

COLONIALITY AND FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY IN AN AFRICAN MULTILINGUAL FAMILY

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous multilingualism (Garcia and Lin, 2018) where children grow up with two or more languages is the norm in many contexts across the world, especially in countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Yet there are relatively few studies of early language socialisation and family language policy in such contexts. For families where parents, though both long-standing citizens, come from different minoritised language backgrounds and where the language practices of the home differ from that of schooling, language choices are often complex and entangled with relations of power. As Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018) point out, what languages to use in such multilingual homes and in raising children is a central concern of Family Language Policy (FLP). They also point out that FLP is a “critical domain for multilingual development, language maintenance and cultural continuity” (128). As our research will show, this is certainly the case in South Africa where a former Colonial language (English) is firmly entrenched as the only “legitimate language” (Bourdieu, 1977) in high status domains, and where the languages spoken by the majority of citizens have become minoritised. The history of colonisation and apartheid have produced particular language hierarchies which have profound consequences for family multilingualism and language choices. This chapter presents a case study of the intersection of language ideologies, language socialisation practices and strategies for family language management (Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018) in a middle-class African multilingual family in South Africa. We aim to expand the field of FLP with our focus on multilingual families in a post-colonial context where the languages of the majority have become minoritised, and where children born post-apartheid are experiencing different language in education policies from their parents. We use the theorising of de/coloniality to understand the language ideologies shaping FLP in our case study family.

South Africa is a linguistically diverse country with official constitutional recognition of 11 languages: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, English and Afrikaans. During apartheid, extensive resources were poured into enabling the Dutch derived creole Afrikaans to be used in high status domains such as schools, universities, parliament and the legal system. Language was also used as a powerful tool to divide African people into ethnolinguistic groups, each segregated into distinct geographical areas and schools. ‘Bantu’ Education was provided initially through the nine indigenous languages in primary schooling followed by a switch to English and Afrikaans language of instruction in high school. Despite the attempts to divide Black people on ethnolinguistic grounds, multilingualism amongst South Africans is common. Apart from indigenous multilingualism, all children are expected to learn at least two languages at school, one of which must be English. Given its dominant role in education, it’s not surprising that research on language ideologies of Black middle-class parents as well as in previously white schools shows how English is often exclusively valued as a language of learning and mobility (Makoe, 2014, Dixon and Peake, 2008, McKinney et al, 2015). Some have argued that the choices of Black middle-class parents to send their children to English medium previously White schools is leading to language shift (De Klerk, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2003a, 2003b). While children growing up in ‘townships’, residential areas

historically constructed for Black people on the periphery of towns and cities, will be immersed in African languages on a daily basis, this is not the case for Black middle-class families who have moved to the more affluent, previously White suburbs¹. Through our case study family, we aim to shed light on the dynamics of language, race and social class in multilingual middle-class South African families.

We begin by reviewing some of the recent FLP literature in relation to our own research focus, paying particular attention to language dynamics in post-colonial contexts of indigenous multilingualism. We will provide a brief overview of the relationship between coloniality, language ideologies and multilingualism in Africa which have enabled the minoritising of languages spoken by numerical majorities and the continuation of monolingual language ideologies into the present in South Africa. Not only has coloniality shaped the current status of languages and elite versus indigenous multilingualism, but it also contributes to the normative view of family as two parents and their offspring living together in one home. We then outline our methodological approach before presenting data from our case study of a multilingual Black family residing in an affluent suburb in the Western Cape province of South Africa. The Ngxanga² immediate family includes two parents in professional careers - Mma (mother), born into a Tswana family in the North West province, and Tata (father), born from a Xhosa family in the Eastern Cape province. They have two daughters, Viwe (6 years) and Bontle (11), both attending English-medium schools in the previously White suburb in which they live.

There has been a relative burgeoning of research in family language policy recently as evidenced by the number of journal special issues on the topic, such as *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (2016), *Multilingua* (2018), *International Journal of Sociology of Language* (2019), *International Journal of Multilingualism* (2019) and *International Journal of Bilingualism* (2019). Amongst other themes, attention has been paid to contexts of trilingualism and multilingualism (King and Fogle, 2017), transnational migration and families (Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018; Zu Hua and Li Wei, 2016), heritage languages and language revitalisation (e.g. Higgins 2019) and indigenous multilingualism in Singapore and Malaysia (Dumanig et al, 2013, Lim, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). Issues of language and power are often foregrounded, for example in tensions over the status of 'College Hawaiian' over Hawaiian used by community elders (Higgins, 2019), and the role of language in education policy in shaping parental decisions about family language use, such as the emphasis on English in Singapore (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). South Africa provides an opportunity to expand FLP research to contexts where indigenous multilingualism is the norm, yet monolingual competence in an autochthonous language, English, has higher status. Our case study family follows the linguistic norm where bi and multilingualism are well established, as is evident in the three named languages of Setswana, isiXhosa and English included in their linguistic repertoire. The analysis will show that while multilingualism in South Africa is indigenous rather than a consequence of transnational mobility and migration, mobility across regions within the country contributes to sustaining multilingualism. We will also show how the entanglements of language,

¹ Calculating the size of the middle class is a complex and contested task. The ANC statement in January 2018 reported the Black middle class as 6 million people. The total population in 2018 was estimated at just under 58 million people (<https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-measuring-south-africas-black-middle-class/>).

² Pseudonym

identity and power are central to understanding family language policy decisions and strategies for the Ngxangas.

Coloniality, language ideologies and multilingualism

Maldonado-Torres (2007) describes coloniality as that which ‘survives colonialism’, the multiple and entangled power relations of superiority and inferiority established under colonialism that continue to produce unequal relations of power globally and locally. Ideologies which align European languages and whiteness with superiority and intellectual ability, while indigenous multilingualism is perceived as a ‘linguistic jumble’ are a consequence of coloniality and the continuing colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2007) in the present. In South Africa, as in most other post-colonial contexts, hierarchies, of language and culture are crucial aspects of the colonial matrix of power (wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Canagarajah (2008) draws attention to the importance of colonial history in Sri Lanka for understanding the current valorisation of English over other linguistic resources. In many cases this leads to the denigration of Tamil in the Sri Lankan diaspora where the use of Tamil in transnational families has declined significantly over a single generation. He quotes a grandfather explaining the relatively swift loss of heritage language among the Tamil diaspora in the West to be a consequence of learning, through the experience of British colonisation, that only English would provide material benefits and access to elite education. Colonisation has not only impacted on the valorisation of English over local languages, but also the normativity of monolingualism (Phillipson, 1994; Garcia and Lin, 2018). Garcia and Lin (2018) argue that colonisation has shaped current understandings of multilingualism in significant ways. They contrast elite bi/multilingualism aligned with proficiency in European languages with the ‘indigenous multilingualism’ characteristic of Africa, Asia and the Pacific regions pre-colonially to the present. The multilingual origins of English itself were suppressed with English constructed as the language of the powerful and educated. The monolingual use of English was contrasted with what was constructed as “a linguistic jumble associated with confused, colonized people” (81) and local multilingualism was contrasted with “authoritative literate multilingualism” or “learned multilingualism” “established as the ability to especially read European languages from different nation states, and, of course, Latin and Greek” (81). The underlying ideology of orality as primitive and literacy as advanced constructed by Great Divide theories and debunked in literacy studies (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013) is also present in the construction of elite multilingualism aligned with written European languages. Related to this, Garcia and Lin (2018) draw our attention to the racialised nature of elite versus indigenous multilingualisms. While ‘authoritative literate multilingualism’ was ‘reserved for white elite Europeans’, low status ‘indigenous multilingualism’ was associated with ‘brown and black populations’ (81).

A further language ideology inherited from colonisation is the construction of named languages as autonomous, bounded objects. In Southern Africa, scholars such as Makoni (1999) and Makalela (2019) draw attention to the colonial invention of indigenous

languages as a product of missionary interventions. There is also continuity between the nine named indigenous languages used by the apartheid state to impose ethnolinguistic identities on Black people in a divide and rule strategy, and the indigenous languages that, alongside English and Afrikaans, are currently recognised as official languages in South Africa. Makalela (2019) points out that as in many other post-colonial contexts, the multilingual/heteroglossic and translingual language practices which predate colonialism in Southern Africa emphasise the fluidity and porous nature of language boundaries. Using the concept of *ubuntu translanguaging*, Makalela (2019) argues that in contexts of indigenous multilingualism “languages are interwoven in a system of infinite dependent relations that recognise no boundaries between them” (2019, 238) and emphasises that “one language is incomplete without the other” (240). However, the legacy of colonial language ideologies which position fluid languaging as inferior continue to devalue this indigenous multilingualism (Garcia and Lin, 2018).

The colonial language ideologies which valorise English, monolingualism, and ‘authoritative literate multilingualism’, play out in South Africa with significant consequences for family language planning. We have the continuing exclusive privileging of a European language and script in post-apartheid South Africa, where English is the home language of less than 10% while the majority of the population are multilingual in African languages. Multilingualism is racialised with White South Africans more likely to be bilingual in English and Afrikaans while Black South Africans more likely to be multilingual in African languages. Proficiency and literate practices in particular forms of ‘standard’ English are often equated with being educated and with intelligence (Makoe and McKinney, 2014). The dominant language ideology can be described as Anglonormativity: ‘the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English and are deficient, even deviant, if they are not’ (McKinney, 2017, 80). Like multilingualism, Anglonormativity is also often racialised with varieties of English and the phonological features of ‘White South African English’ valorised over Black South African English in which the phonology is influenced by indigenous African languages (McKinney, 2013). Anglonormativity ensures that from year four onwards the language of instruction in schools is limited to English (and in a small number of schools Afrikaans), regardless of children’s and teachers’ proficiency in the language. Higher education is also provided almost exclusively through English (with a small number of programmes available in Afrikaans). In the previously White and well-resourced fee-collecting schools in the wealthier suburbs, schooling is provided exclusively in English (or Afrikaans) from pre-school. Children admitted to these schools are thus expected to arrive at school proficient in English, regardless of their home background.

Families in South Africa

Some time ago, Siqwana-Ndulo (1998) pointed out that in family sociology, African family systems have been largely neglected. She critiqued as ‘Western’ the perspective that a family refers to a ‘conjugal’ pair and their children (biological or adopted) living in one household, while members beyond this unit are referred to as ‘extended’ family. The notion of ‘extended family’ reinforces a norm of ‘nuclear’ family consisting of two parents and their children (1998, 415) and as such can be seen as a colonial construct. More than 20 years later, the term extended family is still used to refer to kin relationships beyond two parents and their children. Drawing on the findings of the World Family Map Project, Hall & Richter,

(2018) show that changing dynamics in families worldwide can also be seen in South Africa in the case of diverse household forms, decrease in marriage and increase in female-headed households. However South African families (along with neighbouring Namibia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho) are identified as unusual in the World Family Map Project in that children are not likely to live in a two-parent home. The 'nuclear' family is thus not the norm.

Also unusual in relation to world family trends are "dual housing arrangements" where "families have two homes and members oscillate between cities and rural areas" (Hall and Richter, 2018: 25) Such dual housing arrangements have a long history in South Africa linked to the migrant labour system during apartheid which separated men from their partners/wives and families, who remained in the rural areas while men worked as migrant labourers in the city. Many women also leave their children in the care of grandparents in rural areas, travelling to the city for work. Dual housing arrangements point to the reality of more than one home/physical space as the site for family language socialisation and family language management strategies in South African families. Our own case study family is atypical locally in that the two young girls do live with their mother and father in a major city. However, as we will show, the children also move between the mother's rural home, the father's rural home, and their Cape Town home, all three of these being geographically distant from each other and linked to different language resources. In this regard of having multiple homes as sites of family language socialisation, our case study is similar to Coetzee's (2018) research on the language socialisation of two infant boys born to adolescent mothers in the Western Cape, South Africa. While spending more time with their mothers, like the children in our study, the boys move between the mothers' and fathers' multi-generational homes.

METHODOLOGY

Our data is drawn from an ethnographic case study of an African family residing in an affluent suburb in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Taking an ethnographic approach is useful in describing the ways different social groups take and make meaning from the environment (Heath, 1982: 74). Through ethnography, social patterns can be observed and interpreted more comprehensively. We undertook Linguistic Ethnography as both a methodological and interpretive approach. Linguistic Ethnography (LE) views language as communicative action that functions in social context in ongoing routines of people's lives. It examines how people use language as well as the narratives presented about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies (Copland & Creese 2015: 27). Significantly, LE enables an analysis of how structures and ideologies at the seemingly 'macro-level' are constructed and reproduced within 'micro-interactions'. Data was collected in two sites, the suburban family home and the younger daughter, six-year-old Viwe's, school over the period of a month. Tools of data collection included audio-recorded interviews, naturally occurring conversations audio-recorded by the parents, language body portraits (Busch, 2012) and a discussion around these which was also audio-recorded, as well as observations captured in field notes. All interviews were conducted by author Babalwayashe Molate whose heritage language is the same as Tata's, and who shared the linguistic repertoire of the family. While the interview questions were prepared and even asked in English, family members were free to use any of the three family languages, which the interviewer comprehended fully. The interpretation and analysis of interviews was done

in conjunction with insights gained from fieldnotes and observation of language and literacy practices of the family and of Viwe’s school days.

DATA ANALYSIS

The case study centred on the younger daughter, Viwe’s, language experiences as she traversed the home and the school domains; the home as multilingual space and the school as an Anglonormative space. Viwe attended the reception year (Grade R which is the year preceding formal schooling in Grade 1) of an English medium school in the suburb in which she lived. Her older sister Bontle (11) attended a different English medium school also located in the same suburb. The parents reported deliberately placing their children in different schools based on the unique offering of each school to suit each child’s interests and needs; one is an inclusive school while the other follows a traditional approach with a keen focus on sports. The family currently resides in Cape Town. The parents originally moved to Cape Town for their university study and have stayed, moving to a previously White, middle class suburb when their children were born. Table 1 below provides an overview of the family homes and named language resources reported and observed in the family. Although the family’s collective linguistic repertoire can be characterised as heteroglossic and trilingual, Viwe’s repertoire was observed to be dominated by English, as evidenced in her spoken language at home and school.

Table 1: Ngxanga Family Language Resources

	Names*	Reported Home Language	Language Portraits Repertoires	Spoken language during observations	Rural Family Home
Mother	Mma	Setswana	Setswana, isiXhosa, English	Setswana, isiXhosa, English	Taung, North West province (Setswana)
Father³	Tata	isiXhosa	isiXhosa, Setswana, English	isiXhosa, English	Engcobo, Eastern Cape province (isiXhosa)
Focal Child (6)	Viwe	isiXhosa	isiXhosa, Setswana, English, Sign Language	English	Maternal (Taung) Paternal (Engcobo)

³ Parents mainly speak isiXhosa and English to each other; they speak a combination of their respective heritage languages and English to their children

Sibling (11)	Bontle	isiXhosa	isiXhosa, Setswana, English,	English, isiXhosa	Maternal (Taung) Paternal (Engcobo)
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Language repertoires and ‘home language’

As presented in Table 1, the Ngxangas are characterised as trilingual through the three named languages shown. We also present extracts that evidence their heteroglossic language practices later in this chapter. But first, we take interest in understanding the family’s sense of language identity, a key component of FLP, amidst the stated multiple languages⁴. In the extract below, the interviewer engages the parents on the subject through inquiring about the children’s language identity, considering that the parents are in a cross-ethnic marriage. We note that in the data extracts included in this chapter only the resources of isiXhosa and English are used. In an attempt to represent the unified way in which participants use their linguistic resources, we have chosen not to differentiate named languages through fonts.

Extract 1- What is your home language?

- Interviewer Uhm tell me what would you say uh your kids’ home language is uh if you had to tick a form? We’ve seen-//
- Mma Well because of the way we were raised (hm) and the kids normally take the father’s side
- Interviewer Okay
- Mma Ja in that way sisiXhosa [*Yes, in that way it is isiXhosa*]
- Interviewer So Xhosa because the surname is alsooo?//
- Mma Whoa even if the surname was something else, but it’s... ja [yes]
- Interviewer Okay
- Mma Ja [*yes*]
- Interviewer //(indistinct)//
- Tata //(indistinct)//
- Mma Yijonge apha baby [come search for it here baby] (turning away to speak to Tata about something he was looking for), but uhm if in all honesty, they speak English more than any other language (hm) ja but obviously efomini sizothi sithetha isiXhosa thina apha kulo mzi [*ja but obviously in the form⁵ we will say we speak isiXhosa here in this house*]
- Interviewer Okay, why do you, why do you say isiXhosa?
- Mma Because we are only given one choice and they know Xhosa more than uhm isiTswana (hm) because if it was Tswana more than isiXhosa so then I would say Tswananyana there (hm) maybe but then heh! (laughs) because of like I said the way we were raised I think it’s actually it’s actually funny because//

⁴ In addition to the researchers’ observations, knowledge about the Ngxanga languages was gathered using an information sheet which they completed at the beginning of data collection and later confirmed in interviews and a language portrait activity during the fieldwork period.

⁵ Referring to Viwe’s school enrolment form where they are asked to fill-in her home language

- Tata I think I think for me to answer that question I don't even think about it
sisiXhosa [*it is isiXhosa*]
- Interviewer Okay?
- Tata So so so it doesn't mean if ilanguage awuyithethi [*you don't speak a language*]
- Interviewer Ayoyakho [*it's not yours*]
- Tata If I was born in Kenya or wherever neh (hm) or I went there and now
isiXhosa andisasazi (hm) at all (hm) my home language still remains (hm)
what home is (hm)
- Interviewer Okay? So//
- Tata So so now it comes back to that context abethetha ngayo uba uh uh uh it's
almost linked to nationality if if uhm uh.,, if your father is Irish you'll
always be Irish so if utata wakho ngumXhosa uzosoloko ungumXhosa
therefore nehome language yakho izakuba sisiXhosa [*so if your father is
Xhosa you will always be Xhosa and your home language will be isiXhosa*]
- Interviewer Nokuba awusithethi [*Even if you don't speak it*]

From the onset, the way that the researcher's question is framed exposes both her use of the monolingual ideology of single home language and her discomfort with this ideology when she qualifies her question with the add-on: "if you had to tick a form". This shows her critique of her own question as an artificial one. Firstly, to enquire about one's language identity in singular, "*your kids' home language*" is to assume that there is only one language that the said people identify with. The question is premised on a monoglossic ideology, which we have argued aligns with a colonial idealisation of language. In an attempt to get a direct answer, the second part of her question, "*uh if you had to tick a form?*", further compels the interviewee to conceptualise home language identity as a single named language, an ideology that Mma is likely accustomed to, having completed school enrolment forms for Bontle and Viwe. This is the norm across schools and is shaped by the provincial department's requirement that schools report on the home language (singular) of their students. The way the researcher has asked the question about filling a form shows her cognisance that this question is less about actual language practices and more about people being forced to produce an answer in completing bureaucratic processes like form-filling. Interestingly, Mma finds no difficulty in offering a response initially, which might be attributed to this practice she has been socialised into. Repeatedly, she refers to the 'way' she was raised and how that 'way' dictates that isiXhosa as their father's language becomes the children's home language, affording no status or power to the mother's heritage language, Setswana. Seemingly, this 'way' that Mma is talking about, as a culture that she has been socialised into not only assigns monolingual identity but shows the patriarchal norm in language identity.

More confident in his response than Mma, Tata sees the matter of home language identity as settled; that the child's 'mother tongue' is isiXhosa, despite his spouse's heritage language being Setswana. While the parents admit that English clearly dominates Viwe's language use, Tata maintains that language competency in a said language does not determine one's linguistic identity. That is, the fact that their children, particularly Viwe, are

seemingly more fluent in English than one of their heritage languages does not disqualify them from claiming isiXhosa home language identity. In Rampton's (1990) terms, Viwe can claim both affiliation and inheritance in relation to isiXhosa. Tata's example of the Kenyan and Irish father supports this. Also, in his example about the Irish dad, he reiterates Mma's earlier sentiments about being socialised into a paternal heritage identity, hence his confident declaration of their children's home language being isiXhosa. This is akin to Singaporean families in Wee's (2002: 285) study where linguistic ownership is based on the father's ethnicity. While ethnicity as a marker of language identity can be attributed to the apartheid construction of ethnicity (Nongogo, 2007:3), families' loyalties and affiliation to their heritage languages cannot be ignored.

Thus, in an African context and with the predominance of families showing heteroglossia like the Ngxangas, there are opportunities to expand and re-imagine the notion of home language, or 'mother tongue'. A 'bi/multilingual' identity could be the new 'mother tongue' (as also posited by Laszzyak, 1996, in Erdei 2010: 6) in families where language identity reflects not ethnicity but current language repertoires (including colonial languages) and where languages are acquired simultaneously. And, this is particularly relevant in urban Black families who send their children to former White schools and as a result are assigned an English home language identity through the school's de facto policy. We would argue that in families like the Ngxangas, in practice, English is part of their language identity – thus, a multilingual identity.

Entanglement of school and family language policies

As previous studies of FLP have shown, at the core of language socialisation are language ideologies – the beliefs, values and cultural frames people have about language, which continually circulate in society and inform language use (Makoe & McKinney, 2014: 659). Language ideologies are reflected in the family's language management strategies (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018: 124), that is the explicit and/or implicit language strategies in a household, that can be observed through language practices and interviews. In the extract below, the researcher sought to understand and have the parents reflect on their decision to move to an area where only English medium schools are available. We pay attention to how the parents distinguish between language for educational purposes and language and identity as well as how language socialisation and maintenance of 'heritage' languages is designed across multiple family homes and spaces.

Extract 2- Choosing English medium schooling

- Mma For us I don't think there is any problem cos that's why we're trying to we knew that moving here was gonna be was gonna be or exposed them to that I mean (hm) the schools are different and all that (hm) so so I don't think it's a concern//
- Interviewer The language of the school
- Mma Ja
- Interviewer The fact that it's English medium school
- Mma And again we feel that it's up to us to expose them to what we want so that's why we took the initiative that uhm every year they either in Taung actually they go to both in a year on both sides so eh uhm June or December they are in

- Taung or Engcobo, so uh I think it's the parents' responsibility to expose the kids to what they want
- Interviewer Whatever language?
- Mma Ja ja //
- Interviewer They want them to learn okay fair enough
- Mma So uhm again I think it makes it easier for them to also socialise with other kids as well who speak different languages (hm-h) so English is just there for them to be able to interact with others and//
- Tata And and it's a language of learning which if the schools are teaching in English all the concepts (hm) it is also important to that they in that environment or that they don't struggle with learning because//
- Mma Like we did (laughs)
- Interviewer (laughs) about that that eh, cos I think you might have mentioned
- Mma Ndim [*It's me*]
- Interviewer Or was it you okay
- Mma I struggled with English I realised//
- Interviewer So then you say so they won't have those issues they'll be focusing on content you said
- Tata Yes
- Interviewer Ja
- Tata Yes yes, so so I think that's that's what was important in terms of the choice of school knowing that uh they get the language as early as possible (hm-h) and then and then uh and then at least the learning side will go on (hm-h) it's just that their identity of who they are now, in order for them to know other languages (hm-h)
- Mma It's our responsibility
- Tata Then then we know that there are not gonna get that at school (hm) like a lot of things that the kids are not gonna learn at school that we have to teach them at home//

English for learning

Mma begins by defending their choice of English medium schools and proceeds to elaborate on how she sees English as being an advantage deliberately chosen for their children. Her emphatic use of the words: "*I don't think there is any problem*" and repeated in "*I don't think it's a concern*" in a single turn indicates the confidence she has in their choice of school. She expresses full consciousness of what language encounter their children would have moving to their current English-speaking residential area. Mma mentions the advantage that English brings in making it easier to socialise with other children who speak different languages. Mma thus sees English as the 'lingua franca', a common language that enables people who do not share the same home language/s to communicate.

Tata extends the rationale for their choice of English medium school by pointing out that English "is a language of learning" because schools are teaching "all the concepts in English". He shows his awareness of the fact that even for children who begin learning in an African language in the early years (Grades 1-3), the medium of instruction will become English through which they have to master all concepts. He emphasises the need to ensure that the children "don't struggle" learning concepts in English. The parents' language histories

appear to be central to their valorising of English. Mma follows on Tata's statement that the children shouldn't struggle with English in her comment "like we did" and goes on to describe that she "struggled with English". In a different discussion, both parents also refer to the challenges they experienced in encountering a monolingual English environment at university, having completed their own schooling in multilingual sites. Mma retells of how she battled in an English-medium university:

Saying few words nje [just] but it was a a struggle... schoolwork was lagging behind because now I needed to learn English first before I can be able to study what's in the books... I got totally lost and I was like okay this is rough (mhhh) so I failed my first year.

Similarly, although Tata felt supported by his secondary school teacher's isiXhosa-English translanguaging teaching strategy, he also believes that it worked to his detriment later on when he encountered his English monolingual tertiary institution,

then ke ngoku [now] it's only now like I say in Pretoria⁶ I started having to now if I wanted to ask for anything now, now I must speak English which is like even though I have passed matric⁷ but I've never spoken the language at *all*.

Tata and Mma's concerns are similar to that reported in a Singaporean multilingual family in Curdt-Christiansen's (2016) research where a father explains the increased use of English at home with their child (to the exclusion of Mandarin and Hokkien) "because we didn't want him to grow up speaking bad English like us" (701). In another Singaporean family, two young aunts who were both university students emphasised the need for the child to speak English at home rather than Malay because of "the ever-demanding education system in Singapore" (2016: 703). The legacy of colonialism in both Singapore and South Africa ensures that English is perceived as the only language of learning; as Tata says, through their choice of an English medium school "at least the learning side will go on". Ignoring any possible relationship between identity and learning, Tata explains that while 'learning' is taken care of through English, it's the children's "identity of who they are now" that is neglected at school.

African languages for identity

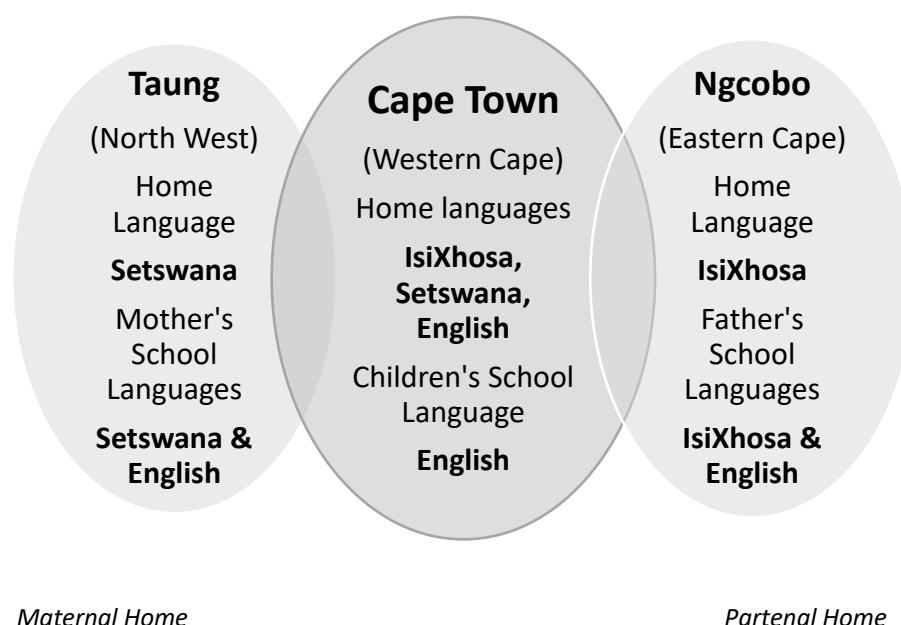
Both Mma and Tata express their desire for the children to learn their heritage languages. They also clearly expressed their shared view that the children's learning of their heritage languages, Setswana and isiXhosa, is their responsibility as parents. Mma states "It's the parent's responsibility (...) to expose the kids to what they want" and later repeats "It's our responsibility" while Tata emphasises "they not gonna get that [African languages] at school (...) we have to teach them at home". Because the parents recognise English as valuable based on their own schooling language histories while also seeing the importance of their African languages as an identity marker, they resort to a language policy that creates a binary: African languages as the responsibility of the parents while the school is apportioned responsibility for English. Both parents emphasise two language strategies. One is their choice of an English medium suburban school fulfilling the need for English exposure; and

⁶ Pretoria is a major city in the Gauteng province where Tata was unsuccessful in his first year of university before moving to another university in Cape Town.

⁷ Matric – also known as Grade 12, the final year of school

the other being the strategy of sending the children to their hometowns, ensuring that their children get exposed to their African home languages. Mma explains their language management strategy of taking their children to their respective maternal (Setswana speaking in Taung) and paternal (isiXhosa speaking eNgcobo) hometowns during the school holidays with the children spending extended time in both spaces every year: “that’s why we took the initiative that uhm every year they either in Taung actually they go to both in a year on both sides so eh uhm June or December they are in Taung or Engcobo”. As illustrated in the diagram below, this expands the sites of family language socialisation across three households in different geographical areas with distinct language ecologies.

Diagram – Language Socialisation Spaces



The hierarchical relationship amongst the three languages in the Ngxanga family is likely to shift across the three different family homes. From our observations as well as what the parents report, in their suburban home in close physical proximity to the school, the use of English is dominant, especially by Viwe, the youngest child. In another interview, her parents comment on how Viwe resists their language planning by refusing to respond in the language in which she is addressed. But they also tell of moments where Viwe willingly participates in learning African language. Extract 3 begins with a retelling of such a moment where Tata deliberately teaches his children about colour names in isiXhosa but misses some colours.

Extract 3 - But she tries now

- Tata Hm so if for example we did colours and then there’s a colour we didn’t do and she’s like okay what is this colour? then that’s//
- Interviewer Iqale kanjalo [*That is how it started*]
- Tata Ja but but it’s a deliberate effort (hm) or sometimes say today sithetha [we speak] isiXhosa (hm)

Mma (laughs)
Interviewer Who's the first one to break it between the//
Tata L'umncinci [*the younger one*]
Interviewer L'umncinci [*the younger one*] (laughs), okay
Tata But uyazama [*she tries*] now cos she ebekade erefus-a [used to refuse] //completely//
Interviewer //Completely//
Tata To participate
Interviewer Oh
Mma You speak to her in either language she'll respond in English
Tata Uyabona ngokuya bebesiya eNgcobo, ubuye ebalisa ngezitory ngesiXhosa [*You see when they went to eNgcobo, she came back telling about stories in isiXhosa*]
Interviewer Oh
Mma I think it's the pressure as well cos the others can speak the language and she realises that//
Interviewer Cousins
Tata Hm
Interviewer Okay okay //
Mma Hm//

Apart from the heritage language maintenance strategy of sending the children to their family homes for language immersion experiences in Taung and eNgcobo, Tata explains they have attempted to make deliberate use of isiXhosa at home at times: “sometimes say today sithetha [we speak] isiXhosa”. While the parents make an effort in the teaching of their African languages, this extract reflects that Viwe is an active participant of her language socialisation. By asking for a translation of a colour term from English to isiXhosa, Viwe is showing an interest in the language, even though she speaks predominantly English and is likely to be the first one to “break the rules” of not speaking the designated language that the family has decided on. Both Mkhize (2016: 45) and Reynolds (2013: 2) attest to children being agentic in opportunities to learn but also to resist a language. Tata is quick to recognise the benefits of sending the children to their families in eNgcobo and Taung. : “But uyazama [she tries] now cos she ebekade erefus-a [used to refuse] completely ...Uyabona ngokuya bebesiya eNgcobo, ubuye ebalisa ngezitory ngesiXhosa [You see when they went to Engcobo, she came back telling about stories in isiXhosa]”.

Mma shares the same sentiments, and also believes that the company of cousins who more frequently speak Setswana and isiXhosa respectively affords Viwe the necessary pressure to acquire and learn the language. Unlike the Ngxanga children's urban language experience, their cousins in the respective rural homes live in communities where isiXhosa or Setswana are used more frequently. Thus, we would argue that the parents' effort to explicitly teach them African languages and immersing them in African languages via sending them to their rural homes seems to be effective despite the prevailing English dominance in their children's repertoires. Viwe's parents' report that they leave language support for English to the school. However, this contrasts with their actual language and literacy practices at home which show that they do actively support Viwe's English development. For example, they buy English storybooks, watch English television programmes together and enable her to speak in English at home relatively unpoliced. In contrast, Mma's explanation of the children visiting with both isiXhosa and Sestwana speaking families in the school holidays

shows her consciousness of this as a deliberate strategy. Mma and Tata thus do not seem to recognise their input in enabling the children's English language development. What is apparent here is that the development of both English and African languages form part of the Ngxanga family's language policy. They recognise the need for language maintenance (Cekaite & Kheirkhah, 2015: 320) due to their English dominant environment, but also acknowledge their current environment as necessitating a partial language shift towards English.

Listening to Mma and Tata's fluid translanguaging using the resources of English and isiXhosa, especially in Extracts 1 and 3, it is likely that what is represented as a decision to "thetha isiXhosa (speak isiXhosa)" at certain times will not be restricted to monolingual languaging in isiXhosa. It is thus also important to note that the way that named languages are spoken about across the interviews is at odds with the actual translanguaging practices of Tata and Mma. Monoglossic colonial language ideologies continue to shape the way in which language use is spoken about, even as they are at odds with everyday languaging, or language practices.

CONCLUSION

The data presented and analysed in this chapter show the complexity of language practices and language choices in a multilingual middle-class African family living in a previously White suburb more than twenty years after apartheid. While apartheid legislation ensured a degree of language separation, at least in the rural homelands, post-apartheid opportunities for mobility has increased multilingualism amongst African language speakers. The girls growing up in this family have a very different language socialisation experience from that of their parents. Colonial and apartheid language ideologies continue to shape the positioning of languages and the FLP choices that the parents make for their children. English is unambiguously aligned with education and the language of schooling, while African languages are positioned as significant only for purposes of identity (affiliation and inheritance) (Garcia and Lin, 2018). The school is absolved of any responsibility to provide for learning of indigenous African languages and, at least in Tata's expressed view, identity is not seen as involved in learning.

Our case study expands the focus of FLP research in a number of ways. Firstly, the 'family' in our study, and thus the sites of family language socialisation, include parents, children, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins across maternal and paternal households; a common feature of South African families (Hall and Richter, 2018, Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998). Secondly, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid has ensured that the indigenous African languages of the majority have been minoritised while a former colonial language (English, spoken as 'home language' by less than 10% of the population) has been entrenched as the language of education and of status. The effect of monolingual English medium in middle-class schools such as that attended by the Ngxanga children is that they have far less exposure to African languages than their parents did, and then their family living in rural areas where unofficial school language practices involve translanguaging across English and African languages. In contrast to the previously White suburb where the Ngxanga's live, African language practices are normative in rural Engcobo and Taung. In the absence of opportunities to learn and use their heritage languages of Setswana and isiXhosa with

peers/children in their schools and suburb, Mma and Tata describe a deliberate strategy to socialise their children together with their cousins and young people in their respective rural homesteads. We argue for more research of FLP in contexts of complex indigenous multilingualism like this one.

Finally, theories of de/coloniality have not been widely used in FLP, despite the continuing impact of colonial language ideologies in post-colonial contexts. We have shown how colonial language ideologies (Garcia and Lin, 2018; McKinney, 2017) also shape the ways in which named languages are talked about and constructed in research interviews. Rather than monolingual use of named languages, the language practices of Mma and Tata in interviews show the fluidity of their heteroglossic repertoires with frequent translanguaging across and blending of the resources of isiXhosa, Setswana and English. Despite the fluidity with which Mma and Tata use language, and the observed 'home language' as being a fusion of English, isiXhosa and Setswana, the monolingual notion of a single home language prevails in Mma and Tata's reporting of the Ngxanga home language as isiXhosa. The gap between espoused language ideologies and the family's heteroglossic practices is not only fascinating, but also shows the continuing impact of dominant monoglossic ideologies of language as a consequence of coloniality. The language practices and experience of this family show that the expectation for a multilingual to have a single language identity is both narrow and unrealistic. If the power that 'culture' has afforded patriarchy in language identity is hypothetically stripped away, and the colonial monoglossic language ideology imposed on multilinguals temporarily suspended, what meaning would the notion of home language/'mother-tongue' identity assume? The notion of home language/mother tongue is clearly not appropriate for this family whose linguistic repertoire can be viewed as fluid.

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