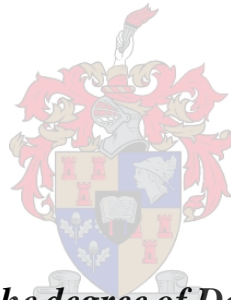


# LINGUISTIC PRACTICES, LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF ISIXHOSA-SPEAKING FAMILIES IN WESTERN CAPE HOMES

by

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## **Declaration**

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## Abstract

This dissertation investigated the linguistic repertoires, language ideologies and language practices of three isiXhosa-speaking families in the Western Cape. It investigated how the linguistic repertoires, language ideologies, and language practices shaped the family language policy (FLP) of each of the families. Cape Town, the capitol of the Western Cape Province, is regarded as South Africa's most segregated city (Turok et al. 2021: 71). Since I was interested in how contextual factors shaped the families' FLPs, I deliberately chose families living in different residential areas within the Cape Metropole. One family resides in the township Langa, where 92% of the inhabitants are isiXhosa mother tongue speakers (General Census 2011). The second family resides in Parklands, a predominantly English-speaking neighbourhood (General Census 2011). The third family resides in Belhar, which was previously classified as a coloured area and in which the language that is widely used is Afrikaans (see General Census 2011).

Currently, sociolinguistic and applied linguistics studies on isiXhosa are mostly conducted in the school system, and a focus on home linguistic practices are almost entirely absent. Home linguistic practices and FLP are severely under-investigated in African contexts. I relate the data obtained from this study with Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) notion of the multilayered onion: They argued that various components, including "agents, levels and processes", form layers that together make up the whole of language planning and policy. The various components of this onion "permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees" (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 401). This metaphor resonated with me as I saw in my data how both explicit and implicit decisions about language in the families I studied was shaped by a variety of factors: Their linguistic practices were shaped by the linguistic repertoires they had access to, the language ideologies they held, and their lived experience of language. In addition, factors such as time and space, and institutions and access to these institutions also shaped the decisions (or non-decisions) that parents made concerning their FLPs. Based on the data obtained, these factors are entangled with South Africa's apartheid and colonial past and affect families in non-uniform manners.

## Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif het die linguistiese repertoires, taalideologieë en taalpraktyke van drie Xhosa-sprekende gesinne in die Wes-Kaap ondersoek. Dit het die ondersoek ingestel na hoe die linguistiese repertoires, taalideologieë en taalpraktyke die gesinstaalbeleid (GTB) van elk van die gesinne gevorm het. Kaapstad, die hoofstad van die Wes-Kaap, word as Suid-Afrika se mees gesegregeerde stad beskou (Turok et al. 2021: 71). Aangesien ek belang gestel het in hoe kontekstuele faktore die gesinne se GTBe gevorm het, het ek doelbewus gesinne gekies wat in verskillende woongebiede binne die Kaapse Metropool woon. Een gesin woon in die township Langa, waar 92% van die inwoners isiXhosa-moedertaalsprekers is (Algemene Sensus 2011). Die tweede gesin woon in Parklands, 'n oorwegend Engelssprekende buurt (General Census 2011). Die derde gesin woon in Belhar wat voorheen as 'n Bruin woongebied geklassifiseer is en waar die taal wat wyd gebruik word, Afrikaans is (kyk Algemene Sensus 2011).

Tans word sosiolinguistiese en toegepaste taalwetenskaplike studies oor isiXhosa meestal in die skoolsisteem uitgevoer, en 'n fokus op taalpraktyke in die huishouding is byna heeltemal afwesig. Daar is oor die algemeen 'n gebrek aan studies oor taalpraktyke in die huishouding en GTB in Afrika-kontekste. Ek bring die data wat uit hierdie studie verkry is, in verband met Ricento en Hornberger (1996) se idee van die meerlagige ui. Hulle het aangevoer dat verskeie komponente, insluitend “agente, vlakke en prosesse” lae vorm wat saam die geheel van taalbeplanning en-beleid uitmaak. Die verskillende komponente van hierdie ui “deurdring en interakteer met mekaar op 'n verskeidenheid maniere en in verskillende grade” (Ricento en Hornberger 1996: 401). Hierdie metafoor het by my aanklank gevind toe ek in my data gesien het hoe eksplisiete en implisiete besluite oor taal in die gesinne wat ek bestudeer het, deur 'n verskeidenheid faktore gevorm is: Hul linguistiese praktyke is gevorm deur die linguistiese repertoires waartoe hulle toegang gehad het, die taalideologieë wat hulle gehad het, en hul geleefde ervaring van taal. Daarbenewens het faktore soos tyd en ruimte, en instellings en toegang tot hierdie instellings die besluite (of nie-besluite) wat ouers oor hul GTB geneem het, gevorm. Op grond van die verkreeë data, is hierdie kwessies verweef met Suid-Afrika se apartheids- en koloniale verlede, en hierdie kwessies affekteer gesinne op nie-uniforme wyses.

## Isishwankathelo

Le dissertation iphande ngeengqokelela ezihamba nezakhono zolwimi, iingcamango zolwimi kunye nezenzo zolwimi kwiintsapho ezintathu zesiXhosa eNtshona Koloni. Ijonge indlela iingqokelela ezihamba nezakhono zolwimi, iingcamango zolwimi, kunye nezenzo zolwimi ukuba ziwakhe njani umgaqo-nkqubo wolwimi wosapho (FLP) kusapho ngalunye. IKapa, iyidolophu enkulu yeNtshona Koloni, Ibonwa njengesona sixeko saseMzantsi Afrika esakhe sohluka-hlukana ngokungalingani (Turok et al. 2021: 71). Kuba ndandinomdla kwindlela imiba yomxholo ezibumbe ngayo iintsapho, ndikhethe iintsapho ezihlala kwiindawo zokuhlala ezahlukeneyo ngabom kwiNqila yeKapa. Olunye usapho luhlala kwaLanga. ULanga yenye yeelokishi zaseKapa, kwaye uninzi lwabantu abangama-92.0% kwaLanga ngabantu abantetho isisiXhosa (uBalo Jikelele luka-2011/ General Census 2011). Usapho lwesibini luhlala eParklands, kwaye abemi baseParklands ikakhulu bathetha isiNgesi (uBalo Jikelele luka-2011). Kwaye usapho lokugqibela luhlala eBelhar, eyayifudula ichazwa njengendawo yabeBala. Ulwimi olusetyenziswa kakhulu eBelhar sisiBhulu (Jonga kuBalo Jikelele luka-2011).

Kungoku nje, uphando ngesiXhosa lutenxile, kukho izifundo ezininzi ezigxile ekufundiseni ngolwimi, kwaye ugxininiso kwiilwimi zasekhaya luphantse lwangabikho. Iinkqubo zolwimi lwasekhaya kunye ne-FLP aziphandwa kakhulu kwiimeko zaseAfrika. Ndidibanisa idatha efunyenwe kolu phando kunye noluka Ricento noHornberger (1996) notion of the multilayered onion. Baxoxa ukuba amacandelo ahlukeneyo, aquka “ii-agents, amanqanaba kunye neenkqubo” zenza iileya ezithi xa zidibene zenze isicwangciso solwimi siphela kunye nomgaqo-nkqubo. Amacandelo ahlukeneyo ale onion "agqobhozela kwaye asebenzisane ngeendlela ezahlukeneyo kunye namazinga ahlukeneyo" (Ricento noHornberger 1996: 401). Esi safobe siye sanxulumana nam/savakala nzulu kum njengoko ndiye ndabona kwidatha yam ukuba izigqibo ezicacileyo nezingacacanga ncam malunga nolwimi kwiintsapho endenze uphando kuzo zabunjwa yimiba eyahlukeneyo. Ukongeza, iinkqubo zolwimi zosapho zabunjwa ziingqokelela ezihamba nesakhono ababefikelela kuzo kunye neengcamango zolwimi ababeziphethe, kunye namava olwimi abanawo ngokokuphila. Kodwa akupheleli apho. Imiba efana nexesha/indawo, namaziko kunye nokufikelela kuzo nako kuye kwabumba izigqibo (okanye ezingezizo izigqibo ezenziwa ngabazali). Le miba ibotshelelwe kwixesha elidlulileyo localucalulo kunye nobukoloniyali eMzantsi Afrika.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background and rationale

After South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, a constitution which encourages and celebrates multilingualism was drafted (see Government of South Africa 2019). Plüddemann (1999) states that a number of language bodies and committees around that time investigated multilingualism to assist with the formulation of language policies and frameworks for advancing multilingualism in every sector of South African society. A number of language boards were established, and national and provincial language policies were created that endeavoured to guarantee that at least the nine African languages which had now received the status of official language of South Africa were valued and afforded the same status as English and Afrikaans, the two languages which had been the only two official languages since before the acceptance of the new constitution. Examples of these policies include the National Language Policy Framework (Department of Arts and Culture 2003), the Language in Education Policy 1997 (Department of Education 1997), and the Language Policy for Higher Education (Department of Education 2002). These actions suggest that there was an urgency to view South Africans as not only politically but also linguistically liberated.

Despite this legal elevation of African languages, English remains the preferred language of education at all levels, and there has been some research that points to a shift in language use in the home from African languages to English (De Klerk 2000; De Kadt 2002; Kamwangamalu 2003). However, more recent large-scale studies point to the continued use of African languages as home languages and increased use of English as a second language (L2) in the home, which suggests a move to bilingualism rather than a complete language shift (Posel and Zeller 2016; Posel et al. 2020). In the Western Cape, where this study was conducted, isiXhosa<sup>1</sup> is the most widely spoken African language (Statistics South Africa 2012), and it has a rapidly growing speaker base within this province. Three languages are used as media of instruction in Western Cape schools (Western Cape Education Department 2002) and official government domains: isiXhosa, English, and Afrikaans (Williams 2007: 6). Generally, schools in which the medium

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, *isiXhosa* will be used to refer to the language, while *Xhosa* will be used to refer to the culture.

of instruction is English seem to be more appealing to parents who are speakers of African languages (see De Wet 2002). Township schools in the Western Cape, where the medium of instruction is most likely to be either isiXhosa or Afrikaans, usually lack infrastructure and resources (see Bush and Heystek 2003). Furthermore, violence is far more common in township schools than in suburban schools (Masitsa 2011; Tintswalo 2014). Subsequently, black parents have lost faith in the schools in their communities and continue to send their children to schools that were previously designated coloured<sup>2</sup> during apartheid, and those who can afford the fees and transport costs send their children to former white-only schools (Ndimande 2012; Kanyopa 2018). The medium of instruction in the latter type of schools is predominantly English. Parents might or might not have systems in place to ensure that the child becomes competent in both the dominant language of the home and the language of teaching and learning at or shortly after school entry. Once at school, some parents prefer that the child communicates in English at school and in their mother tongue at home, whereas others do not mind that the child speaks English at school and at home, as fluency in English is seen as an important asset (Anthonissen 2013; Hickey 2020; Posel and Zeller 2020).

It is this discrepancy between the official status of African languages and the actual status of these languages within isiXhosa-speaking communities that sparked my initial research interest. Upon closer inspection of published literature, most of the studies investigating linguistic practices in isiXhosa-speaking communities (specifically) are about 20 years old (see De Klerk 2000; Kamwangamalu 2003). These studies relied predominantly on surveys and questionnaires which, despite their ability to capture a large amount of data, have limitations as regards to providing information on home linguistic practices. Currently, the research done on isiXhosa mainly focuses on the school context (e.g., Nomlomo 2010, 2013; Guzula 2018; McKinney and Tyler 2019). For instance, Nomlomo (2010) investigated Grade 4 classroom practices where science was taught through the medium of English and comparatively through isiXhosa. Guzulu (2018) investigates the linguistic practices of an after-school club and how the space might encourage isiXhosa-speaking children to draw on their full repertoires to make knowledge-based meaning. Current research on isiXhosa is thus skewed, in the sense that a focus on home practices is almost completely absent.

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<sup>2</sup> *Coloured* was a term used during the apartheid regime to refer to people who could not be easily classified as white or native. The identity category, as all identity categories is socially constructed. Although some people previously classified as coloured rejected the label, others have embraced and reconstituted what this identity category means to them. The term is still widely used by the government for redress and equality purposes and by many as a self-assigned identity marker.

My interest has been specifically in linguistic practices in isiXhosa homes in the Western Cape. This study addresses the knowledge gaps referred to above in a number of ways: It generates knowledge (i) on isiXhosa, a (still) neglected language of academic study, as well as (ii) on how people use their linguistic repertoires and engage in linguistic practices in the home. In this regard, sociolinguist Jan Blommaert (2010: 173) argues that what is needed is “a sociolinguistics of speech and resources, of the real bits and chunks of language that make up a repertoire, and of real ways of using this repertoire in communication”. This study attempts to look at these real bits and chunks of (isiXhosa) language use in the home context specifically instead of in school contexts. The study investigates (iii) how linguistic repertoires and practices, and language ideologies interact to form family language policies and family-based linguistic practices. As such, this study provides critical insights into an under-researched family language context.

Furthermore, the dissertation will also review established theoretical notions in the field of study such as ‘linguistic practices’ and ‘language ideologies’, and ‘linguistic repertoires’ by considering these in light of the data obtained within the context of family linguistic practices and policies in homes in which parents consider an African language to be their mother tongue. This dissertation will also generate new knowledge on family language policy and family language practices more generally that can potentially speak back to studies that have been conducted in Europe or the United States.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

An evaluation of the existing literature reveals that very little research on home linguistic practices, repertoires, and ideologies exists in African contexts (though see Banda 2003; Coetzee 2012, 2018; Anthonissen and Stroud 2021). This is a significant omission as home linguistic practices have been shown to have a substantial influence on children’s success in formal schooling (see, e.g., Hood et al. 2008). In this study, I will investigate the language practices, language ideologies and linguistic repertoires of three families in which the primary caregivers speak isiXhosa. An observation of these linguistic practices will give information about the value ascribed to isiXhosa, the language ideologies that individuals associate with this language and with their other linguistic varieties as well as the complex interplay between linguistic repertoires, practices, and ideologies. The study also critically engages with the notion

of family language policy in an African context. To structure the study, the research questions below will be answered.

### **1.3 Research questions**

- 1) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children?
- 2) What kind(s) of ideologies do isiXhosa-speaking parents, and their children have about the Xhosa language?
- 3) What kind(s) of value do isiXhosa-speaking parents and children ascribe to the isiXhosa language?
- 4) What kinds of language practices do young children in isiXhosa-speaking families engage in with each other, the rest of their families and their friends?
- 5) How do language ideologies, linguistic practices and linguistic repertoires mutually shape family language policies?

### **1.4 Aims**

The aims of this study are to:

- 1) investigate and describe the linguistic repertoires of isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children;
- 2) investigate and describe the kind(s) of ideologies that isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children have about the isiXhosa language;
- 3) examine the kind(s) of value that isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children associate with isiXhosa, the language the parents consider to be their mother tongue;
- 4) describe and analyse the kinds of language practices that young children in isiXhosa families engage in, and provide a systematic description thereof;
- 5) theorise how language ideologies, linguistic practices and linguistic repertoires mutually shape family language policies, and critically consider whether the data rendered by this study possibly necessitates amendments to the current conceptualisation of family language practices, language ideologies, and linguistic repertoires.

### **1.5 Theoretical point of departure**

The study is located within sociolinguistics and draws on the emerging field of family language policy. In addition, some key theoretical concepts such ‘language practices’ and ‘language ideologies’, and ‘linguistic repertoires’ guided the study.

### 1.5.1 Family language policy

Ferguson (2015: 5) defines “family language policy” as a policy that is “situated between the individual and the wider community and deals with the decisions made within this familial micro-community, which can be considered a community of practice with its own language-use norms”. According to Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018: 236), family language policy has received increasing attention in recent years as it provides a conceptual framework for investigating language changes in the family domains of a given society. Schwartz (2008: 400) argues that the family unit and home domain have been and remain important in heritage language maintenance efforts. There are complex relationships between parental language attitudes, their application in everyday language management activities, and the children’s knowledge of home language vocabulary (Schwartz 2008: 400). This statement affirms that the family unit is an essential environment for children to acquire their linguistic skills. Family units are structured in various ways and the structure has an influence on children’s linguistic development. This emerging sub-field of sociolinguistics, namely family language policy, framed the current study and is elaborated on in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

### 1.5.2 Language practices<sup>3</sup>

The sociolinguistic use of the term “language practices” borrows heavily from Bourdieu’s notion of ‘practice’, and views language to be an activity rather than a system (Pennycook 2010). According to Pennycook (2010: 2), practices are one of the key organising principles of everyday social activity, of which language practices is one example. Following Bourdieu, Pennycook (2010: 2) argues that practices are “actions with a history”, thus a focus on language practices needs closer scrutinising and theorisation of “time and space, history and location”. Recently, sociolinguists have engaged with ‘space’ in connection to linguistic practices. Blommaert et al. (2005: 197) set out to reverse the traditional way of thinking about linguistic practices by claiming that multilingualism is not something you have or don’t have, but rather

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<sup>3</sup> In this dissertation, *language practices* is used interchangeably with *linguistic practices*. I acknowledge the fact that by using *linguistic* rather than *language*, we can move beyond bounded notions of language. However, older research in this paradigm often use *language practices*, and as this dissertation is interested in how the view of practices in sociolinguistics has evolved, both terms will be used.

emerges in an environment that enables or disables the use of particular semiotic resources. Additionally, Blommaert et al. (2005: 197) are interested in how space organises regimes of language. The particular ‘space’ that I am interested in in this study is the home. However, the home cannot be viewed in isolation. According to Blommaert et al. (2005: 200), “environments are polycentric, and individuals always have to orient to multiple” centers of authority such as educational institutions, government, and religious institutions. Decisions with regards to linguistic practices made in the home are thus influenced by macro-structures of society and by different centers of authority. Linguistic practices are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

### 1.5.3 Language ideologies<sup>4</sup>

The theoretical development of the concept ‘language ideologies’ has taken place primarily within linguistic anthropology. Woolard and Schieffelin’s (1994) seminal exposition of the concept presents and debates a number of different definitions. A particularly influential definition is that of Silverstein (1979: 193), who defines “language ideologies” as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use”.

Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 273) defines “language ideologies” as a concept that “encompasses beliefs and attitudes about the perceived utility, value and status of the languages available in any given context and is considered the key driving force behind family language policy”. Because of its specific focus on family language policy, this is the definition that this study uses as a point of departure. Some work on language ideologies related to isiXhosa has been conducted (see e.g., Dyers 2008). Dyers’ (2008) study on the language use in intimate domains in a new non-racial working-class township investigated the attitudes of high-school learners towards languages in their intimate spaces, for example, when they speak to themselves, dream, or think, or speak to their closest relatives. Dyers (2008: 116) believes that by using these languages, learners “largely reflect the linguistic identities of their families”. Dyers used questionnaires, and individual and focus-group interviews to obtain most of her data. In the category “Speaking to your closest relatives at home”, only one Xhosa respondent reported the use of another language – Afrikaans – with her father. Two other Xhosa respondents reported that their parents did not allow them to use Afrikaans at home, probably because of the parents’

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<sup>4</sup> *Language ideologies* will be used interchangeably with *linguistic ideologies* in this dissertation.



association of the language with an oppressive past (Dyers 2008: 120). Language ideologies are elaborated on in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

#### 1.5.4 Linguistic repertoire<sup>5</sup>

Linguistic repertoire is a foundational concept in sociolinguistics. Recently there has been an expansion and reformulation of the concept to engage with notions such as mobility, space, embodiment, and race (Blommaert et al. 2005; Pennycook and Otsuji 2014; Busch 2015; Oostendorp 2022). The definition by Busch below is used as the point of departure in this dissertation:

The repertoire can thus be seen as a hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level and is inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus and which includes traces of hegemonic discourses. These discourses are expressed in categorisations that are backed up by inclusive and exclusive language ideologies. Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses, and codes, the linguistic repertoire forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imagination and desire, and to which speakers revert in specific situations.

(Busch 2012: 521)

This definition was selected as it captures the way in which practices and ideologies can shape the linguistic repertoire. In family language policy, linguistic repertoires are increasingly seen as an important theoretical concept to understand and theorise the choices families make with regard to language practices (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020; Lanza 2020; Purkarthofer 2021; Kusters 2021). Linguistic repertoire as a theoretical concept is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

### 1. 6. Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to collect the data which informed the research questions. Initially, the intention was to do an ethnographic study with frequent visits to the selected homes. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic this strategy had to be adjusted. In Section 1.6.1, I discuss the alternative data collection methods that I used. It is also important to reflect on my positionality. I am a first language speaker of isiXhosa and see myself as belonging to

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<sup>5</sup> In this dissertation, *linguistic repertoire* will also refer to the more recently coined *semiotic repertoires* and *communicative repertoires*.

the Xhosa culture. I started this research with a suspicion that there is a shift in home language practices of isiXhosa families and was interested in understanding what actually happened in the homes. I believe that my positionality gave me better access to the families as we shared a language and culture. It also made for enriching data collection since the participants, and I often found us seamlessly switching between English and isiXhosa during interviews.

### **1.6.1. Collecting data during the Covid-19 pandemic:**

The Covid-19 pandemic forced me to make some slight adjustments to the manner in which I initially anticipated to collect my data for this study. Due to the protective regulations instituted by the South African government and Stellenbosch University to flatten the curve of the number of infections with the virus, I could not collect data in person. I decided to collect data from the families virtually. All the families were familiar to me, and I managed to engage with them before the start of the pandemic. We did thus not meet each other for the first time during our first online session.

The data collection for this study took place over a period of 10 weeks with three selected families. The selection criteria were as follows: all families had to be lower-middle-class families that have at least one child of five to eight years of age residing in the home permanently (i.e., not living in another home regularly for a substantial period of the year). The first language of the primary caregiver(s) had to be isiXhosa. One of the families had to reside in a neighbourhood that is primarily isiXhosa-speaking, and the family selected lives in Langa, which was a residential area designated for blacks only during apartheid.<sup>6</sup> Another family had to reside in a neighbourhood which is more mixed in terms of first languages spoken, and which is more multiracial. The family selected for this case lives in Belhar, which was a coloured-only neighbourhood during apartheid. Lastly, I recruited a family that lives in an area which during the apartheid era was designated white-only. The latter family lives in Parklands. The type of family make-up (traditional nuclear family, single-parent family, etc.) was not a selection criterion. Family structure has been shown to influence language development of children to a significant extent (Ortiz 2009; Teufl et al. 2020). According to Teufl et al. (2020: 12), “children’s receptive and expressive language skills were nurtured by the harmonious relationship that a father maintains with his child as well as by his educational driven language

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<sup>6</sup> Langa is one of Cape Town’s townships. It comprises of both formal settlements (brick houses as well as apartments built by the government), and informal settlements (shacks).

provision”. In other studies, the important role of siblings in the family structure has been investigated (Ortiz 2009). For this reason, I did not limit myself to one kind of family structure. The goal was not to make comparisons between the three different families but to see each of them as a case study, showcasing the diversity of isiXhosa-speaking families in the greater Cape Town area.

For this study, I relied on both primary and secondary data. To collect the primary data, I conducted interviews with the parents and the children. I also collected language portraits of the parents and the children. As secondary data, I asked the families to record themselves and send me videos of dinner times, homework/schooling times, and times when the children were playing games, or just engaging with each other and/or friends. The in-depth interviews with the parents and the children were done through Zoom/WhatsApp video calling, for which I gave the parents R60 worth of mobile data because some did not have access to uncapped Wi-Fi. The parents sent me their language portraits via email. These different forms of data collection are briefly discussed below and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

#### ***1.6.1.1 Language portraits***

Language portraits consists of a blank body silhouette on a sheet of paper which participants fill in by using different colour pens to indicate the different linguistic varieties they know, use, and aspire to use. Busch, Jardine and Tjoutuku (2006: 11) explain that language portraits have the potential to encourage individuals “to think about the codes, languages, the means of expression and communication that play a role in their lives and to map them in a body shape drawing” according to the importance the individuals attach to them. This method of data collection assisted me in not only understanding each family’s language practices, but also seeing which languages play what role in their lives. This data collection tool became essential in describing the linguistic repertoire of each of the families and providing biographical data which illuminated some of the decisions they made with regards to language in their families.

#### ***1.6.1.2 Interviews***

With each of the families I conducted semi-structured interviews. The interviews helped me gain more understanding of the content of the language portraits that the families sent me, and they also allowed me to get insight into why the families had the kind(s) of practices that they had, as well as the kind(s) of ideologies that they had. Interviews consist of two or more people who “share their concerns around a certain theme of interest” (Makaluza 2018: 33). Silverman

(1997) and Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) agree that interviews provide opportunities for generating empirical data and creating a special form of conversation that will allow an interchange of views. In this study I used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews use “predetermined questions, where the researcher is free to seek clarification” (Holloway and Wheeler 2010: 8). Depending on where the interview goes, the researcher is free to ask questions/ additional questions that may arise in the conversation (Gray 2004: 6).

### ***1.6.1.3 Video and photographic data***

Initially, I was going to rely heavily on in-person observations for data collection. However, as stated above, with the strict Covid-19-related regulations that the government and Stellenbosch University put in place, I could not physically visit the families. Instead, I relied on the parents to make video recordings of TV time, homework time, dinner time, etc. and send them to me. I interviewed the families to get clarification on and context on the content of the video recordings. In addition, I also asked the children to take photos of what they deemed to be literacy materials in their home, such as books or iPads. These photographs were also used to start discussions about family language practices.

## **1.7 Data analysis**

In this study, I made use of thematic analysis to analyse the data collected from the families. Thematic analysis is defined as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79), where a theme is “an outcome of coding, categorisation, and analytic reflection” (Saldaña 2009: 13). Thematic Analysis requires reading and re-reading (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006) the already-coded data which then informs the development of themes and categories of data. Bryman (2012) also notes that reflections on the data guide theme identification across data sets. This is one of the reasons that thematic analysis was deemed suitable in this case, given that I had various data sets (from participants’ own recordings and photographs, interviews, language portraits). More information on the specific approach used is presented in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

## **1.8 Ethical considerations**

Goodwin et al. (2003: 567) state that “at the outset of a research project, considerable attention is focused on anticipating and addressing ethical issues”. From the conceptualisation of this study, I knew that I had to anticipate and address the ethical issues that pertain to this study. I worked with families and their children in this study. Children are vulnerable and, at times, unable to speak for themselves. This is why, from the onset, I had to focus on developing the trust between myself, as the researcher, and the members of the families, so that the latter could assist me in ensuring that the children are indeed well-informed and understand what they were agreeing to. Though initial consent and assent were negotiated, ongoing consent and assent were also required to ensure that all participants in the study were comfortable with the progressive stages of the data collection.

Flewitt (2005: 560) argues that “just as researchers must protect participant privacy, so they must also respect participant rights to confidentiality and avoid intrusion into participants’ personal affairs”. This was an important ethical consideration as crossing the line between observing the family’s language practices through the videos that they sent and intruding into their personal affairs could completely alter and possibly sabotage the study. Flewitt (2005: 560) goes on to say that during data collection “if mothers or children began to talk about issues that were clearly outside the research aims, I turned off any recording equipment, or, if this action appeared intrusive, I later erased sections of personal details”. Being aware of this, I had to be honest and forthcoming with the participants about what data I need from them and allowed them to cut out any data from the videos they sent me that they did not feel comfortable sharing with me. Apart from obtaining consent and assent from the parents and the children, respectively, I also utilised pseudonyms with the participating families, and ensured that the recordings, the transcriptions thereof, and all other data were safely stored on a password-protected computer and backed up on a password-protected hard drive.

## **1.9 Chapter outline**

This dissertation is organised into eight Chapters. Chapter 2 provides a critical overview of family language policy (FLP). In this chapter I look at the theoretical discussions in the field of FLP as a new and emerging field in Sociolinguistics. I also look at the definitions that scholars have come up with, as well as the methodologies that have been adopted in studies of FLP. Lastly, I discuss the importance of a Southern Perspective in the field of FLP.

In Chapter 3 I discuss the three concepts upon which this study is based, namely linguistic repertoires, language practices as well as language ideologies. I do not only give a theoretical overview of these concepts but also show how they have been used in the field of FLP. In addition, I also show how these concepts have been conceptualised in the literature as interconnected.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology of the study. I present an overview of the general and specific ways in which my study was designed. I also give contextual information of each of the families. This is essential in understanding the practices the families engage in, how their repertoires are shaped and how linguistic ideologies are influenced by their repertoires and practices. In addition, I also give a more extensive overview of thematic analysis and how I used it in my study.

Chapter 5 is the beginning of the analysis chapters. In this chapter I discuss the linguistic repertoires that emerged from the data collected from the families, specifically through the language portraits and interviews.

In Chapter 6, the second of the analysis chapters, I discuss the findings related to the language practices of the three families. This data came primarily from the video recordings that the parents sent to me, as well as the interviews of both the parents and the children.

The final analysis chapter, Chapter 7, focuses on the outside influences on the family language choices and policy. The chapter more clearly sets out how macrostructures such as school and other institutional settings, as well as locality and the kinds of people interacted with, shape language in the home environment.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of this dissertation and discusses the findings of the study and its significance. I draw conclusions, point out limitations and suggest ways in which further research can contribute toward the field.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Family Language Policy**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will focus on family language policy (FLP) as an emerging field in Sociolinguistics. The purpose of this section is to show the theoretical background of FLP as a field of research, the central debates occurring in this field and the studies conducted within it. I will be discussing the definitions of “FLP”, and I will also be analysing the methodologies used to conduct studies in this field. The notion of ‘family’ in FLP will receive critical attention, and a review will be done of how the role of various family members, namely parents and children/ siblings, play in the creation, implementation and upkeeping of a FLP has been researched. The chapter will end with a discussion on how a Southern perspective can enrich FLP research and by showcasing research that has already been conducted in the global South and has enriched FLP theory.

#### **2.2 Defining FLP**

FLP is often viewed as the investigation of explicit and overt ways in which families plan to use language in the home environment (King et al. 2008). According to King and Fogle (2013: 172), FLP is an incorporation of various fields that have shown an interest in the ways in which families use language, including (but not exclusive to) language socialisation, discourse analysis, and psychological approaches to bilingualism.

According to Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 272), FLP is often conceptualised as if it investigates “how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families”. This definition takes the view that FLP focuses on the intentional management of language within the family, and it also suggests that a FLP provides a linguistic path that family members are to follow. Ferguson (2015: 5) states that FLP deals with the language choices made within the micro-community, which is the family, and that these choices and this micro-community can be regarded as a “community of practice with its own language use norms” (Ferguson 2015: 5). In this regard, she sees FLP as a policy that is “situated between the individual and the wider community”, introducing the idea that FLP connects the individual to a wider community. Ferguson (2015)

thus acknowledges the part that the wider community can play in the formation of FLP. In many other definitions, the emphasis is on “language choice” and “language use” within the family (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008; King and Fogle 2013). In other words, FLP elucidates the dynamics of language in the home environment, which examines how the child/ren in the home use language in relation to how the adults view and use language, and vice versa. In essence, FLP links how the child relates to language, on the one hand, with the social and cultural context of the family, on the other hand (King and Fogle 2013). However, in this explanation, there is no mention of how FLP can affect the adults in the family.

Challenging the idea of FLP as deliberate, Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 277) explains that in most cases, FLPs are not deliberately planned by parents. Instead, parents often position themselves towards the “default options” which they see as “pre-determined by historical and cultural circumstances beyond the family’s control” (Berardi-Wiltshire 2017: 277). In more recent definitions of FLP, there is greater acknowledgement of the covert aspects of FLP as well. For example, King and Fogle (2013: 83) refer to “FLP as the “explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as *implicit* processes that legitimise certain language and literacy practices over others in the home”. Furthermore, Macalister and Mirvahedi (2017: 4) sees FLP as part of the broader Linguistic Ecology<sup>7</sup> as whatever languages are used in society and in other domains ultimately affect how language is used in the home environment. This links with Ferguson’s (2015: 5) definition, stated above, of how FLP connects an individual to the wider community. An example that shows how FLP connects an individual and the wider community is from a study conducted by Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018: 244). This study provided an account of how families in China with Fangyan as their heritage language have had to work out a way of using language in the home, with Fangyan, Putonghua (the lingua franca of China, politically promoted and the language of instruction in all schools) and English (the language of international participation and employment). With the existence of these three languages used in society, the children’s use of language in the home has had to be negotiated. The findings of this study showed that some parents no longer used Fangyan in their homes with their children, even though it had been an integral part of their own lives. They believed that there was no environment for their children to use Fangyan, and that if they were to succeed in life, they would have to learn Putonghua and English for international opportunities. In a similar vein, Smith- Christmas (2016: 1) argues that underlying

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<sup>7</sup> The field of linguistic/language ecology is interested in the relationship that languages have with each other and with the society in which they co-exist.



the development of the field of FLP is the question of how some children who are brought up in bi/multilingual environments can become just as competent in their minority language as they are in their dominant language. By ‘minority language’, Smith-Christmas (2016) means the language which the child uses less in their sociocultural environment, with ‘dominant language’ being the language that the child uses most in their sociocultural environment. Maseko and Mutasa (2018: 48) elaborate on the minority and dominant language issue by stating that FLP “deploys the mediating role of transnationalism and transnational language experiences among immigrant families in children’s bilingual development and language shift, as well as to understand the maintenance of heritage languages by immigrant communities”. This suggests that the role that FLP plays is in integrating immigrant families into their new environments of socialisation, mediating the process of language shift as well as of language maintenance. Schwartz (2008: 400), however, is of the view that the focus of FLP is in fact the family as a vital place for promoting language maintenance. By this, Schwartz puts the focus on FLP as a tool that immigrant families use to maintain their heritage language. Schwartz (2010: 171) elaborates on her argument and states that research on language maintenance and language shift has emphasised how immigrant families structure the way in which they preserve their heritage language.

King and Fogle (2008: 1) contend that the study of FLP analyses the way in which people perceive language (what their views of language are), as well as what they do with language. This means that how people will eventually use language will be determined by their views and perceptions of it. In many homes, it is the parents who give direction about how language will be used in the home, and that often depends on their own view of language. Adding to the discussion of FLP being an intentional policy on using language, Parada (2013: 301) argues that FLP is a bridge between two fields, namely language policy and language acquisition. Parada (2013: 301) further states that in the past language planning and language policy making were mechanisms that were derived at “institutional” level (e.g., in schools or in government) and overlooked the power of the “bottom-up” decisions about language that are made at the family level. Parada’s view highlights the agency that families have to choose language policies that do not necessarily concur with those of the broader society, e.g., choosing to speak a language at home that is not the dominant societal language.

This discussion around FLP emphasises the fact that FLP cannot exist on its own. By this I mean that what the family decides about language can affect how the family members use

language even in spaces outside the family, and that how language is used outside of the home can also influence FLP. The first environment in which a child acquires language is at the family level (Slavkov 2017: 2). Curdt-Christiansen and Wang (2018: 236) also write that studies conducted in FLP have shown that FLP has assisted children in their social and language development. They are of the view that FLP is derived by parents because they have a concern for the future of their children. They argue that the decisions that the Chinese parents in their 2018 study made when formulating a FLP do not take into consideration the heritage language. Instead, it is informed by what the parents believe language to be in relation to how it is used in society, its power as well as how much value is attributed to which language (Curd-Christiansen and Wang 2018).

In this dissertation, I will use definitions of FLP that acknowledge and theorise how FLP are influenced by outside influences. Definitions such as that of Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) and King and Fogle (2013) will be built upon. The reason for this focus is that it is exactly the status of isiXhosa in relation to wider society (in policies and in the educational system) that prompted my study and my focus on home language practices. From the outset, I thus never viewed family language practices as results of explicit decisions made in the home *only*.

### **2.3 Methodologies used in FLP studies**

The discussion around different methodological approaches conducted in FLP studies is important because it shows how these different approaches in FLP have shaped the findings in particular ways. Schwartz (2010: 185) writes about the varied ways in which FLP research has been conducted and states that:

There is great diversity of methodological tools used to investigate FLP, which may constrain the ability to compare the data and generalise the findings. At the same time, the variety of tools reflects the complexity of FLP research, which addresses a wide range of socio-linguistic contexts and demands an interdisciplinary approach.

(Schwartz 2010: 185)

The variety of methodologies that are available to conduct FLP research makes this field of study dynamic. This also means that research in this field is growing, although it is difficult to generalise research findings. Schwartz (2010: 185) states that the most widely used approach in the field is qualitative methods, which go with in-depth and semi-structured interviews (see,

e.g., King et al. 2008; Chatzidaki and Maligkoudi 2013; Pillai, Soh and Kajita 2014; Gomes 2019). Schwartz explains that the importance of interviews is that they provide a “sensitive” means of understanding the family’s practices. Interviews also allow the researcher to have one-on-one contact with the participants, which may provide a space where the researcher can get to know the participants better, instead of making assumptions and drawing conclusions about them based on, for example, a survey, which is impersonal.

Other commonly used methods in FLP research are surveys or online questionnaires, which can be useful for recruiting participants for the more qualitative aspects of a project as well. For example, Gomes (2019: 37) used online questionnaires followed by semi-structured interviews. He documents his experience of finding potential participants for his study on the interconnections between language practices and ideologies of Brazilian-Norwegian families living in Norway. He says he had no choice but to kick-start his data collection process with online questionnaires, because he did not know any Brazilians in Norway when he arrived. He explains that “questionnaires are typically employed in large-scale surveys that allow researchers to present an overview about reported language practices of multilingual families in a certain context” (Gomes 2019: 37). As a result, posting the questionnaire on a Facebook Group platform worked well for his study, because it is a platform used by many people who were his target participants. The strategy of using an online questionnaire allowed him to get as many potential participants for his study as possible. Even though he received many responses from his online questionnaire, he was building towards ultimately finding his main participants for the study: From the online responses, he came up with a criterion of selecting only families who resided in the capital (Oslo), where he also resides, so that he would be able to visit these families easily. For a study that involved the family unit, it would have been “insensitive” of him to use the online questionnaire as only data collection method, because it would have given him the views of an individual from the family, which would not necessarily have been the views of the entire family unit. Once he identified his main participants, he also used semi-structured interviews, which took place in the homes of the participants as well as other places, depending on the availability of the participants.

More researchers are also exploring the possibilities of online data collection for FLP research. Piller and Gerber (2018), for example, conducted a study on how immigrant parents living in Australia understood bilingualism. They traced the FLPs and strategies that these parents used to raise their children bilingually and recommended by studying the posts and discussions on

an online forum which the parents used to share parenting advice. This is a different approach to the usual one-on-one interview approach. One advantage of this approach is that the discussions that took place on the forum occurred “naturally” and did not represent “researcher-generated data” (Pillar and Gerber 2018: 3), i.e., the topics of discussion were not initiated or directed by the researchers. A shortcoming of this method is that the researchers were unable to account for the demographics of the participants as well as for their language repertoire. Lexander and Androutsopoulos (2021:1) used mediagrams to investigate the multilingual communication practices of four families living in Norway who had a Senegalese-background. Importantly, the study used a number of different methods including ethnographic observation, language portraits, media maps and excerpts of digital conversations that the participants selected themselves. The data was then “coded and visualised in graphs that represent individual networks of interlocutors, language choices, language modalities, and media channels” (Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021: 1). The researchers then conducted follow-up interviews and amended the mediagrams based on what the participants shared. Lexander and Androutsopoulos (2021: 15) identify two of the advantages of this approach. Firstly, the mediagrams provided a visual output which could give insights into the “similarities and differences across individual mediational practices” (Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021: 15). Secondly, the mediagrams facilitated the data collection by providing “an anchor of joint attention for collaborative reflection” (Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021: 17). Mediagrams however, are not without its limitations and it is crucial that it is used together with other methods. One of the most salient disadvantages is that they “represent regularity rather than singularity”, and thus could potentially reduce complexity rather than showcase it (Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021: 16).

Schwartz (2010: 185) states that there is a growing “tendency for methodological triangulation in FLP research”. According to Mackey and Gass (2005: 181), “methodological triangulation” refers to the numerous ways of collecting data in one research project. This approach is said to also reveal the “invisible” factors that occur or arise during intergenerational language transmission in the families. Johnson (1994: 246) says that triangulation is important because it “reduces observer or interviewer bias and enhances the validity and reliability of the information”. In other words, methodological triangulation reveals the intricate and deeper aspects of the study that would not have been revealed had the researcher used only one way of collecting their data. An example of a study that used methodological triangulation is Okita’s (2002) study of Japanese intermarried families’ (Japanese-British) transmission of minority

language. In the study, Okita conducted a general survey to find out the distinctive features of the participants. After doing the survey, she used in-depth interviews with mothers and fathers, thereby combining both qualitative and quantitative research methods. This was useful in that it gave a richer understanding of data that was collected.

Researchers of FLP increasingly use an ethnographic approach (Luykx 2003; Hu and Ren 2016; Lanza 2021; Lee 2021). Ethnography allows for the researcher to experience the environment of their participant, instead of only relying on them answering questions in an interview. According to Wilson (1977: 250), in ethnography, “the observation takes place in natural setting”, and “researchers must understand how an event is perceived and interpreted by the people in a speech community”. In other words, the researcher has the responsibility of interpreting the environment as well as the situation of the participant based on how the participant experiences it and not based on how they understand it for themselves. Gomes (2020), looking at the language practices and language ideologies of a Brazilian-Norwegian family residing in Norway, adopted an ethnographic approach. Based on the data that he analysed, his main finding was that FLP is not only about the choices parents make and ideologies that parents have; and that negotiating language choice is sometimes not the most urgent matter that parents have to attend to in their children. Using the ethnographic approach assisted Gomes (2020) in obtaining findings that were much richer than if he had relied just on semi-structured interviews, because when it comes to language ideologies, people may say they believe one thing, yet their behaviour may reflect something else. In a similar vein, a study by Curdt-Christiansen (2009) on the ideological factors of the FLP of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec, adopted the ethnographic approach. This approach assisted her in not just finding the visible but also the invisible factors that came into play when families planned their language policies. One of the findings of this study was that –

High educational expectations and aspirations, embedded in their daily home literacy practices, are among the major contributing factors that visibly and invisibly inform family language policies with regard to children’s academic success and multilingual development. These strong beliefs, attitudes, expectations and aspirations about the importance of multilingual education and high academic standards can be translated into active involvement and investment in the children’s school and educational lives.

(Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 371)

Increasingly, researchers combine ethnographic approaches to FLP with not only the traditional observations, questionnaires and interviews but also make use of visual and arts-based methods.

Patrick et al. (2013) used photovoice as part of their ethnographic investigation in FLP in an urban Inuit community. Purkarthofer (2019) examines how three couples who are expecting their first child envision their FLPs by using language portraits and biographic methods in combination with ethnographic interviews. This method shows the intersections between “lived and planned” when parents discuss their (potential) FLPs (Purkarthofer 2019: 737). These additions to ethnographic approaches to FLP research can be seen as an attempt to capture more of the complexity of family language practices, ideologies, and repertoires.

## **2.4 The notion of ‘family’ in Family Language Policy**

Outside of FLP research and sociolinguistics, the idea of the family has received much critical scrutiny (Parke 2004; Edwards and Graham 2009; Hall and Richter 2018). According to Hall and Richter (2018: 23), the word ‘family’ “may conjure up memories and ideals”, pointing to the lived experiences of being part of a family but also the myths and ideologies that underly what is considered as family. As examples of the different constellations that could be regarded as family, Hall and Richter (2018: 23) state that it “could be a large, multigenerational network of people including children, cousins, grandparents, aunts and uncles who are linked by blood, marriage or ties of co-residence and who share a home (or neighbouring homes) or are spread across the country”. “Family” can also refer to two parents and at least one child living in the same home, or to parents living with “new partners and an assortment of biological and non-biological children who move between homes” (Hall and Richter 2018: 23). It can also refer to members of the same sex raising children together or to a parent raising children on their own, or to grandparents raising their grandchildren. “Family” can furthermore refer to “siblings living together” without an adult in the household (Hall and Richter 2018: 23). In South Africa, the simple definition of “family” as parents and children living together in the same home is problematic. Hall and Richter (2018: 26) point out that there is a long history of family patterns in South Africa being disrupted by conflicts, laws, and other societal disruption. The separation of men from their family homes due to labour migration (especially to the mines) and the fact that black women who worked as domestic workers in white suburbs could not bring their children to live with them are two concrete examples of how apartheid laws shaped families within South Africa. In terms of societal factors, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and the lack of effective treatment during the early days also led to rise of child-headed households in South Africa. Recent statistics show that South Africa’s families consist of nuclear families (which comprises a couple with their own children only; 19% of the country’s households); single-

parent families (viz. a single parent living with his/her own children only (11%), and extended households (36%) (Statistics South Africa 2018). In households in which both parents are absent, the grandparent(s) (68%), an aunt or another relative (19%), or siblings (7%) are typically the caregivers (see Hall and Mokomane 2018).

In the earlier days of FLP research, there was little critical scrutiny of the notion of family. In an early study, Fishman (1991) writes that the family is a private space that regulates guidelines to constrain how one uses and chooses language with the members of the family. The interaction between public and private is foreclosed in this definition, with family being viewed as private. In numerous studies conducted (e.g., Knapp et al. 1993; Abecasis et al. 2000; Mangelsdorf et al. 2011), ‘family’ has been understood in the sense of it being nuclear; in that there are two parents who have children who are all biologically related. However, this understanding has been criticised in recent studies of FLP (Lomeu-Gomes 2020; Wright 2021; Lanza 2021). It has become essential to regard each family as unique and complex, and each one warrants its own critical attention in the research of its FLP. According to Lanza (2021: 764), the most identifiable element of a multilingual family is the way in which the family members use language and participate in communication with one another, through their different linguistic practices. In other words, one of the ways in which family units distinguish themselves is in the way they communicate. Van Mensel’s (2018) notion of a multilingual ‘familylect’ illustrates how a family’s language policy develops through everyday interactions. Lanza (2021: 769) argues that families “construct themselves, their family identity, through many ways and language plays an important role in this construction”; the people who are regarded as ‘family’ are regarded as such, amongst others, in terms of the commonality in language practices, and how they discursively construct themselves.

Instead of the family being regarded as a fixed unit, it can be viewed also in terms of social structures arising in different social interactions, since ‘family’ is a social construct (Baca and Eitzen 1993; Wilson and Tonner 2020). Furthermore, according to Lanza (2021: 765), the “dynamic and complex” characteristic of ‘stretched’ families involves the necessity to contemplate the family “as a space, social in nature, as opposed to a domain”. This notion suggests that the family can be regarded as a space not be limited to geographical or physical presence, where meaning and relationships are arranged through language and semiotic resources (Lanza 2021: 765). ‘Space’ as an important concept for social sciences and humanities was foregrounded by Lefebvre (1991). In the humanities and social sciences, space



is understood as dynamic and constantly arranged among different social actors with different power, resource constraints, and social practices (Lanza 2021). In negotiating language practices (which is one kind of social practice), the roles that different individuals play become essential in the family space: There are those who formulate the language policy and those who follow it.

With these more critical discussions on what exactly the notion of ‘family’ entails in FLP research, different kinds of families have now been investigated. King and Fogle (2013) for example investigate the FLP of transnational adoptive families. Purkarthofer et al. (2022) seek to question the dichotomy between private and public spaces in FLP research and refer to foster families as an under-explored family structure. Coetzee (2018) investigated the linguistic practices of families where the adolescent parents do not live together. Although the notion of ‘family’ has increasingly been discussed in more detail, studies on FLP have mostly focused on families with a migration background, especially on how families from non-European countries find ways of inserting themselves into their new socio-cultural environments, which are mostly in European settings. In section 2.5, I discuss FLP research within Southern contexts and again touch on different kinds of family structures.

#### **2.4.1 Parental ideologies on establishing FLP**

In raising bi/multilingual children, immigrant parents may have to strike a balance between integrating themselves into their new sociocultural environments, yet at the same time they are under pressure to make good linguistic decisions for their children. These decisions are an attempt to ensure that their children stay true to their roots, while also integrating well into their new environment (Berardi-Wiltshire 2017). According to Maseko and Mutasa (2018), in some instances, FLP is not used as a language maintenance strategy but rather as a language shift strategy. The language shift occurs as a result of immigrant parents believing their children surviving and succeeding in their transnational environments would require that they acquire the language that is more valued in their new sociocultural environment. Parada (2013: 301) argues that the language practices and behaviour of the family are essentially shaped by the beliefs and attitudes of the parents. Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 277) similarly argues that it is the parental ideologies about the heritage language that have an effect on whether the children maintain the heritage language and are proficient in it. Ultimately, it is the parents’ choices and actions (what they allow and do not allow) which will either make the home an environment where the children will learn and grow in their heritage language or an environment in which



they will lose it. This means that the way in which parents negotiate the use of, formulate and endorse the heritage language in the home has a lot of influence on how the children will relate to it and later, and whether or not the children will value it.

Schwartz (2010: 183) argues that one of the challenges parents face are the intellectual and emotional investments made into teaching their children two (or more) languages which becomes somewhat “frustrating” and “burdensome”. In Okita’s (2002) study of Japanese intermarried families’ (Japanese-British families living in the UK) transmission of the minority language, part of the parents’ frustration stemmed from the “invisible” work that they had to do: the planning and the managing, mostly “monitoring and controlling the children, coordinating schedules and organizing events” (Okita 2002). In a similar vein, Okita (2002: 5) states that the parents are full-time homemakers, in the sense that they have to make sure that everything in the home is taken care of (taking care of the children, cooking, cleaning, paying bills etc.); yet they still have to face conflicting language demands. Often the demands on the parents are exacerbated if they feel a personal responsibility for their children’s limited English proficiency, because they themselves are not English (L1) speakers. Studies such as these have reflected (i) on the emotional turmoil and pressure that parents experience to ensure that their children are smoothly integrated into their sociocultural environments and (ii) on the fact that decisions (or the lack thereof) that parents make or don’t make about language in the home are a result of the personal “pressures” that they experience.

#### **2.4.2 Parents as agents of FLP**

Parents play a pivotal role in the planning, formulation, and implementation of the FLP at home. Parada (2013: 301) states that FLPs focus on the ideas and viewpoints that parents have about language. These ideas and viewpoints shape the way in which they behave as well as the expectations they have about the language practices of the family and influence their children’s language development (Parada 2013: 301). According to Parada (2013: 301), parents are thus not only the creators of the language policy in the family, but also pass on expectations and behaviours to their children. The family structure of any family tends to have an impact on how the children learn general life skills and lessons, and on how they learn language. According to Ortiz (2009: 33), the structure of families determines the potential variations in how families interact. For example, in a single-parent household, the children might not be as interactive with their parent, since the parent may be a working single parent. This means that the children may

be unable to interact with their parent as much as when there are two parents in the home (Ortiz 2009).

The different settings in which children may be growing up may affect their vocabulary development opportunities (Hamilton et al. 2000; Tardif et al. 2008; Southwood et al. 2021). These settings also include the variation in family resources, the availability of the parents to interact with their children (as mentioned above), their energy, their attentiveness, the quality of the relationship they have with their children, as well as the control they have over or the influence they have on their younger children (Walldén 1990; Steelman et al. 2002; Ortiz 2009). It suggests that even the way in which language policies are formulated and emphasised in the home can be affected by the family structure.

Nonetheless, the way in which parents value and use language in the home affects how the children later value and use language in life. Parents tend to (intentionally or unintentionally) transfer their own beliefs about language to their children. A study by Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) of Spanish-speaking families residing in New Zealand showed that beliefs that the parents have about language are carried over to their children. According to Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 276), the overall response of the parents who were participants in the study showed that they have well-defined goals and expectations when it comes to the language development of their children, and these goals are based on the firm belief in the need to maintain the heritage language. The data for this study was collected through face-to-face interviews in the homes of the participants. Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) states that the parents believe that the heritage language is a means to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity. This suggests that parents teach their children their heritage language to prevent the loss of knowledge of their identity. Participants in this study also spoke of how they believed that maintaining the heritage language was important for connecting to other family members. However, even though parents expressed their beliefs on the importance of maintaining the heritage language, they also expressed their beliefs about the value of English as a language for international opportunities, and that raising their children bi-/multilingually will place them at an advantage when it comes to life's opportunities. Maseko and Mutasa (2018) put it this way: Parents are the “authorities” who possess ideologies about language that determine how their children will use language in their life.

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) argues that FLP does not take place in an empty space. Societal ideologies and discourses influence the language practices of the family as well as the children's acquisition of language. This suggests that family-external influences, or societal influences, are inevitable, and that FLP does not exist separate from them but is inclusive of them. Consider as an example in this regard the findings of Schwartz (2008), who investigated Russian-Jewish immigrants living in Israel. This study showed that 69% of the parents reported using both Hebrew and Russian when they spoke with their children, 31% Russian only and 0% Hebrew only. When it came to the language practices of the children, the findings showed that 58% of the children used Russian when speaking with their fathers and 53% of them spoke Russian with their mothers. However, Schwartz (2008) recorded 74% of them having used Hebrew when speaking to their friends at school. This shows that although parents do not use (only) Hebrew with their children at home, the children use Hebrew quite prevalently outside the setting of their home. Furthermore, Berardi-Wiltshire (2017) says that even though FLP analyses the family's actual language use patterns, it also involves the study of external forces such as the socio-political and cultural contexts of the families. In Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) study on ideological factors that impacted the FLP of Chinese immigrants living in Quebec, it was found that when it comes to political factors, the participants regarded English as a more powerful language. As a result, and based on their own experiences, they believe that speaking a minority language put them at a disadvantage. This was because they could not access equal education opportunities and could not obtain social mobility. This then informed the way in which they would draw up the language policy in their homes for their children, because none of the parents wanted their children not to have access to equal opportunity for education and/or not experience social mobility.

In some cases, parents may come up with rules in the family to ensure that the heritage language is maintained. This is supported by a study by Elkhaliq (2018) which showed that Syrian mothers living in the UK would not allow their children to speak only English in the home. They ensured that the children are proficient in both Arabic and English. However, parents are not always aware of the choices that they make about language. Therefore, it is not accurate to claim that parents are necessarily intentional about maintaining the heritage language or allowing their children to learn a dominant language for job opportunities. Sometimes parents may switch from one language to another without thinking about it (Gomma 2011; Elkhaliq 2018).

It is important to also to discuss the parents' role in the maintenance of the heritage language in the home. The proficiency and development of the heritage language in children is partially determined by the attitude of the parents toward it and the value that they ascribe to it (Berardi-Wiltshire 2017: 272). The attitude that parents have toward the heritage language will influence the way in which they manage the use (or lack thereof) of the language in the home. When it comes to the ways in which parents ensure that the heritage language is preserved in the home, Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 273) refers to Spolsky's model of language policy, which has the following three components:

Language practices (the everyday ways in which languages are used in the home), language management (the conscious ways in which language use is managed, for example by making it a rule to only speak one language in the home) and language ideologies, which include the attitudes and beliefs about languages that lie at the basis of both language practices and language management

(Berardi-Wiltshire 2017: 273)

According to Berardi-Wiltshire, these three components are the foundation on which the heritage language may be maintained in the home.

### **2.4.3 Children (and siblings) as administrators of FLP in the home**

King and Fogle (2013) argue that the FLP has focused extensively on parents being agents and has ignored how *children* may play the role of agents of FLP in the home. In many cultures, children are regarded as active members in the community (Goodwin 1990; Corsaro 2005; Kheirkhah 2016) and in the home. This is shown by the fact that, in some cases, parents are not the ones who come up with ways in which language is used and managed in the home; the children may be the ones influencing the adults to use English or another language (Maseko and Mutasa 2017: 52). Children, due to outside influences such as school, may encounter new languages that are used in society and as a result may influence the parents and the family at large to use and manage language in a way that may be contrary to how the parents taught them (Kyratzis 2004; Gafaranga 2010; Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin 2011; King and Fogle 2013). Additionally, children regard the official language of their school as important, which then shapes their family language practices and family language socialisation (Canagarajah 2008; King and Fogle 2013). School is a very influential space for children because they often spend most of the waking hours of their weekdays there. How they perceive, use and manage language in school plays a major role in how they ultimately perceive, use and manage language in the home environment, as well as in the community. The official language of the school, to a certain

degree, becomes the position on which they stand when it comes to making a choice about how they use language in the home environment as well (King and Fogle 2013). Though parents may be determined to guide their children into certain language socialisation practices, it is possible that children may alter their parents' ideas of language socialisation and come up with their own. Spolsky (2008: 18) says that children can abandon their parents' linguistic endeavours, which can result in a conflictual understanding of what makes up the family's relevant language choices. This statement by Spolsky (2008:18) suggests that children, from the time they start going to school, may have the power to choose for themselves how they want to use and manage language in the home and in the community. It also means that it is possible that children can cause the FLP to change. Luykx (2005: 1409) mentions that parents may be inspired to make decisions that cause the entire family to interact in new languages, because of their children's linguistic aspirations. By this, Luykx (2005: 1409) states that in cases where migration has taken place, and the family now resides in an area of greater educational opportunities for the children, the parents may have to take the position of "subordinates", with the children becoming the "linguistic authorities" of the home. Children may go as far as "challenging" or "ignoring" how their parents prefer that they use language in the home. They may end up insisting on speaking the dominant language of the area, while the parents would prefer that they use their heritage language.

In fact, there are circumstances that force the parents to reach linguistic socialisation through the children. Children, in such situations, tend to be more resourceful than their parents and they become the teachers of new languages to their parents, and in so doing, administer the FLP of the home (Pease-Alvarez and Vasquez 1994; McQuillan and Tse 1996; Valdés 2003). Also, children may be of the understanding that the new sociocultural environment that they are in requires them to abandon their heritage language and focus on acquiring the new language. Gafaranga (2010: 264) conducted a study on the Rwandan (Kinyarwanda-speaking) community in Belgium and found that children used "medium requests"<sup>8</sup> for translation in French, which was their language of preference. They asked for translations of Kinyarwanda from the Kinyarwanda-speaking adults they interacted with. This then resulted in adults not only translating, but they also shifted to speaking French in their interactions with the children in the home. In this study, Gafaranga (2016) found that children's agency was crucial. He states that

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<sup>8</sup> When young members in the community interact with the older members in the community, they constantly ask the older members to "medium-switch" from Kinyarwanda to French.

through their interactive practices, family members practiced language shift, in that the families adopted French as the medium of family interactions (Gafaranga 2016: 266).

Another factor that may influence how children use language in the home is how they interact with their peer groups. The peer groups that children are in, especially the ones that may be at school, provide a platform for “negotiations” and “exploitations” of various languages (Kheirkhah 2016: 21). Children in their peer groups may then express a variety of perceptions toward various language varieties, (societal) monolingualism and the bilingualism of families (Blum-Kulka and Snow; 2004; Kyratzis 2004; Kheirkhah 2016). This means that children may be immensely affected by the linguistic variations of the peer groups that they are in, and it may also alter how they view language in society.

In some instances, it could be the siblings who have the power to administer the FLP of the home. Various studies (Parada 2013; Hoff 2014; Berardi-Wiltshire 2017) show that the role of siblings (mostly the older siblings) is significant in influencing language use and choice in the home. According to Berardi-Wiltshire (2017: 272), “natural intergenerational transmission of languages can occur within the family domain with parents and siblings playing a key role in children’s heritage language development”. This means that siblings can be effective in governing new languages that are used in the home. Older siblings play an important role in either reinforcing the heritage language or introducing the use of English (or another language) and at times code-switching from the heritage language to English. In a study conducted by Parada (2013) of Spanish L1 speakers from Mexico residing in the United States of America for an average of 10 years, it was found that –

Of the respondents, who had an average age of 37.2 years, with regard to the eldest child, a large majority (83%) reported using mostly Spanish, while the remainder indicated they used both in most interactions. The rate of nearly exclusive Spanish use in speech directed toward the second-born child drops to 72%, and then to 69% and 60% for the third- and fourth-born children, respectively, representing a gradual decrease across birth-order categories in favor of a combination of both Spanish and English.

(Parada 2013)

This depicts that parents may be intentional at first about teaching and maintaining their heritage language in the home with the first child, however, the zeal and interest to keep the standard with the second and third child may drop significantly. This may then cause the first-born child

to be the one who either reinforces the use of the heritage language or introduces the use of English with their siblings (Parada 2013).

In a similar vein, Bridges and Hoff (2014) conducted a study to investigate the influence of older siblings (who were not born in the US) on language exposure and their developing way of using language in the home on their younger toddler siblings born in America. Bridges and Hoff (2014: 256) found that toddlers with school-aged siblings used more English than Spanish compared to toddlers who did not have school-aged siblings in the home. This means that older siblings have an influence on how their younger siblings use language in the home; and they may also have an influence on the way in which their parents use language (Bridges and Hoff 2014: 255). Kibler et al. (2014: 171) also report on the influence of older siblings. In their study that used surveys, older siblings to a significant extent impacted “second-generation Latino preschoolers’ language production”. Children with older siblings were “less likely to talk to their mothers and other children” in Spanish only (Kibler et al. 2014: 171). This means that older siblings have a role they play in not only influencing their siblings but their parents as well and this potentially may lead to influencing the whole family and to changing the FLP of the home.

## **2.5 Family Language Policy: Southern perspectives**

In the humanities, there has recently been a critical reflection on the kinds of knowledge that is produced. Critical questions posed include who is doing research, where is the research conducted, what gets published where, and who gets to theorise. Insight into these questions points to the kinds of knowledge that is produced, and what is excluded. One critical perspective on knowledge production is Southern Theory (Connell 2007), also referred to as epistemologies of the South (Santos 2014), or theory from the South (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012). Connell (2007) states that Southern Theory questions the supremacy of Western models by considering other thinkers and other points of view that are overlooked in academia (Connell 2007: 40). According to Santos (2014), there are two main theories of knowledge of the South, namely the “ecologies of knowledge” and the “intercultural translation”. Gomes (2019: 20) explains that ecologies of knowledge refer to the dialogue that investigates the conditions of a “horizontal dialogue between knowledges”, whereas intercultural translation is understood as the “alternative both to the abstract universalism that grounds Western-centric general theories to



the idea of incommensurability between cultures”. Simply put, this means that the cultural and the epistemological diversity of the world is upheld by the notion of ecologies of knowledge. According to Comaroff and Comaroff (2012: 113):

Western enlightenment thought has, from the first, posited itself as the wellspring of universal learning, of Science and Philosophy, upper case; concomitantly, it has regarded the non-West—variously known as the Ancient World, the Orient, the Primitive World, the Third World, the Underdeveloped World, the Developing World, and now the Global South—primarily as a place of parochial wisdom, of antiquarian traditions, of exotic ways and means. Above all, of unprocessed data.

(Comaroff and Comaroff 2012: 113)

In other words, Western enlightenment has treated non-European countries as “reservoirs of raw facts” instead of sources of “refined knowledge”, and the Global North has been capitalising on non-Western ‘raw materials’ by apparently adding value to them and refining them (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012: 114). The Southern perspective, therefore, challenges the lens through which FLP is viewed and considers the context of the non-European countries when engaging in FLP research. Rosa (2014: 1) argues that –

There is nothing new about the fact that some social scientists have been disconcerted by the way in which our disciplines have constructed their master narratives, appropriating Euro-American sociological theories to give meaning to the idea of society in the rest of the world.

(Rosa 2014: 851)

The Southern perspective, then, critiques the narrative that solely bases the study of FLP on Western ideologies about language socialisation (Gomes 2019: 19). This means that when studying the lives of families that have moved abroad and their language socialisation, it is important to also note the role of colonisation as well as the hierarchy of economic and cultural relations. In addition, it is also important to recognise that multilingual families do not only emerge through processes of immigration. In African communities, it is normal for multilingual communities to reside side by side and for multiple languages to be acquired in a natural instead of an instructional setting (Banda 2010).

A Southern perspective of FLP is important, because it helps us understand how parents and children makes sense of the South-North transnational trajectories (in the context of immigration), their lived experience of the intercultural encounters, and how these relate to their



multilingual practices at home (Gomes 2019: 21). This is encompassed by Dyers (2018: 3) who states that there are two main questions to ask, namely –

What do people from diverse backgrounds do with their existing linguistic resources when moving to challenging new urban settings where they have to learn to co-exist with people from very different backgrounds?', and 'What are the implications of such practices for community building, educational institutions and state language policies? (Dyers 2018: 3)

In aiming to enrich FLP research with a Southern Perspective, Gomes (2020) conducted a study on the ways in which Brazilian parents make sense of their transnational and multilingual experiences in Norway, and the language ideologies that inform their language practices in the home. This study gives insight into North-South trajectories in multilingual families and lets us “understand the racialised structures of inequality that the participants have to navigate in their daily lives” (Gomes 2020: 3). The research also points to the complexities of social class, gender and race/ethnicity and how they influence language ideologies and practices of families. According to Gomes (2020: 3) research that gives Southern theory a central role can also unravel the “historical links between contemporary language ideologies and practices, and social hierarchisations that date back to colonial times”. The purpose of the Gomes study was thus to investigate different factors that come into play when families from the South try to sync into their new transnational settings, and the fundamental issues that shape their language ideologies, which ultimately inform their language practices in the homes.

Some studies from a Southern perspective or in Southern contexts have complexified the kinds of family structures looked at. Coetzee (2018: 219), for example, looked at South African families in the Western Cape where adolescent parents who have a child together do not live in the same home but with their “respective extended families”. She concluded that the kinds of discourses used by the families in justifying language practices demonstrate that family-making practices differ and that “the very notion of ‘family’ needs to be critically assessed in FLP research with an emphasis on diverse ways of family making” (Coetzee 2018: 302). Anthonissen and Stroud (2021) investigated the language positions and practices of African migrants in South Africa. Their study not only shows the under-researched element of FLP, in looking at African migrants in an African context, but also contributes theoretically by introducing temporality in FLP. They emphasise that those African migrants with permanent and stable career opportunities usually move with their families. There are however also those

who migrate to South Africa and leave behind family members, such as their wives and their children, which then disrupts the nuclear family structure, as well as the extended family structure (Anthonissen and Stroud 2021). This kind of study critiques the idea that FLP is a field of study in which families are always permanently residing together. This is in agreement with Lanza's (2021) argument stated above, that families are not limited to geographic or physical presence but are social spaces in which meaning, and relationships are arranged through language and semiotic resources. Furthermore, Anthonissen and Stroud (2021: 109) also argue that the fact that some migrants do not have a fixed address or a stable income influences their ability to plan. This puts the spotlight on how much family language *planning* can be seen as deliberate when other issues are more pressing than language choice in the home for certain types of families.

Anthonissen and Stroud (2021) suggest that though FLP research has started to unpack the notion of 'family' critically, the notion of 'vulnerability' has not been sufficiently engaged with. Vulnerable migrant communities extend the understanding of 'family' and provide an opportunity to theorise FLP through a vulnerabilities lens (Anthonissen and Stroud 2021).

McKinney and Molate (2022) in their case study of the FLP of one family in South Africa (where both parents spoke an African language as L1) argue that the colonial and apartheid history produced hierarchies of languages which has effects on the choices that the family made. According to McKinney and Molate (2022), the fact that schooling was in monolingual English led to the children in family having less of an opportunity to learn the languages of their parents. The parents created opportunities for the children to learn by making sure they socialised with cousins and extended family in the rural areas where the languages of the parents were spoken more regularly. McKinney and Molate (2022) argue that this gives insight into how the history of colonialism shapes the family practices but also into the strategies used by parents to resist monolingualism for their children. Maseko and Mutasa (2018: 470), in their study of Kalanga family language practices in Zimbabwe, similarly found that the school as a space shaped the language practices that children engaged in. Zimbabwe, with its similar history of colonialism to that of South Africa, also has English as the prestigious language of education. Maseko (2022) has also brought to bear other important aspects on FLP research, such as the effects of intergenerational trauma on FLP. Maseko (2022) investigated how the Matabeleland genocide in Zimbabwe has influenced how Ndebele speakers have made choices in their families with regards to language. In the family investigated by Maseko, Shona (the dominant language in

Zimbabwe) is strictly prohibited in the home. This is interpreted as “a coping strategy against the various language prejudices and ideologies circulating” and points to the fact that FLP is “an emotionally laden notion” with past experiences of language being central in its formulation (Maseko 2022: 12).

## **2.6 Summary**

This chapter introduced the notion of FLP and the key debates in the field. Commonly used methodologies and what can be learned from each kind were also discussed. Critical attention was paid to the notion of ‘family’. Lastly, the chapter suggested that theory developed based on data collected in the global South could enhance FLP by more centrally focusing on coloniality, vulnerability, trauma, and temporality. In the next chapter, some of the key theoretical concepts in FLP, such as ‘linguistic repertoires’, ‘language ideologies’, and ‘language practices’, will be discussed.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Shaping family policies: Linguistic repertoires, language ideologies, and language practices**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will discuss three concepts which have been shown to shape FLPs. They are linguistic repertoires, language ideologies, and language practices. First, I will give a general overview of each of these concepts focusing on their origins, trajectories, and current usage. Linguistic repertoire will be discussed first followed by language ideologies and lastly language practices. The chapter will then specifically connect these concepts to FLP by focusing on how they have been used in FLP research.

#### **3.2. Linguistic repertoire**

Linguistic repertoire is a concept deemed as important since sociolinguistics evolved as an independent discipline (Gumperz 1972). Recently there has been renewed interest in the notion and engagement with concepts such as space, mobility, embodiment, and race in the reformulation and expansion of linguistic repertoire (Blommaert et al. 2005; Pennycook and Otsuji 2014; Busch 2015; Oostendorp 2022). This concept has also proved useful in research on FLP (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020; Lanza 2020; Purkarthofer 2021; Kusters 2021). The specific application of repertoire to FLP research will be discussed in section 3.5.1 of this chapter. In the following section I will discuss the history of linguistic repertoire as well as current formulations and conceptualisations of the notion.

##### **3.2.1 The history of linguistic repertoire**

Gumperz (1972: 20-21) first defines linguistic repertoire as the “totality of linguistic resources (i.e., including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities”. This view conceptualises linguistic repertoires as equivalent to linguistic resources that members of a particular community have access to. However, Gumperz (1972: 20) further worked on this definition and included aspects of how to use these linguistic resources (the varieties, dialects and styles) in communities. This expansion goes beyond only

named languages but was used to refer to all the methods that people “know how to use and why” (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 11). It is thus not only linguistic resources (such as language varieties) that are seen to form repertoires within this conceptualisation but also cultural resources (genres, styles) and social resources such as the norms for the production and understanding of language (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 11). Blommaert and Backus (2013: 11-12) further argue that in Gumperz and Hymes and their peers’ understanding, repertoires were connected to speech communities. Repertoires became what distinguished communities and the commonalities of the repertoire ensured simple and natural communication. According to Blommaert and Backus (2013:11) this was a result of “traditional ethnography”, where the ethnographer studied a community – “a group of people that could somehow be isolated from the totality of mankind and studied in its own right”. However, there have been developments in how the term has been used and understood in recent years. As an expansion to Gumperz’ definition of linguistic repertoire, current sociolinguistics has redefined the very nature of language and linguistic competence so that it can incorporate mobile speech communities, as opposed to the notion of stable communities that traditional ethnographers studied (Blommaert and Backus 2013). Moreover, the developments that have taken place in theoretical work on linguistic repertoire have been driven by or necessitated methodological approaches beyond ethnography. For example, in research which have foregrounded bodily and emotional aspects of linguistic repertoires, first person-accounts often elicited by visual methods have become common-place (Busch 2012; 2017; Bristowe et al. 2014; Oostendorp 2022). Language is reconceptualised “as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory and multimodal resource for sense and meaning making” (Wei 2018: 22).

### **3.2.2 Reconceptualised linguistic repertoire**

In this section the recent reconceptualisations and expansions of linguistic repertoire will be discussed. I will focus on how mobility, space, and embodiment have been incorporated into conceptions of linguistic repertoire.

#### ***3.2.2.1 Linguistic repertoire in superdiversity***

An important impetus in the reformulation of linguistic repertoire was the recognition of increased diversity in Northern contexts. In some quarters of sociolinguistics, the concept ‘superdiversity’ coined by Steve Vertovec (2007) was taken up. According to Vertovec (2007) ‘superdiversity’ refers to the occurrence of globally spreading mobility, which involves new and dynamic social formations and communication practices that exceed traditional

communities. Even though there has been the existence of relatively stable communities, such communities have now become temporary in that the phenomena of superdiversity have increased and now communities are subject to fast changes. Consequently, due to diverse communication settings, including the media space, speakers are involved in dynamic and reterritorialised communities of practice. In such contexts sociolinguists argued that it became necessary to reassess the notion of linguistic repertoire (Busch 2012; Blommaert and Backus 2013).

According to Blommaert and Backus (2013: 13) it is more difficult to talk about 'ethnic' neighbourhoods, as neighbourhoods are increasingly less homogenous and instead are "layered and stratified". Migrants from all over the world are engaging in more dynamic and incalculable patterns of migration and social life in such neighbourhoods is negotiated through not only face to face interactions but also through the technological affordances of the internet and mobile phones which allow, "opportunities to develop and maintain social, cultural, religious, economic, and political practices in other places" (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 13). Most of the ordinary or usual patterns of social and cultural practices that were essential in the evolution of "social-scientific theories" have now been accompanied by a wide variety of new 'abnormal' norms (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 13).

This then means that the effects of superdiversity are pragmatic, in that superdiversity makes us see the new social environments that we live in as distinguished by "an extremely low degree of presupposability in terms of identities, pattern of social and cultural behaviour, social and cultural structure, norms and expectations" (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 13). We can no longer make assumptions about who lives where and what kinds of practices they engage in. Individuals can no longer easily be associated with certain (national, ethnic, sociocultural) groups and identities; the ways in which they now must negotiate meaning is no longer founded on belonging to a particular language or culture, because the reality of the nature of social environments has become dynamic. These new social formations have also shaped ideas around language and linguistic repertoires. Sociolinguists are increasingly interested not only in challenging what language means but also in how language shapes identity through interaction. Identity is then not something pre-given but created through interaction (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 13). This new conception of linguistic repertoire is embedded within "a sociolinguistics of mobility, in which actual resources move through time and space" (Blommaert 2009: 421).

### 3.2.2.2 *Linguistic repertoire and space*

Since the introduction of superdiversity has put the focus on space, linguistic repertoire also needed to engage with that notion. According to Heller and Duchene (2011:14) “sociolinguistics has recognised that its traditional attention to fixed places and moment” is not adequate in addressing questions of language and mobility. Blommaert et al. (2005: 215) state that “people have varying language abilities – repertoires and skills with languages – but that the function and value of those repertoires and skills can change as the space of language contact changes”. This statement shows the importance of space in the shaping of linguistic repertoires. Taking the importance of space in the formulation of repertoires into account, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014: 162) created the concept, spatial repertoire which “refers to the linguistic resources at people’s disposal in a given place”. Linguistic resources are now seen as moving “in and out of places” (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014: 165). A further advantage of taking a spatial account of linguistic repertoire is that instead of a focus only on individual repertoires, “the ways in which linguistic resources become available in relation to the activities, people and organization of particular places” can be highlighted (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014: 180). In more recent work, all the resources in a space are seen to influence a linguistic repertoire. According to Canagarajah (2018: 31) all resources working together to create meaning should be considered. In similar vein, Pennycook (2018: 453-454) states that “... linguistic resources intersect with the spatial organization of other repertoires ... that bring a range of other semiotic practices into play”. Furthermore, Pennycook (2018: 450) suggests examining repertoires “from individual and social to spatial and distributed”.

### 3.2.2.3 *Linguistic repertoire and embodiment*

The movement to view linguistic repertoires as embodied is led by the work of Brigitta Busch (2012, 2017, 2021). Busch (2012) proposed a post-structuralist theoretical approach of linguistic repertoire. According to Busch (2012: 507) “linguistic choices are not only determined by the situational character of the interaction and by grammatical and social rules and conventions” but is also dependent on the specific history of the individual or community. Busch defines the repertoire as –

a hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level and is inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus and which includes traces of hegemonic discourses. These discourses are expressed in categorizations that are backed up by inclusive and exclusive language ideologies. Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses,

and codes, the linguistic repertoire forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imagination and desire, and to which speakers revert in specific situations.

(Busch 2012: 521)

Expanding on the emotional and embodied dimensions of linguistic repertoire, Busch brings linguistic repertoire into conversation with notions such as the lived experience of language, and the body image (Busch 2017, 2021). According to Busch (2017: 352), the lived experience of language points to “the bodily and emotional dimension of intersubjective interaction”. Past experiences together form “bodily patterns of interacting [which are] established and constantly updated from childhood onward” (Busch 2017: 352). Taking the idea of embodiment further Busch (2021: 191) introduces the idea of the body image “that foregrounds how people experience and evaluate their communicative resources in relation to others and to language ideologies, and how such bodily-experience condensate”. The body is seen as important on several levels: firstly, on how the body is used and experienced and interpreted in social interaction, secondly on how the body is constructed in discourses, and thirdly on how the body stores specific experiences (Busch 2021: 194). There are also other scholars who have worked on embodiment in relation to linguistic repertoire (Blackledge and Creese 2017; Kusters 2017). Blackledge and Creese (2017: 251) explores “how the body is put to work in the process of communication”, while Kusters (2017: 226) investigate how objects, including bodies “are semiotically charged”. These authors have made a significant contribution but Busch’ work remains seminal on linguistic repertoires and embodiment.

### **3.3 Language ideologies**

In this section language ideologies will be discussed. The focus will be as with the previous section (on linguistic repertoires) is on the history, development, and current expansions of the term. A number of overview articles and book chapters on language ideologies exist (Kroskrity 2004; Piller 2015; Rosa and Burdick 2017). I will use Kroskrity’s (2004) chapter as a model for my discussion since he foregrounds the history of the term as well as all the dimensions of language ideologies relevant to this dissertation. How language ideologies have been studied in relation to FLP will be discussed in section 3.5.2 of this dissertation.



### 3.3.1 History of language ideologies

According to Kroskrity (2004: 496) the ways in which speakers have thought about language have traditionally “been neglected, dismissed, denigrated, or proscribed as objects of study and concern until relatively recently”. Kroskrity (2004: 496) also states that several different definitions of language ideologies exist, because there is not a coherent field organised around this notion. Kroskrity (2004: 498) views the contribution of linguistic anthropologist, Michael Silverstein, as seminal in the development of the concept. Silverstein (1979: 193), defined language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. Another influential definition is provided by Gal (2006: 163) who refers to language ideologies as –

those cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame, and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices.

(Gal 2006: 163)

With all these definitions circulating it shows that the field have now become a vibrant area of research, although it is a departure from the descriptive work that linguistic anthropology was traditionally interested in (Kroskrity 2004: 496). Language ideologies have now moved to be an area of central concern in the fields variously called sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and linguistic anthropology (Kroskrity 2004: 501).

### 3.3.2 Multiple dimensions of linguistic ideologies

According to Kroskrity (2004: 501) there are 5 overlapping but distinguishable dimensions to language ideologies, this includes “group or individual interests”, “multiplicity of ideologies”, “mediating functions of ideologies” and the “role of language ideology in identity construction”.

A focus on group or individual interests shows that beliefs about language are never value-free or neutral. One such belief is that idea that so-called standard varieties of language are value-free. According to Milroy (2002: 530) there is a belief that certain languages exist “in standardized forms” this belief alters the way in which speakers think about these languages and language in general. The standard language ideology relies on notions of correctness, common-sense, legitimacy and maintenance. According to Kroskrity (2004: 503) “the standard language, which is presented as universally available, is commodified and presented as the only

resource which permits full participation in the capitalist economy and an improvement of one's place in its political economic system". This insight from Kroskrity (2004) is exemplified by several empirical studies (Lippi-Green 1994; Wiese 2015; Kircher and Fox 2021). Davila (2016: 217) who investigates standard language ideologies in writing studies states that standard varieties are presented as "linguistically neutral" and egalitarian. The standard variety is not seen as linked to a specific culture "making it the commonsense choice for a standard language that anyone can use" (Davila 2016: 217). Cushing and Pye (2021: 1) in their work on standard language ideologies in England, show how teachers are presented with a "a de-historicised and de-politicised version of standardised English which masks the structural power relations that are embedded in language".

Language ideology is always grounded in social experience which means that even members of the same social grouping can have vastly different ideas about language. According to Kroskrity (2004: 503) by investigating multiple ideologies and the ways in which ideologies interact, we gain a better understanding of historical processes and how these shape language ideologies. Blommaert's (2001) views on officialisation of languages shows how informative it is to consider various ideologies. One ideology is that making a language official is always good. However, Blommaert argues that although officialisation might decrease the inequality between languages it can increase inequality within a language, as invariably one variety is chosen over another as official. Bangeni and Kapp (2007) for example show isiXhosa students with varying educational backgrounds have different attitudes and language ideologies towards isiXhosa and English. Similarly, Plato (2021) shows how different trajectories of linguistic repertoires led to her participants having different linguistic ideologies to all the linguistic resources in their repertoire.

According to Kroskrity (2004: 507) "language users' ideologies bridge their sociocultural experience and their linguistic and discursive resources by constituting those linguistic and discursive forms as indexically tied to features of their sociocultural experience". Linguistic anthropologists Judith Irvine and Susan Gal have developed a set of concepts to explain this mediating bridge that is played by language ideologies. These include iconisation, erasure and fractal recursivity. Irvine and Gal (2003: 37-38) describe, iconisation, as –

A transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked', by which the linguistic features

indexically associated with a social group come to be taken as an iconic likeness, depicting that group's 'inherent nature'.

(Gal 2006: 37-38)

Related to iconisation is stereotyping which is defined as an “ideological process [that] involves a specific connecting of language use to the characteristics of individuals or personality types” (Tan 2012: 348). Irvine and Gal (1995:4) states that “recursiveness involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level”. This provides communities with the means to distinguish themselves as different from other communities. Erasure “is the process in which ideology, in simplifying the field of linguistic practices, renders some persons or activities or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible” (Irvine and Gal 1995: 5). Even when there might be information or material that does not align with the “ideological scheme”, they are either rendered invisible by explaining it away or they simply go unnoticed (Irvine and Gal 1995: 5). An example of this is where within a social grouping there might be different linguistic varieties spoken, but because it is important for the group to see itself as homogenous, the existence of these varieties will be denied (Irvine and Gal 1995: 6). According to Irvine and Gal (1995: 6), --

Erasure in ideological representation does not necessarily mean, however, actual eradication of the awkward element, whose very existence may be unobserved or unattended. It is probably only when the "problematic" element is seen as fitting some alternative, threatening picture that the semiotic process involved in erasure might translate into create shifting “communities”, identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast, within cultural the field.

(Irvine and Gal 1995: 6)

Numerous studies have used Irvine and Gal's concepts to explain these mediating functions of ideologies (Tsitsipis 2003; Stroud 2004; Wee 2006; Milani 2008; Alfaraz 2018; Cooper 2018; Phyak 2021). Stroud (2004: 196) for example used Irvine and Gal's notion of iconisation to investigate how speakers of so-called Rinkeby Swedish a “potential, imagined, pan-immigrant contact variety of Swedish” are constructed “as outside of a symbolically reconstituted community of ‘real’ Swedish speakers” to ensure that they have restricted access to “important linguistic and symbolic resources”. Alfaraz (2018: 49) in his study on the Cuban diaspora in the USA found that language ideologies are maintained “through erasure and essentialization”. This allows the participants to create a sense of authenticity and legitimisation. His participants within the diaspora generally hold negative attitudes towards the variety of Spanish spoken in

Cuba which they believe to be “the product of deep social, cultural, and moral degradation produced by the political system that had overturned the social hierarchy” (Alfaraz 2018: 62). Most interestingly, the evidence of similarities between varieties of the diaspora and the national variety in Cuba are ignored. Even new arrivals show a preference for the diaspora variety over the national variety, that they are themselves speakers of (Alfaraz 2018: 62). Cooper (2018) studies Kaaps in schooling contexts. Kaaps is a stigmatised and marginalised variety of Afrikaans. Cooper (2018: 30) argues that “language ideologies were perpetuated through semiotic processes known as iconicity, recursiveness, and erasure”. Kaaps took on an iconic relationship with being coloured. Standard Afrikaans was seen as the “pure” variety while recursively Kaaps was seen as of lower quality and slang. The use of Afrikaans was erased in these schools, especially in written form (Cooper 2018: 30).

According to Kroskrity (2004: 509), language ideologies are often used to construct and represent “various social and cultural identities”. Research that investigates how language ideologies are used in the constitution and deconstruction of national boundaries have thus become an important part of research on language ideologies. This research shows “that when language is used in the making of national or ethnic identities, the unity achieved is underlain by patterns of linguistic stratification which subordinates those groups who do not command the standard” (Kroskrity 2004: 509). Blommaert (2011: 241) in his study of Belgium found that there is a denial of bilingualism in the language ideological debate in Belgium. Although purity is often a language ideology celebrated for national identity making (Hansen-Thomas 2007; Wiese 2015; Hoffman 2008), there are also some contexts in which hybridity and mixing is seen as a signifier of national identity (Tsitsipis 1995; Swigart 2000; Bhatt 2008). Dong (2009: 115) shows how in a Beijing public school “small features of language become emblematic of individual and group identities” which evoke dominant language ideologies. The study of language ideologies is vibrant and has become a significant area of interest.

### **3.4 Language practices**

According to Pennycook (2010: 22), the increased use of “the term practices to describe language use needs to be understood in a far broader context”. It is not only socio- and applied linguistics that increasingly focus on practice, but the movement is extensive enough in the social sciences and humanities for some researchers to refer to a practice turn (Pennycook 2010: 22). In this section this practice turn, will be discussed in relation to applied and sociolinguistics.

### **3.4.1 Language practices in applied and sociolinguistics**

According to Pennycook (2010: 28) current understandings of practice “attempts to make the observable doings of the everyday central to an understanding of social life, and simultaneously to view such activity in terms of regulated and sedimented social conduct”. In sociolinguistics it is perhaps now a mainstream idea that language should be viewed as a practice, although this has not always been the case. In current understandings, language practices are seen as “repeated social actions from which the apparent regularity of language emerges” (Hiratsu and Pennycook 2020: 451). Practices are not necessarily synonymous with use, as language practices are not always a choice. A view of practices simply as use presupposes that one can choose how to use a language and subscribes to a view of language as “a preexisting entity from which we can pick and choose instead of an integrated set of social and semiotic activities” (Hiratsu and Pennycook 2020: 451). Currently, language practice research rather looks at local, ordinary social interactions and activities and try to understand how and why “language regularities emerge” (Hiratsu and Pennycook 2020: 451). As this view of language practices implies, much of the recent practice driven work in applied and sociolinguistics have been formulated out of ethnographic studies. This has led to the coinage of several new concepts attempting to capture the linguistic practices that people engage in as they get life done. This includes concepts such as crossing, metrolingualism and translanguaging (see Rampton 1995; 2017; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Garcia and Wei 2014). Crossing and metrolingualism will just be briefly expanded on, while translanguaging which forms a more important part of this dissertations’ theoretical framing will be discussed in more detail.

### **3.4.2 Crossing and metrolingualism**

The notion of crossing emerged out of the long-term ethnographic work Ben Rampton did with youth in London (Rampton 1995, 2009, 2017). He noticed that in language practices of these youth, they could adopt the ethnicity of others or could together with others form a new one. A large part of these practices was formed discursively. This prompted him to coin the term crossing, which “involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (code switching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them) (Rampton 1995: 485). This was regarded as not “ordinary” switching but some kind of transgression “across social or ethnic boundaries” and raised questions of legitimacy, such as who was allowed to engage in this kind of practice, and who wasn’t (Rampton 1995: 485). In the peer groups that he studied the ethnic mixing

resulted in a substantial amount of “similarity in the linguistic patterns that adolescents displayed in routine talk” (Rampton 1995: 492). In more recent work, Rampton emphasised that it is not necessarily globalisation or increased migration patterns that drives the kinds of linguistic practices that he describes in his work, but he rather places these practices within local practices that are “fundamental to human sociality” (Rampton 2009: 172). Subsequently, in several different contexts, the notion of crossing has been employed to investigate locally grounded linguistic practices (Cutler 1999; Vaish and Roslan 2011; Canagarajah 2012; Banda and Peck 2016; Dovchin 2019; Sultana 2019).

Metrolingualism also emerged out of long-term ethnographic work, focused on interaction. According to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 240) metrolingualism describes “the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language”. Metrolingualism provides a space to talk about language practices that are embedded in fluidness and in “fixity” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 240). Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 244) emphasise that just as much as the local may take up the global “or localised forms of cosmopolitanism” it is generally not acknowledged that in interaction “local forms of static and monolithic identity and culture” can also be used. The central concern of metrolingualism is “language ideologies, practices, resources and repertoires” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 244). A look at each of these concepts adds something unique. Language ideologies “provides an understanding of the ways in which languages need to be understood in terms of the local perspectives of the users and the different struggles to represent language in one way or another” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 244). A focus on practice provides a perspective of language that language is not an object used in different settings but rather “an emergent property of various social practices” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 244). Finally, by focusing on resources and repertoires instead of named language, a perspective of language emerges of resources gaining meaning in interaction (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 244). In later publications, Pennycook and Otsuji (2019) have emphasised the ordinariness of metrolingualism. By a focus on the ordinariness or mundane, they wish to emphasise that difference is at the core of human experience, “diversity is not exotic or something that others have” (Pennycook and Otsuji 2019: 176). They further argue that “ordinariness emerges from the repeated and sedimented practices of humans and non-human actors (material objects) involved in the sets of activities related to particular places” (Pennycook and Otsuji 2019: 184). These everyday practices which can be called mundane metrolingualism is not only multilingual but also multisensorial and multimodal and tied with spatial arrangements and the materials within the spaces and places

in which these everyday encounters occur (Pennycook and Otsuji 2019: 184). Like, crossing, this idea resonated with researchers working within a number of different contexts (Jaworski 2014; Kusters 2017; Yao 2021).

### **3.4. 3 Translanguaging and translingual practices**

Perhaps the most influential of these new concepts to describe language practices, is translanguaging. Although originally developed within a Welsh pedagogical context by Williams (1994, 1996) to refer to the use of the alternate language in reception or production of texts in class, the use of the concept has expanded. The concept now refers “to both the complex language practices of plurilingual individuals and communities, as well as the pedagogical approaches that use those complex practices” (Garcia and Wei 2014: 18). The review in this section will not discuss the substantial body of work within the educational context and will instead focus on the context outside of schooling, as this is the focus of the current dissertation. According to Garcia and Wei (2014: 18) the concept represents a radical departure from how bilingualism and language more generally was seen in linguistics. The concept has been defined in various ways with Garcia and Wei’s (2014: 20) view of translanguaging as referring to “new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states” being a central definition. Translanguaging foregrounds linguistic practices and features which come together in interaction as a complete whole even if these features can work independent of each other (Garcia and Wei 2014: 20). The focus for translanguaging as with crossing and metrolingualism discussed above, is once again practice. Also, similarly to metrolingualism, this is seen as an ordinary practice of billions of people around the world (Garcia 2009).

Influential contributions have been made by Wei (2011) especially with his notion of translanguaging space. Significant also is that this research was conducted outside of the educational space which was the initial focus of translanguaging research because of its origins in pedagogy. According to Wei (2011: 1222) “translanguaging space is a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging”. It is in this space where intercultural translation takes place, while it is also a space of “creativity and criticality” (Wei 2011: 1222). Praxis and practice are foregrounded in this conceptualisation of Wei. He states that although there are various ways that one can go about studying translanguaging, such as



“the historical and political dimensions of the space or structures and interpersonal relationships that emerge from the space”, he chooses instead to focus on “moments”. He refers to moments as “spontaneous actions or events that have special indexical value to the individual and significant impact on subsequent development of actions and events” (Wei 2011: 1334). This focus on moments also puts a lot of focus on the speaker and the value they place on such interactions. This requires that studies be conducted with both observations and with first person accounts of the participants (Wei 2011: 1334). According to Wei (2011: 1334) linguists have a responsibility “to analyse what translanguaging space, both as a process and as a product, mean to the individuals’ social life in terms of identity formation and development”. This approach emphasises that multilingual individuals are acting agents and can enact their agency for social change. It collapses the boundaries between what is regarded as public and private, the individual is always creating spaces in interaction, thus with others. In later publications, Wei (2018) broadens the notion of translanguaging spaces even more. He sees the notion as being able to build a bridge between cognitive and social approaches to multilingualism research. He emphasises that those who engage in translanguaging practices, do have the ability to use bounded languages but they use practices such as translanguaging to “consciously construct and constantly modify their sociocultural identities and values through social practices” (Wei 2018: 23). Further application of the notion of a ‘translanguaging space’, have been done by many other scholars and increasingly in contexts outside of schooling (Gorter and Cenoz 2015; Pennycook 2017; Capstick 2020; Abraham et. al 2021; Abraham et al. 2021).

‘Translanguaging’ as a theoretical concept, has not been without criticism. Most of these criticisms have been directed to the pedagogical research done in this paradigm. Jaspers (2018:1) argues that translanguaging in schooling has been lauded for its ability to change the status quo. Jaspers (2017: 9) however warns that fluid language in classrooms might not change more “than the actual language use in class” and that advocating translanguaging as the pinnacle of transformation obscures other methods in which classrooms can transform. Similarly, Heugh (2021) proposes that translanguaging might not be enough and that transknowledging, or the transformation of the content of lessons is also needed.

In this dissertation translanguaging will be investigated outside of the educational context and exaggerated claims of the potential of translanguaging to transform the lives of participants will be avoided.



### 3.5 Shaping FLP: Repertoires, ideologies, and practices

In this section the key concepts discussed above will be placed within the context of the family.

#### 3.5.1 Linguistic repertoires and FLP

The notion of linguistic repertoire is central to several studies conducted under the FLP paradigm or on family language practices more generally. These studies often emphasise how linguistic repertoires are connected to language ideologies and language practices. Purkarthofer (2021:732) “investigates how German speakers living in Norway with their families navigate partially shared repertoires”. This study follows a similar approach to the current dissertation by drawing on ethnographic and biographic approaches. According to Purkarthofer (2021: 744) “communicative or linguistic repertoires will inevitably overlap within a family, but usually will not be the same for all members”. This requires of speakers to “navigate” resources. Purkarthofer (2021: 744) suggests that researchers need to be aware of “micro-negotiations” that shape repertoires and ultimately FLPs. This research also questions the boundaries of a family and shows how those who might not conventionally be regarded as family can help shape the linguistic repertoires of the more central members of the family. According to Van Mensel (2018: 237) the immediate family environment can substantially shape a child’s initial linguistic repertoire. The family thus has a shaping role on an individual’s repertoire, so “individual trajectories and repertoires can be regarded as coming together within the family”. Van Mensel (2018: 237) thus introduces the notion of “the multilingual family repertoire” which refers to a repertoire that to some extent is shared by all the family members. This family repertoire is constantly in formulation. This repertoire can “be negotiated, promoted, but also contested, by both the parents and the children” (Van Mensel 2018: 237). Similarly, Lanza (2021: 766) argues that; the “family space is continually negotiated as are spaces within the family...” Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2020) take a critical approach to each of the central notions of FLP: family, language, and policy. They prefer the concept “translingual family practices” to refer to “an expansive and dynamic understanding of the different elements at play in family interactions”. In addition, they refer to a “translingual family repertoire (TFR) which serves as form of “family cohesion and “as a marker of family dynamics” (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020: 749). Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2020: 749) suggest that bilingual families are not so much concerned about the maintenance of languages but rather on family life as an

embodied experience. This means that” the family repertoire is in fact both an enabler and an outcome of family interactions” (Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020: 749).

### **3.5.2 Language ideologies and FLP**

Language ideologies have been a frequently researched notion in FLP. Language ideologies related to English is a frequent topic of investigation showing the bias in sociolinguistics and in research more generally (See Chapter 2 for a discussion on Southern perspectives of FLP). Also often investigated are the views of bilingual parents on bilingualism and on their children’s bilingual trajectories. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2016: 4), the desire of parents to raise their children bilingual, can be tied up with discourses and ideologies of “good parenting”. As Kroskrity (2004) warns multiple language ideologies even within the same group is a result of diverging experiences. This is confirmed by a study conducted by King and Fogle (2006). They investigated middle-class families in the United States on how their language ideologies and their parenting informed their FLPs. They used interviews to collect their data and found that the positive perception that parents have of additive bilingualism in English-Spanish was a result of their individual experiences of learning language and it was connected to their perception of being ‘good’ parents. Parents might of course have diverging language ideologies, and this might lead to conflicting views and conflicting language practices and management interventions (Curdt-Christiansen 2016: 4). Conflicts of this manner may shape the home language practice which may result in community language shift (Curdt-Christiansen 2016: 5).

In a study conducted by Kirsh (2012) in Great Britain, where she interviewed and observed seven middle class Luxembourgish mothers who desired that their children know both Luxembourgish and English, Kirsh (2012) found that because the families were residing in a monolingual environment, the chances of their children becoming bilingual were limited. This was because even though the mothers strongly identified with Luxembourgish and wanted to ensure that they expose their children to Luxembourgish, staying in an environment that only promoted English led to ideological clashes. Soler and Zabrodska (2017) conducted a study about exploring language ideologies in transnational multilingual families. They based the study on a series of sociolinguistic interviews. They interviewed three Spanish-Estonian families in which the fathers were Spanish speakers, while the mothers spoke Estonian. In this study they found that the language(s) that the couples used when they first met played a big role in how they later used language in the home when they had children. One of the couples mentioned that they spoke to each other in English because they were not fluent in each other’s

native languages. At the time of the study, however, all the couples had learned their partners' language both in informal and formal ways. One of the families said they use "Estanglish", which is a term they came up with to describe the language environment of their home. This term describes the mixing of English, Spanish and Estonian. Soler and Zobradskaja (2017: 556) found that all the couples admitted that when they had children, they tried to apply the 'One-Parent-One-Language' (OPOL) strategy as means to manage their heritage languages in the home. This meant that each parent would stick to speaking to the children in their own native language. The fathers only spoke Spanish to the children and the mothers only spoke Estonian. The language ideology behind that was that each parent believed that they would be the best model of the language to their child, and they believed that this strategy would help the children learn both languages at the same time. However, because there was also the presence of English, which is the language that the parents used mostly when speaking to each other, it became challenging to stick only with the OPOL strategy.

Palviainen and Boyd (2013) studied families with children who were between 3-4 years, with parents who were Swedish/Finnish speakers in Finland. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data, and after the interviews, each family was given a tape recorder to record typical everyday situations in the home like sitting at the dinner table, reading books, and visits to the grandparents' home etc. (Palviainen and Boyd 2013). This was done over a period of two weeks. The aim was to understand and describe how the families used language in the home setting with the presence of Finnish (the dominant language of the region), Swedish as well as English. In the analysis of this study, Palviainen and Boyd (2013) found that all the families agreed to the fact that they have attempted to stick to the OPOL strategy. They stated that they use this strategy for the sake of preserving both languages (Swedish and Finnish) in the home, because they desire to raise their children bilingual. The families also explained that at some point they had to come up with their joint language of communication and in one of the families, they explain that they used Finnish as the joint language of communication. However, the parents explained that their use of the joint language of communication repositioned its nature over time. This repositioning depended on "where they lived, their spouse's language proficiency and the shifting language requirements at work" (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 234). The parents also detailed that the nature of their interaction over time was organic, and that it only altered its shape because of "individual factors, dynamics within the relationships of the parents and outer circumstance" (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 234). The parents stated that the way in which they used language in the home was changed when they had children. Their

ideology about language use in the home was that they had to raise their children Finnish/Swedish bilingual, because they each spoke the languages. The parents in this study also agreed that because of the dominance of Finnish in their region, they believed that it was crucial for them to ensure that they increased the amount of Swedish in their children's lives. Therefore, they made the necessary efforts to ensure that they made enough interaction in Swedish even outside of their home (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 235). For example, they would make sure that they regularly visit relatives who speak Swedish, because they had strong beliefs about Swedish as it was the medium of instruction in the children's schools. They had intentionally chosen schools that had Swedish as the medium instruction as opposed to Finnish, which was the language of the region (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 235).

McGroarty (2010: 4) argues that linguistics ideologies shape our awareness about what is traditional; they form a "constellation of 'common sense' beliefs about language and language use. Furthermore, as beliefs oscillate, they become a force that should be reckoned with besides their accuracy or correlation with present day realities". There are often such language ideologies about the language of schooling which influences FLP. Parents with children who go to school are forced to regulate which language(s) are going to be used in the home or not used in the home. According to Schwartz (2013: 9) research shows that there is some "tension" between the way the family and the teachers present the educational language needs of children. Children may adopt certain attitudes about language based on the languages that they learn at school. McGroarty (2010: 12) states that the attitudes of learners "toward their own languages as well as languages encountered in the course of schooling have also stimulated research". Lai (2005) conducted a study about the attitudes of secondary school learners in Hong Kong toward English, Cantonese (local language), and Putonghua (standard form of Chinese). In this study, Lai (2005) investigated more 1000 learners and found that the learners were more in favour of Cantonese (the local language). They regarded English as a language of opportunities, with the "highest instrumental value and social status" (Lai 2005: 363). On the other hand, they rated Putonghua (the standard form of Chinese) lowest in both the "integrative and instrumental perspectives" (Lai 2005: 363). According to Lai (2005: 363), these results are not like what was predicted beforehand. What was predicted before was that Putonghua would be regarded as more powerful than English. However, according to the results of this study, Putonghua has not yet been regarded as a more powerful language than English by some learners in Hong Kong. But even though that it is the case, Lai (2005) documents that there has been a slow progression toward an attitude of accommodating Putonghua, because of its growth in becoming of

instrumental value in the economy. These results reveal how attitudes of children may be positive toward a language that will give them opportunities in the future.

According to Fishman (1991: 94) the family acts as a “natural boundary, a bulwark against outside pressures”. Furthermore, he states that the family’s link to intimacy and privacy ensures that it becomes unaffected by outside competition. Strong language ideologies about schooling counters this statement by Fishman as the school is such a powerful shaping force. Fishman (1991: 94) argues that mother tongue transmission, bonding, using, and stabilising is most commonly and inescapably done through socialisation. Sometimes, because parents have a global mind-set and wish their children would excel in their academics, they may not necessarily hold the belief that the mother tongue is anti-modern, but they may believe that it is not required for the success of their children. However, Schwartz (2013: 6) is of the view that children are raised to become conscious of the fact that they are members of their cultural group in the way their parents communicate and make use of the mother tongue with them, most importantly in the early years of a child’s life. This is in fact dependent upon the beliefs that the parents hold about language and their relation to their own cultural group. It is possible that parents may not raise their children to know they are members of their cultural groups. Nevertheless, Schwartz (2013: 6) states that “parents often view the children’s socialisation into their culture through use of the home language as a positive symbol of cultural pride and a tool that strengthens family cohesion”. This belief may then affect how children later grow up to view and value their mother tongue. The maintenance of the heritage language/ mother tongue is heavily dependent on the parents, especially at the early stages of their children’s lives. Fishman (1991: 94) says that the family and the community are the most crucial domains for language maintenance.

Research on language ideologies is emerging as essential because researchers of this study illuminate the social position of language not only in the community, but also in the home environment. McGroarty (2010: 7) argues that “researchers concerned with language ideology organise their investigations around the experience of and response to a particular social position”. According to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58), this reflects “a commitment to address the relevance of power relations to the nature of cultural forms and to ask how essential meanings about language are socially produced as effective and powerful”. McGroarty (2010: 7) states that research on language ideologies forms the link between linguistic and social theory. Also, McGroarty (2010: 7) argues that the research on this field –

cautions observers to be aware of the ironic contrasts between the casual generalisations about language found in the popular press (and elsewhere), which treat language attitudes and ideologies as uniform, invariant properties of individuals or groups, and the related scholarship demonstrating that, in contrast, ideologies are fluid, contested and situationally variable.

(McGroarty 2010: 7)

### **3.5.3 Language practices and FLP**

The research that has been conducted in language practices has “focused on parental discourse strategies and home models that parents use in raising bilingual children” (Curdts-Christiansen 2016: 5). For example, Lanza (2004, 2007) found five types of discourse strategies that parents used to assimilate their children into a specific linguistic practice, namely, minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on and code-switch. The minimal grasp strategy is an approach adults use where they indicate “no comprehension of the child’s language choice” (Lanza 2007: 56). The expressed guess strategy is where parents “asks a yes-no question using the other language” (Lanza 2007: 56). The repetition strategy is where the adult repeats the content “of the child’s utterance, using the other language” (Lanza 2007: 56). Lanza (2007: 56) further explains the move on strategy is where the “conversation merely continues”. Lastly, the adult can choose to code-switch (Lanza 2007: 56). According to Lanza (2007: 56) these might all seem like deliberate strategies. However, “even adult bilinguals may be unaware of what language they are actually using as they are so immersed in the interaction” (Lanza 2007: 56). Since discourse strategies can operate at a level below consciousness, what is important is two how parents and children co-construct an interactional style (Lanza 2007: 56). These strategies show that parents are making efforts in how they plan (whether implicit or explicit) to use language daily with their children (Curdts-Christiansen 2016: 5). However, according to Curdts-Christiansen (2016), parents may sometimes think that they follow a One-Person-One-Language policy in their homes, yet when one looks into their language practices, they would find that they actually involve their entire language repertoire into their family communication and in these kinds of situations, the parents may sometimes not be mindful that they are involving their entire language repertoire or are code switching when communicating. It is essential is to realise that the language practices in a home are shaped to some extent by parents’ ideologies about language (as discussed above in section 3.5.2).

Recent research on FLP practices, focus quite extensively on translanguaging (Hirsch and Kayam 2020; Jenks 2020; Lee et al. 2021). Lee et al. (2021) investigated Korean families during

a short-term stay in the USA. They used ethnographic observations, self-recorded data provided by the families and interviews. The findings indicate that the family interactions created a “translanguaging space at home” (Lee et al. 2021: 1). This was for a number of reasons such as “rehearsing children’s language use”, constructing and negotiation FLP, “reflecting language use contexts” and to create collaborative and creative interactions (Lee et al. 2021: 1). According to Lee et al. (2021: 14) the children in their study used “their full linguistic repertoire at home”. It did not matter if their parents were proficient in both languages, children still exerted their agency. Lee et al. (2021: 14) suggest that “home becomes a critical space for bilingual children to strengthen their linguistic and cultural competency without much pressure”. Hirsch and Kayam (2020) investigate one participant (the father) in a family of Russian speaking immigrants living in Israel. They used interviews, email communication and observations as data. The study was unique in that it was a longitudinal study conducted over a year. They found that the Russian speaking community in Israel created a new variety which the children of the next generation learned as their L1. This variety is “rooted in Russian and Hebrew” but displays influences of English (Hirsch and Kayam 2020: 647). Hirsch and Kayam (2020: 648) argue that “a new translanguaging dialect and space” were created. Jenks (2020) provides a meta-analysis of previously published research on translanguaging in families. Jenks (2020: 318) suggests that proposing translanguaging practices as the only practice in which to sustain multilingualism in families and seeing this approach as inherently good, runs the risk of suggesting a one size fits all approach to language maintenance of heritage languages. Instead, families might need to sustain firm boundaries between languages to ensure that their heritage language is retained. Jenks (2020) also draws attention to the fact that each family who have to negotiate more than one language in the home deal with different kind of pressures, and FLP research should be able to rise to the challenge of providing theoretical tools to account for these different pressures and family constellations (Jenks 2020: 318).

### **3.6 Summary**

This chapter paid particular attention to the factors that are often identified in the literature as shaping FLP. This includes linguistic repertoires, language ideologies and language practices. For each of these concepts a general overview of the development and use of these concepts were given. For linguistic repertoires, I focused specifically on how ideas of space, mobility and embodiment have influenced the conceptualisation of the concept. In my discussion of language ideologies, the five dimensions given by Kroskrity (2004) shaped how I reviewed the



literature. In the language practices discussion, I focused particularly on a number of concepts which have been introduced to refer to and conceptualise multilingual linguistic practices – notably metrolingualism, crossing and translanguaging. Translanguaging in particular has been singled out as a very influential approach, even though it has also received some criticism. I then discussed how these factors have been investigated within FLP with a focus on linguistic repertoires, ideologies, and practices. This separation is somewhat artificial since these factors co-occur and simultaneously shape each other as well as FLP. Some studies do however seem to make one or the other of these concepts their central focus. In this dissertation there will be an attempt to view the concepts as co-constituting.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will be discussing the methodology used to conduct this study. According to Crotty (1998:7), methodology is the “strategy or plan of action” which directs the choice of methods. I will first briefly discuss the general methodological approach of my study and then elaborate on the different methods that I employed to collect my data, and the limitations of my study, including the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and how it forced me to alter certain ways of conducting this research. In addition, I will give an extensive overview of the broader context that shaped my research sites and will give detailed information about my participants. The chapter will conclude with a focus on the analytical approach that I took.

#### **4.2 General methodological approach**

This is a qualitative study. According to Creswell (2014: 36), a qualitative study finds human or societal problems and, through research, tries to make meaning of these problems. For a qualitative approach to be successful, the researcher needs to collect data in an environment that is natural and sensitive to the people and the place that is being studied (Creswell 2014: 36). To make meaning of the data, the researcher must analyse the data rationally and establish patterns and themes from it (Creswell 2014: 36). Similarly, Merriam (2009: 5) writes that qualitative research looks at how people “interpret their experiences and construct their world, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences”. Merriam (2009: 3) explains that there are many definitions of qualitative research; however, they all encompass the idea of inquiring into and/or “investigating something in a systematic manner”. Since the focus of my study was on how families use language naturally, a qualitative approach seemed the most appropriate to answer my research questions. More specifically, I opted for a case-study design, which is elaborated on in 4.3 below.

### 4.3 Case study design

This study explores the language practices, language repertoires and language ideologies of isiXhosa families in the Western Cape. The approach was to regard each family as a case study, to avoid comparing one family to the next. Each family is different and therefore cannot be compared to another. Yin (2003: 13) defines a case as “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between a phenomenon and context are not clear and the researcher has little control over the phenomenon and context”. This means that a case study focuses on unfolding the true nature of a social issue. It regards each issue or situation as unique. Fidel (1984: 274) argues that a case study approach entails the researcher investigating an event as it occurs, without any significant intervention by the researcher. Even though no form of intervention is intended by the researcher, they do, however, hope to get to a more comprehensive understanding about the event. Researchers who adopt this method can provide more general theoretical statements about the “regularities in the observed phenomenon” (Fidel 1984: 274). In this study, my intention was to study the dynamics of each family situation and to look at the ways that they practice and reflect on language. Each case was used as an opportunity to add to the existing knowledge about isiXhosa-speaking families. Fidel (1984: 718) suggests that by giving an annotated description of the process and analysis adopted, researchers may come up with a “sharper awareness” of both the unique situations and the different insights in the application of this method.

On Yin’s (2003) perspective, a case study research design is made up of five components: A study’s questions; its propositions, its unit(s) of analysis; the logical linking of the data to the propositions; and the criteria for interpreting the findings. Therefore, it is imperative that the researcher plans their study well because it helps them know how to approach each stage of the study. This means that the researcher must ensure that these components flow together and that they are consistent with each other. Another important aspect of the case study to which the researcher should pay attention is the literature that they review for the case study. This literature will vary according to the nature of the study and needs to be reviewed before the data collection process. According to Stake (1995: 16), there are two types of case studies: an intrinsic case study and an instrumental case study. In the former, “the case is dominant; the case is of highest importance”. For the instrumental case study, the issue is dominant. Depending on the researcher’s approach to their study, either the case or the issue concerned is made the centre of the study (Stake 1995: 16).

The current study uses elements of both the intrinsic and instrumental case studies. I regard the families, who are the participants, as the case of this study, and the language ideologies, language practices, and linguistic repertoires of the families as the issue of the study. Ortiz (2009: 33) contends that the structure of families determines the potential variations in how they interact. Therefore, the structure of the family is significant when looking at how the family uses language in the home, indicating an intrinsic case study. However, the phenomena language ideologies, language practices and linguistic repertoires of the families are under study, so ultimately this is also an instrumental case study.

Although the family dynamics and set-ups are different, I have used the same data collection methods for each of the families. The purpose of the study was not to compare the families to each other, but to simply investigate the language ideologies, language practices and linguistic repertoires of each of the families. Hence, I have regarded each family as a case study. In the analysis of the data, I look at the similarities and the contrasts of the families' language ideologies as well as how they use language, and their linguistic repertoires, but without the goal of comparison, rather to point out how particular contextual factors shape their ideologies, repertoires, and practices.

#### **4.4 Research site**

This study was conducted in the Western Cape, South Africa. According to the General Census (2011), the Western Cape is 129 462 km<sup>2</sup> in size (occupying 10.6 % of land in South Africa). This makes it the fourth largest province in South Africa (see Figure 1). It has a population of 5 822 734, of which 32.8 % self-identify as black Africans, 48.8% as coloured, 15.7% as white, 1.0% as Indian or Asian, and 1.6% as 'Other' (General Census 2011).



*Figure 1: The map of South Africa with all nine provinces (Retrieved from Google Maps)*

In the Western Cape, there are three official languages that are also used as the media of instruction in government schools, namely English, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans (Williams 2007: 6). At the time of the last census in 2011, 49.7% of the people in the Western Cape were Afrikaans first language speakers, 20.2% English and 24.7% were isiXhosa (General Census 2011). The Western Cape experiences a lot of migration of people moving from the Eastern Cape into the Western Cape, to seek better life opportunities. According to the General Census (2011), there were 894 289 people from the Eastern Cape who had been counted in the Western Cape (16.2% of those who resided in the Western Cape were originally from the Eastern Cape).

The Western Cape, as all provinces in South Africa, has been shaped by its apartheid history. The history of labour reservations in South Africa dates as far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Deumert et al. (2005: 305) writes that throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the males in black households in the rural areas would migrate to urban areas to mostly work in the mines or in the mostly white-owned agricultural sector. These workers could not live far from their places of employment; they were forced to live in closely guarded compounds and could not have family members living with them. They could visit their families only once a year. These rural families relied heavily on the money that was sent to them by the migrants (Deumert et al. 2005: 305). Instead of the situation becoming better, Bekker and Swart (2002) states that after the

democratic elections in 1994, there has been a rapid increase in migration from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town, as the former homelands<sup>9</sup> in the Eastern Cape were under-developed. With South Africa facing challenges such as an increased unemployment rate, many of these migrants flock to Cape Town in search of employment (Deumert et al. 2005: 305). The effects of poverty have also caused women to migrate to urban areas for better opportunities of employment to help their families financially.

According to the Cape Provincial Treasury (2005: 101), there are about 48 000 people who migrate to the Western Cape every year. Although this means that there are more people who are able to be economically active, it places added a strain on the province's labour market: The migration into the province has raised the unemployment rate in the province. It has further raised the rate of socio-economic inequality in the province. Cape Town, the capitol of the Western Cape, is regarded as South Africa's most segregated city (Turok et al. 2021: 71). According to Turok et al. (2021:72), Cape Town is still reflective of the apartheid and colonial spatial organisation of the city. In Figure 2 below, is a comparison of where those with the highest earning occupations resided in 2001 and 2011 according to the 2001 and 2011 Census. The highest earners still reside in the areas classified during apartheid as white, while the lowest earners reside in the former black and coloured townships. Racial segregation and inequality are still challenges that are at the heart of the province. Schools where the medium of instruction is English are more preferred (see De Wet 2002), because township schools in the Western Cape, where the medium of instruction is most likely to be either isiXhosa or Afrikaans, usually lack infrastructure and resources (see Bush and Heystek 2003). Furthermore, violence is far more common in township schools than in suburban schools (Masitsa 2011; Tintswalo 2014).

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<sup>9</sup> During apartheid, the National Party government developed 10 "states" for black people as separate places to live and work. These places were referred to as *Bantustans*, *homelands*, *national states*, *self-governing states* or *emerging black states* during various phases of the apartheid rule. These homelands were divided based on ethnicity, with Venda for example being reserved for people with Venda ethnicity. Although the apartheid government claimed that these were independent states, black people could not own property in the homelands (with a few exceptions) (Mukonoweshuro 1991). The Eastern Cape had two homelands: the Ciskei and the Transkei.

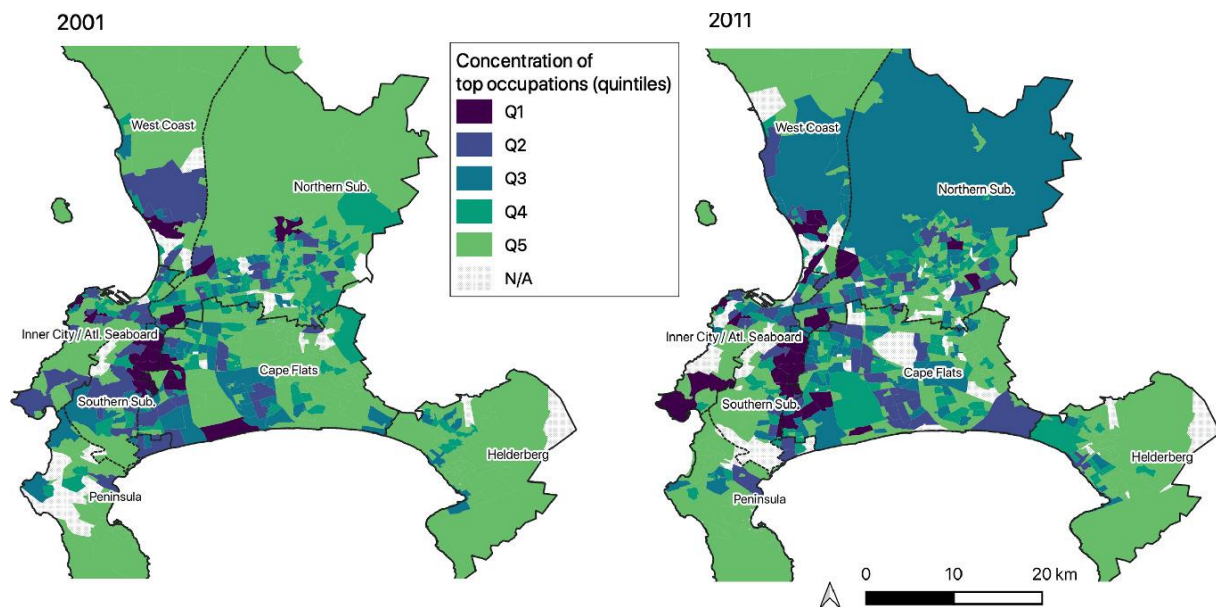


Figure 2: Top occupations distributed via neighbourhoods (From Turok et al. 2021)

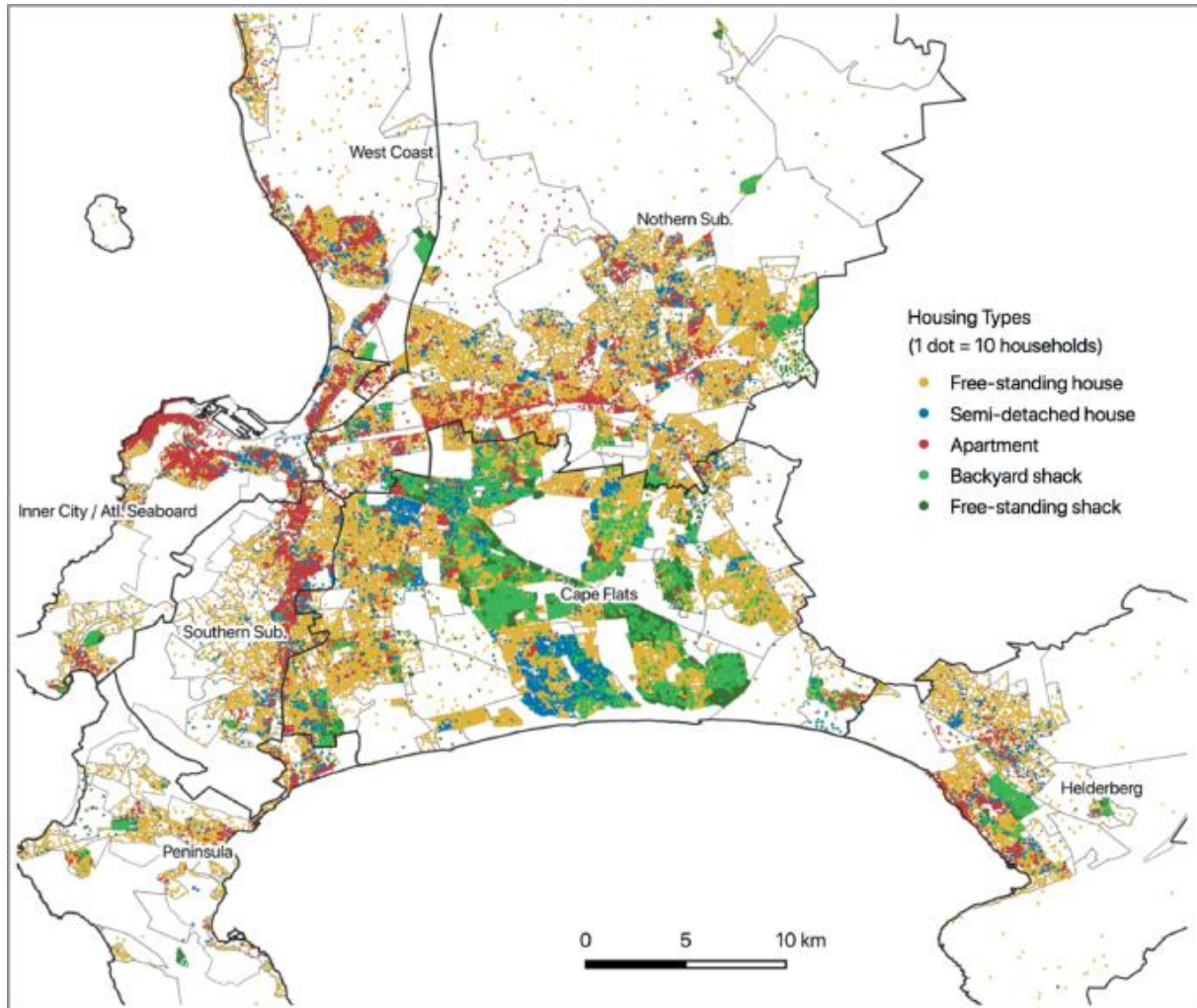
#### 4.5. The families' residential areas

For this study, I have selected three families, each residing in different areas within Cape Town. The first family is the Mpulampula<sup>10</sup> family. Their home is in Parklands, where they have been staying for 7 years at the time of onset of data collection. When they moved into this area, their eldest child was 8, their second child was 5, and their youngest was one year old. Parklands is one of the fastest growing residential developments in Cape Town. The area has both houses and apartment blocks (See Figure 3 for a map of how housing types is distributed in the Greater Cape Town). The apartment block area is mostly occupied by African diaspora residents. According to the General Census (2011), Parklands has a population of 24 614 people, and has 8 976 households. The population is predominantly white (49%) and black African (36%). Of the remaining population, 9.5% are coloured and 3.3% Asian, and 1.5% fall under the category 'other.' Eighty five percent of those aged 20 years and older have completed Grade 12 or pursued higher education. Ten percent of the population in Parklands own and have fully paid their property, whereas 38.2% own their property, but it has not yet been fully paid. Fifty percent of Parklands residents rent property in the area (General Census 2011). However, at the time of the data collection, the family had temporarily been staying in Richwood. According to the General Census (2011), Richwood has a population of 2 988 people, and there are 963 households in the area (this number has probably changed significantly since, due to new

<sup>10</sup> Each of the family names are pseudonyms and so are all the names of the individual participants.



residential developments that have taken place in the area in the past decade). The population of Richwood is predominantly white (72%); 11.0% of the people are black Africans, 14.9% are coloured, and 1.1% are Asian (General Census 2011).



*Figure 3: Housing types per neighbourhood in Cape Town (From Turok et al. 2021)*

The second family in the study is the Katini family. The Katini family resides in Belhar, which was previously classified as a coloured area. Belhar is on the Cape Flats, an area created after coloured people were forcibly removed from areas declared white under apartheid. According to the General Census (2011), 90% of the population in Belhar self-identifies as coloured. The black Africans who reside in Belhar comprise of only 4.9% of the population. The language that is widely used in Belhar is Afrikaans, with 64.5 % of the population being Afrikaans mother tongue speakers, 31.4% being English first language speakers, and 1.2% being isiXhosa mother tongue speakers (See General Census 2011).

The third family is the Coki family. They reside in Langa. Langa is one of Cape Town's townships. It comprises of both formal settlements (brick houses as well as apartments built by the government), and informal settlements (shacks). At the last census, the population of Langa was 52 401, consisting of predominantly black Africans (99%). 92.0% of the people in Langa are isiXhosa first language speakers, 2.5% are English first language speakers, and 5.5% fall under the category 'Other' (General Census 2011).

## **4.6 Family profiles**

### **4.6.1 Recruitment**

I recruited participants for the study based on a set of criteria. Firstly, all the families had to reside in the Western Cape. The primary caregivers had to be first language speakers of isiXhosa. Secondly, since I was interested in how contextual factors shaped the families, I deliberately chose families living in different residential areas within the Cape Metropole. Thirdly, I decided to approach families that I was acquainted with but did not know intimately. I decided to approach families in my extended social network because of the nature of the study: I assumed that not all families would be comfortable with opening their homes up for a stranger to observe them. After drawing up the criteria for the study, I approached the families separately. In each of the families, I approached the mother, and I had a brief face-to-face meeting with them to let them know what my study would entail. After telling them about the study, I asked if they would be willing to be a part of this study. Being cautious to not place any pressure on them, I gave them the option of thinking about it, and getting back to me later. However, all three of them indicated their willingness. The process of formally obtaining written consent and assent (discussed further below) followed (see Addenda 4 and 5 for the adult consent form and child assent form used in this study).

### **4.6.2 The Mpulampula family**

The Mpulampula family is a two-parent household. During the initial stages of the collection phase of the study, the family was residing in Richwood, and at the beginning of 2021 they moved back into their family home in Parklands. The family consists of the mother, Yonela, who is 40 years old, the father, Luzuko, who is 45 years old, and their three children. During the data collection phase, Yonela was unemployed, and Luzuko was managing the family business. However, Yonela has now found employment again, and she works as an administrator at one of Cape Town's tertiary institutions. Before they had children, Luzuko and



Yonela lived in Langa. This is where Yonela grew up and where her extended family still resides. The children sometimes visit Yonela's parents, and they get time to play with their cousins. From Langa, the Mpulampula family moved to Summer Greens, and then to Parklands. They moved to Richwood in 2019 and stayed there for the whole of 2020. The two older daughters attend school in Parklands, which has a medium of instruction that is English, and the first additional language at the school is Afrikaans. However, Lulu, the youngest daughter, attends a special school, located in the Bellville area, because of her hearing impediment. The school that Lulu attends also has English as the medium of instruction, and Afrikaans as a first additional language. Lulu is not completely deaf; but she uses a hearing aid and attends a school that specialises in taking care of children with hearing impediments. Due to the financial challenges that came with the Covid-19 pandemic, during the data collection phase of the study, Luzuko had to leave Cape Town and stay temporarily in the Eastern Cape in pursuit of better business opportunities. The children were then left with Yonela in Cape Town. This means that for the most part of the data collection stage, Luzuko was physically absent.

#### **4.6.3 The Katini family**

The Katini family is a single-parent family, living with extended family members. It consists of the mother, Sindiswa, and two children. The two children are a girl, Asanda, (11 years old) and a boy, Kholo (6 years old). The family resides in Belhar. The home they live in is Sindiswa's family home. Sindiswa's mother passed away 3 years prior to the commencement of the study, and Sindiswa now shares the property with her eldest brother, who lives in the Wendy house<sup>11</sup> behind the home with his wife and two children.

At the time of data collection, Sindiswa was 30 years old and worked on a full-time basis as an administrator for a shipping company in Cape Town. After she had completed her Matric<sup>12</sup>, she went to further her education at one of Cape Town's tertiary institutions. However, she had to drop out before she completed her degree, due to personal challenges. She then found employment at the shipping company that she has been working for the 8 years prior to data collection. Her children, Asanda and Kholo, attend a school in the Belhar area, where the

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<sup>11</sup> A Wendy house in South Africa is a wooden live-in structure that is usually placed in the backyard of the house and does not have independent power and water supply. Sometimes an extension cord leads to the Wendy house from a power supply in the main (brick) house. Water is usually fetched from a tap in or outside the main house, and the inhabitants of the Wendy house uses a toilet either in the main house or elsewhere on the property.

<sup>12</sup> The final grade of high school.

medium of instruction is English, and Afrikaans is the first additional language offered at the school.

Before she goes to work, they are fetched by school transport. After school, a close neighbour fetches them from school, because Sindiswa only arrives home from work at about 06:00 pm. She works in the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) and must either take a bus or a taxi<sup>13</sup> to and from work. When she comes home, she cooks, and checks whether the children have done their homework. She corrects them and helps where she needs to with their schoolwork. During the data collection phase, which started during the alert level 5 lockdown<sup>14</sup>, Sindiswa could not work from home, because of the line of work that she does, so she had to go to the office. The children would stay with her older brother's children and his wife, viz. the couple who lives on the property. The children would do their schoolwork together and get assistance from Sindiswa's sister-in-law. Asanda, the oldest child, was in Grade 5 at the time and Kholo in Grade R<sup>15</sup>. Sindiswa says Asanda is mostly independent and quite responsible when it comes to her schoolwork. When Sindiswa gets back from work, she usually checks on Asanda's homework. Sindiswa does not do the homework with her, because Asanda always manages to complete it before Sindiswa arrives home. Kholo, however, did not get much schoolwork since he was still in Grade R.

#### **4.6.4 Coki family**

The Coki family is a single-parent household consisting of a mother who takes care of two of her three children, with very little to no support from the father of the last two children. The eldest is a girl (11 years old) and she lives with her father's family in the Eastern Cape. The two younger children are a boy, Bobo (8 years old), and a girl, Thenjiwe (7 years old), and they live with her. The mother, Aphiwe, is 29 years old. At the time of the data collection, Aphiwe was juggling work and studying. She was studying toward a National Diploma in Education. She majored in Language in Education as well as Life Skills and she worked as a Teaching Assistant at a primary school in Langa. Aphiwe lived in Langa since she was a child, but moved to Mitchell's Plain for a few years, and later returned to Langa.

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<sup>13</sup> In South Africa, *taxi* refers to a minibus/van that seats up to 15 passengers. It is a type of public transport that is common, fast and efficient for many South Africans who do not own cars.

<sup>14</sup> Alert Level 5 indicates a high Covid-19 spread with a low health system readiness. Level 5 lockdown meant that only essential workers were allowed to work. Due to the rapid spread of Covid-19, the President of South Africa instructed that everyone stay home and not go anywhere, unless they needed essential goods and services.

<sup>15</sup> Grade R in South Africa is the grade a child attends before they go to Grade 1.

Aphiwe started her own tutoring program for children in and around Langa who are in Grades 1 to 12. She tutors English and Afrikaans. She says that most children in Langa who attend schools with only Afrikaans as a first additional language struggle with the language as well as with English<sup>16</sup>. When she was younger, Aphiwe lived and attended school in Mitchell's Plain, a neighbourhood which was under apartheid designated as coloured. In this area, Afrikaans was the dominant community language. Aphiwe learned Afrikaans from school and from friends in that area. This exposure to Afrikaans became an advantage for her in terms of her business. She used her Afrikaans proficiency to help expand her tutoring program. The tutoring program has been doing well; it was especially needed during the period when parents had to home-school their children because of the Covid-19 pandemic. She became the 'go-to' person for many parents in and around Langa at that time.

Aphiwe's children do not attend school in Langa. They attend a school situated in Maitland, which is a few kilometres outside of Langa. They travel to school by private transport that the mother found for them. The school's medium of instruction is English and the first additional language at the school is Afrikaans. It is common for parents in townships to send their children to schools that are outside of the township. Due to seeking better education for their children, they make them commute to the better schools. According to Hunter (2010: 1), because parents are willing to send their children to schools that are often far from where they live, schools are often more racially mixed than residential areas. Attending these schools often comes with considerable challenges. Fataar (2009: 14) states that up to 60% of school children in cities go to schools that require an extensive amount of traveling. He further states that children and parents in townships "have come to understand that the school close-by has to be avoided, trapped as it is in place and devoid of aspirational capital". The Coki family is a case in point; Aphiwe chose that her children attend a school outside of Langa, to which they would commute to obtain a better education.

#### **4.7. Data collection timeline**

It is important to note that the data collection process started when South Africa was under alert level 5 lockdown in March 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic. South Africa was on level 5

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<sup>16</sup>According to the Language Policy of South Africa, it is mandatory for each school to have a medium of instruction as well as offer as subject a first additional language and sometimes even a second additional language. These additional languages are chosen on the basis of what the official languages of the region are.

lockdown for 35 days (20 March - 1 May 2020). This lockdown regulation meant that only essential workers were to go to work, and children could not go to school. Schools were closed from 18 March 2020 to 1 June 2020. When schools finally opened, they opened in phases. The Department of Education instructed that in high schools Grade 12 should return first (in the alphabetical order of the learners' surnames). In primary schools, Grade 7s returned first, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August 2020. From the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 2020, Grade 6 down to Grade R were opened. At this stage, South Africa was on alert level 3<sup>17</sup> lockdown. This meant that children could go to school and parents could go to their places of work, but still under Covid-19 regulations.

The initial plan was to first sit down with each of the families and do the language portraits with them. I had planned to collect the data from the families over a period of six months. I was going to spend two months with each family and spend two hours twice a week with each of them, observing their use of language in the home, and asking questions in-between. I also planned to give the children cameras that they would be able to use to take pictures of any literacy material that was in the home. However, when the Covid-19 pandemic hit, I quickly had to alter the data collection process. Even then, I still assumed that the process of collecting data would be linear. I had planned to collect data from the 1st of April 2020 until 30 of June 2020 (12 weeks). Due to the challenges and the demands of life for the families, it was however not a linear process. Instead of being physically present in the home, I had to rely heavily on the families to give me the data that I needed from them. I gave the parents instructions via WhatsApp video call on how to do the language portraits and asked them to take videos of their interactions around the home, including dinner time, homework time, playing time, etc. and send them to me. I asked them to send me three videos per week, over a four-week period for each family. That would have meant that I would have obtained 12 videos from each family. However, with the challenges that faced both the families and myself, less data was collected compared to what was planned (there were, for instance, weeks in which I did not obtain data from the families.) I ended up receiving 6-10 videos per family, I also received language portraits from each of the families and conducted interviews virtually and in-person (when the country was on alert level 3) with both the parents and the children in each of the families.

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<sup>17</sup> Alert Level 3 means that there is an average Covid-19 spread with a moderate health system readiness.

## 4.8. Data collection methods

In this section, I will be discussing the data collection methods that I employed to conduct this study. I will focus on the following: language portraits, interviews, video recordings and photos from the families.

### 4.8.1. Language portraits

One of the data collection methods that I have used in this study is language portraits. This method was effective because it gave me an idea of the linguistic repertoires of the families. It was the first activity I did with the families, because I believed that it was going to be a fun way to get the families to think about their language ideologies and language use. A language portrait is a blank body silhouette on a piece of paper (See Addendum 3 for an example of a blank portrait). Participants are asked to colour in the body silhouette, using different colours to indicate all the different ways of speaking they use, are familiar with or aspire to use. Busch (2012: 9) explains that “the picture first serves as a means of eliciting explanations regarding language practices, resources, and attitudes and acts at the same time as a point of reference”. I asked the families to do the language portraits together. After they had completed them, I asked each of the families to explain each one of their language portraits, so that I could get context from them. The families explained their language portraits both in writing and through virtual interviews (via WhatsApp video call). This method helped me get introduced to each family’s language background and language context and gave an indication of what the families deemed as important when it comes to language. According to Kalaja and Pitkänen-Huhta (2018: 160), visual methods of collecting data provide an alternative means to express feelings about language and “to reflect on” practices and identities. Using this method also made me realise that language is embodied. The participants not only spoke of what languages they are currently exposed to, but also of which languages they were exposed to as children. Coffey (2015: 518) argues that the human body is a “container or and/or channel for languages”. Each of the families I worked with said that the languages they are / have been exposed to have become an integral part of who they are. This form of data collection ensured that I also get to know how the families think about the languages that they are exposed to and/or use daily. Obtaining this information spoke directly to the first research questions in this study, namely *What are the linguistic repertoires of selected isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children?*

#### **4.8.2. Video, voice recordings, and photographs**

In the initial phase of this study, my plan was to adopt observation as a method of data collection. I chose this method, because it allows the researcher to experience the space of the participants through their five senses (Erlandson et al. 1993). Participant observation enables the researcher to study the activities of the individuals / group of people in an authentic setting (De Walt and De Walt 2002). However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I had to change this data collection method. Since physical contact was impossible and it was illegal to leave my home during Level 5 lockdown, I asked participants to send me videos of their daily activities. I had a virtual meeting with each of the mothers and explained what I would like them to record and why. I asked them to record the children and themselves when doing activities such as children playing with siblings/friends, doing homework, or just having everyday conversations. Over a period of eight weeks, I collected 6-10 videos from each family, each video being roughly 2 to 11 minutes long. I received 15-36 minutes of video footage from each family. They sent these videos via WhatsApp, and I transferred and stored them on OneDrive. At first, I was worried about the quality of data and what would be lost by me not being physically present to observe the families. Of course, this can still be viewed as a limitation of the study. However, I also realised that this new approach came with opportunities and advantages. The families themselves decided what they deemed as important conversations or interactions, so this research became much more participant-driven than initially planned (Baum et al. 2000; Hellard et al. 2001). The families also reflected afterwards that this exercise made them more aware of their language use in the home. I also attempted to have the children participate by asking them to send me photos of things in their environment that they liked to read and engage with. This exercise was not all that successful due to a variety of reasons (limited access to cell phones or cameras for children, lack of resources in the home, lack of opportunity to take books from the library or school etc.). However, the pictures that were sent to me were still valuable in that discussions could be generated around them during interviews.

#### **4.8.3. Interviews**

Interviews are one of the data collection methods that I have used in this study (See Addenda 1 and 2 for the interview schedules). Interviews provide opportunities for generating empirical data and creating a special form of conversation that will allow an interchange of views (Silverman 1997; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). According to Holloway and Wheeler (2010: 8), the most common type of interviews used in qualitative research are semi-structured interviews, which use “predetermined questions, where the researcher is free to seek clarification”.

Depending on where the interview goes, the researcher is free to ask for clarification of additional questions that may arise in the conversation (Gray 2004: 6). According to Dearnley (2005: 20), the open nature of the questions encourages “depth and vitality”, which helps new concepts to emerge. In this study, I also used semi-structured interviews and drew up the interview questions in English and isiXhosa. Before I started asking the participants questions, I asked them which language they preferred me to conduct the interview in. In all three families, the parents expressed that they were comfortable with using both English and isiXhosa, therefore we were switching from one language to another without thinking about it. The interviews were conducted virtually through WhatsApp video calling. We used this platform because most of the parents were comfortable with it. When I was conducting the interviews with the families, I reminded them that (as stated in the informed consent form) I was also going to record our conversation. For this, I had a separate device (a cell phone) where I audio recorded the interviews, since the platform (WhatsApp video call) we were using did not allow me to record our conversation. I let the parents know I was recording so that they knew my intentions and had time to object to such recording would they wish to. After conducting the interviews, I transcribed the recordings and translated the isiXhosa parts to English.

#### **4.9 Validity and reliability**

In qualitative research, validity refers to how accurate the study is (Creswell 2014; Heale and Twycross 2015). Heale and Twycross (2015: 66) state that it is important to not just pay attention to the results of the study, but to also consider how much the researcher paid attention to detail whilst conducting their study. Their argument is that “consideration must be given [to] the rigour of the research. Rigour refers to the extent to which the researchers worked to enhance the quality of the studies” (Heale and Twycross 2015: 66). In a similar vein, Lakshmi and Mohideen (2013: 2752) agree with Kirk and Miller (1986) and define “reliability” as “the degree to which measures are free from error and therefore yield consistent results”. These two concepts are crucial in any qualitative study, as they reflect on how interviews and other methods of data collection were followed and how the researcher came to their findings. To a certain degree, they mirror the ethical considerations of the researcher. In this study, I interpreted the data I collected through the method of triangulation. According to Cohen and Manion (1986: 254), triangulation is “an attempt to map out or to explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint”. I used four methods of collecting the data, namely language portraits, the videos and recordings that the



families sent to me of their language use in the home, interviews, and pictures of any literacy material that was in the house. Using different methods of collecting the data on this study was done to ensure that I captured the language practices of the families with more richness and complexity. Triangulation enables validation of information through two or more sources. The aim is that the researcher becomes more confident with their results, especially if they find that their different methods lead to the same result (Cohen and Manion 2000).

#### **4.10. Methods of analysis: Thematic analysis**

The different approaches that researchers may adopt to analyse their data represent a wide range of “epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary” prospects (Guest et al. 2012: 2). In this study, I used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is an imperfectly defined yet commonly used method in qualitative research (Boyatzis 1998; Roulston 2001; Braun and Clarke 2006). It involves methodically discovering, arranging, and bringing awareness to patterns that illuminate meaning to the data (Braun and Clarke 2012: 57), allowing the researcher to recognise and make sense of the shared meanings and experiences in their data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 57), thematic analysis should be regarded as the primary method in qualitative research analysis. They argue that it should be the foundational research analysis method that researchers master because it supplies essential skills that are functional for conducting various forms of qualitative research analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006: 57).

Pavlenko (2007: 166), specifically writing about the usefulness of thematic analysis for applied linguistics research, argues that the advantage of thematic analysis is that it reflects “sensitivity to the recurrent motifs salient in participants’ stories”. In other words, it allows the researcher to be sensitive to the themes that are recurring. Pavlenko (2007: 166) cautions however that identifying the different themes should only be the first step to analysing the data, and not the analysis itself. Pavlenko (2007: 166) also states that a weakness that thematic analysis suffers from is that there is often little theoretical engagement in the analysis. In addition, Pavlenko (2007) also identifies lack of a clear distinction between categories and themes and an overreliance on repeated patterns in the data as other disadvantages. Countering some of the claims made about the disadvantages of thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006: 78) argue that one of the benefits of thematic analysis is that it is flexible. Recently, Braun, Clarke and Hayfield (2022: 434) have argued that thematic analysis is a starting point for your analytical

journey and not a strict guide or roadmap. Data interpretation is also not neutral but is always embedded within theoretical assumptions.

According to Terry et al. (2017: 12) the process of using thematic analysis to analyse data is a six-phased process, which firstly involves the researcher familiarising themselves with the data, secondly generating codes which cause them to engage with data deeper. Thirdly, the researcher needs to develop themes, which may not necessarily be the themes that the researcher will go with. In the fourth phase, they need to review their potential themes, i.e., they need to refine the themes that they evaluated in the third phase and go with the themes that they think are relevant. The fifth phase involves naming and defining the themes, and lastly; they need to produce the report.

According to Joffe (2012: 209), “the end result of a thematic analysis should highlight the most salient constellations of meanings present in the dataset. Such constellations include affective, cognitive and symbolic dimensions”. Using thematic analysis, for instance in language portraits, means that I went through each language portrait given by each of the family members and after going through each of the portraits, I looked at what was similar from each of them, and I could generate themes from the similarities, several times before deciding on which themes, I would analyse. I did this for each of the data that I obtained from the families: language portraits, videos, as well as the interviews.

In this study, I tried to address the shortcoming of thematic analysis in several ways. Firstly, as is common in thematic analysis, I read through my data on numerous occasions and looked for repeated instances that occurred both within and across datasets (for example, I noticed that in certain language practices English was used more than isiXhosa). Secondly, using my research questions and theoretical assumptions as guidelines I formed categories and themes, refining them as I engaged more deeply with my data and theory. Thirdly, I viewed the thematic analysis as a starting point to forming interpretations. I drew on the theory discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 to interpret my data, making sure that my analysis was not atheoretical.

#### **4.11. Ethical consideration**

Protecting the participants that one works with in a study is crucial. It is essential that the researcher establishes the boundaries that they will work within to ensure that their participants

are not placed in a compromised position in the process of conducting the study. Ethical considerations involve doing good to your participants and avoiding harm towards them (Orb et al. 2001: 93). Before I undertook this study, I had to obtain ethical clearance from the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee: Social, Behavioural and Educational Research. My application was provisionally approved. I was asked to do some corrections, which I did and submitted again (See proof of ethical clearance in Addendum 6). The next step was to ensure that I received consent from the parents in the families. The process of consent entails two elements: Firstly, consent should be given voluntarily, and not coerced, and the researcher should make it very clear to the participants what they are being asked to be involved in and, secondly, the participants must be competent to give consent (Arifin 2018: 30). I sent the parents the consent forms and went through the forms with them in person (before the Covid-19 Pandemic) to make sure that they understood everything they were going to be signing to (Graneheim et al. 2001). Upon receiving the signed consent from the parents, I asked for assent from the children. I also made sure that I give the families pseudonyms to protect their identity. I continuously negotiated consent by making sure that participants were comfortable with each of the data collection methods and by reminding them that they could choose not to take part in any one of these activities. The participants were also thanked for the time and effort they donated to the study by giving them a supermarket voucher to the value of approximately 20 loaves of bread.

#### **4.12. Summary**

This qualitative study employed language portraits, semi-structured interviews, photographs and audio and video recordings to collect data on the language practices, policies and ideologies of three families who resided in three different parts of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province, each family having a different composition. Data collection methods had to be adjusted because of the restrictions related to the Covid-19 pandemic. The data was analysed making use of thematic analysis, while making frequent reference to published literature in order to avoid the analysis being atheoretical. Despite the necessary change in data collection plans, sufficient data was obtained with which to answer the research questions. In the next chapter, the data on specifically the linguistic repertoires of the families are presented and discussed.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Linguistic repertoires of the Mpulampula, Katini and Coki families**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The analysis of data will be presented in three chapters, each addressing important themes, informed by my research questions. This is the first of the analysis chapters. In this chapter, a descriptive overview of the linguistic repertoires of each of the different family members will be given and this will be linked to relevant theory on FLP and linguistic repertoires. Recall that I used thematic analysis to analyse the data, looking for recurring themes within the data of each family. I will be discussing the data in accordance with these themes (see Chapter 4 for an extensive overview on my approach). In this chapter, I will be weaving together insights into the different families' linguistic repertoires. I will point out similarities and contrasts between families as well as contradictions and tensions within the same family. As stated in Chapter 4, this is not to compare families, but rather to bring out the complex constellations of repertoires that families might have. The data for this chapter comes primarily from the language portraits and interviews.

#### **5.2 Multilingual family repertoires**

In bi/multilingual families, the decision about which language (s) to use in the home can be complex due to the availability of other languages in the family's linguistic repertoire (Dumanig et al. 2013: 2). Van Mensel (2018: 273) refers to the multilingual family repertoire as "a joint repertoire that is to some extent shared by all family members". All three families in this study reported that collectively they use and are exposed to more than one linguistic variety. Each of these linguistic varieties also have specific memories, and ideas about their use and usefulness attached to them. An overview of the linguistic repertoires of the families are given in Table 1, but the linguistic varieties that each family refers to are also discussed in more depth below, per family.

*Table 1: Multilingual family repertoires in this study*

<b>Family</b>	<b>Parents' Names</b>	<b>Children's Names</b>	<b>Linguistic Repertoires</b>	<b>Language with more value to parents</b>	<b>Language with more value to children</b>
<b>Mpulampula family</b>	Yonela (Mother) Luzuko (Father)	Inga Vuyo Lulu	isiXhosa English Afrikaans isiZulu seTswana	isiXhosa	English
<b>Katini family</b>	Sindiswa (Mother)	Asanda Kholo	isiXhosa English Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans
<b>Coki family</b>	Aphiwe (Mother)	Bobo Thenjiwe	isiXhosa English Afrikaans	English	isiXhosa

In the Mpulampula family, a number of linguistic varieties are mentioned as varieties they are exposed to. These include isiXhosa, English, isiZulu, Setswana, and Afrikaans. In the Katini family, it is isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and English, while in the Coki family it is also isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans. The order of importance of these languages differs from person to person in each family and I will now discuss the linguistic repertoire per family.

### **5.2.1 The Mpulampula family**

The image below (Figure 4) shows the language portrait of Yonela, the mother of the Mpulampula family.

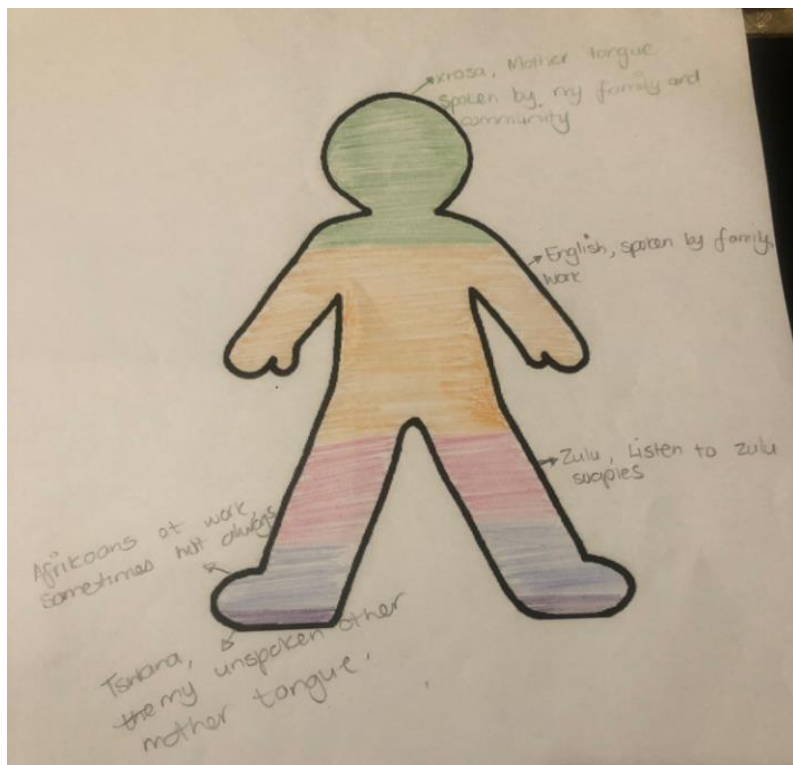


Figure 4: An image of Yonela's language portrait

Yonela wrote that her linguistic repertoire includes isiXhosa, English, isiZulu, Setswana, and Afrikaans. Yonela associated particular meaning to the head of the body silhouette, by stating that it represents her mother tongue, isiXhosa. According to Kusters and De Meulders (2019: 10), in language portraits the face (or the head) and the neck/throat are usually used to represent a linguistic variety that the participants understand and can use (see also Bristowe et al. 2014; Coffey 2015; Soares et al. 2020). Yonela explained in the interview that isiXhosa is the language of her roots; it forms her identity. It is a language that she uses when speaking with her family (including extended family) and it is the language of her cultural community. Below Yonela, in Extract 1, elaborates on this and states how important it is that you know your own culture and language and states that her children should know that English is "someone else's language". isiXhosa, however, does not cover a large part of her body, only the head and the neck areas.

#### *Extract 1<sup>18</sup>*

<sup>18</sup> In the extracts, what the participant said in isiXhosa is provided in italics, with English translations in square brackets. What the participant said in English is provided in plain text. Afrikaans words are placed in bold. Contextual information is provided in parentheses, in small capital letters.

**Yonela:** I think *yilento* ba [it's this thing of] we speak isiXhosa *nathi* [as well] that's... And *ndiyathanda ba bazi I... baUnderstand(e) maan imvelaphi yabo* [I would like for them to know their roots]; and understand where they... *iCulture yabona* [culture, you see], *baUnderstand(e) isiNgesi* [they must understand that English] is a language *yomnye umntu* [that is someone else's]. I want them to own their language, I want them to have a sense of ownership, and *uthando* [love] for their own language, and their own culture, because *ke iya* [it's]... so, for me I feel *ba ibalulekile lonto leyo* [it is important] for us to... to... to... to deeply engrave this *ebantwaneni bethu* [in our children], because I feel *intobana* [that] once you understand *ilanguage yakho* [your language], you know, you'll understand your culture, you'll understand your traditions, *yonke lento leyo* [and all of that]. So, I feel *intobana* [that]... and it's also a beautiful language, isiXhosa, for me, shame; I love isiXhosa. It's a beautiful language, *yabona* [you see]... and yeah. I feel... and, but *ke kum, kwiCase yam* [but to me, in my case], but okay.

Yonela linked the amount of space taken up by a linguistic variety in everyday practice to the amount of space taken up in the language portrait. According to Busch (2021: 201), the language portrait “can be seen as a window onto the body image” and “is suited for tracing the multiple entanglements between body and language”. Yonela views her body as a container in which different languages takes up more or less space. Her portrait and interviews also illustrate the fact that beliefs/attitudes about language are not necessarily reflected in language behaviour/practices and that the individual is always linked to the broader society. According to Baker (1992: 12-13), people often communicate their attitudes about language which do not necessarily match their linguistic practices/behaviours. Yonela has shown that isiXhosa is important to her, yet it is not a language that she uses often.

The middle part of the body silhouette she coloured in as English. She says she speaks English a lot with her family and at work. It is a language she uses the most daily out of all the languages in her linguistic repertoire. In this sense, Yonela's description of her language in relation to her body is also “formed and transformed in interaction with others” (Busch 2021: 203).

Yonela coloured in lower parts of the body (the legs) as isiZulu, because she says she watches a lot of isiZulu soap operas on television. isiZulu and isiXhosa are both in the Nguni language group and are to a large extent mutually intelligible. Yonela also coloured in the upper parts of the feet as Afrikaans, because she says she is exposed to Afrikaans at work sometimes. Interestingly, she has a lot of admiration of Afrikaans speakers, who she sees as holding on



their identity by what she perceives to be the maintenance of Afrikaans. This is expressed in Extract 2 below.

*Extract 2*

**Interviewer:** So *isiXhosa wena usiAssociate(a) neIdentity* [you associate isiXhosa with identity]?

**Yonela:** Most definitely; *yiIdentity* [it's identity]. *iLanguage* [Language] is the core of who you are. And I think... I also... I love even Afrikaners, if *uyabaqwalasela* [you notice them]; *amabhulu* [Afrikaners] they... they... *bayayiEnforce(a) indaba yesibhulu ebantwaneni babo* [they enforce the thing of Afrikaans in their children], 'cause that's who they are. And it's a beautiful thing *Akuthwa subaMultilingual* [No one is saying don't be multilingual], I love them (HER CHILDREN) being multilingual, but *iqala kuleCore* [it starts with this core] (isiXhosa); who you are *kuqala* [first], then you can learn other languages, *uyabona* [you see]...

Lastly, she coloured in the lower parts of the feet as Setswana. She refers to it is her unspoken mother tongue: Her father is Tswana culturally, but he speaks isiXhosa, and therefore she and her siblings grew up speaking isiXhosa in her family. They never learned Setswana and cannot speak it. In a sense, Yonela contradicts herself and points to the complexity of linking language and culture when she admits to not knowing Setswana. As she is discussing the importance of her children being able to speak isiXhosa, she says, "Actually let me leave it! I am not even Xhosa, I am Tswana." (See Extract 3). Bristowe et al. (2014) reported on a participant in their study who had a Zulu name and surname and was generally regarded as Zulu in his community. He could however not speak isiZulu, because he grew up in a non-isiZulu-speaking community. Instead, he identified more with the language spoken in his community. This is essential to highlight not only in multilingual communities, but also in multilingual families, because it challenges the assumption that there is a one-to-one correlation between culture and language. With Yonela, that is not the case, because she identifies as Xhosa even though her father is Tswana. In many African cultures, the father's culture is seen as the one that the children should follow (Nduna 2014); however, Yonela's father did not pass his culture to his children. Instead, he took on his wife's culture (Xhosa) and they raised their children in the Xhosa culture in a predominantly isiXhosa-speaking community in Langa.

*Extract 3*

**Yonela:** *Phofu mandiyeke! Andinguye nomXhosa mna, ndingumTswana.*  
[Actually, let me leave it! I am not even Xhosa, I am Tswana.]

**Interviewer:** Oooh...

**Yonela:** Basically, yeah... but I grew up, I grew up as *umXhosa* [Xhosa]. So, I'm Tswana by birth and I am Xhosa by ...

**Interviewer:** ...by growing up or being raised...?

**Yonela:** by culture!

**Interviewer:** *Ngumama okanye ngutata umTswana* [Is it your mom or your dad who is Tswana]?

**Yonela:** *Ngutata umTswana* [ It's my dad who is Tswana], yes. My dad is Tswana.

Figure 5 below is an image of Luzuko's language portrait. Luzuko is the father of the Mpulampula family. As explained in Section 4.6.2, Luzuko was absent for the most part of the data collection process and I could not conduct a follow-up interview with him; I just have his written reflections on his language portrait. The insights into Luzuko's linguistic repertoire are therefore not as extensive as that of Yonela.

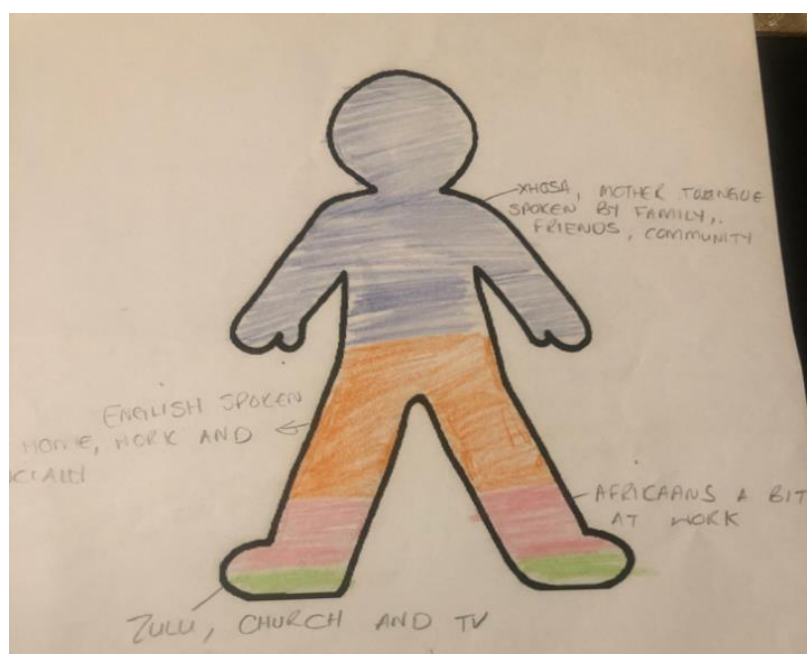
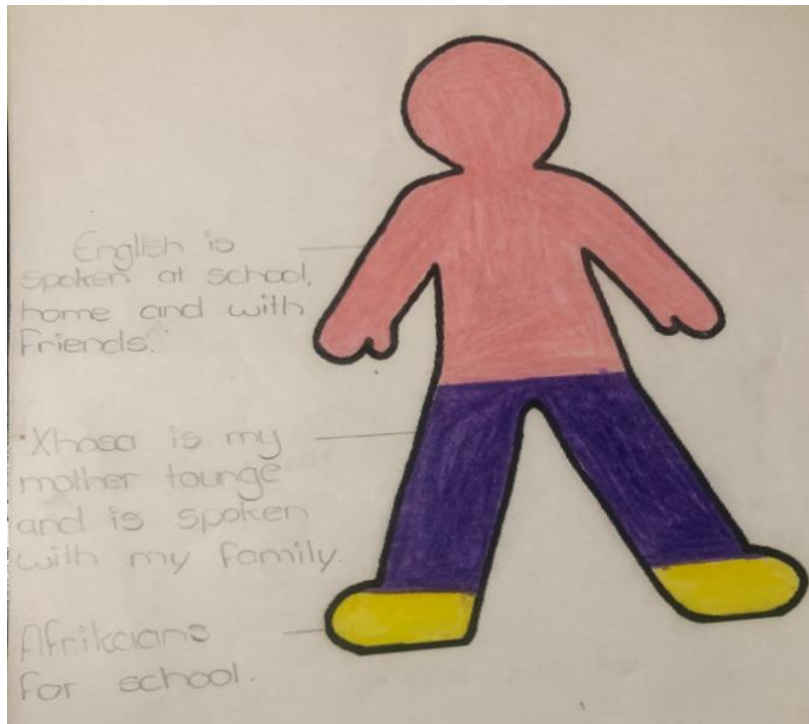


Figure 5: An image of Luzuko's language portrait

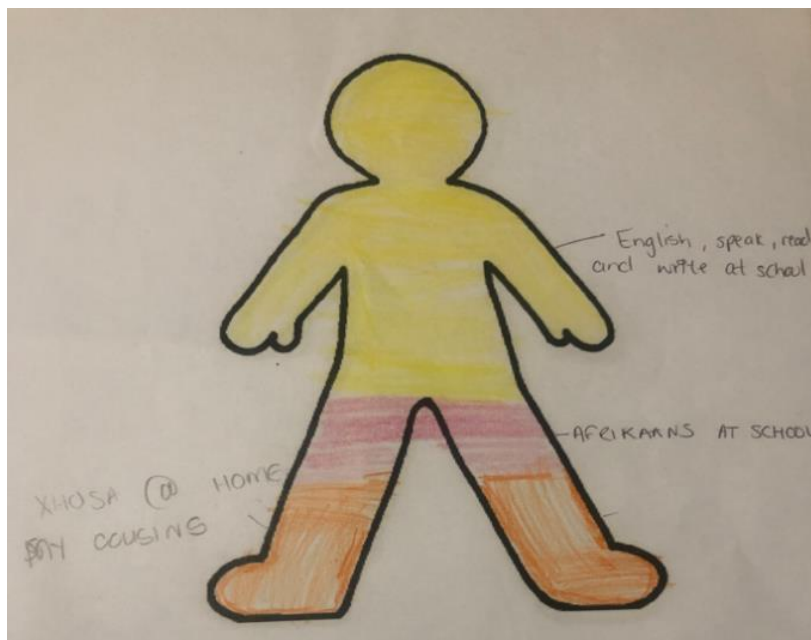
Luzuko's language portrait is coloured in in a similar sequence as Yonela's. He also coloured in the head as isiXhosa and stated that it is his mother tongue. However, unlike Yonela (who

coloured in her language portrait as isiXhosa just from the head to the neck area), he coloured in a vast part of the body silhouette as isiXhosa, from the head to the waist. Luzuko explained that he is exposed to and uses a lot of isiXhosa in his day-to-day life: He uses isiXhosa with his family (including extended family members), friends and his community. From the waist to the start of the lower parts of the legs, he has coloured in the English language. He says he uses English at home, and at work and in social spaces. He coloured in the lower part of his legs as Afrikaans because he says he is exposed to a bit of Afrikaans at work. Lastly, he coloured in the feet as isiZulu because isiZulu is a language that he is exposed to at church, and, like Yonela he watches television shows that are in isiZulu.

The Mpulampula parents' language portraits were similar, in that they both regarded isiXhosa as their mother tongue and visually demonstrated that by placing it on the body part that best represents its importance in their lives, which is the head. However, the language portraits of their children, Inga and Lulu, show that they regard English rather than isiXhosa as important to them. Figures 6 and 7 below respectively show Inga and Lulu's language portraits. Vuyo did not complete a language portrait.



*Figure 6: An image of Inga's language portrait*



*Figure 7: An image of Lulu's language portrait*

Inga's language portrait has three colours, which represent her linguistic varieties: English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans. She has coloured the entire upper body of the silhouette with pink, and she said it represents the English language. English is the language she uses daily: at school, when she is with friends, and at home. She said that she coloured the upper part of body as English, because it is the language, she mostly functions in each day, because of school. Inga coloured the lower body (all but the feet) as isiXhosa. She stated in writing that isiXhosa is her mother tongue, and she uses it to speak with her family. Unlike her parents, Inga has placed isiXhosa in the lower parts of the body silhouette. She says this is because she does not speak isiXhosa as much as she speaks English, even though it is her mother tongue. This is evidence that although Yonela and Luzuko regard isiXhosa as important, it is not regarded as equally important for their children (as will also be seen in the discussion on Lulu's language portrait). Similarly, Lyon and Ellis (1999) found in a study in Wales that whereas 86% of the parents believed that Welsh was important, and that they desired that their children know it, very few parents used the language frequently with their children. De Klerk (2000: 212-213) states that isiXhosa-speaking parents "for political, economic and educational reasons" want their children to "be assimilated into a single unified national culture which will probably be Western to the core" and that they are "torn between a natural preference for their mother tongue and the appeal of English and all it represents". Inga further coloured the feet of the body silhouette as Afrikaans and said she is exposed to Afrikaans at school.

Figure 7 above shows an image of Lulu's language portrait. Her language portrait is also coloured in with three colours, and the colours represent English, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans. She coloured in the entire upper body silhouette as English, because she speaks, reads, and interacts a lot in English, at school and at home. She coloured in the upper parts of the legs as Afrikaans because she is exposed to Afrikaans at school. Lastly, she coloured in the lower legs and the feet as isiXhosa because she is exposed to it at home and when she is with her cousins. Her language portrait is also coloured in from head to toe; the head representing the most important language and the lower parts of the body silhouette representing the language(s) that are not as important, in terms of function. Lulu speaks a lot of English, and very little to no isiXhosa, because her family discovered that she has a hearing impediment when she was three years old. The parents could not locate a speech-language therapist that spoke and could provide therapy in isiXhosa, so the family "panicked" and opted for speech therapy in English (more of this is discussed in section 7.2.2). Her exposure to English is what prompted her to place isiXhosa at the bottom, where the legs and feet are, and English on the top parts of the body silhouette. She is exposed to Afrikaans at school, and Afrikaans is one of her school subjects, hence she has not placed it right at the bottom where isiXhosa is.

In this family, there seems to be a generational shift: The parents view isiXhosa as very important even though they do not use it all that frequently in their workplaces, while the children see English as very important. School is a very influential space for children because they spend most of the hours of their day there. How they perceive, use, and manage language in school plays a major role in how they ultimately perceive, use and manage language in the home environment, as well as in the community (King and Fogle 2013). According to Riley (2011: 494) hegemonic ideologies about certain languages shape the institutions and the procedures that guide the language acquisition and value of languages. The shaping influence of the school will be discussed in Chapter 7.

### 5.2.2 The Katini family

The linguistic repertoire of Sindiswa, the mother of the Katini family, includes isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans. Sindiswa coloured her head in Afrikaans because she stated that this was the smallest part of the body silhouette, and it is the language that she spoke the least. She explained in the interview that although she grew up in Belhar and stayed there for most of her life, she spoke very little Afrikaans. She holds a negative attitude towards the speakers of the language who were in her neighbourhood. This can be seen in the extract from her interview in Extract 4. According to Youngjoo (2021: 120), a person's attitude toward learning a new language is often influenced by their family background, their parents' beliefs, and their social status in childhood. However, with Sindiswa, it was her stereotypical perceptions about the speakers of the language and the variety of Afrikaans that they spoke that resulted in her not wanting to learn Afrikaans.

#### *Extract 4*

**Interviewer:** *iAfrikaans yona awuyithethi* [You don't speak Afrikaans]?

**Sindiswa:** *Yhuu ha-ah* [Oh no]... never ever! Nooow and then! *Emsebenzini* [At work], like, *xa ndigezayo, kuba ke ndisebenza namaColoured* [when I'm fooling around because I work with coloured people]. *Mhlawumbi athethe lonto, nam ndiphendule lonto* [Maybe one will say something, and I will also respond]. Like, *njee ziiJokes* [it's just jokes]. Like, *zange ndabaSerious* [I've never been serious], like take it seriously and have a serious conversation *nommntu* [with a person].

**Interviewer:** *So wakhe wayifunda iAfrikaans* [So have you ever learned Afrikaans]?

**Sindiswa:** *Ya* [Yes]...

**Interviewer:** *So uyakwazi ukuyithetha* [you can speak it]?

**Sindiswa:** *Kancinci. Kancinci* [A little. A little], basically.

**Interviewer:** *Awukhulelanga eBelhar* [Didn't you grow up in Belhar]?

**Sindiswa:** *Ndikhulele eBelhar* [I grew up in Belhar], but it's very strange because *azange iAfrikaans ibe yiLanguage endiyithandayo, ndingatsho* [Afrikaans was never a language I liked, I would say]. So, *ewe bendi* [yes, I was] exposed *kuyo* [to it] for years, but *ndingenayo lento ba ndifuna uba serious ngoyithetha* [I never had that thing in me of being serious about learning how to speak it]. I just got serious *ngoyiUnderstand(a)* [about understanding it].

**Interviewer:** It's so interesting that *aba bayithande iAfrikaans, ngoba nawe ukhulule eBelhar* [they (THE CHILDREN) love Afrikaans, because you also grew up in Belhar]?

**Sindiswa:** *Yhuu ha-ah* [Ooh no], but *andizange ndiyifumane iInteresting. Andiyazi maan ingathi ikrwada, andiyazi* [I never found it interesting. I don't know man]. I think it's because of *iArea yethu ngeyamaColoured la aa* [the area we are situated in, it's for the coloureds that are (INAUDIBLE), *la athukayo, la akwada, manditsho. Akukho la aDescent; ubone ba kuthethwa ulwimi* [I think it's a bit rude, I don't know. I think it's because of ... (INAUDIBLE), the ones who swear, the rude ones, let me say. There aren't the descent ones; the ones where you see that they are speaking the language] like purely.

**Interviewer:** Ooh... *kuwe, iLanguage yabo uye wayiAssociate(a) nabo? Ba "bangabantu abanje," so awayifuna kengoku* [so to you, their language you associated it with them? That they are "this kind of people," so you didn't want it].

**Sindiswa:** *Andafuna kengoku uyithetha* [So I did not want to speak it].

Although Sindiswa admits to occasionally using Afrikaans to joke, she associates Afrikaans with bad behaviour, "the ones who swear, the rude ones". It also seems as if Sindiswa draws on the discourse that Kaaps, which is probably the variety spoken by many of the inhabitants of Belhar is "impure". Kaaps is regarded by Hendricks (2016: 11) "as a variety of Afrikaans which is traditionally associated with people of colour". Hendricks (2016: 32) states that for most of its existence Kaaps was "despised and suppressed" and that derogatory terms were often used to describe this variety.

Given that Belhar is predominantly an Afrikaans-speaking community, the fact that Sindiswa decided that she will not learn Afrikaans shows that in some cases an individual can decide that they do not want the space or the environment that they are in to influence their linguistic practices. For Sindiswa, choosing not to learn Afrikaans is an act of resistance. It is a case of individual agency. Agency is the ability to act otherwise, or to choose to do one thing from a variety of options (Giddens 1976, 1984). Sindiswa's agency complexifies Blommaert et al.'s (2005: 213) assertion that "multilingualism is not what individuals have or lack, but what the environment, as structured determination and interactional emergence, enables and disables them to deploy". In Sindiswa's case, although Afrikaans was available in the environment, the relationships in it shaped her attitude and willingness to acquire a specific language. Figure 8 below shows an image of Sindiswa's language portrait.





Figure 8: An image of Sindiswa's language portrait

As seen in Figure 8 above, Sindiswa coloured in English in the middle part of the body silhouette, because she says it is the biggest part of the body. She explained that she is exposed to and speaks a lot of English at work and, because she works long hours, it means that she speaks it for the most part of her days. As can be seen in Extract 5, her attitude toward English is not necessarily one of emotional connection; instead, she views it simply as the language that she has to use in order for her to make a living.

#### Extract 5

**Interviewer:** So which languages would you say you are exposed to on a daily basis? Like, daily...

**Sindiswa:** It would be English, because most of the time I'm at work. Yeah, *iiColleagues zam* [my colleagues] are mostly coloured and white people. *AmaXhosa* [The Xhosas], there's like only three of us... no, *sibayiFour* [there's four] actually *kwiDepartment yethu* [in our department]. So we barely speak isiXhosa, because yeah like, most of the time it's like *umsebenzi* [work], and then we've got to speak English, because we like to work on Teams, so that *ezinye iiColleagues zizoUnderstand(a)* [other colleagues can understand] what we are talking about, hey. So, I would say I speak *iEnglish isikakhulu* [English mostly].

From Extract 5 it appears that there is no room for Sindiswa to decide not to speak English, because it is how she gets paid: to communicate (in English) with both her colleagues and

clients. Hence, Sindiswa's attitude toward English is different to her attitude toward Afrikaans because learning Afrikaans was optional for her, but learning English was not. English is the language of the corporate world, which she is in.

Asanda and Kholo's (Sindiswa's children) linguistic repertoires also include English, isiXhosa, and Afrikaans. Asanda is Sindiswa's eldest daughter, and both her and Kholo, her little brother, attend a school that is in the neighbourhood. In her language portrait (see Figure 9), Asanda coloured in the head as Afrikaans and in the middle part of the body as isiXhosa, which she says she loves. The lower part of the body she coloured in as English. She says she coloured in the head as Afrikaans because that is the smallest part of the body, and she says she speaks little Afrikaans. This is different to how Kholo coloured in his language portrait (see in Figure 10). Kholo coloured in the head and said it represents English, because he uses English the least. He stated that the times when he uses English are when he is communicating with his teachers at school, and with his friends, and when he's doing homework. All his isiXhosa-speaking friends are fluent in all three languages, and they are all from Belhar.

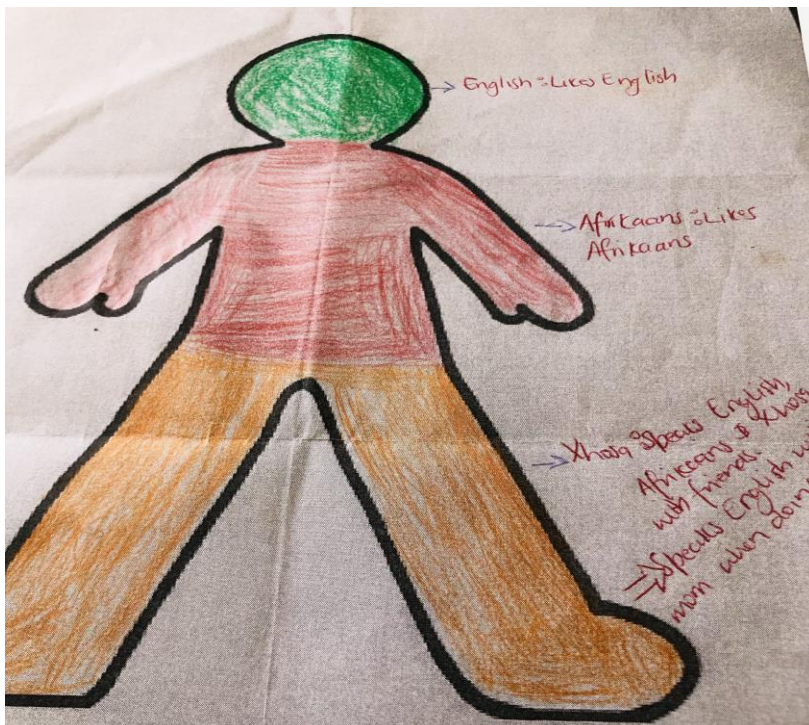


Figure 9: Image of Kholo language portrait

The multimodal approach was beneficial to use as I was able to get different sets of information from both the linguistic and visual representation in Asanda's language portrait. Asanda wrote

in the explanation in her language portrait that she does not use a lot of Afrikaans, yet in the interview data (see Extract 6) she expressed that she loves Afrikaans more than isiXhosa, because she has a lot of Afrikaans-speaking friends both in her neighbourhood and at school. Asanda disclosed that when she has conversations with Kholo and the cousins in the house, they mostly speak Afrikaans, because they all love the language.

*Extract 6*

**Interviewer:** *Nithetha ntoni endlini? Nithetha isiXhosa?* [What do you speak at home? Do you speak isiXhosa?]

**Asanda:** *Ewe, sithetha isiXhosa* [Yes, we speak isiXhosa].

**Interviewer:** *Nithetha isiXhosa noKholo* [Do you speak isiXhosa with Kholo?]

**Asanda:** Sometimes, but we mostly speak Afrikaans.

**Sindiswa:** (INTERJECTING) *Bayayithanda ke iAfrikaans, bayithetha oko nabantwana bakaBrother wam; ngabanye abo ingathi ngamaColoured* [They love Afrikaans, they speak it all the time with my brother's children; those ones also are like coloureds].

**Interviewer:** *Niyayithanda iAfrikaans* [Do you love Afrikaans?]

**Asanda:** (NODS)

**Interviewer:** *Nyani? Nithanda eyiphi kakhulu? IsiXhosa okanye iAfrikaans?* [Really? Which one do you love the most? IsiXhosa or Afrikaans?]

**Asanda:** *iAfrikaans* [Afrikaans]

**Interviewer:** *Nyani?* [Really?]

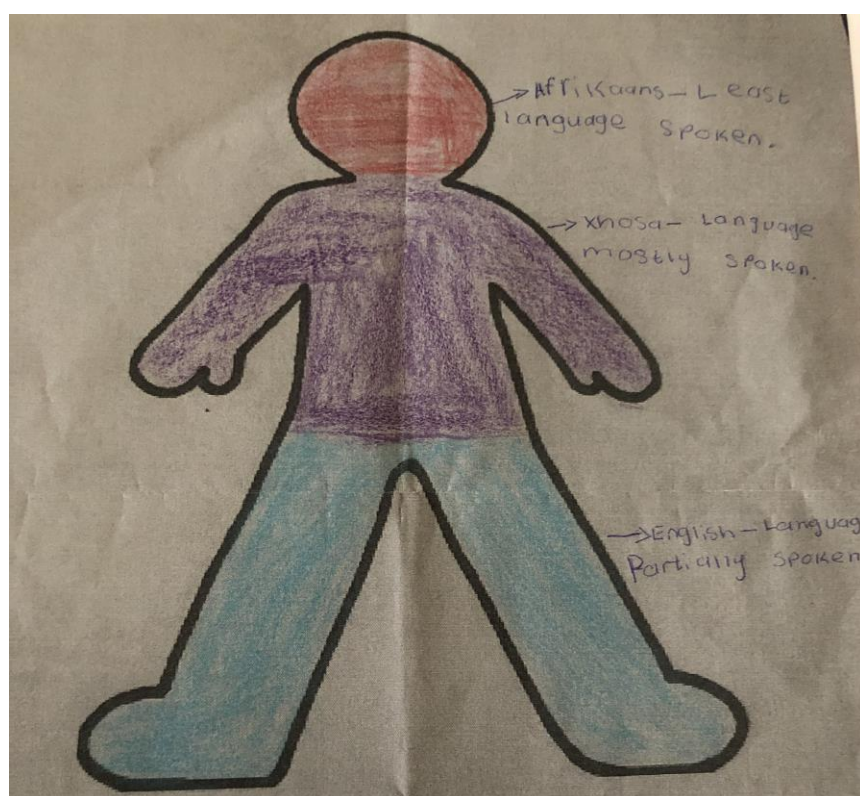
**Asanda:** (NODS SHYLY)

**Interviewer:** *Ngoba?* [Why?]

**Asanda:** *Iitshomi zam zonke zithetha iAfrikaans* [All my friends speak Afrikaans], and my cousins. *Siyayithanda iAfrikaans* [We (SHE AND HER COUSINS) all love Afrikaans].

Although it is not shown on their language portraits, it is evident that Afrikaans plays an essential role in Asanda and Kholo's lives, with Afrikaans being a language spoken by their friends at school and in the neighbourhood. Asanda also expressed that at home she uses mostly isiXhosa with the grown-ups, because that is the language that the adults in the house speak. She also speaks isiXhosa with the nanny and that is why she coloured in isiXhosa in the middle part of the body (the biggest part of the body). Youngjoo Seo (2021: 107) states that because young children spend a lot of their time with their parents, the way they learn language is largely

influenced by their parents' use of language. Furthermore, the linguistic space of the family and the attitudes/beliefs of the parents about language become important elements in how children achieve bilingualism. In the Katini family, isiXhosa is valued by the adults, therefore the children know that they should speak isiXhosa with the adults in that space. However, in the interview, Sindiswa mentioned that Asanda only speaks isiXhosa with grown-ups in the house and does not have friends that speak only isiXhosa. Sindiswa says even though Asanda and Kholo speak isiXhosa with the grown-ups in the house they cannot read isiXhosa, and there are no isiXhosa books in the house either (see Section 6.4) for more on the practices that they engage in). Asanda and Kholo only learned isiXhosa through speaking it with the adults in the home and had never learned how to read the language nor does the school they attend offer it as a subject. This is similar to the children in the Mpulampula family whose school also does not offer isiXhosa as a subject. Asanda coloured in English on the lower parts of the body silhouette because she says she partially speaks English. The school she attends has English as its medium of instruction, and she says her teachers speak English. The books she reads at home that are from school are also in English. Asanda says she speaks little English at home with her family and her friends, but she consumes English media on television, Tik Tok and YouTube.



*Figure 10: An image of Asanda's language portrait*



### 5.2.3 The Coki family

The Coki family resides in Langa, a predominantly isiXhosa-speaking community. In this family, it was Aphiwe and her two children (Bobo and Thenjiwe) who completed the language portraits. Recall that, due to Covid-19 regulations at the time of the data collection, I could not be physically present when the families were completing their language portraits. However, I did have a virtual meeting on WhatsApp video call with each of the families before I gave them the language portraits to complete, during which I explained how language portraits are completed. I also gave them time to ask any questions that they wanted to ask. I was under the impression that each of the families fully understood what I had requested them to do. It was not until I received back the completed language portraits from the Coki family that I realised that Aphiwe might have not understood the instructions, because it turned out that she coloured in her own language portrait as well as Bobo's and Thenjiwe's. My interviews with this family were thus also focused on trying to discern whether Aphiwe accurately depicted the linguistic repertoires of Bobo and Thenjiwe in her language portrait. The images below show Aphiwe's, Bobo's and Thenjiwe's language portraits.

In Aphiwe's language portrait (see Figure 11 below), she has shown that her linguistic repertoire includes English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa. She mentions in her written narration that the face is the "small part", and she says that she made it represent isiXhosa, because she does not use it a lot. In all three families, the mothers have indicated that they do not use isiXhosa the most frequently out of the languages in their repertoires. Furthermore, Aphiwe coloured in the upper body green, and she says it represents English. She states that she grew up speaking English and that she went to a school where English was the medium of instruction. Lastly, Aphiwe coloured in a vast part of the lower body red and indicated that it represents Afrikaans. She states that Afrikaans is one of the languages that she speaks a lot. This is in contrast to the other parents in this study. In the interview data, Aphiwe mentions that although she was born in Langa, when she was 5 years old, her family moved to Mitchell's Plain, a predominantly Afrikaans area. She says she only had Afrikaans-speaking friends in her neighbourhood and at school. As a result, she mostly learned how to speak both English and Afrikaans from her friends. However, when she was in Grade 10 (16 years old), she moved back to Langa and has stayed in Langa since then. She has used her Afrikaans language proficiency in her tutoring business, and markets herself as an Afrikaans and English tutor.

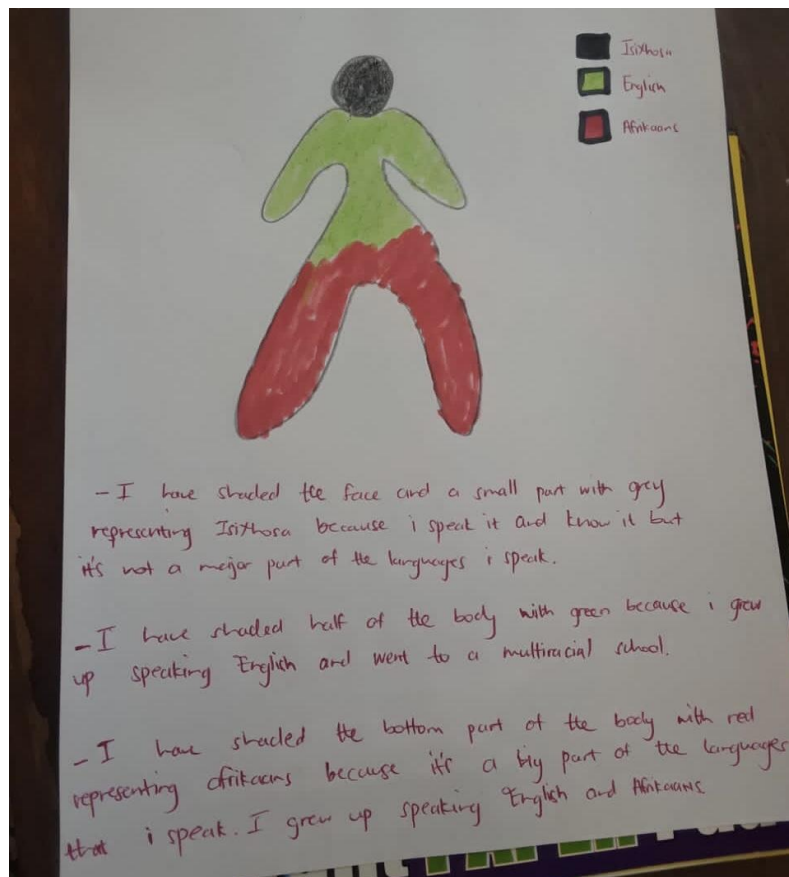


Figure 11: An image of Aphiwe's language portrait

In both Bobo and Thenjiwe's language portraits (Figures 12 and 13), Aphiwe has coloured in a vast part of the body silhouettes as English and the head as isiXhosa, because she says they do not speak much isiXhosa in their day-to-day lives. She coloured in the feet as Afrikaans, because she says they speak very little Afrikaans. This is important to highlight, because although Afrikaans has played a big role in Aphiwe's upbringing, it seems from the language portrait data as if it plays a very small role in her children's lives. Despite earning money tutoring Afrikaans, it is not a language that she has seen as important enough to pass on to her children.

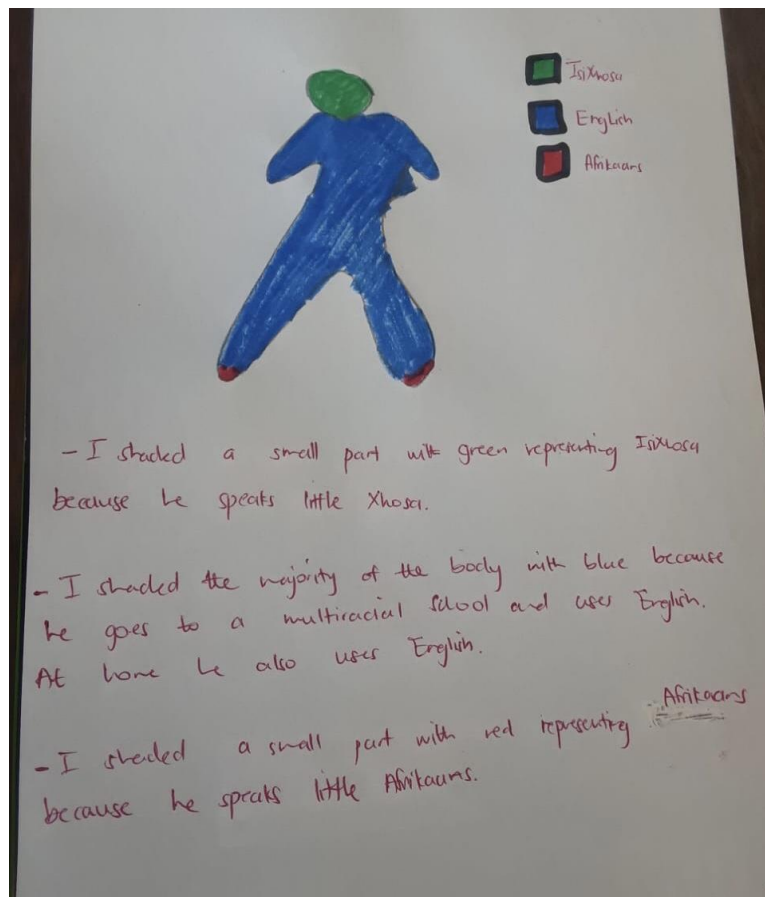


Figure 12: An image of Bobo's language portrait

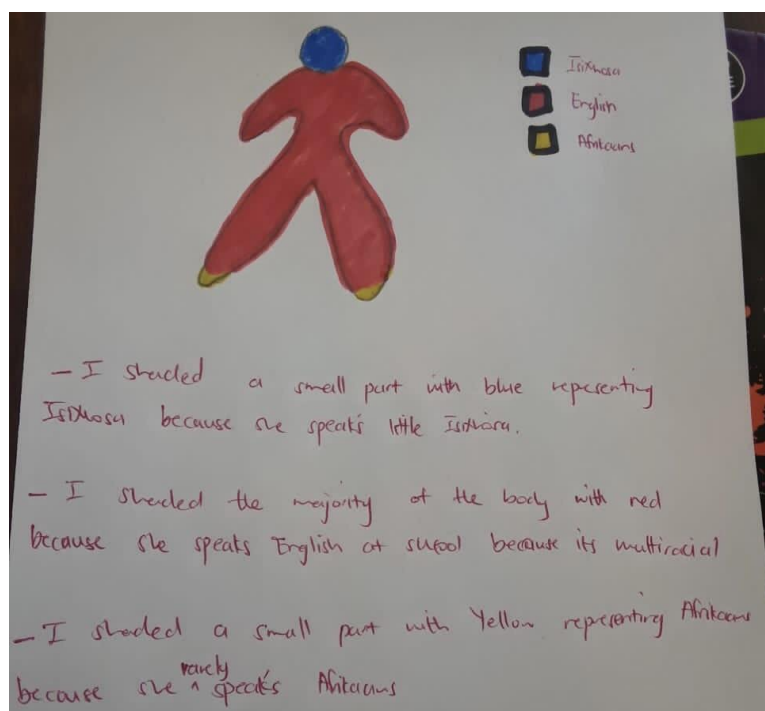


Figure 13: An image of Thenjiwe's language portrait



According to Aphiwe, Bobo speaks more English than isiXhosa, and she explained through a small story (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008), recounted in Extract 7 below, why she emphasises the use of English so much. This small story is illustrative of how past experiences of language, what Busch (2017: 10) calls “the lived experience of language” shapes the linguistic repertoires and decisions around language made in families. Small stories are regarded as relatively short retellings of a fleeting kind that often has important insight into identity construction (Oostendorp and Jones 2015). It is not uncommon for small stories to be generated during the interviews based on language portraits (see for example, Bristowe et al. 2014; Mashazi 2020). This small story starts with “And also, I think I registered my son once, *nhe*, at a casting agent, but he was going to creche, it was a Xhosa creche” and recounts that the agent who met with them was an L1 speaker of English. Bobo was not signed by the agency, and Aphiwe believes that it was because he could not speak English. In this story, she juxtaposes the lack of opportunity provided by isiXhosa with the opportunities she assumes Bobo would have had if he could speak English. From that experience, she decided that she wanted her children to learn English, and she then took them to a multiracial school.

*Extract 7*

**Interviewer:** Then with English, did you teach them English?

**Aphiwe:** No, I didn’t teach them English. I took them, I registered them at the school, and I just saw them they came back, they were engaging and spoke English. So, I didn’t teach them like saying; ‘Okay this is English; this is how you speak.’ No, they picked it up by themselves.

**Interviewer:** At school...? So, why did you in particular take them to... *bafunda phi*? [Which school do they go to?]

**Aphiwe:** *eCollege Park* [College Park].

**Interviewer:** *eCollege Park* [College Park]? So why not *eMasithembele*? (A SCHOOL IN LANGA)

**Aphiwe:** Okay, so basically *izinto* [things] like, in the society we’re living in *nhe* [right]; I thought like, okay *ababantwana* [these children], I’m speaking Xhosa at home *nhe* [right], now I want them to be exposed... I want them to be exposed to English at a young age. And also, I think I registered my son once, *nhe* [right], at a casting agent, but he was going to creche; it was a Xhosa creche, so he could not, so they said no, they can’t take him, because the child must be able to speak the language, so I thought you know what, let me register these children at a multiracial school, so that they can learn English, so that they can be exposed to different uuumm... opportunities, so that they can communicate, because uuumm... their friends, as I’m seeing, like when they go to church, like the

majority of their friends speak English, so they will feel like, when they speak Xhosa, they will feel like less confident. The environment is good *nhe* [right], but the language that the children are exposed to, and the type of friends they have, they speak mostly English.

From the interview data, Aphiwe's explicit belief is that most opportunities in life require one to be able to speak English and that is why she not only enrolled her children in a multiracial school but also encourages them to speak English even at home. In this regard Curdt-Christiansen (2016: 23) states that "the overriding weight of the economic value associated with English have 'coerced' the parents/caregivers to explicitly and implicitly, deliberately, or unintentionally, choose the preferred code in their everyday linguistic practices". In Aphiwe's case, she realised the economic value/benefits that would come with her children speaking English well. Aphiwe also mentions that the children at church speak English (these are isiXhosa-speaking children who come from different communities around Cape Town, not just in Langa). And Aphiwe feels like that was also motivation for her children to start learning English, because the other children at church also spoke English. She did not want her children to feel less confident when they spoke, just because they only spoke isiXhosa and not also English. Spolsky (2009) states that certain languages, their varieties and/or linguistic features have been granted varying value and prestige. Smith-Christmas (2016) further states that that explains or gives an account for an intentional language choice or certain language alterations in linguistic practice and management strategies in the home. In the Coki family's case, Aphiwe views English as a prestigious language, and that has altered the way in which she uses language even in her home. As stated, the isiXhosa-speaking children at church speak English while at church, but most of the children in the family's neighbourhood speak isiXhosa. This is unlike in the Katini family, where the children socialised with the friends in their neighbourhood through Afrikaans, because it is the language that their friends spoke; in the case of the Coki children, Aphiwe believes that the children should not speak the language that their neighbourhood friends speak but should rather speak English. Because Aphiwe completed the children's language portraits for them, I gained little insight from the language portraits on their linguistic repertoires; I did however gain more insight from the data obtained from the video recordings (see section 7.2.2). That said, I did obtain information on how Aphiwe's past experiences of language shaped the choices she made with regards to language in her home and her children's language of schooling.

### 5.3 Conclusion

All three families in my study had multiple linguistic varieties present amongst them, and all individual members of the family had more than one linguistic variety in their repertoire. Prominent in the repertoires are the three official languages of the Western Cape. IsiXhosa occupies an important space as a language of cultural value, although more so for (some of) the parents than for the children. IsiXhosa is encouraged but not enforced in two of the homes, while the use of isiXhosa is actively discouraged in one home. English also occupies an important place: All the children in the study attend schools that have English as medium of instruction. For the Coki family, English is seen as the most important language in the repertoire, and the mother actively discourages any other language in the home and enrolled her children in a school outside of the neighbourhood to ensure that they receive instruction in English only. The Mpulampula family, although wanting to use more isiXhosa, finds it difficult to enforce an isiXhosa-only-at-home rule and finds themselves shifting more to English once their child with hearing impediments started attending speech therapy in English. The Katini family seems to be more ambiguous towards English or isiXhosa and do not actively promote either, although the importance of English is acknowledged by the mother. Afrikaans is present in all of the families as it is often taught in English-medium schools as first additional language. Parents also encounter this language in the workplace. This points to the fact that although some have argued that Afrikaans has suffered domain-loss after the introduction of the new constitution that declared 11 languages as official, compared to isiXhosa it still has economic power. Two of the parents have more intimate and emotional connections to Afrikaans. In the Coki family, the mother grew up in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking neighbourhood and although her proficiency in this language now holds economic benefits for her (with her tutoring business), she is not necessarily encouraging her children to also become proficient in Afrikaans. In the Katini family, the mother also grew up in an Afrikaans-speaking neighbourhood, in which she still resides, and although she has passive knowledge of the language, she refuses to speak it. Her children, in contrast, express their love for Afrikaans, having formed friendships with Afrikaans-speaking children in the neighbourhood. All the families thus “navigate partially shared linguistic resources” (Purkardthofer 2021: 732). This refers to the fact that “every member of the family (as well as other people) will share some communicative resources with the others but will not have completely overlapping repertoires” (Purkardthofer 2021: 733).

Besides the three official languages of the province, the Mpulampula family's parents also indicate that they consider isiZulu part of their repertoire, although this seems to be mostly as a result of consumption of isiZulu media. However, since isiXhosa and isiZulu are typologically closely related, it is not surprising that they at least understand isiZulu. This kind of multilingualism is under-explored in FLP research but is receiving more attention in multilingualism research (Singer 2018). Singer (2018: 102), also using language portraits, showed how receptive multilingual practices were important to maintain the multilingualism of the group that she studied. However, since isiZulu seems to be only mentioned in passing and was not explicitly named by the other families (despite the fact that all participants would be able to understand isiZulu to a large extent), this phenomenon will not receive further attention in this dissertation. Very interestingly, Yonela, the mother of the Mpulampula family, refers to Setswana as her unspoken mother tongue. She does not speak this language, but she has Tswana ancestry through her father. This is not uncommon and is similar to what often happens to immigrant communities who might not speak the languages of their parents, or to indigenous language communities (see for example Nicholas 2009; McCarty and Nicholas 2014; Farr et al. 2018).

The conscious choices that the parents make with regards to the language that they speak with their children are closely linked to ideologies that they hold about language (for example the importance of English), and those ideologies are linked to lived experience of language. According to Busch (2017), we not only position ourselves in terms of resources that are present but also those that are absent. An example of this is shown on Extract 7 above, where Aphiwe expresses, "so I thought you know what let me register these children at a multiracial school, so that they can learn English, so that they can be exposed to different uuumm...opportunities, so that they can communicate." In addition, past experiences can have a significant impact on the present shape of linguistic repertoires, while current usage can point to future trajectories of repertoires. It is the Mpulampula's experience of not finding support services in isiXhosa which influenced their decision to use English in their home, and the modelling agency small story told by Aphiwe very clearly illustrates how a specific past experience with language (for her children) influenced the value she attaches to English and the conscious decision to introduce more English into her children's linguistic repertoire. This decision she envisions as having positive consequences for her children in future. Sindiswa's linguistic repertoire is also shaped by her ideologies and experiences with Afrikaans. Another of Busch's (2012) insights into repertoires that is relevant to her, namely that linguistic repertoires exhibit traces of a range

of discourses that are supported “by language ideologies that are inclusive and exclusive” (Busch 2012: 8).

The use of the multimodal approach (language portraits and interviews) was particularly informative: It provided me with two sets of data that sometimes contradicted and other times confirmed each other. It also allowed the participants to come up with their own metaphors with which to think about language. In my data set, it seemed as if the participants viewed the body as a container in which any language can occupy more or less space. In the next chapter, more attention will be paid to the linguistic practices and how they are shaped not only by the linguistic repertoires but by language ideologies.

## Chapter 6

### The interaction of multilingual practices and language ideologies in the Mpulampula, Katini and Coki families

#### 6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will be analysing data focused on the linguistic practices of the three families. Data from the videos and interviews will be primarily discussed. I will, as with the previous chapter, point out similarities and differences across all three families, but also within the same family. Below I have included a table with all the families (parents' and children's names) to make it easier for the reader to recall all the different participants.

*Table 2: Names of the parents, children, friends, and relatives*

<b>Families</b>	<b>Parents' Names</b>	<b>Children's Names</b>	<b>Family and Friends</b>
<b>Mpulampula</b>	Yonela- Mother Luzuko- Father	Inga Vuyo Lulu	
<b>Katini</b>	Sindiswa- Mother	Asanda Kholo	Franklin (Asanda and Kholo's friend)
<b>Coki</b>	Aphiwe- Mother	Bobo Thenjiwe	Busie (Thenjiwe's friend) Zanele (Aphiwe's friend)

In the Mpulampula family, I received a total of ten videos, however I only found seven of those videos to be useful. The other three were either too short or there was not much to analyse in them. In total, the seven videos were 36 minutes 9 seconds long, and were collected over a period of four weeks. Because, as stated before, Luzuko (the father) relocated to the Eastern Cape shortly after the onset of data collection, he was absent in most of the videos.

In the Katini family, I received six videos over a period of eight weeks (including the weeks when I was not receiving videos from the families). Collectively, these videos were 30 minutes 35 seconds long. At the time of data collection, Sindiswa was still working long hours at work, but she would make the video recordings when she got back home. Therefore, video recording

was restricted to the time before bedtime (often involving TV time and discussion around what they were watching).

In the Coki household, I received a total of six videos over a period of eight weeks (including the weeks when I was not receiving videos from the families). Of these, only two were useful, because the others were too short to analyse. As in the case of the other families, the videos were made over a period of eight weeks. The two useful videos were altogether 15 minutes 25 seconds long.

I discussed the videos with the families to gain more context and to assist me in the interpretations I made. In addition, I also received photographs from the children in which they captured all the written material in their homes that they engage with. As I went through the video and photograph data, I generated the following themes: difficulty in implementing rules regarding which languages to use (henceforth, language rules), multilingual and translingual practices, and lack of isiXhosa literacy material in the home. Each of these themes are discussed below.

## **6.2. Difficulty in implementing language rules**

One of the recurring themes across all three families was that there is a great difficulty in implementing explicit language rules in the homes. It was rare in any of the self-recorded video data to see instances where children were told to use one language rather than the other. In the data, where parents and children got an opportunity to report on their practices, the difficulties in implementing a FLP was highlighted. There were varying reasons as to why the implementation of rules was not successful. For instance, in the Katini family, Sindiswa stated that she works long hours and was not present often enough to implement or enforce language rules. In writing about temporality, Anthonissen and Stroud (2021:104) suggest that time is an important variable in FLP. They are critical of the idea of “planning” as they suggest that every “planning endeavour presupposes an understanding of time as unfolding in a linear way” (Anthonissen and Stroud 2021: 106). Planning presupposes that people are stable and located in a specific place. Planning also suggests that if the plan is followed, the benefits of the plan will be reaped. Furthermore, it assumes that “institutions and other structures (schools, workplaces, etc.) are accessible to stakeholders, and are understood to be in line with the aspirations and goals of the plan(ner), and/or are sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of



potentially quite divergent actors” (Anthonissen and Stroud 2021: 106). In Sindiswa’s case, her workplace (as an institution) does not align with a goal to potentially have a plan in place to manage language in her home, because she works long hours. Similarly, Okita’s (2002) study of Japanese intermarried families’ (Japanese-British) transmission of minority language also foregrounds time as an important factor of FLP. Part of the parents’ frustration came from the “invisible” work that they had to do; the planning and the managing, mostly “monitoring and controlling the children, coordinating schedules and organizing events” (Okita 2002: 5). Sindiswa felt she could not do all this invisible work because she spent so much time in her formal occupation.

In the Mpulampula family, there was a more explicit attempt at following a FLP, as can be seen from Extract 8 below. Yonela says they tried to have language rules, but the children often did not stick to them, and it was difficult policing them. Although they have desired to use exclusively isiXhosa in the home, this was not possible (also see Chapter 7 where Yonela recounts why they found themselves increasingly shifting to English). Okita (2002: 5) states that parents are full-time homemakers, in the sense that they must make sure that everything in the home is taken care of (taking care of the children, cooking, cleaning, paying bills etc.); yet they still have to face conflicting language demands. In Okita’s (2002) study, the parents also felt a personal responsibility for their children’s limited English proficiency, because they themselves are not L1 English speakers. Studies such as these have reflected on the pressures that parents endure in their attempts to see their children smoothly integrated into their sociocultural environments.

#### *Extract 8*

**Interviewer:** Okay. Would you say that you have language rules for your children? *Okanye* [Or] even for yourself, and *utata* [dad]? Do you have language rules where you say, ‘Okay, *ngexesha elithile sithetha isiXhosa*’ [Okay, at some point we are talking isiXhosa]?

**Yonela:** *Yho* [Whew], we... we try, but shame it’s VERY difficult to enforce that. We would love to have language rules, *xa kuthethwa inyani singathanda* [in all honesty we would love to] and *siyayirhalela into ba* [we desire that]...

**Interviewer:** ...ideally...?

**Yonela:** Ideally! *Siyayirhalela into ba; ‘kuthethwa isiXhosa ke apha!’* [We desire to say; ‘We speak isiXhosa here!’] and we would say that, *ubone into ba oooh hay wethu ayenzeki lento leyo* [and then you see that ooh no, it is not happening].

Like, it's something they don't... they don't subscribe to that; *abayenzi tuu-tuu lonto leyo* [they do not do that at all]. So, *andiyazi noba ndingayiphendula njani leQuestion* [so I don't know how I would answer this question].

**Interviewer:** You try?

**Yonela:** I would love to, but *ayenzeki* [it does not happen] - it's not possible!

Contrastingly to the Katini family, the parents in the Mpulampula family tried to implement language rules in the home; however, they became discouraged when they saw that the children were not being cooperative with the rules. Schwartz (2010: 183) states that one of the challenges parents face are the intellectual and emotional investments made into teaching their children two (or more) languages which somewhat becomes “frustrating” and “burdensome”. In the Mpulampula family, when the children would not follow through with the rules, it frustrated the parents and they decided to give up on enforcing them. The parents’ role in the maintenance of a heritage language is crucial. Kang (2015: 277) argues that factors such the parents’ socioeconomic status do not have a direct effect on whether the heritage language is maintained in the home. Rather, “parental linguistic input is the single most important variable in maintaining a heritage language and achieving additive bilingualism in (...) families” (Kang 2015: 277). However, in this data, it is essential to note that the children’s role in the maintenance of the heritage language is also important: When the children fail to adhere to what the parents are trying to implement, it affects the amount of input the children receive in their various languages as well as the time the children spend speaking each of their languages. Research shows that children can resist linguistic practices that parents try to implement in the home, and by doing so, they can influence the family’s language practices (Kopeliovich 2010). In both the Katini and Mpulampula families, the parents say they try to maintain isiXhosa as a language spoken in the home. As a result, Yonela went as far as saying she would rate their use of isiXhosa in the home as a seven out of ten (see Extract 9 below). Note however that that was also the rating she gave their use of English in the home.

#### *Extract 9*

**Interviewer:** Okay, so...okay; *ndicela undinike iRating* [could you please give me a rating]; how often would you say you use isiXhosa at home? *iRating* [a rating] from one to ten; one being very little isiXhosa; ten being a lot of isiXhosa... *apha* [here] in the home?

**Yonela:** *IyaDependa kengoku ukubana... mhlawumbi xa ndiSummarise(a)* [It depends now if... maybe when I summarise] I’d say we use 70%...

**Interviewer:** 70%, and *iEnglish yona* [what about English]? So, that's seven out of ten.

**Yonela:** ...seven out of ten!

**Interviewer:** *iEnglish yona* [and what about English]?

**Yonela:** *Umhlawumbi ke* [Maybe then]; I think *mhlawumbi* [maybe]... more or less the same!

**Interviewer:** 70 *nayo* [also?]

**Yonela:** ...*nayo* [also]!

**Interviewer:** Okay...

In the interview data above, Yonela estimates how much they use both English and isiXhosa in the home, and she says that they use 70% isiXhosa and 70% English. Sindiswa in the Katini family said that she would rate her use of isiXhosa as five or six out of ten. Her rating of how often she uses English is higher, and this is because she spends most of her time at work, where the language she uses most is English, as can be seen in Extract 10 below. The question posed to Sindiswa was for a rating of how much she uses isiXhosa and not how much the family uses isiXhosa. This is because Sindiswa does not spend a lot of time with the family, therefore I did not want to put her in a position where she had to guess. Unlike in the other two families where the parents are able to spend more time with their family members and are therefore able to rate how much the family uses isiXhosa in the home.

#### *Extract 10*

**Interviewer:** So, would you say, *xa uyiRate(a) kwiRatio engu10* [if you would rate it on ratio out of ten], with one being the least and ten being the highest; *ungasiRate(a) njani isiXhosa sakho* [what would you rate your use of isiXhosa]?

**Sindiswa:** *IsiXhosa ndingathi siku 5/6* [IsiXhosa, I would say it is five or six]...and then *iEnglish* [English] nine...*ndingathi* [I would say] nine or ten. Like I said, most of the time like *ndisemsebenzini* [I'm at work]. Like, *imini yonke* [the whole day] from 08:00am until 05:00pm. Sometimes even further than *u05:00pm* [05:00pm], like 08:00pm or 09:00pm being at work.

In the interview data of Aphiwe Coki, she expressed that their use of isiXhosa in the home gets a rating of four out of ten. This is the lowest out of all the families. In Extract 11 below, Aphiwe, discusses their use of isiXhosa in the home.

*Extract 11*

**Interviewer:** Okay. So, let me ask you this question: How frequently do you use isiXhosa in the home? Rating from one to ten, one being you don't use it at all; and ten being you use it a lot lot.

**Aphiwe:** So, I'll say four...

**Interviewer:** Four?

**Aphiwe:** Four, 'cause we hardly use it.

**Interviewer:** You hardly use isiXhosa?

**Aphiwe:** Yeah, we hardly use isiXhosa. Seriously.

**Interviewer:** Okay...

**Aphiwe:** It's not a good thing, but *ke* [then]...

**Interviewer:** No, it's fine. It's your choice. And how often do you use English *ke* [then]?

**Aphiwe:** *Yho* [Whew], majority of the time. Say nine out of ten...

According to Aphiwe, they use English more frequently than isiXhosa. She gives their use of English in the home a rating of nine out of ten and states that they use it the “majority of the time”. She seems to attach the lowest value to isiXhosa of all the parents interviewed: In the Katini family, the mother seems to be not too concerned about using isiXhosa in the home but also does not discourage its use. In the Mpulampula family, the parents seem to value isiXhosa the most. In the interview data, Yonela, mother of the Mpulampula family, expressed that she loves isiXhosa a lot, and that she would love for her children to speak isiXhosa. She says she believes knowing isiXhosa means that one understands the Xhosa culture and owns their language (This was discussed in some detail in Section 5.2.1). However, this positive value attached to isiXhosa does not necessarily translate to the outcome of using isiXhosa extensively in the home. Garret (1999: 519) argues that even though parents hold positive attitudes towards mother tongues, the unspoken and implicit ideologies of language can “constrain people's everyday communicative practices, which in turn engender specific linguistic and sociocultural outcomes”.

Compared to the Coki family, Aphiwe has not placed much value on isiXhosa as a language spoken in the home. In the interview data, Aphiwe expressed that she does believe that it is good for children to know their heritage language, but she placed emphasis on the fact that it is more important for children to know English, because there are more opportunities for a child

when they know English. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) studied the ideological factors that impacted the FLP of Chinese immigrants living in Quebec, Canada and found that when it comes to political factors, the participants regarded English as the more powerful language. This is a similar view to Aphiwe's view of English vs isiXhosa. Furthermore, in Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) study, the parents believed that if their children did not know English, it meant that they could not access equal education opportunities and could not obtain social mobility. This then informed the way in which the parents would draw up the language policy in their homes for their children. Aphiwe (as also discussed in Section 5.2.3) explicitly refers to an incident (see Extract 12) where she felt Bobo was denied an opportunity because of his lack of English proficiency.

*Extract 12*

**Interviewer:** And what are your personal beliefs about isiXhosa? Do you think it's important for your children to know isiXhosa?

**Aphiwe:** Yes, I do think it's important that my children know Xhosa *nhe* [right], I want them to know their language. But, *nhe* [now] practically: Times are changing. Like, children must also know English, because opportunities out there require them to know English. For instance, I took Bobo when he was young to a modelling agency, and when we got there, the lady was speaking like *iEnglish naye* [English with him], but *umntana engamva* [the child could not understand her] now the child, *ngoku emane elila* [kept on crying], he never got chosen for that campaign, because of the language barrier, even though *ndandiyazi* [I knew] that he could do it, but *ingxaki* [the problem] he did not understand the lady. So, it hurt me a lot, and I thought that I really want *abantwana bam* [my children] to learn English also.

From the interview data above, even though Aphiwe states that she has no language rules in the home, her beliefs about English cause her to gravitate towards using more English than isiXhosa in the home. Curdt-Christiansen (2016: 23) argues that the economic value associated with English has 'forced' parents and caregivers to either implicitly or explicitly choose English over the heritage language in their everyday linguistic practices. In the case of the Coki family, the fact that isiXhosa is assumed to have no economic benefits means that it is not valued as much as English. Curdt-Christiansen (2016: 24) argues that even caregivers' unintended language choices in everyday interactions can signal the importance of some languages above others and can lead to language shift. Although Aphiwe does not necessarily have explicit language rules, the fact that she openly prefers English over isiXhosa does signal the value she ascribes to each.

### **6.3. Multilingual and translingual practices**

In the self-recorded video data, it was rare for only one language to be used at a time. Garcia and Wei (2014: 2) refer to translanguaging as an “approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages”. I refer to both multilingual and translingual practices since sometimes in the data there was a deliberate attempt to use one language rather than the other, whereas in other practices the interaction was of such a nature that it was difficult to separate languages, and the participants did not seem to intend to keep boundaries between languages. By refer to both multilingual and translingual practices, I want to emphasise both fixity and fluidness (Otsuji and Pennycook 2014). Garcia and Wei’s (2014: 23) state that “translanguaging is the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities”. This does seem to be generally the case in my study. As seen in Section 5.2, all the families had more than one language in their family linguistics repertoires, so they can all be regarded as multilingual families. In the Coki and Mpulampula families, English and isiXhosa were often used together. In the Katini family, English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa were used, especially by the children. In this section two sub-themes will be addressed, firstly children’s linguistic practices and secondly different functions for isiXhosa and English.

#### **6.3.1 Children’s linguistic practices**

According to Garcia and Wei (2014: 23), “there are always family members who have different language practices, and thus to communicate with them, speakers have to select certain features of their multilingual repertoire, while excluding others”. The children’s linguistic repertoires and language ideologies often only overlap partially with their parents’. The data from the videos shows a number of instances where the children in the families go against the parents’ desires in terms of language choice, whether explicit or implicit ideologies. Aphiwe, the mother of the Coki family, expresses her desire that her children speak mostly English and stated that they use mostly English in the home. One of the videos that she sent me shows how she wants to project this image, as well as how her children’s linguistic practices contradict this. Aphiwe took a video of Thenjiwe and her friend during the December/January holidays of 2020-2021. Thenjiwe was playing with her friend outside the house, and Aphiwe called them to do some revision of schoolwork, in preparation for the reopening of schools. The girls were both going

to be in to Grade 2 when schools reopened. They both had reading books with pictures from school in their hands. They were sitting on the floor of the veranda of the house, and Aphiwe was sitting on a chair, recording them. She asked them to read the books that they held and then tell her what the books were about. She asked Thenjiwe to go first. The moment Thenjiwe started speaking isiXhosa, she stopped her, and whispered, “Speak English!”, as can be seen in Extract 13. This was a deliberate attempt from the mother to make sure that boundaries are enforced, that schoolwork should be discussed in English. This is thus an example of a parent trying to enforce “fixity” instead of fluidness. It is not an uncommon occurrence in the data: When schoolwork is discussed, English is often used by the families in my study (see Lee et al. 2021 for similar findings).

*Extract 13*

**Thenjiwe:** *Ngoku sizothetha izinto zasesikolweni...eh-eh! Ogqiba...* [Now we are to talk about school things...eh-eh! And then...]

**Aphiwe:** (WHISPERING) Speak English!

**Thenjiwe:** Huh? (CHANGES FROM ISIXHOSA TO ENGLISH) Okay, we are gonna talk English. (LOOKING AT BUSIE, THE FRIEND) Hello, Busie...

When the video started, Thenjiwe naturally gravitated towards isiXhosa. Aphiwe however immediately corrected her choice of language. The words that Thenjiwe utters after her mother tells her to speak English (“Okay, we are gonna talk English”) suggest that Thenjiwe knows that the language her mother encourages or promotes is English and she quickly switches to English and interacts with her friend in English. However, as soon as Aphiwe sees that Thenjiwe is struggling to express herself in English (see Extract 14), she ends the video.

*Extract 14*

**Aphiwe:** So, what is the story about, Thenjiwe?

**Thenjiwe:** Uuuuhh...this is a story about... uummm... this is a story about the farm (INAUDIBLE) the farm, a farm; it’s a story about a farm.

**Aphiwe:** Okay. Do you like the story?

**Thenjiwe:** Yeah, I like it.

**Aphiwe:** What do you like about the story?

**Thenjiwe:** I like about...I like about how...

(APHIWE ENDS THE VIDEO)



In the interview with Thenjiwe, she expressed that when she and Bobo are having a conversation, they use isiXhosa (see Extract 15 below).

*Extract 15*

**Interviewer:** *Uthetha ngeEnglish nomama 'kho?* [Do you use English when you speak with your mother?]

**Thenjiwe:** Mmmh-mhh... (NODDING)

**Interviewer:** *Xa nithetha noBobo nithetha ngantoni?* [And when you speak with Bobo?]

**Thenjiwe:** *NgesiXhosa* [In Xhosa].

In the dialogue above, Thenjiwe nodded when I asked her if she speaks English with her mom. Possibly both Thenjiwe and Bobo speak English with Aphiwe, because they know that she encourages them to speak the language. However, when they are together, the two siblings speak isiXhosa to each other. Siblings' interaction with each other may differ from their interaction with the parents: According to Kheirkhah and Cekite (2015: 6), when there are siblings, "various alliances can be established that comply with or go against the parental choice of the heritage language or the societal language". That is the case with Thenjiwe and Bobo as well: When I first asked Thenjiwe which language they use at home, she immediately responded, "English." However, she revealed later that they speak English only when they speak to their mom; with each other they speak isiXhosa. Thenjiwe expressed that she and Bobo pray in isiXhosa; it is only their mother who prays in English, as can be seen in Extract 16.

*Extract 16*

**Interviewer:** *Nitheth 'iEnglish kokwenu okanye nitheth 'isiXhosa?* [Do you speak English at home or do you speak isiXhosa?]

**Thenjiwe:** English.

**Interviewer:** *English yodwa* [only]?

**Thenjiwe:** *NesiXhosa. Sithandaza, mna noBobo sithandaza ngesiXhosa. Umam'am uthandazangeEnglish.* [And isiXhosa. We pray in isiXhosa, Bobo and I. My mother prays in English.]

This is different to what was observed in the Katini family. Sindiswa stated that she has no language rules for the children. However, in her interview, she expressed that she had a negative

attitude towards Afrikaans. Despite, their mother's attitude towards Afrikaans, Asanda and Kholo said that they are fond of Afrikaans and use it primarily when they speak to each other. The children speak mostly isiXhosa to the adults in the house. In a video where it is evening time; Sindiswa, Asanda and Kholo are sitting together, watching TV, and Sindiswa asks Kholo about his day at school (see Extract 17). The video starts in the middle of their conversation, but it is a conversation between Sindiswa and Kholo, and it is in isiXhosa.

*Extract 17*

**Sindiswa:** *Phi* [where]?

**Kholo:** *Esikolweni* [at school] (INAUDIBLE)

**Sindiswa:** Since when?

**Kholo:** Mmmh?

**Sindiswa:** Since when?

**Kholo:** *Undithengele iLollipop uKianne* [Kianne bought me a lollipop]!

**Sindiswa:** Who?

**Kholo:** (LOOKING AT HIS PHONE) *UKianne undiphathele iLollipop esikolweni, eneChappies* [Kianne bought me a lollipop, with Chappies (BUBBLEGUM)].

**Sindiswa:** Ooh! Oh okay! And then *athini ngeChappies* [what did he do with the Chappies]?

**Kholo:** *Uyayitya, akayilahli* [He chews it, he does not throw it away]!

**Asanda:** *Haaay, sies uyaxoka* [No, ewww, you are lying]!

**Kholo:** *Akayilahli xa eyolala, xa egoduka!* [He does not throw it away when he goes to sleep, when goes home] then *uuu... uyayilahla* [uu... he throws it away]!

In this conversation, Kholo is telling his mother that a boy named Kianne bought him a lollipop at school, and that the lollipop had bubblegum in it. Even when Sindiswa starts switching to English, Kholo keeps on speaking isiXhosa with her. In my observations of how Asanda and Kholo spoke, based on the self-recorded data, they employ linguistic features that are typical of the other inhabitants in Belhar: They speak English and Afrikaans and employ features that are typical of Kaaps, the variety of Afrikaans most likely spoken by most of the inhabitants in Belhar. Their use of this linguistic variety is not only influenced by the environment that they reside in, the school they attend but also the friends that they have. When speaking English, they often employ discourse markers, and other lexical items, that are typical of Kaaps. According to Sindiswa, her children have always spoken English in this way. When Asanda

and Kholo speak English with their friends, they often switch between English and Afrikaans, and they hardly switch between English and isiXhosa. In Extract 18 below is a dialogue between Asanda and her friend, a boy named Franklin, who is also their neighbour. They are having a conversation while eating ice cream from an ice-cream tub together with Kholo.

*Extract 18*

**Asanda:** If, say now *nuh* [right], my grandma *nuh* [right], is gonna buy a Kentucky; then she's gonna buy everybody each.

The text above are words spoken by Asanda to her friend, she uses the discourse marker, '*nuh*' that is employed in casual conversations, which is equivalent to saying 'right' in English. In isiXhosa, it would be '*nhe*'. Now consider Extract 19:

*Extract 19*

**Franklin:** (GIGGLES) Why do you say that to your mommy?

**Asanda:** (DIGGING INTO THE ICE CREAM TUB) I can say anything I want to my mommy, but not swear words otherwise she's gonna **klap** [slap] me! (INAUDIBLE)

In Extract 19, Asanda uses the term 'klap' instead of 'slap.' She once again chooses to use an Afrikaans term which is part of her vocabulary. Also, the example in Extracts 20 and 21 show how Asanda and Franklin are influencing each other. These extracts below are from the same video as above.

*Extract 20*

**Sindiswa:** Where's your glasses, Franklin?

**Franklin:** It's there at home, Sindiswa; just didn't have **lus** [desire] to look [just didn't feel like looking].

**Sindiswa:** Oh!

**Franklin:** But **I'ma** [just] left it [I just left it].

**Asanda:** (DIPPING HER SPOON IN THE ICE CREAM) Some of the people don't have the **lus** [desire] to look for something...

*Extract 21*

**Asanda:** It's Li-gugu! It's spelt like L-i (uum) - g-u-g-u!

**Kholo:** (GETTING INTO THE CONVERSATION) g-u-g-u!

**Franklin:** (WHISPERS) Ligugu.

**Asanda:** (INAUDIBLE)

**Franklin:** ...the whole time... (INAUDIBLE) *hayi-bo* [Oh no!]

**Asanda:** ...you gonna see, *nuh? nuh?* [right? right?]

In the above segments of the dialogue between Asanda and Franklin, it is evident that the linguistic practices of the two friends converge. In the first example, Franklin answers a question asked by Sindiswa and says, “It’s there at home, Sindiswa; just didn’t have ‘*lus*’ to look.” He uses the term ‘*lus*’, which is equivalent to the English term ‘desire/ want.’ Later, Asanda also uses the same term ‘*lus*’ to emphasise the point that Franklin was making. In the second segment of their conversation, Franklin uses the isiXhosa expression ‘*hayi-bo!*’ which is used to express dismay or shock. This shows that the friends adapt their speech patterns to each other. This is also an example of the notion of crossing by Rampton (1995). Rampton (1995) explains crossing as involving code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using (code switching into varieties that are not generally thought to belong to them) (Rampton 1995: 485). The two friends display in both instances code alternation. Rampton (1995: 485) elaborates further that crossing is not just ordinary code-switching but entails some kind of transgression across ethnic or racial lines (Rampton 1995: 485). Kaaps is for many indexical to being coloured, yet Asanda she incorporates Afrikaans (Kaaps) in her vocabulary. Conversely, Franklin is also not an accepted member of the Xhosa community, yet he is incorporating isiXhosa into his speech practice.

The use of Afrikaans vocabulary in the Katini family seems to be normal. In a video where Sindiswa, Asanda and Kholo are watching TV in the evening and discussing Kholo’s day at school (see Extract 22), there is evidence of this. Sindiswa misunderstands what Kholo says, because he uses an Afrikaans term for ‘knife’ while speaking isiXhosa, and Sindiswa thinks he said ‘mess,’ because the Afrikaans term for knife is *mes*.

#### *Extract 22*

**Kholo:** *Mama, funeke ndiyeke uphatha iOrange, ngoba abanaMes... mes* [Mom, I have to stop packing an orange, because they do not have a knife].

**Sindiswa:** You not gonna mess. Who said you gonna mess?

**Kholo:** *Bendisithi... asikwazi ulantuza, asikwazi uphatha iiOrange esikolweni ngoba abanazo iiKnife* [I was saying... we cannot ummm, we cannot take oranges to school, because they do not have knives].

In this conversation, Kholo is speaking isiXhosa with his mother; however, he incorporates Afrikaans vocabulary (also with isiXhosa phonology and an isiXhosa pre-prefix and prefix). This is another example of how Afrikaans is deeply ingrained in Kholo's vocabulary. Kholo then realises that his mother misunderstood him, and then he uses the English term 'knife,' with 'ii' in front of 'knife,' which is used as a plural marker in isiXhosa.

In the Mpulampula family, it was interesting to note how linguistic practices were oriented differently towards the children. Yonela often used isiXhosa with the older girls while with Lulu (the daughter with the hearing impediment) she used English. In Extract 23 below is an example of an interaction that displays this practice. Yonela, Inga, Vuyo and Lulu are making ice lollies in the kitchen and discussing the colour that they want their lollies to be. Yonela in this interaction speaks isiXhosa to the older girls (Inga and Vuyo) on several occasions and they also speak isiXhosa to each other, while Yonela almost exclusively addressed Lulu in English. Lulu also responds in English. (In Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1, I discussed why the family decided to use more English with Lulu.)

*Extract 23*

**Inga:** *It is kaloku* [after all]... in order to make into the... (DOESN'T KNOW HOW EXPLAIN IT, SO SHE SHOWS HER MOM)

**Yonela:** Okay. You can make it...

**Lulu:** (COMING TO HER MOM WITH HER TWO TEDDY BEARS) Mommy, you know the name I try (INAUDIBLE) this is Mister Snuggles and Lunya (BACKGROUND TALKING BY INGA AND VUYO)

**Inga:** Mommy, your colour? What colour do you want?

**Inga/Vuyo:** Purple?

**Yonela:** Orange.

**Inga:** Oh yeah, you said orange is your favourite colour.

**Lulu:** Mommy, if you want to you can also say 'oranje', hey.

**Yonela:** Oranje? That's Afrikaans, hey.

**Inga:** (TALKING TO VUYO) *Inoba bayisebenzise kuba asimzisi uClive* [Maybe they used it because we do not return Clive] (INAUDIBLE)

**Yonela:** (TALKING TO INGA) *Hay, ayinikwanga wena, inikwe uLulu* [No, they did not give to you, they gave it to Lulu].

**Inga:** *Hay, inoba* [No, maybe]...

**Yonela:** *Hay, sukuthi 'inoba'* [No, don't say 'maybe']! (INAUDIBLE)

**Lulu:** (INAUDIBLE)

**Inga:** (SINGING)

(VIDEO ENDS)

Correction was another particularly salient practice in the Mpulampula family. Because of her hearing impediment, Lulu, the youngest child of this family, sometimes mispronounces certain English and isiXhosa words. This is normal for children in general, since they are still developing their language skills. However, research suggests that children with any level of hearing loss are at a developmental risk, which includes risk for speech impairment (Blair, Peterson, and Viehweg 1985; Tharpe 2008).

In the videos the family sent me, I noticed how Yonela and the sisters often corrected Lulu when she mispronounced a word or used incorrect grammar. However, I also noticed that in some cases, Yonela would not pay too much attention to Lulu's speech or grammar errors but would be more focused on the content of what she is saying. In other words, Yonela implemented a 'move on' approach (Lanza 2007), acknowledging her understanding of the context. In Extract 24 below there is an example of Yonela correcting Lulu. Yonela is asking about her day at school and Lulu mentions the name of one of her classmates, *Cwenga*, and her mother corrects her mispronunciation of the name.

*Extract 24*

**Yonela:** Please tell me, how was school today?

**Lulu:** Nice.

**Yonela:** What do you mean by 'nice' *kaloku* [though]?

**Lulu:** Good.

**Yonela:** Explain why...

**Lulu:** Because I painted, did my homework and Sibahle and Twenga missed out.

**Yonela:** Sibahle and CWENGA?

The name *Cwenga* is an isiXhosa name with a dental click. In the interview data, Yonela says she is not sure whether Lulu's mispronunciation of the child's name is because, in general, there are words and names (in both English and isiXhosa) that Lulu cannot articulate correctly or whether she pronounces the child's name incorrectly because that is how she hears her non-isiXhosa-speaking teacher at school pronouncing the child's name. In a study on the acquisition of clicks by isiXhosa-speaking children in Cape Town, South Africa, Gxilishe (2004: 9) found that from the age of one, isiXhosa-speaking children learn to produce three basic clicks. With Lulu, this may be a developing process, taking into consideration her hearing impediment, which has affected her speech development. However, as mentioned above, Lulu's mispronunciation of words is not limited to isiXhosa words, because isiXhosa has clicks that Lulu may not necessarily be able to articulate. She also mispronounces some English (non-click) words.

### 6.3.3 Different emotional functions for isiXhosa and English

Research on bilingualism and emotions has reported that bilinguals often show stronger emotional reactions in their mother tongue than they do in their second language (Pavlenko 2005; Caldwell-Harris 2014; Dylman and Bjärtå 2019). The data from this study indicates that some emotions are expressed in isiXhosa while others are mostly expressed in English. There also seems to be a pattern where isiXhosa becomes the language of reprimanding and English the language of affirmation.

In the interview, Sindiswa, the mother of the Katini family, mentioned that she reprimands the children using isiXhosa and she usually provides positive affirmation in English, as can be seen in Extract 25 below.

#### *Extract 25*

**Interviewer:** Okay *kengoku siyaphinda sithetha ngeLanguage, abantwana wabanabo* [we are back to talking about language, you had your children], and *nabo wabakhulisa ngesiXhosa, baexposed* [you raised them in isiXhosa, they were exposed] to isiXhosa, *nakumakhulu bathetha ngesiXhosa* [even with their grandmother they spoke isiXhosa], so *ilantuza kengoku* [what do you call it]; *xa ubangxolisa ubangxolisa ngeyiphi iLanguage* [then what do you call it; when you are reprimanding them which language do you use]?

**Sindiswa:** *Hayndingxolisa ngesiXhosakalokusana. IEnglish ivele imke mkiyane. Iyemka ingabikho dololo! Ifana nasemsebenzini* [No, I reprimand in isiXhosa.



English just vanishes. It vanishes completely! It is the same when I am at work], most of the time *xa ndinomsindo ndiyathula* [when I am upset, I keep quiet], because I know *ba ayizophuma kakuhle lento ndifun'uyithetha. Ndiqale ndilinde ndibeCalm* [that what I want to say won't come out well. I first wait until I am calm], then *kengoku ndiyiAddress(e) into* [I address the issue], but *ba ndizakuthetha ngelaxesha ndisabila ngumsindo, hay asoze iphume mntakabawo* [if I would speak at the time when I am boiling with anger, it would never come out]!

**Interviewer:** *Xa ubancoma* [When you are affirming them]...?

**Sindiswa:** Uuuh I think *into yoncoma iyazenzekela, ndiyancoma nangesiXhosa, ndithi ba; "Yhuuu awusemhle" kanjalo* [the affirming thing just happens naturally, I can affirm them in isiXhosa, and I say, "Wow you are beautiful", like that], but most of the time *mhlawumbi yinto yomsebenzi wesikolo, ndithi* [maybe it is in school things, I say], "Oh well done, congratulations. I'm so proud of you," *kanjalo* [like that]. But *iyaziphumela. Akho lento'ba 'hay mandincome ngeEnglish'* [it just comes out. I don't have that thing of 'affirm them in English'].

When I probed further and asked Sindiswa whether she was being intentional about using isiXhosa to reprimand the children, she expressed that it is not something that she does intentionally, but at the same time she feels that in the moments when she has to express anger/frustration, she is unable to find English words; they disappear from her mind. Pavlenko (2005: 44) also cites a participant in her study, who is in a relationship with a first language English speaker, expressing, "[We] argue in (...) English also but I can get upset and shout in Swedish even though he does not understand me. Most important thing is to shout." As with Sindiswa, the participant's aim is to get the emotions expressed in the language that will best show their authenticity and intensity. Conversely, Sindiswa disclosed that when she is at work and she feels frustrated, she chooses to keep quiet, because she knows that she will be unable to communicate her authentic emotions in English. Therefore, she says she usually chooses to wait until she is calm to address a matter that frustrates her when she is in the workplace. This is coherent with what Dylman and Bjärtå (2019: 1285) argue when they state that bilinguals' decision-making skills are also affected by the language used.

The practice of using isiXhosa to express emotions is also common in the Coki family. Aphiwe, the mother of the Coki family, also stated that she frequently uses isiXhosa to reprimand the children. In the interview in Extract 26, she says that isiXhosa is "more effective" when she wants to convey her exact feelings and message.

*Extract 26*

**Interviewer:** So, *xa ubangxolisa* [you are reprimanding them] you mentioned *into yoba ubangxolisa ngeEnglish? NgesiXhosa* [that you reprimand them in English? In isiXhosa]?

**Aphiwe:** So, when I rebuke them or correct them, I use Xhosa...

**Interviewer:** Why?

**Aphiwe:** Because Xhosa is more effective; like when when when... like, for example, I feel like Xhosa puts emphasis on ‘I don’t like this: *‘Andiyithandi lento uyenzayo’ uyabona?* [‘I don’t like what you are doing’, you see?'] So, those clicks, those sounds; but when you speak English, for example when you say, ‘I don’t like what you doing’; like it’s subtle. *IsiXhosa kengoku* [then] (RAISING HER VOICE); *‘ANDIYITHANDI LENTO UYENZAYO!’* [I DO NOT LIKE WHAT YOU ARE DOING!] You’re also able to project *kakuhle, yabon* [properly, you see]?

**Interviewer:** (LAUGHING) Okay, so let me ask the backhand of that question: Which language do you use when you are affirming them? So *xa umxelela uThenjiwe ba uyamthanda* [when you tell Thenjiwe that you love her], ummm you are proud of her, she’s doing a great job; *yonke lonto; usebenzisa eyiphi* [and all of that; which language do you use]?

**Aphiwe:** So I use both of them; I use both- English and Xhosa

**Interviewer:** *Xa* [when]...

**Aphiwe:** ...when I’m affirming them, yeah. I use both English and Xhosa.

**Interviewer:** Okay... do you have a reason for that? *Okanye iyazenzekela* [or does it just happen]?

**Aphiwe:** Not specifically, it just happens naturally. It depends on what, what I say at the time.

In the interview data above, Aphiwe also mentions the usefulness of the isiXhosa ‘clicks’ in how she expresses anger or frustration. Dingemanse (2020: 184) states that there are various non-linguistic affordances that work with language to make meaning and give the examples of clicks in languages which do have clicks as phonemes. Dingemanse (2020:184) states that these “resources are used in the management of turn and sequence and the marking of stance and affect”. It would be plausible to argue that clicks can also perform this function in a language such as isiXhosa which does have clicks as phonemes. Aphiwe even raised her voice to demonstrate how “effective” reprimanding in isiXhosa is.

Yonela Mpulampula stated in her interview that she uses both English and isiXhosa to reprimand her children. She states in Extract 27, that she does not necessarily use one language or the other but a mix of the two.

*Extract 27*

**Interviewer:** Okay, uuuh...okay, so next question: Which language do you use when you are reprimanding *abantwana* [the children]? Like, *xa ubangxolisa ngeyiphi iLanguage oyisebenzisayo okanye* [when you are reprimanding them which language do you use or] are you even aware of *ba* [the fact that] which language...?

**Yonela:** I think *ndiyaMix(a)* [I mix]; I think *yiMix* [it's a mix]...

**Interviewer:** *YiMix, nhe* [It's a mix, right]?

**Yonela:** *YiMix* [It's a mix], both isiXhosa *neEnglish* [and English].

The self-recorded videos suggest that Yonela gravitates towards reprimanding her two older children in isiXhosa rather than in English, and the tone of her voice also changes when she reprimands the children in isiXhosa. An example of this is at the time when Yonela, Vuyo, Inga and Lulu prayed together before bedtime and Vuyo, the second daughter, started falling asleep (see Extract 28).

*Extract 28*

**Yonela:** Okay, so Jesus is saying here, Jesus is saying here He's making a way for you, He's making a way for me, He's making a way for all of us; He's doing a new thing. So, I believe that Jesus is doing a new thing for our family. Okay? He's doing... we're going to see new things happening in our family. We don't know what these things are, but Jesus is saying He's doing the new things. All to look and see, He says, "See, I'm doing a new thing..." I believe that Jesus is busy with our lives. Okay? So, we need to trust what Jesus is doing, because Jesus has been good to us, *nhe* [right]? Jesus has been good to us...

**Lulu:** ...and (INAUDIBLE) just be kind...

**Yonela:** ...that's right, *mntan'am* [my child]. Can we pray now; we know the things... (LOOKING AT VUYO AND CHANGING TO A SHARPER TONE OF VOICE) *sulala wena* [don't sleep, you]! (CHANGES TONE BACK TO NORMAL) We know the things we want to pray about. *Ndicela sonke sithandazeni ke* [can we all pray then] (STANDING UP AND REACHING HER HAND OUT TO LULU'S HAND). You can just stand up so that we don't sleep. Come, let's do a circle...

**Vuyo:** (SLEEPY) I'm not sleeping...

Yonela reprimands Vuyo for falling asleep with “*Sulala wena!*” (Don’t sleep, you!) with a firm and urgent tone. After reprimanding Vuyo, she quickly switched back to English. Even when she says to them, “*Ndicela sonke sithandazeni ke*” (Can I ask that we all pray), it is a direct and urgent instruction rather than a request.

In the self-reported data (the interview data), all the parents stated that they used mostly English or a mix of English and isiXhosa for positive reinforcement. Sindiswa even mentioned that it would be natural for her to affirm the children in English especially when it was for something school-related; this could be a result of English being the language of the school that her children attend (see Extract 25 above). English specifically being used for positive affirmation for school-related matters is consistent with the findings of Kang (2015) among Korean families living in the United States and their FLP and home language practices. Kang (2015) found that most of the parents used Korean when disciplining their children but English when discussing school-related matters.

#### **6.4 Lack of isiXhosa literacy material in homes**

This study also looked at how children engaged with written language in their homes. Initially, I wanted the children to do photo voice about their written linguistic practices. However, this was not successful (see Chapter 4, Section 4.7), primarily because of how the Covid-19 pandemic shaped my data collection practices and shaped the practices of the family. Although some photographs were sent to me, this data was not sufficient for comprehensive analyses, and I therefore supplemented it by asking specifically targeted questions about literacy practices in the interview.

In the Mpulampula family, Yonela expressed that it is difficult to get her children to read books even when she gets them from the library; her children prefer to consume content from YouTube. The only books they read are books from school (see Extract 29).

##### *Extract 29*

**Interviewer:** Okay, so are there any books in the house?

**Yonela:** There are books, but yoh it’s very hard to get them to read, hey!

**Interviewer:** *Nhe* [right?]

**Yonela:** Very very hard! *Abantwan... wheew, bafunda nje iincwadi zesikolo* [These children... wheew, they only read schoolbooks], but they don't... *abanayo lanto yothand'ufunda iincwadi* [they don't have that thing of loving reading books].

As seen in Extract 29 above, Yonela expresses that it is hard to get her children to read. The children have books from school as well as games. They also have their own Bibles; however, all the books and games that are in the house are in English. The pictures below (Figures 14-18) are some of the books and games that are in the Mpulampula home.

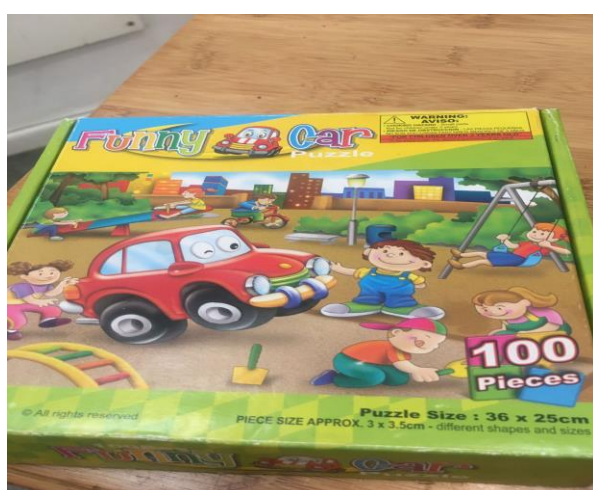
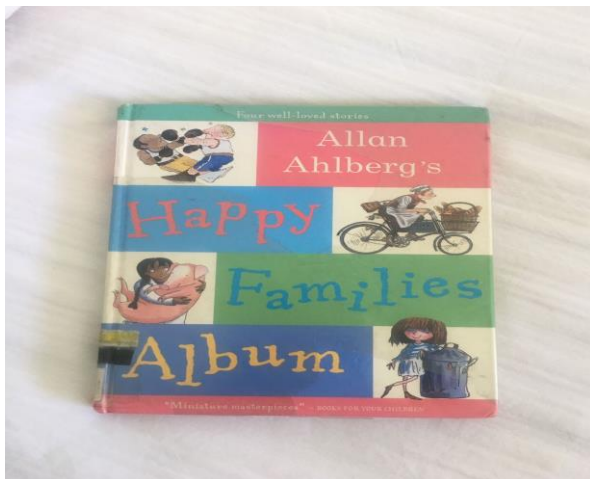


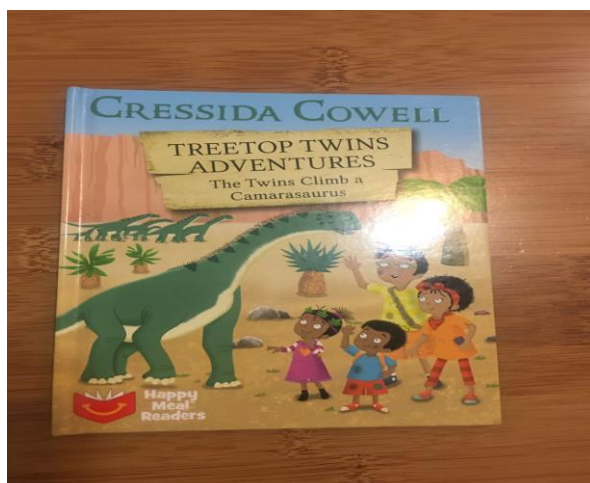
Figure 14: An image of a puzzles



Figure 15: An image of a Bible



*Figure 16: An image of book from school*



*Figure 17: An image of a book from school*



*Figure 18: An image of a board game*



Similarly, in the Katini family, Sindiswa stated that the books that are in the house are books that the children get from school as well books on faith that they received from their relatives (Extract 30). Sindiswa says the children read these books to practice their reading skills. They are all in English. There is no isiXhosa literacy material in the home. The pictures further below (Figures 19-23) show the kind of literacy material that is in the Katini family: this is primarily schoolbooks.

*Extract 30*

**Interviewer:** So, here's another question; do you have any books in the house? Like, any books?

**Sindiswa:** *Eeey, hayi akho ncwadi pha. Ziincadi zabo zesikolo.* [Uuuh, no there are no books there. It's just their schoolbooks].

**Interviewer:** Okay, so *aninazo ezinye iincwadi ngaphandle kwezesikolo* [you don't have other books other than schoolbooks]?

**Sindiswa:** Uuum, no; *kwamna ndayeka ufunda iincwadi ndikuxelele. Iincwadi endinazo zilapha efowunini. Kodwa bona ikhona iLibrary esikolweni sabo, uAsanda ndiyamxelela ba athathele noKholo iincwadi kwenzele baPractise(e) ufunda* [even myself, I stopped reading, you know. The only books I have are the ones on my phone. But there are library books from their school, I tell Asanda to take books even for Kholo so that they can practice reading].

**Interviewer:** Oh okay...

**Sindiswa:** *Kodwa zikhona wethu neencwadi adla ngozinikwa nguCousin wakhe, ezincwadi ndingathi yiBhayibhile, ngoba umama kaCousin wakhe ukhonza eJehova's Witness* [But there are books that she usually gets from her cousin, it's books I would say they are like Bibles, because her cousin's mother goes to Jehovah's Witness]...

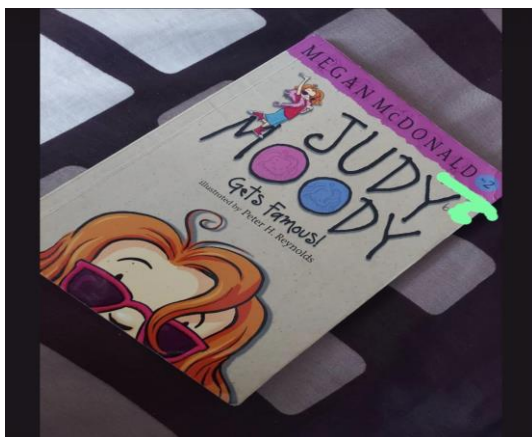


Figure 19: An image of Asanda's book from school





Figure 20: An image of Asanda's book from school



Figure 21: An image of Asanda's book from school

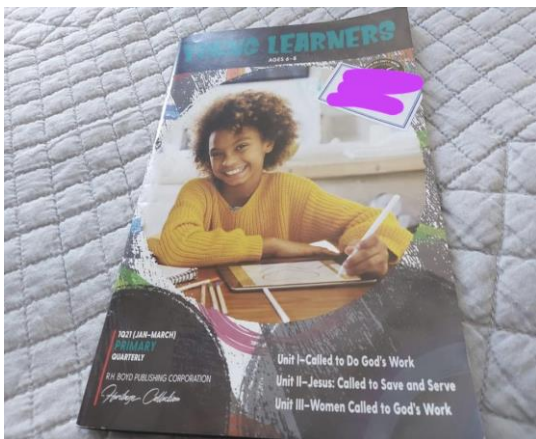


Figure 22: An image of Asanda's book from school

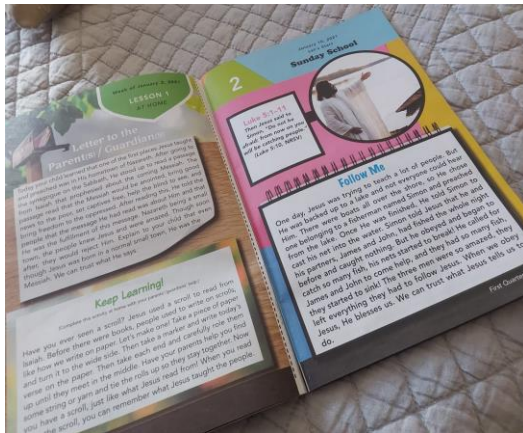


Figure 23: An image of Asanda's book from school

In the Coki family, Aphiwe also stated that the books in the house are books from school. She is the only one who has a Bible; the children do not have Bibles. Aphiwe also has academic literacy material of her own in the house. She says that the only time they do any book-related activity in the house is when she is helping the children with their homework. Consider Extract 31:

*Extract 31*

**Interviewer:** (LAUGHS) Okay, okay I get you. So, are there any books in the house?

**Aphiwe:** Yes, I do have books...

**Interviewer:** Besides your Bible...

**Aphiwe:** Yes, I do have books, but I'm... I'm gonna be honest; the books, to actually read, like the time, I'm so busy. *Oko ndiBusy* [I'm busy all the time].

**Interviewer:** So, *awufundi* [you don't read]?

**Aphiwe:** So, like *ndinazo* [I do have], but I don't read them... otherwise, *uBobo* [Bobo] is fluent in reading, but *uThenjiwe* [Thenjiwe], she needs more help, *yabona* [you see]. So, I sometimes I don't read to them, *send'tsho* [let me say] because of busyness. But *ke ngeHomeworkke* [during homework then] we engage and stuff *yabona* [you see]...

**Interviewer:** Okay, so *ezincwadi uzibeka phi* [where do you put the books]?

**Aphiwe:** *Zisebhakeni* [They're in my schoolbag].

**Interviewer:** So, these are your schoolbooks?

**Aphiwe:** Yeah, yeah, yeah...

From Extract 31 above, Aphiwe expresses that the books that she has are schoolbooks. The pictures below (Figures 24-28) show the Coki literacy environment. All the books in the pictures are Aphiwe's academic material. At the time of the data collection, she was a teaching assistant in a primary school in Langa. This is the only home where a book in isiXhosa was located.



*Figure 24: An image of Aphiwe's book*



*Figure 25: An image of Aphiwe's book*

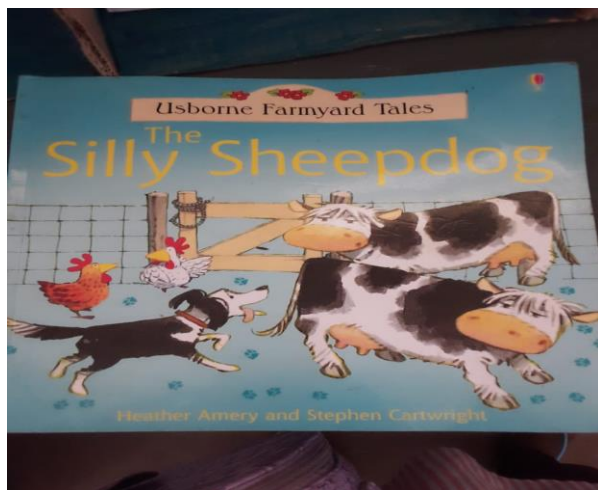


Figure 26: An image of Aphiwe's book

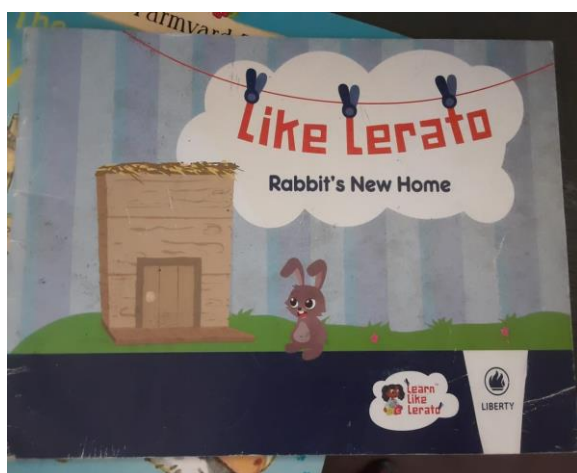


Figure 27: An image of Aphiwe's book

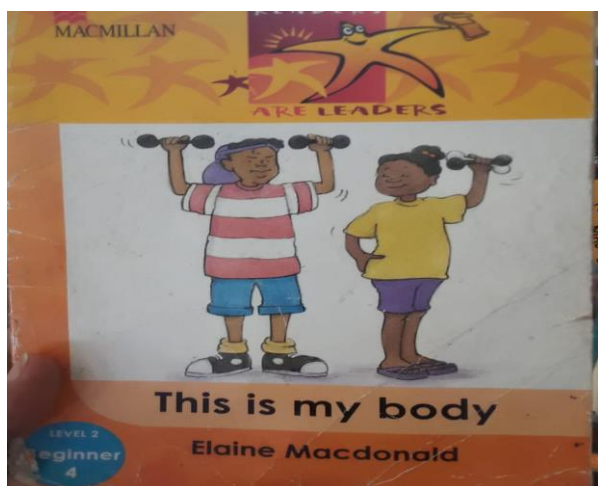


Figure 28: An image of Aphiwe's book

The data from these families show that reading does not seem to play an important part in the family's life. In many South African homes, reading in the home is not common practice (see Howie et al. 2007): On average, South Africans aged 16 years and older have four books in their home, and 58% live in households with no books present (South African Book Development Council 2016). The material that can be found in the houses of the participants are mostly in English and mostly related to school. Reading for pleasure does not seem to be frequently engaged in. Books like the Bible and other religious materials are present and are exclusively in English.

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the linguistic practices in the home. Three themes were identified, namely difficulty in implementing a language policy, multilingual and translingual family language practices, and lack of isiXhosa written material in the home. All three families struggled to implement a FLP in the home. In some homes, such as that of the Katini family, this seemed to be an insignificant part of the organisation of the family, and hardly an issue that is seen as important. The Mpulampula family expressed a strong desire to use more isiXhosa than they do. The Coki family's mother stated that she does not have an explicit FLP in the home, but in fact seems implicitly to have a policy using English only with her children in the home. Time and other outside factors play a significant role in the creation/non-creation of FLP. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The family language practices for all three families rely on multilingual and translingual practices. The translingual practices are so common, that it could be said to be "mundane" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2019: 184). More than one language is used in all of the homes and often within the same interaction. Children are passive and active participants in these practices: They sometimes follow their parents' wishes and sometimes go against them. Often when siblings communicate with each other, they use a language which is not preferred or encouraged by their parents, and their friends and peer-groups also seem to shape their linguistic practices. This is most salient in the Katini family where the children's linguistic practices resemble those of their friends which seem to be a seamless mixing of English, isiXhosa and Kaaps. Siblings can also assist parents in correcting younger siblings' language use, as in the Mpulampula family. Both isiXhosa and English are used in emotional expression, but they seem to fulfil different functions. It seems that the choice of language might also be influenced by non-



linguistic affordances such as the salience of the clicks and the ability to act as a stance marker. Function and topic both seem to influence family language practices.

There is almost no printed material in isiXhosa in the three homes. Generally, books seem to be regarded as only for school and self-improvement and not as an activity for leisure or pleasure. The fact that all the children go to English-medium schools also means that they will be made literate in English rather than isiXhosa and perhaps cannot read and write in isiXhosa.

The two chapters which have presented the data so far have pointed to multilingual families who are oriented to English as a language of power, while isiXhosa, although present, is not imbued with the same kind of value. The data has however also shown that children can create multilingual and translanguaging spaces for themselves. According to Wei (2011: 1234), a translanguaging space is where the boundaries and borders between languages are broken down and which allows individuals to use together what is usually seen as being apart. According to Wei (2011: 1223), translanguaging can create “a social space for the multilingual user by bringing together different dimension of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance”. The Katini family children are perhaps the most salient example of this. Here, isiXhosa, Kaaps and English seem to be used together seamlessly in Cape Town, a city that was designed to keep speakers of these languages apart. The Katini family’s children perhaps best exemplifies the future of Cape Town if the spatial boundaries and borders are broken down.

## **Chapter 7**

### **FLP the multi-layered onion**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I borrow Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) metaphor of language policy and implementation as an onion to theorise how linguistic repertoires, language ideologies and language practices constitute FLP. I will consider data presented in the previous two chapters, and at times elaborate on this by presenting more data. Besides language ideologies, practices and repertoires, other outside influences also work on forming FLP. Based on my data, this includes space/time and the institutional settings that lead to language ideologies and practices, which ultimately shape multilingual family repertoires (Van Mensel 2018). The chapter will start with a general overview of Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) notion of the layered onion and why this was an appealing way for me to theorise the interconnectedness of these different factors pertaining to FLP. In addition, I will discuss literature from language maintenance research that have also proved useful to think through the multi-layeredness of the data.

#### **7.2 The multi-layered onion**

Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 401) argued that various components, including "agents, levels and processes" form layers that together make up the whole of language planning and policy. This whole they referred to as an onion. The various components of this onion "permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees" (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 401). This metaphor resonated with me as I saw in my data how both explicit and implicit decisions about language in the families I studied were shaped by a variety of factors. In addition, the family's linguistic practices were shaped by the linguistic repertoires they had access to as well as by the language ideologies they held, and their lived experience of language. This was however not the whole story: Issues such as space/time and institutions, and access to them, also shaped the decisions (or non-decisions) that parents made. These issues are tied up with South Africa's apartheid and colonial past. My reading of my data has much in common with Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) ideas more generally on language planning and policy implementation. They single out a number of processes and agents that shape language planning and policy, including legislation and political processes, states and supranational agencies,



institutions, and classroom practitioners (Ricento and Hornberger 1996). Even though the field of FLP was yet to be established at the time Ricento and Hornberger (1996: 420) wrote their paper, they stated that “whenever communication occurs and individuals make decisions about the language variety they will speak, the form of address they will use, the posture or facial expression they will adopt, the content of their speech, their body language, and so on, the individuals express, work out, contest, interpret, and at some level analyze language policies”. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) thus already hinted here that even how families use language can be viewed as some form of policy making/unmaking/refusal. Other FLP research of course acknowledges the influences of communities and other outside factors, such as the government on FLPs (Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King and Fogle 2013; Smith-Christmas 2018; Purkarthofer, Lanza, and Berg 2022). I also want to understand the different factors that constitute FLPs within my context of research. My context (South African, and isiXhosa-speaking families) is one that is under-researched and thus the specific factors, or layers of the onion that make up FLPs, here are not known. Revisiting the onion metaphor, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) argue that more multi-layered accounts of language policy, based on research using ethnographies or data from various sources, can give more insight and can slice through the layers of the onion. As my study used multiple sources of data, I can perhaps slice through these layers a bit more effectively. In this chapter, I specifically address space/time, institutions, language ideologies, and repertoires formed through lived experience of language as important layers of the metaphorical FLP onion.

### **7.2.1 Space/time**

Space and time are both factors that have shaped the FLPs and practices of the families in this study. Space in this study is in itself multidimensional. There is both physical and social spaces that are important. This study was conducted in Cape Town, regarded as South Africa’s most segregated city. The city was designed to keep people apart, based on essentialist notions of race, language, and culture. Race in South Africa co-occurs with socio-economic class to a significant extent. Those who experience the most abject poverty in South Africa are those previously classified as black and coloured, while those who are the richest are mostly those previously classified as white. During the apartheid regime, different ethnic groups were forced “to live in separate places, with different institutions and infrastructure” (Turok et al. 2021: 72). Much of this apartheid architecture remains in place and “social class continues to be intertwined with race, even if the relationship is less direct than it used to be” (Turok et al. 2021: 72). As examples of how apartheid laws shaped the architecture of Cape Town, Turok et al.

(2021: 72) discusses Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. Both areas housed people that were forcibly removed and had little in terms of infrastructure and are far from the CBD. My study was deliberate in choosing families from neighbourhoods that represent the different kinds of living spaces designed in Cape Town. These physical spaces continue to shape family language practices, and to some extent deliberate choices made by families regarding language. The Katini family's children, living in Belhar, formerly a coloured (mostly Afrikaans-speaking neighbourhood) display the most salient use of Afrikaans in their linguistic practices. The Coki family's children, living in Langa, a former black isiXhosa-speaking township, display a preference and a tendency to use isiXhosa despite their mother's strong desire for them to use English. The Mpulampula family, living in Parklands which is adjacent to the previously white-only ocean-bordering suburb Blouberg, seems to use the most English in their linguistic practices (although, as with all the families in this study, there were also other shaping forces, in this case the language in which speech therapy was available to the family's daughter who has a hearing impediment). Even the Coki family's decision to send the children to an English school outside of their neighbourhood can be said to be influenced by space. Township schools are generally under-resourced and not regarded as good as schools in former white or coloured areas. Township dwellers who aspire for their children to progress socially and have the means, thus send their children to English schools outside of the township.

It is, however, more than physical space that shapes the FLPs of the families; social space is also a shaping force. Blommaert et al. (2005: 197-200) note that the home cannot be seen in isolation but that "environments are polycentric, and individuals always have to orient to multiple" centers of authority such as educational institutions, government, and religious institutions. Decisions with regards to linguistic practices made in the home are thus influenced by macro-structures of society and by different centres of authority. In each of the families, it was noteworthy that each family member ascribed each of the languages in their language repertoires to a specific space. For example, in the Mpulampula family, Yonela stated in her language portrait that she is exposed to isiXhosa at home, and English at work. Her repertoire thus sees no space for isiXhosa at work. The other family members also displayed similar views, for instance Inga stated that she speaks isiXhosa with her family in the home. This idea of assigning a specific language to a specific space almost eliminates the possibility of overlap, where all languages are present at the same time in every space they walk into – yet, based on the video recordings, such overlap is clearly present in the home of each of the families. This

suggests that the families' understanding of multilingualism is that one "brings" the "required" language of that space. Blommaert (2005: 198) asks the following questions:

Can space be seen as constitutive and agentive in organising patterns of multilingualism? What happens in instances such as the ones described above is not that the individual is losing multilingual resources or skills or that s/he is having a lack of capacity to communicate and interact, but that the particular environment organises a particular regime of language, a regime which incapacitates individuals.

(Blommaert 2005: 1989)

In the Mpulampula family, incapacitation seems to have occurred in how they believe that there is no room for them to speak their home language, isiXhosa, in the work or school environment. The understanding that school and work are strictly English-speaking spaces has caused them to forget that their reality also includes moments when they are speaking isiXhosa to a fellow isiXhosa-speaking colleague in the corridors at the office or addressing isiXhosa-speaking friends in isiXhosa during break time at school. This practice relates to the concept that Foucault (1971) refers to as the "order of discourse", which means that there exists "a kind of gradation among discourses" (Foucault 1971: 55). Kerfoot and Hyltenstam (2017) refer to it as the "order of visibility". By this Kerfoot and Hyltenstam (2017: 8) state that in such cases, certain languages become "ephemeral" or "disappear" in certain spaces. In the Mpulampula family, for instance, isiXhosa disappears (according to them) when the members of this family get into the work or school space. This is the same with the Katini and Coki families. Sindiswa Katini, for instance, also states that she speaks English when she is at work, and she has assigned English to the workspace, and other languages such as Afrikaans only to spaces such as humour and jokes. These orders of visibility can be linked to language ideologies. The ideas of iconicity and erasure are useful here (Irvine and Gal 1995). English becomes associated with the language of work, even when the practices might contradict this, such as in the case of the Coki family, where Afrikaans is also a language of work, for the mother. Other languages become erased, and it becomes "normal" to see English as the only language of work. Blommaert (2005: 198) explains that this phenomenon cannot be perceived as "a problem of the speaker, but as a problem for the speaker". This is because the way that space has been set up has made them unable to view it as an environment where they can be who they are, because that environment has its own linguistic requirements that they need to adhere to. As a result, Blommaert argues that "multilingualism is not what individuals have or lack, but what the environment, as structured determination and interactional emergence, enables and disables them to deploy"

(Blommaert et al. 2005: 213). In other words, space plays a major role in which language(s) an individual believes they are allowed to use and not use, and these spaces are entangled not only with people's linguistic repertoires but also with language ideologies.

Time is another big factor in the way in which the families' lives around language is organised. Because of a lack of time (especially in the Katini family where the single mother has long working hours), there is no explicit language policy and no attempt to manage language. In fact, language seems to be very low on the priority list of this family. Time and space are entangled in the Katini family. Sindiswa must travel quite a distance to the CBD with public transport because of the way in which neighbourhoods for black and coloured people during apartheid was designed – far from the city centre. Even the Mpulampula family discuss all the demands on their time and how these demands shaped their lack or will to further enforce a FLP in the home. According to Anthonissen and Stroud (2021: 105), temporality is “not only a variable in family planning but also a determinant of family structure and the resources – material, institutional and otherwise – that are available to families”. One could argue that temporality shapes the language practices in the Katini family in profound ways: Because Sindiswa is not able to pick up her children from school, she is reliant on other human resources, such as her neighbours, to help out. The children thus spend a lot of time with other people (Afrikaans-speaking people) in the neighbourhood, which shape the families' linguistic practices. Time also shapes the FLPs in a more abstract way; the families want to create opportunities for their children and therefore make decisions on what would be beneficial to them in future. This includes choosing speech therapy in English (instead of in Afrikaans, the other language in which such therapy can be rendered in Cape Town), sending children to an English-medium school, and trying to use more English in the home environment.

Despite how language ideologies shape different orders of visibility within space, the families (especially the children) are also able to carve out “translanguaging spaces” for themselves (see Wei 2011). According to Wei (2011: 1222), a “translanguaging space is a space created for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging”. It is a space where different cultures can meet, and new relations can be built. All the families create these spaces, especially when they discuss emotive issues or are just having fun. As argued in Chapter 6, it is specifically in the Katini family where it is evident how these new relations are built between people who were formerly separated, namely isiXhosa-speaking black people and Kaaps-speaking coloured people.

### 7.2.2 Institutions and institutional resources

Another important FLP-shaping factor that emerged from my study is institutions such as the school. According to Hornberger and Johnson (1996: 215), institutions refer to “relatively permanent socially constituted systems by which and through which individuals and communities gain identity, transmit cultural values, and attend to primary social needs”. Some examples of institutions include “schools, organized religion, the media, civic and other private and publicly subsidized organizations (e.g., libraries, musical organizations), and the business community”. In all three families, the medium of instruction of the schools the children attend is English, and none of the schools offers isiXhosa as an additional language. This means that the children’s first language is officially invisible in their school environment. This not an uncommon occurrence in former whites-only schools in South Africa and is a remnant of the apartheid regime. Mncwango (2009: 51) argues that the way in which linguistic diversity has been administered in post-apartheid South Africa has become problematic due to an undefined language policy, one that has promoted the use of English and Afrikaans as the influential languages in the socio-economic and political spaces of our society. IsiXhosa is viewed as “less than” by some of the parents and the children in this study, because it is not the language of school. For instance, in the interview data, both Sindiswa and Yonela said that their children cannot read in isiXhosa; they can only read English. Sindiswa went as far as stating in extract 32 below that she has never cared to teach her children how to read in isiXhosa, because it is not a language taught at school. Curdt-Christiansen (2014: 23) argues that –

When parents are faced with the question of which language to practice in a context where all school subjects are taught in English and financial benefits are awarded to those who master English, what can be expected of parents? After all, parents do not want their children to fall behind in their academic performance and be unemployed or have low-income careers.

(Curdt-Christiansen 2014: 23).

It is evident that the school has an important role in shaping the linguistic practices of the families – and in shaping how parents make decisions for their children when it comes to language. In a context where the child’s mother tongue is erased at school, doing what is “best” for the child looks different from parent to parent; to some, it means instilling the mother tongue in the home, and to others it means going with what is being taught at school, because they want their child to perform well academically. Consider Extract 32:

*Extract 32*

**Interviewer:** Okay, so *uyabafundela ngesiXhosa* [do you read for them in isiXhosa]?

**Sindiswa:** *Kunqabile, phofu [It's rare], in fact, mandithi andibafundeli tuu ngesiXhosa, kuba abasenzi isiXhosa esikolweni. Isikakhulu bafunda iincwadi zeEnglish, kuba yiyo eyenziwa kwesisikolo sabo. Zikhona ke neencwadi zeAfrikaans, kodwa isikakhulu iba ziincwadi zeEnglish. Uz'uqonde uAsanda akakwazi ukusibhala isiXhosa, ukwazi nje ukusithetha* [let me say I do not read isiXhosa for them at all, because they don't do isiXhosa at school. They mostly read English books, because that's what is offered at school. There are some Afrikaans books also, but it's mostly English books. As a matter of fact, Asanda cannot write isiXhosa. She can only speak it].

This shows how the school environment also plays a role in isiXhosa children not being able to read nor write isiXhosa. According to Mncwango (2009: 51), many African learners who attend former whites-only schools are not able to read nor write in their mother tongues, except for those who attend schools where their languages are offered as subjects (also see Oostendorp 2022 on the erasure of African languages from schooling). Schools play an important role “as policymakers, arbiters, watchdogs, opinion leaders, gatekeepers, and mostly reproducers of the existing social reality”, and attitudes towards language which follows the status quo “are deeply embedded in institutional structures and practices” (Hornberger and Johnson 1996: 216). The school in this case supports the status quo of English as the language of literacy, education, and empowerment. This is further evidenced in my data by the lack of almost any written material in isiXhosa in the homes and in how, when schoolwork is mentioned, the linguistic practices gravitate toward English. Maseko and Mlilo (2022: 225) state that “children’s school language experiences and practices permeate the home in various ways” and has a significant influence on the ways in which language is used in a family. This is also evident in my data.

Another example of how institutions shape a FLP is found in the Mpulampula family. I discovered after starting my data collection that Lulu has a hearing impediment. In the interview data, Yonela stated that before they discovered that Lulu has a hearing impediment, they spoke predominantly isiXhosa in the home. Baker (2007) argues that when a younger child comes into the family, usually the family has already set out how language is to be used in the home, and the child merely integrates into that. However, with Lulu’s diagnosis came the change of language use in the home from isiXhosa to English. Yonela explains, in Extract 33 that they

changed to English, because they did not want Lulu to fall behind at school. I have reproduced a significant part of the interview here, in an attempt to indicate the thought process behind this change in FLP, as well as how language support services (as an institution) shaped the FLP of the Mpulampula's.

*Extract 33*

**Interviewer:** Okay, so which; okay, *ubusoyiphendule kancinci lena* [you had answered this a little]; but which language or languages do you use when you are speaking to the children?

**Yonela:** ...the children? As I said *ke* [then], I think *ndizakuziRepeat(a)* [I am going to repeat myself], because I think it changed with time *wethu* [you know], because when they were younger, my kids here at home, we used to emphasise a lot of isiXhosa, because we wanted them to know isiXhosa. And then I think the change of *iLanguage* [language] it came; in fact, yeah, it came after Lulu was born.

**Interviewer:** Okay...

**Yonela:** And and we, we discovered that Lulu has a hearing loss.

**Interviewer:** Oooh!

**Yonela:** So, I think we panicked a bit, in the sense that *uLulu* [Lulu] had a hearing loss and *uLulu* [Lulu] by the age of three, she didn't speak...

**Interviewer:** Ooh!

**Yonela:** So, so when we took her to ummm the *yinton kanene* [what do you call it], the speech therapist and all of that, *kwathwa phayana ummm uneHearing loss* [they said there ummm she has a hearing loss]; so we panicked a bit and we thought okay, it will be better for us to speak *iEnglish* [English] *kuye, kuba sifuna aCatch(e) up msinyane* [with her, because we want her to catch up quickly], because *esikolweni kuthethwa iEnglish* [at school they speak English] and then *endlini kuthethwa isiXhosa* [here at home we speak isiXhosa], so *saqonda asifuni u'mConfuse(a) maan* [we thought we don't want to confuse her], so it came there. *Yaz'ba, ndiyayicinga ngoku* [You know I'm just thinking now]; because we would speak isiXhosa strictly *apha endlini* [here at home], and *nge* [like]... like... *ndizakuthini na ... ngamabom* [how can I say it... intentionally, you know]?

As can be seen from Extract 33, in the Mpulampula family, the language shift came with the fact that the parents did not want their child to fall behind in her academics, and Yonela also explained that Speech Therapy for Lulu was not available in isiXhosa, only in English or Afrikaans. She says they were not even aware that there could be speech therapy in isiXhosa, and that none of the speech-language therapist that could be found in the area were proficient



in isiXhosa. This is firstly because there are very few black people who go into the Speech-Language Therapy profession in South Africa – in 2018, 12,5% of the country’s 2553 registered speech-language therapists were black (see Pillay, Tiwari, Kathard and Chikte 2020) – because of the past discriminatory education policy (Evans 1990). Furthermore, as shown by numerous scholars, accessing healthcare services in South Africa in languages other than English or Afrikaans is extremely difficult (Swartz and Drennan 2000; Anthonissen 2010; Deumert 2010; Southwood and Van Dulm 2015; Penn et al. 2017). South Africa is also facing the challenge of not having linguistically and culturally appropriate material in all South African languages that can be used within speech therapy. In this regard, Pascoe and Smouse (2012) state that –

While multilingual and cross-linguistic studies (including monolingual acquisition in different language contexts) have been increasing since the 1980s, little is known about the development of local South African languages, and there are few speech and language assessments and therapeutic materials available in isiXhosa or in other local languages

(Pascoe and Smouse 2012:469).

The Mpulampula family is one of many other African families in South Africa that are affected by this situation. Pascoe et al. (2018: 69) argues that guidelines should be formulated for speech language therapists to “support their work with clients from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds”. The Mpulampula family was forced by two institutions to change their FLP according to the support services available for their child with special needs and also at the school that their children attend, which led to an increased use of English in the home environment.

A more subtle way in which institutions shape the discourses in families is how English is by default viewed as the language to be used when there is talk of educational activities. Even in every-day communication, when there is a shift to communication in a more formal register, English seems to be preferred. Although there have been theoretical challenges to the idea of a dichotomy between formal and informal communication, some occasions and communicative events do require “a display of seriousness, politeness, and respect’ (Irvine 1979: 774). IsiXhosa does have an elaborate system of showing respect linguistically, but I have found in my data that when it is a serious event, conversation tends to shift to English. One piece of data in Extract 34 illustrates this point: This extract is from a self-recorded video from the Coki family, and it is Thenjiwe’s birthday. Thenjiwe had a birthday dinner with a few friends at home in Langa.

After the dinner and when all the friends have gone home, her mother, Aphiwe, tells her to do a “thank-you video” to everyone who wished her a happy birthday. They are with Aphiwe’s friend, Zanele. The peripheral talk (before the official speech starts) is all in isiXhosa. However, as soon as the official speech starts for the thank-you video, there is a shift to English.

*Extract 34*

**Aphiwe:** *Khawuphinde, Thenjiwe. AndikuVideorising(a), uxolo.* [Do it again, Thenjiwe. I didn’t video record you.]

**Zanele:** *Xa ethetha, nhe?* [When she is speaking, right?]

**Aphiwe:** *Eh-eh* [Yes].

**Zanele:** Start af-... start from scratch, about *iSpeech sakho* [your speech]. This time try to be loud. You are too low.

**Aphiwe:** (TELLS BOBO TO TURN DOWN THE VOLUME) *iVolume yeTV* [the volume of the TV]...

**Zanele:** (TALKING TO BOBO) *Thoba pha iVolume wena* [Turn down the volume, you.] (TALKING TO THENJIWE) Try to be loud; not THAT loud, ‘cause your mom can’t hear you, *neh* [okay]? Yeah. Look straight at the phone.

**Thenjiwe:** (LOOKING AT THE CAMERA) Hey guys... (INTERRUPTED BY ZANELE)

**Zanele:** (TALKING TO BOBO) Get seated *wena* [you], get seated!

**Thenjiwe:** (CONTINUES) Hey guys! Today is my birthday, and I’m turning 7. I hope my birthday today was nice, and I appreciate, and I appreciate my mom, because she give me, she give me a big super super present...

**Zanele:** (IN THE BACKGROUND) Yeah...

**Thenjiwe:** And I tell her everything I want (INAUDIBLE) Thank you... (APHIWE AND ZANELE LAUGH)

**Zanele:** *Uth’ukhumshela emazinyweni* [You speak softly when you speak English] (SILENCE). She says she appreciates her mother’s presents.

**Thenjiwe:** Am I done?

**Aphiwe:** No. Talk again. How was your day?

**Thenjiwe:** My day was, my day was...

**Zanele:** (FINISHES THE SENTENCE FOR HER) Superb!

**Thenjiwe:** My day was super super nice, and I was playing with my friends (INAUDIBLE)...

**Zanele:** Happy...

### 7.2.3 Language repertoires, language ideologies and lived experience of language

How and when the families used the linguistic resources to their disposal was to a significant extent shaped by their lived experiences of language and by language ideologies. The lived experience, language ideologies, and linguistic repertoires were also shaped by the factors such as space/time and institutions that I have discussed above. In the Coki family, one painful encounter for the mother further reinforced the status of English. Seeing her child being denied an opportunity because he was not proficient in English made her decide to send her children to an English-medium school outside of the neighbourhood, and to use more English in the home. This lived experience of language might have had different consequences for the family's FLP if space was organised differently in South Africa and if the school as an institutional setting did not emphasise English as much as it does. Similarly, the Mpulampula's lived experience of finding language support services for their child with special needs is also tied up with institutional resources.

The attitudes attached to linguistic resources and the deployment of these resources are tied up with language ideologies. Sometimes this leads to beliefs that are contradicted by the families' own linguistic practices. Even though isiXhosa is valued by the Mpulampula family for its links to culture and identity, there is a clear divide between how English and isiXhosa are viewed. Stroud and Guissemo (2015:7) in their study on Portuguese and African languages in Mozambique argue that "particular ideological tropes on language" locate specific "languages (repertoires or speech practices) in different temporal framings and accord them different orders of visibility". It is quite clear in my data that this is the case for isiXhosa and English as well. According to Stroud and Guissemo (2015: 15), "coloniality inscribed African languages with temporalities of 'originary' 'before', 'anterior', 'traditional', 'outside', 'disordered', 'local', and 'open to change;' and Portuguese as messianic, durative, future-past-present, unchanging/unchangeable". Various poignant examples of this can be found in the data. For example, Yonela, in Extract 35) also discussed in Chapter 5) talks about isiXhosa in relation to roots, culture, and heritage. This speaks to the notions of 'traditional' and 'orginary' that Stroud and Guissemo (2015: 15) lists as typical discourses of African languages.

#### *Extract 35*

**Yonela:** I think *yilento ba* [it's the thing of] we speak isiXhosa *nathi* [too] that's... And *ndiyathanda ba bazi I... baUnderstand(e) maan imvelaphi yabo* [I don't like that they do not know...they must understand their heritage]; and *Understand(e)*

[understand] where they...*iCulture yabona, baUnderstand(e) isiNgesi* [their culture, they must understand that English] is a language *yomnye umntu*. [of someone else]. I want them to own their language, I want them to have a sense of ownership, and *uthando* [love] for their own language, and their own culture, because *ke iya* [it]... so, for me I feel *ba ibalulekile lonto leyo* [that it is important that that], for us to... to... to... to deeply engrave this *ebantwaneni bethu* [in our children], because I feel *intobana* [a child] once you understand *ilanguage yakho* [your language], you know, you'll understand your culture, you'll understand your traditions, *yonke lonto leyo* [and all that]. So, I feel *intobana* [a child]... and it's also a beautiful language isiXhosa, for me shame; I love isiXhosa. It's a beautiful language, *yabona* [you see]...

Language ideologies also shaped individual linguistic repertoires and practices. For example, despite the fact that Sindiswa in the Katini family grew up in an environment where Afrikaans is frequently heard, she had particular views on it based on iconisation. According to Irvine and Gal (2000: 37), iconisation “involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked”. Afrikaans, and Kaaps specifically, for Sindiswa held a specific image of criminals, and people who are not decent. Bucholtz and Hall (2016: 178) state that iconisation refers to “an ideological process that rationalizes and naturalizes semiotic practice as inherent essence, often by anchoring it within the body” – in this case, within the coloured body. In other cases, language ideologies of the parents had a profound impact of the linguistic repertoires and linguistic practices of the children. For example, in the Coki family, the language ideology pertaining to English is so strong that the mother is trying to shape an English-speaking family in Langa, that is an overwhelmingly isiXhosa-speaking township. She also seems not to reflect on the reality that she is experiencing economic benefits not only from her knowledge of English but also of Afrikaans, for which she is a tutor.

### 7.3. Slicing the onion: Implications for FLP

The complexity of my data would not have been possible without the multiple datasets and my close reading and understanding of the context. In addition, the complexity is enhanced by taking historical processes into account. This calls for FLP research that more thoroughly interrogates how past discriminatory institutional policies (whether official or not) influence linguistic practices of and decisions made by families into the present day. This requires of FLP research to undergo a critical and decolonial turn (see Gomes 2020). In addition, the field has

to focus more on families that are under-researched and on Southern contexts where discriminatory processes and practices often have a long history, and where the postcolonial structures of government often still resemble colonial structures. It also calls for FLP research to be conducted with great sensitivity for the context and for the “human agents who act as interpretive conduits between the language policy levels (or layers of the LPP onion)” (Hornberger and Johnson 2011: 528). What is needed is an analysis of practices, reported practices, linguistic repertoires, and knowledge of institutional and government practices and processes.

Hyltenstam and Stroud (2008), in a discussion of factors that influence language maintenance in minority language communities, produced the taxonomy below to discuss the factors that influence whether maintenance or shift would occur. These factors can be equally relevant for understanding how choices and practices in families are formed, and in parentheses I included my own brief notes on how each relevant factor in my research context, based on the literature reviewed in previous chapters.

## I. FACTORS AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL

- a) Political-legal conditions (*Official languages in the province determine the media of instruction in school*)
- b) Ideology of the majority society (*English is the language with social capital; Afrikaans is linked to apartheid-related oppression*)
- c) Implementation
- d) Economic conditions (*English is the language of the workplace*)
  - Industrialisation/urbanisation
  - Majority enterprises
  - Communications (*Those with better English can land better jobs*)
  - Labour market
- e) Sociocultural norms (*It is important to maintain one's isiXhosa, but English is the language of progress*)
- f) Education (*English-medium education is of higher quality than isiXhosa-medium education*)

## II. FACTORS AT THE GROUP LEVEL

- g) Demography
  - Size (*There are many isiXhosa speakers in the province*)

Geographical distribution (*in some neighbourhood, isiXhosa is the dominant language, but not in all of them*)

Migration (*many isiXhosa speakers migrate to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape, causing the number of speakers of the language to swell*)

Age distribution

Sex distribution

Degree of endo-/exogamy

#### h) Language characteristics

Official language (*Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are all official languages, but not of equal social and economic value*)

Official language in another country

Dialect- or language split (*In the case of the Afrikaans, there is so-called Standard Afrikaans and the stigmatised Kaaps variety*)

Standardisation/modernisation

Degree of bilingualism (*This varies across geographic, educational and socioeconomic contexts*)

Proficiencies in each language (*Varies across speakers, also for each domain – spoken, writing and reading proficiency*)

View of language (*English is held in high regard, but Afrikaans not; and isiXhosa is seen as important for cultural but not economic or educational reasons*)

#### i) Heterogeneity/homogeneity

#### j) Niches of subsistence/religion

#### k) Type of ethnicity

#### l) Internal organisation

#### m) Institutions

Education (*isiXhosa-medium schools are within easy reach in the township, but parents who can spend their children to English-medium schools*)

Religion

Language planning

Research (*There is a dearth of research on FLPs of urban isiXhosa-speaking families*)

Culture (*Maintaining the mother tongue is seen as important for cultural reasons*)

n) Media (*The available media is overwhelmingly English-language media, and few isiXhosa books are found in homes*)

o) Culture

### III. FACTORS AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

p) Language choice (*The stated language choice and the actual language choice in specific contexts do not always concur*)

q) Socialisation (*The language spoken by the neighbourhood friends influences the children's language choices*)

(Hyltenstam and Stroud 2008: 568)

Predicting topics of relevance for the future, Hyltenstam and Stroud (2008) state that “some of the research priorities for the future will surely be in the realm of the development of social theories that permit an articulated and culturally sensitive view of how language indexes social realities and encodes positions of interest and power in a society” (Hyltenstam and Stroud 2008: 576). Since this prediction dates from 2008, this future that they refer to is now, making the need for such studies and development of such theory even more urgent. Their thoughts on understandings of maintenance and shift as “outcomes of speaker's remodelling, integration and elaboration of symbolic materials in a contact situation in the process of their negotiation of social realities” is as relevant for language maintenance research as it is for FLP and research on family language practices in general (Hyltenstam and Stroud 2008: 576). I contemplated designing a model of the kinds of layers of the onion that influence FLP and family language practices, but should one design such a model based on the finding of this study, it would be a preliminary model at most, given that we have only just started to peel back the layers of the onion, especially as regards to FLP in the global South.

My study and the data contained in it have provided me with a better understanding of the complex kinds of negotiations and remodelling speakers of isiXhosa need to undergo to devise, implement and hopefully maintain a FLP while also raising their families, managing the demands of work and school (and other institutional constraints) with their own linguistic repertoires and language ideologies in a country which is still haunted by its colonial and apartheid past.



## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

#### 8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will be summarising the main findings of the study according to the research questions. I will also discuss the significance and limitations of this study, and, lastly, I will make recommendations for future research.

#### 8.2 Review of research questions

This study set out to answer five research questions, which are reproduced here for ease of reference:

- 1) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children?
- 2) What kind(s) of ideologies do isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children have about the Xhosa language?
- 3) What kind(s) of value do isiXhosa-speaking parents and children ascribe to the Xhosa language?
- 4) What kinds of language practices do young children in isiXhosa-speaking families engage in with each other, the rest of their families and their friends?
- 5) How do language ideologies, linguistic practices and linguistic repertoires mutually shape family language policies?

A summary of findings pertaining to each of the questions are given below.

##### 8.2.1 What are the linguistic repertoires of selected isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children?

For this research question, I wanted to understand the linguistic repertoires of the different members of the families I investigated. The Mpulampula family's linguistic repertoire includes isiXhosa and, English (as expected, given that most Capetonian speakers of isiXhosa as mother tongue are isiXhosa-English bilingual to some extent), and also Afrikaans, isiZulu and Setswana. In the Katini and Coki families, it was isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans, and in the Coki family it was also isiXhosa, English, and Afrikaans. Firstly, this data shows that isiXhosa-

speaking families in the Western Cape have more than one language that they are exposed to and use and are therefore faced with the choice as to decide which language(s) are more important and which are more important to use in the home environment.

The linguistic repertoires that the families have are mostly a reflection of what Busch (2015) refers to as the lived experience of language. In Busch's (2015) perspective of linguistic repertoires as formed through the lived experience of language, she does not just only look at how many languages the speaker is able to speak or how many languages the speaker has accumulated over time; but rather, she focuses on the emotional and bodily experience of the individual. The "lived experience of language" refers to repetitive occurrence (s) or interaction(s) that an individual has with others, which shapes their explicit or implicit attitudes and habitual patterns of language practice. Busch (2015) states that the best way to capture the personal attitudes that individuals have about language is when we do not just focus on the cognitive and instrumental dimension only, but also on when we look at the "intersubjective, social nature and its bodily and the emotional dimension" as well (Busch 2015: 11). In all three families, there are past language-incidences that stand out for their emotional weight and for how they informed choices and practices around language. For instance, in the Mpulampula family, the parents say they "panicked" when they found out that Lulu, their youngest child, had a hearing impediment. Their state of panic was emotionally charged, and it resulted in them not even investigating whether speech therapy was indeed completely unavailable in isiXhosa; after not initially finding an isiXhosa-speaking speech-language therapist, they opted for English-only support services for their daughter. This shaped their linguistic practices in the family to such an extent that significantly more English is now used in the home than before receiving the daughter's diagnosis, and English is used with this daughter, Lulu for the majority of the time. In the Coki family, the single mother, Aphiwe's experience of her middle child, Bobo not being selected for a modelling campaign led to her making the decision that English should be the predominant language in their lives, including in her home. In the Katini family, Sindiswa's lived experience of linguistic repertoire, had an effect on her individual repertoire. Because of her experiences of Afrikaans and Afrikaans speakers she did not learn the language, however she did not prevent her family from learning it. In fact, in the language practices of the home Afrikaans is incorporated and is embraced, because the children use it when speaking together and with their cousins.

### **8.2.2 What kind(s) of ideologies do isiXhosa-speaking parents and their children have about the Xhosa language?**

The language ideologies that families hold about isiXhosa cannot be viewed in isolation but must be seen as occurring together with and in opposition to other languages in the family repertoire, especially English. Generally speaking, isiXhosa is valued but only as a cultural marker –, unlike English, which is seen as a language of power and social mobility almost by default. These ideologies are so strong that isiXhosa is invisibilised in settings outside of those where identity and culture are not important. English is viewed as almost the default language of education. There seems to be a lot of ambivalence towards Afrikaans, although all the children and adults in the families are exposed to the language. There is one exception though and that is in the Katini family (who live in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking neighbourhood) where Afrikaans is loved and is a language of familiarity and relation. In the other two families, very little reflection on Afrikaans was given on Afrikaans at all.

### **8.2.3 What kind(s) of value do isiXhosa-speaking parents and children ascribe to the Xhosa language?**

Research questions 2 and 3 are related. IsiXhosa is without a doubt valued by both parents and children. All the parents want their children to speak the language, and all the children do speak it, even though Lulu (daughter with the hearing impediment in the Mpulampula family) speaks very little of it. The extent of the value, and the actions taken to increase this value, varies. In the Mpulampula family, Yonela and Luzuko the parents deem isiXhosa as the language of their identity and initially, when their eldest children was born, they used the language consistently in the home. However, there was a shift when the youngest daughter's hearing impediment was discovered: The value attached to the language is currently not visible in the family's actions. In the Katini family, the single mother Sindiswa has exceptionally long office hours and hence does not have time to enforce a strong isiXhosa-speaking identity; but nonetheless, she speaks the language with her children. In the Coki family, the single mother Aphiwe, does want her children to speak some isiXhosa (for cultural reasons) but she desires for them to be proficient in English to such an extent that she tries to enforce the use of only English this in the home.

### **8.2.4 What kinds of language practices do young children in isiXhosa-speaking families engage in with each other, the rest of their families and their friends?**

The salient thread in all three families is the fact that there is no family that only uses one language only. There are frequent occurrences of translanguaging practices, and that was the

natural way that the families used language. The families also do not have explicitly formulated language rules although their practices do reveal which languages are favoured under which circumstances and for which purposes. Outside of the home, very little isiXhosa is used: English is used with friends at school and at church, and English and Afrikaans are used with neighbourhood friends. The children use language sometimes in the ways in which the parents condone and in other cases go against the parents' wishes.

#### **8.2.5. How do language ideologies, linguistic practices and linguistic repertoires mutually shape family language policies?**

Indigenous multilingualism (Garcia and Lin 2018), where children are raised in homes where there are two or more languages, especially in Africa, Asia and the Pacific is the norm, yet there is currently very little research on early language socialisation and family language policy in these contexts (McKinney and Molate 2021). Like language policy in other spaces, (Shohamy 2006), FLP comprise language ideologies, language practices, and language management mechanisms (Spolsky 2004, 2009), specifically the language ideologies that the family members have, the language-related practices they engage in as well as the ways or strategies that they employ to manage language use in the home. In this study, I found that Spolsky's (2004, 2009) notion of FLP – namely FLP being a result of language ideologies, language practices and language management mechanisms – fails to tell the complete story.

The data obtained from the families indicates that macro-political decisions in society also affect how families use language in the home. I used the metaphor of a multi-layered onion to tease out how the macro and micro interact. In as much as South Africa is a democratic country, and all 11 of its official languages in theory (as stated in the Constitution) have equal status, it is apparent that English still has more value than African languages. In the history of South Africa, English was viewed as a language of power because of its role in the apartheid regime (De Kadt 2009); the people who were in power during apartheid spoke English and Afrikaans (the only two official languages at the time). Therefore, both English and Afrikaans easily became languages of power. Although the list of official languages has changed, there exists the residue of its effects even in the present-day institutions and systems of the country. For instance, in the public health system, there is a human rights crisis, with speakers of African languages often being unable to access services successfully because of language barriers (Deumert 2010). The school is another particularly powerful institution which is dominated by the English language.

Space and time also affect how families use language in the home. The families' linguistic practices are affected by both physical and social space. The physical and social boundaries created by apartheid to a large extent remain in place, with school and work being the exceptions where Capetonians with different linguistic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds interact (albeit in predominantly English). This shapes FLP in Western Cape families in powerful ways.

### **8.3 Significance of the study**

One of the motivations for conducting this study in the Western Cape was that there is very little research on FLP in African contexts (McKinney and Molate 2021). This study thus adds to the small body of scholarly work involving FLP research from Africa. The data shows the complexities of language-related decisions that families make. It revealed how the legacies of apartheid and colonialism continue to shape people's use and beliefs on language in the intimate domain of the family. Furthermore, it reveals the significance of a multi-layered research design, in that FLP research becomes richer when using more than one way of collecting the data. The study also challenges the notion of 'family'. Two of the three families I investigated do not fit into the typical "nuclear family" design. Even in the family that I thought would be a nuclear family, the father was living away from the rest of the family for significant parts of my data collection, because of work. In the Katini family, the children spend a lot of time with neighbours, friends, and cousins (due to their mother's very long office hours and the time it takes her to commute with public transport to work and back), to the extent that one can ask where the boundaries of the family begin and end.

This study is significant as it just starts to unpeel the levels of the onion that make up FLP in South Africa and invites further contributions. Already it was seen that there is not only one type of FLP in place in isiXhosa-speaking families: The actions of some indicate that they value isiXhosa more than others; some are negative towards Afrikaans whereas others embrace this language; all value English for education purposes, but they do not speak English to the same extent and for the same reasons at home. Furthermore, there were unexpected findings, including that parents who value isiXhosa and want their children to learn the language well do not keep (privately or library-owned) isiXhosa reading material in their homes (despite and having the financial means to do so) and do not teach their children to read the language – this even held true for the mother who was a language tutor and thus taught children of other families

to read and write (albeit Afrikaans). Another significant finding was that reported and actual language use in the home do not completely overlap. There are many avenues for further research that could complement the findings of this study, and some of these are discussed further below.

#### **8.4 Limitations of the study**

Most of the limitations of the study were related to the Covid-19 pandemic. Firstly, instead of using observation as a method of data collection (as originally planned), I had to rely on parents and children taking video recordings of the interactions that were taking place in their home. Although this method had its benefits, in that it allowed the parents and children to tell their own story of language practices in the home (instead of me, the researcher, telling it on their behalf), it did limit the amount of data that I obtained. There were long periods of time where I would not receive any video recordings from the families. Also, because it was a very tough period in the life of the families (some of them suffered significant health and financial challenges during the pandemic), I could not put pressure on them. I, too, contracted the virus and that meant that I could not connect with the families for some time and that my data collection schedules were not as linear, or as well planned, as they would have been in the absence of the pandemic. Another limitation of this study was the absence of the father of the Mpulampula family during most of the data collection period. Because Luzuko had to move to the Eastern Cape to find better business opportunities with which to support his family financially, I could not obtain data in a family setting where there was the presence of a father. In the Katini family, the extended family members did not participate in the language portraits due to miscommunication between the mother of the family and her brother and his wife. This meant that I could not obtain data from extended family members on their linguistic repertoires as originally planned. The data should be read with these limitations in mind.

## 8.5 Recommendations for future study

This dissertation has pointed out a number of interesting issues which can be taken up in future studies. Since space was one layer of the study, it would be interesting to do further studies in similar kinds of neighbourhoods in the Western Cape. The idea of space can also be expanded to also look at virtual space as part of family language practices. Since the school was found in this study to be a big shaping force as concerns FLPs, a study that investigates school and home practices of the same family would reveal more about the interaction between the two closely connected spaces (With the time constraints of a PhD study, and school's unforeseen Covid-19-related closure during the period of data collection, I could not explore this possibility.) In a research project with more participants and more time, richer data would be obtained if what was happening in the home environment and what was happening in the school environment were captured simultaneously, and the two spaces were theorised as connected.

## 8.6 Concluding remarks

When I started this study, my impression of the use of isiXhosa in the Western Cape was that there is a language shift in Xhosa families from isiXhosa towards English. My impression was not confirmed by the study. Instead, I found that there is a strong multilingualism in the families I investigated. Despite my study being a multiple case study, its results concur with those of the large survey of Posel and Zeller (2016), namely that the shift in families who speak African languages as mother tongues is not towards English only; rather, there is increased multilingualism. What my study adds is insight into what types of multilingualism are at issue in the Mpulampulas, Katinis and Cokis of South Africa. I have gained a lot of respect for the families in my study as I see them navigating this difficult journey of providing opportunities for themselves and others in a context where their mother tongue is seen by the larger society as lacking economic value. These are families trying to do the best they can with what they have, even if some of their attempts may be labelled by others as misguided or as merely following the status quo. To understand how to best support families (such as those who participated in this study) in institutional contexts, we need more ethnographic, people-centred studies of the linguistic practices people actually engage in, gain understanding of their lived experiences, and see their ideologies, practices and repertoires within the larger social, economic and historical context.



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## **Addendum 1**

### **Interview questions for the parents**

1. How many languages are you exposed to in your everyday life?
2. How many languages do you speak fluently?
3. What do you think about isiXhosa? Would you say you love the language? If yes, why?  
If no, why not?
4. Which language do you use when you are doing homework with the children?
5. Which language do you use when reprimanding the children?
6. Which language do you use when affirming the children?
7. Could you please give me a rating of how often you use isiXhosa at home; 1 being very little isiXhosa, and 10 being a lot.
8. Would you say you have language rules in the house? If yes, why? If no, why not?
9. How many cellphones are in the house?
10. How many laptops are in the house?
11. What are the children's favourite programs on television?
12. What kind of games do they play in the house?
13. Are there any books in the house? If yes, in what language are they?
14. Do the children play outside with friends in the neighbourhood?
15. What language is dominant when they are with their friends in the neighbourhood?
16. What language is dominant when they are with their friends at school?
17. Which school do the children go to?
18. What are your beliefs about language? Do you think that the language you use in the home is important or do you not pay attention to that?

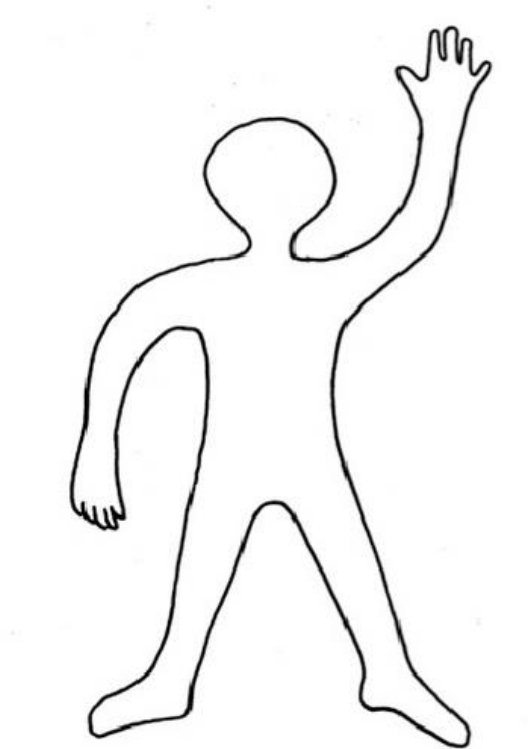
## **Addendum 2**

### **Interview questions for the children**

1. Which languages are you exposed to in your everyday life?
2. Which language do you use a lot?
3. Which language do you use with your mom/ dad/ family?
4. What is the name of your school?
5. In what language does your teacher teach you?
6. Which language do you use with your friends at school?
7. Which language do you use with your friends in the neighbourhood?
8. Do you like reading books? If yes, give three of your favourite books. If no, why?
9. What are your favourite programs on television?
10. Which games do you like playing?

## Addendum 3

### Language portrait body silhouette



(Source: heteroglossia.net)

## Addendum 4

### Parental informed consent for inviting their child to participate in the study

(A similar form was used to obtain consent from the parents for their own participation)

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#### PARENT/LEGAL GUARDIAN CONSENT FOR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

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My name is **Asithandile Nozewu**. I am a student from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. I would like to invite your child to take part in a study conducted by me. Your child will be invited as a possible participant because they will be helpful in assisting me to investigate the Language and Literacy Practices of isiXhosa 1<sup>st</sup> language speaking children between the ages of five to eight years. As a researcher, I am interested to know how isiXhosa speaking parents and children in the Western Cape use language in the home environment.

#### 1. WHY AM I DOING THIS STUDY?

The reason for conducting this study is to understand the ideologies that isiXhosa speaking parents and their children have about the Xhosa language. I also want to examine and analyze the value that isiXhosa speaking parents and their children ascribe to the Xhosa language. These will ultimately inform me about the reasons behind their language and literacy practices. Currently there is very little research on home language and literacy practices in the African context and new data on these will help challenge existing theoretical orientations.

#### WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF MY CHILD?

If you consent to your child taking part in this study, I will then approach the child for their assent to take part in the study. If the child agrees, I will ask him/ her to fill in a language portrait and explain to him/ her how it works. I will also observe the child's language use around the home via videos and voice recordings that you send me, as well as what television shows the child watches, radio shows/ music they listen to. I will also ask him/ her about gadgets that are accessible to him/her around the home. I will also be recording the child's conversations with parents, other family members and with their friends. I will then ask him/her in-depth questions about what he/ she thinks about isiXhosa and how often does he/she speaks the language both in the home environment and outside the home.

#### 2. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I do not expect that your child will be distressed by the research but if it happens, the child may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences.

#### 3. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO THE CHILD OR TO THE SOCIETY

There is no direct benefit to the child. However, this research will give a first-hand opportunity to children to express themselves, share their views and experiences about being the current young generation of isiXhosa speakers. Whatever the children will tell me is also likely to help in the in acquiring new information about how modern isiXhosa families use language in the home setting. Their information will help to let more people know about language and literacy practices in a multilingual context.

#### 4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participation in this research is purely voluntary. There will not be any payment in form of cash that will be given to you or your child for participating in this research. However, I will give you and your family a voucher as a token of my gratitude for participating in my study. And, I will be providing monthly data worth R60 monthly if you do not have access to uncapped Wifi. I will also grant the children gifts in the form of stationery.

## **5. PROTECTION OF YOU AND YOUR CHILD'S INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY**

Any information you or your child will share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you or your child will be protected. This will be done by:

- I will take strict precautions to safeguard you and your child's personal information throughout the study. Your information will be stored in my personal computer with a password that only I know. I will share the data with my supervisor as necessary using secured internet network connections.
- Your information will be kept without your name on it and personal identifiers will be removed, and you will be given pseudo names to protect your identity. The in-depth interviews will all be digitally recorded, and the files will be kept safe on a password protected laptop.
- After data analysis, the collected data will be stored in places only accessible by me (in the personal computer for soft copies and in a safe for hard copies). I will destroy them when the research is completed.
- Some of the research may get published and presented at conferences but your identities will always remain withheld.

## **6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You and your child can choose whether you wish to participate in this study or not. If you consent to your child taking part in the study, please note that your child may choose to withdraw or decline participation at any time without any consequence. Your child may also refuse to answer any questions they don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw your child from this study if;

- the child changes his/her mind about participating and withdraws their informed consent
- the child shared information that could put them at risk.

## **7. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION**

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact

Researcher: Asithandile Nozewu  
 Email: 18905471@sun.ac.za  
 Phone: 078 7250 932  
 Supervisor: Dr. Marcelyn Oostendorp  
 Email: moostendorp@sun.ac.za  
 Phone: 082 0850 521

## **8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS**

Your child may withdraw their consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. Neither you nor your child are waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your or your child's rights as a

research participant, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

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**DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARENT/LEGAL GUARDIAN OF THE CHILD PARTICIPANT**

As the parent/legal guardian of the child I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information have been explained.

By signing below, I \_\_\_\_\_ (*name of parent*) agree that the researcher may approach my child to take part in this research study, as conducted by Rehema Abiyo.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature of Parent/Legal Guardian**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**

**DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR**

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the parent/legal guardian. I also declare that the parent/legal guardian was encouraged and given ample time to ask any questions.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature of Principal Investigator**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**



## **Addendum 5**

### **Verbal assent script for children**

#### **STEP 1: Introduction**

Hello, my name is Asithandile. I go to a big school called a University. Do you know what a University is? A University is a school that big people go to when they finish primary and high school. The name of my school is Stellenbosch University.

#### **STEP 2: Letting the Child/ren know that I would like for them to be part of the Study**

I have a very big school project that I cannot do on my own. I need a lot of people to help me with it. Do you think you would be willing to help me with my school project? Okay, do you want to know how you would help me with this project? Well, I need your help in gathering information for my project. I need information about how you and your whole family use language. Can you tell me which language you use when you speak to your mom and dad? Okay, well I want to see it for myself. I want to see what language you use when you speak to your mom, your dad, your sister/brother, your friends, your cousins and even your dog. Do you have a dog? I also want to see what you watch on TV. Can you tell me what you like watching on TV? Okay, great. What about music? Do you ever listen to music? What kind of music do you listen to? And games? Do you play games on your mom/ dad's cellphone or do you have your own Tablet? Great! What if I said to you I want to see all of that for myself; would you let me come to your house for two days every week for two months and watch you watch your favorite TV programs, listen to music, and even playing games on your mom's phone or maybe reading a book? Would you let me record some of your conversations with your family members and friends? If you would allow me to come to your house and do that, that is how you would be helping me with my project. Do you think that is difficult or easy? So, would you be willing to help me then?

#### **STEP 3: Let the child/ ren know that they can let me know whenever they feel uncomfortable**

Thank you for agreeing to help me with my project. I am so happy that I will be spending more time with you and your family. In order for me to protect you, I won't write your name on my project. I won't even write your address on my project. I want you to know that I won't be writing anything bad about you or your family; all I will be doing is writing about how you and

your family use language at your house. I will also be asking you questions as time goes by; and that is called an Interview. Have you ever been interviewed before? Awesome. Don't worry, there won't be any right or wrong answers for the interview. I just need you to try your best to be honest with me. Do you think you can do that? And, if you want to take a break from helping me with my project, you can let me know or if you are scared to let me know, then you can tell your mom or your dad. I won't do anything to you. Also, if you think you cannot answer some of my questions, then you can tell me and I will stop asking you the questions, and there won't be anything bad that will happen to you. If you are uncomfortable with me coming to your house, then I want you to know that you can tell me or if you are scared to tell me, tell your mom/ dad and they will definitely tell me. Don't worry, nothing bad will happen to you afterwards. Remember, you are just helping me with my project.

# Addendum 6

## Confirmation of ethical clearance



### CONFIRMATION OF RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL

REC: SBER - Annual Progress Report

17 May 2022

Project number: 14391

Project Title: Investigating the Language and Literacy Practices of isiXhosa Families in the Western Cape: An ethnographic Approach

Dear Miss AE Nozewu

#### **Identified supervisor(s) and/or co-investigator(s):**

Dr MCA Oostendorp, Prof F Southwood

Your REC: SBER - Annual Progress Report submitted on 29/04/2022 14:57 was reviewed and approved by the Social, Behavioural and Education Research Ethics Committee (REC: SBE).

Your research ethics approval is valid for the following period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
17 May 2022	16 May 2023

#### **GENERAL COMMENTS PERTAINING TO THIS PROJECT:**

##### **INVESTIGATOR RESPONSIBILITIES**

1. Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.
2. Your approval is based on the information you provided in your online research ethics application form. If you are required to make amendments to or deviate from the proposal approved by the REC, please contact the REC: SBE office for advice: [applyethics@sun.ac.za](mailto:applyethics@sun.ac.za)
3. Always use this project ID number (14391) in all communications with the REC: SBE concerning your project.
4. Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, and monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process, where required.

##### **RENEWAL OF RESEARCH BEYOND THE EXPIRATION DATE**

You are required to submit a progress report to the REC: SBE before the project approval period expires if renewal of ethics approval is required.

If you have completed your research, you are required to submit a final report to the REC: SBE to close the active REC record for this project.

#### **Project documents approved by the REC:**

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Informed Consent Form	Participants Consent Form	26/04/2022	3
Research Protocol/Proposal	Asithandle Proposal 26 August 2019 1	26/04/2022	3

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at [applyethics@sun.ac.za](mailto:applyethics@sun.ac.za)

Sincerely,

Mrs Clarissa Robertson ([cgraham@sun.ac.za](mailto:cgraham@sun.ac.za))

Secretariat: Social, Behavioral and Education Research Ethics Committee (REC: SBE)

*National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.*