be able to validate their choice of data sets as I, too, questioned which data sets were relevant. However, some themes consistently emerged, which made them salient.

3.8 VALIDITY

To strengthen validity, I endeavoured to collate as many multiple sources as possible. This included observations through fieldnotes with descriptions as factually accurate as possible (Maxwell, 1992), recording of data that occurred naturally and interviews with the participants. These various sources were scrutinised, analysed and interpreted to elicit the relevant meanings, purposes and conditions behind the event (Maxwell, 1992). I checked with the interviewees to see whether the transcripts were correct, and my interpretation was congruent with what they meant. I also asked additional questions to further my understanding. As one can never be totally impartial, I needed to practise critical realism (Maxwell, 1992) and be aware of normatively judging the accounts. Therefore, the realisation

that the participants' world views were important and that I needed to relate their views ethically and accurately without bias, needed to be uppermost in my mind. Maxwell (1992) explains that the possibility of varying, though legitimate perspectives of the same account needed to be factored in. Theoretical validity is based on whether I have a sound and reliable theoretical toolbox which I have developed and can access for my research. Furthermore, Maxwell states that the account should validate the theory and "that theoretical understanding refers to an account's function as an explanation, as well as a description or interpretation, of the phenomena" (Maxwell, 1992:291). By addressing the above validity concerns, together with careful evidence, I should be able to defend my interpretations, should the occasion arise.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Hammersley (2012) indicates that the pursuit of beneficial and worthwhile knowledge should be the researcher's ultimate goal, but the principle of "do no harm" has to be a crucial criterion. Questions such as the research's goal, who is the audience, and how will it affect others concerning practice and policy need to be asked concerning ethical considerations. The research questions and objectives need to be understood before the participants give their definitive permission. I needed to get consent from the preschool's owner, the teachers, the parents and the children (Moore, McArthur & Noble-Carr, 2017). As I was getting assent from young children, I pitched my proposal to their level of understanding with the realisation that their consent might not be fully informed and I had to remember that they might be influenced by an adult. Pink (2001) explains that renegotiation is important as intent could change during the research and Moore *et al* (2017) attest that consent should be a continuous practice as opposed to a once off agreement. The participants were informed that their engagement was voluntary and that they may terminate their association at any time. As trust needs to be strengthened through transparent relations, the principles of respecting autonomy, privacy and treating the participants equitably had to be foregrounded (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012). Because ethics is so socially complex, the aspect of power dynamics and access should always be acknowledged because of the nature of the

ethnographical research (Pink, 2001). My ethical practices had to incorporate keeping the location as anonymous as possible by generalising the geographical site and descriptions. For photographs, I concentrated on the environment and artefacts and blocked out the children's faces. As I wrote up my research, I needed to evaluate my ethical practices following Rapport's principle which "offers a premise on which researchers could base their decisions," (Rapport, 1997 cited in Pink, 2001). I needed to be cognisant that as ethics is a personal consideration, I should be ready to defend my standpoint (Pink, 2001) as my morals and beliefs needed to be taken into consideration. A salient point is Pink's (2001) foregrounding that as an ethnographer, I might make personal aspects of people's lives public and that I will have no control over the information once it is published, therefore, as Copland (2015) highlights, I needed to be sensitive and demonstrate empathy towards the participants' feelings.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter describes the processes that I applied to this research to bring it to fruition. It highlights that the study is a Linguistic Ethnographic Case Study that draws on the important tenets of ethnography. The research site is described as it is important for my research as I wanted to study the participants who are located in a Kaaps speaking location. It is fortuitous that the site is compact as I could observe the children closely to capture the pertinent data easily. I explain my decision to use only field notes, photographs and interviews as my data collection tools even though these might have limited some deeper insights. Furthermore, I highlight some of my thoughts, insights and frustrations as I map out my data analysis journey which I have designed for ease of navigation by explaining the data analysis tools of TA, discourse analysis and multimodal semiotic discourse analysis. I then explain the data analysis process in detail.

Lastly, validity had to be uppermost in my mind as I had to collate as many multiple factual and accurate sources as possible and relate the participants' views ethically and accurately without bias. Lastly, but most importantly, I explain the ethical consideration I had to apply to keep this research legitimate.

CHAPTER 4: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

My research study explores language ideologies of adults socialising bi(multi)lingual children in the home and preschool domains as well as languaging practices of emergent Kaaps-Afrikaans-English speaking multilingual children during play. I am interested in the children's languaging practices in so far as they integrate with play and in analysing how these compare to the languaging practices that adults seek to socialise them in. To answer the main research questions: How do parents, teachers and preschool principals socialise young preschool children to language and literacy in a preschool setting and the sub question: What are adults' language and literacy ideologies and how do these impact the language choices they make for the preschool language policy, pedagogy, and children's identity formation, I draw on discourse analysis of language ideologies such as monoglossia, monolingualism and Anglonormativity and raciolinguistics. I am highlighting how these ideologies, due to their power and dominance, could lead to a deficit discourse about emergent bi(multi)lingual Kaaps-Afrikaans-English speaking children. Furthermore, I analyse preschool and FLPs to identify how these policies influence people's identities, decisions and the consequences of these ideological choices. I also juxtapose the alternative concept of heteroglossia against these dominant language ideologies, to challenge the status quo and to offer a contrasting viewpoint to the mainstream.

4.2 MONOGLOSSIC, MONOLINGUAL, ANGLONORMATIVE AND RACIOLINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

I shall now delve into the data to understand what the participants' beliefs are regarding their language choices and practices. The data shows that some of the language choices and practices they make use of are influenced by their monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies. As with language and literacy, these terms cannot be bounded and although I try to distinguish between them, they will encroach onto each other's domain. First, I present and execute discourse analysis of the participant's monoglossic ideologies, followed by discourse analysis of monolingual, Anglonormative and raciolinguistic ideologies.

4.2.1 *Monoglossic Language Ideology*

The ideology of monoglossia postulates that standard languages are more valuable than non-standard varieties (McKinney, 2017). As stated in the rationale for this study, Cape Afrikaans or Kaaps, which is perceived as a non-standardised version of Afrikaans, is not valued in the mainstream schooling system although it is spoken by a myriad of Cape coloured children as it forms part of their culture. To gauge how the participants value languages and whether they use various languages during different occasions, I posed the following question in Excerpt 1 to the owner. This excerpt denotes a continuous interaction, whilst Excerpts 2 to 4 are extracted from the same interview to highlight salient points.

Excerpt 1: ¹¹

S: Do you use different languages to communicate during certain times and places, e.g. with your friends and family or talking to the schoolteacher?

O: =I do speak both languages, it's like at home I will speak English, but there is certain people who are Afrikaans speaking and I will communicate back in Afrikaans

S: Ok

O: =Even though I don't feel comfortable because I'm so used to English, so pronunciations wouldn't be how like they call *suiwer Afrikaans*

¹¹ Appendix D

S: =Intonation Uh

O: =So I would feel like mine is more slang, maybe that person is more suiwer.

S: Oh ok, ok. So with the suiwer Afrikaans, you want to speak it properly or

//C: Yes, like I sound gam, basically talking Afrikaans. To me it just doesn't sound right.

I'm not confident in Afrikaans, let's put it like that.

S: And like sounding gam what does that mean to you?

C: Like I'm a gangster, not too ladylike

S: Ok (!) And when you speak gam, who do you speak to?

O: Ok, we had a domestic worker that lived here almost 8 years. She was Afrikaans and I grew to just speak Afrikaans to her. But I didn't really care how it came out because she understood that I am English. But like speaking professionally, I would feel very awkward because it wouldn't come out professionally.

Excerpt 2:

O: So there is some words that I would struggle with which I would call Engelkaans. It's just a word that I use

Excerpt 3:

O: Like for me, I talk English and Afrikaans combined. If I can't come to word, I say it in English.

Excerpt 4:

She later stated about speaking to a professional person:

O: Like that person wouldn't know me like completely like "What! How do you speak you are a teacher" I would rather prefer English because it's my home language, my comfort, in that I am comfortable with that.

The owner states during the interview that she is multilingual (she speaks, English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and Urdu). She explains that she would choose to use different languages to communicate with different people even though she might be uncomfortable due to lack of proficiency and she translanguages so that she can be understood better. She differentiates between different types of Afrikaans, mainly “suiwer” or mainstream Afrikaans and Kaaps.

From this data, the following sub-themes, namely, the status of languages, language and social class and languagelessness have arisen, and I analyse them below.

4.2.1.1 Status Afforded by Languages

The data highlights that the owner’s attitude to languages portrays that she is weighting them not only according to their official status but by who is speaking. Janks (2013) and Wortham (2008) cited in Cooper (2018) reveal how dominant groups legitimize their language practices by portraying them as being sophisticated and educated, which leads to hierarchical social order, which is aptly highlighted in this sub-theme.

By stating “at home”, she declares that she is comfortable as an English speaker, which she consolidates in Excerpt 4 by stating the words “my home language”, “my comfort” and “comfortable” signalling that she sees the English language as most important to her. Furthermore, she contrasts the comfort of English with the discomfort of Afrikaans by saying: “even though I don’t feel comfortable...” By using the conjunction “but” she separates English from Afrikaans which she further emphasises by stating “certain people who are Afrikaans speaking” showing that she is distancing herself from them. She also differentiates her pronunciation as being different, and not sounding correct to the mainstream to further highlight her discomfort with Afrikaans. She acknowledges that she would sometimes mix her Afrikaans with English and uses her term, “Engelkaans” to show this. Another term to show this practice is Mengels, whilst I will use Engelkaaps (Daniels, 2022).

The owner names her version of Afrikaans as “slang” which she later changes to the more derogatory term “gam”, relegating Kaaps to an inferior status. By stating that she would try to communicate with professional people who speak mainstream Afrikaans correctly in their

language, even though she feels uncomfortable, signals that she sees this version of Afrikaans as a higher rank to Kaaps. Furthermore, by indicating that Kaaps is used by gangsters and that ladies should not use it, she stereotypes it as a negative and deficient language. She wants to be perceived as cultured and ladylike and not as one who speaks in an uncouth manner, like a gangster. Also, by stating this, she is judging and alienating a whole gender by stating that it is unladylike to speak Kaaps. There is a discombobulation with Afrikaans, as she is conflicted by not having the proficiency to speak it as the standard mainstream language but she does not want to be labelled low class by being identified as a Kaaps speaker.

Raciolinguistic undertones seem to pervade the owner's ideology, as she states that the person and not the language is purer, which could be a reference to the racial classification of the Apartheid era, where she sees herself as mixed race, a second-class citizen who speaks an inferior language. By stating this, she is not only distinguishing between the status of different types of Afrikaans but also the power and class differences of people. This seems reinforced by the data below, which portrays how a person's accent and language usage determine how they are addressed, treated and given a societal ranking.

4.2.1.2 Language and Social Class

The issue of treating people unequally through language usage becomes apparent through the data, where the owner uses different versions of Afrikaans to address people of different economic standing. The owner portrays heteroglossic characteristics which enable people to manoeuvre skilfully through communicative circumstances as they can adapt and diversify their linguistic repertoire to be understood. However, this skill can also be used to distinguish between and classify people according to the status accorded to the language or the variant of that language by choosing to use certain varieties with certain people.

The data reveals that the domestic worker, who comes from a rural background, where mainstream Afrikaans and not Kaaps is spoken, is treated differently to a professional person who also speaks mainstream Afrikaans. The domestic worker, who does menial work and therefore might be perceived to be of a lower social standing, is expected to accommodate

the owner, but the owner does not reciprocate the effort. This might be understood that the domestic worker must accommodate the owner's type of Afrikaans because of her lesser social standing. Furthermore, by stating that the domestic worker should understand that as she is an English speaker, which is perceived as a higher status language, her lack of proficiency should be excused, portraying an Anglonormative ideology. However, the professionals' social standing and opinion seem to count, and their acceptance is sought after, as the owner accommodates them, signalling that she portrays a different attitude to speakers of various social standing. This bias is reinforced when she states that she does not care about her lack of Afrikaans prowess when speaking to the domestic worker, but she worries that a professional might think that she is uneducated when speaking to them. As teachers are viewed as educated professionals, this status is important to uphold for her because if she speaks Kaaps, she could be thought of as uneducated. Consequently, the owner is also perpetuating the bias of power and class distinctions that others are placing on her by using different standards for different social classes. This dynamic could be influenced by several factors such as the employer-employee power relationship, socio-economic dynamic, social position and status.

4.2.1.3 Languagelessness

The intriguing concept of languagelessness (Rosa, 2016) has been identified in the data. This concept highlights how people who are perceived to lack proficiency in their language, are deemed to not know how to speak correctly.

Excerpts 5 and 6 are the answers from Teacher 1 and the parent to the following question that I posed:

Excerpt 5:¹²

S: What do you think about the languages that you use?

Teacher 1: For English I feel like most people just speak the basics but I firmly believe that English is a nice language once you get to know it better same as for Afrikaans. Like when you know, we. let's just say coloured persons for a lack of words. coloured people don't really know how to speak the proper Afrikaans. It's very nice to know, how we say, the suiwer Afrikaans, it's a nice language and every day to learn different types of languages and pronunciation, I feel it's a nice language.

Excerpt 6:¹³

P: You know how we as coloureds we pronounce words incorrectly.

Teacher 1 is lauding English and Afrikaans as good languages. Both Teacher 1 and the parent disparage the coloured community for not being able to speak either language correctly.

The data reveals these participants attach value to the proficiency in speaking a language correctly. This is highlighted when Teacher 1 laments that English and Afrikaans are used only as basic languages by most people and feels that they should be learned “better” and be spoken as “proper” languages. Through these statements, I understand that she is elevating these languages to elite languages which should not be relegated to be used as a basic language by common people who do not have proficiency. I note that it is ironic that although she disparages others for having basic knowledge, during the interview she states that she runs out of words and uses basic words herself like “nice” continuously. Teacher 1 uses the pronoun “we” with a short pause, as it seems as if she wants to segregate herself by stopping and then continuing as if there is another group, namely, coloured people. However, by using the pronoun “we” by default, both she and the parent are including themselves and me in their statements to explain that the coloured community does not know how to speak

¹² Appendix E

¹³ Appendix H

properly. Although she is using a general term, she is indicating the Cape Town community, as Kaaps is endemic to the Western Cape region. By airing these statements, these participants are perpetuating the stereotype that the coloured community is uneducated and/or lacks the linguistic proficiency to speak correctly. The emphasis seems to be made on the pronunciation of words and accent and not on whether clear communication and meaning are conveyed. This judgement against a community could highlight how people could either be vilified or lauded for their usage of certain types of language, but in this case, they are perpetuating the concept of languagelessness (Rosa, 2016).

The fact that the participants embody a monoglossic language ideology, is highlighted, as they assign or relegate status and ranking to certain languages depending on who is speaking. Most interestingly, they seem to accept that standardized languages are legitimate languages, whereas Kaaps is deemed a deficient language, even though it is part of their culture.

By continuously using words such as “proper”, “suiwer”, “slang” and “gam”, the participants are portraying a viewpoint that languages are pure and bounded and should not be codeswitched, as shown in the section on monolingual ideology below.

4.2.2 Monolingual Ideology

Mainstream languages are the acceptable languages at school and non-mainstream language usage is frowned upon and dissuaded. This practice propagates the monolingualistic ideology that incorporates the belief that there are countable, named and “pure” containable languages (Pennycook, 2004). Monolingual ideologies are perpetuated through families and schools, where the parents might say that the school is English medium and the school might remain exclusively English medium by stating that the parents demand it. Below, I discuss how language choices are weighted by the perception that pure, standardised English is the distinguished language of access and success, perpetuating English monolingualism and Anglonormativity. Furthermore, the prevalent concept that languages are pure and bounded will be analysed.

I therefore asked the following question to gauge the participants' ideologies regarding Monolingualism: What are the languages you grew up speaking in your home? Excerpts 7 and 8 are the answers that I received from the parent and the owner.

Excerpt 7:¹⁴

P: Sooo that was the only language that we spoke (English). We do know Afrikaans but it wasn't our first language. English was our first home language

Excerpt 8:¹⁵

O: So I also learnt a bit from him, like growing up. But you know as you grow up, things fade. So I can speak a bit of it, not fluently. Urdu would be like the third language.

When I asked which languages the participants spoke as children, they responded that they had spoken only English and had picked up other languages like Afrikaans and Urdu informally. They classify the languages into home language, first home language and third language.

In Excerpt 7, the parent uses the term "first home language" to explain the importance that English is her predominant language. Normally, the mainstream terms would be either Home language or First Language. The owner states that Urdu is her third language and when the parent answers that the family knew Afrikaans but it was not their first language, it seems to reinforce the belief that people see themselves as monolingual with additional languages as opposed to bi(multi)linguals. As seen earlier in the chapter, by the participants' usage of the terms "suiwer" and pure, people are socialised to believe that languages should not be mixed. Therefore, the terms "first", "second" and "third" languages highlight the monolingual ideology of the participants, who see languages as being bound.

Furthermore, when the owner divides Afrikaans into the "suiwer" variety for mainstream and Kaaps as a deficient variety by using disparaging terms like "gam", she not only catalogues and separates versions of the languages and highlight that in a single language, the dominance

¹⁴ Appendix H

¹⁵ Appendix D

of one variety over another can occur but also classifies the people associated with those languages into groups. These practices highlight the perception that “monolingualism in a single mainstream variety of a language is the norm” (McKinney, 2017: 24). From this, I understand that language, even though it cannot be bounded, does get compartmentalized due to its usage and choices made by people. Additionally, even though some people might have an agenda of pushing a certain language to give it status, push back always occurs from speakers of non-dominant languages. This is because policies cannot be strictly enforced by the authorities or parents. After all, to communicate clearly, people will adapt their language usage and defy set policies (McCarthy, 2014).

To further understand the relegation of status and power that is given to languages, I shall now concentrate on the ideology of Anglonormativity.

4.2.3 Anglonormative Ideology

Anglonormativity as defined by McKinney (2017: 80), as “the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English, and are deficient, even deviant if they are not”.

In Excerpt 9, Teacher 1 expressed an Anglonormative viewpoint when she answered my question as to which language she deemed the most important:

Excerpt 9:¹⁶

Teacher 1: For me English as everybody learns that quicker and you can go around wherever speak English and it's a better way of communicating

Teacher 1’s perception is that she saw English as a better language for communicating as it is easily learnt by everybody and spoken everywhere.

¹⁶ Appendix E

In the above excerpt, Teacher 1’s answer reflects the prevailing ideology regarding English. Using a generalising sweeping pronoun like “everybody” and the adverb “wherever” portrays the general belief that English is used universally by most people and she insinuates that everybody will understand an English speaker. The comparative adjectives “quicker” and “better” foreground the Anglonormative viewpoint that English is a superior language that all people would learn easily. Furthermore, by using the conjunction “and” to finish her statement, she ties everything together to show her belief in English’s superiority as an advanced communicative tool. She not only embraces the generalised view that English is an easy language to learn but that it is better to speak it as it is a universal language.

Excerpt 10 further highlights the usage of English from childhood to adulthood. I present the data in a table format as opposed to the regular way to portray at a glance how the participants’ answers foreground English.

Excerpt 10: ¹⁷

Questions	Owner	Teacher 1	Parent
S: What are the languages you grew up speaking in your home?	So growing up, I was English. My parents spoke English to me...		P: English, English was like fluent. Both of my parents are English, fluent English
S: Which languages do you use mostly now in your home?	English	English (laughs) English all the way	English (laughs)

The participants indicate that they spoke English as children and are still speaking English currently.

¹⁷ Appendices D, E and H

Even though I use the plural term “languages” for all the participants except for the owner in the interviews, the data reveals that the participants all answered that English is their dominant language. In Excerpt 10, the parent uses the word English four times in one sentence and emphasises that it was their principal language of communication growing up. She emphasises the importance of speaking English properly by repeating the word “fluent” twice, reinforcing that they were an English dominant household. She uses the double term “first home language” to explain the importance of English as her predominant language. Normally, the mainstream terms would either be First Language or Home language.

I found it interesting that the English-speaking participants gave a little laugh when they stated that they only speak English at home currently, indicating a possible discomfort and signalling that this might not be true. After probing, the participants concede that they also speak both Kaaps and Afrikaans. This could portray an Anglonormative perception that their usage of other languages might imply that they lack English proficiency and therefore have a lesser social ranking.

To understand how these various ideologies by the participants are perpetuated, I asked a series of questions about the preschool language policy.

4.2.3.1 Preschool Language Policy

In Excerpt 11, I also depict the data in a table format to portray at a glance how the owner and Teacher 1’s answers foreground English.

Excerpt 11:¹⁸

Questions	Owner	Teacher 1
S: So what languages do you use to communicate with the preschool children?	We speak English, funny enough, there's no children that's actually that is Afrikaans speaking,	We sometimes speak Afrikaans and English, like in the morning we would do a bit of Afrikaans
S: And then the predominant language for the learning sessions here	English //We should implement Afrikaans as well because Afrikaans they going to need to learn at school ...	//English
S: Oh ok ...um so let's see so for their play sessions their informal play sessions, what language do the children use?	Also English	Sometimes you'll hear other slang language but mostly English

When asked about which languages are mostly used for communication at the preschool, the participants answer that it is predominantly English. The owner also confirms that the school's language policy is English medium of instruction and it is used for most of the artefacts, such as books and print materials, reading, and writing with some Afrikaans posters. The owner expresses the desire to implement standard Afrikaans because she explains that it is necessary for mainstream schools. She remarks that all the children are English speakers but they are exposed to a bit of Afrikaans, isiXhosa and Arabic in their greetings and prayers.

From the data I understand that Anglonormativity prevails as most of the communication, artefacts and teaching is done in English. The owner discounts Kaaps as Afrikaans, as she

¹⁸ Appendices D and E

states that none of the children speak Afrikaans, although I have heard snippets of Kaaps. This viewpoint is further reinforced by Teacher 1, who relegates Kaaps to “other slang languages”.

By asking the next set of questions, I wanted to gauge whether the school embraces other types of languages, especially Kaaps.

In Excerpt 12, I also depict this data differently in a table format because I wanted to visually contrast Teacher 1’s answers to the owner and Teacher 2.

Excerpt 12: ¹⁹

Question	Owner	Teacher 1	Teacher 2
S: And then...so can the children express themselves freely and comfortably to you?	O: Yes, they can because like I said they are all English speaking.		
S: Do you discourage any use of other languages? Do you discourage certain languages like you said if they speak Kaaps amongst each other do you discourage it or do you leave it?	//O: No, no xxx	//T1: No , I reprimand them because //S: Okay T1: Because some children don't know those types of languages or in their households they're not allowed to use it S: Oh T1: The then some children come and use it and at the end of the day they go home and speak those types of things, so I try to minimise those types of languages	T2: //(laughs) I'm fine with it

The owner insists that because the children are English speakers, they can communicate easily and when I asked whether any languages are discouraged, she stated emphatically that they

¹⁹ Appendices D, E and F

are not. However, Teacher 1 attests that she discourages the use of Kaaps, as reflected by the data above.

I use the question whether the children can communicate freely to compare policy and the implementation thereof by the teachers. When I persist with my questions regarding the usage of language, the owner emphasises, with the words “like I said”, that the main language of communication is English. These questions have brought forth two viewpoints, one being the official viewpoint of the preschool and the other being the viewpoint and implementation or lack thereof by the teachers.

An interesting dichotomy arises from the data. In Excerpt 12, by using emphatic language and repeating the word “no” twice, the owner is adamant that all languages are welcome and that there is no discrimination. However, when I followed up for clarification later, she stated that they are finding it challenging to communicate with a newly enrolled Afrikaans speaking child and the mother has encouraged them to speak English to her. Although Teacher 2 and 3 purports that they are fine with Kaaps, there are contradictions in the inclusiveness policy.

Teacher 1 seems to be the staunchest proponent of Anglonormativity and anti-Kaaps as portrayed in the data. She uses strong verbs such as “reprimand” and “minimise” to discourage the children from speaking Kaaps. These verbs highlight that she has made a conscious decision to actively discourage the use of Kaaps. She refers to Kaaps as “those types of languages” twice and calls it “those types of things” and seems to have an aversion to it as she is unable to call it by name. It seems as if she does not want it known that Kaaps is used at the preschool and strongly discourages it so that the children do not carry it home. It could be that by her actions, she does not only want to curb the usage and therefore growth of the language by the next generation, but she wants to preserve the use of English at the preschool. I understand that she could either be assuming that the children do not know Kaaps, have never been exposed to it, or are prohibited from using it. However, Kaaps is endemic in the children’s culture and they would be exposed to it through their lived experience as Teacher 3 acknowledges. Therefore, it would be difficult to eradicate a language as it would go underground but resurface sporadically.

The choice by parents to have their children learn in English not only promotes Anglonormativity but also promotes monolingual English education for many emergent

bi(multi)lingual children as the school might then embrace English exclusivity to please the parents. The data strongly offers up that an Anglonormative language ideology prevails at the preschool, and that although it seems to be inclusive of all languages, Kaaps is discouraged.

This conflict is made prevalent through the next data set, where I challenge the status quo by contesting these ideologies with the alternative concept of heteroglossia, to offer a contrasting viewpoint to the mainstream.

4.2.4 Alternative Ideologies: Heteroglossia

The interview data with the same participants that I present in this section shows how they are conflicted concerning the language question. This foregrounds that we cannot simply take at face value the responses about what languages people speak and prefer. Alternatively, we have to probe deeper to understand what drives them to deny their other languages as well as their language choices. I argue this because there are studies like the HSRC (Luckoff, 2019) study that claimed that 65% of parents want only English for their children. Because language choice is bound up with colonial language ideologies that place English monolingualism as superior and preferable and African languages as inferior, as academics, we need to be responsible with how we disseminate the results as well as with what we know colonised people need. In most cases, it is not an either or proposition, but inclusive of both English and other languages that bi(multi)linguals speak. To get them to choose is to channel them to think monolingually.

- The Voice of Kaaps Cannot be Silenced.

“Moeni gam praat!” (Do not speak Kaaps)

Even though Kaaps seems to aptly embody the term heteroglossia in that its speakers use miscellaneous registers, voice and both named and unnamed languages, the participants seem reluctant to admit that they speak it. They all initially answer that English is the language that they use currently at home. As seen in Excerpt 13 by my two consecutive questions to probe, the participants concede that they speak both Kaaps and Afrikaans.

Excerpt 13:²⁰

S: Is it just English?

S: Because it will creep in , hey?

By using the words “creep in” to phrase my question, I become aware that I am using a negative slight for Kaaps. By this phrasing, I am painting Kaaps as an intruder that needs to be kept at bay and that it would creep about as opposed to standing tall and being embraced as the proud heritage language that it should be.

From Excerpt 14, I become aware of how a language, which might be buried or hidden when perceived to be defunct or deficient, would resurface when it is acknowledged or needed. This became apparent when I spoke about Kaaps to the parent participant, especially when her daughter speaks it.

Excerpt 14:²¹

S: And So she's able like when she uses the Kaaps does it then bring more meaning to what she wants to say?

P: // There's it, ja²² (Laughs)

When I asked the parent whether Kaaps enhances understanding and meaning in her conversation between herself and her daughter, she immediately agreed.

The data reveals that by overlapping on to what I was saying and affirming it by using two affirmatives, the emphatic statement “There’s it” and the agreement word “ja” she is agreeing as to what Kaaps does. By laughing, she is either showing her delight or for having denied this revelation, embarrassment.

²⁰ Appendix H

²¹ Appendix H

²² Yes

As we continue the interview, I state:

Excerpt 15:²³

S: the right word like um we were listening to Heart and then the one guy was singing and then my hubby said: "Joh, he's putting in all these akkeltjies."²⁴

P: Ja (laugh)

S: We will know exactly what akkeltjies means

P: //Akkeltjies ! (Laughs)

S: But in somebody else what is that?

P: // What is that?

S: So, so it just adds that

P: //Adds that and it's one word, hey that makes you understand what that whole concept is about

The parent and I then share how a word in Kaaps can encapsulate an entire nuance of meaning. I found this interaction delightful because it was a special moment of sharing a heritage with a stranger. This deep understanding could only be brought about by insider knowledge and belonging to a special group. When I used the anecdote to describe how the Kaaps' word "akkeltjies" enhanced the meaning in a conversation between my husband and myself, the parent agrees and laughs, showing delight and immediate understanding. She instantaneously picks up how one word encapsulates the whole meaning of the concept of what I want to express without explanation. By repeating three statements after me by overlapping and using echolalia, she shows affinity and agreement. When I say: "it adds that" I do not have to complete the sentence or explain myself to be understood portraying an unspoken understanding and familiarity between people who had only met that day. This section of the interview is very animated and interactive with lots of laughter and sharing and it portrays a deep, shared and comfortable bond forged over generations and strengthened

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²⁴ *Full of expression and warbling*

by a unique collective cultural knowledge and understanding. It has enhanced my understanding as to how connections are forged through a common understanding of language. Furthermore, it highlights how our identity as Kaaps speakers runs deep as it is the heart language of our culture. Although we initially spoke English, our mutual and inherent Kaaps roots surfaced when a space was created for two strangers to forge a camaraderie over the understanding of one word. Heterglossia is graphically foregrounded in this excerpt as we are using miscellaneous registers, voice and both named and unnamed languages.

In Excerpt 16, the drama teacher portrays how he is challenging monoglossia, by embracing heteroglossic ideologies.

Excerpt 16: ²⁵

D: I like to mix it up, I don't like to be so strict with English. Like I told you last week, that whole Afrikaaps thing, I like to mix it up. I feel like, with our children, when they come to affluent areas or people speak English a bit higher, they tend to shy away. Another reason I started this academy was to give them the confidence to speak(!) wherever and to be proud of their dialect and be proud of their accent, and stuff like that, you know.

The drama teacher declares that he wants children to speak in the language that they are comfortable with and to empower them so that they are not cowed by the perceived superior languages or accents of others in more affluent areas.

By stating "I like to mix it up", the data foregrounds that the drama teacher encourages people to embrace their linguistic repertoires and culture so that their dialect can be legitimized, foregrounding a heteroglossic orientation. This seems to spring from his understanding that English is categorised into levels and is spoken differently depending on the areas where it is spoken or who is speaking it. He calls English, as spoken in affluent areas, "higher English" and contrasts it against poorer areas. He is voicing his observation that when Kaaps speaking children come into contact with "higher English", they are intimidated and cowed and do not want to engage, therefore forfeiting their voice. He is agitating for the awareness of these

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deficit ideologies so that these can be identified and challenged. By doing this, he is encouraging people to embrace who they are so that they do not lose their identity or voice by feeling inadequate because of the usage of their language.

Implementing these ideological aspirations is not as straightforward as we think because language and identity can become quite complicated, as portrayed by the next set of data in the section below.

4.3 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

From the above excerpts and my own experience, FLP plays a pivotal role in which languages are spoken. I also notice that the participants link the language spoken to identity as if they and the language are intertwined, for example, by the owner saying “...I was English” (Excerpt 17) below, they clothe themselves in a language and take on its identity.

Excerpt 17:²⁶

O: So growing up, I was English

The following excerpt, from the interview with the drama teacher, foregrounds the daily tussle between claiming your identity and speaking your language or conforming, and portrays a family’s struggle to decide what is right for their child.

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Excerpt 18:²⁷

S: What languages does your child speak at home?

D: My son, my son is 7. he's very mixed. Ja and he goes to XXXX Primary.

S: Ooh, yes, I know XXX Primary

D: So we constantly have to... tell him, you know

S: Ok (chuckles) insider // can't speak slang

D: Yes, he does he speaks a lot of slang. Afrikaapstad.

S:Ok

D: Obviously because me and his mother are very open about it at home, man.

But my mom works at XXX Primary so she's very! my mom is very old school.

So, not to put her in the eyes²⁸, we tell him to relax a little bit (Laughs)

The drama teacher explains that his son speaks Kaaps because both he and his wife speak it at home. However, as his son attends an ex-Model C school, the usage of Kaaps is unacceptable at the school. His mother, who works at his son's school, has applied pressure for the child to tone down on speaking Kaaps there. Consequently, he and his wife are curtailing his son's language through societal and family pressure.

I can understand by stating the words "my son" twice, the drama teacher is showing a strong affiliation and bond with his son. He states his age to emphasise that he is young and pauses after this, before his declaration to show his identity with the words "he is very mixed" which he links to his language use. He pauses again after the word "mixed", and he links the previous statement with the word "Ja" said with what I perceive to be a resigned tone. Although "Ja" could also be used to confirm what he is saying. This phrasing might show a dilemma which is shown through his usage of the conjunction "and" to name the ex-Model C school that his son attends. I understand that this is to signal his awareness of a conflict between his young son's language usage and the school's language policy. By the usage of the word "constantly", I interpret that the son is using Kaaps spontaneously because they have to consistently remind

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²⁸ Embarrass

him to tone down. By pausing in this statement before stating: “tell him” and not naming what they have to do, it shows a conflict of his ideologies in that he wants to promote the embracing of linguistic repertoires and culture as mentioned previously, but he is influencing his son to conform and adapt due to outside pressure. He shows his unease by laughing after he explains that they ask the boy to speak less Kaaps. He is softening this process by using the phrase “a little bit.” which signals that he is not asking him to stop but to adapt according to circumstances. This issue foregrounds that he is providing access to a variety of valued named languages and knowledge (Janks, 2013), while still promoting and legitimising diversity so that his son is not disadvantaged. However, by stating that his mother is old school, he shows ambivalence concerning conforming to the old view and respecting his mother or rebelling. He does not want his son to be signalled out, thus protecting him. However, he also does not want to embarrass his mother. From this, I understand that he is conflicted and tussling between his loyalties to his ideologies, his mother, his son and greater society.

I can see socio-cultural clashes that might arise from this situation. The son needs to fit into the acceptable social and linguistic norms of the school so that there is no embarrassment for the grandmother, but he is being made aware of being ashamed of his language because it is unacceptable in certain spheres of society. The parents might be conflicted by their desire to promote Kaaps, but also for their children to be accepted by society and not be ostracised. This conflict might lead to ambivalence as he is raising his children as English speakers, but he has spoken strongly about encouraging people to speak the language with which they are comfortable. Furthermore, this pressure could lead to the son having to decide whether he will be obedient to his family or follow his path as he is being socialised into acceptable societal norms so that his usage of the language does not go against the grain. This could be the beginning of losing or masking his identity because he is embracing other people’s culture and the culture of being at ex-Model C schools, foregrounding Gee’s “mushfaking” concept (Gee, 1996:145) where he might don a façade to be accepted, leading to him to not being true to himself. This highlights McKinney’s (2017) explanation that as the children need to determine which linguistic resource to use to be socially acceptable, this leads to doubt and stress. These ideological clashes could be traced back to coloniality, as discussed in Chapter 2 of what is acceptable language and cultural norms and what is not. The legacy of coloniality is still being perpetuated through these ideologies that Kaaps is an embarrassing and low

status language. It is therefore marginalized in the school domain where it must be used away from high status domains, like ex-Model C schools, while the status of English as a superior language is maintained. Therefore, a disconnect between the types of Afrikaans spoken at school and at home occurs. This also leads to a marginalised positioning of the children, who perceive their vernacular as being of a lower value by greater society. As language and identity are interwoven, they could interpret this to mean that they are perceived as having lesser standing in society.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, firstly, I have shown how monoglossic, monolingual, Anglonormative and raciolinguistic ideologies due to their power and dominance, play a crucial role in the acceptance or rejection of a language. The data foregrounds that the dominance of these ideologies prevails and is perpetuated and promoted daily by parents and schools. There are distinctions made between the status of different languages, versions of a language and how people are accorded different social rankings, due to who is speaking. Languages are labelled as elite or “proper”, where the prevailing belief is that common people cannot speak properly and that they should learn how to speak “better”, foregrounding languagelessness (Rosa, 2016). The stereotype, perpetrated by colonialism and apartheid that the coloured community is uneducated and/or lacks linguistic proficiency, still exists today as it has been internalised and accepted by their own community. Therefore, a deficit discourse of Kaaps still exists in society, as it is seen as a low status language and it is therefore marginalized and relegated away from high status domains, like schools. As a result, this could deter emergent bi(multi)lingual children from embracing their culture fully and influence their outcomes for learning effectively.

Secondly, the ideologies that are reinforced by family and school policies as the choice by parents to have their children learn in English not only promotes Anglonormativity but also promotes monolingual English education. Although the preschool seems to be inclusive of all languages, Kaaps is discouraged. The data has revealed that socio-cultural clashes might arise from these policies as language and identity are interconnected. I have argued that embracing

heteroglossia could lead to less uncertainty and tension so that the children do not need to determine which linguistic resource to use to be socially acceptable. Although these deficit ideologies are deeply ingrained and cannot seem to be eradicated, they can, be exposed and morphed by concerted efforts for social justice and inclusivity. By being aware of these ideologies, people can be encouraged to embrace their heritage and identity so that they use their voices courageously.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE GOINGS ON AT A PRESCHOOL

Let Us Play!

Sharon Daniels

We want to PLAY
Please let us have our way
We want to RUN and JUMP
And SCREAM and SHOUT
And SKIP
And HOP about
And ROLL and POUNCE
And FLIP and BOUNCE
And do all sorts of THINGS
That KIDS should do
That are lots of FUN
And make us say
"SJOE!"

I wrote this poem to illustrate the boisterousness and spontaneity of children at play. I saw these words come to life when I observed the four to six year old children playing at their preschool.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Drawing on the concepts of language and literacy as social practice (Street, 1993) and Discourse (Gee, 1990) as analytic tools, this chapter responds to the following research question:

- What semiotic resources do bilingual children draw on for self-expression in their play in a pre-school setting and how do these compare with their socialisation by adults?

It also responds to the following sub-questions:

- How do children draw on their heteroglossic resources during play?
- How do children draw on their multimodal and material resources during play?
- What do children learn from play as part of their language and cognitive development?

Thus, the chapter explores how children's language and literacy learning is embedded in their socio-cultural ways of "saying-doing- thinking-feeling- valuing" of everyday life (Gee 1990:i). The understanding of how language and literacy encompass the complex meaning making of day-to-day interactions between these children and their environment in a social setting is important. From the field-note observations and the analysis of data I am about to present below, two major themes, namely, language and literacy socialisation and play emerged. Under the language and literacy socialisation theme, many subthemes such as language and literacy practices, the formal and informal approaches to teaching, mediation, rules and social convention, self-regulation and voice emerged. The analysis of play was the overarching driver that offered up all of the above concepts in addition to the drive to play, groups and roles and empathy. How the children use their semiotic resources through orality, multimodality and materiality are integrated throughout this chapter. The concepts from these main themes are interwoven, as language and literacy invariably are, but I have tried to group them for ease of understanding.

5.2 LANGUAGE AND LITERACY SOCIALISATION IN A PRESCHOOL SETTING

Below, I present my field notes which I took while observing children at play on my first visit to the school. I was not recording yet because I did not want to draw the children's attention to the recording tools and not all parents had returned the consent forms which asked about recording.

Excerpt 19: Observation field notes: (04 March 2022)

I see the children greet each other and the teacher, unpack their bags, listen, speak, gaze, hug, sit, sing, colour in, recite, pray, play, eat and sleep as they make meaning through their doings which are nested in their everyday social-cultural practices.

While observing the children going about their daily activities at the preschool, what became clear is their busyness in their lived social experiences. Their usage of heteroglossia, where they apply different registers and languages such as English, Afrikaans and Kaaps, in

conjunction with their body language, gestures and emotions highlight how they use a variety of communicative linguistic repertoires to communicate.

Below, under the umbrella theme of language and literacy socialisation, I shall now present the sub-themes of language and literacy practices, formal and informal approaches to teaching, mediation, rules and social convention, self-regulation and voice.

5.2.1 Language and Literacy Practices

In this section, I present my observation of language and literacy practices of the teacher and the children. This encompasses the formal classroom practice as well as the informal practices that the children are engaged in. I think it important to include formal classroom practice, as it juxtaposes two very different ways of teaching and learning between the participants, one directed and formal from the teacher and the other spontaneous and informal from the children.

5.2.1.1 Formal Teaching Practices in the Classroom

I first present my field note description of the control of the children's bodies during the formal lesson that the teacher is about to present and the subsequent work she gives them. This is followed up by the presentation of the classroom discourse data to show how the teacher engages the learners during her direct and formal teaching.

Excerpt 19 (cont.): Field notes yielded the following observations: (04 March 2022)

The children sit crossed legged on a mat while facing the teacher who instructs them while she is sitting on a chair by her desk. They are attentive and quiet and their hands are in their laps unless they put them up with one finger to answer. When I watch the children, they sit obediently with their eyes focused on the teacher. They only look at someone when that person answers a question. They stand up before they are allowed to answer questions and when they attempt to answer while seated, they are instructed to stand up. The children seem to be well versed in this classroom etiquette. They wait on the teacher and respond appropriately with hand gestures of waggling the pointy finger side to side as they answer: "No, no, no". There are no spontaneous movements or creative gestures. The children constantly repeat the teacher's instructions in a rote / parrot fashion to ensure that they carry them out correctly.

They are given homework for the weekend. I have seen them standing with their hands behind their backs when addressing the teacher to ask for permission to go to the bathroom and before going out to play when they line up. They need to be silent in their lines. I also observed another teacher quieten them when they went outside after lessons to fetch their lunch from their backpacks.

The following Excerpts 20 and 21 from my field notes show classroom discourse of formal teaching practices by the teacher in the classroom. They reflect the teaching of shapes during classroom practice. It was Friday morning and the teacher was wrapping up her teaching for the week by giving the children homework. They were given worksheets with various 2D shapes and the teacher was issuing instructions as to what they needed to do.

Excerpt 20:

T2: Repeat after Teacher2, follow the lines.

T2: What must you do?

Children: Follow the lines.

T2: Only trace the shapes, don't colour in.

She then asked about the various shapes as follows:

T2: What is this?

Children: A square.

T2: Repeat it again.

Children: A square.

They were then given the work to take home and were reminded not to colour in the shapes:

Excerpt 21:

T2: If your parent say colour in, say no.

T2: What must you say if your parents say colour in?

Children: Say no.

My analysis of the data reflects that the children's movements during teaching time are controlled and prescriptive and the children follow instructions docilely as is the case with Excerpts 19, 20 and 21 above. The teacher is the authoritative figure while the children are expected to follow her instructions implicitly and ignore their parents' suggestions, even though she is not there to observe them at home. The children are expected to intrinsically discipline themselves and police their actions so that they are obedient and conform to the expected norms as reflective of Janks (2009) concept of *flic dans la tete*²⁹. The positives of this socialisation could lead to well behaved and obedient children who are trained for formal schooling and who ultimately become exemplary citizens who unquestioningly respect and obey authority. Although this socialisation might lead to compliance, it could lead to conformist thinking and a lack of risk taking. A non-conformist would probably be seen as a rebel or deviant, although this person might invariably be the one who thinks and acts creatively and differently, leading to inventiveness and disruption of the norm.

The IRE/F³⁰ methodology is a form of classroom discourse that is primarily used by Teacher 2 as I witnessed it on various occasions. As seen in Excerpts 20 and 21 she gets immediate

²⁹ Cop in the head

³⁰ Initiation-response-evaluation/feedback

feedback to a question to which she already knows the answer. However, from what I observed, this form of classroom talk highlighted its limitations. As the children do not need to think creatively or critically as to how they should respond or what they need to say to be understood, it stunts the development of cognitive ability and speech. As they simply need to repeat after the teacher, a deep understanding of concepts is not necessary. This is indicative of the systemic assessment method prevalent in schools today, where information needs to be remembered and regurgitated. Ideally, texts and schoolwork need to be applied across various modes and incorporate the children's interests and environment to make it meaningful and encourage creativity. This could circumvent the current status quo, where English and academic work is assessed as a generic, neutral skill. Furthermore, the initiation-response discourse does not lend itself to enhancing spontaneous speech and communicative ability as dialogic communication does. Opportunities for meaningful interactive talk, where opinions are shared, should be encouraged in young children.

I noticed that the children seem older or more mature than typical 4 to 6 year-olds as they seem restrained and introvertish when in class. As I analysed the data further, I realised how stark the differences are between teacher-led activities and child-led activities. From my theoretical framework, I can see that these interactions highlight the power relations of the two models of literacy, namely the ideological and the autonomous model which Street (1993) distinguishes between. Here I can deduce that the autonomous model of literacy, which treats language and literacy as a neutral and technical set of skills such as learning shapes, rote learning and decoding skills is being implemented. It is thought that this method can solely be used to alter cognitive ability and thought to realise a prescribed goal. In contrast, as I watched the children play, this realisation further highlighted Street's (1993) ideological model of literacy which states that literacy is situated in a cultural setting and is a lived experience. As I viewed literacy as social practice by the children, my understanding deepened as to the diversity and nuances in the meaning making processes.

Academic prowess is mostly concentrated upon and assessed formally in schools. However, the holistic development of the child, such as soft skills and emotional intelligence, which are invaluable for harmony, co-operation and progress, are side-lined. From this information, I

can deduce that the autonomous model of literacy seems to be the pervading force governing the schooling paradigm. As parents and educators, one needs to be aware of the ideologies driving the autonomous model, especially pertaining to the school context, where academic excellence is sought after to the detriment of understanding the larger socio-cultural paradigms that influence learning. Conversely, children are spontaneous learners and they should not be moulded into workforce drones, where this spontaneity is quelled.

In contrast to the teacher-led practices, I shall now concentrate on the practices led by the children.

5.2.1.2 Informal Mediation and Teaching Practices by Children on the Playground

The interaction in Excerpt 22 occurred when Child 1 was balancing on two hoops with a foot on each one without using her hands to steady herself. Another child tried to take the orange hoop from her, but Child 1 challenged her verbally. Child 2 tried to copy Child 1 but was unsuccessful. Child 1 then told her to try and do the activity again. Child 2 voiced her frustration at being unable to do this activity and she was consequently teased by being called a loser. Only two children out of seven were able to do this activity successfully.

Excerpt 22:

Child 1: Huh uh, the orange is mine. [When one child tried to take her hoop].

Do it again from overs. (When Child 2 could not balance successfully)

Child 2: Why can you do it and I can't? [As she tried again]

Child 1: Huh up, you're a loser.

From the above exchanges, I can understand that the children were challenging each other to try their best although they were quite stringent. Sometimes there was a direct challenge to which some rose whilst others acknowledged their limitations. If the activity was not

applied correctly, they were encouraged to try again to get it right. After being given another chance, they were chastised for not doing it correctly and finally, they were berated or teased if they still failed. It seems that there is a progression taking place to the activity and the children were teaching each other quite sophisticatedly by using peer mediation and scaffolding techniques. There was first a challenge to check their ability (prior knowledge), then a teaching or instruction to help them understand and stretch them (ZPD), another practice to master the activity (application) and then consolidation. The chastisement for failing was followed by a shaming which concluded the session.

In play, the institution of rules is very important to the children and they applied them quite stringently so that order is maintained, which we see unfolding in Excerpt 23 below.

5.2.2. Rules and Social Convention

The communication in Excerpt 23 below occurred when a child decided that they were done with a certain activity and signalled it by stating that the park is closed and by putting down her hoop. The others followed but one child still kept their hoop and continued to move around the area.

Excerpt 23:

Child 1: The park is closed.

Child 2: No man.

Yoh! You is making junk.

My analysis shows that the children had collectively decided to follow the decision to change the activity and that the chastisement happened because the child flouted the rules and went against the group's decision. The group decided to immediately address the issue with the words "No man" which is a soft chastisement. But, because the child did not heed the first warning, the beratement became stronger with the word "Yoh" which is a Kaaps expression

of exasperation. This beratement was strengthened by the child being directly addressed with the pronoun “you”, followed by what they are doing “is making junk”. This message clearly conveys the displeasure of the children by this flouting of convention. The children are being made aware of the consequences of their decisions and actions and how these could affect others. Because play is a social construct and it reflects societal rules, children can experiment with and understand the interactions that govern people and their environment. Therefore, even though they were not playing a formal game such as soccer or netball with pre-set rules, they were still making and applying rules rigorously, as they knew that it was necessary for fairness, harmony, and success. By initiating and applying rules consistently, and modifying them as and when the occasion arises, they are learning what is expected and acceptable by greater society. Furthermore, as the children needed to decide whether they would comply or rebel and by going against convention, this child was instantly and directly rebuked. Through these socially situated literacy and language experiences, peer pressure and societal modification help to guide the children and contribute towards them becoming exemplary citizens. This conformity is expected by the greater group for the smooth running of this micro society as communal values, rules and regulations help to define their social structures. These constant interactions between the children allow them to practice their self-regulation, communication and negotiation skills while finding out what is socially acceptable or not.

5.2.3 Self-Regulation

Self-regulation is one of the important emotional skills that a human should master to live harmoniously in society. This is illustrated by the interactions in Excerpt 24 below, where the game entails the child standing in front facing the group with her eyes closed while the others crept up to her and tried to touch her. They thought that she had cheated by peeping and they challenged her alleged dishonesty. Because she is a strong character, she counter challenged them and threatened to leave the game and play alone. They then conceded, to which she crowed her success both verbally and multimodally through a dance.

Excerpt 24:

Child: Close your eyes! We saw you cheating.

Child: I'm not playing with you anymore. I'm going to play alone.

Group: You didn't cheat.

Child: I won [Doing a victory dance]

A telling aspect of the above altercation in Excerpt 24 is that the children challenged and called out unfairness or perceived cheating boldly and immediately, which is also reflected in Excerpt 23. They did not use the decorum or political correctness of adults but decisively dealt with the infringement and called the perpetrator to book. Adults believe that concerning the application of rules, they need to constantly monitor and control children's behaviour, but from my observation, the children were applying and regulating the rules themselves. Following rules and the application of extrinsic pressure was important to them in that they are policing each other to ensure fairness. From Excerpt 24 I can see that the children are also testing the boundaries to understand the social rules of engagement. The child in front is normally the initiator or leader, but the others decided to assert their authority and sense of right by challenging her when she is perceived to be cheating. Although she might or might not be guilty, she skillfully manipulated the situation by directly challenging them and threatening to leave the group. The others then decided to back down and acquiesce so that harmony could prevail. However, they had made the point that cheating would not be tolerated and that there were set boundaries that needed to be adhered to. They had also shown their collective power in forgiving her and allowing her back. Even though the child thought that she had won, she had effectively been schooled as to the acceptable protocols by her peers. It should be noted that the children are regulating themselves and their activities with no direct input and direction from the teacher. Teacher 2 only intervened briefly when she thought that the boys were getting too rowdy. These children are making quite sophisticated and adultlike decisions that entail being courageous by addressing unpleasant behaviours in others, calling out infringements, deciding what to do about the infringement, forgiving and moving on so that the issues are settled amicably.

Throughout these interactions, the children are very vocal and communicate effortlessly through verbal and non-verbal means, which clearly shows that they had a voice whilst playing. Below I analyse the subtheme of languaging and voice to illustrate this point.

5.2.4 Languaging and Voice

Below I present children's utterances that happened on various occasions, for example, when a child wanted to signal her turn to play (Excerpt 25), from Teacher 2 when a toddler had become disinterested in the children (Excerpt 26) and when one child bumped his mouth because he did not listen (Excerpt 27).

Excerpt 25:

Child : Then my turn, nê.

Excerpt 26:

Teacher2: He don't have lus for you³¹

Excerpt 27:

New Teacher: Your Mommy's going to skel ³²

The data portrays the children as prolific vocal and non-vocal heteroglossic communicators during play. The spontaneous dialogic communication and negotiation were a stark contrast to the compliance and submissiveness of the classroom, as they conveyed meaning clearly. I observed challenges, negotiation, nurturing, disparagement and encouragement constantly happening. For example, they would negotiate their turn to play by signalling concisely and clearly as shown by the data above. From the children, we see snippets of Kaaps such as "Yoh and nê", which they use to convey meaning such as exasperation and emphasis. I saw how,

³¹ He does not feel like playing with you

³² scold

even though they did not use Kaaps prolifically, they understood it. The examples show this understanding because they moved away immediately after Teacher 2 uttered the words (Excerpt 26) and the child knew that he was in trouble (Excerpt 27). These instances contradict the teachers' monoglossic viewpoint reflected in Chapter 4 that English is the sole vehicle of communication. This negotiation and turn taking skills are constantly being practised as the children listen for responses to which they would answer. This ability to make oneself understood in the proper context is what Blommaert (2005:68) calls "voice" which is a social issue because to be listened to and acknowledged is a fundamental need. I could see how some of these children use their voices both skilfully and stridently.

I shall now concentrate on the second of my main themes, namely, play, encompassing multimodality and materiality. I shall first introduce the section and then elaborate on the two types of play that I concentrate upon, namely free play outside with apparatus and indoor socio-dramatic play. I shall then concentrate on the subthemes that arose from the data by presenting, describing and analysing those pertaining to these types of play. The observation of play served up the rich data for this research but because the outcomes are so vast and diverse, for this section, I shall concentrate on specific themes such as the importance of play, the drive to play, groups, roles and empathy.

5.3 PLAY, MULTIMODALITY AND MATERIALITY

Play and learning from play are intertwined and are integral to the strong foundation for many important aspects of educational, social and cultural navigation. Play is a socially rooted cultural practice that many children engage in and learn from. It stems from deep within the child as it is a drive that stimulates them to learn skills for social acceptance and survival. Multimodality and materiality are interwoven throughout our lived social experiences, as shown by the data in this research. What is in the child's mind gets expressed multimodally through actions, words, or the usage of artefacts, for example, the soothing of an irate brow to show emotional and empathic awareness, or the sharing of pictures with another to share experiences. The data portrays how multimodality is crucial to communication and meaning making and how it is always interlinked to the variety of modes used sophisticatedly by the

children to skilfully convey meaning. These heteroglossic practices contest the prevailing belief that language is always the predominant mode of communication (Jewitt, 2014), as shown by the engagements with me below.

One child approached me with a puppet that had three hidden faces which looked like it represented the Red Riding Hood story and said:

Excerpt 28:

“That’s you!”

This child definitely did not have any reticence when voicing her observations as she pointed to the grandma puppet, looked at me and uttered those words. I was a bit peeved, as I do not think that I look like a grandma but to a four-year-old, I would most probably be deemed ancient. To create meaning, the data highlights that this child is utilising her previous knowledge, interests and semiotic resources as she



associates the puppet, which has grey hair and spectacles, which she uses as markers, to associate it with her concept of a grandmother. Even though I did not have grey hair, and neither was I wearing spectacles, she transferred this association to me, who is in my early fifties. She was quite adamant by her expression, concise words and using the pronoun, “you” whilst looking intently at me, that the puppet represents me. By associating me with this puppet, I was being transformed into a grandmother in her mind, whether I liked it or not. By meaning association, she attached meaning to an object and transformed a person in her mind to fit her reality.

Later, this same girl came to me again with that puppet. With dogged perseverance, she found the wolf faced part. She then studied the facial features, spoke to the wolf and said that it mustn't be angry (Excerpt 29), touching its angry looking eyebrows. When I looked at it closely, it had quite an irate expression.

Excerpt 29:

Girl: Don't be angry.

While analysing the facial features of the wolf, the child was linking it to an emotion. To do this, she was using a variety of multimodal semiotic resources in conjunction with language, as she was looking intently, touching and speaking to the wolf to convey a message. She and I had to make a connection between the expression and link it to a previous real emotion by using prior knowledge and experience of what an angry face looks like and what anger is. We had to access our multimodal repertoire of skills and utilise a variety of materials and modes to express ourselves meaningfully. I understand therefore that meanings are shaped through mode and the complexity of multimodality enhanced the potential for a greater variety of meaning making potentials and therefore a greater understanding was developed (Newfield, 2011).



In the following section, I shall concentrate on how the data highlights the importance of play as affirmed by Excerpt 30 below of Teacher 2, whose animated response shows a deep understanding of the yearnings of children for play.

5.3.1 The Importance of Play

I had asked Teacher 2 how important she thought play was for language development to which she answered:

Excerpt 30:

T2: How important is it?

S: Yes, is play

T2: It is because most of them learn through play

S: Ok

T2: [Very animated when speaking here] Like they love xxx playing like I even told them now if they're going to behave they're going to go outside because they want to play, they want to be everywhere like they just want to do their own thing, they want to be free they don't also just want to sit

I then attempted to ask the following question:

Excerpt 31:

S: So do you use it (play) as a like a reward for them to go ou

T2: =I do I do and it works

From Excerpt 30 above, the teacher acknowledges that children learn through play. She accentuates quite animatedly that they love playing and that they want to play. However, before expanding on the children's desire to play, she states that she uses it as a tool for modifying their behaviour, which she reinforces through her words.

My data reveals that Teacher 2, although she acknowledges the importance of play for learning, she has seen a more important use for it. She uses the children's love of play as a tool to keep their behaviour in check and she fully understands the power she has over them. To highlight the importance and weightiness of this knowledge, she voices this statement

first, in that they are told that they would be rewarded for good behaviour by being allowed to play later. She then only expands on her observations and understanding of the drive that the children have to play. When I commented to her earlier that the children were very well behaved for such young children, I did not realise that they had been coerced to do so with the reward of playing outside. This realisation only dawned when I asked Teacher 2 later whether she uses play as a reward system, and she latched on immediately and did not allow me to finish as shown in Excerpt 31. By repeating the words “I do” twice and using the conjunction “and” to link it with “it works”, she is reinforcing and accentuating that this strategy is very effective for discipline and behaviour modification and she uses it successfully. Furthermore, by using the pronoun I and the verb do, she reinforces that this is an action she initiates constantly and by inference, I would think that she would use it consistently because of its effectiveness.

Teachers might be missing a great educational opportunity by not observing play practices closely enough to link the concepts and environment that interest the children’s socio-cultural background to their more formal lessons. During play, motivations and emotions are important, as well as interests. Teachers, therefore, need to be attuned to how the vast array of modes contribute to learning as it could be a powerful stimulant and tool for teaching and learning. Newfield (2011) advocates how the use of the multimodal pedagogic approach could transform classroom practice when children became agents in their own meaning making and I could see this interest and creativity manifesting through the children’s spontaneous play.

For the next subtheme, I shall concentrate on the children’s drive to play, where I shall highlight how this drive is understood to be useful to the teacher.

5.3.2 The Drive to Play

In Excerpt 30, after expounding on the merits of using play as a tool for controlling behaviour, Teacher 2 then states that the children want to be unconstrained and to have agency to

decide what they want to do. Very importantly, she foregrounds that the children do not want to sit still and be controlled in a prescriptive way.

Excerpt 30: (repeated). I repeat this section for ease of reading so that the reader need not scroll up again.

T2: [Very animated when speaking here] Like they love xxx playing like I even told them now if they're going to behave they're going to go outside because they want to play, they want to be everywhere like they just want to do their own thing, they want to be free they don't also just want to sit

I see that by using the words “want” five times, I interpret that the teacher highlights how the children have an inner drive to play. Stating: “...they just want to do their own thing” reflects that they want agency to decide what to do and it seems like a primal force that compels them to move, investigate and search. From the following statements that reflect unconstrained movement – “they want to be everywhere”, “they want to be free”, I can gather that the children are driven to expand their knowledge, skill set and understanding as they seek answers from their environment and each other as the teacher most tellingly and insightfully states: “...they don’t also just want to sit.” Ironically, this deep understanding that the teacher portrays, does not seem to be implemented in her classroom practices as shown by her restrictive teaching style portrayed earlier in this chapter.

In direct contrast to the classroom practice, I shall now describe my observations concerning the children’s interactions whilst playing freely with hoops and in socio-dramatic play.

5.3.3 Types of Play

From my field notes, here I present two types of play that I observed, namely: children playing freely with hoops and socio-dramatic play. The data clearly foregrounds communication and meaning making through multimodality and materiality. The descriptions highlight the intriguing concept of materiality, which promulgates that the environment and artefacts

entice them to investigate and play with them (Hvit 2014:11). The data reveals how important this interaction by children with the environment and material objects, such as hoops, puppets, cell phones, dolls, dress up clothes, tables, chairs, is for learning and taking and making meaning from them.

I begin this section by presenting and analysing various activities that children engage in as they play with hoops that I note down.

5.3.3.1 Free Play

I observed the following activities while the majority of the children played with colourful hoops in the courtyard. The children are very agile and aware of their space and each other. Although the area is compact and three boys are running between them playing soccer, they manoeuvre their bodies and the hoops adroitly and there are no incidents of collisions. We need to bear in mind that Teacher 2 sat with a toddler on her lap while supervising and she did not initiate any type of play. The activities were all spontaneously done by the children.

Excerpt 32: Field-notes: Children Playing Freely with Hoops (04 March 2022)

Something new is birthed as children play, which leads to endless possibilities (Prinsloo, 2004).

These were the various activities that I observed while the children were playing with the hoops:

- They placed a straight line of hoops down on the cement where they hopped into and out of them



- They hopped onto the hoops

- They lifted them aloft

- They ran with their body encircled by the hoop



- They tried to catch a ball with the hoops

- They walked while standing on the hoops

- They stood on the hoops and slid them as if they were ice skating

- They balanced on one hoop with both feet

- They balanced on two hoops with a foot on each one using their hands

- They balanced on two hoops with a foot on each one without hands

- They all ended up walking on the hoops because they said that the ground was lava and they therefore should not touch it

The children's ability to use the hoops and invent a variety of imaginative ways of playing with them was a testament to their creative ability as I was able to observe approximately nine different variations in about half an hour. From this brief session, a vast wealth of information emerged as to the ingenuity and creativity of children when they are left to play unfettered by adult intervention. Once the children were playing outside, the contrast between their classroom personas and the free play personas was startling. This was the same group of children but as they were unbounded by the mat, sitting cross legged and being controlled by an adult, their transformation was phenomenal. Even though the teacher who normally

regulates their behaviour was present because she was not directly involved, their vocalisation and movement were creative, spontaneous and liberated as they regulated themselves. The docility, compliance and submissiveness were replaced by free thinking, spontaneous and joyful humans who made their own decisions and were responsible for the consequences. Their bodies were unrestricted, they could move where they wanted and as insightfully stated by Teacher 2 in Excerpt 30 earlier on, they could be everywhere, do their own thing and be free.

I shall now concentrate on my analysis of socio-dramatic play that I observed.

5.3.3.2 Socio- Dramatic Play

"In play the child stands taller than itself in real life." (Vygotsky, 1985:552) cited in Joseph *et al* (2014:33)

When I arrived to observe the socio-dramatic play, the new teacher announced:

Excerpt 33:

Dress Ups!

The whole class consequently swoops onto a pile of clothes that had been laid out on the mat. After a bit of scrabbling, they decide on their garments. Everyone receives a realistic looking play cell phone. I was greatly overwhelmed trying to decide whom to watch as I simply saw a mass of small children swirling about. I initially try to frantically make notes but realise the futility thereof until they settle a bit.

The children settle fairly quickly into groups and start to enact roles according to the various material artefacts that they had chosen, which I shall now analyse.

5.3.4 Groups and Roles

During the socio-dramatic play, the children organise themselves into various groups which remain fairly stable throughout the session. There are the mummies and baby group, a family group and some loners who stay on the mat playing by themselves or simply floating in and out between the two classrooms and a fish/tiger person who terrorises everyone by moving about seamlessly on the floor. The children play together amiably most of the time, practising the social conventions of respecting the groups. If someone tries to encroach on them without being invited, the new person is usually rebuffed.

The data foregrounds that the children are quite specific as to the various roles, especially the traditional gender roles of mothers and fathers. This is shown by how the family group is introduced to me when the boy tells me by pointing to himself and the Mommy who is holding the doll as shown in Excerpt 34 below.

Excerpt 34:

Daddy Boy: I'm a daddy and that's a mommy. That's a baby over there.

The Mommy group, which comprises only of girls, cares for their children. Even though they are quite specific about roles, there is a blurring of gender stereotypes when one boy crosses the line and wears a pink Barbie cap.

5.3.4.1 Power Struggles

The nuclear family group, which remains stable throughout the socio-dramatic play, comprises of the Mommy Girl, Daddy Boy and a Baby Doll. Their home is a table. The Mommy Girl of the group is very efficient at organising the Daddy Boy and keeping the unit together.

However, when one girl (Interloper Girl) tries to join this group by coming to sit next to her on the table, she is firmly rebuffed, as shown by Excerpts 35 to 37 below.

Excerpt 35:

Mommy Girl speaking to Interloper Girl: Why you next to me?

Excerpt 36:

Mommy Girl to Daddy Boy [after she went to fetch him]: You must sit here.

[Later, after the doll was pushed]:

Excerpt 37:

Interloper Girl to Mommy Girl: You're being rude.

In Excerpt 35, we see Mommy Girl, who strengthens her stance and asserts her dominance by turning her whole body towards Interloper Girl and looking her in the face when she is challenging her. When the child did not back off, the Mommy Girl proceed to fetch the Daddy Boy who was elsewhere, to back her up. She takes him by the hand, brings him to the table and tells him to sit next to her, which he meekly does. Because Interloper Girl did not want to leave, Mommy Girl pushes the baby doll of the interloper which is lying nearby. Although Mommy Girl was successful in getting Interloper Girl to eventually leave, she did not immediately exit but went to her doll to check on it and make it comfortable by rearranging its clothes.

Aspects of jostling for social power and escalation of intent are revealed by the data. By challenging the interloper first verbally to show her dominance, Mommy Girl is sending a non-physical, though powerful signal to the girl to back off. Mommy Girl continuously strengthens her stance literally and figuratively as she adapts her strategy to the ongoing challenge. These multimodal adaptations include getting reinforcements to occupy the space by fetching Daddy Boy to sit there. She is signalling to the interloper that she is determined to protect her domain whilst maintaining her family unit. This position of power kept changing between the two girls, with the Mommy Girl having to escalate her strategy as the interloper kept challenging her authority. I perceive that the Interloper Girl might either not have valued

Mommy Girl's social rules, did not see them as important enough, misinterpreted them, or did not understand them. However, this lack of comprehension finally led to physicality when the baby doll of the interloper was pushed. Interestingly, by not physically pushing the girl because she knew it was socially unacceptable, but by deliberately pushing her doll, Mommy Girl was showing her that she was symbolically pushing her away. As the doll belonged to the interloper, it was good enough to be used as a proxy for this action. This action was powerful and effective as only then did Interloper Girl react by verbally challenging her by stating that she was being rude (Excerpt 37). By using and adapting a vast range of verbal and non-verbal modes of communication and being tenacious, Mommy Girl was eventually successful. The interloper, however, by making calculated and deliberate movements of checking on the doll at her own pace, was signalling that she would decide when to move away on her terms. She left the doll as a symbol of her defiance. By these actions, she was countering the power of the Mommy Girl and demonstrating that she, too, had power and was in control.

The power struggle between the two was riveting with these meaning making strategies portraying the daily tussling of power between individuals on a greater societal scale, be it a mother disciplining a child or families deciding what to eat. The children understood the rules of social engagement and used both overt and covert signalling during their interactions. Although this interaction initially shows the children exercising restraint, by first engaging in verbal interaction and using a variety of multimodal signals, it did escalate to becoming physical, showing that the Mommy Girl was intent on asserting her will on the other child through any means possible. These children are conveying meaning by choosing the most effective available resources, be they voice to challenge and protect, taking up space to show possession, getting reinforcements to show alliance, pushing or being obstinate, to show power.

5.3.5 Empathy

Another core group is the Mommy Group, which comprises of girls and dolls. The girls are dressing their doll babies in pyjamas, swaddling, cuddling and fussing with them while they are lined up in a row on the tables. They would pick them up and walk with them in their arms

as if they were real babies. There are no Daddy groups as it seems as if the fathers are more in the background or absent. The girls were interacting with each other in the following manner.

Excerpt 38:

I'm going to watch your baby, she's sick.

Excerpt 39:

I like living by you.

Excerpt 40:

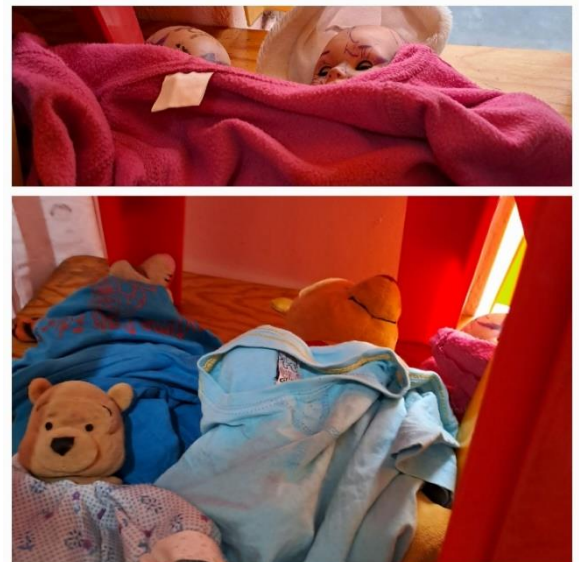
You can stay forever and ever.

I interpret this re-enactment as representative of the mother figure which comes through strongly as a central figure to the children during their play, from the Mommy Girl ordering the Daddy Boy about, protecting her family and domain, to the Interloper Girl looking for a friend, to the Mommy group of girls. These mother role models are powerful, strong and independent and make important decisions such as volunteering to tend to sick children and caring for friends and neighbours. These children are emulating what they understand to be the concept of a

mother or father and are projecting what they think these roles should be (Vygotsky,1978). They are applying the various rules and roles and are solving problems according to their understanding and their life view, reflecting their immediate environment and the greater community. As they incorporate their home lives, school lives, community conventions, social etiquette, peer interaction, group dynamics and the meanings applied to them, they shift fluidly in and out of these diverse domains.

From the research, I can see how collective play, due to learning and practising co-operation, modelling, applying of rules, communication skills and turn taking, impacts and enhances the

Doll babies all swaddled and cosy



social life of the children and how they use their multimodal resources skilfully to assert certain identities, enact power plays, and strive to be accepted.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has analysed the teaching discourses in the preschool classroom and has juxtaposed them against children playing freely. It has shown that the main classroom discourse is the IRE/F method which limits the children's potential as they are expected to most often sit still, listen and respond in an expected way to the teacher. Although the children's competence is acknowledged, it is not celebrated, as the teaching methods are very prescriptive and adult led. The data highlights how the children's voices are quashed through classroom practices and behaviour modification to gain specific outcomes.

In contrast, part 2 of the chapter also reveals what happens when children are at play. Firstly, it has shown the multitude of heteroglossic and semiotic multimodal repertoires that they possess and exercise. Secondly, the children are spontaneously developing social and intellectual skills through play that the adults may not be aware of that are quite sophisticated and complex. These skills encompass social conventions, roles and empathy, to name a few. Thirdly, this research has highlighted ways in which the children use their multimodal repertoire for meaning making to oppose the rigours of classroom practice through play and how they subvert dominant language and literacy ideologies through bi(multi)lingualism and heteroglossia as they communicate both vocally and non-vocally.

Lastly, it has foregrounded how enriching and invaluable play is for the holistic development of children through "collaborative skills, alliance building, good sportsmanship and ethical values"(Heath, 2013:187) and how devastating the lessening or eradicating of play could be for their development and well-being.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In this study, I have striven to understand what adults' language and literacy ideologies are and how these impact the language choices they make for the preschool language policy, pedagogy and children's identity formation. Also, I wanted to deepen my understanding of how adults socialise young children with language and literacy in a preschool setting. Therefore, issues of language ideologies and power were important to explore to see whether the children's voices are quashed or not through a deficit ideology to realise future goals of social and economic aspirations (McCormick, 1986). I was interested to see whether other non-linguistic communicative resources were valued and encouraged by the adults to empower the children or not and how these ideologies could affect the identities of the children.

Furthermore, I wanted to gain insights into what semiotic, multimodal, material and linguistic resources preschool bi(multi)lingual Kaaps and Afrikaans-English-speaking children employ during their language and literacy practices during play and how these are compared to the socialisation by the adults. I also explored their unique heteroglossic practices as they interacted in their planned and spontaneous play in different spaces as they draw on these resources. Additionally, I wanted to understand what children learn from play as part of their language and cognitive development.

Firstly, the data reveals that language ideologies of monoglossia, monolingualism, Anglonormativity (Blackledge, 2000; Makoe & McKinney, 2014; McKinney, 2017) and raciolinguistics (Rosa, 2016) are practised and propagated daily even though colonialism and apartheid have been seemingly abolished. Concepts of monoglossia and Anglonormativity are foregrounded in this study and illustrate that there are distinctions made between the status of different languages, versions of a language and how people are accorded different social rankings, due to who is speaking. Furthermore, this data highlights that standardised languages are not only promoted but have value attached to them (McCormick, 1986; Rosa, 2016). The linguistic autonomous belief that should people master said languages, their economic and social status would improve, still prevails. Also, the participants bemoaning the fact that coloured people cannot speak properly in any language, not only foregrounds

languagelessness (Rosa, 2016) but the stereotype perpetrated by colonialism that the coloured community is uneducated and/or lacks linguistic proficiency. Because the focus is so pinpointed on the perceived importance of pronunciation and accent, people do not listen for meaning, which effectively mutes the speaker. This further shows that coloniality survives colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) and McKinney (2021) argues that to decolonize language and literacy, we need to work at changing these ideologies in people's minds.

Monolingualism is made prevalent by the participants' beliefs that languages are pure and bounded and that they should not be mixed. Even though both Afrikaans and Kaaps originated through mixed languages, Afrikaans is perceived as being legitimate and pure due to its promotion by colonial and apartheid ideologies, whereas Kaaps is seen as inferior and mixed. These perceptions are shown through the conflict experienced by the participants, who embrace Kaaps in their inner circle, but do not promote it elsewhere, as they do not want to be perceived as uncultured and uneducated. Furthermore, by believing and accepting the concept of languagelessness (Rosa, 2016), the coloured community is internalising coloniality (Guzula, 2021; Christie and McKinney, 2017) and perpetuating this ideology by vocalising it constantly. I deduce that when the voice of Kaaps is silenced through these language ideologies and social conventions, the message being conveyed is that the coloured community seems to accept that their heritage, their identity, as well as their legitimacy of linguistic competence is unimportant. This has far reaching consequences for the children, as the adults would be influencing their mindsets, linguistic resources, voice and identities by perpetuating these beliefs.

In agreement with Makoe and McKinney (2014), Dyers (2015), McKinney (2017) and Guzula (2021), I argue that heteroglossia should be more fully embraced as it encompasses the reality of language usage and it would enable people to use an alternative way to understand language practices of bi(multi)lingual children. As language and identity are interconnected, this could lead to less ambivalence and tension, as the children do not need to determine which linguistic resource to use to be socially acceptable. Consequently, these language ideologies which demarcate acceptable and unacceptable language usage should be redressed (Horner, 2012 cited in Dyers, 2015). This is because these language policies could lead to inertia, where there is no desire to introduce new policies of inclusiveness (Abongdia cited in Dyers, 2014:16).

Secondly, I have highlighted that teachers socialise the children to conform to school rules and have argued that this stifles their language development as they end up learning by rote, hindering their spontaneous speech and communicative ability. Therefore, opportunities for orality should be encouraged in young children and be used more informally and not for assessment purposes only. Paley (2007) indicates how storytelling and dramatisation might help educators understand their children better as children use these devices to solve problems and understand their place in the world better.

Bock (2016) advocates for allowing children to move across different modes to learn, which would enhance their agency and improve their decision making skills. Through a multimodal social semiotic lens, the understanding of how human beings employ various semiotic cultural and social communicative devices across a spectrum of environments to express meaning could be enhanced (Stein and Newfield, 2006). Therefore, to improve outcomes, teaching methods should move from the autonomous model of literacy which simply applies an objective curriculum, to the ideological model, incorporating the multiliteracies model (Prinsloo and Stein, 2004). I have included some critiques as I understand the challenges, but I have experienced how engaged and creative children become when there are connections to their life world. Teachers could transform their classrooms into “participatory and agentic spaces”, where children can think critically and independently (Newfield 2011:27).

Thirdly, I observed and analysed how the children rebel against the stringent orderliness of the rigours of classroom practice when they are released to play and have seen the enormous value of play. By positioning themselves as leaders and/or creators, the children try to find their place in their world. Some are sportier than others, some are more verbal, whilst some are followers. I can ascertain that the children develop and apply rules and social conventions, practise self-regulation and harness their self-control through play, reinforcing that it is essential for holistic development. They develop their emotional quotient, learn to be assertive, practise negotiation, teaching and mediation skills and exercise decision making and reasoning.

The application of rules is very important to children (Vygotsky, 1978; Heath, 2013; Paley, 2007) and they foreground that problem solving schemes and rule structures are developed through play and dramas of play. Essentially, the creativity portrayed by the children affirms Gee’s observation that an internal creative source gives rise to language and literacy which

should be encouraged and not be quelled (Gee, 1996 cited in Prinsloo, 2004). Of importance, we need to take cognisance of Heath's (2013:190) explanation that the hand can change thought or imagination into something tangible as it is an instrument of cognitive development. I have seen that when their resources are limited, children creatively use what they have available (Kress, 1997; Pahl, 2014) as they create many versions of play in a short space of time by using one type of apparatus. Physically, they are developing their fine and gross motor skills, hand-eye co-ordination and crossing the midline. These learning opportunities through free movement are in direct contrast to the children sitting cross legged on the mat, watching the teacher.

Joseph *et al.* (2014) express that the child creates their fantasy-real world during play where they have power and hope and are in charge of their life. Many adults theoretically acknowledge the value of play, but think of it as frivolous when compared to formal lessons. The data reveals how adults use play as a bargaining tool or reward strategy to coerce children to behave, which I must admit with mortification, that I had used freely as a mainstream teacher! However, I am using play constructively now in pedagogy to encourage children to learn in a fun and engaging way. I argue that this research has highlighted how play is the crucial foundation for learning and cultural navigation (Vygotsky, 1978; Heath, 2013; Nicolopoulou, *et al.*, 2015) and for children's holistic development. Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 12) explain that these "micro-level interactions shape the macro-level social structures", as these interactions show the progression of social interaction and involvement. Insightfully, as portrayed here, children can be "designers of meaning" who exercise "semiotic choice" and "self-reflexivity" (Archer and Newfield, 2014:6). Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele (2016:20) further highlight how learners, as opposed to teachers and educational policies, are agentive in disrupting the norm and who also challenge for change by "modelling the processes by which schools can create transformative practices and pedagogies."

In this research, the children were very clear and expressive in their verbal and non-verbal communication during play. They used Kaaps intermittently to convey their meaning, for example, to show exasperation or emphasis. These instances contradicted the teachers' monoglossic viewpoint reflected in Chapter 4 that English was the sole vehicle of communication. The children exercised negotiation and turn taking skills and used their voices fearlessly and spontaneously, tapping into their linguistic repertoire without being cowed by

convention. They did not show inhibitions, or “languagelessness” (Rosa, 2019). These interactions were vastly different from the rote and submissive way of answering questions and asking for permission to go to the toilet. This delightful and childlike way should be noted and replicated but, I state with trepidation, that without intervention and a concerted challenge to the language ideologies, these very children might be sucked into the voiceless morass of the future.

Limitations

As a qualitative researcher, I was subjective as I had an insider perspective concerning the culture and ways of speaking. Although, through sharing my experiences and inner knowledge, I might have influenced some insights, I was aware of the meaning-making behind the modality and the social context and the function when these occurrences happened (Jewitt, 2014). My predominant data collecting tools were field notes and photographs and I note that the disadvantages were that I could not observe everything at once and had to decide what was of interest. Video recordings would have presented me with more data which might have been invaluable for a deeper understanding of the various multimodal gestures. Although I saw a trend in the teacher’s methodology, I did not watch enough formal lessons to draw conclusions about the teacher’s approach to literacy learning.

Recommendations

The prevailing ingrained colonial language ideologies are impacting “the [mis]conceptions about language” (McKinney, 2017) and they need to be understood, highlighted and challenged to ensure a mind shift. This is achievable through the concept of Heteroglossia by enabling children to access both standard and named languages and accepting and celebrating diversity (Janks, 2013).

To inform pedagogy from below and by realising that children's language and literacy learning is embedded in their everyday socio-cultural ways, meaningful talk, their environments, knowledge, culture and interests should be incorporated, embracing the ideological model of literacy.

I align with Nicolopoulou, *et al.* (2006) who see the value of play being integrated into the curriculum and not simply being used as a segregated activity or to be used as a bargaining tool or reward strategy.

I realise the importance of and advocate for listening to and observing children and involving them in their development. They should not be overlooked and assimilated into the adult way of doing things. As I write this, I realise the magnitude of the number of skills and knowledge that children need to master, the vast minefield of societal standards that they need to navigate to find their niche in society. I must admit that they are doing exceptionally well for 4 to 6 year-olds.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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EDNREC20211108

25 November 2021

S. Daniels
DNLSHA010

RE: Ethical Clearance Research project

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been granted by the School of Education Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your academic project: Komiesa ko speel: Heteroglossia and Multimodality in bilingual children's play in a pre-school space. We wish you all the best with your research.

Regards

Signed by candidate

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR JOANNE HARDMAN

ETHICS CHAIR

"Our Mission is to be an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society."

Appendix B: Information letters and consent forms for the owner, teachers and parent

Dear (Owner and Teachers)

Komiesa ko speel: Heteroglossia and Multimodality in bilingual children's play in a preschool space

I, Sharon Daniels, am a student researcher studying at the School of Education at the University of Cape Town. I would like to ask permission to carry out a research project on how preschoolers interact with literacy, bilingualism and play in a multilingual and multimodal setting. This study would delve into how different languages, especially Kaaps, are used by the teachers and parents to interact and communicate with the children, and how the children respond to them and take meaning from them. I will also be examining how these sessions are valued by the parents and teachers. The promotion of early literacy is especially pertinent to South Africa, which has resoundingly low literacy rates and it is therefore imperative to raise awareness as to the value of these multilingual and play literacy events and practices.

Early literacy studies in preschool settings have mostly concentrated on teacher's language and literacy practices. Thus, there are minimal studies that have been undertaken concerning the language and literacy practices of preschool bilingual children during play in South Africa. Furthermore, not much research has been conducted on the usage of Kaaps Afrikaans by children in their imaginative play.

Furthermore, I wish to understand how the children play, draw, listen to stories, talk to other people, sing songs, and recite nursery rhymes in their day-to-day experiences. By investigating how preschoolers become literate persons and how they interact and communicate through play would lead to a greater awareness as to how to promote language and literacy.

I would like to use your preschool as a site for my research and I am requesting permission for this. Data collection will be in the form of observations during 6 one hour sessions during the months of January and February 2022. I will observe how the children respond to storytelling, singing of songs and planned and unplanned imaginative play, especially concentrating on language and communication by making notes and audio-video recordings. Photographs will be taken of the environment, the print matter as well as the children in play but will focus on the activities they do. Their faces will be blurred in the research to hide their identities for their safety.

I hope to interview you and your teachers to find out how you value these literacy interactions and what you find interesting about them. Participation is voluntary and confidentiality of the preschool and all participants is guaranteed. The preschool will be given a pseudonym (different name) and pseudonyms will be used for all participants in the writing up of the research. You may withdraw permission for conducting the research at any time.

Please fill in the slip below to indicate consent for the research. You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by email to xxx or Cell: xxx. You can also contact my research supervisor, Dr Xolisa Guzula at the University of Cape Town, email xxx or Cell: xxx

Yours sincerely

Sharon Daniels

Komiesa ko speel: Heteroglossia and Multimodality in bilingual children’s play in a preschool space

Owner / Teacher:

	I consent to	Yes	No
1.	Being observed during the literacy research.		
2.	Being audio-video taped during the research.		
3.	Being interviewed.		
4.	An audio-video recording of the interview.		

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that confidentiality will be maintained. I can withdraw my participation at any time.

Name : _____

Contact Details: Tel: _____

Email: _____

Signature : _____ Date : _____

Dear Parent / Guardian

I, **Sharon Daniels**, am a student researcher studying at the **School of Education at the University of Cape Town**.

Learning about reading is very important in South Africa, which has many people who cannot read.

I would like to carry out a research project on:

- ❖ **how preschoolers interact with literacy and play in a place where various languages are used, especially Kaaps.**
- ❖ **I would like to see the way in which the children play, listen to stories, talk to other people, sing songs, and recite nursery rhymes.**

As I would like to collect information in the form of observations during the months of **March - June 2022**, I am asking your permission to make notes and audio-video recordings. Photographs will be taken of the site and the print matter in the preschool only and not of the children at all.

I hope to interview you to find out how you value these activities and language usage and what you find interesting about them. **You are not forced to take part and you may withdraw your permission at any time. Confidentiality of the preschool and all participants is guaranteed.** The preschool will be given a **pseudonym (different name)** and **pseudonyms will be used for all participants** in the writing up of the research.

Please fill in the slip to indicate consent for the research. You are welcome to ask any questions regarding this research by email to xxxx_Cell: xxx. You can also contact my research supervisor, Dr Xolisa Guzula at the University of Cape Town, email: xxx

Yours sincerely

Sharon Daniels



Komiesa ko speel: Heteroglossia and Multimodality in bilingual children’s play in a preschool space

Parent / Guardian :

	I consent to	Yes	No
1.	My child(name and surname of the child) being observed during the literacy events and practices.		
2.	My child being audio-video taped during the literacy events and practices.		
3.	Being observed during the literacy events and practices.		
4.	Being audio-taped during the literacy events and practices.		
5.	Being photographed during class activities and during play, but will not be identifiable in the published documents		
6.	Being interviewed.		
7.	An audio-recording of the interview.		

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that confidentiality will be maintained. I can withdraw my participation at any time.

Name : _____

Contact Details: Tel: _____

 Email: _____

Signature : _____

Date : _____

Appendix C: Interview questions

PRESCHOOL: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – OWNER AND TEACHERS

1. What are the languages you grew up speaking in your home?
2. Which languages were offered at school and which ones were not offered?
3. At what levels did you learn these languages?
4. Which languages do you use mostly now in your home?
5. Do you use different languages to communicate during certain times and places, e.g. with your friends and family or talking to the schoolteacher?
6. What do you think about the languages that you use?
7. What language / s do you use to communicate with the preschool children?
8. What is the predominant language used for formal/structured learning sessions?
9. What is the predominant language used for the informal / play sessions?
10. Can the children express themselves freely and comfortably in the languages that you speak to them?
11. What happens when they cannot express themselves in the languages you use to communicate with them?
12. Which languages does the preschool say teachers and the children must use for teaching, reading, writing and learning?

13. Which languages does the teachers and the children actually use for teaching, reading, writing and learning?
14. Does the preschool discourage use of certain languages? If so, which ones?
15. In what languages are your books and print material in?
16. Which language/s do you consider most important between English/Afrikaans and Kaaps? Why?
17. Which language/s do you consider least important between English/Afrikaans and Kaaps? Why?
18. What are the aims of the literacy / play sessions that are on your timetable?
19. How does the preschool encourage literacy amongst the children?
20. How important is play for language development?
21. How important is play for literacy development?
22. What role does play have on the children's physical, social and intellectual development? (How important is play to the children's life?)
23. Any further comments?

Additional Follow Up Questions :

Owner:

1. Could you give me a bit of history with regard to the playschool?
2. What made you choose English only for the playschool?
3. And for your children?
4. I hardly heard Kaaps being used in the preschool. Is there a reason for that?
5. I am asking because of its location in Rocklands. The community speaks Kaaps?
6. You said the children come in from other areas? Which areas are those?
7. What makes the parents send their children to this preschool? E.g. Historical family tradition etc.

PRESCHOOL: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS PARENT / GUARDIAN

○ **HOME :**

1. What are the languages you grew up speaking in your home?
2. Which languages were offered at school and which ones were not offered?
3. At what levels did you learn these languages?
4. Which languages do you use mostly now in your home?
5. Do you use different languages to communicate during certain times and places, e.g. with your friends and family or talking to the schoolteacher?
6. What do you think about the languages that you use?
7. What languages does your child speak at home?
8. What language do you speak to your child and why?
9. What additional languages does your child learn at school?
10. What do you think about the languages that your child uses?

○ **PRESCHOOL:**

11. Why does your child attend the preschool?
12. What is most enjoyable about the preschool?
13. What do you and the child dislike about the preschool? .
14. What is helpful in the preschool with regard to the children's:
 - Oral Language development:
 - Reading and writing:
 - Play:

- How the children learn to be with other children and adults:

15. Any further comments?

Appendix D: Transcription of interview with the Owner

Interview Session – Owner

Date : 04 March 2022

S: Language in home?

O: English

S: In Primary School?

O: English, Afrikaans as well as Xhosa. Xhosa was to me once a week. It wasn't a continuous thing. I can't say that I learnt anything from there.

S: What was not offered? I don't know maybe different other languages out of South Africa

S: Would you have been interested in that?

O: I would hey, because like my Dad, he can speak Urdu

S: Oh okay! (surprised intonation)

O: So I also learnt a bit from him, like growing up. But you know as you grow up, things fade. So I can speak a bit of it, not fluently. Urdu would be like the third language.

S: Ok, very interesting. And then um, at which level did you learn these languages?

O: So growing up, I was English. my parents spoke English to me, I picked up Afrikaans because my mother and father spoke Afrikaans, so that's how I basically also picked up Afrikaans. I can't really say, at what age basically?

S: Ja, Like, for example, did you do Afrikaans right until grade

O: Both English and Afrikaans I finished till matric

S: Ok. and the Urdu you said was just like a communication language//

O: Yes

S: and the Xhosa,

O: It was on and off in primary school. If I remember correctly, it was maybe like for a term that they did it. Maybe in grade 4.

S: So it was that time frame when they wanted to introduce the language//

O:Yes

Mostly , now in your home, which languages?

O: English

S: And your children//

O:English

S:Do you use different languages to communicate at certain times and places? So with your friends and family or talking on the phone

O: //I do speak both languages, it's like at home I will speak English, but there is certain people who are Afrikaans speaking and I will communicate back in Afrikaans

S: Ok,

O: //Even though I don't feel comfortable because I'm so used to English, so pronunciations wouldn't be how like they call suiwer Afrikaans

S: Intonation Uh

O: //so I would feel like mine is more slang , maybe that person is more suiwer.

S: Oh ok, ok. So with the suiwer Afrikaans , you want to speak it properly or

O: // Yes, like I sound gam³³, basically talking Afrikaans. To me it just doesn't sound right. I'm not confident in Afrikaans, let me just put it like that.

S: And like sounding gam what does that mean to you?

O: Like I'm a gangster, not too ladylike

S: 04:31 Ok (!) And when you speak gam, who do you speak to?

O: Ok, we had a domestic worker who worked here almost 8 years. She was Afrikaans and I grew to just speak Afrikaans to her. But I didn't really care how it came out because she understood that I am English. But like speaking professionally, I would feel very awkward as it wouldn't come out professionally

S: Oh, ok

O: So there is some words that I would struggle with which I would call Engelkaans. It's just a word that I use

S: OK (!)

5:11 I talk English and Afrikaans combined. If I can't come to word, I say it in English.

S: I like that Engelkaans //C: Laughs It's an interesting concept. So you make a plan like with who you speak //C: yes

S: You adapt or something like that. So, what do you think about the languages that you speak?

O: What do I think in what way now?

³³ Low class

S: What do you think about the languages that you use because what you said now is with the proper language and with the domestic worker you speak Afrikaans but you don't worry too much

O: //Ja

S: but with professionally

O:// I struggle a bit. I'm not too confident when it's with somebody who needs it to be done professionally. There are times when I would say can he speak English because I'm not too comfortable with Afrikaans. Like that person wouldn't know me like completely like "What how do you speak?" xxx your teacher, I would rather prefer English because it's my home language, my comfort, in that I am comfortable with that

S: Ok,ok.. so your English is your comfort language

O: Yes

S: So what languages do you use to communicate with the preschool children?

O: We speak English, funny enough, there's no children that's actually that is Afrikaans speaking, so ja we communicate in English//even though a few years ago we had a child um he was Pakistani. he didn't understand us he only spoke their language it was very challenging we basically had to like show him and try to explain so that there was no confusion. There was a lot of miscommunication. He would cry maybe but we wouldn't know why. He would show to his stomach and we would ask Is your stomach sore? He wouldn't be able to say yes or no because he doesn't understand. So it was quite challenging and he wasn't here too long because they actually went back to Pakistan so, ja it was that once off challenge that we faced.

S: So for your formal and learning sessions the predominant language which you use I would think is

O:// English , ja

S: I heard them pray a little bit in Afrikaans

O: Yes and um It's English and Afrikaans and obviously they have some Islamic part to the prayer as well

S: Oh ok ..um so so for their play sessions their informal play sessions, what language do the children use?

O: Also English

S: And then...so can the children express themselves freely and comfortably to you.

O: Yes, they can because like I said they are all English speaking.

S: So what happens when they cannot express the language and how do you communicate to them? with them?

O: Ok, so at the moment we don't have a problem but like with that child we used sign language showing emotion basically like I know when he's sad but not why he's sad because

he is not going to tell me and I would be like Is your stomach sore? Like that. Like I say it was very challenging but that was a few years ago and for the past few years we never had such a challenging experience again.

S: Which languages ...so that would be English

O://We should implement Afrikaans as well because Afrikaans they going to need to learn at school , so um, that question maybe teacher Kelly can ask because I know in the week she had something in the ((xxx)) something about their body um and the work in Afrikaans. There I wouldn't be able to answer she can explain you.

S: 11:12 And then the reading, writing, so that would also be

O:// English

S: Do you discourage any use of other languages

O:// No, no

S: In what language your books and print materials

O:// in English but posters would be English, Afrikaans both

S: And your books are mostly

O:// English.

S: Which languages do you consider most important between English Afrikaans and Kaaps?

O: I would actually say (?)Kaaps because we are well known for our slang.so I would say Kaaps

S: So who's we that you are incorporating

O:// it's actually me but I'm speaking in general that reason why is like my godparents are in Australia for a few years now and they still have an accent but with their accent, they still use slang words.. I would my cousin we were all young when they emigrated so they too young, so they don't know slang. 13:01 We also had an exchange student, Jenny who was from Germany and the first thing she learnt was slang words like : miniete vir jou³⁴, she didn't pronounce it properly but it was funny for us and up till now, she's back in Germany. She visits randomly but she tries hard to speak like us with that accent. so that's why I would go for Kaaps, actually .

S: Ok, so the German, the German lady tried to speak the Kapps but with the Kaaps accent also, ok, that's quite interesting. Which languages do you consider least important between English Afrikanans and Kaaps and why?

O: I would think Afrikaans reason for that is like I say I am not comfortable with Afrikaans that is why i would choose that

S:What are the aims of the play sessions that are on your timetable?

³⁴ Wait for you

O: I am confused with that

S: Ok, like ummm, Do they have free play sessions,

O:// yes , yes

S: Ok and maybe structured play sessions

O:// yes they have quiet play, educational play, umm free play, but it's all part of the routine

S: Ok, so they got a certain slot

O:// Yes S; like now they

O:// so its eating time now we allow them to gather to have a talk so that they can play so they've got their different sessions //

S: Um and how do you encourage literacy amongst the children?

O: Like what they're doing now we encourage them to speak, they should know that we give them a time to communicate with each but there is also a time where you need to stay focussed you need to follow your routine like when they pray for example, I must not talk while I'm eating, so they know already, when it's eating time, they need to be quiet but we give them that scope when they quickly need to go fetch their bags because they can't be quiet all the time they are children

S:// yes, yes

O:// so I think that answers that question

S: Ok um and how important is play for language development

O: I think that play is very important because they learn through play..

15;55

S: and what role does play have on their physical, social and intellectual development. How important is play to their life?

O: By playing, they are going to learn words from each other, they are going to learn how to communicate, um socially also, we have a child here, he was basically an introvert and um when we ((xxx)) to the next age group this year he became completely different. For me socially, if a child is going to be around children that is not on his level maybe he is not going to express himself. so he wasn't comfortable to express himself with the younger age group or maybe the age group his age but not more advanced than what he is so um socially, I think that..how do I say it now, he is now in his age group so he is socialising now and intellectually as well.

And any further comments

O:// No

End of interview

Appendix E: Transcription of interview with Teacher 1

Transcription of Interview Session – Teacher 1

Date : 04 March 2022

Preamble about ethics and pseudonym etc.

S: Ok, so what are the languages you grew up speaking in your home?

T1: English but my mommy normally speaks Afrikaans

S: So, so is your mommy Afrikaans and your Dad English or how

T1: My mom grew up Afrikaans but since she got married, it was always English. so now and then it's a bit of Afrikaans

S: And then at school, primary, high school, which languages were you offered?

T1: English and Afrikaans

S: At what levels did you learn the languages? Which grade did you go?

T1: 12

S: And and your home, which language do you use mostly?

T1: English (laughs) English all the way

S: Ok Um...do you use different languages to communicate during certain times, for example, your friends, when you socialise, when you go to the more formal, do you mix languages //I: I mix languages and sometimes my niece and (1:53) I would go online and try different languages like Spanish or French and try those type of things

S: Ok (!) that's quite interesting and then um...with your friends and that

T1: Mostly English and sometimes we switch to Afrikaans

S: And then What do you think about the languages that you use? What do you think about English, Afrikaans

T1: For English I feel like most people just speak the basics but I firmly believe that English is a nice language once you get to know it better same as for Afrikaans. Like when you know, we. let's just say Coloured persons for a lack of words. Coloured people don't really know how to speak the proper Afrikaans. It's very nice to know, how we say, the suiwer Afrikaans, it's a nice language and every day to learn different types of languages and pronunciation, I feel it's a nice language

S: The Afrikaans

T1: Yes, it's a nice language

S: And then with the children here, which languages do you speak?

T1: We sometimes speak Afrikaans and English, like in the morning we would do a bit of Afrikaans

S: And then the predominant language for the learning sessions here //I: English

S: With the play sessions, what languages do the children use

T1: they use English

S: (Laughs) ok

T1: Sometimes you'll hear other slang language but mostly English

S: So they do use the slang as well? // I: Yes ma'am

S: the children are they able to express themselves easily and freely, you know for communication are they clear are you able to understand

T1: 04:20 ((xxx)) lessons

S: Ja, in general also when they come to you

T1: in general they speak very clearly and very open and honest as well

S: And when they can't express themselves then what do use to communicate with them how do you communicate

T1: I would ask then how they feeling and ask a friend what did they mean by this or I'll interact with all of the children together just to ((xxx)) like the one child is actually included in everything if they feel okay 04:53 ((xxx)) or I would ask questions about why they sad or if this one did this or etcetera

S: Alright so mostly the teaching, the reading , the writing is in English (laughs)

T1: yes

S: So that's fine, so I'm not this is similar to this one

T1: You already know the answer to that (laughs)

05:34 S: Do you discourage certain languages like you said if they speak Kaaps amongst each other do you discourage it or do you leave it? //I: No , I reprimand them because // S: Okay

T1: Because some children don't know those types of languages or in their households they're not allowed to use it

S; Oh

T1: The then some children come and use it and at the end of the day they go home and speak those types of things, so I try to minimise those types of languages

S: Ok. And your books and materials are mostly English

T1: There are Afrikaans as well

S: oh, there are Afrikaans as well , ok

06:22 S: Which languages do you consider most important, English, Afrikaans and Kaaps. Which ones are most important for you and why?

T1:... for me English as everybody learns that quicker and you can go around wherever speak English and it's a better way of communicating

S: Ok. I need to learn shorthand.(laughs) So which language do you consider least important between English, Afrikaans and Kaaps

T1: The last one

S: Kaaps //I: Yes (laughs)

S: Why?

T1: ... Well I actually don't know why; I just say that. I don't fancy it

S: Ok

T1: for lack of better words, I don't fancy it?

S: Is it

I might come back as I need to transcribe it then I will ask you what did you mean by this or that. So in next week or the week after

T1: No problem

S: So let's see the literacy and play sessions on the timetable what are the aims for them doing literacy and play and stuff

T1: Cognitive development , um hand and eye co-ordination, basically holistic development

S: Ok . Then how does the preschool encourage the literacy here, so just general.

T1: So in the mornings we would do ring and would have a topic discussion and speak about activities. and then during the day when its eating time then we would pray and we would have some music as well, story time and basically one on one interaction with the children So we try as much as possible to get a lot of literacy into them 08:30

S: And then how important is play for language development?

T1: It's actually very important because at the end of the day they take out all the stuff that they learn yesterday or wherever at home they bring it out into their play and that's how they end up communicating and doing certain things, so it's really important. Also, you'd learn to see how far their brain works or how far behind that person or child is depends on the child exactly

S: Ja, at their level sort of

T1: Yes, their level of interaction

S: And so for literacy development and their language development also. So their physical, social and intellectual development. How important is play for the children's life (Laughs) It's quite a general, quite a wide question. //I: yes, it's general

T1: Ok, for those three things it's also for holistic development , if one lacks everything else will start to lack so if they have a certain type of balance or a balance in each and every one they will learn to balance their whole entire body . Like I say holistic development So everything pulls together.

S: Okay, so there must be a balance

T1: There has to be a balance between everything

S: Okay, yes.

I'm going to stop it now.

S: Ja, I also have a tutoring business and my ethos is to teach through play because I find, I was a teacher for 25 years at a mainstream school and you know it was like very strict and uuuur xxxx //I: Yes

S: But now that I'm tutoring I find the play is so important and they learn quicker and they love their learning

T1: They learn a lot through play so I say it's a holi sorry , my languages a holistic balance. So if the one lacks the other will soon fall behind. So, Everything through play works together

S: And I see your guys motto learning through play //I: Learning through play yes

End of interview

Appendix F: Transcription of interview with Teacher 2

Transcription of Interview Session - Teacher 2

Date : 04 March 2022

S: Do you use different languages in diff. like when you are at home with your aunts and cousins and stuff?

T2: Just between the two English and Afrikaans

S: And then, um what do you think about the languages that you use? What do you think about English, what do you think about Afrikaans?

T2:

S: Sometimes, you don't think about it hey, because sometimes people would say English is important or Afrikaans

T2: = like I'm Afrikaans speaking with my parents even on High School but I still did. like English. I would speak to them in Afrikaans like everything in Afrikaans but at school it's English. Even writing like everything is in English.

S: So, which ones like your beliefs with regard to English do you think..Like you say you speak Afrikaans to your parents so you feel they unders..they're comfortable with it or

T2=Yes, we are comfortable with it , ja.

S: okay. Erm, and then with the children here?

T2: English, just English

S: So your teaching and everything, formal learning and stuff is all

T2: English

2:24

S: the children, are they able to express themselves easily, can you understand them?

T2: I can. if I don't I will like, some of them is sometimes very nervous, some of them like they still, I think their confidence maybe, so I will call them aside and then they're more comfortable.

S: Okay

T2: Especially the new ones

3:14

S: Do you discourage certain languages like Kaaps or whatever or are they fine with it

T2: //(laughs) I'm fine with it

S: (Laughs) Is it? and the children here do they also use Kaaps a little bit?

T2: Not really

S: Not, because the other..Okay, not really

S: Which do you consider most important. English, Afrikaans or Kaaps

T2: I would say English

S: English for you. Why?

T2: Because most of them is English and most of them is English and most of their parents is also English speaking

S: And for yourself?

T2: English

S: And then which language do you consider least important, English, Afrikaans and Kaaps?

T2: ...Afrikaans

S: Is it? Why?

T2: Because.. um it is difficult for some people to even speak Afrikaans

S: = Ok, ok

T2: Some people can't even read xxx in Afrikaans

S: So it's difficult to speak

T2: // uh, uh (Yes)

S: in Afrikaans and what type of Afrikaans, like the suiwer Afrikaans

T2= Suiwer, suiwer

S; Ok, and the Kaaps Afrikaans, Afrikaaps? Because they call it the Afrikaaps, the Afrikaans that we use as well.

T2: Uh (Yes)

S: What do you think about that?

T2: ...She didn't answer. I told her that I might come back to her after transcribing

S: The aims of the literacy and play sessions. They're very well behaved for littlelies. (As the children were quietly doing their own thing)

T2: Hm (agreement) (Laughs)

5:34

S: Um so the aims of the literacy or play sessions on the timetable. Why do you have the play sessions and the literacy sessions on your timetable?

T2: On the daily programme?

S: Yes

T2: Why do we have that? Because we mos work from that we follow that, like it's different times, everything has its own time. different times

S: Ok, it's got its slots and that

5:51

S: Alright and um how do the school and you encourage the literacy amongst the children what do you do to encourage their literacy?

T2: Like we um, I have the language and then I will have the posters also up there. Like, every week is a different theme topic so we speak about different stuff every week

S: Alright, and how important do you think is play for language development?

T2: How important is it?

S: Yes, is play

T2: It is because most of them learn through play

S: Ok

T2: [Very animated when speaking here] Like they love xxx playing like I even told them now if they're going to behave they're going to go outside because they want to play, they want to be everywhere like they just want to do their own thing, they want to be free they don't also just want to sit

S: yes, yes. So do you use it as a like a reward for them to go ou

T2: //I do I do and it works

S: Alright With play for their physical, their social, and intellectual development how important do you think that is for them to develop socially, intellectually and physically through play? do you consider it important that they do it?

7:16

T2: ... Very long pause here ((xxx))

Cool, thank you.

T2: Is that it xxx

S: That's it for now, cos you, you're the fourth person, I got a lot of (laugh)

T2: //Because I was so nervous because I don't like interviews

S: Oh shame

T2: I said, no man Teacher Owner

S: Oh no!

T2: So she said no I must just answer what you ask, man, cos I get very nervous, I don't like interviews

S:; Shame. No, I can see on your body language, you were a little bit like (gestures)

T: But shame, very try ma, man

S: Yes, yes and it's um that's it for now and if I need more, I'll Ask you.

T2: No Problem

Back in class:

T2: Did you behave, did you behave?

End of interview

Appendix G: Transcription of interview with Teacher 3

Transcription of Interview Session – Teacher 3

Date : 04 March 2022

S: What are the languages you grew up speaking?

T3: English and Afrikaans

So that is in your home as a child, growing up?

T3: Yes, yes English

S: Any other?

T3: Previously I couldn't speak English, when I was younger growing up tsk Afrikaans younger when I was growing up but then I got friends with uh a few of my friends in Paarl and that's where I started progressing in my Afrikaans because I was bad at Afrikaans (chuckles)

S: Oh Ok (chuckles) and with Afrikaans what do you mean like Afrikaans a formal Afrikaans school

T3: You know like they say the suiwer Afrikaans I it's a bit difficult for me but I can I can read it very well but I'm not speaking it properly (laughs)

S: Ok, ok. So which languages were offered at your school at the primary school and high school and er

T3: English and Afrikaans

S: Is that both?

T3: I didn't do any other languages.

S: Ok and were the other languages offered at the school?

T3: Er, no. Isi Xhosa was not in the time I was on high school, huh uh (she was high school already when Isi-Xhosa was introduced as Language Policy

S: Okay, and then the levels, so which levels, like the grades that you learnt the languages

T3: Did I teach now on

S: No, no for yourself, this is all about yourself. English and Afrikaans primary school, you did it until grade 7

T3: Yes, until grade seven, then I went to a junior high school and then to high school

S: Ok, um so Which at home now, your home, which language do use now, mostly.

T3: English because my kids but with my Daddy and all others I will be like Afrikaans and English, ja.

S: So English with your children and with your family Afrikaans and a bit of Kaaps as well?

T3: Ja ? so there in between that's where I ((xxx)) so that's where we get it in our area mostly, so ja.

S: Um, so now my question is do you use different languages to communicate during certain times and places like at home with your friends and family or talking to your children's school teacher and talking to someone at the bank so what

T3: //English, English I think even to strangers anyone I speak English until I hear you speak Afrikaans then I go Afrikaans (laughs)

S: Oh, Ok, ok, and then, ja, you'll be more comfortable maybe

T3://yes

S: so, so you wait for the other person to

T3: Laughs. even though I know you're Afrikaans I will still be English until ok

S: ok, until you're comfortable

T3: yes

S: Um, so what do you think about the languages that you use, like what do you think about English, what do you think about Afrikaans, what do you think about ?

T3: = English is much easier out spoken when you speak it and then Afrikaans I passed right through my high school I got more than English

S: Oh, ok, yes,

T3: So English is much easier than to read like in comprehension but in Afrikaans it's a bit. difficult for me. ja. But I was always good in Afrikaans than English because English is much difficult. Home Language is difficult, ja. in homework and stuff like that.

S: So you found Afrikaans easier.

T3: it's easier but spoken ooooh? Like I will do a task and I will ((xxx)) but speaking (laughs) like orals and all that I had to prepare myself

S: oh, ok, ok. So you had to practise a bit more

T3: Yes

S: So with the children, which languages now at the preschool do you use?

T3: English, just English yes and with the teachers just do English

S: And then the predominant language you use for the teaching and the learning sessions

T3: English

S: Also English

T3: We will do uh the days of the week in Afrikaans also for a change

S: oh ok, so there also Afrikaans as well but the predominant is English

T3: English

S: So when they are playing amongst themselves or you have structured play or free play which language?

T3: English. When they play ?

S: Yes, when they also play, what do they use?

T3: English, English just English

S: So are they able to communicate both freely and comfortably with you

T3: = Yes, at any time

S: Ok and then what happens when they can't express themselves then how do they communicate to you?

T3: um, I just seem to know what their problem really is

S: Oh ok?

T3: Due to their body language, ja, yes (laughs)

S: And so the preschool itself, now I spoke to teacher Owner about it so that would also be where they said the the teaching is in English and then there is a little bit of Afrikaans like when they pray

T3: //yes, yes We have er. the religions also we pray part of the Muslim, ja and the greetings, the greetings Afrikaans , isi Xhosa, and Muslim and English? (laughs)

S: The Arabic hey

T3: you can just say Islam

S: oh Ok

T3: Ja

06:41

S: So then That would be about the languages

S: So do you discourage any languages here?

T3: for example?

S: Um like they speak Afrikaans or speak Kaaps and you say no you mustn't. Do you do that?

T3: No, they do speak it like you get the boys and then I leave them because but not the wrong words

S: Ooooh

T3: because some of them like I heard someone said Aweh and I said no

S: Oh

T3: But you greet them like properly. So they're also Kaapse, they're also growing up

We tell them that they're not supposed to, yes speak like that at the Educare.

S: Alright. And so you your books and print and posters. Which languages are they?

T3: English

S: So they're mostly in

T3:// English, English

S: And then let me just see. So for yourself which languages do you consider most important, English, Afrikaans and Kaaps and why?

T3:UUUUuh... English. English

S: For yourself?

T3: Ja

S: And why?

T3: Because it's I guess everywhere. That is the most important language you are going to have to know. Especially if you are a different race, you need to know English. Kaapse and whatever other language comes after. Because I am not isiXhosa or other I will choose English

S: Ok

T3: Cos I mean everyone understands English.....and it's compulsory, so (Laughs)

S: Which language do you consider least important between English, Afrikaans and Kaaps?

T3: Oooh.

S: For yourself hey, for yourself.

T3: Okay, for myself. Afrikaans

S: is it?

T3: (Laughs)

S: Why?

T3: because it's really very difficult, really to speak it

S: Ok

T3 :Because sometimes when I watch the news I'm like What are they saying? I, no. Afrikaans is a bit difficult but I can read it. i can read Afrikaans

S: Ok

S: So what is important to you, why do you think play is important for the children?

T3: So that they can express themselves, make friends, because in the beginning of the year they are more stuck up but once you give them things to play with they will end up talking to their friend or saying that this block is this colour..communication basically. Through play they will end up making friends with each other.

S; So how important is play for their language development?

T3: It's very important, though because I think they learn from the next like as they play maybe this boy will learn him this is a car and then he will know it's a car like it happens through friends also. Basically to us teachers but they also learn on their own, ja.

S: Ok

T3: Cos sometimes I will hear them argue, no, this is that or this is that so they learn from each other

S: Ok. Great That is fine and like I said If I need more answers I will contact you

Thanks so much!

End of interview

Appendix H: Transcription of interview with a Parent

Transcription of Interview Session – Parent

Date : 18 March 2022

S: So what language did you use when you grew up in your home at home as a young child?

Intro : Gave the information wrt being anonymous

P: English, English was like fluent. Both of my parents are English, fluent English

S: =ok

P: Sooo that was the only language that we spoke. We do know Afrikaans but it wasn't our first language. English was our first home language

S: Ok and then at your school, you know, primary school, high school. Which languages were offered? and which languages were not offered?

P: Erm, in primary school I got offered Xhosa, Afrikaans and English

S=Ok

P: In high school it was just English and Afrikaans

S: Ok. Um and then with the Xhosa, which level, you know like the English, I was a teacher for 23 years, so um (laughs). So with the English you have your English every day and your Afrikaans and that, how was the Xhosa presented and the times

P:= Xhosa was like a subject, basically.

S:=Oh, ok

P: So it was a subject, um English and Afrikaans was also a subject, but I mean that was the main languages when you go to any school.

S: Right

P: Xhosa was a subject and it was also optional for the learner to take up in the class

S:=Oh, ok. So, so you could choose

P://if I want to do it or if I don't want to do it.

S: So it would be your third language

P: //Third language ((xxx))

02:21

S: Alright and then the levels, where did you do like, which grade?

P: umm, ok I changed schools a lot. Say by grade 4 I left that school and then I went to a new school, say now I moved this side to Mitchell's Plain and then from grade 1 to grade 4 I stopped Xhosa

S: So did you only do Xhosa from Grade 1 to Grade 4 ?

P: Yes, grade 1 to grade 4

02:54:13

S: And then your English and Afrikaans and for which levels?

P: English and Afrikaans were right through my schooling years

S: Until um Grade 12

P: =Yes

S: Ok. And in your home now?, what language do you use mostly?

P: English (laughs)

S: Is it just English?

P: Me and my husband, we communicate in Afrikaans, sometimes, but it's not always

S :Ok. Um, so sometimes in Afrikaans

P: Ja

S: Ja, cos like, my hubby is Afrikaans and I'm basically English

P: Same with us (laughs)

S: But he speaks mostly English

P: =Ok

S: In the home but when he speaks like to his colleagues at work and stuff, then he'll speak Afrikaans

P: //Afrikaans, yes

S: or with the family we will speak a bit of Kaaps

P: // Yes

S: Do you find that as well?

P: Yes, yes, all the time

S: Because it will creep in , hey?

P: Yes, all the time, all the time (laugh)

S: ja, cos I found that when we lived, we lived in Gauteng for fourteen years and then...there was no Kaaps there because it was just English and Afrikaans and then when we come to Cape Town, then the Kaaps come back

P://yes

S: And then when we go to Gauteng, there's no Kaaps,

S: so it's

P: // so it's like you readapt all the time

S: yes, where we are and that and they don't understand the Kaaps but we understand

P: //Yes we understand

(Both Laugh)

04:39

S: So do you use different languages to communicate at different places and with different people? So, for example, you know like at the school or when you go to the . we don't really go to banks anymore but when you go to the supermarket or with your close family and that type of thing?

05:23

P: Ok, the work that I do at ((xxx)) I have to communicate with customers. Um, say there's Afrikaans customers, I work with a lot of Kaapse people but also a lot of um,(tsk sound) what do you call...like, the farmers that speak the proper Afrikaans

S: Ok

P: So I would have to communicate with them whether they do Afrikaans or English, so .. I do always use both languages it just depends on what I'm doing and whom I'm communicating with.

S: Ok, so that's quite interesting because then like the farmers is the proper Afrikaans

P: //yes,

S: And what do you mean

P: Suiwer Afrikaans (uses Afrikaans pronunciation) ja.

05:51S:

S: Laughs. And then the Kaapse people?

P: It's Kaapse people xxx, so when you speak to, when you speak Afrikaans to a Kaapse person you automatically, your brain also switches (clicked fingers) Kaaps (laughs)

S: Ok

P: So the Afrikaans is very different. compared to suiwer Afrikaans

S: Ok. May I ask where do you work?

P: In a call centre.

S:Ok

P: So it's one of the longest call centres existing, now 20 years existing , ((xxx)) Marketing so it's also very corporate company, ja. So I do deal with a lot of people, over the phone, face to face,

S; Ja, so with the famers and that I thought it was specific to agriculture

P: yes, and we even like even UK . so I mean that's where you need to have that accent as well.

That automatically where that customer adviser kicks in and then you have to communicate with that person on that level in order for them to understand you. So I mean I speak with a lot of people, people who come from um, what. I can't get to the name now, Norwich ((xxx)), people that come from London so they do a lot of inquiries, so I mean speaking to those people, we automatically kick in to their..go down to their level and try to communicate with them the way they're speaking. So I do use. it's English but I mean in different forms.

S: ok, so that's very interesting And then um you mentioned the accent um like, like when I speak to my dad I speak a certain way. when I speak to my child I speak a certain way, the accent will change (laughs)

P: //will change

S: And like you said when you speak to somebody from London, then that will change, so you adapt your accent to, to

P=Because like the reason I say that because one day I had a customer and he told me that he actually spoke to someone who is English but they didn't understand him because he has a different accent. So he said that it was very interesting that I spoke to him in his accent because then he understands me.

S: Ok, That's interesting (Laughs)

08:14

S: Ok. I'm running out of space.

S:So what do you think about the languages that you use. You know your perception with regard to English, Afrikaans and Kaaps, what do you think about those languages?

P: I'm very comfortable with my language, especially with the Kaapse language cos I mean our families are born and bred in Cape Town, so. we obviously know the Kaapse language very well. I'm very comfortable with it I don't feel offended? to speak Kaaps

S: Ok

P: English , like I said English is like my.. first language so . that's the language I use the most and I do feel very comfortable to use it.

S: Ok, great and then your child, when he speaks at home does he also use some Kaaps or things like that?

P: My daughter is, she speaks English, because me and her dad speaks English ..um I would say there is a bit of Kaapse slang sometimes because we are surrounded by Kaapse people, so.. she does use it sometimes but not all the time.

S:Ok

P:=and she also does speech and drama so that helps a little

S: Helps a little in which way?

09:41

P: You know how we as coloureds we pronounce words incorrectly.

S: Ok

P: so that helps her pronounce words correctly when she's speaking in a sentence or have a conversation.

S: So it's for pronunciation. I'm coming to watch next Wednesday. Does the creche still close for the holiday?

P: Yes, I think they close

S: I must check with Owner. ok, cool. Let me first check and then um. Okay, this is what she speaks at home, so that I have done now. Then in you said you speak mostly to her in English, is that right? And why do you do that?

P: So, it's because, I mean, I think it's just a ((xxx)) thing. If I speak to someone who speaks Afrikaans I'll communicate with them in Afrikaans. Because she communicates with me in English, I will and that's basically what she understands. She does not understand Afrikaans that much. So that's the only reason why I choose to speak English to her. There isn't ~~xxx~~ any other reason that I can think of.

S: Ok. And then um. The other languages at school here when she plays with her friends and teacher K and stuff. Um so the question What additional languages does she learn at the school?

P: I'm sure she learns English and Afrikaans because there is sometimes when she would say words that is like the last time she told me um, Dankie, Thank you, so it's like Ok

S:// Ok

P: Because we were shocked like where did you hear that and she was like no, Mommy I heard it at creche it means Thank you. so Ok, that's good at least she's learning something I mean. The (School's name) foundation is very good um day care centre. They learn a lot. Personally I can say my child learns a lot at (School's Name)

12:09

The daycare previously she was more of a play, more play so they were interacting more play. so here's learning it's knowledge for your brain and things like that. I am really happy the way she's progressing here.

S: How old is she now?

P: She's four turning five this year.

S: They seem more mature. Most of them are four

P: Most of them are four. I think most of them are going to preschool next year. They are turning five this year.

S: They seem mature for four. So, um... ok so gave me a little bit of background, so why did you send them, her to here? More knowledge for the brain. More academic school

13:07

P: = Yes, more academic. And that's what I need I not what I want for her but I mean at the end of the day we want what's the best for our kids where education is concerned um because I mean my husband's studying and he also wants the same for her like just wants to go further in what she wants to do. So. the previous creche it was very good and everything they were taking care of her but there was no academic there was more play

S:Oh

P: So playing in the park, playing with toys and things like that. Here, I mean when she started here she. it wasn't even a month and she. knew how to write her name. She knew the days of the month that she knew at the older creche but she never really remembered it which means it wasn't a everyday thing but here she remembers most of the things they learn. So she is interacting and then I mean there's a lot of focus as well so that's why she's learning a lot.

S: And um, what is enjoyable about this school?

P: Enjoyable the fact that they always communicate I mean communication is key when it comes to your children so they communicate quite good with the parents and it's quite good. Um the other thing that's enjoyable is it's I like the environment that they're working in. It's a great environment also..I wasn't really happy with a lot of things at the previous creche like when I put my child in there everything was different, so some some parents would think like some people would think like oh, the parents want this or the parents want that. but I mean what parent doesn't want the best for their child. So there's a lot of things that's enjoyable probably just can't come to my mind right now

S: Ok, That's fine (laughs) you can always um as a follow up if I could just contact you or chat to you or so, that would be great. or if you think of something you can maybe ask teacher C and we could WhatsApp it. Um so what did your child dislike about the preschool.

remember this doesn't go to C where I have to tell her anything, it's just for my overall understanding.

P: //There's nothing that I dislike not that I know of though. So, so far so good. Um does sound too good to be true but so far it's so good. I haven't had any complaints from (daughter). There's nothing that I see that's off or odd. So I'm happy.

S: Ok, good. What is helpful with regard to their language in the way she speaks her oral language? What do you find? With regard to the er. how does she speak when you maybe compare her to other children her age

P: She speaks good for her age. I mean she uses big words like impressive, brilliant. So that stuns me as a parent because like you know kids are very they talk to what they surrounded by. So that plays a big part for me because she's a total opposite. She speaks very good for her age. She pronunciate the words correctly. Um, I mean and that's coming from a young age already, so she speaks quite nice for her age.

16:16

She doesn't use a lot of slang but I mean there is like I said there is where the Kaapse sometimes where she'll say um. like this word so long so long. You know when you tell someone can you give me that so long. I don't know where she heard this but the other day she was like Can you give me this so longtjies (Laughs) where does that come from? So it's like simple things other than that she speaks great, she speaks great

S: And So she's able like when she uses the Kaaps does it then bring more meaning to what she wants to say?

P: // There's it, ja (Laughs)

S: the right word like um we were listening to Heart and then the one guy was singing and then my hubby said Joh he's putting in all these akkeltjies

P: Ja (laugh)

S: We will know exactly what akkeltjies means

P: //Akkeltjies ! (Laughs)

S: But in somebody else what is that

P: // What is that?

S: So, so it just adds that

P: //Adds that and it's one word, hey that makes you understand what that whole concept is about

S: Oh gosh. And her reading and writing?

P: It's great It's starting to progress more now that she has been here at (School's name). Like I said previously she didn't really know how to write her name now she write it out of her own. Yesterday she drew a whole family pro portrait um which she never really did um so it's it's getting there it's progress. Now we didn't say it's perfect but it is getting there.

S: Ok. Yes because she is still young

P: uh

18:03

S: With regard to play as well at the school because you said the other school they were just playing all the time. So what do you find with regard to play here?

P: The fun thing about them is that their play is actually learning. So in the time that they are playing they are learning. Not that that creche didn't have that it was just that it was more play than learning.

S: ok

P: With them the difference is with the play that they are doing they are learning. They enjoy singing and they enjoy sitting on the mat with blocks and puzzles but they're learning xxx. That's the difference for me

S: Ok. Right! Almost done . How do the children learn to be with other children with regard to the socialisation um here and the way she interacts with her friends and stuff how do you find?

P: (Child name) is a very shy person, she's very shy. I would say she's a bit of an introvert because she gets it from her dad but they they are once they warm up eventually they will start coming out of their shell. So that's exactly K um with the speech and drama it's helping her come out of her shell a little. Because at home she and even with other family members she hasn't seen in a long time she's the same. But here at creche I'm not here most of the day to see what she's doing so she is a shy person but I think she is comfortable with her class and she is comfortable with who she is everyday especially with her teacher because she does communicate with her teacher because I asked her these things like Do you tell your teacher when you need to go to the bathroom? and things like that. So she does? um but she is a very shy child in general

S: alright. Um Any further comments?

P: That would be all it was interesting the interview was interesting

S: Thank you (laughs) Yes I'm not sure what your perception was or maybe what your thoughts what it was going to be about

P: = it was quite interesting

S: For me it's really fascinating with regard to (switched off)

End of interview

Appendix I: Transcription of interview with the Drama Teacher

Interview Session – Drama Teacher

Date : 30 March 2022

D: As a creative arts teacher, umm, I worked at the school of skills doing creative arts for high school, so I followed the WCED creative arts curriculum. Something happened where I worked, they, they let a lot of staff go and umm..I was one of the staff. So that encouraged me, so when I lost my job, I decided to get together my own curriculum of everything that I had learnt over the years and obviously my skill and that. I am a youth worker as well, so I've been, I've been doing youth development for over 10 years with arts methodology. So obviously I put together my own curriculum, created my own brand and I just did my own marketing. That was about 4 years ago. Ja.

Spoke about Covid and how he had to rebuild his business 'picking up the pieces' I don't know if I can say this but I felt that the curriculum itself was failing our xxx children. When I say our xxx children, I mean our xxx children from the Cape Flats.

S: Which areas do you work?

D: Most of our work is in the Mitchell's Plain/ Strandfontein area. I got a few schools that I work outside. I got one in Lavender Hill, one in Lansdowne. So obviously, the next step is to grow out of Mitchell's Plain, you know? (02:14:04)

S: I reflected on my background to make a connection. Spoke as to why I left teaching and started my business. Spoke about the curriculum being too assessment heavy which pushes quantity and not quality.

D: I thank God for my experience there because I was able to create my own curriculum, lesson plans, I could create that all myself. I still do that, I'm more free now.

S: What languages do you speak at home?

D: My first language is English. and obviously a lot of my family spoke Afrikaans. My wife's first language is Afrikaans. After I got married, I spoke more Afrikaans

S: Oooh, ok, you've changed.

D: Ja

S: Ok (!)

D: also the work I do and the places I work, I have to adapt and speak Afrikaans , where needed. Ek kan Afrikaans praat.

S: Heyo, (laughs)

D: I like to mix it up, I don't like to be so strict with English. Like I told you last week, that whole Afrikaaps thing, I like to mix it up. I feel like, with our children, when they come to affluent areas or people speak English a bit higher, they tend to shy away. Another reason I started this academy was to give them the confidence to speak! wherever and to be proud of their dialect and be proud of their accent, and stuff like that, you know.

S: Um ja, that's important because they lose their voice when they go to the ex-model C schools because they are embarrassed, um a lot of them feel inferior because of their accent and their dialect and that type of thing. So that is good to empower them. (05:45:02)

S: = Bring it in

D: At the school St. Salesians, school of skills they were divided into language groups. Into classes Year 1, Year2, Year 3, Year 4. English, Afrikaans and Xhosa classes

_07:22 English used at his school

08:53 Learned on the job - drama, theatre making

08:57

S: Ok, like you said, now, you speak a lot of Afrikaans

No! I still speak S: at home//D: a lot of English but I do speak a lot of Afrikaans at home (Laughs)

S: Ok, and the children?

09:14

D: No, my children speak English

S: Ok

09:16

D: My son, my son is 7. he's very mixed. Ja and he goes to XXX in XXX..

S: Ooh, yes, I know XXX

D: So we constantly have to.. tell him, you know

S: Ok (chuckles) insider // can't speak slang

S:So does he speak the Afrikaaps?

D: Yes, he does he speaks a lot of slang. Afrikaapstad.

S:Ok

D: Obviously because me and his mother are very open about it at home, man.

09:33 But my mom works at Westcott so she's very! my mom is very old school.

So, not to put her in the eyes, we tell him to relax a little bit (Laughs)

S; So your mom.

D: Ja she works at XXX

S: Giving background to him power and position in society.

11:34 S: At certain times and places do you change your language ...

D: No, I don't change, I'm very ((xxx)) The theatre work I do is very much political, so I'm a big advocate for obviously black consciousness, I speak up against white privilege, so me personally, I'm very conscious when I'm, you know, I'm in that type of environment, so I'm just me and I push it, I push the agenda. Obviously, as a theatre maker and an actor, method acting, it's always happening.

When I come with my people, I am a bit more relaxed, I don't push. so I, I stay the same.

S: what do you think about the languages you use. What do you think about English?

(Interrupt by acknowledging two children that I know).

D: What do I think about English?

S: Ja, just your perception with regard to English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps and whatever languages

D: Obviously, language and communication is a big thing for me, obviously in my work, so obviously I regard all languages very high,

I always encourage, especially children to speak in the language that they are most comfortable in.

So it was a big thing for me to learn Afrikaans. That was only after school so I've always been very interested. Obviously I know a bit of Xhosa and things like that. Ja, so the next language is obviously Khoi.

S: Oh, yes, that's now going to become. It's pushing, it's pushing.

D: I'm very interested in it.

S: With Afrikaans some will quantify with suiwer Afrikaans and then they will say Kaaps and differentiate between the two and that type of thing

D: Yes

S: Ok and then with the preschool, I just hear English with them

D: Ja, sometimes when you sit in enough classes you'll hear sometimes I push in an Afrikaans word or two

But just to gently.

Most of it, they know it, they know it already because their parents speak, their grandparents you know

S: And then this is for the school.

S: (About my observation re: the drama class) What I also like is with the vocabulary as well because you use a term and then you brought it into the ...so their vocabulary is also growing The delicate wings and can also break easily That was also quite nice to grow their language.

D: Obviously, I am a visual person, so I try to put all those things, speech and drama all those things and a bit of improvisation. So they mos need to improvise at times, you know

S:Ja, that is good, especially for them, you don't find. With preschools also, they squeeze the play out of the kids

D: Yes

S: Even from very young and it's like schoolified. from 4 / 3 years old and the kids must sit still. there's not enough play and um...it's killing the children and their creativity and their imagination and stuff like that.

15:14

S: so which language do you consider most important between English, Afrikaans and Kaaps and why?

D: Definitely Kaaps.

S: Ok and why?

D: Because I want our people to rise up and not back down, man. You know and speak their truth. I feel a lot of, a lot of the struggles we are going through is because we are unable to articulate it at the right places and at the right times. you know what I mean and they they are not confident in doing that. So if everyone could understand that their language xxx and the way they speak is, is . is right man! and not wrong, you now I think they would be more confident and we would be more confident in speaking when we are supposed to speak and saying and telling .what is the issues, man

S: Ja

D: A big part of our struggle is that barrier

S: The language

D: Yas

S: Ja true. because it does differentiate people and like they would say "Ek gaan nou my taal praat"

D:// yes

S: They preface it whereas if you speak in English you just speak in English but you can hear they will change to adapt

D:// yes they will always say ek gaan nou my taal praat or ek sê in my eie woorde

S:// instead of just saying it . That's also an interesting point. Ok, and least important between English, Afrikaans and Kaaps?

D: Jyy I don't know. No, I can't say,

S: You're going to get into trouble with your wife (laughs)

D: No, no. I think all languages are important. I just chose Kaaps as my most important because of what I believe in.

S: Yes, awesome.

End of interview