Multilingual Playground: An ethnographic Early Childhood Development study of diverse learners at Philippi Children's Centre, Cape Town

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Magister Arts in the Department of Linguistics, University of Western Cape.

2020

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ABSTRACT

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Early Childhood Development (ECD) prioritizes the foundation for children aged 0-9 years old. This program focuses on the cognitive, physical, emotional, or holistic development of a child for the child to thrive and be a functioning member of society. Recently, this initiative has been prioritized by both the national government and UNICEF (Shapley, 2014; September 2014). In the Cape Town context one finds that large population of children are frequently exposed to extreme poverty and gang violence. They also lack the communication and literacy skills they require; this includes grasping basic ideas related to reading and writing and have little to no community support system. Emblematic of this phenomenon is the trajectory of children of farm workers who often follow in their parents' footsteps. The research looks at the benefits and/or disadvantages of a multilingual education early childhood education system that includes an English Education Programme for children whose first language may be Kaaps, isiXhosa or another African language. This study explores how students negotiate their language identity in the school space, taking into consideration how learners: (1) adapt to the language of instruction to progress, (2) communicate using their linguistic repertoire during formal class activities and (3) use their multilingual repertoire in an interaction. Volterra and Taeschner (1978) indicate that at an early age, children can acquire and master several languages as they do not carry any social baggage or stigma which has been placed on several language (varieties) due to historical issues. This means that in the preschool context children could thrive without being limited to

monolingual education, instead they may creatively use the languages at their disposal in the given space. This study draws on ethnographic monitoring and observations in the classroom and playground to explore whether this hypothesis holds true and puts forth a theorization of what multilingualism could look like in the future.

Keywords:

Early Childhood Development

Translanguaging

Multilingualism

Literacy

Ethnographic monitoring

Linguistic Citizenship

Language Ideology

Medium of Instruction

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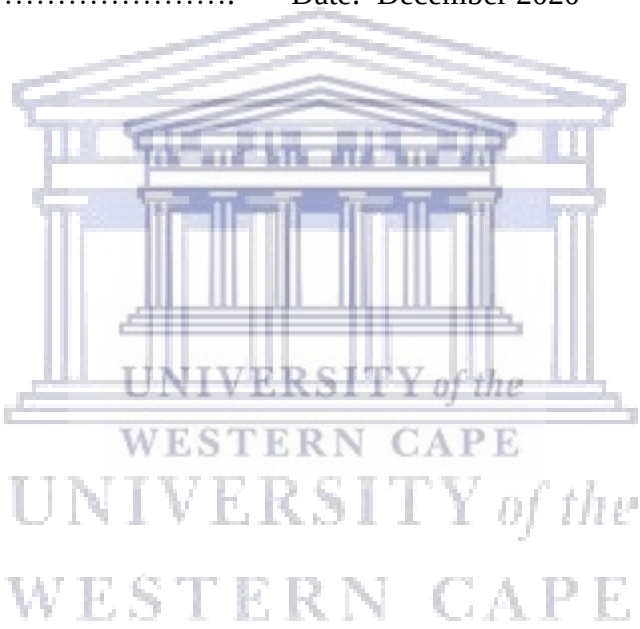
Declaration

I declare that *"Multilingual Playground": An ethnographic Early Childhood Development study of diverse learners at Philippi Children's Centre, Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Melanie Snell

Signed: ……. Date: December 2020



Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the women and the girls of my family. Your trials and triumphs have been an endless source of motivation!

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Acknowledgements

All praises to the true and living God, Yeshua. I am confident that I would not have made it if I had not committed my work, intentions and plans to the Lord. Obtaining a degree is often a lonely journey and this is even more true about a postgraduate degree. God has been a comforter and confidante and has given me the willpower to keep pushing when I became despondent and for that I am eternally grateful.

My family. My mother who made many sacrifices in order for me to get to this stage, being patient and understanding and keeping me lifted in prayer. Cousin Betty, a supporter, cheerleader, prayer warrior and encourager, sometimes you would hit me with the; study *nog atyd?* and all I could say *is Ja, Cousin*, I think I might be done now…perhaps. My sister and brother-in-law; making sure I get to every conference or seminar, get to campus, and get back home, have Wi-Fi and so much more, you are appreciated. The family I chose, the Phillips family *AKA* My Bothasig Fam, who has always been more excited about my achievements than I have, you have been so good and so kind to me. Thank you for your sincerity, love, and support.

To the University of the Western Cape, especially the Linguistics department and my supervisor Dr Amiena Peck, thank you for believing in me and pushing me towards my dreams, seeing my potential and helping reach my goals, thank you for the endless opportunities. The atmosphere created at the institution and the Linguistics department specifically, with amazing people such as Bernie, Auntie Maggie, Nathalie, and others who always go the extra mile for learners, is the reason we succeed. Thank you, Prof. Stroud, for lending your time and knowledge to my research.

To Erleen who was oftentimes a counsellor and motivating force, even at 3 in the morning when life became a bit too real, you are a friend indeed, *jy is die ware Jakob*. To the Assembly of Christian Brethren for the endless support in every form, shouting me out and showing me how proud you are of me, I will never forget, and neither will God. To Gospel Mission who has prayed me through many trails and celebrated my victories, I appreciate you all. The Titus family who has embraced me and showered me with love since day one, it has not gone unnoticed.

Last, but certainly not least, thank you to the amazing individuals at Philippi Children's Centre who embraced me and accepted my presence at the school for the short period I was able to spend there, without you my research would not have been possible. And finally, to the DVC for funding my research. To Prof Nicky Roman and Inge Sonn for all you have done to make this degree a reality for me. I am forever grateful.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Early Childhood Development (henceforth ECD) is a niche area of study which prioritizes the foundation learning for children aged 0-9 years old. This program focuses on the cognitive, physical, emotional, or otherwise known as the holistic development of a child for the child to thrive and be a functioning member of society. Recently, this initiative has been prioritized by both the national government and UNICEF. This study investigates the daily lives of young children as they navigate their formative years in a multilingual ECD learning environment.

This chapter provides background information which sketches a picture of what has led to South Africa being deemed a multilingual country with eleven official languages. It problematizes the notion of multilingualism and provides the context for this study, an ECD school known as Philippi Children Centre (PCC). Furthermore, the aims and objectives are highlighted in this chapter as well as an outline of what to expect in each chapter.

1.1.1 Multilingualism in South Africa

Multilingualism is defined as "a situation in which three or more languages are known and used effectively for communication. As for bilingualism, people may be multilingual to different degrees in their different languages" (Bock and Mheta, 2014: 548). A vast majority of the South African population are multilingual to some degree, meaning that they are either bilingual or trilingual, with very few South Africans being monolingual. According to Alexander (2018) the average South African speaks 2,84 languages.

According to the 2018 census, there are three languages most commonly spoken in South African households. These languages are IsiZulu at 25.3 percent, IsiXhosa at 14.8 percent and Afrikaans at 12.2 percent, respectively. English may only hold the sixth position at 8.1 percent,

but with 16.6 percent of the population speaking the language outside of homes, it is the second-most dominant language and a Lingua Franca in South Africa according to Statista (2020).

A significant portion of this study pertains to multilingual learners or learners who make use of more than one language or language variety as a mode of communication. Particularly, the study delves into how these learners communicate during the earliest stage of their development. Given the fact that we live in an increasingly globalised society where speakers of several languages are often found within a single country, it is not unheard of or even a novelty for individuals to be bilingual and often multilingual. Within multilingual spaces, such as South Africa to see the "borrowing of vocabulary items" amongst citizens, may also lead to the formation of "hybrid language varieties or systems" (Heugh, 2014: 362).

In this study, my research site is Philippi Children's Centre which is declared on the institution's official website as catering to a diverse group of early learners, coming from the surrounding rural area and the sprawling low-income suburbs in the Cape Flats region. Given this diversity the institution has a number of Kaaps, IsiXhosa and English-speaking students. Due to the aforementioned globalisation, there is also a growing immigrant population present in the surrounding region, giving rise to the growing number of learners who may speak a foreign language such as Shona, French or even Swahili according to the school staff. These factors would suggest that most (if not all) of the learners are fluent in more than one language (variety) creating a diverse, multilingual learning space. What the study wishes to ascertain is how this embraced by the institution and explored by the learners, how they use the multilingual space to their advantage and create new identities.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Multilingualism is a context sensitive construct, meaning that it there are a range of different attitudes and approaches towards multilingualism depending on where it occurs in the world. These language attitudes are what influences how a society handles or treats bilingual

individuals and which languages are given preference in formal spaces, including that of the classroom. The dominant language ideology that has emerged over time pertains to the idea that language is "...to be kept separate, discreet and pure; mixing and switching between languages are seen as interference or trespassing, which would have a detrimental effect on both individual language users and the communities in which they live" (Wei, 2011: 371).

This can be linked to the South African context where the apartheid regime was especially calculated in their policies surrounding separation of race, space, and language. Ferris, Peck and Banda (2014) explore the undeniable association between language and identity, for a substantial period of time there was a belief in a collective identity; one language, one ethnicity and one identity. In this manner identity was rooted in one's language and ethnicity, the essentialist view that identities are fixed and inherited and the belief that one's identity could be lost was, and still is a common belief. During the apartheid era many essentialised philosophies about race emerged and were crafted and imposed, this led to the development of three racial categories: white, coloured, and native (the Asian category was added at a later stage). "Because of the apartheid system, many South Africans became keenly aware of their imposed race group and what it denoted in society, and this often led to racism" (Ferris *et al*, 2014: 422). Proximity to the ideal of the time (*Afrikanerdom and Suiwer Afrikaans*) meant that one's life could be improved significantly.

Although apartheid ended in 1994, essentialised ideas are still prevalent and despite the recognition of 11 languages, one finds that English attains dominance over the rest and is most likely to be used as a Medium of Instruction (MoI) in schools. This is due to the cultural belief amongst many South Africans that English is better than other languages as it is a Language of Wider Communication, this will be elaborated on in an upcoming section. It also gives rise to the dominant standard language ideology which exists in most multilingual societies (including South Africa).

1.2.1 Afrikaans: Origins, development, and variations

Due to the complex history of Afrikaans spurred on by its use by the apartheid regime, the language has been viewed in both a positive and a negative light. The negative aspect stems from the fact that it was forced upon many citizens during the period from 1948-1994 as a tool by the oppressive regime. Many have disdain for the language due to this factor. Heugh (2014) enlightens us about the significant detail regarding the standard variety of the language, known as *Algemeen Beskaafde Afrikaans*, this variety enjoyed prestige during the apartheid era and is still regarded by many as the "suitable" version. However, the origins of Afrikaans reveal the often overlooked and ignored truths about the language and its speakers. The language evolved during the period of Dutch occupation at the Cape, starting out as a pidgin and later evolving into a creole. Where pidgins are languages which are a mixture of various other languages, used for an explicit purpose and in a specific context e.g., the workplace, creoles are what pidgins become over time and are usually used by an entire population group for numerous aims (Heugh, 2014). Afrikaans is no different.

Between the 15th and 17th century, contact occurred between the indigenous Khoe tribes at the Cape, European settlers from the Netherlands, Germany, France and Portugal and enslaved peoples from various Asian and African locations including Indonesia (Roberge, 2002). The interactions between these groups gave rise to the development of the pidgin used by the Cape population from the 17th century onwards. This pidgin is what progressed into a variety of afrikaans far from the "prestigious" variety we know today. For the purpose of communicating with the various population groups, the indigenous Cape Khoe community developed a language variety known as *Cape Dutch* which was later called by the derogatory term: *Kombuistaal* around 1815. Additionally, the slave population at the Cape, particularly those from Asia had a significant influence on the development of the pidgin into a fully-fledged language through Arabic and Malayu.

> Many of the distinctive features of the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans could be attributed to the use of the Arabic alphabet to transcribe the sounds of the essentially Western Germanic language they were speaking. The Arabic alphabet could not convey all the sounds of their Afrikaans mother tongue (Davids, 2013: 41).

Much of the words developed by this population made its way into the vocabulary of those at the Cape and is still used today.

1.2.2 Kaaps vs Afrikaans

Kaaps or Kaapse Afrikaans is a name given to the language initially spoken by the indigenous and slave population in Cape Town, "it is a regional and often highly stigmatized variety of Afrikaans, which is one of the official South African languages" (Dyers, 2016: 64). The language has been elaborated by pioneers such as Adam Small who wrote poems and short stories in this variety leading many to accept Kaaps as a legitimate variation of the Afrikaans language. Although languages go through the process of selection, codification, elaboration and eventually acceptance, *Oosgrens Afrikaans*, a variety spoken predominantly by Dutch settlers in the Eastern Cape region was selected for standardisation while Kaaps was effectively shunned (Da Costa, Dyers and Mheta, 2014).

"The often-derogatory references to Kaaps as *Kombuisafrikaans* (Kitchen Afrikaans), '*swartafrikaans'* (Black Afrikaans), *mengels* (Afrikaans mixed with English) and so on does not reflect the linguistic reality of Kaaps as part of a continuum of varieties forming the system called Afrikaans. It reflects the integrated competence of its speakers in the communicative resources they encounter daily" (Dyers, 2016: 69). Notably, there is a level of confidence emerging amongst Kaaps speakers, shaking off the shame and indignity related to Kaaps speakers in the past, the emergence of public elaboration of the language by its

speakers indicates that the current generation is unashamed and taking up space or being citizens in their own right. According to Rampton et al, being a citizen in this regard pertains to "…the deconstruction of essentialist understandings of language and identity" (Stroud et al, 2001:353).

The aforementioned details are important in the Cape Town context as this language variety is brought to most schools in the region as part of the learners' repertoire. The ideologies linked to the language, by teachers, parents and learners will have a great impact on how far learners are able to go.

A linguistically rich country such as South Africa, would plausibly be the perfect breeding ground for a blended and inclusive education system where young learners could freely negotiate their linguistic identity, whilst simultaneously learning the languages of their peers. Through his own studies of Chinese British learners Wei found that multilingual learners created their own spaces in which they could "...produce well-formed contextually appropriate mixed-code utterances" (2011: 371) as such spaces were not made available to them. In education, children's multilingualism is regarded as a disadvantage for learners, educators, and the institutions as the inability to speak English is deemed to be the source of their underachievement (Wei, 2011).

Most of the early childhood educational centres would be aware of the fact that learners have not yet grasped the ability to read and write, it is therefore vital to include identity texts and give learners the opportunity to learn through play i.e., games, song, and dance. The holistic approach to Early Childhood Development looks at how multilingual learners can be studied based on their creativity and criticality, "...the best expression of one's criticality is one's creativity" (Wei, 2011: 374) meaning that the more educators carried out this approach it would make learning an exciting process for both educator and learner. For these reasons, my

study draws out the attitudes, use and praxis of languages such as Kaaps, amongst young learners at the ECD research site.

1.2.3 Language Hierarchy and Lingua Franca

In South Africa, language hierarchization was represented as English at the top, then pure or standard Afrikaans with Kaaps and Bantu languages not given any status at all. For this reason, learning and teaching materials in Kaaps and African languages are still quite stinted with English and Afrikaans to a large extent naturalized as a competent Medium of Instruction (MOI).

Alongside this, attention is paid to concepts of language hierarchy in this space; this pertains to how languages are often placed into categories, albeit subconsciously by the individual or institution. In this way certain languages gain a greater status in society than others do, these become the official languages (Weber and Horner, 2012). In a space such as Philippi Children's Centre (PCC), there may be perceptions about what language learners should be educated in and why it would be most beneficial. In the South African context, despite some languages not possessing any real power (specifically in bureaucratic spaces), they are often spoken by large portions of the population. One has to consider the fact that South Africa has gone through a lengthy period of unequal power dynamics in the form of colonialism and apartheid giving rise to different languages of wider of communication (Williams and Milani, 2017).

The language of wider communication or the lingua franca as it is also known is "…regarded as a stable standard language, used by a community of speakers in at least one country for a full range of social functions" (Bock, 2014: 14). The LWC is set apart from other language(s) varieties as it is often used by government, administration and even in educational spaces. Due to the fact that English has become an international lingua franca it is prevalent for this language to be used as a language of wider communication, as is the case in South Africa. In

many cases one would find insistence from parents for their children to be educated in English as opposed to their mother tongue, believing that knowledge of English has far reaching benefits for whoever is able to master it. Exploring the hierarchy in light of the global position of English in greater detail, would give an idea about the manner in which the school operates linguistically.

1.3 Philippi: The suburb

While Philippi Children's Centre is an interesting place because of its multilingual learners, it is salient to note that even *the very land* in which the school is situated indexes a rich history of diversity.

Philippi is a suburb of Cape Town which is occupied by a number of ethnic groups and has historically been known as a farming community which produces nearly 80% of the region's crops. It is also a lucrative site for various business developments. Centuries ago, the arable land was used by the indigenous Khoi herders as grazing fields for their livestock, as well as hunting grounds for the community. The first community (on record) was established in 1833 and was then known as "Die Duine" which translates to *The Dunes* (Anderson, Azari, Sepideh, Van Wyk, 2009). According to Rabe (1992) German populations, under the then British Colonial government were enticed to settle in the region as they were believed to be successful at working infertile areas. The volunteers arrived in the region between 1877 and 1883 from Luneburger Heide - a dry area in Northern Germany, and garnered fame for their ability to farm the sandy soil and yield crops, turning it into a flourishing, lush area (Rabe, 1992). To this day the influence of the German settlers can be seen in the region as they established many notable sites, including the Cape Evangelical Lutheran Church. For centuries, the region was utilised for the sole purpose of farming as the area rests on an aquifer, this was until the 1970s.

Residential growth only occurred during the apartheid era when economic migrants flocked to the city of Cape Town from the Eastern Cape homelands of Transkei and Ciskei. These migrants settled in the surrounding townships of Langa, Nyanga etc. During the period of political resistance, many fled to the area seeking refuge from the unrest in their homelands. Residents from Mitchell's Plain moved to the region during the period when the apartheid government eliminated farms in that community due to urbanisation (Anderson, Azari, Van Wyk, 2009).

1.4 Philippi Children's Centre as a research site

At Philippi Children's Centre (henceforth PCC) is the physical context for this research project. The Centre is both a pre-school and day-care Centre providing educational support for roughly 260 learners between 3 months -6 years old. The learners come from working class families and communities in areas such as Samora Machel, Manenberg, Mitchell's Plain and surrounding townships. The Centre's demographic statistics have shown that the learners are predominantly black and/or 'Coloured'. The main languages spoken by these students are English, Kaaps and IsiXhosa, with some being able to communicate in French and Shona due to their immigrant backgrounds. There are also 23 multiracial staff members at the school. The Centre is well resourced and is supported partially by the Western Cape Education Department and Department of Social Development. Intriguingly, there is also a strong German influence at the institution, as German funders and volunteers are still key role players in the successful functioning of the Centre.

Despite this support, there is still a significant challenge to raise the R2 million per annum required to function; no easy feat when considering the humble backgrounds of the learners and their guardians. Other notable considerations are the farm owners in the area who play a significant role in transporting learners from the farms to the school, as well as the somewhat strained line of communication between school and parent.

Even though multilingualism may have been deemed a hindrance in some spaces, the research at Philippi Children's Centre explores how learners use it to their advantage and how all the role players in this space creatively make use of their multilingual abilities. PCC is an ideal site to investigate post-apartheid transformation and can be seen as a litmus test (of sorts) in relation to the current ideologies in and around early childhood institutions of learning and the languages attitudes which are prevalent in these spaces by children. It is important to uncover whether multilingualism is viewed as a positive and useful manner or a hindrance to the learner, and how learners have already managed to use the languages at their disposal to their advantage.

1.5 Research Aims

The study itself forms part of a faculty wide project at the University of the Western Cape which focuses on the foundations of multilingualism, specifically early childhood development. From a linguistic perspective, the aim is to determine how learners from diverse and multilingual backgrounds negotiate their identities in this space and use their linguistic repertoire during classroom and playground interaction of interest to this study is how learners are creativity included/excluded and how educators manage linguistically diverse learners. Alongside this, the study hopes to determine what language ideologies both teachers and learners hold and how these ideologies may influence multilingual learners in the classroom and playground. The project aims to explore the realities faced by diverse learners within an ECD setting. Notably, ECD Centres have a significant role to play in language and inevitably literacy development (National Department of Social Development, 2015: 15). Finally, the study seeks to engage with a variety of stakeholders to better understand how the institution functions. Specifically, the researcher aims to work with: the school, which includes the staff and multilingual learners.

1.6 Specific Objectives

a) Documenting how the three main languages in the Western Cape are used by the learners at this institution and in which context.

b) Explores how learners perform their linguistic identity in this space.

c) Explores the existing language ideologies held by learners and educators/staff.

d) Tries to determine when and how learners code-mix and/or code-switch in the classroom and how it is received.

1.7 Research Questions

1. What are the language practices in the classroom and on the playground at this institution?
2. How do learners perform their linguistic identities?
3. What are the language ideologies which exist amongst the learners (and/or staff?)
4. How is code-mixing and code-switching experienced in the classroom?

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: An introduction of the context of multilingualism and ECD in South Africa is provided an overview of my research site, Philippi Children Centre is given. Moreover, aims, research questions and key objectives are provided.

Chapter Two: This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature: including literature on the key concepts and a thematic look at the various schools of thought. i.e., ECD services in South Africa and the issues which inhibit progress or hinders development. Additionally, the concept of the multilingual playground is discussed.

Chapter Three: This chapter outlines the key theoretical and analytic framework in greater detail. Of particular interest to this study are the conceptual backdrop, linguistics of contact

and multilingual education. As well as concepts such as language hierarchy, language purism, translanguaging and Linguistic Citizenship.

Chapter Four: Here the overview of the analytical framework is provided. This pertains to thematic analysis, ethnography, and ethnographic monitoring. It also provides insight into the process of data collection by introducing the strategy for conducting research with a motivation behind the selection of these strategies. Furthermore, information about the sample for the study is provided, as well as details surrounding ethical considerations.

Chapter Five: Data analysis: the motivations for translanguaging is provided here. It displays how and why learners move between languages in their repertoire.

Chapter Six: Data analysis: language ideologies and performance. This chapter exhibits how learners perform their identities in the given context, how through performance and speech acts, learners make decisions about how they wish to portray themselves. The chapter also shows that educators do the same. The chapter also explores the ideologies held by both learners and educators.

Chapter Seven: Discussion of the research findings with reference made to the literature review and key concepts of the study and revisiting the objectives of the study.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion chapter. This chapter also offers reflection and suggestions for future research.

1.9 Summary

The chapter has introduced the study of ECD as a niche area in South Africa. The broader context of multilingualism is provided and the aims and objectives if given. The geographical as well as historical significance of this research site is provided as a backdrop to the learners and their multilingual interaction. Additionally, it explored the aims of the study and what it hopes to accomplish or demonstrate: that pre-school learners have the

capacity to utilize all the languages in their range and that they have enough awareness which allows them to use each language for a particular purpose.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to take a closer look at the current literature on multilingualism as well as confluent studies surrounding this topic. The literature review is divided into five sections specifically: (1) Early Childhood Development in South Africa, (2) English as a Lingua Franca or Language of Wider Communication, (3) Traditional schools of thought which are pro-language separation and why this was and still may be the case, (4) The schools of thought that are pro translanguaging and code switching in the spaces of learning which encourage creative language use, (5) The influence of parents, including the home environment and teachers, (which includes the multilingual school environment) on how learners go about the process of language learning and communication.

a) Early Childhood Development

Early Childhood Development or Early Childhood Education (as it is also known as) is a national government initiative aimed at emphasizing the prioritisation of quality early childhood education which would assist in learners' overall literacy and readiness for formal schooling. For a learner to receive a quality education at the peak of their development it would require "…fostering positive social and cognitive learning in an environment that is safe, nurturing and stimulating, thus laying the basis for future learning and enhanced life chances" (Hoadley, 2013: 72). In order for this to become a reality, learners require access to quality education that enhances their abilities.

In South Africa, many young children come from neighbourhoods where extreme poverty and gang violence are rife means that their condition is often such that they require extra attention in order for them to the reach the optimum holistic development that national government has stressed. The goal is that the learner will be ready for Grade 1, well prepared, but most importantly equipped with the necessary skills required for them to thrive in a formal environment. In order for this to become reality it is important for learners to both understand and successfully complete the tasks given to them, naturally learners would need to communicate effectively in order to be understood. If this is to become a reality, it requires the educator to go the extra mile, particularly in a multilingual space such as the Centre in question.

A previous study conducted on a multilingual classroom and playground in the Cape Town area showcased how learners from diverse backgrounds are able to negotiate their identity based on the context they find themselves in. Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele (2014) displayed the linguistic creativity primary school learners revealed at a bustling township school in Delft, Cape Town. They highlight the fact that learners come from very diverse backgrounds with dissimilar linguistic repertoires and racial or ethnic markers, yet they have found a manner to display their identity whilst simultaneously sharing or participating in that of their peers. The research findings indicate that "in the site of contact created by the school and the surrounding neighbourhood, young learners use their meta-awareness of their own and others' linguistic repertoires to construct linguistic and social identities, some fleeting, some more enduring" (Kerfoot and Bello-Nojengele, 2014: 468). Furthermore, the study indicates that multiracial, multilingual schools are post-colonial and post-apartheid sites where there may be a struggle for the learner to either maintain or adopt an identity. Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele (2014) have highlighted the fact that learners are to be viewed as "game changers" as they are the ones showcasing the manner in which they use language(s) in order

to navigate various multilingual spaces. The study is therefore essential to the research that will be undertaken in the area of Early Childhood Education as it indicates that there are definite gaps that could be filled in terms of how displaying how learners in the pre-school setting successfully utilise the languages in their repertoire and adopt the linguistic varieties of the peers, forming new identities. It also makes the case for the ideal post-apartheid scenario where multilingualism is viewed as a commodity and the ability to communicate effectively in a diverse society such as South Africa, is regarded as inspired and progressive. The core feature of this research is its pertinence to Early Childhood Development and Education in this area. Early Childhood Development or ECD as it will be referred to has been defined as "... the processes by which children from birth to nine years of age grow and thrive physically, mentally, emotionally, morally and socially" (DoE, 2001a). Simply put, this may be deemed as part of the foundation phase of education where children develop cognitively, physically, and emotionally and where crucial skills are attained. In order to guarantee the holistic development of the child, the national Department of Social Development has largely taken control of the ECD aspect of education pertaining specifically to children from birth to 4 years of age. Beyond this stage, the foundation phase is further controlled by the National Department of Education who develop programmes for children aged five to nine years old (Atmore, Van Niekerk & Cooper, 2012).

In South Africa specifically, ECD was largely neglected for a number of years, this is largely due to the lack of provision or emphasis on this area by the previous regime, otherwise known as the apartheid government. Little to no attention was given to primary or even the higher education of Black, Coloured, and Indian learners under this regime as the key aim of the government was to keep these groups to a certain low-quality standard which would prepare them for a life of manual labour and service. The aims status of ECD under this regime are as follows:

- A clear separation of education and care was seen during this period.

According to Martin (2015) care in this context referred to the development of Creches where the duties were solely based around the provision of safeguarding responsibilities and no other forms of stimulation. Education on the other hand referred to the Nursery Schools which were developed with the aim of stimulating the child as far as possible, a space that could be deemed an enlightening one that specifically catered for the needs of the white middle class of that period, preparing the child for formal schooling. Creches were therefore the only option made available to children of colour.

- The provision of funding and incentives by the government also played an integral role in the quality of education received. Nursery schools were funded by the provincial government who were also responsible for the development of training colleges for teachers and eventually the payment of salaries and appointment of qualified personnel, as well the provision of the necessary equipment and resources. They also established the Nursery classrooms in specific primary schools. These factors meant that funded Nursery schools had added benefits. Ebrahim (2001) cited in Martin (2015) indicates that the statistics during this regime show that 1 in 8 Coloured and Indian children and 1 in 16 black children had access to ECD services under the apartheid government. This was a stark contrast to the 1 in 3 white children who easily accessed said services. Laws proved to be biased and delayed the progress of children of colour, particularly black children, in South Africa.
- Alongside the laws that offered preferential treatment to white children, black children in particular were set up for failure as few children managed to remain in the school system for the duration of their school career, being plagued by poverty and a

poor education system that made no provision for their needs. Sherry & Draper (2013) indicate that these disadvantaged communities were largely supported by NGO's which provided the much-needed ECD services and training that were on par with the services received by the privileged groups i.e., white children. This dependence on NGO's is still quite prevalent, particularly in low income, disadvantaged communities in South Africa.

The current status of ECD in South Africa is of a system plagued by systemic/structural issues. According to Atmore *et al* (2012), challenges include lack of adequate resources and poor amenities in the facilities, lack of funding, lack of professional teachers with the required qualifications. Despite attempts by government to right the wrongs of the past by creating education policies that clearly outlines the importance of ECD and how it should function, the reality is not necessarily a reflection of what they may have had in mind. The post-apartheid regime has implemented policies and stipulations in Bill of Rights (1996) as well as The Constitution highlight the importance of the provision of not only protection, but also care and education to the young children of the country (Martin, 2015). The early years of a child's life has been identified as being particularly critical as it is during this period where the child develops the skills that would likely prepare them for their formal school career. Despite the existence of the policies, the national government still faces great challenges in the following areas:

The background of the learner, which includes the socio-economic status of the child and the conditions under which they live. Alongside this are the issues of cognitive stimulation within the home. A large disparity still exists within South Africa, particularly with regards to the quality of education received by Black learners and their White or even Coloured and Indian counterparts. Hoadley (2013) indicates that it appears as though there are two very different education systems existing side by side; one serves the majority Black population and

delivers poor results on an annual basis, whereas the other serves the minority and consistently produces excellent results. The research depicts how teachers confirm Hoadley's (2013) statement. One could put this down to poverty: "Children living in poverty are extremely vulnerable, discriminated against and isolated. Monetary poverty is closely connected to poor health and well-being, as well as to limited access to education, nutrition, healthcare services and safe environments. The General Household Survey of 2009 showed that 61% of children in South Africa lived below the poverty line (with a per capita income below R522 per month). Closely linked to this income poverty indicator is unemployment. Statistics SA (2010) indicated that 36% of children reside in households where no adults are employed" (Atmore *et al*, 2013: 123). The poverty-stricken child faces poor health and nutrition which places strain on their ability to perform or even concentrate. This child also has the added strain of accessibility to due to lack of funds, an issue which national government has tackled through the introduction of poverty alleviation schemes such as the monthly grants and the provision of funding for registered ECD centres.

The subject of poverty and poor socio-economic conditions are often linked to lack of parent involvement in the child's cognitive stimulation within the home environment. As Hoadley explains "Children who come from homes that expose them to books, computers and what and how to read achieve better school outcomes. In these situations (mostly middle-class) children are often encouraged to actively participate in adults' conversations" (2012: 73). If the parents are neither involved, educated nor available a greater disservice is done to the child as they are ill equipped for formal schooling. In this case there is also great limitations to the assistance the parent is able to offer the child in terms of their education. A parent who has little to no formal schooling may be incapable of assisting the child with the task teachers have set for them. Similarly, a child who comes from a background where intergenerational poverty is prevalent is unlikely to have a parent who is available to assist with homework

assignments or any other form of cognitive stimulation. Communication in the home may also be limited to the first language despite the child receiving their schooling in English as it is simply viewed as the language of wider communication, thus further hindering the child's ability to excel as they do not understand the content discussed in the classroom (UNICEF, 2007). If a child's background and home environment is not considered, it will significantly impact the quality of education they receive, as well as how interactive they will be in the classroom (UNICEF, 2007). It is therefore crucial that ECD centres carefully assess the child's position in life in conjunction with their ability to perform academically and reach required milestones. This study will display what the teachers or school is doing in order to aid parents in the process of enhancing their ability to assist the learners.

Another key challenge for the ECD sector is poorly qualified teachers and the schools of thought they subscribe to. In most instances an ECD qualification is offered to anyone (oftentimes individuals without a matric certificate are allowed to complete such a qualification) and the end result is an NQF or National Qualification, usually offered by accredited FET colleges in and around South Africa. "The Further Education and Training Certificate: ECD (Level 4) qualification has become the entry-level qualification for ECD practitioners. This qualification provides ECD practitioners with the necessary skills to facilitate the holistic development of young children (including those children with special needs) and offer quality ECD services in a variety of settings (such as at ECD centres, home-based ECD centres, or within community-based services)" (Atmore *et al*, 2013: 34). Experienced teachers may also opt to acquire the Level 5 NQF to enhance their skills, however these qualifications do not guarantee quality ECD services. A lack of motivation due to the fact that an ECD NQF does not carry significant financial gains may be one of the reasons for the poor services, alongside this, teachers are often left to their own devices with little to no inspection or regulation once they are in their post.

As previously stated, the teachers might subscribe to a teaching method that does not necessarily spell success for their learners, they might also be inadequately trained to teach literacy skills to pre-schoolers, the fundamentals of reading and writing. According to Hoadley (2012) the training currently in place is not intensive enough to yield positive results, "for grade R, specifically, teachers need to understand the cognitive and physical development of young children, the logic and basis for structured play as an important pedagogy, and the curriculum requirements regarding emergent literacy and numeracy knowledge and skills"(76). In this regard, teachers require adequate training that will fully equip them to teach the literacy and numeracy skills children require at this level, in particular their teaching methods should be scrutinised.

b) Language and Social Inequality

Due to the fact that a school or any type of learning institution can be deemed a formal space, one needs to highlight the social inequalities that stem from use of one language (variety) above another, which may be implemented at the school for whatsoever purpose. Over time various studies have been conducted on this topic by researchers such as Philips (1983) and Mehan (1987) amongst others. "Studies in schools focus on the ways in which children were culturally defined as succeeding or failing by teachers and counsellors. This work represented teachers as exercising power over students through the way in which language was used in interaction" (Philips, 2005: 477). In this way the language selected and implemented by the institution can become a stifling tool as speakers start to grasp that their languages are undervalued or perceived as inappropriate for school. Philips explains that besides the language itself, "...ways of speaking and topics to be spoken about associated with the community and its code" (2005: 477) are also neglected, creating another form of othering. It would not be unlikely that one would find that speakers of the secondary language (L2) have a negative perception of their first language (L1), as explored in the works of Gobana

and Mutasa (2018) this is due to the fact that the L2 is often obligatory and there are penalties if the learner does not or neglects to communicate in the target language. As discussed above, the target language can become a burden, particularly when so rigidly enforced and the learner may refrain from communicating altogether as they may not be confident in the way they speak and how it would be received (Hiss and Peck, 2020). The study hopes to further explore how multilingualism is preserved and utilised in this context, evading social inequality, and embracing and encouraging creativity.

c) Translanguaging

Apart from multilingualism as distinct languages operating independently in a specific space, Canagarajah (2011) points to the concept of translanguaging or"…the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011: 401) is of interest to this study. Speakers freely move between all the languages they know and have access to, making it less language use and more languaging, indicating that it is something that is actively done. The concept itself delves from the fact that researchers in the field of linguistics have realised that viewing language as an object is problematic, instead the creativity with which speakers handle their languages should be considered. In this space the aim is to further explore the creativity of the learner and their language use.

Speakers include code-mixing/switching and tend to move between the language (varieties) in their repertoire. Heugh (2014) uses the analogy of a cooking pot to describe the occurrence; multilingual speakers may pour all the languages at their disposal into a pot and when the need arises to communicate, they will reach back into said pot and use whatever it is they may need in that context. In this manner the language knowledge of a multilingual individual is not separated, instead it is integrated and cannot be viewed as anything other than that. Therefore translanguaging "focuses more on the processes which people use in

order to move back and forth between languages they know and use in daily life" (Heugh, 2014: 375).

d) Language Ideologies, Language Purism and Standard Language

Furthermore, there is an ideology of language purism, which influences how language is perceived (good or bad) this is further explored by Dyers and Abongdia (2014) who argue that "language ideologies may drive more covert policies thereby having an almost paralysing effect on attempts to implement well-intentioned, overt language policies' (Dyers, 2015: 61). This ideology ties in with the standard language ideology, it is based on the belief that "…languages are internally homogenous entities with strict borders between them, it completely ignores the constant blending and borrowing between different languages by ordinary people…" (Da Costa, Dyers and Mheta, 2014: 352). Along with these ideologies comes status that standard languages receive as these are the ones that are often selected to become official languages leading to the othering of non-standard varieties, overlooking its usefulness in a variety of spaces. Due largely to these ideologies many have been conditioned to believe that there are particular ways of speaking a language and if the language cannot be spoken 'correctly' it should not be spoken at all.

This belief that languages should be kept pure and spoken in that manner is often carried over in formal spaces such as schools where informal language varieties are frowned upon, and learners are often reprimanded if they wander too far from what is acceptable. The ideologies held by the stakeholders, educators, parents and inevitably affect the learner and their own beliefs about language (Obondo, 2007)

e) Dialogic Places/Domains

A closer look will also be taken at domains, and how speakers are believed to make use specific languages (varieties) in certain domains or contexts as explored by Fishman (1972). This concept can be used interchangeably with that of dialogic places, according to

Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) suggesting that "...the norms for language use are determined by the dominant speakers in a conversation" (Dyers, 2016: 63).

At a school (as is the case with Philippi Children's Centre) where most learners are bilingual (at least) there would likely be dialogic places where learners would speak their preferred language(s), and this is usually dependent upon factors relating to physical and social context. One would be likely to find learners who may be fluent in the L2, yet there are some influences of the L1. According to Bock and Mheta (2014) this means that the individual (learner) may have significant knowledge and understanding of the L2, but when expressing themselves the intonation and pronunciation may 'bear traces of the first language" making it seem as if they do not possess the ability to communicate in the L2 or have a poor command of the language. Dialogic places are chiefly linked to ideologies as discussed above, some may believe that a particular language (variety) is not suitable for the academic space or even the boardroom, limiting the language to the home or the streets.

2.2 The South African Context

In the South African context language separation policies emerged during Colonialism and was further entrenched during the Apartheid Era. According to Makalela (2015) colonialism saw the start of language separation when missionaries attempted to class the languages, they heard native South Africans speak, creating a system that would classify individuals into different groups simply based on what the language sounded like. With "divergent orthographic systems" the missionaries, who belonged to different denominations and were stationed at diverse locations, inevitably ingrained the belief that the natives belonged to different tribes and linguistic communities (Makalela, 2015: 202). This was followed by the rise of Apartheid which saw the introduction of policies such as the Group Areas Act where non-white South Africans were separated and placed into the homelands and townships with those who share the same linguistic background as them. Here natives were further reminded

of their differences by lack of exposure to other languages or groups, schools and radio stations that exclusively utilised the language of that group and emphasised how different they were to groups who quite possibly shared a mutually intelligible language (Makalela, 2015: 202).

Current trends in South African schools are the claims of the insistence by parents that their children use English exclusively, particularly in the academic context. It is preferred by most parents that their children attend English medium schools, instead of the ones where they may be educated in their mother tongue. Another visible trend is the importance placed on the use of 'proper' English; unaccented and authentic. The belief stems from the aforementioned policies of language purism that has existed in the country for more than three centuries and the belief that it will be more beneficial to the learner in future. Nevertheless, one finds the ever-increasing population of parents and guardians who are hopeful that their child will retain their native language and simply add English to their repertoire.

2.3 English as a Lingua Franca

In light of the abovementioned discussion, the argument for English as a Lingua Franca is one that has been brought up by most modern societies at this stage and level of globalisation. "The realization that the majority of uses of English occur in contexts where it serves as a lingua franca, far removed from its native speakers' linguacultural norms and identities, has been an important leitmotif in this discussion" (Seidlhofer, 2001: 134). South Africa is no different as it becomes increasingly globalised, a country where development has occurred rapidly in various sectors, including that of education and business. Often South African entrepreneurs and scholars have been welcomed to the world stage to share their knowledge, ideas and be awarded for their creativity and skill. Thanks to all of these developments the demand for an English education has become greater than ever, despite the fact that it is a language spoken by only 9.6% of the population according to the 2011 census. The demand

comes from a common belief amongst citizens that having a solid command of English comes with greater opportunities in terms of schooling, and employment. Inability to speak and master the language is viewed in a negative light.

In the South African context, it is not uncommon to find teachers providing an English education despite not being native speakers of the language themselves, a common theme in multilingual countries. Many teachers do the best they can, often pushing the direct approach to target language learning even with their knowledge of how cumbersome the language can be. Researchers have explored the feelings of non-native English speakers having to use English as a language of instruction finding anxiety amongst the educators; "we suffer from an inferiority complex caused by glaring defects in our knowledge of English. We are in constant distress as we realize how little we know about the language we are supposed to teach" (Medgyes 1994: 40 cited in Seidlhofer, 2001). The anxious feelings of the teachers are the result of a great demand for an authentic English education in multilingual spaces. The direct approach seems problematic when one puts all of this into perspective. If there was a way for educators to make use of their native language(s) in order to teach the target language, English, it would seemingly result in greater success and fewer challenges in the classroom. Despite the fact that English is regarded as the MoI or LWC, learners often find creative ways to incorporate their native languages during formal lessons and informal play.

2.4 The argument for language purism in second language education

Traditionally, a separatist view on language learning has been dominant amongst scholars and academics, the "…monoglossic practice is imbued by the nation building ideology that began to take shape during the European enlightenment period and that used separation as a strategy to control and form nation states" (Makelela, 2015: 200). The practice spilled over into academic language policies with the belief that each language should have its time and place in the classroom and that the target language should be the only one used in order to

increase if the learner is to have any real chance of mastering a second language. Gorter and Cenoz (2016) highlight the fact that many schools that hold this view have separate classrooms and teachers for each o0f the languages spoken by the learners further accentuating the separation of languages.

> Language diversity and minority languages are often conceived of as a social problem and solving the problem of such languages is then seen as requiring a technical approach. An emphasis on the legal rights of language speakers is also often related to planning for minority languages and entails, for example, the right to receive education in the home language (Gorter and Cenoz, 2016: 2).

These views are still dominant in most regions as many hold the belief that if the learner is to be successful the direct method is to be utilised. Cook (2001) indicates (3) reasons why the direct method has been stressed for so long:

- the belief that a target language should be learned in the same manner that the first language was acquired; in a monolingual society and space.
- there as an assumption that if the learner is to acquire a second language, the L1 and L2 are to be learned separately in order for it to be stored separately in the mind of the speaker, this has never been confirmed through research.
- lastly, it is assumed that the learner may not have many opportunities to speak the target language which limits them severely and is why they should speak it exclusively as often as possible. “These ideas of language separation have affected bilingual pedagogies since the 1970s and were reinforced in other teaching approaches such as Audiolingualism or the Communicative Approach” (Gorter and Cenoz, 2016: 6).

When using this these approaches, the teacher is often encouraged to act as if they are a monolingual speaker of the target language, even going as far as to snub a learner attempting to communicate in their L1.

Cummins and Swain (1986) developed (4) key points which supports this pedagogy:

- the learner has to make a greater effort to understand the teacher, and the teacher would be required to make a greater effort to be understood, which leads a focused learning environment.
- boredom is eliminated as the student becomes immersed in learning the target language and is no longer concerned with the L1.
- it is believed that the L1 could counteract the target language which is usually the Language of Wider Communication.
- finally, it is through this method that the teacher would save a significant amount of time as they no longer have to translate.

These pedagogies and the aforementioned reasons formulated by Cook (2001) have been drawn upon for decades as the idea of code switching and language mixing is often frowned upon in formal spaces, particularly the classroom, however there are cases where the inclusion of code-mixing during lessons are viewed in a beneficial manner.

2.5 Translanguaging as a means of language learning

The holistic approach to multilingualism and bilingual education has made inroads in finding alternative methods of bilingual education. “The idea is that multilinguals cannot be judged by the standards of monolinguals and cannot be seen as deficient compared to monolinguals” (Gorter and Cenoz, 2016: 7). Studies by Grosjean (2008, 2010) have shown that bilinguals have their own system of language use, they do not utilise the languages they speak in the same manner, instead they use each language for a different purpose and in different communicative contexts. Furthermore, bilinguals are aware of what language (varieties) to

use based on whether they are speaking to a monolingual or a multilingual who speaks the same languages as they do, it is for this reason that code switching is an innate aspect of the multilingual speaker's repertoire. It is from this school of thought that the concept of translanguaging as a means of second (target) language learning has become more feasible than the traditional direct method. Translanguaging refers loosely to "…how bilingual students communicate and make meaning by drawing on and intermingling linguistic features from different languages" (Hornberger and Link, 2012: 240). It is imperative to understand that bilingual speakers cannot be viewed through the same lens that multilingual speakers are as their complete repertoire and command of these languages are vastly different from that of a monolingual learner. Thus, Wei and Garcia (2016: 6) finds:

> The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience, and environment; their attitude, belief, and ideology; their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance and making it into a lived experience.

These spaces are created by the individual speaker, and it is utilised by them for their own purpose as it aids them in making sense of communicative contexts, they may find themselves in. By employing the other language(s) available to the speaker, it may be easier for them to learn the target language. According to Wei and Garcia (2016) incorporating translanguaging in education opens the door to creativity and displays learner's ability to make sense of existing language rules and how they push the boundaries of these rules in order to assist them in comprehension of the target language. Additionally, through translanguaging the multilingual learner makes of criticality in how they "…use available evidence appropriately, systematically, and insightfully to inform considered views of

cultural, social, and linguistic phenomena; to question and problematize received wisdom; and to express views adequately through reasoned responses to situations" (Wei and Garcia, 2016: 7). Therefore, translanguaging in the classroom allows the learner to enhance their creative and critical thinking skills, equipping them for greater academic success.

Case studies in which successful use of translanguaging as a means of learning a target language are increasingly common, as more schools and education policies now allow this teaching method. Research has revealed that:

> translanguaging focuses more on the pupils' use of two languages (and what they are able to achieve by using both languages) than on the teachers' role within the classroom, although it may be engineered by the teacher. Again, with an emphasis on a child's development, Williams (2003) suggested that translanguaging often uses the stronger language to develop the weaker language thus contributing towards a potentially relatively balanced development of a child's two languages (Lewis, Jones, and Baker, 2012: 644).

Although it may be difficult in early childhood education where many learners may not have complete command of the target language as well as their home language, it would be beneficial in cases where they do as it aids in the retention of both languages simultaneously.

2.5.1 Advantages of Translanguaging

There are substantial advantages to translanguaging in the classroom, Lewis *et al* (2012) outlines (4) advantages of translanguaging for educational purposes:

- The method enhances the learner's ability to understand the subject matter being taught, "…further learning is based on stretching pre-existing knowledge, plus the idea that the interdependence of two languages enables crosslinguistic transfer (Cummins, 2008), it can be argued that translanguaging is an effective and efficient way of enabling this" (Lewis *et al*, 2012: 645). This draws on the belief that just

because the student has been able to successfully duplicate the work given by the educator, does not mean that it has completely registered with them or that it has been fully understood. Baker (2011) indicates that if translanguaging occurs and the task is given in the target language and further explained in a home language, then completed in the target language, the learner would certainly have greater comprehension of what is expected of them and what they are learning (cited in Lewis *et al*, 2012).

- Allowing translanguaging in the classroom may further develop the learner's command of the target language which may possibly be the weaker language, "…it may prevent them from undertaking the main part of their work through the stronger language while attempting fewer challenging tasks in their weaker language" (Lewis *et al*, 2012: 645). As the learner becomes more comfortable with their bilingualism, they will develop the confidence to complete their tasks in the weaker (target) language of their own free will.
- In many cases the language used as the medium of instruction is not the language spoken in the learner's home environment, through translanguaging there may be increased cooperation in the home environment. "As translanguaging involves the reprocessing of content, it may lead to deeper understanding and learning, and in turn this allows the child to expand, extend, and intensify what he has learned through one language in school through discussion with the parent at home in the other language" (Lewis *et al*, 2012: 645). Since the learner would now have a greater understanding of the content in both their home language and in the target language, they would be able to enlighten their parents or others around them about what they have learned.
- In a classroom context where there are fluent speakers of the target language (L2), alongside those who may not have a great command over the language,

integration could be done successfully through translanguaging, "…L2 ability and subject content learning can be developed concurrently if a sensitive and strategic use is made of both languages in class" (Lewis *et al*, 2012: 646). Educators can make use of this and view it is as an advantage where the fluent L2 speakers could assist the weaker speakers. The forthcoming data exhibits how teachers and the school at large make use of the skills of multilingual learners in order to aid their peers.

2.5.2 Translanguaging and its challenges

Elitism and language purism have often gone hand in hand, the ideologies held by society usually spill over into the school system and this is evident in many language policies. Wei and Garcia (2016) add that minorities are often made to believe that the language (varieties) they speak are either inferior to the one used as a medium of instruction or that it may be inadequate.

In addition, translanguaging is often deemed as a daunting task for learners and educators to tackle successfully. "Many resist and argue that only the "language" as defined in national school curricula and grammar books is important and needs to be used in schools" (Wei and Garcia, 2016: 10). Reasons for this include the fact that either the educator may not know how to incorporate the learners' L1, or they may not want to.

In spite of these beliefs, multilingual learners will often find a way to integrate their linguistic varieties and include their L1 in some way regardless of the context. The importance of translanguaging is often overlooked and ignored, it is not merely a convenient method of language learning, the argument is that it is to be "…used not only to legitimize and leverage the fluid language practices of bilinguals to be equal participants in a just society, but also to make bilingual speakers conscious of when and how to use the different features of their repertoire" (Wei and Garcia, 2016: 10). It is aimed at teaching the skill of how to navigate between the various languages (varieties) that the multilingual learner may have at their

disposal, how they can incorporate it into their daily lives and successfully and confidently complete their schooling without the negative ideologies about their L2.

2.6 The effects of exposure to translanguaging

Much research has been conducted on the effects that a translanguaging approach to language learning has had on learners. Where they have been allowed to move freely between language varieties, learners have often thrived in ways previously discussed in the advantages and benefits off translanguaging. Several case studies conducted by various researchers will be highlighted as a means to showcase the usefulness of translanguaging:

- Hornberger and Link (2012) conducted research on the case of Beatriz who is a first-generation American immigrant from Mexico, her L1, Spanish, is used as scaffolding for her to learn her L2, English. In the classroom, the content is taught to her in English but her and her peers are given a period to discuss the work in a language of their choice. Later questions are asked in English to which Beatrix is now able to respond as she has a greater comprehension of the content. Throughout the school day Beatriz code-switches between Spanish and English, depending on who she is addressing.

Beatriz's home environment is largely a Spanish one, she has friends who she addresses in a mixture of English and Spanish and does the same to her siblings. She discusses her homework with her family in Spanish and completes the task in English as required. Due to her command of the languages, she is able to translate for her mother when the landlord who speaks English comes around to collect the rent. As the day progresses, Beatriz spends family time and discusses TV shows with her family in Spanish. "Her translanguaging practices, in which she moves back and forth fluidly between two languages, allow for her to make meaning and communicate across numerous interactions, and to engage in language learning and teaching at home and at school" (Hornberger and Link, 2012: 241). Beatriz has an

awareness of the languages and uses each one for a specific function, she is a first-grade learner, but she has already developed her own system of language that suits her as a bilingual individual, in this manner it depicts the creativity of the bilingual speaker.

- In another case where the home environment is a place where learners are more likely to speak their L1, one finds the study conducted by Song (2016) where Korean American learners utilise translanguaging in their day-to-day home lives. One also finds that the parent(s) is not always willing to engage in this manner. This can be accredited to the fact that the parents want to preserve the L1 in the home, whilst the learner now has two language systems they prefer to move between. Minji, a second-grade learner and first-generation American immigrant from Korea discusses her work about Greek mythology in what she calls "American," (reference to English) her mother, who learned about this in their mother tongue wants to discuss it Korean, both have a very different manner of pronouncing the names of the gods based on the language(s) they speak. "Throughout the later conversation, English was Minji's choice of language in the conversation whereas her mother chose to speak in Korean by translating what Minji had said. However, both Minji and her mother also mixed both languages frequently as they continued their talk" (Song, 2015: 85). The exchange eventually saw Minji utilising both English and Korean in their discussion and attempting to coerce her mother into speaking to English as well. Minji negotiates her own language identity in as a bilingual speaker.

This is often the case in many homes where the child prefers using the L2 in interactions and it creates a fear within the parent(s) that the heritage language will eventually be lost. Cho (2000) explains that parents "…believe that maintaining their heritage language will contribute to strengthening familial bond and support their children's emergent ethnic identity as they develop connections to the values and manners of their heritage culture"

(cited in Song, 2015: 87). Due to this, parents often develop methods which may include tasks and/or activities that would require the child use their L1. Studies have shown that:

> children from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds gradually lost their skills in their heritage language as their English language and literacy skills developed through schooling. Children quickly start to value speaking English over their home language and to internalize deficit perspectives about speaking languages other than English as they become socialized in a society in which English is the most valued linguistic medium (Song, 2015: 87).

Many parents use translating as a method of translanguaging that helps in maintaining the heritage language or the L1 to complement English. Children would relay something that they may have learned, read, or heard in their chosen language, which is usually English, the parent(s) would request that they translate it into Korean and if they used a word incorrectly the parent(s) would give the correct word. The child would then repeat the statement with the correct word, and this would confirm that they understand. This method would make sure that the child does not forget Korean words or expressions that they may not hear or use that often, aiding in the process of language maintenance. The process of translation becomes a collaborative effort between the child and the parent as they make use of both English and Korean, translanguaging.

Another example of successful use of translanguaging in the classroom in order to learn the L2 is in the case of Singapore where Vaish and Subhan (2015) conducted a study depicting the how the L1 is used as a scaffold to teach the L2. As in the previous case study, the teacher makes use of translation to ascertain whether the learners have grasped the content specifically in the case of learning new words and attaching meaning to them. “In foreign and second language classrooms, new vocabulary can be introduced through the use of realia,

pictures, mimicry, gestures or explanation" (Vaish and Subhan, 2015: 349). It is easier to make use of translation in these contexts as images alone may not have given the learner a clear understanding of what the words mean. Furthermore, translanguaging when reading and then discussing a story in the classroom is beneficial as learners may not always know what the story means as they have a limited vocabulary and comprehension of the L2. If the L1 is used to lead discussions about the story it would showcase whether the full meaning, including connotations and innuendos are understood by the learner.

When learners are allowed to engage in their L1, it may bring about a more fruitful lesson as the learners are given the freedom to relay messages and share personal experiences and knowledge, connecting them to the lesson that they now comprehend more clearly. "We see this as an instance and outcome of translanguaging pedagogy which change patterns of interaction. When the linguistic resources of the student are welcomed, interaction becomes longer, and less teacher fronted. Students develop the confidence to become initiators" (Vaish and Subhan, 2015: 352). The tasks set before them become less daunting as they have the freedom to engage with their peers in the language of their choice, an opportunity to discuss and verify whether their understanding of the work is correct. The teacher who participated in the study conducted by Vaish and Subhan (2015) found that the learners in her classroom had a greater interest in their story time sessions as they were given the freedom to ask questions or answer her questions in their L1, they fully understood the work they had read or the task they had completed by the time that particular lesson was concluded. This is an indication of the success of incorporating the L1 into a bilingual or multilingual classroom.

The South African context is much like the previously mentioned environments, there is a large volume of diversity, yet a demand for English as a medium of instruction as it is the lingua franca of the country. In locations where the dominant language may be IsiZulu or Afrikaans, these would be used as a medium of instruction, based on the demand for it. A

study conducted by Makalela (2015) at the University of Witwatersrand was an attempt at introducing student teachers to the translanguaging method of language teaching. As is the norm at most South African schools, learners are taught all subjects in the L2; (in some cases this may be the L3) English. Most teachers use the direct method and lack the knowledge about the learners' L1 and how they could incorporate them into the lessons. The study was conducted by introducing a new course for B.Ed. students where they would be taught how to handle their linguistically diverse classrooms, "the course was aimed at providing students with basic conversational, reading and writing abilities so the students were equipped to work with learners from languages outside their own language clusters and to create multilingual spaces in their respective schools" (Makalela, 2015: 205). In this case Sepedi was the target language or L2, and many teachers had a limited command of this language, therefore they were taught how to alternate between the L1 and L2. By introducing the student to techniques, which included having to read texts and/or conduct brainstorming sessions in their L1 and discussing it in the L2 (target language), it showcases the creative process the student teachers take when they make use of all the languages in their repertoire.

Results of the study display the gains made by the student teachers when they adopted a translanguaging approach to language learning and teaching. The students found that their knowledge of Sepedi increased as they were shown how to move between the languages in one lesson, they were able to see similarities between their L1 and the L2 which they would not have found otherwise, "the course interactions thus enabled an expanded cultural identity of the speakers who imagined themselves as a part of future Sepedi speakers" (Makalela, 2015: 209). The student teachers also found that by moving between the two language systems they eventually found reasoning power, the ability to think critically about and in then L2, something that a monolingual space would not allow. Some students have the ability to move between multiple language and could therefore find substitutes for certain words

they may not have understood in the target language, in another language familiar to them, "using more than one language reveals a complex reasoning process that involves matching vocabulary items, imagination and synthesis" (Makalela, 2015: 212). The study yielded positive results for the future of translanguaging in the classroom context as most of the student teachers have intentions of introducing these techniques in their classrooms. The findings verify the results of previous studies, showing that the inclusion of translanguaging strategies has more benefits for educator and learners alike, it is, therefore.

> … further evidence that plural orientation in the medium of learning enables multilingual learners to use all discursive resources at their disposal and allows them opportunities to perform well academically (…) languaging provides superior cognitive gains for multilingual students through the simultaneous endorsement of literacies and languages and by embracing all languages at the multilingual learners' disposal (Creese and Blackledge, 2010 cited in Makalela, 2015: 214).

The key take-away is that a country as linguistically diverse as South Africa ought to have a translanguaging approach to education and language learning which explores the learner's creativity. Anything else could be deemed a disservice to the learner.

2.7 Summary

The literature review chapter has explored ECD in the South African context. It delves into the key issues facing ECD services in South Africa; (1) socio-economic conditions facing the vast majority of the population, giving rise to issues of poverty, poor nutrition, health issues and safety concerns, (2) the reality that most teachers are underqualified and ill-equipped to assist learners in this age category in terms of assisting the with the very unique needs and aiding them in meeting their developmental goals, (3) the desire for the use of English as a medium of instruction, despite the fact that it is not the language used in the home.

Additionally, the concept of a multilingual playground as this research wishes to explore, was discussed, and reviewed by delving into the studies conducted in the South African context. These studies depict how the multilingual playground is not an implausible concept, particularly in a diverse country where learners are often creative with their language use, in spite of existing language policies. Moreover, the literature offers additional recommendations to a multilingual preschool or ECD centre can create a safe space for learners of diverse backgrounds.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theories and concepts drawn upon in order to undertake the study effectively. The study takes place and is conceptualised against the backdrop of Linguistics of Contact (Pratt, 1991), with the aim of conducting a linguistic ethnography. The study explores the meaning of multilingualism, specifically in the South African context. It looks into multilingual education and outlines how all teaching should occur with the child's optimum holistic development in mind. This is a key concept in this study as South African learners are predominantly speakers of two or more linguistic varieties.

As the study is ethnographic in nature, it is conducted by way of observation of the conversational methods utilised by learners in the ECD centre and on the playground specifically and what this indicates about the environment. It also draws upon the concepts such as translanguaging, discussed at length in the previous section. By now it ought to be clear that the act of translanguaging is one that happens unwittingly and is therefore a natural part of a multilingual individual's identity. This can be linked to the concept of dialogic

places, a concept that analyses how the multilingual individual is hyper-aware of their space and how they use language within these spaces.

Furthermore, the concepts pertaining to language hierarchy and language purism which are particularly relevant in this physical context is drawn on in order to explain the reasoning behind the policies which exist in this country and most bureaucratic spaces. The aforementioned concepts are linked to the concept of language and social inequality which is vital to this study as it delves deeper into the effects of suppressing the L1, sometimes referred to as the mother-tongue of the multilingual speaker. Finally, the theory linguistic citizenship is a concept which highlights, the idea that young children, particularly in the global south, are in fact citizens who should have language autonomy and the right to negotiate their own linguistic identity in informal or formal spaces, including the school and other bureaucratic spaces where their languages were often marginalised.

3.2 The Contact Zone Theory

Research is conducted based on the theoretical framework which probes connections made in spaces that were previously affected by complex histories, these are "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991: 34). As conferred in a previous section, South Africa's past is rife with colonialism and segregation in the form of apartheid, factors that cannot be disregarded when examining current social conditions. Pratt (1991) further elaborates that "the most revealing speech situation for understanding language was one involving a gathering of people each of whom spoke two languages and understood a third and held only one language in common with any of the others" (38). The study aims are largely based on a multilingual group of ECD learners who share a common language, it aims to make sense of how these learners imaginatively use all the languages available in their

range in order to communicate with one another. Learners use their knowledge of the various language (varieties) they speak in order to converse, be it effectively or ineffectively. "Pratt's goal is to make the classroom a more organic place, a living, breathing social space filled with freethinking individuals of both similar *and* diverse experiences" (Carter, 2010: 5). Moreover, it is vital to bring attention to the influence of race, language, and culture in the space, "from this perspective, language and other identities are performed and negotiated in interaction: influenced by both local contexts and wider ideologies in circulation, participants align with, contest, or subvert social categories of belonging (Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele, 2014: 455).

3.2.1 Safe Houses

A concept related to Contact Zone theory is that of Safe Houses as developed by Pratt (1991) when individuals from diverse backgrounds with a history of oppression and/or struggle meet or link in a shared space, there ought to be a space for them to communicate freely and openly. These are the "…social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression" (Pratt, 1991: 40). This can be connected to the learners at the ECD centre who come from marginalised communities and share a history of struggle, be this under the colonial or apartheid regime, or intergenerational poverty. The learners share the playground and converge in this space, which is therefore becomes a safe house.

3.3 The Multilingual Playground

A concept vital to this study is that of multilingualism. Franschesini (2009: 34) defines multilingualism as "…a product of the fundamental human ability to communicate in a number of languages. Operational distinctions may then be drawn between social, institutional, discursive and individual multilingualism." It is important to separate the

concept from that of bilingualism as multilingualism refers to the ability to communicate in multiple languages, (including the varieties of those languages) whereas bilingualism often does not take the existence of various dialects in the speaker's repertoire into consideration. What sets a multilingual speaker apart from others is the ease whereby they move between languages in their repertoire, according to Herdina and Jessner (2002) this is largely due to the fact that "they may live in a multilingual community, or overlapping bilingual communities, or be in contact with several monolingual communities" (cited in Kemp 2009: 12). It should be noted that multilingual speakers may not be equally proficient in all of the languages in their repertoire, instead they use each language for a specific purpose or function, this does not diminish their multilinguality.

In the South African setting multilingual speakers make up a significant quantity of the population. In 2002 the Pan South African Language (Thorne, 2002)found that 40% of the South African population had some command of the English Language and could use it in an interaction with supervisors, with Afrikaans coming in at 28%. This being an indication that nearly two decades ago there was a substantial number of South Africans who were multilingual to some degree. Naturally, these statistics have transformed as the population has boomed significantly since then, however it is evident that multilingual speakers are a common feature of this society.

Taking these factors into consideration one could surmise that; South African learners are largely multilingual speakers who have been encouraged to adapt to a monolingual education system where English is the medium of instruction and a society where English is the lingua franca. The subject of multilinguality gives rise to various issues including that of literacy. The multilingual speaker may be proficient in various language (varieties) but may not necessarily have the capacity to read and write in all these languages. Reiterating a previous

point; this factor does not diminish the fact that they are multilingual. Kemp (2009) finds that:

> even in Western literate societies, where some languages in addition to the official language are taught or supported at school with regard to literacy, it is unusual for multilinguals to be literate in all their languages. Multilinguals may also be literate in a language or languages they do not have spoken proficiency (22).

A learner's level of literacy in languages in their repertoire may however translate into very different results when they are put to the test.

Multilingual education poses a significant challenge in a space such as South Africa where the sheer volume of languages presently spoken is rather significant. It particularly poses a challenge for the educator who may have little to no knowledge of the language and a challenge to their teaching methods. "Complexity and diversity in multilingual education are related to the variety of forms of language teaching leading to multilingualism and diverse social environments requiring different forms of multilingual education" (Cenoz and Jessner, 2009: 122). There is a common belief that age of language acquisition is crucial to the process of learning, it is therefore evident in most multilingual societies, there is a great demand for target languages to learnt at pre-school level. In light of this, a multilingual approach to multilingual education is required instead of the monolingual approach utilised by most institutions, a perspective of this nature would likely be more effective in overall language acquisition and the holistic development of the learner. "Multilingualism is complex in all its manifestations and aspects. The complexity of multilingualism is progressively greater than that of bilingualism and crucial implications ensue" (Aronin and Hufeisen, 2009: 155). Despite the odds stacked against multilingual learners, they should be allowed to lead

the way with regards to how they choose to make sense of lessons and social situations they may find themselves in and how they will respond to this.

Although the multilingual classroom has been widely researched, there is a limited amount of research in this area based specifically around Early Childhood Development and the playground. The aim of this research is to delve into the complexities surrounding the language development of pre-school multilingual learners specifically. Furthermore, it hopes to depict how learners creatively make use of the language varieties in their repertoire in order to communicate, including how and for what purpose they are used.

Previous studies in this area looked into primary or secondary school educational spaces and how these learners communicate by using codemixing and codeswitching. The findings of research conducted by Nckoko, Osmon & Cockcroft (2000), after conducting qualitative ethnographic studies, displayed how learners creatively used the language varieties in their repertoire for specific purpose with the aim of defiance or solidarity. Additionally, it indicates how the learners in the study manipulated their own linguistic skills based on content or the context they found themselves in. Nckoko, *et al* (2000) found:

> The findings from this study indicate that the use of codeswitching by multilingual learners in multiracial primary schools has very specific aims, which may be either conscious or unconscious, on the part of the participants and that its occurrence is very frequent (239).

The conclusion of the study implored educators and policymakers to look into the inclusion of codeswitching in formal and informal education as it may be vital to the development of learners in a diverse country such as South Africa.

In a study conducted at Boland school by De Klerk (1995) the concept of a multilingual classroom and playground became a reality. The school which, at the time, had an 85% Afrikaans speaking student population developed a means to incorporate codemixing during

formal lessons. This decision was made based on previous findings which indicated that "the maintenance of the and development of the first language was of fundamental importance" (De Klerk, 1995: 29). Teachers were encouraged to move freely between English and Afrikaans and learners encouraged to respond in the language of their choice which displayed the ease students felt in the classroom knowing that they could and would be able to switch to the language variety of their choice when they got stuck on a particular piece of work, and that this would be accepted by their educators. De Klerk (1995) also indicates that after a complete school year, educators and learners alike deemed the bilingual programme successful as they stressed the importance of a strong foundation in their first language, Afrikaans. Thus, English became a scaffolding for the school to "strengthen the children's grounding in Afrikaans" (De Klerk, 1995: 30).

The key lessons derived from this explorative study is the importance of adjusting language attitudes and ideologies that may exist within the institution, be it amongst learners or staff (De Klerk, 1995). This includes being open and willing to exposing all strengths and weaknesses one may possess in the language (varieties). Aside from the fact that support in the form of training, and facilitation is crucial to the successful implementation of bilingual (or multilingual) programmes, there should also be an awareness of the fact that such a programme requires the cooperation for the entirety of the school day, across all subjects or activities. Furthermore, Cummins (1986) stressed the importance of including parents or guardians in language programmes, allowing learners to view them in the same positive light they view their educators in, inevitably changing the perception they have of themselves and their home language. This could be done by giving parents roles and duties to perform such as storytelling or interpreting in the classroom (cited in De Klerk, 1995).

According to Robb (1995) language development is a one of the primary goals of early childhood development, therefore in an ideal setting the "participatory, interactive,

democratic, activity-based, experiential education found in preschools creates an ideal language-learning environment" (16). It is fundamental for the ECD centre to be the place where the learner's home language is supplemented rather than be ousted by the language of instruction. Moreover, educators and parents of preschool learners ought to be aware of their own partialities towards particular language varieties spoken by the learner, paying careful attention to how these languages are referred to in the presence of the learner. In doing so the child realises that they are in an open space which allows for self-expression. There are a few key changes as noted by Robb (1995) which could be made by the adults in the child's life in order to foster this safe space:

- Creating a classroom or school environment where the child's home language is not deemed as problematic within that setting, thus using words in the home language(s) of the child or displaying posters with key words in said languages.
- Teachers ought to be aware that many things may get lost in translation, therefore the child may not immediately comprehend what is being shared. The context should be such, that the child may feel at ease when approaching their teacher to express their confusion and doubt.
- The physical setting of most ECD centres tend to have the same key layout plan. In the "fantasy corner" which encourages imaginative play, the child should find items from their own daily lives and backgrounds, be it foodstuffs that are widely consumed in their culture or dolls with names that are popularly found in their culture, dressed in traditional clothing items.
- Using free play time as an opportunity to discuss the games and offer translation on what they are about would also be of great aid to the multilingual ECD centre.

- Likewise, creative arts periods are the ideal time to be inclusive of various music genres and/characters reflecting the various cultures represented in the classroom.

"Multilingualism in preschools is a thoroughly worthwhile goal which would enable all South Africa's children to benefit from increased communication skills and cognitive flexibility" (Robb, 1995: 22). In the South African context ECD learners should be encouraged to be as creative with their language use as possible, this is particularly crucial as they are at the stage where the importance of an English education is stressed, and their home languages are often viewed as a hindrance.

3.4 Language and Social Inequality

The social inequality that pertains to language use is an important factor to consider when studying language use in various contexts. Phillips (1983) drawing on the studies conducted by Hymes (1973) indicates that not all languages (varieties) are equal; "Hymes stresses the coercive and power-laden forces through which some languages and forms of talk thrive or decline, so that while people voluntarily take up and discard forms of talk, they also are forced to do so" (1983: 474). It is in this study that Hymes indicates that opting to use certain linguistic varieties more than others is a natural part of the human condition, it is in this fashion that a language gains power and speakers, sometimes simultaneously. When a language loses speakers, it inevitably loses functionality.

There are various ways in which society promotes one language above the other leading to the hierarchal system of language use, the notion of symbolic capital as put forward by Bourdieu (1977) is applicable in this regard. The concept highlights how specific languages carry greater cultural capital, opening up doors to well-paying jobs which may not be accessible to those who are unable to speak the language of prestige. It is based on this reason that a nation's education system will promote the language or dialect of prestige, emphasising

the socio-economic equality that exists in a nation based on language use of its citizens. Additionally, the concept of authoritative speech which refers to "…the idea that by speaking in a particular style which is highly valued and/or associated with authority, or by speaking from within a particular discourse genre that is authoritative or associated with authoritative people, a speaker is more persuasive, more convincing, and more attended to," (Phillips, 1983: 475) can be connected to the manner in which educational spaces have often pushed the direct method of language learning onto students, making them believe that they will not be heard if they do not speak the correct language variety. It is believed that this method is more persuasive in gaining new speakers as the authority figure often individuals in positions of power either socially or economically, in this case it would be the educator as an authority figure.

The struggle that some students face when entering a classroom or social space where they are expected to speak standard English, often a second or third language to them, is rooted in the fact that most have not been regularly exposed to English or the standard variety of English outside of that context. According to Philips (1983) several studies conducted in schools in the USA indicates how learners have often been regarded as succeeding or failing by their educators based largely on their ability or inability to use the chosen variety of English in the classroom interactions. One finds that the teacher often does not correct a student who blatantly struggles to express themselves in English nor do they assist the learner in reaching the correct answer. "…teachers fail to ratify students' responses…" (Phillips, 1983: 479) which is a method of failing to acknowledge the speaker and their response, in some classroom context speaking the incorrect variety or language may also lead to further rebuke or punishment in other cases. A very important point highlighted in the discussion around social inequality and language is that:

> all students enter the classroom as equals in the sense that no student is more or less subject than any other to the control of turns and questions by the teacher. But they become differentiated through the process of ratification in which some students' turns at talk are validated and incorporated more than others (Phillips, 1983: 480).

The injustice that occurs is often linked to second and third language English speakers who are often challenged by the language barrier and are not given ample resources to assist them in making sense of the very new and different language to which they are being exposed. The lack of attention being paid to these learners, by failing to ratify them in a respectful manner creates a suppressive ideology amongst learners in that space, they become conscious of the language hierarchy which exists in the educational space. It is therefore vital that the multilingual learner be afforded the opportunity to speak the languages in their repertoire without judgement and be given positive reinforcement which will encourage them to delve deeper into the language.

a) 3.4.1 Language Hierarchy

Weber and Horner (2012) cited in Dyers (2015) attest to the fact that language hierarchy is one of the most common ideologies held by individuals in any given multilingual society. This concept is useful in the case of this research as the school space is significantly diverse, ethnically, socially, and linguistically. Standardised and categorised languages tend to be at the top of the hierarchy, with dialects and other varieties being lower on the scale. When a language becomes an official one and even more so when they become languages of wider communication, they tend to skyrocket to the top of the hierarchy. It is evident in many areas that the language an individual use carries a great deal of social power. As previously indicated, English is a common lingua franca and this is evident in the South African context, it is therefore a language one can easily regard as being to be at top of the hierarchy.

b) 3.4.2 Dialogic Places

Building on Fishman (1971) argument of language being used in domains, the concept indicates that speakers opt to use a particular language in a specific. However, in a more progressive method, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) introduced the concept of dialogic places which leans towards the idea that multilingual individuals are likely to select their linguistic variety based on the dominant speakers in the conversation, if most of the speakers understand the L1, then that is the language that will be utilised most frequently throughout the conversation. This concept is relevant to the study as children are often skilful in their language use and they are aware of who they should be communicating with and what language (variety) they should be using. In this manner it may not be a matter of location or domain, but a matter of social context and who may be present in the communicative event.

c) 3.4.3 Language Purism

The concept of language purism is particularly relevant as it is the reason behind the rigid method of L2 education, the perception that the L1 and L2 cannot be used simultaneously or side by side in order to teach, the direct method of language learning is commonly enforced in the school setting and may even hold true in early childhood education. This ideology also specifies that there is a right and wrong way to use language, a good and bad form of language usage. It is this ideology that creates an inflexible teaching space and may result in a greater level of anxiety in the learner who struggles to connect the L2 to their first language in order to make sense of the work.

3.5 Translanguaging

The concept of translanguaging is essential to this study and is one that has been discussed in the literature review above. "The term translanguaging refers to pedagogical practices in bilingual classrooms in which two languages are purposefully and strategically used to support children's literacy development in both languages as children use their stronger language as scaffolding to understand a text in their weaker language" (Creese and Blackledge, 2010 cited in Song, 2016: 88-89). There is an often an overlap between the concepts of translanguaging and code-switching as both are linked to the simultaneous use of two or more linguistic varieties in a single interaction, although the concept of translanguaging could be regarded as broader. Vaish and Subhan (2015) elaborates on the preference for the latter concept; "…not only due to the variety of communicative modes that translanguaging includes: listening, speaking, reading, and writing but also due to the linked nature of these modes" (2015: 340). Translanguaging in this regard relates to the methods that can be incorporated in the classroom in order to increase the probability of learners understanding the task they are to complete, as well as have a firm understanding of the target language, this would be done by making use of the learner's home language at certain points of the lesson.

Successful inclusion of the home language in order to teach the target language could create a less stressful learning and teaching environment and result in more effective lessons as the learner would be given more freedom to experiment with the languages they have in their repertoire. "Translanguaging includes codeswitching (…) and it also includes translation, but it differs from both these simple practices in that it refers to the process in which bilingual students make sense and perform bilingually in the myriad ways of classrooms – reading, writing, taking notes, discussing, signing, and so on," (Garcia and Sylvan, 2011: 389) it is therefore a more relevant concept in the case of this study. The act of translanguaging is a

strategic one utilised for a specific purpose and applied by the speaker in a relevant situation it is therefore effective in language teaching, “translanguaging is a dynamic and transformative process of structuring and restructuring two languages across different modes in various contexts because two languages are intermingled in the processes and products of language use (Lu and Horner, 2012 cited in Song, 2016: 89). Most bilingual/multilingual individuals partake in the act of translanguaging without their knowledge, it is therefore an unconscious performance of one’s identity and portrays the skills of the speaker.

Translanguaging can be used to the benefit of the learner if it they are allowed free rein to make sense of the classroom content in the language of their choice. However, it can also be used to the detriment of the learner if it is used as a means of exclusion. The study intends to draw on the concept of translanguaging as a beneficial tool for teachers and learners alike. Additionally, translanguaging is not to be limited to the classroom context but could be an effective in the home environment if parents and caregivers incorporate it into the daily routine the learner will likely have a greater success with becoming fluent in their target language whilst maintaining their L1 or home language.

Studies have demonstrated that bilingual children’s language use is inherently characterized by transitions from one language to another across different modes and different types of texts across home, school, and other contexts. Children transform, reorganize, and renegotiate their two languages and discourses from different social/cultural contexts in their interactions. Through code-switching and translating, bilingual children create new ways of engaging in literacy activities. Bilingual students’ language use can strengthen their language and literacy development in both their heritage language and the major language at school.

It is based on this reason that translanguaging is a concept that should be shoved into the limelight as far as education in a diverse nation such as South Africa is concerned, the

concept highlights the need for an inclusive education that reflects the dynamics of the country.

3.6 Linguistic Citizenship

The concept of linguistic citizenship is relevant to this study as it was created specifically for the global south as a de-colonial concept and puts forward the idea that "…language falls firmly within citizenship discourses, and that it is the very medium whereby citizenship is enacted and performed" (Stroud, 2009: 217). The concept first emerged as an alternative to Linguistic Human Rights (LHR), framework that according to Stroud and Heugh (2004) cited in Rampton, Cooke and Holmes (2018: 3) was insufficient and problematic as:

a) the LHR approach marginalises people who use non-standard versions of the group's language, generating new socio-linguistic inequalities.

b) it promotes an arbitrary and essentialist view of language and ethnicity – it creates artificial boundaries between ways of speaking that are actually continuous, and it overlooks mixing and hybridity.

c) it appeals to a rather top-down and managerial politics; it presupposes membership of a single state; and it neglects population mobility. It isn't well adapted to the fact that "individuals now find themselves participating in a variety of sites in competition for resources distributed along multiple levels of scale, such as the nation, the supranation, the local and the regional." (Stroud 2010:200).

In this manner, the improved take on LHR, linguistic citizenship, suggests that marginalised groups are often prohibited from using their voice in the manner that they see fit as it is often deemed unsuitable for the context, they find themselves in, alienating these groups even further. Understanding that language does in fact position individuals in society should be a positive thing that creates a dialogue and increases democratic participation (Rampton *et al*, 2018: 2). Through alternative methods of language use, marginalised citizens express various

aspects of their identity and when they are prevented from doing this, their own agency is stifled.

> Approaching linguistic practices form the vantage point of linguistic citizenship entails rethinking the relationships of power underlying particular practices and understandings of language(s), such as who may decide what a language is, which speakers are legitimate, etc… (Williams and Stroud, 2015 : 6-7).

Furthermore, the concept encourages one to analyse how language use amongst citizens has the ability to affect their place or standing within that particular society, it may affect whether a citizen is a member of an in-group or an out-group.

As discussed, the notion of linguistic citizenship could be applied to this in questioning whether pre-school learners are citizens, whether they have agency with regard to their language use and what this means for the early childhood education system. A learner from a marginalised or previously disadvantaged group opting to utilise their L1 in a classroom setting may be chastised for their decision when this is not part of the pre-school's language policy. An individual, in this case a learner, may perform their identity through their language use and the creative manner in which they utilise language at this stage of their development.

The idea that learners or children in general can be regarded as citizens seems to be an obvious one, however in spaces such as the school or classroom, they are often directed on their language practices, often told how to and when to use whichever language varieties they use and this brings their agency into question, do children have linguistic citizenship or are they at the mercy of a greater system, albeit the language policies of the schools and country they find themselves in.

Rampton *et al* (2018: 4) highlight the key points make up the concept of linguistic citizenship and would produce the best results:

a) putting democratic participation first, emphasising cultural and political 'voice' and agency rather than just language on its own.

b) seeing all sorts of linguistic practices – including practices that were mixed, low-status or transgressive – as potentially relevant to social and economic well-being, accepting that it is very hard to predict any of this if you are just watching from the centre.

c) stressing the importance of grassroots activity on the ground, often on the margins of state control, outside formal institutions.

The nucleus of the concept is that it emphasises the importance of acknowledging the fact that language is a "site of struggle" and that respect for diversity and difference is essential, it also encourages the dismantling of essentialist ideas of language and language practices (Stroud, 2001: 353). It is essential that all linguistic varieties are acknowledged within formal spaces, and this should be done at grassroots level i.e., the pre-school where children's identities are shaped significantly and their ideologies about language, particularly the languages they use are formed.

> Stroud's 2001 discussion of Linguistic Citizenship centres more on the taking of control over language education programmes than on what these programmes actually teach (…) But if the practices that promote democratic participation and persuasive voices from the grassroots are to sustain themselves, it is vital to consider the organisation of institutionalised arenas for learning and socialisation that are at least partly sheltered from the front-line struggle (Rampton *et al*, 2018: 7).

Clearly, respect should be given to speakers of indigenous languages and diversity should be viewed as a positive thing in all spheres of society as this will empower locals, but this does not necessarily happen. Societies have been known to ostracize certain members based on a

range of issues although they are “citizens” these include ethnicity, gender, and language. The theory itself was developed due to the visible the inaccuracies and contradictions which exist in the educational programmes offered in the global South, which means South African educational context is a prime example of this.

According to Stroud (2017:14) “linguistic citizenship as a transformative politics deconstructs vulnerable identity ascriptions layered into languages and the structural mechanisms of their maintenance. In so doing, it also carries the potential to deconstruct arbitrary divisions between groups in favour of broad coalitions that cut across linguistically based groupings in the interests of a larger, more comprehensive and inclusive strategy.” One could surmise that at its core, linguistic citizenship creates cohesiveness amongst various linguistic groups and opens the door to unity. It allows marginalised individuals to share one another’s language, no longer seeing the differences, instead noticing the likenesses in their linguistic varieties. This is based on the how most languages in the global south have gone through periods of turmoil in an effort to maintain them. Reference can be made to the selected research site where several indigenous language and varieties are spoken. When learners move from language use to “languaging” (Swain, 2006) or treating the languages in their repertoire as one system where they freely move between these languages, they become citizens. It is a necessity that learners’ languages be recognised, as recognising their languages is a means of recognising the speaker and acknowledge what has been endured.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has offered a review of literature surrounding some of the key concepts based on this research area. Early Childhood Education and Development in South Africa consists significantly of learners from diverse backgrounds who enter a space where they are required to assimilate and prepare for the formal education system ahead of them. On the topic of multilingualism and a multilingual playground in particular, there are several factors that may

inhibit the development of the learner. This chapter further highlights the fact that research has been conducted according to Pratt's (1991) Linguistics of Contact or the Contact Zone Theory, building on linguistic concepts such as multilingualism and what it means in terms of this study and for this particular purpose. Multilingualism pertains to all individuals who speak more than two languages, including language varieties and dialects. In addition to this, it is key to note that proficiency in languages in terms of the individual's literacy level has no bearing on whether they are multilingual or not. Furthermore, it has been highlighted that the rapid rate of globalisation and rise of English as a lingua franca has led to the demand for English to be used as a medium of instruction in formal spaces, this links us to subject of social justice.

Language and social justice are related, particularly in places where multilingualism is most common, South Africa is a prime example of this. In discussing concepts surrounding social justice one has to bear in mind the repugnant history in the chosen context, realising that some languages have and may still hold a certain degree of power and status in bureaucratic and/or formal spaces. This brings us to the concept of language hierarchy which details how, although all languages enjoy the same recognition in South Africa, they do not necessarily enjoy the same status. Additionally, the concept of linguistic citizenship is discussed and emphasized the importance of acknowledging the languages of marginalised groups. It stresses the importance of recognizing the plight of those whose voices have been silenced in the past, either by previous regimes or personal ideologies shaped by external forces.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION, AND DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the overview of the analytical framework for this study. In particular it offers a more nuanced look at ethnography, ethnographic monitoring, and thematic analysis. The chapter further takes a closer look at the type of research conducted, specifically how this has been carried out. Moreover, it will assess the study in terms of who the participants are and how they have been studied, sampled and how or according to which framework the data was eventually analysed. It will also discuss the ethical considerations, bearing in mind that the research is predominantly built around minors.

4.2 Ethnography

According to Dewan (2018) ethnography is a form of qualitative research and data collection that entails the researcher to both observe and analyse the behaviours of their participants aiming to understand the behaviour. It is important to note that behaviours could be shaped by the context the participant finds themselves in or by their own feelings.

This method is utilised primarily for this research and Hymes' view, which states that it is vital to understand what teachers seek to achieve and in doing so a climate of both reciprocity and cooperation, would be most beneficial in acquiring data. The preceding aspect emphasized by Hymes (1981) is that the ethnographic monitoring approach is inclusive, and children are studied alongside and within their social context, be it home, school and with their peers.

According to De Korne and Hornberger (2016) ethnography can be taken to the ultimate level in terms of the researcher not merely observing but attempting to "monitor positive and negative changes and contribute to evaluation and improvement in relation to local goals"

(248). In other words, ethnographic monitoring may remove any preconceived notions that may exist about a group or an individual speaker, it may also highlight both encouraging and undesirable practices in the same light without prejudice. The overall aim is that "researchers engaging in ethnographic monitoring will not have a pre-determined agenda or recipe for social change, but through observation and interpretation may arrive at evaluations of the successes and failures of the context in question and help to identify appropriate ways to respond to them (De Korne and Hornberger, 2016: 256). Inevitably, through ethnographic monitoring, the researcher's objective would be to offer insight as well as drawing attention to inequalities in hopes of bringing about change.

Therefore, a fundamental aspect of Hymes' ethnographic monitoring is that it ought to be beneficial to all involved, be it the research or the participants. In the educational context, the process should seek to amplify the voices of those who have been silenced by various factors, including minority group injustices. "Hymes sees the purpose of an ethnographic mode of inquiry into education as one that should be compatible with both the demands of knowledge and the demands of cooperation" (Van Der Aa and Blommaert, 2011: 322-323). In other words, there should be a requirement for the knowledge being brought forward by the study in question, as well as an intent to share the newfound knowledge with teachers or stakeholders. Conclusively, ethnographic monitoring stresses the importance of "re-centering" the research on the child(ren) being studied instead of simply defining general difficulties

Van der Aa and Blommaert (2015) highlight the basic aspects of the Hymes ethnographic monitoring method, they summarise it in (4) points which are as follows: "(1) First, ethnographers consult social actors to identify what issues concern them most (the 'other's position). (2) A second step is to observe behavior relevant to that issue in a series of contexts in and out of the centre (contrasted with observer's position). (3) The third step is to share

back our findings with the centre personnel, and the clients in as far as possible (instant feedback and uptake). (4) Taking stock (evaluating 'effect') (2015: 3)." Thus, the outcome of the research would lead to concrete solutions or at the very least, an idea of what the issues are and how they can be resolved. It is imperative for ethnographic monitoring to have a positive impact about the study.

One could therefore suggest that the significance of becoming a participant and not simply observing from a distance is stressed by Hymes' (1981) method and it is deemed as action research. Through this approach, the aim is for all stakeholders to become comfortable to such a point that the research equipment becomes invisible and that they may behave in a natural manner, engaging in their linguistic repertoires as they usually would. The main aim of this approach is that the institution becomes (if it is not) an environment where learners are free to be creative and may be able find themselves in a space where they have positive ideas about language(s).

Hymes (1980) emphasized three essential purposes of ethnographic monitoring, Hornberger (2014: 5) summarised them as follows: "firstly, description of current communicative conduct in programs; secondly, analysis of emergent patterns and meanings in program implementation; and thirdly, evaluation of the program and policy in terms of social meanings, specifically with regard to countering educational inequities and advancing social justice."

On the first point, could derive that Hymes intends for researchers or ethnographic monitors to give a voice to students and teachers alike, exploring and interpreting their "communicative conduct" in an accurate manner and further analysing "what varieties of language, features of language are being used *for* and to what effect" (Hymes 1980: 113).

The second point indicates the necessity for researchers to probe the current patterns visible within the institution and what this indicates. One could also suggest that he finds it crucial to

assess the cases of those who appear to be finding it challenging to reach their milestones and what is being said about them in that space.

According to Hornberger (2014: 6) the final purpose relates to the process of "evaluating the effects and consequences of the program and of the policy as a whole." In this area the researcher would take a closer look at issues surrounding inequality in the space, largely derived from policies set in place socially or politically. It is here where researchers would note social justice issues in the form of othering of those who underperform for whatsoever reason.

Ethnographic analysis therefore uses an iterative process in which cultural ideas that arise during active involvement "in the field" are transformed, translated, or represented in a written document. It involves sifting and sorting through pieces of data to detect and interpret thematic categorisations, search for inconsistencies and contradictions, and generate conclusions about what is happening and why (Thorne, 2000: 69).

4.3 Purpose of an ethnographic study in this context.

There are various motives for selecting an ethnographic data collection method in this particular context, but the fact that the participants are minors under the age of 7 plays a major role. The reasons for selecting this specific school or educational centre have been discussed in a previous section and one could add that the physical and social context of the school calls for one to be conscious of the needs of these participants. There is a necessity to allow the learners to be as unrestricted as possible, allowing them to act in a natural manner as they would do on a regular school day and not making the presence of the researcher an invasive one. In order to ensure that the data is accurate as possible, the learners had to continue their normal language practices, peel off into their respective cliques or linguistic groups.

Inevitably, the ultimate intent behind the research is to explore the language practices in a diverse multilingual learning environment (a reality across South Africa) and in doing so provide an indication of how ECD learners creatively use their linguistic varieties to communicate with those around them (including peers and superiors), make sense of what is taking place around them and to learn the required content. The research aims to depict how learners negotiate their identity in light of the language systems and/or policies that may exist in a particular space. The hopes are that this research could be added to existing knowledge of early childhood multilingualism.

4.4 Thematic Analysis

"Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). The themes to be emphasised would align with the research questions which fuel the study.

The positive aspects of thematic analysis include the fact that it is flexible and can therefore be used across a broad range of research methodologies. The method is relatively simple and could be utilised by most researchers regardless of their level of experience. Finally, thematic analysis is moderately unpretentious, making it easy to interpret by the reader (Braun, 2011). Thematic narrative analysis requires the researcher to formulate or establish the main idea and develop the narration with further detail as they proceed. The researcher would therefore point out the key themes which emerged during data collection and further elaborate by offering examples of this.

Thematic analysis has six phases:

- Phase 1: Familiarising Yourself with The Data – During this initial stage, the researcher immerses themselves in the data they have collected by reading and

annotating the transcribed data (this goes for handwritten notes or surveys). The researcher would pay close attention to audio or video recordings and note what the participant is feeling, thinking, or experiencing. “The aim of this phase is to become intimately familiar with your data set’s content and to begin to notice things that might be relevant to your research question” (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 61). These notes may take any form and need not follow a particular order or format.

- Phase 2: Generating Initial Codes – According to Braun & Clarke (2012) codes can be otherwise referred to as “labels” for data relating to the research question. These codes are either concealed (latent) or semantic. Latent codes would offer an interpretation beyond that of the participant’s meaning, they are therefore conceptual. On the contrary, semantic codes describe or offer an account of a portion of data, summarising the participant’s meaning. “Codes are succinct and work as shorthand for something you, the analyst, understands; they do not have to be fully worked-up explanations…” (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 61).

- Phase 3: Searching for Themes – Themes search for a something of significance within the data set, displaying a sequence within the responses by participants. During this phase, the analyst would review the codes, in search of likeness or overlap. Furthermore, the phase “involves the collapsing or clustering [of] codes that seem to share some unifying feature together…” (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 63). The result of this would be that the intricacy of the data would be exhibited.

- Phase 4: Reviewing Potential Themes – According to Braun & Clarke (2012) at this stage themes “are reviewed in relation to the coded data or entire data set” (65). One can surmise that during this phase a value check would be done to see if the theme serves a purpose. Themes would first be checked against gathered data in order to verify that it works or if some themes should be discarded, it would then require the

analyst to do a review by re-reading the data to confirm that themes function in relation to the research question.

- Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes – During this phase extracts are chosen and scrutinised with the purpose of creating a theme around them. "Each extract would provide a vivid, compelling example that clearly illustrates the analytic points you are making" (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 67). This is the phase during which the analyst will narrate the data to the reader. It is vital to explicitly illustrate what makes the data thought-provoking. Finally, the analyst would select a clear name for each theme that is both striking and appropriate.
- Phase 6: Producing the Report – The final phase is producing the piece of writing, be it the thesis or article. Qualitative research and thematic analysis are a continuous process where the analyst analyses and writes the report simultaneously. According to Braun & Clarke (2012) "the purpose of your report is to provide a compelling story about your data based on your analysis" (69). This story should be written in an intellectual fashion, being both concise and multifaceted. There should be a clear and coherent link between the themes.

In conclusion, thematic analysis as all forms of analysis can be executed well or poorly it is important to create themes based on the responses of the participants and not necessarily based on the research questions. Themes should not try too hard or be too complex but should not be simple either. The key is to provide sufficient and coherent evidence to support the claims made.

4.5 Research Design

The approach selected for this study is a form of qualitative analysis. According to Bechhofer (1974) with qualitative analysis "the research process (..) is not a clear-cut sequence of procedures following a neat pattern, but a messy interaction between the conceptual and

empirical world, deduction and induction occurring at the same time" (cited in Bryman and Burgess, 2002: 2). Qualitative analysis is largely based around the exploration of perspectives, behaviours, and feelings of people.

This consists of various methods of data collection, one of these being ethnographic monitoring. As discussed in the previous section ethnographic monitoring requires the researcher to become an active participant while collecting data. In this regard, the researcher is required to view both negative and positive actions by the participants through an objective lens, even actions which may be deemed disagreeable by some, the researcher's aim is to bring about positive change. Fieldwork is one aspect of qualitative research that will be explored in this study, the cores of fieldwork highlighted by Agar (1980: 13) pertains to how the researcher ought to immerse themselves in the lives of their participants, adopting an "open-ended approach to the full range of information and to all manner of people" thus being aware of the fact that "the people who are the subject of study are themselves free to volunteer their concerns in their own voice and context" (cited in Okely, 2002: 20). In this study which is based around the experiences and perspectives of children, it is vital to allow the participants to lead and grant them the freedom to be their authentic selves. The learners have therefore permitted to express their thoughts and opinions on the research process.

4.6 Data Collection Technique

Ethnography is a form of participant observation which falls under the qualitative research category. Van Der Aa and Blommaert (2011: 321) state that:

> Participant-observation has always been a part of ethnography, but it is crucial to extend this into a cooperative effort at the level of communication throughout our involvement, to bridge the "timing and sequencing" problem, also raised by Erickson (1979:183). In other words: if we want "school people" to be more observant as participants then we must become more participating as observers (2011: 321).

It is therefore vital to this study that the researcher be involved to the point where they are no longer deemed an observer by the participants, this is done by interacting with the participants in a natural manner.

It should be noted that "the ethnographic approach can go beyond tests and surveys to document and interpret the social meaning of success and failure to bilingual education" (Hymes 1980: 117). This means that the research should offer clarity on the social issues surrounding bilingual (or in this case multilingual) education, offering insight into the politics surrounding the failure rate by analysing the manner in which learners behave and their experiences in the institution. It will not merely offer numbers, but it is descriptive as well. It can therefore be stated that the study hopes to provide an insider perspective on language use amongst ECD learners in the learning space. As with most ethnographic studies, primary data will be extracted at the research site, with the data being textual in nature.

4.7 Site Visits

In commencing with the overall study, two site visits were conducted in order to inspect the site, build solidarity, become familiarised with the site and the learners, and collect the required data. It also introduced all the major players, in terms of who has the greatest influence on the learners in this space. These were found to be: the principal, teachers, the young (mostly European) volunteers who remain for 3-6 months and the school caretaker who is fluent in a number of languages and therefore able to communicate with a number of learners. The first site visits occurred in July 2018, during this time it was decided that the Grade R classrooms would be selected for the study. The final study occurred in 2019 and 2020, therefore the learners who eventually became research participants were not present during the initial site visit as those learners entered primary school.

In conducting the inspections prior to the data collection, it aided the researcher in selecting an appropriate data collection method, thus participant observation, fieldnotes and interviews were selected. In accordance with the ethical considerations of the University of the Western Cape, informed consent was obtained in order to proceed with data collection.

At the onset of the study which consisted of three three-hour visits to the school, all the classrooms were visited in order to make the selection process easier. Some key things were noted during this period; (1) it became clear that excessive recording and fieldnotes would not be suitable in this context, therefore only a few interactions or what appeared to be significant moments were to be recorded; (2) it also became clear that learners' behaviour would change when they became aware of a recording device and according to the ethical considerations, when working with children who are active research participants, they should be made aware and should permit to being recorded. It is due to these findings that a few changes were made during the study that may not have been highlighted during the initial proposal.

It was decided that research would be conducted during the morning session in the grade-R classroom number one. The morning session follows the morning ring, and it is here where the teacher gives a lesson meant to improve on mathematical skills of the learners. During this period learners are often randomly selected and asked questions pertaining to the current or previous lesson, this is an opportunity for the learners to share their own knowledge or understanding of the topic.

During the inspections and early visits to the classrooms, it became clear that English is the medium of instruction at the school. It was therefore decided that the research would look into how and when teachers might code-mix or creatively (albeit consciously) switch between the languages in their own repertoire. It was also decided that the research would look into

the language ideologies held by the staff at the school. A few key decisions were made during the visits to the site:

- The classroom selected for this study would be a Grade-R classroom, simply because learners in this age group are preparing for formal schooling and are on the brink of their academic career.
- It is vital to conduct interviews with the staff, which includes the caretaker who has an extensive linguistic repertoire, the German volunteers who have daily interactions with the learners, the class teacher, and the principal.
- Fieldnotes should be taken, alongside video recordings and unstructured interviews or conversations should be conducted with the learners.
- It is important to select key moments for recordings i.e., whilst learners are completing their worksheets, having lessons.
- During informal sessions i.e., lunch or outdoor play etc. it should be observed how learners interact with their peers in comparison to how they communicate in the classroom
- It was noted that this particular classroom has an extensive mix of learners, coming from the Cape Flats communities, as well as the farming communities and the continent as a whole.
- It is important to allow the learners to approach the researcher and be open to communication, in other words, become a participant and not merely an observer.

The inspections of the site were crucial as it gave a clearer image of the setup at the school and allows time to adjust the intended angle and the aims of the study. The site visits also gave an idea of the demographic of the learners and aided the decision-making process with regards to selecting a suitable location for the type of study to be conducted. All things

considered it was decided that the school would be perfect for the study as it has the diversity required to explore the creative use of language in a South African ECD centre.

4.8 Population and Sample

The purposive sampling technique was used in this study where it was decided what information is required and who will be able to offer that information. "Purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. It is a nonrandom technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of informants." (Tongco, 2007: 147). Considering this, the Grade R classroom was selected for the study as these learners are primarily fluent speakers of their native language and/or an additional linguistic variety.

In Grade R the learners are in an exciting position as they are about to end their pre-school career and graduate into formal primary schooling. The classroom consists chiefly of black learners (Southern and West African) with Coloured[1] learners, all who come from the Cape Flats or surrounding farming community. All participants are between 5-6 years old at the time of the study.

In addition, the teacher and principal were observed and interviewed during formal lessons and during specific activities to determine how they relate to and interact with learners who come from a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds, what ideologies they may hold and how they have designed their classrooms based on these factors. The interviews were semi-structured. Throughout the research process, field notes were used as a methodology. This method became particularly useful in spaces where it became unsuitable to use audio recordings.

[1] 'Coloured' is an Apartheid racial category which refers to people of mixed (mostly indigenous South African and Asian or European) lineage.

4.9 Research Strategy

The strategy in conducting this research was to follow Hymes' model of Ethnographic monitoring and present data that accurately depicts how learners in the ECD centre consciously and unconsciously make use of all the languages in their repertoire in order to communicate.

In order to extract data, there had to be a level of familiarity between the learners and the researcher, or at the very least, as sense of ease between them. Therefore, the aforementioned research site was inspected, and learners were introduced to the researcher. Similarly, staff members also introduced to the researcher and informed about the project. Thus, the appearance of the researcher became commonplace and not an extraordinary or unwelcome presence at the site.

The following was to be the strategy for extracting data:

a) Once a rapport was created between staff, learners, and the researcher it became opportune to commence with field notes. Field notes are a focal point of ethnography as they are made by the researcher throughout the process of data collection and could include information about; (1) the physical context of the research site such as the conditions including the weather, and other factors, (2) the social context which includes details about the individuals at the site and their interactions (Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein, 1997).

Field notes are also ideal in contexts where it may be deemed inappropriate to make audio or visual recordings which is where it was utilised most.

b) Visual recordings were selected as the most ideal method of data collection as the research included the entire class and not a select number of learners. It would therefore be more difficult to get the broad impression of what occurs in the classroom without visual recordings.

c) Interviews do what participant observation cannot. Therefore, interviews are significant in this study.

4.10 Research Equipment

The main equipment used to record the interactions within the classroom, was a voice recording device alongside lapel microphones which aided in clarity of sound. Detailed field notes were made, and participant observation conducted during formal lessons and free play using a notepad or mobile phone. As expressed, the aim was for the research participants to feel comfortable enough to behave naturally, therefore the equipment was used with their knowledge, in a covert manner. To avoid the disruption, the researcher assumed a role as a teacher's aide who assisted the teacher with minor tasks i.e., handing out worksheets, serving lunch or playing games.

4.11 Data Collection Procedure

The data for this study was collected at Philippi Children's Centre an ECD centre in Philippi, Cape Town. The focus was largely centred on how learners use the language(s) in their repertoire to communicate with one another, bearing in mind that there are a significant number of linguistic varieties spoken by the learners in the classroom. By regularly visiting the school and spending the complete school day with the learners, a sense of familiarity was created amongst learners and researcher(s). Thus, learners felt contented enough to go about their day as usual, allowing the researcher to observe with ease.

It should also be noted that the participant observation method required the researcher to be actively involved in the learner's doings and not merely an onlooker, therefore the researcher(was available to assist during the daily routine i.e., to observe creative and free play activities, lunch time and outdoor playtime, amongst other things.

During these periods, data was collected from the conversations with and amongst learners. This was done with an audio recording device, mobile phone video and via fieldnotes which

were made between activity transitions. The learners' interactions with one another, their teachers, or other staff, as well as with the researcher were logged.

Additionally, data was collected via unstructured interviews with the teacher and principal of the ECD Centre. The purpose of two data collection techniques is to reach the data that may have been inaccessible during the participant observation segment, including personal assessments and principles.

4.12 Ethical Considerations

To make sure that privacy was maintained, and permission freely granted, both educators and guardians were made aware of what the research entailed and what it aimed to do. The abovementioned individuals received consent forms and information sheets which gave complete clarity on what was to be carried out. These consent forms were made available in all three major languages. Assent forms were also made available to ensure that learners have granted permission. In addition, whilst little risk was expected, participants were made aware of the fact that if they felt any discomfit or distress, the line of questioning would be stopped immediately, and the subject changed. Moreover, all participants were informed that a counsellor would be made available if required. Additionally, it was made abundantly clear that they could withdraw from the study at any stage and that their identities and that of their children would be protected and not be made public. The study was particularly sensitive as it relates to minors between the ages of 4-6.

There are various schools of thought which view the children in a diverse way based primarily on their role in the study, examples of these are viewing the child as; (1) the subject, (2) the object, (3) the social actor. Often researchers have combined the aforementioned constructed around their preferences, leading to a range of ethical matters. An ethical perspective where the child is viewed as a subject would cause for concern as it could be viewed as archaic.

> This is exemplified in researchers being suspicious of children's trustworthiness and doubtful of their ability to give and receive factual information. Children are perceived as incompetent and accordingly unable to understand the idea of the research, lacking the ability to consent to it or have a voice in its design, implementation and interpretation" (Christensen and Prout, 2002: 480).

In this school of thought the adult (be it the parent, teacher, or researcher) would make the decisions surrounding the child's participation in the study. Similarly, the school of thought which views the child as the object requires the researcher to make the decisions based on the development level of the child. "…within this orientation a child's involvement in research is conditioned by judgements about their cognitive abilities and social competencies (…). This approach will commonly use age-based criteria in inclusion or exclusion of particular children and when adopting particular methodological techniques" (Christensen and Prout, 2002: 481).

Based on the analytical methodology, the ethical approach selected is built around viewing the child as a social actor. The perception that children are to be viewed as active citizens and given the opportunity to be involved in the research is relatively new. According to Christensen and Prout (2002):

> This perspective has support in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), especially those sections emphasizing children's participation rights. The CRC underlines that all activities (including research) that affect children's lives have to build on seeing children as fellow human beings and as active citizens. It promotes the idea that children be involved, informed, consulted, and heard (481).

The child being permitted to have their own voice does however create complications that were not experienced with previous approaches. What it does indicate is that children are to be treated in the same fashion as adult research participants, they are autonomous and there are no separate set of ethical considerations simply because they are minors.

Age and level of maturity has often been used as a factor to discriminate: ". . our concept of such qualities should not influence ways of approaching children in social science research. It should be open to empirical investigation to explore the significance of age and status within different contexts and situations, to explore 'doing' rather than 'being'" (Solberg, 1996: 63–4). It is, however, not advisable that all children be co-researchers, the final decision should be based on a variety of deliberations after closely analysing the children and considering their different experiences and capabilities. There are factors such as race, age, gender, socio-economic conditions, and language which affect a child's overall experience that would depict whether the child is a suitable co-researcher. It is therefore crucial for the researcher to share the child's story and have an open dialogue with the child throughout the research process.

Based on the aforementioned factors, the ethical considerations for this study required both consent for their parent/guardian figures in the child's life, as well as assent forms which indicated that the learners were aware of the study.

4.13 Summary

At the onset, the chapter has dealt with the analytical framework, a directive for how the collected data would be analysed. An outline of what an ethnography consists of was provided and ethnographic monitoring in particular, the central research methodology for this study was elaborated on. Furthermore, thematic analysis a flexible analytical tool was discussed, this tool is easy to comprehend. Thematic analysis consists of six phases, the chapter explored these phases in greater detail.

This section provided information about the process of data collection. The researcher's strategy was introduced by, amongst other things, indicating how rapport was to be built between the researcher and various participants. Details about the crucial site visits was conveyed in significant detail.

As previously discussed, the study is ethnographic in nature and the aim was to explore through field notes visual and audio recordings, focus group discussions, interviews, and participant observation. This section provided the reasoning behind the use of these data collection strategies. The findings of the research and its implications will be explored in greater detail in a chapter to follow. The focus in this section was centred around the process of data collection and the complex steps involved in extracting the required data.

Additionally, this section provided detail about the population or sample that the research was based on and all the ethical deliberations that had to be considered in order to proceed with the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

MOTIVATIONS FOR TRANSLANGUAGING

5.1 Introduction

The chapter presents data relating to the notion of translanguaging. "Translanguaging is a new term which is very similar to and includes the practices of code-mixing and code-switching. It focuses more on the processes which people use in order to move back and forth between languages that they know and use in daily life" (Heugh, 2014: 14). The learners use all their knowledge of the various languages in their repertoire collectively in order to communicate. The data is presented in a thematic manner, in order to display the associations between various learner interactions and instructions by the teachers.

5.2 Context and Linguistic Profile

During a site visit on the 10th of October 2019 of which the purpose was to have informal discussions with the teacher and principal, as well as meet the learners, it was discovered that the studied classroom has a mixed population where learners come from the Cape Flats and surround. Primarily languages spoken are Kaaps (12) learners; IsiXhosa (20) learners. English is used as a Lingua Franca by fewer than half of the student population and the minority of students in English. There are (2) learners who might have a parent of African immigrant descent in the classroom, these learners may speak languages such as Shona, French, or Swahili alongside IsiXhosa. According to Ms White*[i] all learners understand English despite not being able to speak it.

> "--yes, they don't know how to express themselves, so they will answer you in IsiXhosa. But okay, then you will have that thing; okay you do know what I'm saying. Because if you ask somebody else, they'd say; this person is saying that-"

This indicates that during their period at PCC the learners have absorbed a significant amount of English, but they lack the confidence to communicate or have not spent enough time around English speakers outside of school.

5.3 Code Switching for Emphasis

During the observation period, both learners and educator(s) notably and seamlessly move between the languages in their repertoire. This was done for various purposes. Learners often made use of the languages at their disposal for emphasis when conversing with a peer with whom they shared a mutual language. Similarly, the educator would make use of the languages in their range if it were the same as that of the learner in order to emphasise what they have said.

The extract below follows an interaction that emerged after an impromptu farewell party for the German volunteers at the school, it was held in the school courtyard (appendix 3) and was attended by all learners and their teachers. Learners had the opportunity to dance, sing and take pictures with the volunteers. Most of the learners received a balloon, however there were some learners who did not get any.

Extract 5.3.1: Learner Playground Interaction (Coloured Boys, 2)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; Slang: Cambria

1. Jaden* : Give me a balloon!
2. Noah* : Ek hetie!

   I don't have!
3. Jaden: In your pockets.

   ((grabs Noah's trouser pockets))
4. Noah: Ek hetie!

   I don't have!

   ((runs off))

As displayed in the Extract Noah responds to Jaden's request in their mutual language of Kaaps. Noah is certain that he will be understood which is why, despite being spoken to in English he counters in Kaaps. Kaaps is the L1 of both speakers. The language is used in order to reiterate or emphasise previous statements. In turn 3 Jaden refutes the previous response, indicating that the understood the statement and opted not to accept it as fact. It is for this reason that he went a step further and tried to check for himself.

The extract that follows is based on the bathroom routine which the learners follow each day before having their lunch. This occurs during the latter part of the morning. Learners are instructed to line up at the door and wait for the teacher to hand them toilet paper and grant

them permission to go forth. This particular scene is after the teacher had instructed learners to go to the bathroom and after gazing outside the classroom, found them loitering outside instead.

Extract 5.3.2: Teacher-Learner Classroom Interaction (Coloured Woman 1; Coloured Boy 1)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; Slang: Cambria

1. Ms White: Toilet toe!

   To the toilet!

2. Ms White: Toilet toe!

   To the toilet!

3. Luke*: Ons gaan toilet toe [waves them over] kom.

   Come on, let us go to the toilet.

   ((facing his peers))

4. Class: ((collectively rushes to the toilet))

Extract 5.3.2 displays emphasis or reiteration in a different fashion. The statement by the teacher could be regarded as ambiguous, but due to the steadiness in her voice, the fact there is no rise in tone, which may have suggested that she is stating that the toilet is "closed." The teacher's instruction is given in Kaaps, a language in which she and ten other learners are fluent. She gives the instruction to a group of learners and is met with silence. The teacher reiterates her statement by using the same language, albeit in a sterner tone of voice. In turn 3 it is depicted that one learner in that group understood the instruction and relays the message to her peers, once again this is done in Kaaps. The learner proceeds to ready herself for the toilet routine and is followed by her peers. The teacher arguably unconsciously makes use of the languages in her repertoire as she is most likely aware of the fact that several learners will

understand, and the rest of the class will eventually pick up the language. As stated, the teacher is aware of the fact that the school has a language policy but draws on her own linguistic repertoire while class is in session.

"…*ja* okay sometimes with the Afrikaans I will speak to them in Afrikaans and then I will speak to them in English again. I will say the exact same thing in English."

It is evident that the teacher has confidence in the learners who speak Kaaps and knows that they will be able to follow the instruction, inevitably causing their classmates, in this case their group, to follow.

5.4 Code Switching for Clarification

There are several instances where learners and educator(s) move between languages in order to clarify or provide further elaboration on their statements. Due to the fact that learners at this school come from diverse backgrounds where they may not be exposed to the MoI of the school. As the teacher stated, the school has a language policy which they adhere to and they are not particularly keen on teaching language.

"We as Grade R's, our language policy is English. We strictly teach in English. We are not allowed to 'learn' them like they say you must teach them and learn them how to speak English, no-"

Despite this policy, there are several instances where learners use their own discretion and elect to utilise the language(s) they know best in order to make sense of things, they would do so for various functions, including to clear up any confusion.

The next extract is based on the popular game *rock, paper, scissors*. Upon completing their worksheets, the learners had some free time and grabbed this opportunity enjoy their

downtime. “This game brings fun to people of all ages and occasionally serves as a fair mechanism to resolve choice conflicts among friends or family members. There are three possible action choices: R (rock), P (paper) and S (scissors). Action R is better than S, which in turn is better than P, which in turn is better than R” (Zhou, 2015: 2). What makes this interaction fascinating is that the learners are multilingual, fluent in their L1, but not in English. However, due to the fact that hand gestures are incorporated into the game, the “language” of the game is easily interpreted by the learners.

Extract 5.4.1: **Learner Indoor Free Play interaction** (IsiXhosa boys 3)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; IsiXhosa: Comic Sans; Slang: Cambria

1. Siphiwe* and Lethabo*: ((commences a game of rock, paper, scissors))
2. Siphiwe: ((shakes fist, plays scissors))
3. Lethabo: ((shakes fist, plays paper))
4. Lethabo: ((tries to cover Siphiwe’s with his own))
5. Siphiwe: hayi, siskere!

   Not a pair of scissors!
6. Siphiwe: ((does a cutting gesture with his fingers))
7. Siphiwe: Hayi,eli liphepha.

   This is paper.
8. Siphiwe: ((opens palm))
9. Lethabo: ((nods))

Extract 5.4.1 displays the manner in which learners move to their mutual language or their L1in order to elaborate and aid their peers in better understanding the aim of the task or

activity. Siphiwe explains the rules of the game to Lethabo in IsiXhosa as this is their mutual language and doing so prevents any confusion. This is evident in the manner in which Lethabo reacts in Turn 9, he does not argue or dispute it. This means that there is a possibility that he did not comprehend the rules of the game initially, but by receiving embodied clarification in IsiXhosa he now has a better understanding. In the rules of the game, it indicates that scissors are better than paper. Lethabo played the paper and was under the impression that paper beats scissor which Siphiwe played, however Siphiwe made it clear in their L1 that it was in fact the other way around.

There are other instances where learners' ability to speak more than one language becomes a significant and welcomed tool in the school. The principal, Mrs Tlale*, suggests that there are instances where these skills are called upon in order to assist learners and educators alike and that there are specific learners who are called upon to translate.

> "He does, and even with us in the office, with the new children. When they come, we are just hoping and praying when they come. Now next year, at the beginning of the year, in each and every class we just call James* if we know that the child is a [foreign language] speaking child and then we don't understand what he is saying- and then where's James go call James, then he will just come. And the other child was crying the other day, the beginning of the year, we didn't even know what was going on. We were trying to do everything, and we just didn't know what to do anymore and then [he] just went to the child, spoke to the child, and the child was just hungry, but it was just before snack time. And then the child was so happy when the child was eating."

The full transcript of this conversation as attached in Appendix 2 highlights the fact that the multilingual learner is an asset to the school as even the office calls upon the learner to translate what monolingual (or learners who are still acquiring the MoI) battle to express.

Similarly, the teacher has indicated that the learners often assist one another amidst confusion about what a learner might be saying. Mrs White calls upon specific learners who she has identified as stronger speakers of both their L1 and the MoI:

> "…if I don't understand I will ask this person; do you know what he said now? And then he will translate to me. I will also do that, like tell this one; listen here what is he saying now? Or tell him I say this. If I see they don't understand-"

This suggests that learners are consciously moving between the languages at their disposal in order to assist the school and aid the process of learning and leaners are what Kerfoot and Nonjengele (2014) refer to as the "game changers" as mentioned in the literature review. On one occasion it was observed that a learner who had been given the task of handing out learners' backpacks during the lunch period completed the task completely in IsiXhosa. As previously indicated, 20 of the learners in this classroom are IsiXhosa speakers, making IsiXhosa the language of the majority. The learner may have known that the task would go much quicker if it were done in the L1 of the learners' present. The principal was present during this task and further communicated with learners in IsiXhosa. This further suggests that there is an ease with which the learners and educators use the languages in their repertoires indicating that this is a norm and is done fairly often. This confirms the findings of Makalela (2015) who indicated that teachers found that they were more successful when they adopted a translanguaging approach in the classroom, Vaish and Subhan (2015) made similar findings.

5.5 Code Switching for Chatter

There are instances where learners and educators and alike may consciously transition from one language to another in order to have private conversations or conversations that could be

deemed “gossip.” By consciously code-switching learners are aware of the fact that they would exclude (or possibly include) specific speakers.

The extract below is based on an interaction before lunchtime, this takes place around noon (appendix 3: figure 2). At this point the learners were seated at the table awaiting the school provided lunch and noticed they were being recorded on a mobile phone.

Extract 5.5.1: Learner lunchtime Indoor interaction (IsiXhosa girl 1; IsiXhosa Boy 1**)**

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; IsiXhosa: Comic Sans; Slang: Cambria

1. Lisa*: ((whispers to boy beside her))
2. Lisa: Ubonila iyarekhorda?

   You see it is recording?

   ((looks directly at camera and smiles))
3. Andile*: ((looks up at Lisa, then turns to the camera and smiles))
4. Lisa and Andile: ((laughing and waving at camera/researcher))

Extract 5.5.1 depicts a moment when two learners became aware of the fact that they are being recorded for this study. During this exchange Lisa communicates this to her peer whom she shares a table with. She alerts him of the fact that they are being recorded in their L1, IsiXhosa. Andile immediately acknowledges what she has said by looking directly at the camera. It appears as though they have a secret between them which would explain the giggles, smiles and waves. Lisa whispers to her peer, suggesting that she would like to be as discreet as possible. She also uses the L1 as a means of possibly excluding the researcher from the conversation and including Andile. As a researcher who is not fluent in IsiXhosa, be it written or spoken, is a setback in a space such as this where having a greater command of

the language would have been beneficial in various ways. One becomes aware of how intelligent ECD learners are as they had already picked up on the fact that by speaking IsiXhosa, they would be speaking a language that the researcher does not necessarily understand.

During a morning ring session where learners are required to complete a series of activities to enhance their cognitive and motor skills, there are instances where the learners communicate with their peers in their L1. Based on the reactions of their peers (ranging from laughter to arguments). At one stage a tussle occurred between two learners which we attempted to diffuse, but due to our limited (and nearly non-existent) knowledge of IsiXhosa this became a major challenge. Anele* indicated that they had a disagreement, caused by Terrance*. Terrance addressed Anele, ignoring the authority figures, in IsiXhosa. Terrance's decision to converse in his L1 in this context is a conscious act of code-switching in order to gossip, he is also aware of the fact that the teacher does not understand his L1. When Anele was questioned about what had been said to him, he indicated that Terrance had threatened to attack him at the end of the school day. This serves as an example of learners having an awareness and consciously opting to code-switch in order to exclude those (in this case the teacher and researcher) who would otherwise not understand IsiXhosa. In doing so Terrance had the opportunity to make a threat that would have gone unnoticed had Anele not been questioned about it.

The following extract is based on the same day as the extract 1, this was after the farewell party for the German volunteers had ended and learners were instructed to return to their playground and leave the courtyard area. The courtyard area (appendix 3: figure 1) is in the centre of the school, whereas the playground is in front of their classrooms which allows their teachers to supervise them with ease.

Extract 5.5.2: Teacher-Learner interaction (Coloured Woman 1; Coloured Boys 2)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; IsiXhosa: Comic Sans; Slang: Cambria

1. Ms White: ((sees learners in back courtyard by themselves))
2. Ms White: I said play in front!
3. Kaden*: ((addresses his classmate))
4. Kaden: Ôs moet nog an speel!

   We must keep playing!
5. Ms White: **Mister**, julle moet voo' speel!
6. Ms White: **Mister**, *you must play out front!*
7. Kaden: ((both Kaden and his classmate make their way to the playground out front))

In extract 5.5.2, a learner-educator interaction the teacher gives an instruction to learners who had been playing in the courtyard area (located behind the classroom) to instead play in the park, the area in front of the classroom where they would be visible. Kaden, under the impression that the teacher either does not hear them or does not understand, informs his peer (in Kaaps) that they are allowed to continue their play time in the courtyard area. The teacher who is fluent in Kaaps overhears this and although not agitated, firmly informs them, in Kaaps (codeswitching), that they are to play in the park out front which they do.

This interaction displays how Kaden used his L1 to have a, in his view, discreet conversation with his peer. What the boy did not anticipate is that the teacher would overhear and respond in his L1. By electing to respond in Kaaps the teacher reaches the learner on his level, in his own language. This might be a language of authority in the learner's daily life outside of school i.e., used by his guardians which might explain the immediate reaction and action from the learner. The likelihood that the learner misunderstood the teacher's instruction is

possible, but low. According to Ms White the learners often take chances in an attempt to see what they can achieve.

5.6 Summary

The chapter presented the motivations behind learners and educators' decision, albeit unknowingly, for translanguaging. The chapter explored three instances or common circumstances under which they opt to do so; this would be (i) for emphasis, (ii) for clarification, (iii) for chatter. It also offered illustrations of how this occurs and discussed them in greater detail. From a researcher's perspective, these findings confirmed what I and many others suspect, ECD learners have a significant amount of cognitive awareness and control. They know when to use their L1 or when to use the MoI, they know who to address and how to address them. ECD learners could therefore, with consistent intellectual stimulation, could use their multilinguality to their own advantage in order to aid the process of learning course work.

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND PERFORMANCE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a look at language acts and identity performance during formal lessons or during informal outdoor/indoor free play. ECD learners, unlike learners who have attended formal schooling for several years or an extended period, are still prone to performing their identities without fear of being penalised or reprimanded. They have not yet been in a setting where they are required to perform in a particular "orderly" manner for prolonged periods of time. As the learners are at the elementary stage, there are many instances where they display carefree behaviour and freely display their identities.

Language ideologies on the other hand are often ideas that have been imprinted on the learners by those in their immediate surroundings i.e., relatives, peers, caregivers, or teachers. This chapter will illustrate how the learners are impacted by ideologies and how it affects their identity performance acts.

6.2 Identity Performance

The theme of identity performance acts in the area of language relates to how speakers display their identities. This may be in how they choose to speak and which languages or language varieties they select, albeit unknowingly. Multilingual ECD learners are citizens in their own right and they often make decisions about their language use that may be deemed as a performance of their identity.

The below extract is based on an interaction between researcher (myself) and a Grade R learner on the playground. The conversation began after I witnessed the learner playing in the sandpit by himself and saying something I could not decipher, in English. I approached the learner and initiated a conversation in Kaaps.

Extract 6.2.1: Learner-Researcher Playground Interaction (Coloured Woman 1; Coloured Boy 1)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; IsiXhosa: Comic Sans; Slang: Cambria

1. Researcher: ((sees Coloured boy playing by himself and speaking English to someone I cannot see))
2. Researcher: Met wie praat djy Engels?

   Who are you speaking English to?
3. Lyle*: Met die kind hie'!

   To this child over here!

((points to his classmate on the other side of the sandpit))

4. Researcher: Praat julle Engels by die huis?

   Do you guys speak English at home?

5. Lyle: Nee.

   No.

6. ((continues playing in the sandpit))

7. Researcher: Oh, *net by die skool?*

   Oh, only at school?

8. Lyle: *Ja, ek pra-*

   Yes, I spe-

9. Researcher: En met jou vrinne?

   And to your friends?

10. Lyle: Ja, my *vrinne-* my friends don't understand me.

    Yes, my friends-

11. Researcher: Isit?

    Is that so?

12. Lyle: Ja.

    Yes.

13. Researcher: Hulle verstaan nie as djy Eng- Afrikaans praat nie?

    They don't understand you when you speak Eng- Afrikaans?

14. Lyle: Ja.

    Yes.

15. Lyle: *((goes off to play))*

A performance of identity is visible in Extract 6.2.1 above. A learner who had been previously identified as being a Kaaps speaker was overheard speaking English during outdoor free play. Due to the fact that outdoor free play is the period where most of the learners would revert to their L1 or home language as this is regarded as a "free" period by most. The above learner, in turn 3, immediately responds to the question in his L1. It should be noted that Kaaps is used instead of standard Afrikaans. Speaking Kaaps instead of the standard variety of Afrikaans may be deemed as a display of Coloured identity. In this instance the learner has converged, he has used the language he has been addressed in. it is evident that English is not the L1 of Lyle as indicated in turn 4. Lyle suggests that he speaks English in the classroom or the overall school context and is unable to speak his L1 as many of his peers would not understand him if he did. Lyle converges at school and speaks the language of the majority.

In this interaction, as seen in turn 10, Lyle code-switches in order to relay the fact that his peers would not understand him if he spoke Kaaps, this suggests he has previously attempted to communicate with his peers in his L1 and was met with confusion. Lyle has converged and may be more capable of holding a conversation in English at this stage of his life. What could be further derived from his English response to in turn 10 is that he may have developed a greater command of the English language during his period at the school and is now completely bilingual himself. There is a possibility that his relatives in the home might be addressing him in English and not Kaaps, despite them being Kaaps speakers themselves. This action is quite common as addressed by the educators in the structured interview (Appendix 1).

In Extract 5.5.2 where learners were given an instruction by their teacher, identity performance acts which could also relate to convergence is visible. The learners use their L1; Kaaps, in order to have a private or discreet conversation or in order to rebel against the

authority figure. The teacher eventually converges in order to assert authority, but in taking this action she also displays her own Coloured identity by responding to the learners in Kaaps. The teacher, as seen in turn 6 and 7, gets the response she initially hoped for as the learners immediately follow through.

At around 11am, learners are allowed to play outdoors for a period. Most learners gravitate towards their own friend groups, this may even be learners from different classes or groups. The following extract depicts a scene which unfolded during outdoor free play amongst a group of learners. The learners are on a swing which resembles a car tire, due to the fact that it is round and broad, several learners are on the swing at once. One girl is standing up, while three girls are on the swing and one boy is at their feet on the ground. The game appears to be one where they are under threat of being attacked by wild animals, the boy assumes the role of a lion.

Table 6.2.2: Learner playground Interaction (Coloured girls 4; Coloured boy 1)

English: Times New Roman; Kaaps: Calibri; Afrikaans: Arial Nova Light; IsiXhosa: Comic Sans; Slang: Cambria

1. Jordan: ((screams while sitting on the swing))
2. Jordan: Stop the swing!
3. Tracy: The swing is going mal!

   The swing is going crazy!
4. Elijah: I'm *'n apie*, I'm going on the swing.

   I'm a monkey, I'm going on the swing.
5. Elijah: ((attempts to jump onto the swing where the girls are sitting))
6. Jordan: ((slides off the swing))
7. Jordan: Ampe' byt die lion vi' my!

The lion nearly bit me!

8. Brooklyn: Skop hom!

Kick him!

9. Chanel: Kyk, daa's die lion!

Look, [pointing to the boy on the ground] the lion is over there!

10. ((collective screams and laughter))

Extract 6.2.2 displays an outdoor free play interaction between five learners, four girls who are on a swing (the swing is large enough for several learners to sit on) and one boy who assumes the role of a zoo animal "hunting" his prey, the girls. During this interaction, the aim of Brooklyn is to man the swing and push the rest of the girls away from the "hunter" while the aim of Elijah is to "roam" around on the ground hoping to "catch" one of the girls. What is notable during this interaction is how all the learners are Kaaps speakers and could be identified due to the language variety the use during this interaction. The learners code-mix throughout this interaction which is noticeable from turn 3 onwards. All the learners seem to understand one another as is evident (they respond to and laugh or yell at the same things). In turns 9 and 9 the respective speakers seem to either not know the Afrikaans or Kaaps words for the animals they are referring to or they may consciously be filling their sentence with one English word. I am drawn to believe that the former is accurate. In turn 4 the reverse is occurring.

Throughout this interaction the learners perform the identity act of divergence or opting to speak their L1 in spite of the rules of the establishment which would have them speaking the MoI at all times. The learners have also banded together as a group of individuals who have a language in common and when observing them from an outsider perspective, one would immediately note that they are Coloured and/or native Capetonians. In this manner the

learners have placed their identity on display and those drawn to their interaction were mostly part of the same ethnic or language group.

Extract 5.3.1 also displays identity performance as Jaden and Noah both maintain their L1 during the interaction. Jaden asks a question in English and is met by a response in Kaaps. The interaction carries on in this manner and there is a clear understanding between the two learners despite having a conversation in different languages. This too is an act of divergence as neither learner alters their speech or language (variety) for the sake of the other. Another example of this may be that as in the case of Lyle in Extract 7.2.1. Jaden might be from an environment where Kaaps is spoken amongst those around him, but he is addressed in English. This would mean that English is Jaden's L1, despite having a good command of Kaaps.

Throughout the various interactions one sees identity performance occurring. Both educators and learners are displaying markers of their identity with little or no conscious knowledge of doing so. The learner who has the task of handing out backpacks during the lunch period opting to carry out this task in IsiXhosa and not English is an act of divergence. The principal responding to him in IsiXhosa displays convergence. Learners making conscious decisions about what to say and what language (varieties) they use are acts of identity performance.

6.3 Language Ideologies

The subject of language ideology is linked to language beliefs, behaviours or attitudes the speaker(s) have towards the languages in their repertoire. In the case of Philippi Children's Centre where more or less every child is multilingual, matters pertaining to dialogic places and language purism may be visible.

The ideologies held by the school as an establishment may not be the same as that of the individual educators. As previously quoted, the teacher in this particular classroom has indicated that the school has a policy where they are called to teach in English and not to

teach the learners how to speak English. In other words, the work is to proceed as if all learners are already speakers of the MoI. When asked whether all of the learners speak English, she indicated that they do. The space, despite being transparently multilingual, holds onto the ideology which is displays a language hierarchy where English is at the top of the pyramid. The school's language policy further suggests that they should not be code-switching in the classroom, but due to their home languages being solely (either Kaaps or IsiXhosa) they have trouble communicating in the MoI.

"But you can hear, here's a few children in the class where you can hear they are speaking English. Because they are coming into the class and they are speaking English, but then you will get the ones who will come in and speak IsiXhosa. That is the ones that are not exposed-"

Additionally, the school indicated that learners are sent to the school because parents may not be fluent English speakers themselves but would appreciate it if their offspring could be just that. When probed about whether the parents have clearly asked that their children be educated solely in English despite them not having complete command of the language, the response was:

> "Yes, I can see that in a lot of parents. Because at my meeting, they couldn't even really communicate with me."

This suggests that the parents have their own ideologies or even challenges regarding the language. Most of the ideologies pertain to the fact that many believe that without the ability to speak English their children would not have access to good, quality schools in their region, nor would they excel. They may also see it as a long-term investment, if the child is a fluent English speaker; they may be successful and acquire a good job. The challenges could be

linked to the fact that parents may find it difficult or even redundant to learn how to communicate in English. According to the teacher it is the idea of what the child could become if they acquire the language. The teacher also indicated that she specifically informed the parents that she would not be teaching their children how to speak the language, the onus to teach the language would be on the parents:

> "…I told them; you must remember you're putting your child in an English class, so I'm not gonna teach them how to speak it-"

Eventually the teacher revealed that due to poor communication from the parents, possibly fuelled by their inability to communicate efficiently in the school's MoI, they would be embarking on a workshop in order to assist parents in English acquisition, which would inevitably aid the learners as it appears that learners unable to complete their tasks due to a lack of guidance on the home front.

> "They're not involved, but now for this year we have a programme we're gonna run, it's like a Word Works programme where we're gonna do the language with the parents. Where we're gonna workshop them. And from that time, we're gonna see if they can help the children."

Based on the ideologies of the school and parents, there is a clear disconnect in the space, as learners are opting, whether they are aware of this or not, to utilise the languages in their repertoire to aid them throughout the day. Learners may be careful about where and when they do this as they might be mindful of the fact that the space is meant to be an English one. What might be confusing is the fact that, despite the school having this policy, individual educators will do what they feel is best in that context in spite of the ideologies held by parents or the establishment.

6.4 Summary

At the onset, the chapter has delved into identity performance acts surrounding the linguistic repertoire of learners and educators at the ECD centre. It has displayed how, through selection of specific language (varieties) in specific contexts, they make both conscious and unconscious decisions about their identity. This was displayed through linguistic convergence and divergence. It also displays the awareness of the learners in this space, despite their age, they know for what purpose a particular language in their range serves. Similarly, educators make the same decisions despite the language policy of the ECD centre.

Furthermore, the chapter explored the ideologies at the ECD centre, probing the beliefs of the educators, guardians, and owners of the establishment. The belief that English, the medium of instruction, might have a superior role in this context has been verified. However, that does not necessarily mean that the individuals always live out this belief. As discussed in the literature review, there are various reasons why individuals may have this belief, and it does not necessarily indicate that parents or even educators would want learners to develop disdain for their home languages.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This section will provide a dialogue regarding the findings of the research and a reflection on the study. The aim is to revisit some of the findings of the research and to point out those discoveries that may have piqued interest. Where the previous chapters presented an analysis of the collected data and display the techniques or methods used by multilingual ECD learners, this chapter explores whether the data and analysis met all the criteria and fulfilled the objectives of the study. The data, being presented in a meaningful manner would have

illustrated in which contexts and for what purpose learners use particular language (varieties). A discussion of the data follows, and this will be linked to the objectives of the study. Finally, there will be a conclusion, with suggestions for future research.

7.2 Findings

Throughout the literature review, a significant amount of information surrounding the benefits of a translanguaging, and mother tongue education was presented in order to display how this research builds on the concepts of previous scholars. Initially the study presented literature pertaining to ECD or Early Childhood Development in South Africa and its aims surrounding language use. The literature stresses the importance of communication for the ECD learner as it is often a display of their cognitive abilities and shows the development in this area. The research findings display the fact that learners are able to communicate successfully despite coming from different backgrounds with different home languages. They display that at the early stages of development children have cognitive awareness and that stimulation and exposure to new things is vital to ECD.

From the findings one notes that the learners at this institution have the intellectual and cognitive awareness which allows them to make decisions, albeit unconsciously, about what language or language varieties to use based on the interaction. The learners code-switch based on who they are conversing with and the intent behind the communication i.e., to gossip.

What could be deemed as somewhat surprising is the fact that the institution has a language policy according to the principal, this policy is centred around an English education which could be linked to the concept of dialogic places. There appears to be a common belief amongst educators (and reportedly parents) that there are spaces where their L1 should be spoken and spaces where it is deemed inappropriate. However, teachers and the principal alike make use of the learners' multilingual ability and call upon them to translate languages

that they do not comprehend themselves. The learners may be encouraged to speak English, but they are aware of the fact that there are instances throughout the day where the first language is more suitable or valuable based on the social context.

In previous studies such as the one conducted by Wei (2011), as discussed in the literature review, learners make use of the languages in their repertoires and use their ethnic and cultural differences to their advantage, they use them to display or perform their identities. In many ways, learners are making conscious decisions even though it may not always appear that way. They choose when to display certain identity markers that would set them apart or allow them to converge with a certain group.

As displayed in extract 6, learners may opt to converge and not speak their language as they are aware of the fact that their peers do not understand them. The learners would therefore make a conscious decision to speak the lingua franca, English. This proves that young learners have already developed cognitively to the point where they are able to read context clues and decide how they should respond in a particular setting.

The concept of linguistic citizenship as discussed in the literature review is the idea that individuals or in this case learners from marginalised communities should not have to completely neglect their first language or mother tongue in favour of the language of wider communication. Instead, formerly marginalised groups can share their language or aspects of their identity with other groups. The findings indicate that this has taken place in the institution as learners code-mix by making use of words, they have heard from IsiXhosa or Kaaps speakers and they randomly include these in their day-to-day conversations. This was not surprising as this is common in our multilingual society where word borrowing occurs on a large scale, particularly in ethnically mixed communities. These further displays that despite age, learners are active citizens who participate in the most straightforward activities.

The literature explores the advantages of translanguaging or the act of languaging in formal spaces, specifically in schools or classrooms. The findings show that the teacher may call upon the learner to explain or further elaborate on discussions or directions given in the classroom. By allowing the learners to use all the languages in their range they are able to grasp concepts or commands in the classroom, thus increasing their knowledge and making success more likely.

In chapter two case studies are given as a part of the literature review depicting how learners use translanguaging in the home and how this aids them in learning their L2 while maintaining their L1. The learners in the case study are able to either assist their parents in learning the L2, or able to receive assistance in maintain the L1. In the research findings a teacher expresses concern about the fact that most of the learners appear to have a poor support system in their parents/caregivers as they have very little knowledge of the MoI despite wanting their children to become fluent. It was a pleasant surprise to learn that the school would offer workshops where they would assist the parents/caregivers who would make it easier for them to assist the learners. This is a practical and what one could surmise to be an effective way of taking steps to aiding learners in their cognitive development, while simultaneously enhancing the knowledge of those they spend a substantial amount of their time with.

Based on the findings it appears as if translanguaging has a positive on the learners, despite the fact that it is not formerly part of the school's language policy. As depicted, even the educators make use of translanguaging throughout the day for various purposes which indicates that they find it advantageous when they are muddled and unsure of what the learner requires or has articulated. The concept of moving from using language to "doing" language or languaging is therefore a realistic one.

7.3 ECD Research

Early Childhood Development has become a recognised term over the past decade as there are many practitioners and centres appearing all over our communities. National government has prioritised ECD and labelled it an emerging niche. The research could be linked to the cognitive development of a child, in ECD cognitive development is one aspect of the holistic development any child and one area which requires a significant amount of stimulation. Language development and the awareness of language to the extent where the child knows when to use a particular variety at a given time indicates that the child is developing at the accurate rate based on their age group. Furthermore, the research data; fieldnotes, voice notes and interviews illustrate that pre-school aged children have the capacity to learn in one language that may be an L2 or L3,and still revert to their L1 if the physical or social situation is suitable. The abilities of pre-school and the rate of their cognitive awareness and growth is remarkable and should be fostered. Elementary schools could benefit from nurturing the learners and their capacities.

7.4 Revisiting Objectives

In revisiting the aims of the study there are a few key points of the data that ought to be discussed:

a) When exploring how and when learners code-switch or move between the languages in their repertoire, be it in the classroom or outdoor setting, it was found that learners mainly switch to their first language or home language for the purpose of excluding, in order to emphasise what has already been stated or in order to gossip or have a private conversation (the purpose is to omit those who do not understand the language from the conversation). The data displays how, under various conditions, pre-school learners are consciously making decisions about which language(s) to use.

The main languages used are Kaaps and IsiXhosa, with English being the lingua franca.

b) As further displayed in the data, learners perform their identity through acts of divergence or convergence. When learners are selective about what language varieties to speak and make a conscious decision diverge or move away from the language of wider communication, they are performing their identity. Displaying how learners perform their identity was one of the objectives of the study and there is adequate data presented in this area. If the data falls short in any area this could be due to the fact that some learners have reached the point in the school year where they have adjusted to the school's language policy and may opt to refrain from overt displays of their language identity in this space.

c) There are various ideologies held by the educators, guardians, and learners at the school. The common theme seems to be that English is to be the language of wider communication and there is a desire from both guardians and teachers, that learners be fluent in this language. As displayed in the data, teachers find that many guardians are ill equipped to assist child in the process of learning or becoming fluent in English as many of them are not fluent themselves. The ideology of English exists because there is a belief that English is crucial to the child's success and that academic triumph could only be achieved through fluency. Leaners tend to have their own way of going about the process of learning and communicating as they use whatever language (variety) they can in order to aid them throughout the day.

The data has depicted how learners are in fact conscious of the fact that they are able to communicate in multiple languages and they often use this to their advantage. It depicts that, despite the language policy that exists within the school, learners are able to use these languages to the benefit of not only themselves, but also those around them as illustrated

when a learner was called upon to translate what another learner had said. This suggests that multilingualism is not as divisive as many might believe when opting for the traditional methods of learning highlighted in the literature review. There has been a belief amongst some policymakers that translanguaging has adverse consequences as indicated in the studies by Gorter and Cenoz (2016). Multilingualism can be used to the advantage of the school and learners if embraced. The current policies in most pre-schools, including this one, calls for learners to virtually disregard their first language in order to become fluent in the MoI.

7.5 Summary

Based on the findings the learners' linguistic practices seem to have been only slightly influenced by the presence of educators and volunteers. In what would appear to be clear, the learners are aware of the fact that they are in a space where they are required to communicate in English as it is the Medium of Instruction. The educators or volunteers may have their own L1, but they rarely make use of it in this space, unless it is for the purposes discussed in the abovementioned chapters. The volunteers come from various countries (particularly Germany) and only ever speak their L1 to one another. It appears as if the volunteers have picked up on standard greetings in IsiXhosa an Kaaps, but nothing beyond that as they tend to stick to English. Everyone appears to be conscious of the school's L1. Educators, volunteers, and other staff i.e., the cook, swimming instructor or caretaker would only communicate with the learners in their alternative languages in informal physical contexts such as during the dismissal times.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In this study a local pre-school provided a site for the collection of data depicting how multilingual ECD learners: (1) negotiate their linguistic identity, (2) how they use the languages in their repertoire in order to communicate within this space and (3) how the ideologies of parents/guardians and the institution itself affects the language ideologies held by learners in this age group.

Throughout the study my role was that of an observer and a participant, this is what Hymes' ethnographic monitoring requires, and it becomes clear as to why this is the case. In order to gain the learners' trust, and for them to view the researcher and themselves as citizens with a purpose and role to play, one has to immerse yourself in the setting. My ability to speak Kaaps became my greatest advantage during this study as a number of learners latched on to me and due this and freely initiated conversation. My role as a participant who learners could relate to became the most important role.

Additionally, I have a greater understanding of ECD, added to the knowledge I already possessed due to my previous position as a practitioner. The difference in this case is that I went into the study with the aim of understanding and not necessarily trying to pick apart or critique what anyone at the school was doing. The research conducted lines up with the study conducted by Honberger and Link (2012) whose case study displayed how a learners discuss the class content in their L1. In this paper learners had the same approach, as seen in the game of *rock, paper, scissors* where the learners assisted one another in their mutual L1. Many of the learners at Philippi Children's Centre, much like the case of Beatriz, adapt their language or language variety to the social context, even taking on the role of translator at various times throughout the day. Additionally, the findings of this study align with the

research conducted by Wei and Garcia (2016) where it is indicated that by engaging with other languages available to the learner, they might find it easier to learn the target language. In this study Ms. White specified that she may make use of the learner's L1 in order to make it easier for the learner to understand what it is that she requires. The learner is therefore able to reconcile these instructions in their L1 in order to make sense of what it means in the medium of instruction, which is English in this particular case.

Along with testing the theories and findings of other researchers, my aim was mainly to display the motivations behind the teachers' ideologies and teaching methods, as well as possible reasons behind the learners' decision to make of particular languages at particular points in time. This study adds knowledge to ECD research, child language development, and multilingualism as it offers a fresh perspective in an immensely diverse location. Furthermore, the research reiterates the fact that learners are to be viewed as citizens who are simply navigating through a post-apartheid South Africa attempting to find their own identity and language, thus moving away from essentialist ideas of what language and ethnicity suggests about their identity. Never has the importance of multilingualism and the concept of translanguaging been so clear to me. Our society will only become more globalised and connected through travel and technology, learners, particularly the ones at ECD centres are absorbing information at rapid rate, cognitive ability has evolved, therefore the idea that learners could use their multilinguality to their advantage in the classroom should be embraced.

This study based on the language practices of diverse ECD learners was somewhat limited due to the context, both socially and physically. The study was conducted in the midst of a global (COVID-19) pandemic which limited contact with the learners. Additionally, there was a limit to how much data could be gathered from the school due to the various players (including European donors) and how much access would be allowed. In future, researchers

may build on this study by opting to include guardians/parents, as well as collecting a greater amount of data from ECD learners to support the abovementioned findings.

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APPENDICES

Selected Interview transcriptions.

1. **Appendix 1: Structured Interview with Teacher**

R: OK, so the first the thing I must ask is how long you've been working at this school?

T: At this one that I'm now?

R: Yes, at Philippi Children's-

T: 6 years.

R: -Centre.

T: I'm working here for 6 years.

R: And what do you like about working here?

T: Teaching. Teaching the children, that is-

R: You're just here for the teaching-

T: That is- I'm here for the teaching what yes. We did have a lot of challenges, but for me it's just like- I'm learning a lot also, from the children as well.

R: Ja, so what areas do you think can be improved on?

T: In my class, or-

R: In the school setting? Like with education.

T: I don't know their education system so I can't say anything about that.

R: Ja- and for you?

T: For me it's just like, I would like this whole school to be like an ECD-

R: Mhmm-

T: You know, not the Montessori.

R: Ja, the model-

T: Yes, then we can work in cahoots together. Then they will understand what we do, because when we get their children, their children don't do what we're doing.

R: So, each class is run in a different setting based on the Montessori mod- on the model.

T: Yes, but we're mos not Montessori, so that is why when the children come here, they struggle.

R: Ja, so the Grade R is the only thing that's ECD?

TR: Yes.

R: It's part of the government-

T: Yes.

R: And then uh, do you know the background of the learners of this school? Like what's their background, is it, like impoverished or middle class or what?

TR: Most of them…middle class at this moment-

R: At the moment?

T: Yes. The group that I have yes is middle class-

R: But prev-

T: Yes, previously a lot of poverty. But most of the children that's here at the centre is, poverty-

R: Ja-

T: Yes, you see how it is-

R: Ja and the area-

T: Yes, and the areas where they're living-

R: So, what areas do they come from mostly?

TR: Philippi, samora and…not khayalitsha, what is the other one…-

R: Mitchell's Plain?

T: And farms-

R: The farm surrounding-

T: Yes, the farm surroundings. I don't have a lot of- there's not a lot of Mitchell's plain, but-

R: There are-

T: Mitchell's plain also.

R: And do you know the family structures of the children, like are they mostly in two parent households or do you see a lot of sing-

T: I don't know all the-

R: --like in your class-

T: In my class, most single parents.

R: Is it?

T: Yes. A lot of single parents or some of them live with their grannies so then I don't even know if there's a parent, because you will only see the grandpar-

R: --See the granny.

T: But that is 90% of the cases where you see the granny. Then you think it's the mommy, then it's the granny.

R: And the grannies are quite young still.

T: That is what I wanted to say now, because the parents are quite young-

R: Yes.

TR: And then the grannies take charge.

R: Ja, it's true. Uhm, do the children seem like they're well adjusted?

T: In the class?

R: Mhmm, In the class?

T: They are well adjusted, but you know you get the ones that don't-

R: Ja there's a few individuals.

T: Yes there's a few individuals yes, that you can say ja I must be stricter with them or[inaudible]

R: Ja. so, what is the language policy of the school? Do you know if the school has a language policy?

T: We as Grade R's, our language policy is English. We strictly teach in English. We are not allowed to 'learn' them like they say you must teach them and learn them how to speak English, no-

R: You're teaching in English; you're not teaching them English-

T: Yes.

R: So, what do you see as the main languages that's spoken here-

T: Yoh-

R: By the children.

T: IsiXhosa-

R: The majority.

T: (laughter) the majority in the school, yes.

R: I'm surprised actually, I thought it would- maybe it would be Afrikaans because of the farming-

T: No- you will see. You see I have 12 children that's Afrikaans, then the whole 20 is IsiXhosa. You can see in the other class also, 10 afrikaans, 30 IsiXhosa.

R: So, the ones who speak Afrikaans they also speak IsiXhosa?

T: No-

R: They just speak-

T: --Afrikaans and then when they come here, they speak English.

R: But they do speak English, all of them?

T: They do.

R: Uhm, so what languages do you speak yourself or understand?

T: I only speak English and afrikaans, I do understand a little bit of IsiXhosa, and German, but I can't speak it.

R: German also?

T: Yes.

R: How do the learners adjust to the language barrier, like when they first come here-

T: They find it- ja they find it difficult, but they will show you through pictures what they are trying to-

R: So, no one is translating?

T: Ja I do have some, like if you don't understand I will ask this person; do you know what he said now? And then he will translate to me. I will also do that, like tell this one; listen here what is he saying now? Or tell him I say this. If I see they don't understand-

R: Ja-

T: If they find it difficult then I will-

R: --Then you will ask someone.

T: We're not supposed to do that actually, but they help each other when they do that.

R: Ja because you're just supposed to be strictly English. Uhm so are you able to understand then what they're communicating, when they're not communicating in English?

T: Mhmm

R: For the most part they will show you? What they're doing?

T: Yes, they will show me.

R: Ja so what do you think the children struggle most with- in terms of language? With understanding or communicating?

T: Communicating actually, they find it difficult to-

R: --so they understand-

T: --yes, they don't know how to express themselves, so they will answer you in IsiXhosa. But okay, then you will have that thing; okay you do know what I'm saying. Because if you ask somebody else, they'd say; this person is saying that-

R: So, it shows they understand, but they can't communicate. Do you see that uhm they understand in their lessons or do you see it on the outside? Like…when they're playing.

T: In the lessons-

R: --In the lessons as well?

T: You can see.

R: So uhm, do you often adapt your own speech or the way you talk to accommodate them or to help them along. Like will you change how you speak or use words that they use? Like maybe with the afrikaans since you speak afrikaans?

T: Not really…

R: Mhmm

T: No, because we must just focus on- ja okay sometimes with the afrikaans I will speak to them in Afrikaans and then I will speak to them in English again. I will say the exact same thing in English.

R: So, you're just translating-

R: Yes, you just translate it again, to make your point-

T: Ja.

R: And do you see a difference with how they are communicating with each other when they're inside and outside?

T: Yes, there's a difference. Because in the class, because we're English, they will speak to each other in English, but outside they speak in their own language yes.

R: And inside do they also switch?

T: Yes, they switch. A lot.

R: So, you see that happening constantly? So, between the parents or the guardian, and the school, do you see a solid line of communication or is the communication poor?

T: Not always. I can say, like now this year, I think my communication is very strong, but previous years you got poor communication. Because they don't speak to you, they don't speak to the office, they don't care-

R: --they don't communicate at all. And do they come to meetings and stuff?

T: Not always. You will have the regular ones, but-

R: --Ja so there's some you would not see for the whole year.

T: Ja, then when it comes to the end of the year then they wanna tell you this and that. [teacher R breaks away to tell a learner to sleep and does so in Kaaps "op jou maag draai vi jou"/ then switches to English for another learner "you can also go lay"]

R: So, uhm do you see that the parents are involved in the children's education? Like if you send them tasks home-

T: --they're not involved. They're not involved, but now for this year we have a programme we're gonna run, it's like a word works programme where we're gonna do the language with the parents. Where we're gonna workshop them. And from that

time, we're gonna see if they can help the children. Because sometimes they don't help them, because they-

R: --Because you don't know if they can.

T: Daar'sit.

R: So, do you see that with the parents that they- they want the children to communicate in English, but they can't speak English themselves or what do you see-

T: --Yes, I can see that in a lot of parents. Because at my meeting, they couldn't even really communicate with me.

R: Really?

T: Yes, and I told them; you must remember you're putting your child in an English class, so I'm not gonna teach them how to speak it-

R: They should be speaking it-

T: You- yes, so ya.

R: So, at home it's not happening but they want it here.

T: [inaudible] you speak English to your child at home please. But you can hear, here's a few children in the class where you can hear they are speaking English. Because they are coming into the class and they are speaking English, but then you will get the ones who will come in and speak IsiXhosa. That is the ones that are not exposed-

R: Do you think, for the parents- do you think you guys can help them to speak English better?

T: That is why we're gonna workshop them.

R: So, do you know what the workshop will entail for them?

T: Yes, it's gonna be everything that we are doing in the class. We're gonna do our language with them.

R: Oh-

TR: We have all the material and everything.

R: Is that the department?

T: Yes, they want us to do that with the- but I must do it- I must workshop them.

R: So that's now part of your job description.

T: We must educate the parents.

R: so, do they show you how and then you do it with them?

T: No, we know how, so they just gave use material on how to do it.

R: so, do you feel there is going to be a positive response to that?

T: I hope so because when I mentioned it to them in the meeting, 25 parents already said they're interested. And I have 32 children in my class.

R: So that's the majority-

T: I just hope that 25 will come. But that 25 is mostly the ones where you can see they don't really understand English. So, they will be interested in this.

R: So, is there any way you restrict learners, or you control what languages they speak inside and outside?

T: No, we can't control-

R: So, you're not allowed to, if they switch you must just allow it.

T: Outside yes, but not in the class, you can stop it.

R: So, do you find the school has brough positive results? Do you think that when they go out into the 'real' school-?

T: --Yes, a lot. We always get feedback from the teachers "where is this child coming from because the child wasn't at our school" the teachers there already know whos their children, who must come to grade 1. So, our children are tops, most of them are top 10. And yes, you as a teacher feel so proud, because-

R: That must make you happy ja- because a lot of times they have complaints from other schools. They will always say; what was your Grade R teacher doing, because you don't know the work.

T: Yes, that is why I'm so stressed with these ones now- it's a tough-

R: So, what would success mean to you, in terms of how they communicate. How would you know they're now successful and they're ready for Grade 1?

T: You know, by the end of the year you can see, the teacher will see how they progressed from term one to term four. The vocabulary will be better, and they will communicate to you, in English. That times you will see you've mastered what you wanted to. And some of them will be able to read at the end of the year. Not all, because we have a vocabulary list up there, so if you see those words, you will remember those words.

R: So, they are actually reading, they are identifying words?

T: No, I have, for the time ive been here since we're doing this- we're doing this for 3 years- so for 3 years in a row I had 4-5 students who could read. They could take a book out of the reading area and they would read the book to you. And they will come to you if they don't understand the big words, then they will come and ask-

R: That's probably also kids whose parents read to them-

T: You know I have that amazing feeling when a teacher comes and asks; what did you do with this child? This child is reading all the books. Like yeah, the child must read. The child is taking note. And you know when we have free play [indoors] you can exactly see which ones will be able to read because not a lot of children go the book area when you say it's free play. They all go to the blocks or to the fantsasy corner. Then you get those that wanna go to the reading corner to take a book. Then they will say; teacher can I write? You know they can write and they want to copy

everything in the class. They will write this word how krom, but they will write this word.not everybody is intellectual, but what can we do? We must stimulate them if we see- that's what I do, if I see you always want to read; now I give you words, jumble the words up, identify the words. That is why we bought, I asked the department to bring me word puzzles and that, beginning Grade 1. So, I see you're able to read so you're able to do this-

R: Did they previously not give you guys the word puzzles; did you have to make your own stuff?

T: Yes, I make my own stuff if I want to, I'll make it. If I have money to buy, then I will go and buy it. But even with puzzles- what I've seen a few years ago, if a child can't build a puzzle, they won't be able to read, that is what I have seen. You get children that love puzzles. And I'm gonna tell you now in this class there's only two children that would take a puzzle. The others will look at me like, what is this you're giving us.

2. **Appendix 2: Informal Discussion with Principal** (Principal discusses multilingual learner)

Principal: [inaudible] we just took him to the Montessori classroom and that is where he-

R: So, he excelled there?

P: Yes, definitely and he was busy showing the other children how to do presentations in class. All the work that they'd shown him, and then he was showing them-

R: [inaudible] he still translates for them?

P: He does, and even with us in the office, with the new children. When they come, we are just hoping and praying when they come. Now next year, at the beginning of the year, in each and every class we just call [child's name] if we know that the child is a [foreign language] speaking child and then we don't understand what he is saying- and then where's [child's name] go call […] then he will just come. And the other child was crying the other day, the beginning of the year, we didn't even know what was going on. We were trying to do everything, and we just didn't know what to do anymore and then [he] just went to the child, spoke to the child, and the child was just hungry, but it was just before snack time. And then the child was so happy when the child was eating.

R: Oh, so he's an asset to you.

P: He is, he is.

R: How do you think he learned so many languages?

P: I think also because- because he also mixes with the IsiXhosas, and they are here at the school- afrikaans at school, because here are so many farm children who speaks afrikaans in our school. So, he's also exposed to that as well. He- all the languages at this school because we have children also from Angola, it's not only Shona speaking

children that we have. Also, when they come to the school- they don't really speak their languages in the school, because we don't have a lot of them, but it will be English and afrikaans and IsiXhosa. But some of them don't really about afrikaans, because in the classroom, then it's like English and then IsiXhosa-

R: That's the main languages?

P: That's their main languages.

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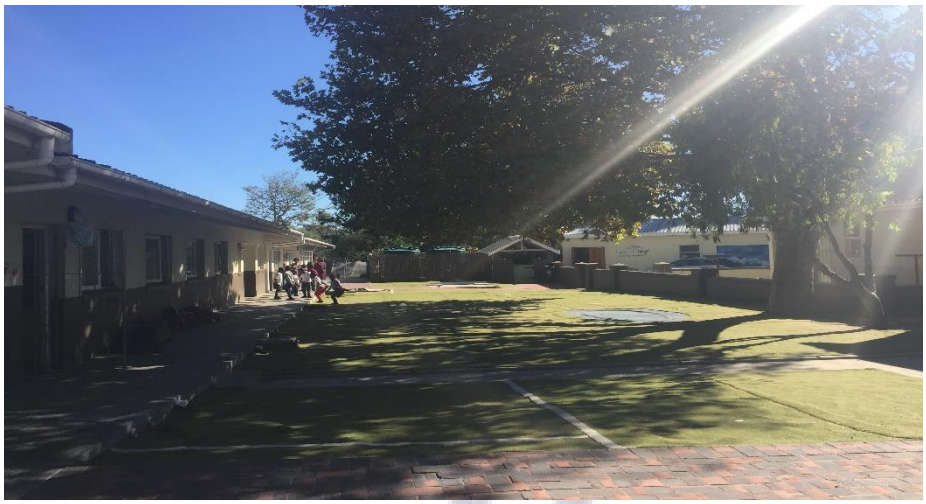
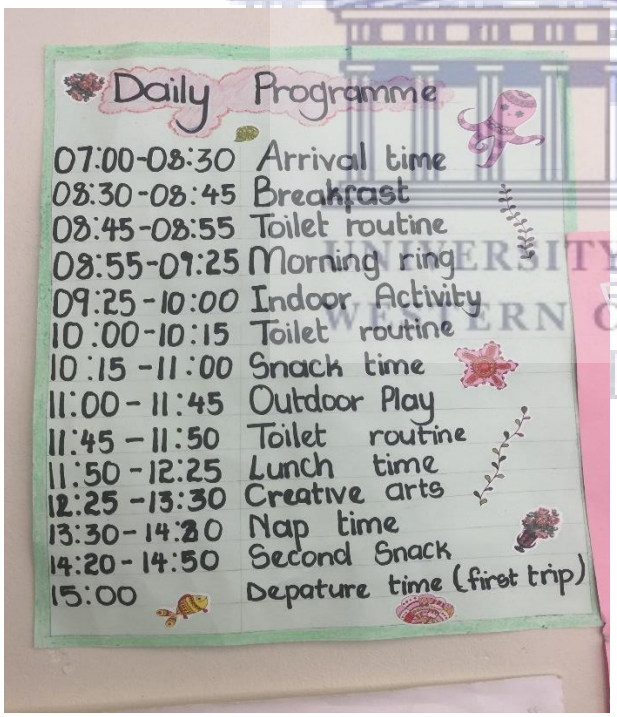
APPENDIX 3

Picture 1 (Image of Courtyard)



Picture 2 (Image of Daily Routine)



[i] * Names changed for ethical reasons.