

English language teaching and learning in the African
preschool and educational achievement at Grade 1: a
case study

Submitted in full requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Rhodes University
Department of English Language and Linguistics

Supervisor: Professor V. de Klerk

Candidate: Philip Boudewijn Rendel

Contents

Abbreviations	ix
Abstract	xi
Chapter 1 Background and Motivation	1
1.1 Background for Research.	
Chapter 2 Theoretical Overview	5
Part 1: The Socio-political Background of Historical ECD Provision in South Africa	
2.1.1 The origins of black primary education	
2.1.2 Language and Apartheid	
2.1.3 Addressing the failure rate	
2.1.4 Addressing school readiness	
2.1.5 The beginnings of a pre-primary education policy for South Africa	
Part 2: Policy and Practice of Post Apartheid ECD Provision in South Africa.	
2.2.1 The National Educational Policy Investigation (NEPI)	
2.2.2 National Educational Policy since 1994: C2005 and the NCS	
2.2.3 The South African Schools Act 1996	
2.2.4 LANGTAG and the Language in Education policy	
2.2.5 The creation of PANSALB and critical language policy	
2.2.6 The Language in Education Policy Document (1997)	
2.2.7 The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA)	
2.2.8 Towards national post apartheid preschool policy	
2.2.9 South Africa's first national audit of ECD provisioning	
2.2.10 Meeting the challenge of ECD in South Africa	
2.2.11 The current situation of school readiness, LoLT, and ECD	
Part 3: Educational and Linguistic Theories of ECD and SLA	

- 2.3.1 Language, education, and power
- 2.3.2 The concept of school readiness
- 2.3.3 The concept of pre-literacy
- 2.3.4 Multiple literacies and possible links to failure in school
- 2.3.5 Theories of Language Acquisition
- 2.3.6 'Natural' second language acquisition
- 2.3.7 Language as a resource for thinking: Painter and Halliday
- 2.3.8 How we acquire a second language: Ellis and Chomsky
- 2.3.9 South Africa's 'Englishes'
- 2.3.10 Language/dialect gaps and literacy acquisition
- 2.3.11 Second Language Literacy
- 2.3.12 Language status in South Africa and choices in LoLT
- 2.3.13 Conclusions

Chapter 3 Research Methods and Methodology

36

- 3.1 Critical Theory and the case study
- 3.2 Selecting the method of research
- 3.3 Choosing the case study as a framework for research
- 3.4 Organizing the research framework to fit the case study model
- 3.5 Choosing data collection tools
- 3.6 Choosing the case
- 3.7 Selecting the case children
- 3.8 Deciding on a data collection method
 - 3.8.1 Problems with administering a test
 - 3.8.2 Alternatives to testing

3.8.3 Problems with using the National Curriculum Statement

3.9 Deciding on a data collection method

3.10 Problems with the intensive observation tool

3.11 Non-participant observation

3.12 The need for interviews

3.13 Devising an interviewing strategy

3.14 Deciding on a method of data analysis

3.15 Conclusion

Chapter 4: Description of the case children and preschools

54

4.1 Andile

4.1.1 Andile at Prima

4.1.2 Andile's home environment

4.1.3 Andile's English

4.1.4 Xolelwa's thoughts on Andile

4.2 Nomathemba

4.2.1 Nomathemba at Prima

4.2.2 Nomathemba's home environment

4.2.3 Nomathemba's English

4.2.4 Xolelwa's thoughts on Nomathemba

4.2.5 Conclusions

4.3 Aiyabulela

4.3.1 Aiyabulela at Secunda

4.3.2 Aiyabulela's home environment

4.3.3 Aiya's English

4.3.4 Anita's thoughts on Aiyabulela

4.4 Sandiswa

4.4.1 Sandiswa at Secunda

4.4.2 Sandiswa's home environment

4.4.3 Sandiswa's English

4.4.4 Anita's thoughts on Sandiswa

Chapter 5: Record of Classroom Observations in Grade One

81

5.0 Choices for G1

5.1 Disparity between G1 sites

5.2 Secunda One Primary School

5.2.1 Classroom Environment

5.3.1 Aiyabulela's English in G1

5.3.2 Aiyabulela's competencies across the G1 curriculum

5.3.3 Sipho's thoughts on Aiyabulela

5.3.4 Summary of Aiyabulela at Grade 1

5.4.1 Sandiswa's English in G1

5.4.2 Sandiswa's competencies across the Grade 1 curriculum

5.4.3 Sipho's thoughts on Sandiswa

5.4.4 Summary of Sandiswa at Grade 1

5.5 Rhini One Primary School

5.5.1 Classroom Environment

5.5.2 Andile's English in G1

5.5.3 Andile's competencies across the G1 curriculum

5.5.4 Priscilla's thoughts on Andile

5.5.5 Summary of Andile at Grade 1

5.6 Graham One Primary School

5.6.1 Classroom Environment

5.6.2 Noma's English in Grade 1

5.6.3 Noma's competencies across the G1 curriculum

5.6.4 Janette's thoughts on Nomathemba

5.6.5 Summary of Nomathemba at Grade 1

Chapter 6: Development of Key Issues

107

6.0 How does the classroom environment (including the teacher) affect the learners' acquisition of English?

6.1.0 The languages of teaching and learning in Grade R and Grade One

6.1.2 The languages of teaching and learning in Secunda One, Graham One, and Rhini One

6.1.3 Teacher capacity in English language

6.1.4 Pre-literacy activities in Grade R

6.1.5 The teaching of literacy in Grade R: Prima

6.1.6 The teaching of literacy in Grade R: Secunda

6.1.7 The learners' attitude to and use of English in the classroom

6.1.8 Affective issues in teaching and learning at GR

6.1.9 The static classroom environment and teaching resources

6.1.10 The schools' socio-economic contexts

6.1.11 Conclusions

6.2 How does the home environment affect the learners learning of English?

6.2.1 Andile's home environment

6.2.2 Noma's home environment

6.2.3 Aiyabulela's home environment

6.2.4 Sandiswa's home environment

6.2.5 Conclusions

6.3 Differences in educational achievement (including English language proficiency) in Grade 1

6.3.1 Issues of validity and relativity in interpreting the Grade 1 data

6.3.2 Issues with the identification of 'case'

6.3.3 Issues in evidencing the effect of the preschool L2 learning environment on
G1 achievement

6.3.4 Andile in G1 (Rhini One)

6.3.5 Noma in G1 (Graham One)

6.3.6 Sandiswa in G1 (Secunda One)

6.3.7 Aiyabulela in G1 (Secunda One)

Chapter 7: Findings and Conclusions

130

7.1 Points pertaining to all the schools

7.2 Points pertaining to individual learners

7.2.1 Andile

7.2.2 Nomathemba

7.2.3 Aiyabulela

7.2.4 Sandiswa

7.3 Ideological considerations

7.4 Conclusions

7.5 Recommendations arising from conclusions

Bibliography

148

Appendix Contents

Appendix 1 Background Data for GR schools

156

AP1.1 Data Collection Timing

AP1.2 Linguistic disparity between GR sites

AP1.3 Age of learners

AP1.4 Prima background data

AP1.5 Prima teacher background data

AP1.6 Layout of Prima's classroom

AP1.7 Secunda background data

AP1.8 Secunda teacher background data

AP1.9 Layout of Secunda's classroom	
AP1.10 The preschool classroom environments	
AP1.11 The school day	
AP1.12 Morning ring	
AP1.13 After morning ring	
Appendix 2 Background Data for G1 schools	169
AP2.1 Data Collection Timing	
AP2.2 Disparity between G1 sites	
AP2.3 Secunda One background data	
AP2.4 Secunda One teacher background data	
AP2.5 Rhini One background data	
AP2.6 Rhini One teacher background data	
AP2.7 Graham One background data	
AP2.8 Graham One teacher background data	
Appendix 3 Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards for Grade R and Grade 1	175
AP3.1 Learning Outcomes for Grade 1 and Grade R	
AP3.2 Assessment Standards for Grade R	
AP3.3 Assessment Standards for Grade 1	
Appendix 4 Learner Assessment for Grade R	181
Appendix 5 Learner Assessment for Grade One	195
Appendix 6a Teacher Interview Scripts	211
AP6.1.1 Interview scripts for interviews with GR and G1 teachers	
AP6.1.2 Transcript of interview with Xolelwa, Prima's GR teacher	
AP6.1.3 Transcript of interview with Anita, Secunda's GR teacher	
AP6.1.4 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Secunda	
AP6.1.5 Transcript of interview with Siphso, Secunda One's G1 teacher	
AP6.1.6 Transcript of interview with Priscilla, Rhini One's G1 teacher	
AP6.1.7 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Rhini One	
AP6.1.8 Transcript of interview with Janette, Graham One's G1 teacher	
AP6.1.9 Additional Information gleaned during classroom observation at Graham One	
Appendix 6b Parent Interview Scripts	236
AP6.2.1 Interview script for parent interviews	
AP6.2.2 Interview with Andile's father	
AP6.2.3 Interview with Nomathemba's family (Nkosazana and Unathi)	
AP6.2.4 Interview with Aiyabulela's mother (Mrs. Quntu)	
AP6.2.5 Interview with Sandiswa's family (Mr. and Mrs. Futha)	
Appendix 7a Grade R Data Transcription	258

Appendix 7a Grade R Data Transcription	258
7.1 Prima Preschool Casual and Intensive Observation	
Appendix 7b Grade R Data Transcription	287
7.2 Secunda Preschool Casual and Intensive Observation	
Appendix 8a Grade 1 Data Transcription: Secunda One	318
AP8.1.1 Aiyabulela at Secunda One	
AP8.1.2 Sandiswa at Secunda One	
AP8.1.3 Classroom Environment at Secunda One	
Appendix 8b Grade 1 Data Transcription: Graham One	332
AP8.2.1 Nomathemba at Graham One	
AP8.2.2 Classroom Environment at Graham One	
AP8.2.3 Attitude of the teacher at Graham One	
Appendix 8c Grade 1 Data Transcription: Rhini One	343
AP8.3.1 Andile's English	
AP8.3.2 Classroom Environment	
Appendix 9 Report Sheets GR and G1 schools	357
AP9.1 Blank report card from Prima	
AP9.2 Sandiswa's report cards (Grade 1)	
AP9.3 Aiyabulela's report cards (Grade 1)	
AP9.4 Andile's report cards (Grade 1)	
AP9.5 Noma's report cards (Grade 1)	
Appendix 10 Research Contracts	366
AP10.1 Research Contracts for staff	
AP10.2 Research Contracts for parents	
AP10.3 Sample letter issued to parents regarding interviews	
AP10.4 Sample letter issued to teachers regarding interviews	

Abbreviations

General

AC	Arts and Culture (learning area in C2005/NCS)
AS	Assessment Standard
BE	Black English
BSAfE	Black South African English
C2005	Curriculum 2005
DoE	Department of Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EMS	Economic Management Science (learning area in C2005/NCS)
GR	Grade R (Reception Year)
G1	Grade One
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ISEA	The Institute for the Study of English in Africa
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LANGTAG	National Language Task Action Group
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LLC	Language, Literacy and Communication (learning area in C2005/NCS)
LoLT	Language of Teaching and Learning
LO	Learning Outcome
MOI	Medium of Instruction
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NECC	National Educational Co-ordinating Committee
NEPI	National Education Policy Initiative
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Program of Action Working Document
NS	Natural Science (learning area in C2005/NCS)
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PANSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PRAESA	Project for Alternative Education in South Africa
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
UG	Universal Grammar
WSAfE	White South African English

Data transcription

AI	Anita Interview (Secunda's teacher)
EI	Edward Interview (Andile's father)
JI	Janette Interview (Graham One's teacher)
PI	Priscilla Interview (Rhini One's teacher)
SI	Sipho Interview (Secunda One's teacher)
XI	Xolelwa Interview (Prima's teacher)
(XI:089)	Reference for Appendix 6 (Interview scripts)
(X) X	isiXhosa
(Eng) (E) E	English
[]	Pause or silence
(27/09/02, 9.38)	Date/time reference for Appendix 7 (GR) or Appendix 8 (G1)
NPI	Noma's Parents Interview
QI	Mrs. Quntu Interview (Aiyabulela's mother)

FI Futha Family Interview (Sandiswa)

People

PR Phil Rendel (author)
T Teacher
SS/Ss Learners/the class
L Learner
U Unathi, Nomathemba's mother
NK Nkosazana, Nomathemba's grandmother
Q Mrs. Quntu
F Mrs. Futha
EF Mr. Eric Futha

Schools/teachers

Grade	Classroom Teacher	Abbreviation	Learners	Abbreviation	School	Order visited
R	Xolelwa	Xo (or X:)	Andile Noma	An N	Prima	1
R	Anita	A	Sandiswa Aiya	S Aiya	Secunda	2
1	Priscilla	P	Andile	An	Rhini One	3
1	Sipho	SP	Sandiswa Aiya	S Aiya	Secunda One	3
1	Janette	J	Noma	N	Graham One	3

Note: Throughout this thesis, the pronouns 'he' and 'she' and their respective possessives, 'his' and 'her(s)', have been applied to non gender-specific nouns like 'teacher' and 'child'. The intention is that except in cases where the noun clearly refers to a particular person, the nouns can refer to either male or female or both.

Note: The names of all participants in this research, organisations as well as individuals, have been changed to protect their identities.

Abstract

In 1998, seventy per cent of children in South Africa failed and had to repeat the Grade 1 year. This is the result of a number of factors, among them academic and cultural readiness for school. Many primary schools in South Africa teach through English, a language that is not the home language of the majority of learners. Despite recent legislation aimed at improving preschool facilities and teacher capacity, there has been insufficient consideration of which languages are taught and how they should be taught to children before they arrive at Grade 1.

This study sets out to explore whether there is a relational link between preschool English language teaching and learning and subsequent educational achievement at Grade 1. It also sketches out possible recommendations for improving the teaching and learning of English in the sample schools. The study does not attempt to enter the debate over choice of language of teaching and learning (LoLT). In this longitudinal case study, four children from two different preschools, (one mainly isiXhosa medium and one English medium), were observed in their classroom environments over a period of four months. The following year, the same children were observed in their respective Grade 1 classrooms, all of which were English medium either entirely or to a degree. The parents of all four children were interviewed in their home environment, as were their teachers.

The study found that there is a significant communication gap between preschool teachers and Grade 1 teachers. This was combined with a self-confessed need amongst some teachers for increased training in teaching through English. Low motivation and limited professional experience in some cases contributed to a preschool language-learning environment that lacked many of the factors identified as being essential for a positive learning environment in early childhood. There was in addition a clear bias in many sites towards universality of ECD principles with little regard for the hegemony of Western pedagogy, particularly in the area of literacy acquisition. The study concludes by suggesting some ways in which this situation could be improved in order to enable preschool children to cope better with the demands of Grade 1.

Chapter 1

Background and Motivation

1.1 Background for Research

In July 2001, I had recently arrived in Grahamstown from the UK with the intention of staying in South Africa for six months. I had been teaching English as a Foreign Language in the UK, but I wanted to diversify my skills and become a primary school teacher. However, the more I spoke to practising state sector teachers, the more I found that education was not turning out to be quite the career I had imagined it to be. I had been reading about South Africa and its desire to transform its education system, and thought that it could be useful to someone disillusioned with his own country's education system to see the system of another country being transformed.

I did not manage to find paid employment before I came to Grahamstown, but I did visit the offices of a local non-governmental organization (NGO) specializing in early childhood education to see what kind of work they were doing. The director took me on my first tour of the local township that both scared and fascinated me. I was taken to a variety of pre- and primary schools all over the town, and left with my head swimming at the contrasts among them.

A few days later, I returned to the NGO, and asked for voluntary work in any of the primary schools they worked with. The director was only able to offer me work in the Grade R (reception year) (GR) of one of the preschools. Full of trepidation and nervousness, I went to see what help I could offer the school.

I had expected a reserved welcome from the staff and children, but instead I was welcomed with open arms by both. Right from the very first minute I was helping to serve the children lunch and by the end of the day, I found myself promising to come back for the next month at least.

That month was by no means easy. I did not have a command of the local language, Xhosa, to speak to my colleagues or the children, and I often found it hard to make myself understood in English or to understand the English of those around me. In addition, I had never worked with children as young as five or six before. As I began to take more of an active role in the classroom, the teachers began to leave me more and more to teach the children on my own. At first, this was good fun, because the children saw me as an anomaly, and I prepared lessons for them as best I could around a variety of topics. Later, as the children realized that I didn't know their language, they saw that I really had no authority over them, and the relationship between the children and me began to deteriorate. I realized that I still had a lot to learn about children, teaching, and South Africa in general.

I left the preschool after the allotted month, wondering what I should do with my newly gained humility in this new country. Coincidentally, the primary school next door to the preschool, here called

Secunda, was advertising for a Grade 7 teacher. I applied, aware of the fact that my teaching qualification was actually not adequate for the post, but interested to see who was involved in the school and to learn some more about the place and its people. To my amazement, I got the job. My apprehension prior to working at the preschool was nothing compared to what I felt before I started work at the primary school. I soon realized that I had jumped into the deep end of South African education with both feet first, plus a lead weight tied to them. The primary school at that stage taught up to Grade 10 and I was to teach grades 7-9 across the curriculum, not only English as I had thought. In the first few weeks, the children and I were rather like two boxers in a ring trying to feel each other out. I then began to realise just what I had let myself in for. For the remainder of those six months, I struggled, failed, achieved, laughed and cried, all quite regularly, and emerged exhausted and confused. I knew that I had learnt a huge amount in a very short space of time. But what had the children learnt? I decided to conduct an evaluation of my teaching amongst the children.

The evaluation showed that at least some of the children liked me and my classes but found my teaching difficult to follow. Overwhelmingly, they said the reason for this was how unconfident *they* were in English, not simply that they found my form of English hard to follow. I remember being very surprised by this, since the children had, by and large, all been in the school since Grade 1 (G1) and had learnt in English for all the time they had been in school.

I subsequently began talking to the other teachers in the school about what my evaluation had revealed. One teacher's response was that the previous headmaster had walked into her classroom and found that she had been speaking isiXhosa to explain a difficult concept to a child. She told me that she had been subsequently reprimanded for this, and was told that: 'This is an English medium school'. Other teachers were constantly complaining about how little the children understood in the classroom and the constant errors in their written work across all learning areas. It seemed that many learners in the higher grades in the school seemed to be struggling in many subjects because they couldn't deal with the language demands.

This got me thinking about where the problem actually started. I began to do some reading, and discovered the shocking statistic that a few years previously over seventy per cent of children in G1 were not equipped to pass the year (Bot 1998). The more I read, the more I found that the reasons for this were not simple. Most black South African children did not attend preschool before they started school for a variety of reasons ranging from material and educational poverty in the home to a lack of resources, teachers, and preschools in general. Each of these factors alone creates a huge problem for very young learners entering school for the first time. However, despite reading extensively on the subject, I found very little discussion of the linguistic demands of G1 on children from either preschool or non-preschool backgrounds. Although perhaps not the sole reason for language difficulties later in school, the languages

children are exposed to *before* entering G1 would be likely to have an effect on how easy it would be for them to be assimilated into the primary school culture. If, for argument's sake, the school taught only in English from G1 onwards and the child entering that system had never learnt in English, either formally or informally, what were the chances of the child passing G1, assuming all other factors were to that child's advantage?

The next question to be asked was whether in fact it was preferable for children to start being taught through a second language before they even reached primary school. There is much research to suggest that the best way to acquire proficiency in English, (and thereby also to maximise chances of academic success), is not to teach through it from too early an age ("...Thomas and Collier.....show that children who are plunged almost immediately into a second language learning environment might only score 20% in their final examinations in English...." Heugh 2001:4).

I soon began to realise that the issue of school readiness was not a simple one, and that I could certainly not assume that the *only* reasons why some African children underachieve in the primary school were language related. Most children in South Africa do not attend preschool and for this reason may not be adequately prepared for the challenges of Grade 1. School readiness is a highly complex issue: it involves ensuring the capacity of the children to learn, (itself a massive task), and it also involves introducing learners into the discourse of education. For some learners, there is a large discourse gap between home and school. Most educational institutions in South Africa function around an essayist literacy, which is a European tradition (Scollen and Scollen 1981). African children are required to adopt this discourse because it is globally the dominant academic discourse. Children from backgrounds where parents already possess this discourse themselves will be massively advantaged in terms of school readiness over those whose parents do not (Ibid).

However, much learning occurs through language. Therefore, the language in which learning occurs and the context in which that language is used are important to successful learning. Furthermore, Cummins and Swain (1986) suggest that because much learning occurs through language from an early age, linguistic competence and cognitive development are very closely linked. It seemed that the subject of the research needed to be how a second language (L2) is developed in the preschool, and to what extent this development impacts on learners' abilities to demonstrate their potential in their first year of primary education. Initially, I had wanted to try to look at the problem across the whole primary school, but soon realized this was unrealistic. I decided to start with the things I was at least familiar with: the preschool and the primary school where I had worked.

I now had far more questions than answers about South Africa, its languages, and its early years education. It took me the best part of three months to work out which questions I could try to answer. I finally decided on one.

To what extent does the L2 teaching and learning in the last year of the sample preschools affect the educational achievement in the first year of primary school in the sample schools?

Almost as soon as I had decided on this, I realized that there were many other things I would have to find out first before I could attempt to answer it. I would need to make explicit the broad contextual factors that influence the teaching and learning of L2 in the sample preschools, from classroom culture to national policy documents. I also would need to attempt a description of what second language skills the sample learners in Grades R and 1 have, and to ascertain to what extent, (if any), these skills fall short of the DET outcomes these learners need to achieve for these grades. In addition, I would have to construct a picture of the overall educational achievement of the sample learners in Grade 1, and compare this to their L2 skills in GR and G1. Thus the secondary research questions were:

- 1. What are the broad contextual factors that influence the teaching and learning of L2 in the sample preschools?*
- 2. What second language skills do the sample learners in Grades R and 1 have?*
- 3. What picture of the overall educational achievement of the sample learners in Grade 1 is obtained, and how does this compare to the L2 skills described in 2?*

In addition, I was keen to ensure that the research would be conducted in a critical paradigm (see section 3.1). My intention was to do research that had some real relevance to the practitioners and institutions that were its focus. In this regard, I added the following two research questions.

- 4. What ideologies, (values and understandings), underlie the teaching and learning of L2 in the sample preschools?*
- 5. What aspects of the GR L2 teaching and learning environment could be changed for the sake of greater achievement in G1?*

Armed with these questions and my teaching experience, I began the next stage of my research journey.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Overview

Part 1: The Socio-political Background of Historical ECD Provision in South Africa.

In this chapter, I will attempt to sketch the background behind the current language in education practices in the sites in which the research was conducted. I will also be looking at the various policies and projects that have taken place in the last 150 years in South Africa in the field of ECD (Early Childhood Development). The history of language in education and the development of young children in South Africa is a complex one and merits some detailed attention. I have as far as possible used a chronological framework to explain the aspects of the above areas that I feel are relevant to this research. In the course of this chapter then, preschool policy and language policy have become intertwined.

2.1.1 The origins of black primary education

Formal primary education for blacks in South Africa has existed for just over 150 years (Hartshorne 1992: 22). Originally, it was provided by the European colonizers through church schools, staffed by whites. Eventually, some primary schools for blacks were set up in Natal in 1910, but by 1925 the onus was still in the main on the missions to provide education for so called Natives (Hartshorne 1992:25) The quality of education in these schools was low, especially by the second half of the last century. Hartshorne lists the following contributing factors:

- the issue of which languages should be used as media of instruction.
- outdated teaching methods
- inadequate teacher training
- primitive schooling facilities
- fatigue in students (caused by malnutrition and other effects of poverty.)

(Hartshorne 1992:41)

(An underlying factor that Hartshorne mentions later was the lack of funding.) Funding for schools '...was to be paid for by blacks themselves through direct taxation applicable only to them...' (Hartshorne 1992:27) Considering how little any black was able to earn relative to whites in South Africa in 1925, the amount spent on black education was clearly very low in comparison to white.)

The cumulative effect of these factors was that: ‘...almost one in four African children does not reach grade two after one year of schooling. This figure has remained virtually constant for more than three decades...’ (Taylor 1989:43). By 1972, only 1 in 5 black children attending primary school would stay in school long enough to be old enough to go to secondary school. Only 1 in 8 would actually get into secondary school (Hartshorne 1992:41). Although this thesis focuses mainly on the first of the factors listed above, they are all closely linked to one another.

The issue of which languages black children in primary school should be taught in, (in other words the Medium of Instruction issue or LoLT), goes right back to the 19th century. English first appeared on a school curriculum in South Africa in 1884, where it formed part of the Natal Council’s list of curriculum subjects, which also included Zulu (Kingwill 1998:iii). English continued to be supported as part of the school curriculum, but some thought that English should not be used in ‘native education’. This was because it was thought that using English might give blacks: “...ideas above their station...” (Lyons, 1970 in Hartshorne 1992:188) On the other hand, English missionaries at the time saw using English as the LoLT as ‘emancipatory’ while the German and Swiss missionaries preferred to teach through the vernacular (Hartshorne 1992:188).

From 1892 until 1907, English was the *de facto* LoLT in black primary schools. After the union between the British and the Afrikaners that followed the Second Anglo Boer War in 1909, the Education Act No.25, known as the Smuts Act, was passed (Kingwill 1998:3). It stated that blacks were to be taught in their mother tongue for the first six years of schooling, and afterwards in one of the two official languages of the time, English or Dutch. This act was to serve as legislation on language until 1953, when the Bantu Education Act replaced it.

2.1.2 Language and Apartheid

Formal apartheid began in South Africa in 1948 with the rise of the Afrikaner Nationalists (Walters 1995). Successive Nationalist governments tried to ensure ever-increasing separation between blacks and whites on many levels, particularly in regard to education and language. One example of government action aimed at ensuring the separation of white and black into the distant future was the Bantu Education Act of 1953. It stated that subjects that had previously been taught in English or Afrikaans under the Smuts Act, (such as science and arithmetic), were now to be taught through African languages (Kingwill 1998:3). English and Afrikaans were still to be taught, but as subjects, and not used as LoLTs. The upshot of this was that children were exposed to three languages in the first three years of schooling. This contributed to a drop-out rate of 52% in the first four years of primary school (Ibid).

Rather like the early colonizers, the apartheid regime felt English would emancipate the blacks, which would therefore narrow the colour divide. It was believed that African education should be based

on traditional culture, and that in the words of Verwoerd: '...[Africans] should not develop a desire to graze in European pastures...' (Rose 1970:85).

Despite the Nationalist desire to limit black access to English in schools, there was much underlying resentment between 1954 and 1976 to the restrictions in LoLT that the Bantu Act imposed. Some teachers resigned or were dismissed because they taught through English when they should have been using the mother tongue (Hartshorne 1992:198). Some parents actually refused to send their children to schools operating the Bantu Education policy, and set up their own schools that taught through the medium of English (Lodge 1983:114-29). Later, the same Nationalist government did attempt to make Afrikaans the only medium of instruction in schools, but following mass protest which led to the Soweto riots of 1976, the 'switch to English' was allowed to continue. Ironically, some authors, (e.g. Heugh 2001:2), have suggested that the apartheid language in education policies are among the most successful ever used in South Africa, because of the enormous benefits to be gained from learning only in the mother tongue before starting a new language.

The basic aim of the successive apartheid governments was to ensure that blacks had as little access to English as possible. English was seen as a language of empowerment, because of its status both within and outside South Africa. If blacks were to acquire it in large numbers, it could threaten the hegemony of the apartheid state.

Under apartheid, as mentioned in 1.1, the failure rate amongst black children at primary school level was appallingly high. (It is worth noting that a recent audit of ECD provisioning in South Africa still claims that the 'current lack of [adequate ECD provision] bears witness to the legacy of apartheid' (DoE 2001a:5). Pressure began to be levelled at the Nationalist governments in the 1970s to take action on these failure rates.

2.1.3 Addressing the failure rate

The Molteno Project was started at the Institute for the Study of English in Africa (ISEA) in 1974 by the combined efforts of Prof. Lanham of the University of the Witwatersrand, the ISEA and the Molteno Brothers Trust of Elgin (Walters 1995:214). Its aim was to look at the effects that the transition to English as LoLT was having on learners in those schools. The researchers found that 1 in 4 African children was not reaching grade 2, even in the schools where the 'straight for English' approach was being adopted (Taylor 1989 in Walters 1995). By 1975, Molteno had decided on a course of action: the main reasons for this appalling failure rate amongst black children were the methods and materials used for teaching reading through the mother tongue in G1. The Molteno Project designed, produced and published a series of courses called *Breakthrough*, which set out to teach learners to read in African languages first. The project was radical precisely for this reason: it was the first major research project in

Southern Africa that took as its starting point that success in a second language as an LoLT *is not possible* without a very thorough grounding in the first language. The aim was to develop a knowledge and skills base in the first language in order to assist the learning of English later. The implementation of the *Breakthrough* course naturally involved a lot of teacher training and capacity building. Molteno was implemented in 1975 in South Africa with great success. By 1996, Molteno methods were being used across Southern Africa, with 116 780 teachers trained and teaching in the Molteno method, and over half a million children as their learners (Kingwill 1998:116). Although the Breakthrough course is now not so widely used as it was a few years ago in South Africa, and the government fails to acknowledge it as perhaps the most successful initiative in primary school curriculum development ever seen in South Africa, it continues to be used to some areas of Southern Africa to this day.

The Threshold project also had an ambitious remit, namely to devise a new primary school curriculum for South Africa. It was started in 1985 by Carol Macdonald. It lasted for five years, ending in 1990 with the final report of the first phase of the project entitled: '*Towards a new primary curriculum for South Africa*'. Threshold was trying to unravel the LoLT knot that primary education had got itself into since 1979. In that year, the Education and Training Act had been passed which stated that one of the then two official languages, English or Afrikaans, could be used as an LoLT after the first four years in primary school. Maybe as a direct result of this, it was estimated that within ten years of the writing of the report, (2003), nine out of ten children in South Africa would be learning through a language other than their own (Macdonald 1990:73).

A few years prior to the publication of the Threshold Report, the matric results from black pupils countrywide had been little short of appalling, with 58.2% of black matriculants failing the exam compared to only 4% of white, and 37.4 % and 6.4 % for Coloured and Indian respectively (Hartshorne 1992:82). The Threshold Project concluded that the causes of these poor results might have lain in the primary sector, and specifically with the issue of languages and LoLT. The researchers found that the language skills of children making the switch to English in Grade 4 were inadequate in both their first language and English to continue effective learning (Macdonald 1990:Preface). Contrary to popular belief, the Threshold Project did not only criticize the LoLT choices permitted and being made in primary schools: it was also concerned with curriculum and all the myriad of aspects that affect curricula from the fields of politics, poverty-related factors and cultural issues. Macdonald made the important point that:

“...Schooling...is largely the creation of urban, technological, industrialized culture....The thinking skills which those tasks require are largely those of urban technological culture...” (Macdonald and Burroughs 1991:5)

Not only were the learners' language skills not up to the challenge of what are currently termed the intermediate and senior phase, but '...the whole learning situation in the junior primary phase is too limited to prepare children for the range of skills that underlie...geography, science and history...' (Macdonald 1990:Preface). One of Threshold's final recommendations was that research be conducted towards creating a transformed learning system which addressed the mismatch between 'the conceptual demands of the curriculum to the conceptual development of the child' (Ibid:141). Ultimately, an attempt was made in the shape of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) (See 2.2.9). However, the LoLT switch proved to be a more difficult nettle to grasp.

In 1980, the apartheid government finally decided that after almost 20 years of protests and boycotts against Bantu Education it was time to commission a report on the dropout rates in primary schools. This responsibility fell to the Human Sciences Research Council under De Lange. It was met with a wide range of responses. Amongst other findings, the report concluded that investment in education should '...focus its attention on the basic and pre-basic phases of education...' (De Lange 1981:115). For this reason, it was recommended that a twelve-week preschool orientation programme be set up nationwide, aimed at achieving school readiness. This was the first time that an official body had identified one of the major problems of educational underachievement amongst blacks as being school readiness. For the first time, the problems of failure were perceived as not being confined to school itself, but to learners being ready for school in the first place.

De Lange additionally sketched out what he saw as the three possible options for media of instruction in black primary schools.

1. The mother tongue of the majority of learners will be used as LoLT in the first few years of primary school, followed by a *gradual* switch to English.
2. English or Afrikaans would be used as the sole LoLT in all the years of schooling. This became known as the 'straight for English/Afrikaans' option, where there would be no mother tongue education at all.
3. The LoLT would be the mother tongue of the majority of learners in the school until the end of primary school. Other languages of teaching and learning would then be on offer at secondary level.

(Hartshorne 1992:205)

The HSRC report of 1983 (see section 2.1.5) and the findings of the De Lange Report led to the drafting of the White Paper on the Provision of Education in South Africa (1983). This paper recommended that a bridging course of one to two years be set up to prepare disadvantaged preschool

aged children for primary school (DoE 2001a:9). Had this actually happened, the course of ECD for South Africa's most needy children might have run smoother. As it happened, the state decided to cut its involvement and thereby its subsidies for ECD. So although the need for preschooling on a national scale had finally been established, the DoE lacked the resources to implement change, and thus the appalling dropout rates in primary school continued unabated.

Although it took many years before official legislation was passed concerning preschooling in South Africa, the fact that school readiness was an important factor in success at primary school was acknowledged even before Molteno and Threshold were born. In the next section of this chapter, I will be looking at what sort of preschooling was being developed even before the primary education system began to undergo the changes described in this section.

2.1.4 Addressing school readiness.

The first preschools in South Africa were started during the 1920s by an organization called the South African Mothercraft Training Centre in Cape Town (Short 1985:44). By 1939, South Africa had 14 nursery schools and 17 day care centres, one of which was categorized as providing for 'Black children.' (Ibid:44). (Short categorizes nursery schools as those preschools that were seen as educational institutions, and day care centres as those that were seen to provide day care to children of working parents.) All of these were purely the initiatives of private donors and/or local authorities with no state backing, although some, (only White nursery schools), were later subsidised under the National Education Policy Act of 1967. In 1934, at the Conference on the Poor White Problem in Kimberley, the provision of adequate preschooling was considered important enough to pass a resolution on. This was the first time that a national body had legislated on preschooling in South Africa, and interestingly arose from a meeting designed to limit poverty, even if only for one section of the community. It mentioned that provision should be made for preschooling, to include:

"...care of preschool children (2-6 years) under regular medical supervision,.... feeding and resting, [the starting of] good habits,..... physical, intellectual, and social development,.... offering parents guidance and help, and soliciting their cooperation in the education of their children..." (Webber 1978 in Short 1985: 44)

This resolution was rather unsophisticated compared to later policy, and was focused on the care, as opposed to the education, of preschool-aged children. It is worth noting that forty years after this resolution was made, (1970), over 95% of the country's children still had no access to preschool (Short

1985:45). That said, after 1939 until comparatively recently, it is difficult to chart increase in preschool provision, because statistics from the time are incomplete and confusing (Ibid).

Because the first preschools, (i.e. 'nursery' schools as opposed to day care centres), in South Africa were established by local communities with no government funding, they were therefore largely dependent on fees to cover their costs, which clearly had an impact on attendance and the ability to reach the most needy sections of the community. They employed qualified teachers, and despite the government resolution referred to above, the emphasis was more on educating the learners as opposed to just caring for them (Short 1985:47). These preschools were largely white-run institutions with white teachers in them. Later preschools tended to follow their model (Ibid). At the time, there was little awareness that materially disadvantaged children might have different needs in the preschool as compared to materially more advantaged children.

In response to a growing recognition of this difference in needs, the Athlone ELC Project started in 1969 (Short 1985:60). Its philosophy was that preschools should be places of supplementary education, i.e. supplementary to the family, who were considered to have the central role in early childhood development. It did not set out to prepare children for school *per se*. The project consisted of several schools, in which a few core skills were identified as needed and therefore cultivated. (It could be said that the curriculum was therefore outcomes based.) They included: first language fluency, conceptual vocabulary, and the ability to ask questions. The aim was to encourage cognitive development through language. Athelone stands out as one of the first practical attempts to provide preschooling to those most in need of it in South Africa, and interestingly saw language development as the central part of its curriculum. The 1934 Kimberly Resolution was still in effect, which made the Athelone curriculum all the more radical in terms of its aims. However, language was to become an issue with much broader implications than preschool curricula in the years that preschooling began to emerge in South Africa.

2.1.5 The beginnings of a pre-primary education policy for South Africa

A research programme funded by the HSRC was reported in 1983 by Reilly and Hofmeyer and entitled: '*Pre primary education in the RSA*'. Its aim was to '...develop guidelines for the development of a system of preschool care and education within the parameters of the multicultural and socio-economic needs of South Africa...' (Reilly and Hofmeyer 1983:2) A lot of its findings were groundbreaking, and some are still evident in the most recent white papers on ECD (Early Childhood Development) today.

Reilly and Hofmeyer said that preschooling was an 'essential component' of a good education structure. They used the phrase 'environmental deprivation' meaning "...when the economic, social, and cultural qualities of a community are inadequate for developing potential in young children...." (Ibid: 4) This idea that material disadvantage inevitably leads to retardation in children was unfortunately a theory

that was to dominate much of the early work in preschooling. However, even if Reilly and Hofmeyer were in effect accusing the black community of being incapable of raising children successfully, they did make the important point that: "...School readiness is a fundamental prerequisite for success in the primary school..."(Ibid:5) They list one of the three features of school readiness as being: "...a level of language development that is good enough for him [the learner] to understand language and express himself verbally..."(Ibid:5) The report doesn't go on to say which languages should be developed for which purposes, but the fact that language appears as a component of school readiness is important. School readiness was not considered to be automatic, but needed to be nurtured, both by parents and formal educational structures.

On p12 –13, the authors claimed that: "...Black culture does not equip learners to meet Western education systems standards..." The reason given for this was that in 'black culture', children were expected to be passive and to learn through reproduction. They claimed that black children did not get the opportunity in their early childhood for exploration, imagination, and interpretation, and that these skills were vital to educational success. Despite these sweeping generalizations, and despite the fact that nowhere in the report is there a question that the Western based education system itself might be at fault precisely because it was Western and not African, the point they made about the importance of preschooling is none the less unprecedented. I will return to this question of the mismatch between cultural values and discourses of the school and its pupils at a later stage in this chapter.

The pre-1994 history of preschooling and early primary schooling for blacks in South Africa is one chequered with failure, and failed attempts to redress failure. With the introduction of democracy in South Africa, the government realised just how pressing the need for educational reform was in the country as a whole. The second part of this chapter deals with educational policy related to preschools and language in post-apartheid South Africa.

Part 2: Policy and Practice of Post Apartheid ECD Provision in South Africa.

2.2.1 The National Educational Policy Investigation (NEPI)

NEPI was a large-scale research project set up in 1990 by the National Educational Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) to conduct an audit of all aspects of South Africa's education system, and to inform policy for the future. It published its extensive report in 1992. What it found in preschools and what it suggested for them was advanced thinking for its time. Much of what was written and discovered through NEPI is still being used to inform policy today, twelve years on (e.g. the Education White Paper no.5 on ECD (DoE 2002)). Its findings on preschooling were included in a report entitled 'Early Childhood Educare' (NECC 1992).

One of the first findings was the lack of formal training amongst ECD staff. The report quotes Short (1992) on p20 as saying that only 4% of staff have any formal training. It also found that in order to provide effective ECD, the whole community must be involved. Education/educare, health care, housing and social welfare all have to be coordinated if ECD is to work effectively. In fact, for ECD to function, the community has to function too.

NEPI continues the theme found in almost every piece of research into preschooling: that families are the primary caregivers, and that the preschool must support them in their task, not replace them. However, there does seem to be a contradiction in the ECD section of the report. On p5, we find the following: '...Preschool programs cannot compensate for the effects of poor socio-economic background...', yet on p94, the report claims that preschools are critical to changing socio-economic status. The report sends a mixed message about its conception of ECD: is it to prepare children for school and raise them out of poverty, or to try to make 'the best of a bad job' by giving materially disadvantaged children a chance? Considering NEPI was intended to inform policy in ECD, it is unfortunate that its purpose in these statements was not clearer.

Early on, the report makes the vital point, which also happens to be the focus of this research, that continuity between preschool and G1 is vital. Is there a gap between what is expected at Grade R and at G1, or not? Are the skills that are developed in Grade R actually used in Grade1, and if so, are they sufficiently developed to enable the learner to cope?

On language policy, the report claims that it sees language as only a small part of the complex issue of school readiness. It also acknowledges that there may be difficulties in prescribing curricula in a 'top down' fashion to preschools. These two findings are linked. The researchers found that as regards language, some schools introduced a second language informally, whereas others had a policy of bilingual teaching in place. (A problem with the second option was that the staff was frequently not sufficiently trained in the second language to teach it effectively.) On the other hand, the problem with not prescribing curricula was that some preschools were practicing a 'freeplay' model of ECD, and others a much more structured school readiness program. Preschools/preprimary school/day centers/educare centers/crèches all have different pedagogies of ECD, and one area where this manifests itself is in the area of language teaching and policy.

To sum up, NEPI was a thorough and far-reaching research project that looked at a number of different forms of ECD provision, and found them to be highly diverse in many areas. Coordination between preschools, and between preschools and primary schools was often not to be found, and many different or even opposing views on school readiness and language teaching were also in evidence. NEPI was one of the first pieces of research to demonstrate both the problems and the capacity of ECD in South Africa.

2.2.2 National Educational Policy since 1994: C2005 and the NCS.

Following the findings of NEPI, the government introduced a new national schools curriculum founded on the principles of Outcomes Based Education. It was packaged in a document called Curriculum 2005 (C2005). It provided a nationwide curriculum for all learners in all schools in the country. It was divided into eight 'learning areas' as opposed to subjects. School based education was further divided into four 'phases', Foundation, Intermediate, Senior and FET. The Foundation phase had three 'learning programmes' as opposed to the eight found in the other phases. They were literacy, numeracy, and life skills. Although Grade R was not included in the Foundation Phase, teachers were given guidelines about how they should operate. These included focusing on the skills of learning to cooperate with peers, and independence in learning, amongst others.

The overall aim of OBE and C2005 was to make a radical shift away from previous knowledge-based curricula which were largely Euro-centric in their content, and make a move towards equipping all learners with valuable skills and knowledge for their lived lives. The C2005 policy document was unfortunately filled with heavy jargon, and was found to be difficult to implement, perhaps because the shift in thinking was too radical for the low capacity in teaching staff at the time. C2005 was replaced by the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2001, which continued to build on the principles of OBE.

Much of the rhetoric of the first OBE curriculum has disappeared in the NCS, and been replaced by Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards. The NCS is however much more prescriptive than C2005 about what learners should be able to do and by when. The Learning Outcomes apply across all grades in each learning area, but the assessment standards vary for each grade. The Languages learning area is divided not only into grades, but also has different assessment standards for each language. Languages are divided into Home Language and Additional Language. The NCS acknowledges that: "...many children will eventually study some of their other learning areas through their additional language..." (DoE 2001b:66). It goes on to say that their additional language classes should prepare them for this. On page 65, the authors suggest that additional languages should be introduced as a subject as soon as possible, and that the home language should be used alongside the additional language for as long as possible. No guide is given as to when the best time might be to begin learning through the additional language, and it is not clear if the assessment standards for an additional language still hold when learners are being taught through it. The assumption is that learners learn through their home language at least at first, whereas in the sites I worked in, this was not necessarily the case. Because the NCS is national, it will obviously be very difficult to determine, let alone prescribe, what languages are Home and Additional for a given class of learners. This lack of guidance from a national educational policy document about when children should best start to learn in an additional language is worrying. There is much evidence to

suggest, (Molteno, (Kingwill (1998)), Threshold, (Macdonald and Burroughs (1991)) and Heugh 2001), that if a child starts to learn to read and write in a second language before they have begun to learn these skills in the first language, the overall literacy rate that the child develops will be lower than it would otherwise be.

2.2.3 The South African Schools Act 1996

Another major step towards transforming South Africa aimed specifically at redressing the past injustices of education was taken in 1996. It concerned itself in the main with the powers and transparency regarding school governing bodies and school fees that could be charged, but it did mention the language of teaching and learning. Governing bodies were allowed to determine, within the confines of the constitution, the Act, and provincial law, which languages would be taught in their schools (DoE 1996a:6.2). It was also anticipated that the minister would soon determine the 'norms and standards for language policy in public schools' (DoE 1996a:6.1). This policy followed later in 1997.

The Schools Act was the first time in South African history that any school anywhere in the country was officially permitted to teach in whichever language it chose. As such, it began the transition to redressing the past injustices.

The transformational process in post-1994 South Africa included many projects concerned with language planning and language in education as well as the large-scale restructuring of the education system. The following sections in this chapter look at these in more detail, and what their effect was on ECD provisioning in the country.

2.2.4 LANGTAG and the Language in Education policy

With the democracy newly formed and the eleven official languages enshrined within the new constitution, the time had come to arrive at a language plan for a multilingual South Africa. The ministry responsible for this task was the Department of Arts, Culture, and Sport. LANGTAG, the Language Task Action Group was commissioned, under the leadership of Dr. Alexander, to draft a framework for a national language plan. It was up to the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) and the Department of Education (DoE) to refine and implement the recommendations of LANGTAG.

The task of LANGTAG was ambitious, and for this reason, it was divided into several subcommittees. The aims of LANGTAG, in line with the constitution, were as follows:

- to promote national unity
- to entrench democracy which includes protection of language rights

- to promote multilingualism
- to promote respect and tolerance of linguistic and cultural diversity.
- to elaborate and modernize African languages.

(Alexander 1996:11)

LANGTAG took as its starting point the fact that effective language planning was the key to making the new South Africa a success. For the authors, language planning had to be approached in the context of overall social planning. Languages are part of cultural identity, and for this reason, language rights run alongside human rights (Alexander 1996:12). LANGTAG realized that without equitable language planning, those whose rights to education, work, and democracy had been denied for so long would continue to be denied those very things.

The LANGTAG made many important recommendations regarding education, but its most revolutionary aspect was how much importance it placed on the role of language in education. The importance of multilingual education is made explicit: "...sustainable development [of the South African economy] will only be possible if education occurs via African languages together with English at all levels..." (Alexander 1996:23). The languages used in education were described as critical to providing access to it. Furthermore, the point was made that the more people who had access to education, the more people could contribute to the economy. Rather than viewing 'straight for English' as the method of emancipation, LANGTAG saw African languages as the font of universal access to education: "...the good of education for all cannot be achieved with the linguistic barriers made by non-native media of instruction..." (Alexander 1996:9)

The Language in Education subcommittee was quick to acknowledge that it was difficult to start making policy because of a lack of baseline data about language attitudes in schools (Ibid:124-28). The report recommended surveys to establish which languages parents would want their children to learn and for which purposes, and to gather language profiles of teachers and learners around the country. To my knowledge, there has been very little follow up on these suggestions. Many parents I have spoken to are aware of the importance of mother tongue education, but do not see how they can encourage their children's schools to teach in the mother tongue when the teachers have been, and still are, only trained to teach in English. The children in the school where I work, (Secunda One), do not see the value of isiXhosa beyond talking to their friends, and actually prefer to learn in English, 'because it is easier.' Their attitude, and it is one that is found in teaching staff too, is that it is 'common sense' to use English in school. Multilingualism is seen as unnecessary, inconvenient, and 'uncool'.

Page 130 in the Language in Education chapter of the final report holds what seems to be one of the few statements that has promoted any radical action on the part of the government: '[there are] very

few or no guidelines for ECD...urgent attention is required...' It goes on to say that biliteracy should be introduced in schools, and should be started as early as possible. Recent government initiatives that are discussed later in this chapter have taken account of this suggestion to take urgent action in the ECD sector. However, despite this increased attention, the concept, let alone development of biliteracy, seems to have been ignored.

LANGTAG was an ambitious project, which fulfilled its brief. However, many of its recommendations have yet to be followed up. LANGTAG was the first report to have placed such an emphasis on language and multilingualism not just as a national asset, but a fragile national asset.

2.2.5 The creation of PANSALB and critical language policy

The Pan South African Language Board was set up in 1996 to 'promote multilingualism in South Africa' (PANSALB 1998:1). One aspect of this was to consider how the recent constitutional guarantee of 11 official languages should now be put into practice. In an important document released in 1998, (PANSALB 1998), PANSALB attributed the lack of development in many African countries to Western orientated language policies. It criticized many developmental aid packages as being attached to monolingual, (Western), language in education policies (Ibid:6.4). It said that the onus was on communities within South Africa to recognize the potential of their own languages, claiming that despite the years of English as LoLT in black primary schools, only 20% of the country's population could 'use English effectively' (Ibid:3.0).

2.2.6 The Language in Education Policy Document (1997)

This groundbreaking document took as its starting point that language is an issue of democratisation. The policy was '...meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged...' (DoE 1997b:1). The policy advocated multilingualism, specifically additive bilingualism as the way this would be achieved. In grades one and two, learners would be required to offer at least one language per subject. By the time they reached matric, they would have to offer two, one as a first language, and one as a second. The issue of which language should be used for teaching and learning was more complex. The policy states that educational districts are required to offer languages in schools when learners request them, and schools are required to have language policies in place that stipulate how they will achieve multilingualism in the school.

The Language in Education Policy was an important milestone in South African history, but has been widely criticized for not going far enough. Despite claiming that it sees language rights as central to achieving democratisation in South Africa, it ignores the issue of which languages should be taught when,

and to whom they should be taught. The responsibility for investigating this issue has fallen to another group.

2.2.7 The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA)

PRAESA was initially conceived in 1992. Its initial remit as a research faculty at the University of Cape Town was to assist and monitor the development of education after the apartheid years in order to assist in the democratisation of the country. By 1995, it had decided to focus its attention almost exclusively on the issue of the language of teaching and learning in schools (LoLT). PRAESA believes that the most critical task it currently faces is that of implementing the *de jure* policy of multilingual education, and moving away from the *de facto* 'straight for English' approach, which it believes is crippling South Africa's attempts at true equality of opportunity. This task is hampered by lack of capacity in teachers, lack of multilingual teaching materials, and lack of research into existing language attitudes on the ground.

One of its aims is to build a database of South African research relating to language policy, planning and practice. In this sense, this research does aim to contribute to PRAESA's goals. PRAESA continues to be one of the few projects in the country dedicated to achieving the goal of sustainable multilingual education through a policy of additive, as opposed to subtractive, bilingualism. In some ways, it is seeking to implement the Language in Education policy of 1997. In others, it is going far beyond it. It faces an uphill struggle, because as it acknowledges, there are so many myths surrounding the use of languages in education, that before anything else, attitudes have to be changed (PRAESA homepage 27/03/2003). Beyond this, the issues of capacity building in staff, and restructuring of materials will create many challenges for PRAESA in the next few years. The government has not ignored PRAESA's work completely, as we will see in the next section.

This study is of course not solely concerned with the history of national educational policy or language projects, but with how the educational and linguistic projects and policies in recent years have combined to impact on the preschool and G1 curricula and failure rates. In the following sections, I will be turning my attention to specific changes in policy post-1994 that affect the area of ECD provision in the country.

2.2.8 Towards national post apartheid preschool policy

The Department of Education (DoE) launched its Interim Policy for Early Childhood Development in March 1996 as a follow up to the 1996 National Programme of Action (NPA) Working Document. The NPA outlined specific priority areas 'to address the needs of all South African children'

(DoE 2001a:8). Among them was the provision of adequate ECD, which aimed to have at least 80% of the country's children completing at least primary school (Ibid: 8).

Although it took until 2001 for recommendations in the Interim Policy to become a white paper with many revisions (see 2.2.9), it is interesting to note what the newly formed government's priorities were at this stage. Much of the rhetoric of Reilly and Hofmeyer's report (1983) features again here: '...the early years determine whether a child becomes a successful learner in and out of school....' (DoE 1996b:4). The access to preschool services had also not changed a great deal since 1983. The DoE estimated that between 9 and 11% of all South African children between birth and six years old had access to ECD, public or private (DoE 1996b: *The Inherited Situation*). One in three of these were white, and one in sixteen were black. The same paper described the rates of repetition and drop out in primary school as 'intolerable' (Ibid).

This policy was however marred by vague statements such as in the curriculum framework section: '...While respecting and affirming each child's cultural and linguistic heritage, a commitment must be made to prepare children for membership of a non-racial, non-cultural, and multilingual society...' (DoE 1996b: App. 2, Section 3.3c). The policy 'recommends' preschool learners be taught in the mother tongue, and that 'the ECD sector should use this document for debate about language policy in ECD'. The ECD sector should also 'encourage emergent literacy' (Ibid).

The follow-up to the Interim Policy was the National Pilot Project of 1997, which aimed to put elements of the policy to the test, and generally work out how best to deliver Grade R programmes nationwide. The pilot affirmed that compulsory Grade R provision should be phased in over a five year period, and should be delivered by a combination of existing public schools and community-based sites (DoE 2001a:19) Although the thinking behind these statements was progressive, it took until the White Paper of October 2001 (see section 2.2.9) to turn this philosophy into concrete government policy, based on the National Audit of ECD provisioning in South Africa (see section 2.2.9).

2.2.9 South Africa's first national audit of ECD provisioning.

With funding from Europe, the DoE carried out an extensive audit and report of the ECD provisioning in South Africa in 2000/1. It found that since 1983, many things had changed concerning provision, but many remained in the same poor state. For example, the report suggested that less than 1/6 of the country's 6.4 million children aged between 0 and 7 were catered for by some kind of institutional ECD provisioning (DoE 2001a:1). However, the number of ECD sites recorded by the survey was high: 23 482, compared to 17 254 public schools in the primary sector (Ibid:1).

The staff at the sites were nearly all women (99%), and two thirds of them described themselves as 'African' (I assume this to mean black African). The majority were trained by NGOs, making them

officially unqualified, 20% were totally untrained, and 10% had formal qualification recognised by the DoE (Ibid: 2). The report analysed the sites according to four key criteria, namely: support services, infrastructure of the site, teaching programme and syllabus and the quality/extent of the educator's training/experience. The report found overwhelmingly that White ECD sites rated highest in these areas across the board, with African ones rating lowest. This indicates that there is still a strong trend towards inequality according to colour in ECD provisioning.

The audit was to my knowledge the first document concerning ECD in South Africa that explicitly states an 'increase in primary school enrolment, increased school performance, and lower repetition rates' as some of the advantages of providing ECD across the nation (DoE 2001a:5). In addition, the report mentions LoLT as one the key issues that emerged from the audit.

'...Another important issue centres around language practices and the dominance of English as the language of instruction across sites and provinces, seemingly irrespective of the home languages of the learners...' (DoE 2001a: 2)

This statement was also radical, because it seemed to imply that the dominance of English to the exclusion of home languages was not necessarily a good thing. The audit and the report were followed by new ECD policy, which is discussed below.

2.2.10 Meeting the challenge of ECD in South Africa

Launched in 2002, this white paper of the same title as this section set out massive reform and promised new money to restructure the ECD provision in the country. It is still in the process of implementation. Its targets were:

- to level the playing field in terms of the extent of provision of ECD
- to align and formalize training for ECD practitioners.
- to relieve the burden of providing effective ECD in poverty-stricken families.

(DoE 2002: 10-17)

Prior to this report being published, the DoE commissioned research into comparing the effectiveness of community-based ECD projects and school-based ECD projects (*The Nationwide Audit of ECD Provisioning in South Africa*, section 2.2.9). The criteria were quality, equity, and cost effectiveness. This research found that although it is cheaper for the government to support existing community based projects, it would be much cheaper for parents to send their children to school-based

ECD facilities. The policy document therefore concluded that for the sake of levelling access to ECD, the government should concentrate on providing ECD at all primary schools nationwide (DoE 2002:4.1.1.6).

This latest policy sets out to address the large-scale issues of ECD provision, particularly the necessity and the value of implementing compulsory Grade R provision at all primary schools nationwide. Although it does make cursory references to the issue of language and LoLT, (e.g. DoE 2002:1.4.4), it does not focus on them in depth. Another document, also recently released in its final form, is much more explicit about languages in the preschool year. This is the National Curriculum Statement, which has its basis in the principles of outcomes based education.

2.2.11 The current situation of school readiness, LoLT, and ECD.

Today, the issues of school readiness and media of instruction are still very much in the forefront of educational debate. South Africa now has eleven official languages since it became a democracy, and constitutionally, every learner in the country has the right to learn in their mother tongue. However, in practice, most will end up learning through English at some time in their primary education, often simply because the resources are not available to learn in any other language, or because of the perception of English LoLT as the best way to acquire proficiency in the language.

As concerns school readiness, in 1998 it was estimated that over 70% of children in South Africa do not have the skills they need by the end of G1 to succeed in Grade 2 (Bot 1998). In addition, in 2002, in the Eastern Cape where this research was conducted, out of 268 348 children who are registered for G1, only 7 012 attended preschool (Lehohla 2002). The Eastern Cape also has the highest pupil-to-teacher ratio in ECD sites of any province in the country (24:1) (DoE 2001a: 2.1.8). It is clear that the issue of readiness for school is still a pressing one.

Part 3: Educational and Linguistic Theories of ECD and SLA.

This research aims to make a critical study of preschool language practice and policy with regard to the ability of children to deal with the challenges of G1. In Parts 1 and 2 of this chapter, I have been looking at the projects and policies that have shaped the direction of South African pre- and primary school education. I am now going to turn my attention to two specific areas of theory: preschool and primary school teaching, particularly the concept of school readiness and how it is achieved, and secondly second language acquisition, and how it is achieved or otherwise in different contexts.

2.3.1 Language, education, and power

Until recently, a dominant theory amongst writers on preschool education was that certain children were advantaged and therefore likely to be successful in education, and that others were disadvantaged, and therefore unlikely to be successful in education (e.g. Reilly and Hofmeyer 1983, Bereiter and Engelman 1966). This theory arose from the findings of research that showed that there is a strong link between socio-economic status and school achievement (Short 1985:34). Phrases like 'environmental deprivation' and 'cultural deprivation' were often used to explain why black children did so much worse at school on average than white children (Reilly and Hofmeyer 1983).

This 'deficit theory' has been very persuasive and has dominated much of the thinking on preschool curricula for much of the last fifty years. Recently, however, it has been challenged by the creation of new curricula focused on the learner rather than the teacher. South Africa has adopted an outcomes-based (OBE) framework for education. The aim here has been to change the current teaching epistemology from a positivist one to one that is more critical. Positivism holds the teacher, or another authority, to be the knower. Knowledge is discovered, and is absolute. It is passed from knower to learner by transmission. The learner does not question the knower's authority, and does not discover truths for him/herself.

In contrast, a critical view of teaching such as that espoused by OBE, takes knowledge as something that is constantly created and reflected upon. No knowledge is absolute. For this reason, a curriculum often has to be negotiated between learners and educators. The purpose of a school using this epistemology would be to develop skills in using knowledge rather than knowledge for its own sake, and to develop those skills that are practical to the learner's current and projected future environments. Knowledge is to be drawn from examples in the learner's current environment. OBE starts with the premise that South Africa needs a transformational pedagogy, since this country is in a process of transformation, and schools must be one of the core set of institutions to effect this transformation in the long term. It could be said that positivist and deficit-based pedagogical theories problematise the child, while transformational pedagogies seek to transform the system for the sake of the child.

Norman Fairclough is a writer in the field of critical linguistics. He is concerned with how language shapes society, and in doing so, either favours or oppresses certain groups within it. In *Language and Power*, (1989), he turns his attention to the teaching of English in UK schools, saying that children need to be taught what he terms a 'critical language awareness' (Fairclough 1989:239). In other words, they need to be shown how language affects and pervades their lives and the society they live in, to good and bad effect. Education and language are intricately involved with each other, and are closely linked to power structures in society. Fairclough argues that educational policy in the UK pays lip service to respect for other languages and dialects in mainstream education, but enforces a transmission style

teaching of 'standard English' in schools in practice (Fairclough 1995:218). In doing so, he later argues, some learners are oppressed and denied their right to an equal education.

In South Africa, issues surrounding the (linguistic) equality or otherwise of education clearly receive much attention because of the previous educational and linguistic injustices the country has suffered. However, rather as in the UK, much lip service is paid to ensuring the right of all children to learn through the mother tongue, while the practice of teaching through socially dominant languages like English remains firmly in place. It could be argued that this constant reference to English contributes to symptoms associated with 'deficit' in the learner, when the problem may lie in the education system itself.

As I will explain in more detail in later chapters, issues of power and social transformation and how these were related to the LoLT and the level of education in general ran through all four schools in which this research was conducted. Some aspects of the pedagogies were transformational and even critical, whereas others were more traditional and positivist in their outlook. This clearly had an impact on the kind of teaching and the classroom environment to which the children were exposed.

The pedagogy of a school or class within a school is of course only one of many factors that affect a child's success or failure at G1. In the following sections, I will look at three key concepts in G1: school readiness, literacy and pre-literacy, and multiple literacies.

2.3.2 The concept of school readiness

Because of the sheer volume of work and skills that need to be acquired in G1, a child's success or otherwise in mastering the skills and content of G1 depends largely on what they were doing before they entered school. However, a child's status of 'being ready for school' or 'school readiness' is not easy to determine. In general, the phrase attempts to describe how prepared the whole child is to start on his or her academic career. The preschools in this study, just like many others, are geared towards developing certain aspects of their learners that are assessed before they leave the preschool. These included suitable height, weight, vision, and hearing for the child's age, fine and large motor skills, balance, creativity, imagination, and the ability to interact with peers and adults (see Prima and Secunda Report Cards, Appendix 9). The preschools also aimed to develop areas like pre-literacy, pre-numeracy, and communication skills. It is these last areas that form the focus for this research. I have additionally attempted to provide as detailed a description as possible of the children and the environments they live in, because very little understanding of a child's academic or pre-academic performance can be achieved without looking at the whole child.

2.3.3 The concept of pre literacy

The issue of pre-literacy is explored at length in Scollen and Scollen's 1981 study of the development of literacy in native Athabaskan children alongside their own child. Their own child, Rachael, quickly acquired reading skills, whereas her Athabaskan peers took much longer to do so. Scollen and Scollen suggested this may have been because Rachael was actually literate before she even learnt to read. Learning to read for her was simply matching signs and symbols to words she could already use orally. The idea that writing has meaning and value that could be 'translated' into speech and vice versa was already part of Rachael's discourse. The Athabaskan children on the other hand had more trouble learning to read than Rachael. They were not slow learners, but rather their emergent literacy was not so closely linked to the Western emergent literacy that Rachael had been acquiring through her exposure to books. For the Athabaskans, writing and books were something that only adults engaged with, and even then only with religious songbooks. Athabaskan parents were unlikely to read to their children in the traditional Western sense. They would be far more likely to recount oral narrative, as this tradition is a central feature of Athabaskan literacy.

Scollen and Scollen made the point that if we want to describe a child as being literate, we must be careful whose literacy we are talking about. The case children in this research were all traditionally from a literacy background very different to the one they are exposed to at school. Theirs is a black African literacy, originally without written texts, and many millennia old. The schools' is a Western essayist literacy, which is, in Scollen and Scollen's view, about two hundred years old. In making this point, I am not trying to make excuses for the cases, or even to suggest there is necessarily a conflict between the two literacies. I am merely stating that a child who is exposed to the discourse and concept of literacy that is likely to be dominant in her subsequent education before she even arrives at school is advantaged. She will not have to acquire a new discourse when she arrives at school, unlike a child whose home discourse and school discourse are dissimilar.

In the next section, I will be extending this topic to look at how the concepts of pre-literacy and literacy affect the ability of children to cope with the demands of school, and in particular the early years of their academic careers.

2.3.4 Multiple literacies and possible links to failure in school

Policy makers are becoming aware of the problem of incompatibility between the literacies that children acquire before school and the ones they are taught at school. One of the intentions of Curriculum 2005 was to try to build a bridge across the literacy gap. It was deliberately not prescriptive about content or teaching method so that teachers could be allowed to teach in ways that worked for them and their pupils. However, authors such as Prinsloo and Bloch (1999) criticise C2005 for its reliance on the deficit

model of teaching literacy. They say that the debate about how to teach literacy remains in the realm of behaviourism versus learner centeredness, whereas no mention has been made of the fact that literacy is actually social practice (See Scollen and Scollen 1981). Learners bring lots of literacies to school, some of which are then marginalized, either because they are incompatible with the school's discourse, or because they are not recognised by the teacher. Gee (1996) gives a good example of this in the introduction to his book: a young black girl arrives at the first year of primary school in the US where the class teacher is white. The teacher conducts a plenary activity in which the class must relate any news they have from the weekend. Some other children who have been in the teacher's class for longer than the black girl stand up and tell their story. When the black girl tells her story, she includes lots of fictitious embellishments to make it funnier, and uses her body to pretend to be certain characters in the story. The other children in the class find this highly entertaining. However, before the black girl has been talking for more than half a minute, the teacher interrupts her, and tells her to sit down and to be quiet.

Gee argues that from the teacher's point of view, the black girl has not used the appropriate form of literacy. She has not entered into the school discourse but is using one that she most likely acquired through her home environment. This discourse is not acceptable to the teacher in the school, and for this reason, she silences it, thinking the girl is trying to be naughty.

Gee's point in telling this story is that literacy is firmly rooted in social practice. It is not a culturally neutral thing, despite the views of many teachers. They often advise parents to read to their children at home, as if this were something that would make sense to all parents. Many children around the world do not have books in the home, not because they cannot afford them, although this may also be a factor, but because written texts are not something that children interact with. In my research, I found that one family would only ever read to their child from the Bible, if they read from a book at all (see section 4.2.2, Nomathemba's home environment). They would be far more likely to tell the child stories without using a book. Why should they need to read a book to the child, when they have lots of stories in their head already?

Vygotsky, quoted in Prinsloo and Bloch (1999:19), found that just as children can learn to speak through play, they can also learn to read and write through play. However, when presented with this theory, many teachers believe that children must acquire 'the basics' before they can possibly begin to become literate through a communicative approach. 'The basics' are behaviourist transmission models of learning to read and write. Prinsloo and Bloch argue that there is a big gap between the intentions of policies like C2005/the NCS, and 'teacher know-how'. This latter concept refers to many teachers' experientially based knowledge of how to teach any child to read and write. Prinsloo and Bloch go on to say that if teachers could somehow be shown how it is possible to acquire literacy skills through a

communicative approach, maybe many more children would stay in school longer, and not 'fail' to become literate.

Literacy and pre-literacy are not socially neutral concepts. It is important in asking whether certain children have certain language skills to question how they are acquired. Asking whether a child has enough English to pass a grade in school is really asking: 'Has this child acquired the literacy that the institution demands of her?' Gee's little black girl was punished for not having the particular literacy she needed for that school, even though that school was supposed to be ensuring every child's literacy. She would either have to acquire a new literacy, in itself a mammoth task, or retain her existing one, and 'fail' school.

Having looked at some of the broader challenges schools and children face in achieving a good basis to further education at G1, I will now focus on the issue of second language acquisition in particular. All the children in this research were engaged in acquiring a second language in the classroom to a greater or lesser extent, and thus some detailed attention should be paid to work in this area.

2.3.5 Theories of Language Acquisition

Languages require sets of skills in order for them to be used properly. It is often these same skills that we use for learning: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. This would seem to imply that our cognitive development is linked to our linguistic development. In asking whether children have sufficient language for school, we are also asking whether their language demonstrates that they have an adequate level of cognitive development to be able to perform a variety of tasks. In the following section, I will explore what skills these are and how linguists believe they are acquired.

2.3.6 'Natural' second language acquisition

When I returned home to the UK over Christmas in 2001, I took with me some of the books mentioned in the bibliography. I was getting very excited at the time about language policy, and had an annoying habit of engaging people in conversations about it at any opportunity. One of my victims was my mother. I explained to her how I had been reading that many researchers feel that it is difficult for any child to learn a second language when sufficient ground work in literacy has not been done in the first. My mother said: "Well, you're living proof that that isn't always true". She was referring to the fact that I was brought up virtually monolingually in Dutch until I went to preschool. There, I suddenly had to acquire English. You will hopefully agree that my standard of English in this thesis is acceptable. Why is this? Why was it so easy, or seemingly easy, for me to learn a second language, and then to learn through it? I had not yet learnt to read in my mother tongue, yet I was able to start literacy in my second language only three years later. Maybe it is because I was never *taught* English, I just *learnt* it.

The cases in this research are first language speakers of a dominated language, isiXhosa, learning a dominant language, English. They may *hear* English from a variety of sources, but the main one is likely to be the teacher in the classroom. However, they would be unlikely to have a conversational need to *speak* English other than through formal contexts, such as the classroom. In my example above, I had a dire conversational need to speak English. I was isolated from my peers without it at preschool. All the cases in this research speak exclusively isiXhosa with their peers, and almost exclusively with adults they know. Had they the necessity to communicate in English in authentic contexts, it is likely that their proficiency in both languages might be different.

Courtney Cazden makes an interesting contribution to the debate about acquiring a second language such as English as opposed to being taught it. She quotes Spolsky, writing in 1970: '...becoming a bilingual child in natural conversational environments is as dramatically successful as acquiring a first language. The record of deliberate attempts to teach a second language in school paints an entirely different picture....' (Cazden 1972:176) This 'natural conversational environment' is not made available to the children in this research, (see Chapter 4), so it would seem that on this point alone, they will inevitably struggle to acquire both English and isiXhosa successfully.

However, not all attempts to teach a second language in school fail, and in fact some are extremely successful. Research by Lambert, Just and Segalowitz in 1971 cited in Cazden gives one example of this. A group of mother-tongue English speaking children in Montreal were taught entirely through the medium of French from kindergarten until the end of primary school and their language proficiencies in both languages were assessed. The children demonstrated a 'very high level of skill in both receptive and productive aspects of French' as well as an 'excellent command of all aspects of English' (Cazden 1972:178). Why were these children so successful when children all over the world who are plunged into 2nd language LoLT even before they start school fail to acquire either language to a high standard? Cazden quotes the thoughts of Haugen, who suggests Lambert's *et al*'s findings of success can be brought down to the fact that Lambert's subjects were learning a non-dominant language, (French), starting from the basis of a dominant one (English) (Ibid:178). Most other children starting school in a second language are learning a dominant language starting from the basis of a non-dominant one. It seems that children learn a second language much more easily if they are speakers of the dominant language in a society and they are learning a dominated language, unlike the children in this study.

2.3.7 Language as a resource for thinking: Painter and Halliday

The link between cognitive development and language in young children has been made many times in the past by writers such as Bernstein, Halliday, and Painter. In this section, I will consider the

point that different linguistic environments may impact on the ability of a child to demonstrate advances in cognitive skills in G1.

When we first begin to develop language, we learn it through oral transmission. Halliday (1975), along with McNeil (1970), was the first to suggest that we use a protolanguage to learn about language and to learn about the world. A protolanguage is a very basic form of the target language, the L1, in which certain real objects can be identified, but not related to each other. In other words, it is language without syntax. This protolanguage is limited in terms of what it can express, so as we become exposed to more language, we end up with our first attempts at the mother tongue proper.

When we first begin to develop our mother tongue, we make our first encounters with 'common sense' language and knowledge. This first form of language is similar to the forms encountered in casual conversation. Later, we begin to meet an 'uncommon sense' form of language. This form is mainly based in written transmission. It is detached from immediate reality. It is found in fields such as academia and administration, and it is through this language that we end up doing a lot of our learning, even at preschool age (Crystal (citing Bernstien) 1991:299). At some stage, we have to make this jump from concrete language to more abstract language. We make this jump at different times, some very early on, others later. How we acquire language, and when we make this jump, are both aspects of our conceptual development, but there are bound to be differences between what language children are exposed to and therefore begin to acquire (Painter 1996:81 and Gerot and Wignell 1995).

Hasan (1992) argues that even common sense knowledge is not necessarily acquired to the same extent by all children by the time they reach school: it depends on how much interaction and how 'rich' this interaction is that you have with those from whom you acquire your first language. This is not to say that some children are born less able to acquire common sense language than others, but that the environments they are exposed to make it less easy for them to acquire it. For example, the level of interaction you experience as you are developing your first language can be dependent on your socio-economic status. You develop the language of your environment, which is not necessarily poorer if of low socio economic status, but is likely to differ between class groups (Hasan 1992). When children arrive at school, they encounter a discourse that may or may not be distant from the one they are used to from their home environment. If they are still coming to terms with the 'language of learning' (uncommon sense knowledge) in the preschool year because the discourse is different to that at home, they may be labelled as a slow learner in G1. Labels like this are hard to shake off in schools.

Hasan's argument is an interesting one, especially in the light of the statistic that 70% of children in South Africa fail G1 (Bot 1998:130). (It was in fact this statistic that became one of the catalysts for this research.) It is more than likely that 'failure' at G1 is actually not failure of the child, but failure of the system to acknowledge at what stage the child is with his or her language/conceptual development.

Children all develop at different rates, and there is no reason why a child who hasn't acquired the uncommon sense knowledge by G1 won't acquire it later. When talking about adequate language for learning, we need to be aware that just because some aspects of language aren't evidenced by a learner, we don't assume that they are 'slow' or in some way deficient.

2.3.8 How we acquire a second language: Ellis and Chomsky

Second language acquisition, (SLA), as opposed to first language acquisition, (FLA), is a separate academic field in itself. The worldwide industry in EFL, or English as a Foreign Language, often draws from research in this field. This can be seen in the numerous textbooks, audiotapes, videos, and the other paraphernalia that go with this industry (e.g. the *Headway* course, Soars and Soars 1987). Many people who study English at private language schools using EFL materials seem to be successful. So what evidence supports the theories that these expensive teaching materials are based on?

Rod Ellis is one of the leading writers on SLA. His book *Understanding SLA* (1986) has been a core text on the subject for many years. Ellis defines SLA as being about both the untutored or naturalistic type of acquisition and the tutored or classroom type. As we saw in 2.3.6, the difference is an important one. Some, (e.g. Krashen 1981), argue that if acquisition seems to be so successful as opposed to teaching, surely we should aim to mimic acquisition when we teach. Indeed EFL, and other language teaching pedagogies, sometimes try to replicate natural acquisition of language in the classroom.

Early theories of SLA in the 1950s and 1960s worked around the idea that the first language, (L1), is what controls the success or otherwise of second language learning (L2). The greater the difference between your L1 and L2, the more difficult it will be for you to acquire proficiency in the second language. (For example, an Englishman will have more trouble learning Chinese than French, because French has a similar orthography, lexis, and roots to English.) This idea led to a teaching methodology called Contrastive Analysis, aimed at predicting the areas of L2 the L1 learner would find difficult. It was thought that errors learners made in L2 could be explained in terms of their L1. However, researchers Dulay and Burt (1973) observed that not all errors in L2 could be explained this way (Ellis 1986:7).

Research by Klima and Bellugi in the 1960s into FLA showed that it follows highly predictable stages in which particular structures are acquired (Ibid:8). We know, for example, that most children learn to use negatives before they use interrogatives in the L1. Some further research showed that similar predictable structures might also be prevalent in SLA. This led to the theory of Error Analysis: by looking at the mistakes that L2 learners made, it was thought possible to work out which structures are acquired before others, and therefore plan teaching accordingly (Ibid:9). However, it was found that the same learners would make different errors in different contexts. Some structures did seem to be acquired later

than others, but the predictability of the sequence of structures acquired in FLA did not seem to apply to SLA (Ellis 1986:8-9).

Noam Chomsky, writing in the 1960s, began the move away from these theories. He discovered that contrary to the behaviourist belief that the more input you give L2 learners, the better the output, there was no link between input and output language (Ellis 1986:12). He introduced the idea of LAD, the Language Acquisition Device, and UG, Universal Grammar. According to Chomsky's theory, the LAD was a special part of the brain devoted to language. Chomsky believed that language input did not necessarily shape FLA. It was merely a trigger to language that was already latent inside us. Chomsky, (cited in Lightbown and Spada 1999:15), claimed that learners, especially first language learners, seem to have the ability to use language that seems to exceed their cognitive development. For example, the grammar of the reflexive pronoun, (himself, herself), in English is remarkably complex, should one try to analyse it and teach it. First language speakers normally acquire it at an age when they would be very unlikely to follow an explanation of the grammar. Chomsky also found that some L2 learners produce aspects of language that could not have come merely from input they have received (Ellis 1986:12). Chomsky never claimed that his UG or LAD theory was applicable to SLA, but Ellis considers that it might be (1986:14). Others, for example Halliday (1978), say that although language seems to comprise a series of universals, we acquire them through interaction with the world, not from an innate sense that is built in to our brains. In other words, L2s are mostly 'taught' to us, and we 'learn' them, however formally or informally.

From Chomsky's writings came the idea that teaching an L2 will not necessarily alter how you acquire it. The means of SLA remains largely the same if you acquire it 'from the street', or in formal language classes. For Chomsky, language is innate but requires a trigger to make it work. However, it has been shown that formal classroom settings as opposed to 'naturalistic' environments seem to affect the *rate* at which the L2 is acquired (Krashen and Seliger 1976). It would seem that theories of SLA have few certainties.

There are three other theories concerning the extent to which learners will acquire an L2 deserve attention here, because they are both very relevant to the South African context. The first is the Acculturation Model of SLA, first proposed by Schumann (1978). Ellis paraphrases Schumann's lengthy definition thus: "...The final level of a learner's SLA will depend on the degree of social and psychological distance between themselves and the target culture..." If the distance between a learner and the culture whose language they are trying to learn is great, the learner is likely to fossilize at a basic level, because he or she will not have access to the higher domains of language. The second theory, closely linked to the acculturation model, is Accommodation Theory. Here, Giles and Bryne (1982) propose that the extent to which the learner learns the L2 is defined by the extent to which the target culture 'lets them

in'. Should the learner be kept at arm's length from the target culture, for instance because of xenophobia or racism, the learner will only acquire as much L2 as they are exposed to. This may lead to a pidgin version of the target language forming, which is what could be said to have happened in some colonised countries across the world, including South Africa.

The third concerns the influence of affectivity in the acquisition of a second language. Brown tells us that "...understanding how human beings feel and respond and believe and value is an exceedingly important aspect of a theory of second language acquisition..." (1987:101). These findings are supported by Hilgard (1963). The issue of how the learner feels towards the target language, the environment in which he or she is learning, and the teacher who is teaching, are all crucial factors in how successful the learner will eventually be. I will return to this important area in Chapter 7.

2.3.9 South Africa's 'Englishes'.

Under apartheid, most blacks would not have interacted with first language speakers of English beyond simple orders and instructions. For this reason, they would be unlikely to have acquired much English beyond responses to simple orders and instructions. In other words, there was a social and psychological distance between target and learner culture.

David Gough (1995) was one of the first researchers to try to establish what the key features of English spoken by blacks in South Africa, (Black South African English, or BSaFE), actually are. He found that BSaFE differed from WSAfE in many respects, syntactically, grammatically, and lexically. In this research, one of the schools is more distanced from the target culture, (assuming that it is black middle class culture or white culture), than the other two. All four schools are distanced to some extent from the target culture. The theories mentioned in 2.3.8 above would suggest that the learners in them do not stand a good chance of acquiring the L2 (English) of a first language speaker, (i.e. WSAfE) without outside influences. They are far more likely to acquire the form they are exposed to, namely BSaFE in the main, despite the fact many of their teaching materials will be in the target language, WSAfE. This may mean that the children encounter a mismatch between the oral English they are exposed to from black adults and the English they encounter in textbooks and from adults of different classes and racial groups. This is certainly an important consideration in deciding which language skills are needed by G1, and which are manifested.

This issue of the mismatch between learners' home languages and school language, even if they are both given the same name of English, is not limited to oracy and reading. As the next section shows, it may even impact on the acquisition of literacy in the first place.

2.3.10 Language/dialect gaps and literacy acquisition

In the United States, much research has been done into the language known as BE (simply Black English). Originally a regional dialect of the Deep South, it came to be associated with blacks when urban migration to other cities in the United States began, and the regional dialect was retained. The first researchers to try to inform educational practice by studying BE were Labov (1968 in Cazden 1972:144), who interviewed black males in New York, and Henrie, (1969 in Cazden 1972:146), who focused on preschool children.

It became apparent in later research that there is a marked difference between the receptive competence of BE speakers and the language they produced. For example, when asked to repeat verbatim the SE sentence: "I asked Alvin if he knew me", the BE speaker might say: "I ax Alvin do he know". The BE speaker believes that he is repeating the sentence, without realizing that he has actually recoded SE in to BE. Most speakers of BE are then bidialectal. The fact that they can so readily convert SE to BE also shows, says Cazden (1972), that the receptive/productive competence of a BE speaker is higher than that of an SE speaker.

The variety of English that the cases in this research get limited aural exposure to is largely BSAfE. This means they are learning a dialect of English. Considering what Cazden says about the receptive and productive competences of dialect speakers, we would expect BSAfE speakers not to have any problems when confronted with WSAfE. However, Cazden says problems may be created when the child is learning to read. SE in the United States bears more resemblance to written English than BE in many respects. (Syntax, grammar, phonics) So a BE speaker when confronted with the task of learning to read has to decode the SE he reads on the page from the starting point of oral BE, not oral SE. In this respect, the SE speaker has an advantage over the BE speaker. The same may be true for WSAfE and BSAfE. It is important to note that Cazden is not trying to say that BE speakers are cognitively impaired by their dialect, only that because their dialect is different from the English they are expected to acquire literacy through, they have more work to do (Cazden suggests that the materials for acquiring literacy be changed to BE, and that subsequent reading material be in SE).

The cases in this research are predominantly learning BSAfE orally. However, they are being taught to read using WSAfE texts, and their literacy discourse is African as opposed to Western. The challenge facing these children even before they reach G1 is not to be underestimated. This is why it is much more complex than it looks to ask the question: Do these children have the English they need to pass G1?

2.3.11 Second Language Literacy

When children reach junior primary, they have already begun to develop literacy. The concepts of literacy and pre-literacy have been discussed in detail above (2.3.3, 2.3.4). Here, I want to briefly mention

the problems that arise when literacy is formally taught in schools. Sandra Lee Mackay (1993) discusses the examples of the UK and the USA, two countries where literacy is taught in English to speakers of languages other than English. This is despite the strong evidence that without a grounding in the L1, it is unlikely that literacy in L2 will be acquired as successfully as it could be. Schools in both the UK and the US claim to have successful bilingual junior primary programs for speakers of other languages. Mackay argues that these are far from bilingual, because to be so, they would have to use both languages with equal weight. She argues that they are in fact static maintenance programs, aimed at keeping the L1 at a very basic level, and promoting the L2. There is no recognition of the fact that it might serve the child better to promote L1 to full literacy before starting on L2 literacy. The policy is similar in the UK. The Bullock Report of 1975 advocated L1 literacy classes in schools, but the Swann Report of 1985 saw L1 learning as 'down to the local community', because the languages were 'too diverse' for mainstream education (Mackay 1993:85). In other words, the UK and USA have assimilationist policies of literacy. Heugh, (2001), argues that South Africa also operates by default along the same lines as the UK and USA. She claims that current policy, such as the Language in Education Policy 1997 which allows schools to make their own decisions about LoLT, allows the restrictive and repressive long-term effects of Bantu Education to continue (Heugh 2001:3). As a speaker of a language other than English, you are required to relinquish your mother tongue in favour of English, despite it being in your best interests to retain it, and acquire your literacy through it. In attempting assimilation, the UK and USA are really encouraging marginalisation, because the L2 speakers of English are put at an immediate disadvantage by not becoming literate in their mother tongue first. Their eventual level of literacy is likely to be lower than L1 speakers because of this.

2.3.12 Language status in South Africa and choices in LoLT

One of the major findings of the Linguistic Minorities Project, which was set up in 1979 in the UK to 'measure the extent of bilingualism among the school population and the scope of mother tongue teaching' (Tollefson 1991:49) was that there can be no discussion of language in education without a discussion of language in society. In seeking to conduct research and to report on that research using a critical paradigm, the four schools in this study were not viewed as somehow extraneous to the communities they served, but integral to them. In the same way, to talk about the teaching and learning of languages in the schools as practice isolated from the rest of society would also be misleading. In this final section of this chapter, I will attempt to summarise the main points of the LoLT debate in South Africa and beyond that have relevance to this research.

South Africa has had 11 official languages since 1996, although English is presently the dominant language in South Africa in certain spheres, such as business, politics, the media, and sport (Bowerman,

2000). It is also the language of wider communication between people of different ethnic groups in South Africa and beyond. A sound grasp of English ensures access to certain institutions, like some schools and some universities. English is also a prerequisite for many of the most sought-after jobs in South Africa. For these reasons, English is commonly associated with success. African languages, including BSAfE, have lower status than English, because they do not provide the access to certain areas of society that English does. Because of this, there has been a long held general assumption that all black parents want a straight-for-English model in their schools, and that they value English more highly than their own African languages. It is this sentiment, true or otherwise, that has led to English continuing to be used as LoLT in most schools in South Africa, despite the constitution's support for the mother tongue.

Kathleen Heugh (2001) in an important article for PRAESA seeks to dispel many of the myths surrounding language in education policy. She begins by saying that much research has been done into the effects of starting to teach through English, or any other second language, too soon. The result is failure across the school curriculum. Heugh points out that language in a broad sense is the key to successful learning and teaching. South African children must by no means be denied access to English, but must be systematically introduced to it over time, and in the first instance as a second language, not as LoLT. She even goes so far as to support Skutnabb Kangas (2000) that the reason why almost every educational policy directed at indigenous people in Southern Africa has failed is because it has been introduced in the wrong LoLT. Heugh claims our present day apparently transformational curriculum and schools are still marginalizing the very people whose status they are supposed to be improving because they are using a second language as LoLT too soon.

Added to the problems of the learners being disadvantaged by starting to learn through English too soon is the issue of whether the educators have enough capacity to teach through the medium of English themselves. In 2000/2001, the majority of teacher trainees in the primary and ECD sectors in South Africa were black, and spoke an African language as their first language (Lehohla 2002:5.43). Yet the majority of teacher training courses are taught predominantly through English, with little provision made for African languages. Those teacher trainees who speak English as a first language are in the minority, but are not required, although some can choose to, offer an African language in order to qualify as a teacher, even if the majority of learners in the country speak an African language as their mother tongue. Furthermore, although there are some teacher-training courses in this country that assist English second language speakers with their English as part of the course, they are in the minority. As can be seen in later chapters of this thesis, this issue of linguistic knowledge and skills amongst our educators is something that concerns staff, teachers and policy makers alike.

This thesis has tried not to enter the LoLT debate. It is a field where much research has already been done. I conducted this research assuming the status quo on the sites where I worked (i.e. the G1

classes use to varying degrees a mixture of English and isiXhosa, (subtractive bilingualism) one preschool uses English only, (monolingualism), and the other uses isiXhosa with English (additive bilingualism)). I did not seek to effect change in the choice of languages of teaching and learning in the schools I worked in. I am attempting a critical description of how they are acquired. Nonetheless, I acknowledge that the choice of LoLT, because of the time when it is introduced, may indeed be holding back some learners from achieving their potential. My concern is with whether they have sufficient linguistic skills in their LoLT to acquire the other skills they must learn in G1, such as literacy and numeracy.

2.3.13 Conclusions

Asking whether a child has the capacity to succeed in their first year of primary school is a complex question, and the complexity is not reduced if that child has attended preschool. Young children face a number of possible obstacles in their attempt to complete G1. One is the issue of LoLT in the preschool and G1, and the possible leap that the child has to make between the two. Additionally, as they acquire literacy, they may have to make links between the oral English they are exposed to, BSAfE, and the English of textbooks and readers, WSAfE. There may also be a gap between their emergent literacies and that required in school. On top of all these, they face the challenge of having to acquire a second language and having to use that language for some or all of their learning. The task facing black children entering their first year of school is not to be underestimated.

Chapter 3

Research Methods and Methodology

In this chapter, I will be setting out the rationale behind the research design on which this study is based. I will begin by defining the main paradigm in which I collected and analysed data, that of critical theory. From here, I will go on to discuss how I arrived at the case study as a suitable research tool and what problems I encountered with its use. The final sections of this chapter take a detailed look at the methods I used for deciding on a model for data collection and chart the way I arrived at the means of evaluating that data *vis a vis* the research questions.

3.1 Critical Theory and the case study

Critical theory sees conflict as a part of everyday life. It holds that if you can reveal conflict in a situation, you are close to discovering the truth about it, or disclosing the true interests of a situation (Gibson 1986:4). One way of trying to establish what conflict is occurring is to ask of the situation: 'Whose interests are being served here?' In the context of this research, asking the above question immediately reveals all the possible conflicts present in the situation. Is it the learners, or the parents of the learners, who affect the teaching and learning of English in the sample schools? Is it the teachers, because it is easier for them to teach in English? Or is it the white South Africans/white Western powers, who, if they manage to make all black Africans speak nothing but English, will have succeeded in colonizing them all over again?

Critical theory is suspicious of all motives and actions. There are no absolute facts, or value-free actions. Humans construct all knowledge and certain knowledge is used to manipulate or control others. One example of this might be the 'knowledge' that African languages do not have the lexical capacity to be high status languages like English, so therefore it is useless to learn African languages if you want to enter the high status areas of society (Webb 2002).¹

Critical theorists, (e.g. Habermas in Thompson and Held 1982), argue against the notion of common sense, saying that it is nothing but an ideology. An ideology is an idea or collection of ideas that specifies your relationship with the world around you (Ibid:11). Ideologies are often a mask for the true interests of those who are being served by them. For instance, someone might say that it is 'common sense' that the earlier you start to learn through a second language, the better you will be at it. This notion

¹ This assertion is only true so long as people believe it to be so. If those who function in high status areas were to decide to use Xhosa instead of English, the language would adapt to cope, just as Latin, English, and Afrikaans all did at various times in their history.

is part of that person's ideology, and in fact runs contrary to research in SLA which is still undecided about which age(s) of learner result in the best language acquisition (Ellis1986:104). Critical theory is suspicious of this 'common sense', and asks whose interests are being served by this ideology. It might be that this person wishes their child to get into an English medium school, and seeing as all children at that school have been speaking English since a young age, the person assumes this is the way to get their child into that school. The interests of the parent are being served over that of the child, and the interests of the English medium school over that of the parent and the child. In researching this thesis, I have tried to be suspicious of all my own assumptions and those of the people I have been working with. I have tried to look behind the ideologies that impact on the case children's lives and learning and to reveal them.

3.2 Selecting the method of research.

In choosing a framework for data collection, I wanted to be sure that the method was going to present new insight, not just confirm my own theories about the research questions. I also realized that the focus of my study, i.e. the children's learning of an additional language, could not be separated easily from the contexts in which it occurred and which surrounded it. It would be difficult to observe how a child learns without taking account of her immediate and general environment. "...Classroom studies are limited in their explanatory power if they present classrooms as if they were socially decontextualised domains, and teachers as if their actions were those of idiosyncratic individuals..." (Arthur 1998:314). Initially, I wanted to observe how the whole class learned. I realized that it would be impossible to form an understanding of how learning was happening if I had to watch twenty to thirty children at a time. There would not be enough detail in my observation to talk about how the children learned, only how the class was taught or managed. It was important then to find a way of observing the child in a variety of learning situations and see how he or she coped. I was also aware that what a child does in the classroom is affected by matters outside it. It would be an incomplete study that only looked at the child's behaviour in the classroom without reference to the environments he or she is exposed to outside of it. Because I was the sole researcher in this study, I also could not afford to be in any one school for more than a couple of months, and even then for only a few days of the week. This limited how much observation of any one child I could actually carry out, and how many children I could observe.

3.3 Choosing the case study as a framework for research

The case study is a research framework employed across many disciplines, many of which are not academic. It has a very broad range of uses. Essentially, a case study aims to understand a limited subject in as broad a context as possible. The reasons for doing this are as many as the number of case studies conducted (see Yin 1994:4-5 for examples). Case studies can set out to improve, understand or alter the

subject in some way (e.g. a business conducts a case study of the final stage of its production line in order to improve its quality control). A case study could simply describe a case with a view to generating further research, such as an NGO that conducts a case study to tell its funding agencies about an irrigation scheme that seems to be effective with a view to generating more funds to establish why this scheme worked. Additionally, the study could set out to compare two subjects studied in equal detail in order to come to a deeper understanding of their contexts. A case can be as large as a planet and as small as an atom; the aim could be to describe, understand, alter, or compare the subject(s); the result could be one page or a whole book.

Yin (1994) is considered to be one of the leading writers on case study research. He tells us that the case study is best used when the phenomena to be studied are not easily distinguishable from their context. The central phenomenon of this study, i.e. the ability of the learners to learn and use English, cannot be studied in isolation. The observable data is linked to the learner's home environment, his or her teachers, the resources available at home and at school, and education policy. All these things form the context of learning for the learner, and it is the responsibility of the case study researcher to find out as much as possible about all of them.

Yin divides case studies into descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory types. Descriptive case studies seek only to describe the case and its context. Explanatory ones seek not only to describe, but also to evaluate the observed data and draw further conclusions from this evaluation. Exploratory studies define themselves as they take shape: the initial aim is also to describe the case(s), and then to choose one aspect of that case that is particularly relevant to the research questions and focus on that alone. This research is intended to fit somewhere between the descriptive and the explanatory. I intended to give as full an account of the cases and their contexts as I could, but I was also keen to show where the differences in second language ability lay, and what might have caused them. Had there been more time available, I would have gone on to work on practical outcomes and possible implementation of findings.

3.4 Organizing the research framework to fit the case study model.

Stake (1995) is another major writer on case study research. He tells us that a case study is essentially concerned with trying to understand a system at work. The researcher is aiming to interpret the system or systems that surround the case, and how the case is linked to them. He or she therefore needs to define, within the parameters of the research questions, *how* he or she intends to achieve an understanding of the case. This understanding does not have to be a psychological analysis, unless the aim of the research is simply to try to form a detailed understanding of the case. My research aims to use the case children to answer other questions, not simply to answer questions about the case itself.

In order to create this understanding of the systems the case is involved in, Stake suggests establishing issue questions for the case(s) (p20). Bearing in mind the research questions, the researcher needs to devise issue questions that will allow him or her to come to as full an understanding as possible of the case. Issue questions are not intended to take precedence over the research questions, but rather to assist in answering them. As the research progresses, Stake advises the researcher to review these questions in the light of existing data. The issue questions I decided on were as follows:

- How does the teacher affect the learner's learning of English? (Including, but not limited to, her teaching style, her personality, background, experience, attitude to job, attitude to case child/children.)
- How does the classroom environment affect the learner's learning of English?
- How does the home environment affect the learner's learning of English?
- What other factors affect the learner's learning of English, besides those directly observed?

The issue questions above are the ones I came up with before I began collecting data. As I continued with the research, I felt that the questions were really only looking at the case from the point of view of a language learner, and did not really set out to describe the *whole* person. This was not necessarily problematic, because as mentioned above, I was not seeking to answer questions about the case, but to use the case to answer questions. However, I felt a deeper understanding of the children as *people* as opposed to simply *learners* was an important aspect of the validity (i.e. usefulness, legitimacy and impartiality) of the research. After all, it is ultimately the learner as a subject of his or her learning environment that does the learning, and learning patterns and strategies are as individual as humans themselves. Because of the age of the children, I felt interviewing the children directly would not produce valid data. I would have to arrive at my description indirectly. I therefore added the following issue questions:

- Is the child generally happy in the school environment?
- What factors have contributed to the child being sent to this particular school?
- How do adults responsible for the child perceive the child's progress at school?

Answering the issue questions, or devising ways to arrive at answers, is much more difficult than deciding on the questions! I now needed to decide on ways to answer my issue questions, and in doing so, to arrive at answers to my research questions.

3.5 Choosing data collection tools.

I had decided that the case study would be a suitable method of answering my research questions. I now had to decide on tools for data collection. Yin says that a case study does not stipulate a certain type of data collection. Because a case can be as small as an individual and as large as a country, the methods of collecting data must necessarily vary. However, Yin does say that one important feature of the case study is that it uses multiple sources of evidence because it triangulates the data, thereby increasing its validity (1994:91). One cannot describe the context of a phenomenon adequately without using many tools to do so. For example, using one test on a child to work out how good they are at speaking English will not tell you how that child has learnt the language. In this research, I used two sets of interviews per school, direct observation of two cases in the classroom, informal observation around both schools, and relevant documentation at a micro and macro level. The reasons for choosing these tools follow later.

3.6 Choosing the case.

Having decided on a case study as a framework for my research, I then had to consider what to view as the case. Being so limited in fieldwork time and resources, I decided against making each school into a case. Instead, I made each case one child, and chose two children from each of two preschool classrooms, making four in total. I chose this number because I wanted to keep the validity of the study intact by replicating similar results in similar environments. Yin says that case studies are often criticized for a lack of validity, that they are too relative, and do not seek to 'back up' their findings. One way of ensuring validity is to have multiple cases in the same environment. The aim of this should not be to make the study somehow wider, and therefore more easily generalisable. Case studies do not try to generalize. They try to be as explicit as possible about the particular. Once this is achieved, it may then be possible to generalize from the findings, once the whole context of case and environment is laid bare. The aim of multiple cases is rather to replicate the findings for the sake of construct validity (Stake 1995:113). One can choose cases who are alike, or alternatively ones who are in some important sense dissimilar. The aim is to show that your data is consistent between the two cases, either because it is similar, or because it is predictably different. In this research, I chose the latter option, as will be explained in the following section.

3.7 Selecting the case children.

In each school, I decided to first ask the teacher to suggest one child whom she considered to be slightly above the class average in terms of concentration span, motivation and confidence, and one who was slightly below. I then decided I would also conduct a small pilot study on these children to assess

their suitability for the research. The intention was to strike a balance between the teacher's opinion and my own of certain children's classroom learning skills. The teacher's opinion was likely to be better informed than mine as she would have had more contact with the children but I was not sure I could trust it completely. My pilot would not seek to confirm or deny what the teacher said, merely to use another source of evidence on which to base the decision.

The pilot involved observing both children for two days. The criteria I used were as follows:

- Does the child frequently interact orally with other children?

(Most of the assessment criteria I chose to assess the children with were based on oral language. If a child was unconfident about speaking with her peers in her first language, I believed it would be difficult to assess her competence in her additional language.)

- Does the child ask the teacher questions?

(It was important to me that the child should not find adults threatening, and should be reasonably confident in interacting with them. Again, many of the assessment criteria would depend on the child being able to initiate and maintain interaction with an adult they knew well.)

- Does the child concentrate at least partially on the tasks assigned?

(If the child were unable to finish tasks because of poor concentration, it would make assessing the child's competence in certain areas difficult.)

My reason for asking the teacher to suggest slightly above and slight below average learners was that I did not want the study just to concentrate on the 'successes' or the 'failures' of the school. I did not want to dwell on the gulf of 'ability' that exists between the most advantaged children in the class and the least. This meant I wanted to choose children on either side of an assumed average. The final choices are reflected in the table below. (For more details on the individual schools, see Appendix 1.)

Grade	Classroom Teacher	Abbreviation	Learners	Abbreviation	School	Order visited
R	Xolelwa	Xo	Andile, Noma	An, N	Prima	1
R	Anita (Annette)	A	Sandiswa, Aiya	S, Aiya	Secunda	2
1	Priscilla	P	Andile	An	Rhini One	3
1	Sipho	SP	Sandiswa, Aiya	S, Aiya	Secunda One	3
1	Janette	J	Noma	N	Graham One	3

3.8 Deciding on a data collection method.

Having decided on the criteria by which to select the case children, I now had to consider how I was going to set about collecting data about their language. One of my first ideas about ways to collect data about the language that children were able to use was to conduct a test or series of tests. I did some research into existing English language tests for young learners. Those that were available from institutions like the Cambridge Examining Board and IELTS did not have tests for children as young as 5 or 6. I then began to look into the possibility of devising my own tests. When I began to read on the subject, I realized almost straight away that testing is a potential minefield in terms of generating useful, valid, and reliable data.

3.8.1 Problems with administering a test

Courtney Cazden writes about the phenomenon of 'test readiness' (1972:268). She says that data from tests can only be reliable if students know how the idea of testing works. They must also be ready to do a certain test at a certain time. She also cites other key factors of successful testing, such as the subject's familiarity with the tester.

The preschools had their own methods of assessing the learners. Instead of testing, it was carried out by means of casual observation on the part of the teacher over the course of the year, and reports were written and given out once a term. The criteria were spread across areas such as motor skills, concentration span, pre literacy, pre numeracy, and social interaction skills (see Appendix 9). With one exception, (Xoliswa in Prima, 18/10/02), no teacher in GR ever tested their learners in any formal or informal sense.

Conducting a test myself of my own devising was therefore unlikely to be either valid or reliable: the children would not be familiar with me or with the concept of a test, meaning that they would have virtually no test readiness. It seemed that using a test on these learners was likely to provide data that was at best unreliable, and at worst misleading.

3.8.2 Alternatives to testing

The Draft National Curriculum Statement (NCS) was written in 2001 and the revised version was published in 2002. This research used the Draft version of the document, because this was the only one available at the time the initial data was collected. The Draft NCS was intended to build on Curriculum 2005 (C2005) and the overall policy of Outcomes Based Education (DET 1997a). The NCS is more prescriptive than the previous C2005 policy document, and its terminology is also clearer. (Instead of

the wealth of terminology that accompanied C2005, the NCS sticks to Learning Outcomes (LOs) and Assessment Standards (ASs). The LOs are evidenced by the ASs: in order for a teacher to gauge whether a learner has successfully completed a course, she looks for evidence by checking the learner's work against the assessment standards. If enough of these have been completed satisfactorily, then the learner is deemed to have fulfilled an outcome. If the learner fulfils all the outcomes, he has passed the grade. The NCS is concerned, as was C2005, with a transformational agenda in line with the new South African Constitution. The emphasis is on equipping learners with the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that will enable them to redress the inequalities of South Africa's past, and shape a new social order. Therefore much of the focus of the ASs and LOs for languages are concerned with developing skills to encourage further learning rather than simply knowledge for its own sake. The curriculum is learner centred, and aims to move away from transmission-based pedagogies. There has, however, been some debate recently (e.g. Jansen and Rasool in Jansen 1999) about whether the whole concept of OBE, including therefore the NCS, is not essentially reductionist and only concerned with the product rather than the process of learning. As Jansen says: "...Much of the educational and political struggle of the 1980s valued the processes of learning and teaching as ends in themselves..." (Jansen 1999:150).) A full copy of the LOs and ASs for GR and G1 is contained in Appendix 3.

The NCS had not actually been implemented at the time I started my research. Some teachers had by that stage had some training in C2005, but this did not necessarily include pre-primary teachers. Nonetheless, I decided to use the NCS criteria as my own in assessing the additional language ability of the learners in the three schools. I made this decision because:

- I did not have sufficient experience in developing assessment criteria for second language learners to develop my own.
- I did not have the time to do the necessary reading in order to develop useful assessment criteria, or to pilot any criteria I came up with.
- C2005 was at best vague in what it defined as the outcomes for Grade R. I felt I would still have to resort to making my own specific criteria to take into the classroom, and again, I had little experience or time to do so.
- The NCS had a clear list of what competencies learners at Grade R should be able to demonstrate in their first additional language. It was the most up to date and most researched document currently available for assessing young South Africans.
- Even if teachers were not currently working with the NCS, I felt the outcomes the NCS stipulated were broad enough to be key features of any pre-primary curriculum. For this reason, I didn't feel it would be unfair to assess learners on a curriculum they were not yet being taught.

Accordingly, I decided to assess the work that the learners produced in the course of my time in the relevant school according to criteria from the National Curriculum Statement.

3.8.3 Problems with using the National Curriculum Statement.

The combination of the draft NCS and intensive classroom observation was by no means the perfect tool for assessing the children's language either at GR or at G1. Almost every LO at G1 uses the word 'understands' in some or all of the ASs. (e.g. LO6 AS6 'Understands some negative forms'.) It is of course very difficult to assess if a child *understands* various aspects of language, because we cannot climb into their minds and see if the item has been understood. We have only outward evidence that they have understood, like a physical or oral reaction in response to teacher/peer language, or production of the target language itself. Thus in many instances, I had to infer competence from scant evidence, or conclude that there was no opportunity for the learner to demonstrate understanding of a certain item or set of items.

Another problem was that most of the outcomes/assessment standards for GR and G1 do not require hard copy evidence: that is, they occur in the course of interaction between learners and other learners or learners and teachers, and are not always found on pieces of paper or in teacher-led activities. For example, one of the outcomes reads:

LO 2

The learner is able to communicate effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.

(LO2, AS1 DET 2001b:73)

Considering the amount of background noise in the GR and G1 classrooms, I realised that I would have to be shadowing the case children around the room all day to hear everything they said. This would clearly be impractical. I considered the idea of using a lightweight recording machine attached to the child's clothing in some way. I decided that rather like the concept of test readiness mentioned above, the children were unlikely to be 'recording ready', or it would take too long to make them so. Thus I would almost certainly be collecting invalid data either by following the child or trying to record them. Once I was in the classrooms, I found that it was possible to sit and to move in such a way that I was able to

record almost everything the children said to one another from quite a distance without them being aware of my presence.

A further problem was created by Assessment Standards like the following one (for the Learning Outcome mentioned above):

Assessment Standard (1 of 3)

We know this when the learner challenges bias by resisting name-calling of any kind (e.g. cruel, racist, or xenophobic names).

(LO2, AS1 DET 2001b:73)

This assessment standard could only be evidenced by its absence in interactions between learners. This could be read as requiring the assessor to be constantly vigilant of every learner to ensure that the learner *doesn't* do something in order to decide whether they have achieved Learning Outcome 2. There are clear practical limitations to this. Other Learning Outcomes needed evidence that would be found in hard copy. In these cases, it seemed that the achievement of an AS would be fairly easy to assess. For instance:

Learning Outcome 4

The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.

Assessment Standard (1 of 5)

We know this when the learner copies simple words he/she already knows orally.

(LO4, AS1 DET 2001b:74)

With many of the outcomes, I saw that I would need to observe the cases very closely indeed to determine whether they had fulfilled certain outcomes. As in the first example, some would only be manifested by their absence, and then only in communication between learners. I realized at this stage that I would be likely to have trouble hearing what learners were saying to each other over the noise of the classroom. It would therefore be difficult to collect specific evidence for each outcome. Also, the outcomes for GR are intended to be for the whole year, and I would only be in each school for a maximum of twelve weeks. I could not guarantee that in this time I would observe all I needed to, or that what I observed would be repeated often enough to be able to say the learner was manifesting a competence in a certain area.

The Draft Revised NCS also included many Assessment Standards that required the teacher to carry out specific tasks in order for the learners to demonstrate competence in them. Often, the teacher would not actually conduct this particular activity with the class, meaning the children had no opportunity to demonstrate ability in a certain area. A typical example is the following AS:

Understands short, simple dramatized stories:

- Joins in choruses at appropriate points (eg [sic] he huffs and he puffs and he *blows the house* down).
- Draws a picture of the story.

(LO1, AS1 DET 2001b:73)

With ASs like this, I decided either to try to infer competence in them from the activities that the children did in the classroom, or to remove that particular AS from my eventual interpretation of the child's English.

A further problem was created by the fact that the NCS differentiates between home and additional languages. The home language is described as the child's first language of learning in school. The additional language is described as a language that is not currently used as the LoLT, but may be later (DET 2001b:65). The distinction is not problematic to the research *per se*, only the definition. I was only interested in assessing one of the learner's languages, namely English. However, English did not fit neatly into either the additional or the home language category. The NCS sees the additional language as something that is not used in schools as the LoLT, but the additional language *was* being used in many sites in this research wholly or partly as the LoLT. Furthermore, the home language, (isiXhosa or Afrikaans), was either not used at all or only partially in the schools in question. I therefore found it difficult to decide if I should evaluate the children's English using the home or additional language criteria. English was in some senses an additional language, but according to the NCS, it was also the home language because it was the first language of learning in school.

Ultimately, I decided that despite the NCS definitions, English was in every case an additional language for the children concerned. For this reason, I chose to use the additional language criteria for English not the home language ones, which were much more demanding.

3.9 Deciding on a data collection method.

By this stage, I decided I would need to leave the idea of structured testing behind completely, despite the problems I anticipated with using the NCS. I also came to the conclusion that the majority of

the assessment standards in the NCS required evidence that would have to be pieced together over time. This evidence was also likely to be found in informal and formal oral-based situations within the classroom. The most logical tool I could use would be observation, especially since the teachers themselves used this method to assess their own learners. The only difference for me would be that my observation would be intensive, and focused on only two children out of up to forty. My data would therefore be much more dense, and less impressionistic than the teacher's. I would also only be collecting data about the first additional language, as opposed to the other data that the teacher needed to capture.

3.10 Problems with the intensive observation tool.

Once I began to research how intensive observation was best used in case studies, I found that it was not quite the perfect tool I had thought it would be.

Swann (1994) cautions the researcher not to conclude that because a child does not produce language in a certain context that they cannot do so. Conversely, if a child produces target language or carries out an action that could be construed as evidence for a learning outcome, this does not mean to say that the child will always be capable of producing that evidence. In other words, 'one offs' are not enough to be considered as evidence, and neither is no evidence conclusive of inability. Swann tells the researcher that one way round this is to take a qualitative approach to what one observes, but then to analyse it quantitatively. (i.e. record what you see and hear verbatim, and then record the number of times similar utterances were produced.)

This produced a problem straight away: I thought it would be unlikely, considering the limited time I would have available in each school, that I would manage to hear enough English, or observe enough responses to English used by the teacher to be able to make any sort of quantitative assessment of the children's speech. To begin with, the children were not at the age where they were expected to be able to produce much of their own English, beyond formulaic responses and questions. They would also be unlikely to use English with one another in the school context, only with the teacher. The preamble to the NCS supports this view (DET 2001b:65). In practice, I found that this was not always the case.

I decided that I would need to find a way to make my observation likely to produce data that I could use as evidence towards the NCS outcomes. I began to wonder if there was a way to hybridise testing and intensive observation, taking the reliability of testing, and mixing this with the unobtrusiveness of observation. In this connection, Tina Bennett Kastor (1988) provided useful guidance with her description of controlled observation. Here, the researcher sets up an experimental situation using the children in the case study. The environment is controlled, and could take the form of the researcher or teacher asking the child questions, to which the child must make some sort of response (e.g. the child has two building blocks in front of her. The teacher asks the child to put the big block on top of the small

block. If the child successfully does so, the researcher is able to conclude that the child understands 'on top of' the adjectives 'big' and 'small', and the imperative 'put'). Bennett Kastor warns the researcher that this method should only be used if the evidence the research needs does not present itself by other means. The reason for this is that the more controlled the environment in which data is collected becomes, the more unreliable it becomes as well. If we try to control environments, we are limiting the variables involved, and as Bloom says "...One cannot know with certainty which variables of context have the most power in determining acquisition, and even what all the variables of the context might be..." (in Bennett Kastor 1988:33). This goes back to Cazden's point about test readiness. The more one takes a research subject away from its normal context, the more the data gathered will be tainted by the research effect. In other words, by trying to extract something from a child, like an action or piece of target language, you are creating an artificial scenario for that language or action to be produced. If your target is to see whether that child can use that language or perform that action appropriately in context, then the artificial scenario will tell you very little to help you achieve your target. My aim in this research was in the first case to describe as accurately as possible the second language knowledge and skills of a small sample of learners, and from there to determine whether these skills were adequate to pass G1. I was most definitely interested in what language children could use in the classroom context, because the ability to do so was what would determine their success at G1. For this reason, it seemed that controlled observation would also be of limited use to me.

Despite making this decision, once I was actually in the field, I found that the data I collected by intensive observation alone was often difficult to match to the learning outcomes of the NCS. I devised some short discrete item language tests with all the case children once I had observed them in the classroom. These were all conducted by the teachers, Xolelwa and Anita, during the course of the school day according to my instructions and with me as an observer. Following Swann's note of caution above, I did not take any unwillingness or lack of response to answer questions or carry out tasks on the part of the children as evidence of inability. In devising and conducting these tests, I was aiming only to give the children an opportunity to demonstrate ability in an area that they had not had an opportunity to demonstrate in the course of normal classroom interaction. As it transpired, the tests that Xolelwa conducted at Prima were only partially successful: Xolelwa misunderstood some of my instructions as to how the tasks should be conducted with the children and this affected the validity of the observed data. They were therefore discounted in the final analysis of data.

3.11 Non-participant observation

This research has been conducted as a case study. According to Stake, case studies by their nature should be non-interventive (i.e. the researcher must assume a distant and exterior role to the case).

However, in this study, it was difficult for me to be completely distant from the people and the case children who were in the research sites (the schools). As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I had got to know most of the teachers in the previous year, particularly those in Prima and Secunda One, because I had been employed in both schools. This meant that the teachers would regularly engage me in conversation, often about the research I was doing. It would have been difficult not to answer these questions, or somehow to become distant from the teachers simply because I was now a researcher, not a colleague. I tried as far as possible not to discuss my observations or even to reveal to the teachers who the case children were, because I was afraid of my presence influencing the teachers', and therefore the children's, behaviour. Sometimes this was not possible, as the teachers were naturally curious about what I was doing. Especially in the G1 classrooms, I was only able to collect data because of the teachers' sympathy with the study and me. To have evaded the teachers' questions would have been unfair, and might have altered the behaviour of the teachers in other ways.

In addition, the children in the schools regularly involved me in their activities, and even used me as a learning resource. Initially, I was concerned that I was becoming a participant observer, because I was becoming part of their daily classroom environment. Although I made as few statements as possible because I was afraid of influencing their language with my own, some of the richest data in the study came from the times when the children came to talk to me.

I do not consider the interaction I had with teachers and learners in the schools to have negatively affected the validity of the case study. On the contrary, much of the success of the interviews was dependent on the fact that I had already got to know the teachers in the schools, and they were therefore more likely to provide fuller answers to my questions than a more distant and anonymous researcher would perhaps have been able to elicit. The fact that the children interacted with me afforded me many opportunities to observe and listen to them more closely than I was able to when they were sitting at their tables. Even in this small way, I believe my 'semi-participant' status in many of the classrooms was a boon to the validity of the research rather than a detraction from it.

3.12 The need for interviews

Intensive observation was likely to be the best method of supplying me with data about each case when I was in the classroom. However, language use and acquisition is not limited to the classroom. It occurs in the playground and at home as well, and in almost every aspect of a child's life. I felt that I needed to collect data about all these other contexts to have as complete a picture as possible of each child's English language competence. In short, I felt that my case study needed something to supply data that I could not gain by informal and intensive observation alone. In particular, I wanted to get an idea of the factors behind the teachers' styles and methods, and to find out as much as possible about the child's

home background. My first idea was to conduct interviews with parents, teachers, and other adults who had regular contact with the child. I later refined this to three interviews per school: one with the teacher and one with the adult members of the household for each case (there were two case children per school).

3.13 Devising an interviewing strategy

Cohen and Manion's (1994) chapter on interviews divides the interview into three broad categories: structured, unstructured, and focused. The structured interview uses a fixed set of questions from which the interviewer deviates as little as possible. The unstructured interview has a series of questions, but the course the interviewer takes through them is not fixed. The interviewer may also use probes, (additional questions devised on the spot), to refine the interviewee's response. The focused interview requires the interviewee to have been involved in a particular situation, such as having seen a certain television programme. The interviewer conducts her own analysis of this situation, and then listens to the interviewee talking about it. One key feature of the focused interview is that the interviewer must be able to interpret the interview as it is in progress and allow the interviewee to guide the content of the interview themselves. Each type of interview has its advantages and disadvantages.

A structured interview is clearly limiting in the type of data it will produce. It is almost like an oral questionnaire. The interviewer can only ask each question once in a certain way, and must record the first answer he or she is given. The advantage of this kind of interview is that the data produced is reliable, but not necessarily valid. One interviewer will conduct the interview in much the same way as another, and the same interviewee would presumably give the same responses with different interviewers.

The unstructured and focused interviews have the immediate advantage of allowing the interviewer to collect richer and broader data. If the interviewee starts talking about something that is relevant to the research but that hasn't been anticipated in the questions, she can deviate from the script and question the interviewee further. An unstructured interview is more likely to generate research that goes beyond the thinking of the interviewer and current thinking. One of the major disadvantages is reliability, and the fact that it takes a skilled interviewer to make sure unscripted questions produce valid answers. It is all too easy to ask leading questions when they have not been scripted.

Ultimately, I decided that I needed something half way between the unstructured and the structured. I couldn't be sure that my interviewing experience would be sufficient to ask valid questions whilst thinking on my feet. However, I didn't want to limit my research before I had even begun, and after all, this was a critical study, and therefore supposed to question existing ideologies. I felt that the more I tried to predict answers in order to formulate questions, the further away I was moving from generating new knowledge. I decided to formulate a list of questions built on my research questions and issue questions, (see 1.1), and also to devise a set of probes for each question. In this way, I would be

keeping the interview structured, but not denying myself the opportunity to ask further questions on a topic should the need arise. My interview scripts are included in Appendix 6a and 6b, along with transcriptions of all the interviews.

I was initially concerned about research effect on the interviewees. I am white, male, and not South African. Nearly all my interviewees would be black and female. (It became clear whilst doing the interviews that most of the fathers were mostly not interested in giving their own answers to questions about their children's education and left it up to their wives to respond.) I was also concerned about my lack of fluency in the vernacular, (isiXhosa), and that interviewees would be intimidated by having to understand and use English with me. Cohen and Manion (1994) say that bias is inevitable in any interview, because ultimately it is a social encounter like any other. Interviews differ as much as social encounters differ, no matter how much emphasis is placed on reliability. However, they do say that attempts should be made to eliminate bias.

Grahamstown is still a relatively divided community in terms of race and privilege. Rich and poor live in separate areas, as do black, white and coloured. Merely entering a traditionally black area would be considered unusual for a white male. I considered it an important aspect of the case study to see where the child lived, but I also felt it would be important to try to minimize the effect my presence would have on the interview. I considered using black interviewers, but dismissed this as too expensive of time and other resources. Ultimately, I decided to take a black friend or colleague with me to every interview. In all cases bar one, this was the teacher herself. She would fulfil the role of translator, if needed, and bridge between the interviewer and interviewee. (As it turned out, I decided on the basis of meeting some of the parents informally that for some interviews, both these functions would be unnecessary.)

3.14 Deciding on a method of data analysis

This study used five main sources of data: written documentation, parent interviews, teacher interviews, intensive observation of the case children, and casual observation of the sites and communities in which the schools were situated. All these sources were intended in the first instance to answer the issue questions, thereby reaching as full an understanding of the case children as possible. From this understanding of the case children, I hoped to be able to answer the research questions.

The sources of oral data (the interviews and observations) were recorded by machine and by notes, and ended up being very dense. Because of this, I spent much more time trying to make sense of the data than collecting it. Stake (1995:53) tells us that data collected in a case study should be constantly reviewed whilst it is being collected, and the researcher should actively aim to find alternative theories to the ones that the data is leading them to believe. The intention is to avoid the interpretation and the data that the researcher collects becoming biased and monocular. The researcher should therefore always be on



the look-out for data that actively conflicts with previous assumptions and/or data. I then decided on the following method.

Immediately following the collection of a piece of data, I typed it up on to a PC. As I typed what I had recorded, I added details that were still fresh in my mind about what I had observed or heard, which I had not been able to fully record at the time. Secondly, I added a spontaneous interpretation of the data as I reviewed it (these are recorded in italics in Appendix 7 and 8). Once I had finished collecting a 'chunk' of intensive or casual observation data, such as a week or two weeks at a preschool, I reviewed all the spontaneous interpretations and the data I had collected for that period. I then coded the data into separate issues. (I have presented the raw data in Appendix 7 and 8 in coded form for Grade 1 but in chronological order for Grade R so that it makes more sense as one reads through page by page.) The purpose of the coding was to divide the mass of data into linked sections and thus assist me with interpretation and analysis, specifically the answering of the issue questions.

I did not use the same codes for every school, although there was some overlap. This was because some of the data did not present itself as clearly separate from another issue in the context in which it was observed. For instance, the Learner Literacy code was not clearly distinct from Learner English in Prima because of the teaching style and the classroom environment. In Secunda however, there were distinct literacy activities, which I felt merited a coding of their own. I coded the data from intensive observation using the following categories:

- Learner General (things the case child said or did which were not directly related to their English language learning, but were none the less relevant to the research.)
- Learner English (things the case child said or did which were directly related to their learning of English.)
- Learner Literacy (things the case child said or did which were directly related to their acquisition of literacy, either in English or the L1.)
- Attitude of the Teacher (things the classroom teacher said or did which were relevant to the case children's learning of English.)
- Class Environment (things which occurred in the classroom, or were part of the static environment which might have indirectly affected the case children's learning of English.)
- Research Effect (things which occurred during data collection which might have been influenced by the research being conducted.)
- The School in the Community (things observed in casual or intensive observation which revealed how the school is perceived by its users.)

In many cases, the data did not fit neatly into a category. For example, it was often difficult to separate data into either the Classroom Environment or the Attitude of the Teacher, especially in light of the fact that at the Foundation Phase, the teacher plays a very active role in the classroom. Thus what the teacher says or does forms a large part of the classroom environment. Often, I had to separate one event in the classroom into two or three categories, because the event was relevant to three sections.

The classification of the data did not of course answer the research questions or even the issue questions by itself. From the coded data, I then had to formulate answers to both. In this regard, I decided to review all the data and the contemporaneous interpretations I had made, and tried to come up with a general interpretation of all the data for each category. I tried in this interpretation not to let the previous ones interfere with my current thinking and to look for newer, deeper insight, now that the data pool was larger at the end of the collection period. From these new interpretations, I was able to move towards answering the issue questions/secondary aims and the first research question. The results can be found in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

Answering the second and third research questions required more than just a review of the data and previous interpretations. In addition, I had to try to place my data in the context of the NCS and see which Learning Outcomes or Assessment Standards had been achieved by the children in the course of the year. This was where I had to confront many of the problems that I mentioned in section 3.8.3 (task specific ASs, the use of the word 'understand' and so forth). I managed to match or link as many of the ASs as possible to the data I had collected, but in some cases I could not do so. This was mainly due to the prescriptive nature of the NCS (many of the ASs referred to specific activities which the teachers did not do with their classes). This was of course not surprising, considering that the NCS was not policy at the time of the research.

3.15 Summary

This chapter has mapped out the processes I went through in designing my research framework and why I chose the methods I did to collect the necessary data. I have also tried to explain how I analysed and interpreted the data once collected. The following chapter describes the first pieces of data I collected, namely the intensive observation in the Grade R classrooms of Prima and Secunda.

Chapter 4

Description of the case children and preschools

In this chapter, I will be introducing the case children and the first context in which I observed them, namely their preschools. There are two preschools in this study, the names of which have been changed to Prima and Secunda. Prima is a mainly isiXhosa medium preschool and Secunda is English medium (please refer to the table below). Baseline data regarding the timing of data collection, the preschools and the teachers are contained in Appendix 1, as is information regarding the static layout of the classrooms and a description of a typical school day in each school. This chapter describes each child in turn in terms of observations made in the classroom, observations made by the teachers about the children, and then observations made about each child's home environment.

I began to collect data at Prima in May of 2002 and finished approximately five weeks later. In this time, I was in school for the majority of the teaching day, which ran from 8.30 until 12.30. Due to my own teaching commitments, I could only collect data three days a week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. I started collecting data at Secunda in mid August 2002, and finished in late September 2002. This meant that in all I spent about fifteen days in each preschool.

The intention of this chapter is not to analyse the data. Analysis and interpretation of what is described here follows in Chapter 6 and 7. Bracketed references including dates and times, (e.g. 27/08/02, 9.30), refer to the date and time that a particular piece of data was recorded. Full transcripts of all data are included in Appendices 8 and 9. References in the format (XI:043) refer to interviews which can be found in Appendices 6a and 6b.

Grade	Classroom Teacher	Abbreviation	Learners	Abbreviation	School	Order visited
R	Xolelwa	Xo	Andile, Noma	An, N	Prima	1
R	Anita	A	Sandiswa, Aiya	S, Aiya	Secunda	2
1	Priscilla	P	Andile	An	Rhini One	3
1	Sipho	SP	Sandiswa, Aiya	S, Aiya	Secunda One	3
1	Janette	J	Noma	N	Graham One	3

4.1 Andile

4.1.1 Andile at Prima

Andile is a tall child, taller than most for his age. He had an air of calm and passivity about him that his male peers did not share. His face was almost expressionless most of the time. He was keen to communicate orally, only seemed to lack the confidence to do so at times, even with his peers.

In plenary sessions, he would join in with songs and rhymes at a minimal level, not really committing himself to singing them. Almost everything Andile did, he did more slowly than the other children, including eating his food.

On the other hand, Andile would sometimes surprise me by offering a response in plenary sessions like the morning ring which was both original and considered. Take for example the following exchange at morning ring:

27/05/02

9.35

Xolelwa: (English) What have we been learning about last week?

Learner: Winter.

Xolelwa: (E) Good.

Xolelwa: (isiXhosa) What do we use to keep warm in winter?

[Class offers various suggestions in X.]

Xolelwa: (X) What's that thing we use to cook?

Learners: (X) flame, fire

Xolelwa: (X) OK, where do we find fire?

Learners: [offer various suggestions]

Andile: (X) At a braai

Xolelwa: OK.

Andile's contribution was entirely original. The word *braai* had not been mentioned before in Xolelwa's teaching of the theme, either by the teacher, pictures, or other learners. This meant that Andile had associated the theme with the outside world and could link real concepts with theoretical ones. However, when Andile was assigned a task, such as drawing something from the week's theme, he would invariably wait until all the other learners on his table had started before he would do so himself. I initially took this to be a lack of confidence in his own abilities. On one occasion, when he had completed a picture using entirely his own imagination, he ran around the classroom showing it to all the learners he could. He then proudly handed it to Xolelwa (27/05/02 10.17).

Andile's hesitancy to begin a task could be interpreted as not having understood it, especially if it was set by Xolelwa in English. Andile did not ask his peers what he should do, even in L1. He waited until they had started, before copying their ideas himself (27/05/02 9.53).

On another occasion, learners at Andile's table finished before him. He was left alone at the table, trying to do the task. This clearly irked him. He rushed from the first table to another one where some girls were drawing and took a blank piece of paper. After making his own effort, which he was not satisfied with, he eventually got a friend to draw something for him. He coloured this in and ran to

the teacher, delighted with 'his' work (31/05/02 10.05). My interpretation of this was that Andile was desperate to be accepted for his work, but that he didn't have the confidence to succeed on his own. Xolelwa hinted at the root of this problem in the interview I had with her (see section 4.1.3).

Unlike the other boys in the class, Andile never, to my knowledge, got involved in even a play fight. I saw him once being hit by a friend who was sitting next to him at a table. The friend was really trying to hurt Andile, and his face showed real anger as he punched Andile's arm. Every time he was hit, Andile would return the punch, but half-heartedly, not trying to do any damage. His face showed more irritation than anger. Andile was irritated by being punched, but did not become angry from his friend's aggression.

Another time, a group of boys had finished their task and were playing at karate on the rug. The other boys were trying to kick and punch each other in a stylised karate way, not to hurt each other. As the other boys ran at each other, Andile stood to one side and defended himself in a karate style. He was not interested in running at the other boys (31/05/02 10.15).

4.1.2 Andile's home environment

I visited Andile's house along with his teacher, Xolelwa. Xolelwa didn't need to be asked to come along, she wanted to see Andile's parents anyway.

Before we left the preschool, we called in at the tavern opposite school to say hello to Andile's aunt who worked there. Xolelwa wanted to check that Andile's mother would be at home, even though we had arranged the interview previously. The aunt confirmed that she would be. When we arrived, the house seemed to be in very good repair from first impressions. It is situated on a largish plot in the township, about 3 kms away from town. When we arrived, Andile's father, Edward, was sitting in his bakkie, possibly working on it. He looked at us in the rear view mirror, but didn't get out of it until we got out of the car and came in through the gate. The bakkie was in fair condition and seemed to be in daily use. As we came to the front door, I saw a woman who I presumed to be a domestic worker washing dishes outside the house. Andile's father did not say anything to her and she was not introduced to us. It transpired that Andile's mother was not present.

The house appeared to have about four rooms: a lounge, a kitchen, and one, possibly two bedrooms. The room had a hi-fi, TV and video. There was no evidence of any reading material in the room, such as papers or books. There was a lounge suite, with 'God is Love' written on the hair foil of one chair. The house was very clean. Edward seemed surprised and pleased to be offered the present I brought, (a box of Nestle chocolates), but I got the impression that he was not entirely comfortable with the situation and wasn't sure why I had come to visit him.

Before I began asking questions, I asked Edward if he had read the letter about the research. He looked at it briefly, and told me he had. I ascertained that the family wanted to send Andile to Secunda the following year, but I got the distinct impression from the tone of Edward's answer that

Andile's mother was the one who had made that decision. I also found out that Edward thought, but did not know, that Andile had about six books of his own, and that Edward reads the *Herald*, as well as magazines like *Drum* and *You*. During the interview, I had to repeat several questions and Edward misunderstood a few. He did not seem to be threatened by speaking in English, but he clearly found it hard to follow what I was saying. He was reluctant to elaborate on any question and I began to get the feeling that even the low level questions I was asking were intrusive to him. I got the impression that he was giving the answers he felt I wanted to hear and for this reason, I began to abandon the interview and wrap it up.

After this visit, I tried various times to contact Andile's mother through his aunt to try to arrange another interview. I had the impression that Edward did not make the educational decisions in the house and was not as involved in Andile's life as his mother. For this reason, I ideally needed to speak to Andile's mother as well. I tried, through the preschool's headmistress and through Xolelwa, to establish contact and rearrange an interview. Finally, we did manage to do so, but when we arrived at the house for the second time, only the lady washing dishes was present. I decided it would be best not to pursue the interview with Andile's mother further. She clearly did not want to speak to me.

I can only guess at the reasons for the resistance I encountered from Andile's father and mother to the idea of an interview. It is possible that they were intimidated by their own lack of confidence in English. It may also have been that they did not want to be asked questions, and did not understand the confidentiality aspect of the research, despite me asking Xolelwa to explain it, and that I gave them a letter in isiXhosa and English explaining what the research was about. Andile's parents may have been worried that I was spying on them. Only the mother was working, but the house was too large, with too many expensive items, like the bakkie, the hifi, and the maid to be supported on one salary. Maybe this was why I detected an undercurrent of mistrust between the family and myself.

4.1.3 Xolelwa's thoughts on Andile.

Xolelwa seemed to have quite a close link with Andile. She felt she was responsible for much of his development.

PR: What do you think about Andile as a learner?

029X: I started teaching Andile at three years old. When he first came here, he couldn't eat by himself, he always wanted someone to help him to eat. So I developed Andile. I tried. He's an only child, so his mother did everything for him. Andile is now developed. Last year, Andile couldn't draw even a person, just many eggs. Now he's trying.

Xolelwa is proud of her achievement in making Andile more independent. He is a success story for her. Andile was not always what he is today. He has come a long way.

She thought that he was orally confident and physically sure of himself, but that there were areas where he still needed to learn a lot (XI:030). Xolelwa was proud of the fact that Andile could now write his own name, and count from one to ten. She said: "...He's happy and confident now, but he used to be a shy person..." (XI:031) At the same time, Xolelwa contradicted herself, because she clearly felt that the one thing that would hold Andile back was his lack of confidence. There seemed to be a genuine concern from Xolelwa that Andile's shyness would be misinterpreted in Grade 1.

035 X: You know, he's a shy person. He's not confident enough about himself. I'm afraid for him, because he is so shy. He doesn't want to talk. Especially if it's the first time he sees a person. He gets better over time. He's used to me now at least.

Xolelwa said that she had struggled to involve Andile's parents in his learning, but that this had paid off. She attributed the fact that Andile could now write his name to her own persistence in talking to his mother about helping Andile (XI:031). She said she was still 'shouting at Andile's mother to help him' (XI:032). Xolelwa felt that Andile's mother was very busy working, and this was probably why she didn't have the time to teach him at home (XI:032). I think Xolelwa felt a bit sorry for Andile: he was an only child, whose mother was always working, and whose father, by my interpretation, did not take much of an interest in him.

When it came to English, Xolelwa thought that Andile understood most of the English in the classroom, even though he never replied in it (XI:033). She thought that by the end of the year, Andile would be ready to go to G1, although he wasn't quite ready yet (XI:034). She felt he was trying hard (XI:034).

Xolelwa thought there was a special bond between her and Andile. She had known him since he first arrived in the school and thought that he had progressed a lot since that time. I think she also thought that he was capable of a lot more, if only he was supported more in the home. She wished the best for him and also wanted him to have more confidence in himself. She saw his lack of confidence as being something that might get him labelled as a slow learner.

4.1.4 Andile's English.

Xolelwa said that although Andile was unconfident as a learner, he was good at telling stories to the class. By this, I think she meant standing up in plenary sessions and offering original input (in isiXhosa). There were quite a few occasions when Andile did this (3/06/02 9.30) (31/05/02 9.35) (29/05/02 11.45). In L1, he was not unconfident in expressing himself orally. Andile only said a handful of words to me, of which very few were English. Most of the English competence that Andile demonstrated during my time in Prima was related to his receptive skills. I will start with Andile's English during plenary activities.

At the morning ring, or other plenary sessions, Andile seemed reluctant to join in with the English responses in rhymes and songs (27/05/02 9.24). Sometimes, however, he would join in wholeheartedly and without reserve (27/05/02 9.26). When it came to learning formulaic prompt and response constructions, Andile often didn't seem to want to demonstrate his competence (29/05/02 9.20). I put him on the spot about the same construction in a one-on-one situation and here he was able to recognise the prompt and make the appropriate response, albeit shyly (3/06/02 9.20). Another time, in a plenary session, he recognised the prompt and gave a relevant answer (3/06/02 9.25). The response in this case was inaccurate, but nonetheless, Andile knew that the prompt required the response of a day of the week.

At one stage in my observation at Prima, Xolelwa read the children a story in English called 'The Magic Porridge Pot' (29/05/02 11.45). It was a fairly long story, lasting about ten minutes and Xolelwa had not read it before to the children. She did not pre-teach any of the words, or paraphrase any of the words into isiXhosa as she sometimes did. Afterwards, I asked her to ask the children what things they could remember from the story. Many children had things they could remember, but many were repeating things that other learners had already said. Andile put up his hand and said in isiXhosa: "People were drowning in porridge". Andile's statement was original, well considered, and true. Considering the story was in English, I think this shows that Andile had more English competence, especially in terms of receptive command, than he had the confidence to demonstrate.

There was more evidence of Andile's desire to communicate coupled with his lack of confidence in English (31/05/02, 8.45). Andile and two of his friends came up to me and asked me in isiXhosa what my mother's name was. I replied in isiXhosa. Andile then left the group. His two friends left a little later and came back with other learners, including Andile. They began to shake hands, isiXhosa-style. Andile joined in enthusiastically. I believe that Andile left the group because he thought that I was going to ask him a question in English, or say something he didn't understand. However, he was keen to communicate with me, because he came back to join in the handshaking. He felt safe with this because it was non-verbal communication.

There were a couple of times when Andile did produce his own English, once spontaneously, (3/06/02 9.10), and once with a prompt (29/05/02 9.55). Both these occasions were rare. In the first one, no precedent had been set for Andile to use English in favour of isiXhosa. The other learners at the table had not said 'Thanks' in either language, but Andile chose to. In the second instance, it is likely that he had been asked this question quite a few times by his teacher. He also had the contextual clue of me pointing at the colour in question. Nonetheless, his answer was without hesitation and delivered confidently. It is difficult to draw conclusions from such isolated incidents, other than that it seemed that Andile was capable of a lot more than he actually demonstrated. I believe he would have said a lot more had he been given more encouragement to express himself in English. The apparent

lack of English in his home environment could be a reason for his lack of oral English production compared to his peers.

Although Xolelwa said that Andile could write his own name, (XI:031), the first time I saw him attempt to write it he had to be given a model to copy from (22/03/02, 8.32). In other later attempts, such as on the back of his drawings, he did manage to write his name out in full without copying. Others in the class were able to copy out the whole alphabet. Andile did make an attempt to do so himself, (22/03/02 8.38), but he left himself too little time to make a good effort. He seemed easily distracted when writing or trying to write.

Xolelwa made an effort to teach the children the names of letters of the alphabet. Andile knew the names of two letters, A and B, which was about average for the class. Only one learner knew more than six letter names.

I noticed that Andile did have more preliteracy than the above scarce observations would suggest. During a break time, I noticed that Andile and two friends had got a book from the shelf, and were 'reading' it together. They were turning the pages slowly and deliberately and commenting to one another on what they found in isiXhosa. The children had taken the initiative to get the book themselves when they could have been playing outside. Andile was clearly motivated to develop his pre-literacy skills, both in terms of his writing, and his interaction with books. His English production was very limited, but he was building a strong receptive command of the language and was keen to communicate orally in his L1.

4.2 Nomathemba

4.2.1 Nomathemba at Prima

Nomathemba is also an unusual child in some ways. She is tall for her age and elegant. Her mother buys child's versions of fashionable adult clothes for her to wear to school. She never wears dresses, only trousers or leggings. In contrast to Andile, she always wanted to be involved in the class activity and seldom remained passive. She often seemed to be trying to make a connection with the other learners, but not succeeding completely. She was often 'super-social': trying very hard to generate interest in herself amongst the other learners (27/05/02, 9.05) and (31/05/02 10.05 and 10.10). I noticed that unlike the other learners who nearly all seemed to have at least one buddy who they spent more time with than any other, Nomathemba would socialise with all the learners all the time, even the boys (29/05/02, 9.40). Her teacher interpreted this positively, saying that she had many friends and that she was very talkative (XI: 037 and 042).

When I visited Nomathemba's house and family, I found out that she rarely left the house after school or had any contact with children outside it (NPI: 14.35 and 14.45). I felt that her home environment was a touch stifling for a girl of her age, and that she made up for her confinement at home with her outgoing personality at school. She often displayed very adult behaviour in the

classroom, uncharacteristic of a child so young. This may have been due to her rather closeted existence amongst much older adults.

Of all the children in the class, Nomathemba showed the most developed emotional intelligence. For a child of her age, I was struck by her compassion for others and her respect for her peers. She also had an advanced sense of social responsibility. (See (29/05/02 10.10) and (3/06/02,11.35).)

She also displayed on a number of occasions a narrative literacy that many learners in the class did not have, or were not confident enough to display. Consider this example:

27/05/02

9.30

Xolelwa: (X) We're going to listen to the news from this weekend.

(Class put up their hands to volunteer their information.)

Nomathemba and Ntombesizwe both tell a story in isiXhosa. The stories are embroidered versions of real events. Both girls move around as they talk, using their whole bodies to tell the story. They stand in the middle of the circle of learners.

Noma is very keen to communicate to the class, and smiles as she does so. Confident oral communicator in mother tongue.

Noma and Andile listen carefully to other learners' stories. Noma claps after each story, especially Melinda's.

Noma acknowledges other learners attempts at communication.

Nomathemba also manifested an academic pre-literacy. Learners would often be assigned the task of looking through magazines to find pictures relevant to that week's theme. Noma was able to spot pictures in the magazines that fitted the theme and also to ask Xolelwa about pictures that she was not sure of (27/05/02, 10.00). On another occasion, I caught Nomathemba adopting the teacher's position, and 'reading' a book to her peers. She had clearly observed this as 'school' behaviour, and was copying it in play (5/06/02, 9.10).

4.2.2 Nomathemba's home environment

I did not often see Xolelwa or other members of staff teaching the whole class numeracy, but Nomathemba had surprisingly good numeracy skills despite this (3/06/02, 11.24). I think this can be attributed to her mother's support at home. Her mother often came into the school building, and helped in some of the other classrooms. Most parents did not visit the school, and only entered it for meetings. They left their children at the gate. When I spoke to Nomathemba's mother about her daughter's progress, both she and Noma's grandmother said they thought she was doing well

(NPI:24.10). Noma's mother said that she supported her daughter's school work at home, encouraging her to write and do other activities similar to the ones she does in school. This was confirmed by Xolelwa (XI: 046/047). It is possible that Noma's mother began helping her child at home when for a short period Noma was not able to attend school for financial reasons (XI: 041).

I visited Nomathemba's house on 25/05/02, by which stage I had already finished my observation in the school. Xolelwa was not able to come on that day, so I took along Melinda, a teacher from another class in the school. Nomathemba's house is situated on a plot about 30 by 20 metres. It is an old house, but in good repair. Nomathemba's grandmother, Nkosazana, came out of the front door as we arrived to greet us. The front door leads straight into the dining room. There is a six-seater table here, with a large dresser on one wall. On top of the dresser I saw an old television, the tune-in type. It is most likely black and white. Melinda and I were led into a room off the dining room. As we went through, I caught a glimpse of a large shiny white fridge freezer. It looked incongruous in this old house.

The room we were led into is a parlour. The room was immaculate, either recently cleaned, or rarely used. There were two old men, both above 50. I greeted them, but I was not introduced to them. I found out later they are both relatives of Nomathemba and they all live in the same house. One was Nomathemba's grandfather; the other was her great uncle. We were welcomed with coffee, made by Nomathemba's mother, Unathi. Nomathemba stayed in the room throughout the interview, occasionally whispering to her Mum about what was going on. I got the impression that I was very welcome in the house, and that I was in some way a guest of distinction. The atmosphere was a strange mix of formal and congenial at the same time.

During the interview, I directed most of my questions to Unathi, but it became clear that she was not the leader of the household. Nkosazana is the breadwinner of the family, and also the one who is most confident in English. It also seemed as though she was the one who makes all of the decisions about Nomathemba's upbringing. Unathi was reluctant to answer some questions that she knew were the province of her mother, for example the choice of primary school (NPI: 7.31).

The family placed a lot of emphasis on Nomathemba acquiring her first language, and learning about her culture. Religious instruction was also a key feature of Nomathemba's home life, as was traditional Xhosa oral narrative (NPI:19.15 and 20.41).

Nomathemba's acquisition of English was not considered as important as isiXhosa, language and culture. Ultimately, it seemed that Nomathemba was expected to make her own decision about which languages she wanted to acquire. Neither her mother nor her grandmother was particularly concerned that she should learn English for reasons of access to education or careers (NPI: 21.11). However, both Nkosazana and Unathi were impressed by how much English Noma knew and were proud of her ability to speak it:

Nkosazana: If Noma is going to sleep, she say: Good night, see you tomorrow.

PR: OK, she says that in English?

Unathi: (in agreement) Mmmm.

Nomathemba's exposure to English in the home seemed to be limited. No adult in the house seemed to read books. The only literature that entered the house according to Nkosazana was the store club card magazines like Clicks and Edgars and the occasional newspaper. When I asked if the family ever got books out of the library for Nomathemba, the reply I got was 'Not yet' (NPI: 14.14). Nomathemba watched children's TV, mainly English language programmes. She also watches other TV programmes with her family in the evenings. Unathi told me that Noma would often ask her mother what they were saying on the TV during programmes in English if they were watching together (NPI: 25.25). Her grandmother also admitted to speaking English with Nomathemba occasionally, but I didn't get the impression that this was a regular or structured activity (NPI: 1.45).

Interestingly, Nomathemba had some contact with children her own age with whom she sometimes speaks in English (NPI: 11.50). They were cousins of hers from Mossel Baai. She would only see these children in the school holidays about twice a year, June and December. This is probably very fertile ground for Noma to practice and learn English, as it would be the right level of language for Noma and would probably involve authentic communication.

In conclusion, Nkosazana and Unathi are aware that Nomathemba is bright, and care about her education. They keep her close to them. Nkosazana is the most confident in English in the household, but as the interview progressed, Unathi's confidence increased. I thought it was most likely that any schoolwork that Unathi did with Nomathemba would be done in isiXhosa. Nomathemba does not get much exposure to English outside school, except occasionally from her cousins and the television. English medium instruction is not a priority for the family: they leave it to Nomathemba to decide which languages she wants to speak. They do not see English as vital to access or education. There does not seem to be much pressure on Nomathemba to take a certain course in life. The family support her L1 acquisition and religious and cultural instruction much more than they support English acquisition. I got the feeling they are like a traditional isiXhosa family, well respected in the neighbourhood and generally content.

4.2.3 Nomathemba's English.

As I mentioned above, Nomathemba was generally gregarious and keen to make up for her rather sheltered home environment at school. She made more attempts to communicate with me than Andile did, but the English she produced was limited to one or two words with one exception. She

rarely initiated a conversation with me, but she would contribute to one in English if another learner had started it. The following exchange is an example of this. It occurred on only my second day at Prima. I was sitting at Xolelwa's desk while she was busy elsewhere setting up paper and crayons for an activity. I was unaware that Noma was watching and listening to this interaction with Rhetabile:

25/05/02

8.40

Rhetabile:[brings me a book, opens it, and points at various pictures.] What's this?

Rhetabile asked me the same question many times while pointing at different pictures.

PR: It's a ...[lion, tree, dog, house.]

Some other learners come and see what is going on.

Rhetabile: What's this?

PR: It's a man, his name is Obelix.

Rhetabile: Oblix

PR: What's his name?

Rhetabile: Obleis. Obelisse

[pause, learners look at pictures in book.]

Noma: What is the dog? [apparently not directed at anyone.]

There were three Asterix and Obelix books at Prima. One of them was about Dogmatix, Obelix's dog. Noma had probably not seen the cover of the book Rhetabile and I were discussing, and assumed that we were talking about the Dogmatix book. In this case, her comment might have been intended to be: 'What about the dog?' or 'Where is the dog?' or 'What is the dog's name?' Noma's final comment appeared not to have been directed at anyone, but must have been directed at me, since I was the only reason for the children to be speaking English. Noma was interacting with me in L2 about an L2 book. She wanted to know more about it and used her limited L2 to ask me.

Nomathemba was certainly keen to use and practice English as much as possible. Soon after the previous example, another learner brought a book over to me, and began asking me the same sort of questions about it as Rhetabile had done (25/05/02, 8.35). She seemed to listen to English phrases spoken by her peers and then try them out on me. She first listened to an exchange between some other learners and me, (29/05/02, 9.00), and then later would ask me the same questions on her own (5/06/02 10.45). She didn't always manage to formulate them correctly, but seemed to enjoy using me as a sounding board.

Noma seemed very confident in naming animals in English. She knew the names of more animals than I saw Xolelwa teach in the classroom, suggesting that someone outside school had taught

her them (25/05/02, 10.05). On another occasion, Xolelwa asked the class in English what the week's theme was. Noma replied in English (E):

10/06/02

9.45

All the learners are sitting in the ring area.

Xolelwa: (E) What are we learning about today? (She points at theme pictures on the wall.)

Various learners: Flowers, grass, sky.

Noma: (E) Cows.

Noma was also fairly confident in naming colours in English (29/05/02 10.02). She did not appear to have a particularly strong receptive command of English, outside of formulaic items and she often misinterpreted one question for another (25/05/02 11.05). On another occasion, she failed to grasp the meaning of two adjectives, 'big' and 'small' in a conversation I initiated (29/05/02 11.35).

When presented with formulaic language that had been presented to her before, Noma could recognise it and make a response using a full English sentence. In the following example, Xolelwa had left the room for a time and the cleaner had brought the snack into the room. It was up to me to administer it to the children, so I referred to the duty chart to see which group should be doing duties that day.

27/05/02

10.40

The snack comes into the room.

PR: All the triangles come here. It's Monday today.

PR repeats the phrase

About five learners come up to me. I ask each one their name, even if I know it. Most of them reply, some in a full sentence.

PR: [to Noma] What's your name?

Noma: My name is Nomathemba.

4.2.4 Xolelwa's thoughts on Nomathemba

Xolelwa's first reaction when I asked her about Nomathemba was to laugh, and say:

036X: Oh, Nomathemba is a curious one. She wants to know everything that is happening.

She went on to say that she thought Nomathemba was one of the most talkative children in the class, and that she was very gregarious (XI:037, XI:042). Xolelwa thought that she was one of the faster learners in the class and that she picked things up quickly, especially when the learners were using the educational toys. She also thought that Noma was good at creative activities, and seemed to enjoy these a lot (XI:039). Overall, she thought that Noma enjoyed school a great deal (XI:041, XI:043).

I was confused by one comment that Xolelwa made (040X). When I asked what areas Nomathemba needed help with, she said without hesitation that she needed assistance in writing her own name. My experience in the classroom was that although Noma had not perfected her name writing, (see above), she was certainly capable of making a legible attempt, and had shown evidence of the fact many times before (10/06/02 10.12).

Xolelwa's assessment of Noma's receptive command I agreed with, only I was not so sure that it was entirely accurate:

PR: How much English do you think she speaks in the classroom?

044X: She understands when you talk to her in English, but she doesn't reply in English. She knows other English words. She doesn't give a whole sentence in English.

I did not feel that Noma did always understand when her teacher or I spoke in English to her. I agreed that Noma probably knew more words than she gave evidence of, and that it was unusual for her to utter more than a word or two in English, even when prompted.

Xolelwa didn't seem to think that Noma would have any particular problems in Grade 1, (XI:045), only that she was shy with new people. I think she probably meant that it would take Noma some time to get used to her new teacher, but that that was the only problem she was likely to face.

Noma does not get a great deal of exposure to English either in school or at home. She was very sociable at school, and would talk to anyone, but only in isiXhosa. She was shy about speaking in English. She receives some exposure to English in the home, but it was not structured or formalised contact with the language. There was little prioritising of English from home, so although Noma seemed to want to communicate in English at times, she had no external drive to do so. Her English competence seemed to be limited to formulaic responses and her receptive command was low. Her teacher believed that she is an able learner and foresaw no problems for her in Grade 1.

4.3 Aiyabulela

4.3.1 Aiyabulela at Secunda

Aiya and his sister were twins and were therefore in the same class. They were both taller than average. One of the first things that struck me about Aiyabulela was that he was an accomplished

artistic talent. Considering his age, the level of detail in his drawings was remarkable. On the first day I began observing at the school, I noticed that he had drawn a house that included a front path going up to the front door. The path was drawn wider at the bottom of the picture than at the top, to give a sense of perspective. No other child in the class had attempted perspective.

Almost simultaneously, I observed something else about Aiya that was not so positive. Aiya had a tendency to be arrogant or bully other children. This side of his character was unfortunately something I saw more of during my time at Secunda (e.g. 12/08/02, 9.40 and 28/08/02 9.20). This is not to say that he had no friends or could not be friendly. On one occasion, I saw him help another learner to get their rubber back in the top of their pencil (28/08/02, 9.20).

Aiya's behaviour was probably the most aggressive in the class. Twice I found him being kept inside by his teachers during break for fighting. One day, something rather strange occurred: when I came into school one morning, I found a poor, possibly homeless child, dressed in old clothes standing at the school gate. Inside the school, I found what I presumed to be his brother, a child of about 10 or 12. Anita told me that he had come in to talk to her because Aiya was 'swearing his mother' (9/09/02 8.25).

On the other hand, when he was playing with girls, particularly if his twin sister was involved in the game, there was not a glimmer of aggression in him (09/09/02, 9.45). He would manifest no aggressive signs in these situations. When it came to boys, he would be much more aggressive. I believe that his mother's recent (re)marriage may have been part of the problem, and that he was either jealous of his mother's attentions to another man, (his stepfather), or that he was not getting on well with his stepfather. Interestingly, his infrequent interaction with me was not aggressive.

Aiya showed that he had a long concentration span, particularly when it came to stories, especially if they involved some kind of visual aid (e.g. 19/08/02, 8.51). He was normally one of the first in his group to finish any work assigned to him by Anita. He seemed to be especially fast at numeracy tasks, such as counting the number of objects of a particular type and then writing down the digit. However, he would never spend longer than necessary on a task to make it especially neat or accurate and would often rush things just to get them finished. Towards the end of my time at Secunda, it seemed that he was becoming less focused on his work than before, sometimes talking with his group for the duration of the task and then not finishing it (28/08/02 12.05 and 6/09/02, 9.05).

4.3.3 Aiyabulela's home environment.

When I visited Aiya's home, he was outside with his sister and some other friends. I drove straight past the house at first, missing the number. I stopped a little way further on, and drove back. Because of this, Aiya and his sister at first gave me a slightly bemused look when I got out of the car. It took them a while to recognise me. They were not expecting me to come to their house and when they did recognize me, the look on their faces was something between surprise and excitement.

I asked where their house was, because there were a number of other buildings on the same piece of land. The children pointed vaguely in the direction of one house, and I set off in that direction. As I turned a corner, I heard them calling me to come back. I had walked past their house, which was at the front of the plot. They showed me round to a door, which led into the kitchen. I called out Mrs. Quntu's name and she came running through from the front room. I had come in through the back door and she had clearly been expecting me to ring the front door bell. I think my approach must have surprised her, and this was maybe slightly to my advantage. Traditionally, friends of the family, as I found out later, would always go round to the back of the house, but formal visitors would come through the front. My unorthodox approach perhaps lessened the formality of the interview.

Mrs. Quntu was keen to contribute to the research. Before I had even got the microphone switched on, she asked me to tell her what the project was about. Throughout the interview, she gave considered, articulate responses to the questions. It became clear early on in the interview that she took Aiya and his sister's education seriously, and worked with them at home. She seemed very proud of the fact that she read to her children from library books (QI: 11-13). The children also interacted with the book and spoke to Mrs. Quntu in English about what was happening (QI: 16-17). I found it a little difficult to believe that all the children's questions about the books were in English. However, many of them may have been because of Aiya's confidence in English as manifested in the classroom.

Mrs. Quntu then went on to describe the extension activities she conducts with the children.

PR: So you will point at the word, and they will know what the word means?

19Q: Yes. They also try to write down the words.

PR: Do you ask them to do that, or do they just do that because they want to?

20Q: I also ask them. They like writing so much. Sometimes when I am reading I will say come and see this is a dog. It's name is dog. So can you please write it on your own, dog. They write the name, but not in the right manner.

PR: So they try?

21Q: Yah.

Q is more interested in encouraging the children to try to write than in getting them to write accurately. She clearly wants to keep the activity enjoyable, disciplined, but not exhausting.

PR: When would you read the book?

22Q: I'm reading in the afternoon. Yesterday it was Sunday, so we were all in the house, so we took pencils and books, so we are all busy writing. And the story books in the evening when we are in bed. Long, long ago, those books.

Q is proud that she makes time to do this. Her work with the children is clearly structured. It always happens at certain times of the day, and on Sundays they also work with writing.

From all this information, it is clear that Aiya's and his sister's learning is heavily supported in the home by an enthusiastic mother. As I mention in my original interpretation, the focus did not seem to be to get the children to achieve certain things, but to have fun in the process. With this amount of access to English texts, combined with the interaction that Mrs. Quntu provides and the written activities which follow, it is clear that Aiya's English acquisition and academic literacy is being built on firm ground.

Mrs. Quntu also said that she made the effort to speak in English to the twins when they are in the house (QI:01-02). Mrs. Quntu's attitude towards languages was impassioned. She clearly had spent time thinking about language issues and how they related to her child's education. I asked her about her language preferences:

PR: Which language is the most important one to you? Xhosa, English, Afrikaans?

55Q: I think it is English.

PR: Why do you say that?

56Q: Because everywhere you go, you use English. So there is no ways I can say Xhosa. Most of the people can understand English. It is the easiest language people can understand.

She said that the use of English at Secunda was the main reason why she had chosen it for her children (QI: 33-34). For her, English is the key to her children's future. She does not expect them to be able to succeed without it, and thought that they were trying hard to acquire it (QI:059). Her ambitions for her children confirm this (QI: 031). It seemed that Mrs. Quntu's home support for her children was motivated mainly by middle-class aspirations, and she saw proficiency in English as an integral part of this. However, she also felt English was an important language for reasons of general communication amongst the peoples of South Africa (QI: 029).

4.3.2 Aiya's English.

In the first few weeks I spent at Secunda, the theme was colours. Anita had made a series of paint pots out of cardboard, each with a certain colour of paint pouring out of them and the colour of the paint printed underneath. These had then been laminated and stuck on the theme board. Anita used this resource by pointing to a pot and eliciting the colour name from the class. Aiya seemed to know most of the names of the colours, and called them out when Anita pointed at the pot (19/08/02, 8.50 and 22/08/02 12.10).

Aiya used a surprising amount of English in the classroom with his peers. There was often no real reason for him to use English instead of isiXhosa, yet he did so anyway:

27/08/02

12.15

(Sitting at their group table, Aiya and his group are engaged in a paper activity.)

(Aiya and another learner are hitting each other.)

Aiya: Don't do this.

Aiya had probably picked this phrase up from his teacher. It is a formulaic expression that she occasionally uses to reprimand learners. Aiya was therefore able to understand the form and function of some of the English he had heard in the classroom and use the identical form in an appropriate authentic context. He used language he had heard from his teacher with his peers on another occasion, only this time, there was no authentic communication occurring (6/09/02, 9.14).

Aiya also spoke English to me. This was some of the richest English language data I collected in the whole project. He never uttered a word in isiXhosa when he was talking directly to me. Unlike Sandiswa, (see section 4.4), he was not only interested in trying out his English, he used English not as if it was something unusual or fun to do, but something quite ordinary, simply a means of communicating with me. I was struck by the fact that he used English even when a gesture or a simple isiXhosa word would have sufficed (2/09/02, 11.45 and 30/08/02, 11.44). The English he used was not all formulaic. In fact much of it required an ability to build his own sentences, even if they were short.

30/08/02

10.00

PR is writing out a poster to sell some fruit salad at the primary school. Aiya comes up to Anita's desk, where I am working.

Aiya: What is this one? (points at the letters I have written)

PR: e, s, t. *names of letters, as opposed to sounds*

10.02

PR makes a mistake on another piece of paper and crumples it up.

Aiya: Give me this.

30/08/02

8.30

As I arrive at school one morning, Khayaletu approaches me.

Khayaletu: (X) Where is your scooter?

PR: (E) At home.

Aiya: (E) Where's the scooter?

PR: (E) At home.

The number of unprompted utterances Aiya made to me in English far exceeds the number that Sandiswa, Andile, and Nomathemba made. He was certainly the most assertive of all the children, particularly with his peers, so in this sense it should come as no surprise that he spoke so much English to me. He used English confidently and in most instances it was grammatically correct and well pronounced. Despite his obviously high productive ability, Aiya's receptive command of English was not consistent. In restricted contexts, like the morning ring where Anita would ask the same question the same way every day, Aiya could make the necessary substitution from the possibilities (21/08/02, 8.40). Also, with instructions for tasks that Anita gave, I was fairly sure that Aiya's receptive command was sufficient. Like other learners, he would sometimes look at the others papers before starting himself, but mostly he would start the task as soon as the instructions were finished (e.g. 13/08/02, 12.10, 14/08/02, 10.10 and 12/08/02, 11.55).

On one occasion, when Anita spoke directly to Aiya, he seemed less sure of what was being said, although what Aiya was being asked to understand was demanding, even for a learner many grades above him.

12/08/02

9.35

Aiya has drawn a picture of a house, as Anita instructed the class to do. Aiya has drawn an aerial on the roof of the house. The rest of the house so that the interior can be seen. He has drawn tables and chairs and a person. Anita looks at his drawing and crouches down close to him.

Anita: Why do we have an aerial on the house? What's that thing you watch in the evenings?

Aiya: [silent, listening.]

Anita: What's that thing called? With an aerial?

Aiya: []

Anita: It's a television.

Aiya: [Nods.] After a while, draws what looks like a TV, a box with small people standing in it. Anita was trying to elicit the word 'TV'. Aiya wasn't able to answer Anita in English. He understands what she is talking about, i.e. the aerial, but probably doesn't know that it is connected to the TV. The fact that he then draws a TV shows that he knows what link Anita was making, or that he at least understands the answer.

The questions that Anita was asking were demanding. They also required Aiya to have a certain level of cognitive development to link the question about the aerial to the one about the

television. He would then have to be able to formulate a response in English linking the two. He was not able to formulate a response in English, but he answered the questions by drawing a TV. Anita had only said: 'It's a television'. It was then up to Aiya whether he drew a television in the room or not. It seemed that Aiya's receptive command of English was very high.

4.3.4 Anita's thoughts on Aiyabulela

When I interviewed Anita about the children, she had the following to say about Aiyabulela:

027Anita: His attention isn't always with his work. He's forever looking around and all that. But he can do the work, but he is easily distracted with other things. You must go to him all the time, and keep telling him. It's not that he can't do the work, he can, it's just that his attention isn't always there.

029Anita: Oh, we have to work on his concentration. Because it won't help him later on.

This confirmed some of my impressions. Anita thought that Aiya is capable, that he can concentrate when he wants to, but he lets himself become distracted. She did not go on to say why this might be the case. She felt that his lack of concentration might be his downfall. She was, however, sure that he was ready to go to G1 the following year and that he wouldn't struggle (AI:O32).

4.4 Sandiswa

4.4.1 Sandiswa.

Sandiswa was a child with the constant potential to surprise one. She could be shy and retiring, or brimming with confidence and full of questions. Of all the children who participated in this study, she was the most intriguing for me.

Sandiswa sometimes appeared bored and uninterested by the class activity, and sometimes totally involved to the exclusion of all distractions. Her attention did not seem to depend on the type of activity, but whether she found it worthwhile. For instance, it was very common in the Secunda classroom to sing songs and hymns and chant rhymes. Much of the time, Sandiswa would not join in (21/08/02, 12.30, 26/08/02, 9.32 and 23/08/02, 9.10). There were other instances apart from rhymes and songs when Sandiswa seemed to lose the inclination even to pay attention to what was going on (23/08/02, 11.55). On the other hand, when an opportunity came along to sing a new song, Sandiswa would join in wholeheartedly (15/08/02, 12.18 and 6/09/02, 11.22). My interpretation of this behaviour is simple: Sandiswa found the repetition in class boring. Repetition of any sort, prayers, songs, rhymes, alphabet cards would sometimes, but not always, mean that she would either switch off completely, or pay partial attention.

One of Sandiswa's many paradoxes was her confidence as a learner. I had trouble telling whether she was unconfident, had a low receptive command of English, or slightly lazy. She would often get friends to do her work for her in class, (22/08/02, 12.20) or copy from them (21/08/02, 9.30 and 09/09/02, 9.14). Sometimes other learners had to explain tasks to her in isiXhosa (19/08/02, 9.05). Anita also found this confusing.

Sandiswa could, however, work well alone and also with confidence in her work (10/09/02, 12.15). She would often go to special lengths to make a piece of work look pretty and neat (09/09/02, 9.55). This looked like the kind of behaviour one would expect from someone who was confident that what they had produced was correct.

Another aspect of the Sandiswa paradox was her interaction with other children. Unlike Nomathemba at Prima who had developed a sense of social awareness and compassion, Sandiswa was inconsistent in demonstrating these traits:

27/08/02

11.55

Sandiswa points at Yonelisa's efforts to draw vertical lines the same width apart on the page. She nudges the learner next to her.

Sandiswa: Jonga, jonga! Huhhh!

Sandiswa is accusing Yonelisa of not having done the task correctly. She doesn't call her a name, but she is accusatory. The intention is not to hurt her though. Later, I see Sandiswa being helped by her other friend to finish the lines. In other words, she is laughing at another learner's attempt to do a task which she herself finds difficult.

26/08/02

8.55

Anita asks Khayaletu to come to the board and draw the digit 6. Lots of learners laugh at Khaya's attempt to draw a 6. Sandiswa does not.

Lots of learners were laughing, but Sandiswa was not the only one not laughing. Were they not laughing in order to be polite or because they could have made the same mistake themselves?

If Sandiswa was unconfident as a learner, she was not lacking in self-confidence when asserting herself with her peers (e.g. 19/08/02, 8.40). On the other hand, she initially did not seem to manifest much confidence when interacting with adults, either myself or Anita. Later though, this changed dramatically. Sandiswa spoke to me more than any of the other children involved in the research, but often in isiXhosa (6/09/02, 10.50). She seemed to see me as someone entertaining in the classroom (6/09/02, 11.10). It was as if Sandiswa had been suddenly infused with confidence. I found

it particularly interesting that she approached me with a group. She must have convinced the other children to come with her to talk to me. There is a more detailed look at these occasions in section 4.4.2.

I was also struck by Sandiswa's precocious numeracy. She could count quickly, and also recognise two digit numbers (16/09/02, 8.56, 2/09/02, 8.50 and 28/08/02, 8.55). One example was particularly striking:

15/08/02

12.20

Sandiswa comes up to me when I am talking to Sisanda.

Sandiswa: 1+1.

PR: 2

Sandiswa: 2+2.

PR: 4. [and so on up to 2048.]

Sandiswa: [shakes head.]

PR: 1+1

Sandiswa: 2 [and so on up to 128.]

PR: (expresses surprise at every new stage)

PR: 128 +128?

Sandiswa: (shakes head.)

In this example, I initially gazed at Sandiswa open mouthed while she rattled off the answers to five-digit addition sums. I later realised that someone had probably taught her this, as she was unable to add so fast outside of the particular sequence. When I asked Anita about it, she said her father probably taught her. (See section 4.4.3 below.) My belief was that it was her older sister.

I told a friend about the above example. She laughed and said: 'She knows that you are watching her!' I couldn't be sure whether this was true or not, but there were a few times when Sandiswa caught me watching her. As I mentioned above, she did seem to want to interact with me far more than any of the other children in the case study, and this may have been an effect of the research.

4.4.2 Sandiswa's English.

Sandiswa's receptive command of English was good and she provided more evidence of it than Aiyabulela. She often had contextual clues to help her understand what Anita said in class, but nonetheless, her level of understanding was striking (e.g. 21/08/02, 9.40 and 6/09/02, 11.30).

When I spoke to Sandiswa, she had more trouble understanding what I was saying, most likely because of my accent. In this example, I provided a contextual clue that was misleading to the sense of

what I was asking. I wanted to see if she was listening to the language rather than watching the actions. My interpretation in italics below I think sums up this exchange.

21/08/02

12.00

PR: (to Sandiswa) What colour is this?

PR points at letter 'c' which Sandiswa has copied.

Sandiswa: Kuh.

PR: (points to carrot which Sandiswa is colouring in with an orange crayon.) What colour is this?

Sandiswa: (looks at PR)

Other learner: (X) He's asking what colour is that.

Sandiswa: (to other learner) Orange.

PR: What colour is this?

Sandiswa: Orange.

PR: (points at colour of writing that Sandiswa has used to copy word 'carrot') What colour is this?

Sandiswa: Red.

Sandiswa did not understand the question at first. The task around the letter 'c' was to copy it. The only time any teacher has asked her a question about letters, it has been to pronounce it. So Sandiswa makes an assumption: she hasn't really understood the language I used. Previously, I had asked her 'What sound is this?', and I had pointed at letters. She may have assumed it was the same question. It is a shame her friend translated, but she did recognize the second question as being the same as the first. She also identified the colours correctly without being prompted.

Occasionally, as I spent more time in the school, Sandiswa began to use English with me spontaneously (30/08/02, 9.45). The longest section of spontaneous English from Sandiswa came during one break time:

6/09/02

10.50

Sandiswa asks me to write the names of people around us. PR does so. Then PR gets tired of writing everyone's name, closes book. The back cover is pointing towards Sandiswa.

Sandiswa: (points at picture a learner in Prima drew on the back) Why are you draw this one?

PR: (is distracted by other learners)

Sandiswa: Where do you live?

PR: In Fitzroy Street.

Sandiswa: Fizroy. Fizroy.

These utterances show clearly that Sandiswa was capable of making her own sentences to ask for information in English. The way she responds to my answer to her second question is also of interest. Instead of just asking the question because she knows how to say it, she listens to the answer and then drills the pronunciation to herself. This shows that she can copy target language, an important skill in language learning.

About ten days after this, she approached me again when I was sitting at the desk. This time, she was unaccompanied. The atmosphere around this exchange was a bit tongue in cheek, slightly didactic in its tone:

16/09/02

8.30

PR is sitting at Anita's desk. Sandiswa approaches.

Sandiswa: (X) Hello, how are you?

PR: (X) I am fine thanks. Are you alright?

Sandiswa: (X) (speaking slowly like a teacher) I'm fine. [] It's cold, isn't it?

PR: (X) No, it's hot today!

Sandiswa: (E) Hayi, it's cold today.

Sandiswa is testing and teaching me isiXhosa here. She smiled all the way through this as if it was a game.

Sandiswa probably slipped into English in the last sentence to show that the game was over, and that she was correcting a factual inaccuracy on my part. She was now not testing my isiXhosa, but disagreeing with the content of what I had said. This might show that Sandiswa associated English with teaching and correction. The form of 'It's cold today' was correct, and functionally appropriate. This suggests that she knows more formulaic language than she demonstrates in the plenary sessions when she often doesn't participate.

The last time I recorded Sandiswa speaking specifically to me, the following occurred:

18/09/02

9.10

Sandiswa approaches PR, who is sitting near the water cups.

Sandiswa: (to PR) (E) Please may I water please?

Sandiswa asked me because Anita was busy and because I was closest to the cups.

Although not syntactically perfect, Sandiswa's attempt to formulate this question was a good one. This was not a spontaneous piece of English: she would have heard this before from other children, or even have been taught it by Anita. In a way, it is surprising, considering her habit of drilling the English she hears, that she didn't say this phrase perfectly.

The last significant display of English I recorded from Sandiswa was part of an exercise that Anita had set up. She put the learners in to groups of three or four with at least one confident learner in each group. She gave the group a picture of a piece of fruit. She then instructed them to come up with three things they could say about the fruit. The learners found this hard, so she tried eliciting some things from the confident learner. Once she had done this with all the groups, one learner from each group had to stand in front of the class and talk about the fruit.

16/09/02

12.00

Anita goes and sits with the learners on the carpet. She calls up one learner from each group, and tells them to talk about their picture. Sometimes she prompts: What are those things there, what colour is it?

Sandiswa: This is a strawberry. The colour is red of green...and brown.

Anita: (to Sandiswa) What else? (to class) Those little things are pips.

Sandiswa: These are pips.

Anita: How does a strawberry taste?

Sandiswa: Is nice.

Most learners did not make full sentences without being prompted by Anita to do so. Sandiswa and Lukhanyo were two of the three that did. Sandiswa's sentences are not perfect, but she is confident and eager to talk about her picture in English.

4.4.3 Anita's thoughts on Sandiswa

When I asked Anita about Sandiswa's work in the class, she had quite a lot to say:

022A: She is capable to do the tasks that is given to her. She has an outgoing personality, and she speaks quite often, and she often asks questions. She's a neat worker, and she is doing it thoroughly. All in her own time, but she does it.

PR: Is there anything which she could do better?

023A: I would like her to work a little faster, I think she can do more than what she does.

PR: How much English do you think she understands in the classroom?

024A: She understands most of the things I say.

PR: About eighty per cent?

025A: Ja, Ja.

Anita did not think that there was anything particularly lacking in Sandiswa's work, only that she could work faster in order to achieve more. Anita did not think that Sandiswa had a perfect receptive command of English, although she still thought it was high. She seemed to feel that Sandiswa was acquiring literacy and numeracy at an acceptable rate, and that her work was thorough. I asked Anita later if she thought Sandiswa was ready for Grade 1 next year, and the answer was an unequivocal yes.

4.4.4 Sandiswa's home environment.

When I visited the Futha's home, I was immediately struck by how incongruous it was. Mr. Futha had described it to me as: 'The green one with the porch'. The house had no name and number because it was in a part of the township where only main streets had names. I eventually had to get directions, but I do not know how I missed it. It was the same height as the surrounding buildings, but the only one with a garage, a front gate, a porch, (as he had described), and a small garden. I again made the 'mistake' of going in through the kitchen door, as the front door seemed not be a commonly used entrance.

Inside the house, there was a dining area, a lounge area, a kitchen, and bedrooms at the back. Sandiswa lived with both parents, her elder sister, and an elder brother. Her sister opened the door to me and showed me through into the lounge, where Mrs. Futha was sitting watching TV. It became apparent that Mr. Futha was not in, and that he would be arriving later from his work at Rhodes.

I first asked Mrs. Futha if she ever spoke English to Sandiswa in the home. She said that she sometimes did, but I got the impression that she did not make a habit of it (FI:01/02). It transpired that Sandiswa was the only child in the study who had exposure to English outside school from people of her own age, in this case a cousin who lived locally and whom Sandiswa visited every weekend (FI:03/04).

Later in the interview, it became apparent that Mrs. Futha had just begun reading to her child in English using books from the library (FI:012). It seemed that Mrs. Futha was encouraging Sandiswa to interact with the books by repeating in isiXhosa what she had just heard in English. I had the impression that she also encouraged Sandiswa to ask questions about the English on the television, and that she probably spoke more English to Sandiswa than she realised she did.

P: What things do you watch on TV?

05F: Because I am an adult, I watch movies, but I don't allow them to watch movies.

P: So what do they watch?

06F: The TV programmes for the children, like Yo TV.

S: Star Search.

07F: (To S) What is the name of that programme with those teddy bears?

S: []

08F: The other one.

S: Teletubbies.

09F: I didn't want to tell her. I was trying to suck it from her. (laughs)

This was a glimpse of the kind of language education that S probably engages in with her mother in English. It is an eliciting technique. Sandiswa understood the question without having to be prompted in isiXhosa.

The fact that Mrs. Futha spoke to her daughter in English may just have been due to my presence in the room, but Sandiswa responded to the questions as if it was perfectly normal for her mother to speak in English to her.

Mrs. Futha was surprised by how much English her daughter already knew (FI:44-45). Mrs. Futha said that she had not been brought up with the idea of reading to one's children, yet she has taken the step to do so herself (FI:014). I assume that the idea came from Anita, although I can't be sure. It might have come from her husband.

Both parents were well educated, it seems. Mrs. Futha said that she used to be a real bookworm until recently, but she had recently joined a new book club to start reading properly again.

Sandiswa's father came into the room at about this time. I realised that he had learnt his English through politics, and from 'white liberals at Rhodes'. He said he had encouraged himself to speak better English, and that had done some 'private studies' in English previously, but that now his interest was with the children (FI:30). These two comments were very revealing, because it seemed as if they were the main focus behind the parents' educational plans for their daughter.

Sandiswa had been to Prima before going to Secunda for the Grade R year. The motivation behind sending their daughter to preschool at Secunda and thence to Secunda One at first glance seemed to be about English medium instruction (FI:016/017). However, almost in the same breath, Mrs. Futha said the following:

18F: But Sandiswa don't want to study Grade 5 there, she says maybe I'll have money by that time, I want to go to VG¹. She's just there for the foundation.

P: This is what Sandiswa says to you?

19F: Eh, yes, yes. (laughs)

¹ Victoria Girl's School, a former Model C girls' school in Grahamstown.

I'm not sure Sandiswa would have said this to her mother although it is possible. Why would Sandiswa be aware of VG being in some way 'better' if her parents had not told her so? I think Sandiswa is a bit young to be thinking in this way. I think I can put this down to interviewer effect: Mrs. Futha wants to show off to me a bit. She also confirms that she would send Sandiswa to VG.
20F: So we have an agreement here that this second one will go to VG.

English, in my opinion, was not the real reason behind the support in the home and the choice of school. It had much more to do with social advancement, and upward mobility. It is also a political decision, and in this sense, English was inextricably linked to a good education for Mr. Futha (FI:039/040).

In conclusion, the Futha's standard of English is high compared to other parents I have spoken to. The parents both pride themselves on their English ability. Sandiswa has access to many sources of English, both written and spoken in many different media. The father calls himself a walking dictionary (FI:031), (for English/isiXhosa translations), and the mother has begun to read to Sandiswa. It seems that Sandiswa's standard of English surprises her mother. Her father seems to make the schooling decisions for the family and acquiring English is a central feature of that. Sandiswa is actively encouraged to use English by her family for the sake of her future.

This chapter has examined some of the key data collected during the observation period in Prima and Secunda. Chapter 5 looks at the same four children in their Grade 1 environments.

Chapter 5

Record of Classroom Observations in Grade One

This chapter sets out to describe the English language competence of all four case children in their respective Grade 1 (G1) classes, as well as their ability across the G1 curriculum. All my classroom observation was carried out in the first term of the G1 year. I aimed to visit each school at least once a week. I began my classroom observation on the 20th of January and finished on the 14th of March 2003. This constituted nine weeks of observation. However, I was only able to be in the classroom for a maximum of three hours a week because of other commitments. In all then, I recorded between twenty and twenty-seven hours of data at each school. Background data on these schools, classrooms, learners and teachers is contained in Appendix 2.

5.0 Choices for G1

I originally planned this study so that all four children from the two different preschools would attend the same G1 class immediately after their separate reception years. The aim was to see how all the children coped with work at the same level in the same class, taught in the same way by one teacher. Unfortunately, because almost all the children from the GR class at Secunda went to Secunda One, the class was already almost completely full. Furthermore, the two families whose children attended Prima could not in the end afford to send their children to Secunda One, but sent their children to other local primary schools instead. All the G1 classes the four children attended were described by their respective schools as English medium or English stream.

5.1 Disparity between G1 sites

All the case children coped with some if not most of the requirements of their respective classrooms, but there was a great deal of variation in terms of what was expected of the learners in those classrooms. One key difference between the G1 classrooms in the study was that in Secunda One all the children without exception had attended preschool, and 89% of them had come from the school's own preschool (Secunda). This was not the case in Graham One and Rhini One where at least 11% and 25% respectively of children had not attended preschool at all. (For more detailed information, see Appendix 2.2.)

This thesis does not aim to make a comparative study of the G1 classrooms, but rather to establish whether the children were adequately prepared in terms of English language to cope with the demands of the G1 curriculum as set out by the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The requirements of Secunda

One were in general higher than those of Rhini One and Graham One, meaning that had all four case children been in the same class, the disparity in their ability to cope with the demands of G1 would probably have been more obvious, and more easily recorded and understood.

My aim was not to assess all the children by the standards of Secunda One, or for that matter by the standards of any of the classrooms in which they found themselves, but by the standards of the NCS, which I took to be the most appropriate set of assessment standards available (see Chapter 3). However, the disparities noted in Appendix 2.2 impacted on the speed at which certain teachers were able to move through the curriculum, and thus what aspects of the NCS they were able to cover.

The rest of this chapter is given over to describing the case children's learning in the G1 classroom and assessing their learning as described above. I will look at each school and its learners in turn, starting with Secunda One.

Note: to remove confusion about which child attended which Grade 1 class and who they were taught by, I refer the reader to the table in the Abbreviations and at the beginning of Chapter 4.

5.2 Secunda One Primary School (Aiyabulela and Sandiswa taught by Siphso)

5.2.1 Classroom Environment.

The Secunda One G1 classroom was on the ground floor in a large and airy room. All the learners had chairs and desks. The walls were lined with notice boards that the teacher had covered with white A4. On top of the paper was an ever-changing display of topics that were being covered in the class. The only two static objects on the boards were the isiXhosa alphabet cards on the back wall, and a chart showing in which month each child in the class had their birthday on the left hand wall. The teacher, Siphso had also pinned some large cut out letters, about 50cm tall, to some of the notice boards (26/02/03, 8.40).

Siphso made much use of the three blackboards in the classroom. The front wall of the classroom was covered in one enormous board. She used this board to model writing tasks, or to elicit work from the students. She would also tack pictures from stories to the board whilst she was telling them to the class. The smaller blackboard was mobile and was mainly used by the children. Siphso would sit alone with a learner in front of the board, and watch him or her make a certain letter or sum with chalk or with a finger (12/02/03, 11.20). She would also use it for competitions, where learners had to write something correctly before they could leave the room.

The Secunda One classroom also had the familiar mat at the front. Siphso used this mat almost exclusively for reading activities, which were conducted mainly in isiXhosa. This was one of the most interesting aspects of Secunda One's classroom environment: the interchange between languages for different activities. Some aspects of the curriculum were almost exclusively taught in isiXhosa, like reading. However, numeracy was primarily taught in English. (There was no English alphabet chart present in the room.) Siphso used books from the charity READ¹ in the class. Although there were English versions available, she only used the isiXhosa ones. There was a certain pattern to language choice in the classroom, although it was not rigidly followed:

- activities involving development of reading were mainly in isiXhosa (26/02, 8.53-9.29).
- activities involving development of writing were mainly in English (3/02, 9.00).
- activities involving developing oral literacy were in English with some isiXhosa (3/02, 8.56) (17/02, 8.42-9.06).
- activities involving aural literacy were in isiXhosa, with some English (6/02, 11.21) (12/02, 11.35).
- language relating to discipline in the classroom would be mainly in English with some isiXhosa (17/02, 8.40) (26/02, 9.09).
- language relating to detailed explanation of a concept, either to one learner or a class, would start in English and be repeated in isiXhosa.
- formulaic language used in the classroom would be in isiXhosa or in English. English was often used first and isiXhosa afterwards (3/02, 8.28 and 3/02 8.29).
- numeracy activities were mainly in English with some isiXhosa, especially when a learner or learners was/were having difficulty with a concept (5/03/03 8.52).
- if Siphso was engaged in an activity in which she was most likely to use isiXhosa, but were a numeracy activity was integrated into it, her language would change to English.

These points seem to suggest some inherent contradictions in Siphso's language use: she teaches reading using isiXhosa books and words, but teaches writing using English sentences and letters. However, Siphso was careful never to confuse the two languages. For example, whenever a letter was sounded individually, it was sounded in isiXhosa. The alphabet was conducted as a whole class chant in isiXhosa (3/02,8.56). If a word was sounded, the sounding would be for the whole word, not each letter.

¹ READ is a Johannesburg-based NGO providing teacher training and materials in teaching reading for primary schools.

Sipho had a fluid, learner-centred teaching style. She often integrated many learning areas into one activity:

26/02/03

8.33

The class are sitting on the mat in front of Sipho. Sipho holds up a poster of herself with members of her family on it. She explains who all the people are on it in English. She also talks about the people who are not on the poster.

Sipho: How many people are there on this poster?

(Sipho spends a while eliciting a response from the learners.)

Sipho: How many people are not on this poster?

(Sipho gets a response from a few learners)

Sipho: So how many are there in my whole family?

(Some learners respond.)

The teaching of written literacy was a particularly interesting aspect of Sipho's teaching. It was notably synaesthetic in its nature. Sipho taught the children to make letters first by tracing them in the air and chanting how they were drawing at the same time. For instance, the chant for letter 'o' was: 'round and round and close'. The chant for 'c' was: 'round and round and don't close'. Similar techniques were used for copying sentences and words.

26/02/03

8.18

I have come into the classroom in the middle of a task. The theme of the lesson is families. The learners have had to draw either a sun or a cloud to signify whether they are part of God's family or not. After this, Sipho starts writing up a sentence on the board for the learners to copy underneath their pictures (I belong to God's family). She does it one letter at a time, making the sound of each letter and then giving the sound of the word as each letter is added.

As opposed to the learners just copying, she elicits how to draw each letter by tracing it in the air. She then lets the learners begin writing on the paper. They join in making the sounds of the letters and words after her, because she makes the activity enjoyable. (Sipho says belllloooooong, as she writes the word, for example.)

The learners were not allowed to begin copying the sentence until they had traced each letter in the air and tried to make the sound of the word. This ensured that the learners had at least some idea of what they were copying, even if they were unable to formulate this sentence in English themselves.

As mentioned above, reading took place in isiXhosa, using isiXhosa books. Although the subject of this thesis is the preparation for English language use in G1, I think it is worth noting how reading was taught in this context, because ultimately the children would be using the reading skills they acquired in isiXhosa to read English. Siphso conducted reading activities in the following way: she sat the class down on the mat, and presented one of the READ big books (oversize versions of a smaller book meant for plenary work), to the class. She only spoke in isiXhosa when conducting a reading activity. She first showed the children the cover, and initially only elicited the things in the pictures from the class. She then reread the book, this time reading out the words on the page. The children would often try to keep up with her as she read to them, even on the first reading. Siphso then produced books that were familiar to the class, and would let the class read them to her. (The class read the words on the page as Siphso pointed to them.) This revision of previous texts occurred almost every time a new book was started.

I have personally attended a few READ workshops where teachers are supplied with the big book in order to present the text to many children simultaneously, along with about ten smaller copies of the same book. These smaller copies are supposed to be used in discrete groups with the teacher. I never saw Siphso use these smaller books with the class, and I also never saw her working on reading with small groups. This would in my opinion make it difficult to assess the actual progress of many of the learners, or to focus on particular areas of difficulty.

From the limited period I was in the classroom, it seemed that Siphso's teaching of reading seemed to lack individual learner assessment, either formative or summative, and would perhaps allow struggling learners to 'slip through the net'.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will be describing how the case children from Secunda Preschool, (Aiyabulela and Sandiswa), fared in this G1 classroom.

5.3.1 Aiyabulela's English in G1.

Aiya's spoken English had improved, although not dramatically, since he moved to G1. His listening skills in English were also somewhat improved (e.g. 17/02, 9.05), and he paid the same rapt attention to the teacher when she was telling a story as he did in GR. He still had the same high standard of confidence with his oral English and still wanted to show off what he could understand and say to me. This is a typical example.

12/02/03

10.20

Many of the children in the class are missing. I remark on the fact to Siphon.

Siphon: (to PR) It's so much easier with twenty-five. They've gone to the dentist.

Aiya: (to PR) Dentist... Wash the teeth. (Points at his teeth)

Aiya understood at least one word of what Siphon said. He knows what the dentist is; he doesn't just recognize the word.

On another occasion, he demonstrated a level of English more advanced than his peers. In this example, I was struck by his ability to form reasonably complex sentences and how well he kept up with the 'conversation' that was going on in the classroom. The conceptual content of the questions was also not easy, indicating that Aiya not only understood the question in English and decided on the answer, but he also formulated the answer in his additional language.

12/02/03

11.45

Siphon now switches to English. Most of the day so far has been in Xhosa.

Siphon: You all know what buns are? What are they?

Sandiswa: Nice

Aiya: Cream

Aiya got the subject of the question, but not the grammar of it. He got 'buns' only. It is interesting that he knows the word 'cream'. Unusual vocabulary.

Siphon: Where do we get them from?

Learners: Shop, Spar,

Aiya: Checkers

Siphon: OK

Siphon: At Spar, they've got them. Where exactly do we get them?

Aiya: At the back.

Aiya's answer was spot on as far as content and grammar were concerned. He didn't just repeat, he constructed the sentence as it should be. Siphon does not pick up his answer, suggesting she may not have been expecting something so good from the class.

Siphon: Somewhere in the shop, they've got a bakery. There is a side of stoves where they make buns.

Aiya: Yes, I [ve] see it.

It was not clear if Aiya said 'I've' or simply 'I'.

Aiya was not always as alert to the conceptual background and context of the English he heard from Siphso as he was in the above example. In the following example, he misunderstood a central concept of a story that Siphso had told the class in English (i.e. that the way a character called Vusi treated books was unacceptable):

17/02/03

9.05

Siphso has finished telling a story to the class in English about Vusi and how he treated the library book badly.

Siphso: Do you think that Vusi should get another book from the library? If you say yes, you must be able to tell me why. If you say no, you must be able to tell me why. Should Vusi get another book?

Aiya: (With other learners.) Noo.

Later, shortly after listening to this story, Siphso was about to take the class to the school library, when the following occurred.

17/02/03

9.20

Siphso: Who is going to be Vusi?

Aiya: (puts up hand and smiles)

Siphso: (Looks at Aiya surprised) Are you going to lick the pages?

Aiya: No.

Aiya was not the only one to put his hand up in answer to the question, but it does show that his understanding of English does not always tie in with his contextual understanding.

Whereas some other learners in the class were able to combine words to form sentences with little reference to grammar, Aiya was able to apply grammatical structure in his sentences with remarkable accuracy. Where his peers would have said: 'Teacher, no paper' Aiya would say 'Teacher, I don't have a paper' (12/02, 12.00 and 26/02, 9.26). He was also able to use correct formulaic English when isiXhosa or a less accurate word would have sufficed (5/03, 9.17). This wasn't always the case, as in 26/02, 9.23, where Aiya answered a question about the identity of one of his drawings by saying: 'Is my sister.' Similarly, he seemed unable to use 'some' correctly (12/02, 12.05).

Considering his abilities in formulating original oral English, it was surprising to note that Aiya seemed to have more difficulty keeping up with English rhymes and chants than his peers (17/02, 8.30 and 12/02, 11.35). Learning Outcome 2 in the NCS is concerned with the learner's speaking skills. It details five assessment standards, all of which Aiya exceeded, with the exception of number four (see Appendix 5). My interpretation of this apparent disparity is that Aiya was still being exposed to a lot of aural English at home via his mother, but that this English did not include the rhymes he was doing in class. In other words, Aiya was perhaps learning his spoken English more from his home environment than from his school one.

His written literacy seemed to have become more focused and organised than it was in GR. He had no trouble identifying letters in words when asked to by Siphso and was capable of copying all the letters he was required to in class (12/02, 10.50 10.51). He was also familiar with concepts such as where to start writing on the page and that sentences went from left to right across the page (6/02, 11.05). He had not yet grasped the concept of starting a new line when copying a sentence that didn't fit on one line (26/02, 8.18).

In all the cases where the activities in the classroom allowed competence in an AS to be demonstrated, Aiyabulela was successful. In other words, Aiya was able to demonstrate competence in all the ASs he had an opportunity to demonstrate his competence in. There were no ASs which Aiya had an opportunity to demonstrate which he failed in.

5.3.2 Aiyabulela's competencies across the G1 curriculum.

Aiyabulela seemed to be on track in this early stage of the year in the other key aspects of the G1 curriculum, namely first language reading and listening and numeracy. His ability in numeracy tasks was particularly striking to me (see 5/03, 9.00, 9.01, 9.13, 9.45 and 10/03, 8.31). He seemed not only to be confident in his numerical ability, but to be ahead of the class in terms of his actual competence.

When it came to reading activities, Aiya would always position himself right in front of the teacher, or as close as he could get to her (26/02, 8.33). This didn't seem to be a competition with other learners to get as close to front as possible, as occurred in Grade R. Here, Aiya was deliberately placing himself as close to the book and the teacher as possible.

As mentioned above, Siphso conducted reading activities from the front of the class using a large version of the smaller books. Here, Aiya was not as precocious as he was in other areas. When the class read together, he often said what those around him thought the sentence said as opposed to trying to read it for himself. This is not to say that he was always slightly behind the class so that he did not have to do any actual reading himself: he was 'with' the class in terms of speed, suggesting that he was able to read much of the text, but was unable to realise when what the class was saying was wrong and make his own

sense of a sentence or word (10/03, 8.53). I do not think the reason for this was that he was shy of saying something different from the other learners, because of his high oral confidence with Siphon and me in other contexts. It may have been because he was not sure that he was right. I think Aiyon found reading challenging, far more so than working with numbers, or speaking either in English or in isiXhosa. He was, however, making a big effort to improve, by for example trying to say the words with the teacher as she read them to the class (10/03, 9.29).

5.3.3 Siphon's thoughts on Aiyabulela

Siphon was quick to commend Aiyon on his speed of thinking in maths (SI: 16.12). She thought that his reading skills, particularly his comprehension, were not quite up to the standard of his maths, but that he was trying hard to improve (Ibid and Appendix 9). Contrary to my interpretation, Siphon thought that Aiyon was not talking much English in class, and that he was not taking risks with the language (Ibid). She did however feel that his receptive understanding of English spoken in the classroom was very high (Ibid). By the third term, Siphon thought that Aiyon's ability to build written sentences in isiXhosa was improving (Appendix 9).

5.3.4 Summary of Aiyabulela in Grade 1

Overall, it seemed that Aiyon was on track to meet most of the demanding requirements of G1, especially in the area of mathematics/numeracy. His teacher seemed pleased with his progress and the effort he was making in class, particularly in terms of reading, which he did not find easy.

5.4.1 Sandiswa's English in G1.

In stark contrast to Aiyabulela, Sandiswa was not nearly so vocal, either with me or in general in the G1 classroom. In GR, she had initiated conversations with me, or involved me in games, but she was now much quieter. This clearly impacted on my ability to assess her English in authentic contexts. I had to base most of my findings on her understanding of classroom tasks.

Although she was not particularly confident in showing off her ability in English, she was keen to show that she understood what Siphon was saying in English.

3/02/03

8.17

Siphon: Who can show me how to write the word 'one'?

Sandiswa shoots up her hand.

Sandiswa very confident that she can write the word.

There were many other occasions when she demonstrated this enthusiasm for understanding spoken English (6/02, 11.05: 17/02, 8.45 and 8.52). However, she was still unlikely to speak in English unless spoken to. Even when spoken to, she seemed afraid or unable to articulate her thoughts to the teacher (17/02, 8.45).

In contrast, on the occasions when Siphon spoke to her directly, she gave evidence of being ahead of the class in some key areas. For example, when asked in English which month her birthday was in, Sandiswa was able to answer correctly (17/02, 8.30). Not only this, but she was able to sing a song that Siphon had taught the class using the months of the year with the class, where others, including Aiyabulela, struggled to keep up (Ibid).

Sometimes she was sure of the answer, but didn't want to tell the class. On one occasion, Sandiswa was sitting in front of the months of the year board when Siphon asked the class to show her a letter 'c' anywhere in the room. She identified a letter 'c' in the word 'March', because she nudged her friend and pointed at it. However, she didn't want to put her hand up to show the class that she knew (3/02, 9.00).

Sandiswa did not always understand the instructions for a task if Siphon gave them in English (3/02, 8.18). However, when Siphon spoke to Sandiswa alone, one on one, she demonstrated that she was capable of carrying on a conversation in English about her work. In the following example, Siphon had just asked Sandiswa some questions about her drawing of her family, but I could not hear Sandiswa's answers over the noise of the class. I waited until she was back at her desk and then asked them again:

26/02/03

9.23

PR: (to Sandiswa) How many people in your family?

Sandiswa: (shakes her head and smiles.)

PR: How many people are there here?

Sandiswa: Three.

PR: Who is old?

Sandiswa: []

PR: Who is young?

Sandiswa: Is my sister.

PR: Is your sister old?

Sandiswa: Yes. Is my mother, my granny. (points at some of the drawings.)

Her answer to the first question was right: she had only drawn three people. She seems to know what 'How many' means. Sandiswa found 'old' and 'young' difficult to understand, but she did attempt to answer the third question. I think she thought I was asking: 'Who is this?' The fourth question she misunderstood.

Although Sandiswa had not at this stage understood the target language/concept for the lesson, 'young' and 'old', she was able to interact with me about her picture using English.

Shortly after this, Siphso asked the class to stand in a line and to show her their work. The class had to count the number of old people in their family, write the number on the page, and then do the same for the young people. When they had finished with this, they had to write the total number of people in the family next to the other two numbers. Most of the children in the class were only capable of counting all the people on the page. This was a complex task for these learners.

26/02/03

9.45

Siphso has a long line of learners waiting to talk to her.

Siphso: How many old people are there at home?

Sandiswa: Three.

Siphso: How many young people are there at home?

Sandiswa: Four.

Siphso: What is three and four all together? Count them and come back to me here.

From this exchange, it would seem that Sandiswa could at least distinguish: 'How many people' from 'How many old people'. She can recognise the modifying phrase when Siphso speaks.

It seems that by the time Sandiswa had heard the words 'young' and 'old' a few times, she was able to understand what they meant, and in addition, apply the meaning to a picture and talk about it. (I knew that what she was saying was accurate, because I had met her family, I knew that there were seven people in it and four were not yet adult.) These two exchanges alone seem to provide evidence of Sandiswa's progression in English acquisition. She was apparently not capable of distinguishing 'young' from 'old' in the initial exchanges she had had with her teacher and with me, but when asked similar questions for the third time, she demonstrated an understanding of the target language and concept that exceeded that of her peers (26/02/03, 9.55).

Sandiswa's care in her work paid off when it came to writing/copying. Her letters in the sentence: 'I am part of God's family' were all well formed and in a reasonably straight line (26/02, 8.18). She was

also able to write some names of numbers after an initial prompt from Sipho (5/03, 9.31). She seemed unsure of writing the word 'four' as opposed to simply copying it, as she was unable to keep up with the class when Sipho demonstrated tracing the shapes of the letters in the air (5/03, 9.36). She had no trouble copying familiar words like the names for numbers, only knowing which was which from memory and being able to write them (10/03, 8.38).

When it came to reading, Sandiswa seemed keen to join in with choruses of stories. On one occasion, when Sipho was using a picture board to tell the story of Vusi and his bad book habits, Sandiswa was one of only seven learners in the class who felt confident enough to repeat the key phrase of the story with the teacher (17/02, 8.52). She seemed to be trying to improve her reading, and concentrated on trying to keep up with the class when Sipho got the class to read to her from the big books. At the basic level of books with one or two word captions, she was able to say which word was which in time with the class (10/03, 8.53). (She had been exposed to these simple texts at least four times prior to this.) When it came to '*Ndinekhaya*', a more complex text involving direct speech and full sentences, she was virtually silent as most of the children in the class read the words from the page (10/03, 8.53). On the other occasions when I was with the class when they were reading, I found it difficult to assess Sandiswa's progress or even ability. She sat towards the back of the group of learners, and appeared distracted, or at least not giving the teacher and the material her whole attention (26/02, 8.33). However, I did see her move away from some learners who were distracting her (10/03, 9.11).

5.4.2 Sandiswa's competencies across the Grade1 curriculum

Sandiswa seemed to have the same competence in numeracy as she had in GR. She was able to keep up with the class in most areas of mathematics. Sipho had introduced many new functions for the number board that Anita had used in Grade R, for example counting to one hundred in odd numbers or in even numbers, or counting in threes. Although Sandiswa was not quite so able in these new skills as she could have been, it was still early in the year, and she was able to keep up with her peers (3/02, 8.12). She was able to demonstrate her abilities in making bonds, even though she did not always join in with the class (5/03, 8.58 and 9.00).

She still manifested the same exhaustive care and attention in her work that she had in grade R. It was at times easy to confuse this with a lack of competence, because Sandiswa would often work so slowly that she would not finish a task, or fall behind the rest of the class (3/02, 8.35). Sometimes, however, her care paid off. On one occasion, the class were making a copy of a book they had been reading, '*Usana lwabo*'.

3/02/03

9.15

The class are making their own book using a folded piece of paper. On the first page, they have to write the title of the book and draw the cover picture. Sandiswa is very unsure of the task, even though Siphon explained the whole thing in isiXhosa. Sandiswa copies Phelela. Some learners have already finished the first page by the time Sandiswa starts. However, hers is more correct than Phelela's ultimately: she has folded the paper correctly and is doing the right task on the right page.

Sandiswa is unconfident with unfamiliar tasks, but she is clever in using as many resources as possible to carry out the task successfully. Ultimately, she sometimes succeeds over her peers who work faster.

Sandiswa was still just as resourceful in G1 as she had been in GR when it came to completing unfamiliar tasks. Sometimes this resourcefulness did not really extend beyond copying a friend, but at other times, she surprised me by making links between tasks that other learners in the class had not made (5/03, 9.37).

5.4.3 Siphon's thoughts on Sandiswa

Siphon's initial assessment of Sandiswa's abilities across the G1 curriculum had not been dissimilar to mine when I first saw her in Secunda preschool. Siphon seemed to think that she was dependent on her friends for academic success, and was pleasantly surprised when she isolated her for a particular task, (e.g. writing a word), that she was able to do so confidently (SI: 16.25). Siphon was not worried about Sandiswa's lack of production of oral English. On the contrary, she seemed to be very impressed by Sandiswa's ability to keep up with a game a friend was playing with her in English, even if Siphon had to help her with some phrases (Ibid). She was not as confident about Sandiswa's understanding of English as she was of Aiyabulela's (Ibid). She thought that Sandiswa's level of reading comprehension was much better than Aiyabulela's, as was her ability to recognise words (Appendix 9). I saw little evidence in the time I was in the classroom to support this.

5.4.4 Summary of Sandiswa at Grade 1.

Sandiswa was not as advanced in her abilities across the curriculum as Aiya, mainly I feel because she was not prepared to take as many risks as he was. Many children stay silent, particularly with new complex skills such as reading until they feel fully able to carry them out correctly. Sandiswa certainly still evinced the concerted diligence and the enjoyment of being in the classroom that she showed in preschool. I think her lack of initiation of interaction with me had much to do with the fact that she had to concentrate more to stay ahead in G1 than she had had to in GR. It seemed she would have to work

harder than some learners to keep up in G1, although her teacher was pleased with her progress in most areas.

5.5 Rhini One Primary School (Andile taught by Priscilla)

5.5.1 Classroom Environment.

Rhini One's G1 classrooms were about the same size as Secunda One's, with similar resources on hand. Priscilla the teacher had a large collection of resources, some of which she had made herself. A particularly striking resource was a large piece of transparent plastic hanging from the board with slots in it for flashcards that occurred in the stories she read to the class. She would use the plastic pockets to drill words and sentences discretely.

The majority of the learners in Priscilla's G1 class were isiXhosa or Afrikaans first-language speakers. Some children were clearly being exposed to English at home, because their aural and oral proficiency was far above the class average.

Priscilla used a mixture of isiXhosa and English in the classroom, although English predominated almost entirely. IsiXhosa was used only as reinforcement for clarifying understanding when an instruction had already been given in English (27/01, 8.55 and 8.56). None of Priscilla's teaching was carried out in isiXhosa, she did not teach any isiXhosa, and there was no written isiXhosa anywhere in the classroom. (In the interview, she said that she had used the language at the beginning of the year (PI 43.21).) In other words, there was only one language on the curriculum in this classroom.

She appeared to be conducting a policy of subtractive bilingualism in the class, where isiXhosa/Afrikaans was to be replaced with English whilst the children were at school. Priscilla took the concept of English medium very seriously. She would not allow the children to talk to her in isiXhosa, despite the fact that she was fluent in it, even if they did not yet have the English to communicate with her (27/01, 9.16). She would also not let the children talk isiXhosa to each other, although in practice, she had to allow this, because it was so difficult to police. Her message on language use in the classroom was often contradictory: she seemed to want to encourage rather than force the children to speak English, but ended up shouting at them when they spoke isiXhosa, or didn't speak enough English (12/02, 8.40). On occasion, this 'encouragement' to speak English rather than isiXhosa/Afrikaans became rather aggressive (12/02, 9.45).

Priscilla was very concerned that she 'got [the children] to talk', i.e. to talk in English. Many of her activities were to do with getting the children to make the sounds of English by repeating phrases they had been exposed to in class, even if it was clear that they had no idea what they were saying (12/02,

8.50). At other times, she concentrated on oral drills, particularly when learning how to use formulaic language like: 'Today is Wednesday'(12/02, 8.42).

Priscilla's method of teaching reading was unusual and merits some detailed explanation, particularly because of how Andile responded to it. Priscilla always conducted her reading sessions with a small group of no more than ten learners. The groups were streamed, with the most able readers all in one group, while less proficient readers worked in groups with progressively fewer readers in each one. Priscilla had put Andile in the last group, called the 'cats'.

Priscilla started each reading session by eliciting the words for parts of a book (5/03, 10.55). She then read the sentence on each page of the book, holding the book so that the learners could all see it. The learners would all repeat the sentence after her as a group. Once she had been through the whole book in this way, Priscilla then started the book again, and this time asked individual learners to repeat the sentence after her as she pointed at it. (5/03, 11.02). This completed, she asked the group to identify some punctuation elements, like full stops and exclamation marks (5/03, 11.03).

Priscilla then put the book away and took out some white flashcards with full sentences from the book on them. She drilled these first with the whole group and then with learners individually (5/03, 11.05/09). She then asked the learners to identify individual words in the sentences she was holding up.

The last stage of the reading activity was to drill individual words that were on yellow flashcards with the group and individuals. The oral drill completed, Priscilla held up three or four yellow flashcards one at a time. The group had to copy the word they saw into their reading books (5/03, 11.25). Their homework was to copy the words they had written down four times each and bring them the next day.

I was struck by the thoroughness of this reading activity, especially since it covered so many skills at once, each one reinforcing the next. The learners moved from contextualised listening and reading to listening and speaking, then to decontextualised reading, listening and speaking, and finished with reading and writing/copying. For information on how Andile coped with this activity, see the end of the following section.

5.5.2 Andile's English in G1.

Andile had made much progress since GR, especially when it came to using English. In GR, he had been very reticent to use it, or even to show he understood it, whereas now he was making demonstrable progress. In the very first lessons of the term, Priscilla sat the class down on the mat in front of her and held up the name cards of the students. The class had to identify their name from the writing alone and then use the card to find their name on their desks. Andile seemed to have no trouble identifying his name as Priscilla held it up (27/01, 8.25). His written literacy was developing well. He kept up with the class when tracing new letters in the air and said the right words for the actions he was

doing (19/02, 8.40). He was also clearly capable of copying words that he knew from stories in class (27/02, 9.55). He could write his own name mainly in lower case letters and in a straight line, although sometimes some letters became upper case again (5/03, 11.40 and 12/02, 9.45).

I saw a number of demonstrations of how much progress Andile was making in his receptive command of English. In one instance, he answered some yes/no questions which he would have had trouble with in GR, and maybe not have been able to answer at all (27/02, 10.37). He also managed to follow a complicated instruction in English which contradicted the visual clue Priscilla provided. He would almost certainly not have been able to do this in GR.

12/02/03

9.30

Priscilla has handed out a sheet with a variety of shapes on it: triangles, squares, circles, and rectangles. Each shape is a different size from the rest, and they are all at odd angles.

Priscilla holds up a yellow wooden triangle and elicits its colour.

P: Colour all your triangles in yellow.

(This task is repeated for circle and square.)

Andile does not look at any other learners to check that what he is doing is right, until he has finished (with the triangles). He only managed to find four triangles, but he did get all the squares by looking at other learners' papers.

With the rectangle, Priscilla held up a yellow one and said:

P: But I don't want you to do a yellow one, make it green.

Andile understood this instruction straight away. He picked out the green crayon from his tin, without looking at what the others on his table were doing.

There was another occasion where Andile clearly had trouble carrying out one of Priscilla's instructions. It may have been that what Priscilla said was phrased as a statement, not as a request, that threw Andile. Whatever the reason, he clearly found this particular utterance difficult to understand (5/03, 10.51).

In the songs and rhymes that the class sang, Andile tried very hard to keep up with the words and the actions. Often, he managed the actions better than the words, although he was at times slightly behind the class in this respect (12/02, 8.25). Priscilla sometimes asked individual learners to perform an action rhyme by themselves when the class had just done it. In this particular case, the class had heard the rhyme about four times before this occasion.

5/03/03

11.53

The class are on the mat doing the elephant rhyme. Andile lags behind slightly. P then asks him if he wants to do it alone. P helps when he runs out of rhyme.

Andile: He is [so] big and strong. He walks like this, he walks like that. He has no fingers, he has no [toes], but goodness gracious, what a nose.

Sections in square brackets are those words that Andile could not remember by himself and which Priscilla helped him with. He was not very confident in doing this, but certainly not unconfident. The rhyme was long, and he even managed to do some of the actions. ('fingers', 'nose', 'big', and an attempt at 'walks like this').

Even when put on the spot like this in front of the class, Andile was able to say at least ninety per cent of the rhyme and do most of the actions for what he was saying too. Compared to the abilities he demonstrated in GR, this progress was outstanding.

Andile could keep up with all the drills that Priscilla did with the class. She would often use whole class drills followed by individual drills to reinforce formulaic language. Sometimes these drills involved reformulation/substitution of a phrase, for example from: 'It is cloudy' to 'Today is cloudy'. Andile showed that he was capable of this kind of reformulation in plenary (12/02, 8.45). If Andile had heard other learners saying the drill phrase before him, he could drill it himself clearly and confidently (12/02, 8.42). He also showed that he could identify what the weather was like and make a statement about it in English (19/02, 8.42 and 8.48).

On another occasion, Andile demonstrated that he was capable of some advanced reformulation on his own. In this example, he had seen other learners doing the same kind of reformulation, but not with the same word:

19/02/03

9.15

Priscilla picks up another card, this time with the word 'walking' on it.

Priscilla: (to Andile) What is the boy doing?

Andile: The boy is walking.

Priscilla: Stand up, and show us walking.

Andile stands up, walks on the spot, swinging arms.

Priscilla: Tell us what you are doing.

Andile: I am walking.

Andile was very confident with this task, but received little encouragement from P.

Despite these examples, an aspect of Andile's class work that had unfortunately stayed with him since GR was his lack of confidence, especially in using English in front of his peers. In the observation period, he twice shot his hand up to answer a complex question about locative phrases, but then put it down again just as fast to avoid actually being asked (12/02, 9.07). He did make some occasional original statements in English, but they were few and far between (5/03, 11.25) and (27/02, 11.30). In the first of these examples, Priscilla had just congratulated Andile for some written work he had completed. This could serve as an indication that Andile was capable of more original utterances in English, only he needed more encouragement and confidence for them to come out. The second example was intelligible, although if Andile meant it as he said it, the thought seemed rather too abstract to really have been what he wanted to say.

Like most of the case children, Andile did not interact with me orally at any stage during my observation in G1, although he did acknowledge my presence a few times (e.g. 27/01, 8.25). Occasionally, Priscilla asked him to make up his own sentences in English, which he did seem capable of, if unconfident. In the following example, the statement he made in respect of the picture was almost totally accurate, but because it was not the answer that Priscilla was looking for, she did not acknowledge it.

19/02/03

9.02

Priscilla has turned to the first page of the book 'Run!'. It shows a lion sitting in the foreground with a fire behind him in the background.

Priscilla: (to Andile) What is the lion doing?

Andile: The lion is in the fire.

Priscilla: No. What are you doing on the floor? (trying to elicit sitting.)

Andile: (silent)

Priscilla: (repeats Q)

Andile: (silent)

Priscilla: Oh my.

Andile's answer was actually half correct, only it wasn't the answer that Priscilla wanted. Andile couldn't distinguish between the lion being in the foreground, and the fire being in the background. His

visual literacy is not so advanced. He may, however, have been trying to say that the fire was burning, or going to burn the lion, in which case he would have been correct. Priscilla does not acknowledge this.

Andile's competencies in reading were another aspect of his English that seemed to be improving, even in the short time that I was in the classroom. He responded confidently to all the drills that Priscilla conducted on the language, both contextualised and decontextualised (5/03, 11.02 and 11.05). He was able to identify some items of punctuation (5/03, 11.03). He could also identify words he knew within a sentence and substantively (5/03, 11.09 and 11.11, 11.16 and 11.22). Finally, he was able to copy two- and three-letter words from flashcards onto paper.

In all these tasks, Andile was ahead of most of the members of this group.

5.5.3 Andile's competencies across the G1 curriculum

In contrast to GR, where Andile often seemed distracted and unable to concentrate, in G1 he was often -but not always- much more absorbed by the task at hand (27/01, 9.20) and (19/02, 9.40). At times, he gave himself a 'break' from an activity that he had been working at for a while and looked around the room, as he had been apt to do in the previous year (27/02, 10.42).

I was fortunate enough to see Andile perform a task that he had been unable to achieve a few days previously. When I looked at his workbook on 19/02/03, I noticed that he had not been able to continue a 'w' pattern across his page. On 27/02/03 at 11.55, Priscilla gave Andile some individual attention on this task, after which he was capable of doing it alone. Priscilla assured me that the children had not had any practice with this particular activity since their first effort. This shows that Andile was making a great deal of effort to improve in G1 and that his effort was paying dividends.

When it came to numeracy and mathematical tasks, Andile at times demonstrated a competence in excess of his peers. Priscilla occasionally tacked a series of cards with a number from one to ten across a small board at the front of the classroom. She would drill counting from one to ten and then remove a number from the board. She then asked the class which number was missing. On more than one occasion, Andile was able to say which number it was before others in the class (e.g. 12/02, 9.00).

He was also clearly able to count from one to ten on his own and identify the numbers as he counted them (12/02, 9.20). He had more trouble going up to 20 and counting from 10- 100 in tens (19/02, 9.32). He could also identify some common shapes, such as triangles, circles, and squares when prompted by the teacher (12/02, 9.25). The class often did exercises where they had to link and show they understood the link between the digit '3', the word 'three', and three objects. Priscilla gave Andile worksheets with slightly less to fill in than other learners in the class (27/02, 10.30), but he was certainly

able to link 'three' to three objects and the digit '3', even if he did not show that he could write the word 'three' without copying it yet (27/02, 10.32 and 10.37).

5.5.4 Priscilla's thoughts on Andile

Priscilla seemed to agree with me about the progress that Andile was making (PI: 21.10). She had not met his parents, and did not seem to think that he was getting much if any support in learning at home (Ibid). She thought that if there was one area where Andile needed help at home it was with the parents speaking English to him at home (PI: 22.05), but she felt this was true for all her learners. At the start of the term, she thought he was a weak learner, because she had placed him on the slow learners table and in the slow readers group. As the term progressed and I spent more time in the classroom, she made a number of comments about moving him into different streams in the classroom (19/02, 10.00) (5/03, 11.22). His report card for the third term showed that he was progressing well across the curriculum. Priscilla's two areas of concern were his oral vocabulary and confidence in speaking (Appendix 9).

5.5.5 Summary of Andile at Grade 1

Andile had clearly made a great deal of progress since GR in terms of his English ability. He was also fast learning the other aspects of the curriculum. His rate of development seemed to have shot up since Prima. Although at the start of the term Priscilla had kept him on a slow table and in slow reading groups, he was beginning to show by the end of the observation period that he was at least of average ability in the G1 class.

5.6 Graham One Primary School (Nomathemba taught by Janette)

5.6.1 Classroom Environment

Graham One's teacher was much younger than all the other teachers from the other schools. This was her second teaching post. She had previously taught in a rural school not too far from town, but that post had lasted less than a year. Maybe for this reason, Janette did not have as many resources in the classroom as compared to the other G1 teachers. She seemed to be busy making her own for the learners to use as the term went on.

As at Graham One, Janette placed a great deal of emphasis on the use of English in the classroom. Unlike Sipho and Priscilla, who would make use of isiXhosa to greater or lesser degrees in the course of

their teaching or classroom management, I never heard Janette use any language other than English in the classroom, although she said that she had had to use Afrikaans right at the beginning of the year (JI: 08). She had a tendency to be very strict about using English in the classroom (29/01, 8.40 and 9.04). The children were also aware of how strict this policy was, and sometimes took it upon themselves to police it (29/01, 9.35). As at the other schools, the children often resorted to languages that were common between them, (Afrikaans and isiXhosa), when they thought they could get away with it (13/03, 11.28).

Unlike in the two other primary classrooms, there was a surprisingly high standard of English being spoken in the classroom by the learners themselves (13/03, 11.30) (25/02, 9.16). In most cases, this English came from coloured boys who almost certainly spoke English as a first or second home language. Sometimes the learners would even address me in English (13/03, 11.35). The English that was spoken was also used as a *lingua franca* between the coloured and black children in the class (13/03, 10.32). Sometimes the children would use English for simple functions even when they shared another language, suggesting that they were aware of the supremacy of English in the classroom (10/02, 8.16).

An aspect of Graham One's classroom environment that I feel was likely to have impacted on the amount of English that Noma spoke with the teacher or spoke in general was Janette's demeanour in the classroom (13/03, 11.19 and 11.22) (29/01, 8.45) (20/02, 11.25). I never saw her congratulate a child on a piece of work well done, or really express any joy in the classroom, for example by laughing or smiling. There was often a feeling of tension in the room between the children and the teacher. It is of course possible that this was due to my presence, but Janette did not seem unconfident with me, either within or outside the classroom. I think this atmosphere may rather have come from her own lack of confidence and experience. It did seem to be a factor in how much the children wanted to speak to her, or to play with language.

Janette never drilled language with the children, except in reading tasks where she used flashcards. Each card had either a word or a sentence from one of the books Janette was using with the class. The sentences were limited to four words in length at this stage. Janette first drilled the class on the sentences they would meet in the book and then produced the book for a group of about eight learners at a time. There was never any discussion of the pictures in the books or of the meanings of the words. Janette always began by getting individual learners to read the book to the rest of the group. When one learner had finished, the next one would start. The atmosphere in these reading sessions was tense, because once a child had finished reading, there was little for him or her to do. This meant that Janette would often have to spend much of the session disciplining children in the group.

5.6.2 Noma's English in Grade 1.

Although not as developed as some of the other case children's, Nomathemba's receptive command of English seemed to be developing well. She was able to answer some English questions about a story that she had heard told in English with the rest of the class (29/01, 8.30). However, she sometimes had difficulty following instructions from Janette given to the whole class or to her alone (5/02, 10.25). On one occasion, this may have been because she was so absorbed in what she was doing that she did not realise that the instruction was directed at her (29/01, 8.40). In a later example, it was clear that she only understood the key word in what Janette was saying and not the rest of the instruction (10/02, 9.02). Because she did not always know what to do from Janette's oral instructions alone, she then had to check to see what the other learners were doing before she started (e.g. 5/03, 9.30). (Unlike with Sandiswa in Secunda One who also looked at other learners' work before starting her own, Noma did not give any indication in the observation period that she was merely checking she had understood what the teacher had instructed. In Noma's case, there was a gap of understanding which had to be filled by looking around her).

This is not to say that Noma never showed any independence in her learning. On one occasion, she copied some work from a friend before deciding that it was wrong, and then changing her answer (25/02, 8.35). She could recognise question forms, and in particular what kind of answer a question warranted, but was perhaps let down by her vocabulary in answering the questions correctly (10/02, 8.14).

At other times, she showed that she could understand and respond to what Janette was saying with no trouble (5/02, 8.55), particularly if the phrase was one commonly used by Janette in the classroom (25/02, 8.53). When Janette spoke to her one on one, she seemed able to understand most of what Janette said, but some simple adjectives like 'long' gave her trouble (29/01, 9.26). She did manage to follow and answer correctly some questions based on stories told in English, at least on one occasion (29/01, 8.30). When she didn't know a word, or she heard a word that she had not heard before, she often repeated it to herself a few times under her breath (05/02, 9.25). This I took as an indication that Noma was trying very hard to acquire English in the classroom.

Noma was still not confident enough in her oral English to use it with Janette. In this example, she could have said something along the lines of: 'Look, teacher', but she chose to remain silent.

29/01/03

9.00

The class are threading beads onto a piece of string. They have to count out ten blocks, and thread them on.

Noma holds up nine blocks on a bit of string for Janette to check as she walks past. Noma doesn't say anything.

Janette: (counts the blocks) There are only nine.

Noma puts on another block.

Noma initiated this conversation/interaction. She is clearly keen to try as much as possible to get the task right. She is the only learner I have seen doing this.

I think that Noma would have been capable of asking about her own work in English, but she seemed nervous of making a mistake in front of Janette, possibly for the reasons given in the Classroom Environment section above. I did hear her talking to Janette once, but it was a very formulaic statement (Sit! Sit!) which learners often made to their teacher (13/03, 11.18).

When it came to singing songs, hymns, and rhymes in English, Noma only just managed to keep up with the rest of the class (10/02, 8.10). The songs and hymns were all new to Noma, and she had only been exposed to them for about 2 weeks at this stage. It would therefore not be valid to judge her on these songs alone.

Noma began to make more use of English herself in the classroom as the term went on. Her oral English was an area where the difference between G1 and GR was very noticeable. She was much more confident in speaking English than she had been before. She sometimes used English in the classroom even with her friends from the previous year's GR class who spoke isiXhosa first language as she did (10/02, 8.16 and 10/02, 9.00). She used English for different reasons at different times. These included: wanting to be able to speak English better, because English was the official classroom language, and to show off to her friends/play with the language (25/02, 9.23), or to answer statements by non isiXhosa speakers directed at her (13/03, 11.28). She also used English when she thought isiXhosa would not be understood, such as when talking to coloured children in the class (25/02, 9.22). She also tended to use English when the subject was a classroom task, and on some of these occasions she produced language far in excess of what she demonstrated in GR. Here is one example:

25/02/03

8.49

Terry-Lynn shows Noma her maths worksheet with a number written on it. Noma looks at it.

Noma: (to Terry) This one not seven, you.

I think Noma was trying to tell Terry that she had written the wrong digit in the box, although I didn't get a chance to see if it was wrong or not. This is one of the first long pieces of English I have heard from Noma.

Other examples of Noma using English to talk about academic tasks can be found at 25/02, 8.56 and at 13/03, 10.44 and 10.47.

Noma did not always use English with friends who spoke isiXhosa, but when she did use isiXhosa it was towards the end of the school day, or when the teacher was out (10/02, 9.25). This suggests that Noma didn't want to be caught speaking isiXhosa, and that she found it much easier and more relaxing to speak in isiXhosa with these old friends.

Noma did also make friends with non-isiXhosa speakers in the class. When they were outside at break, Noma would use English to communicate with them. Unfortunately, I was only able to overhear snippets of what was said, because the children were running around the noisy playground. From what I heard, the conversation from Noma's side was strained and revolved around sharing sandwiches and other food that they had brought with them to school.

Nomathemba's written literacy did not seem to have increased much since the previous year. She was still not writing the letters of her name entirely in lower case letters, despite the fact that she had her name printed on a card in front of her on her desk, which she could have copied from. She was writing her name in a straight line though, and the letters were now all of a similar height (29/01, 9.25). She did not seem to find the actual activity required for writing a problem, because she carried out writing drills accurately and swiftly, often more so than her peers (10/02, 8.25 and 8.35 and 8.40).

Janette often sent the children home with homework books in which they had to copy words from a grid that they had pasted into the inside front cover of the books. The words came from the books they were learning to read in class. Outside the school one day, I bumped into Noma's mother, who told me about the writing that Noma had been doing at home.

5/02/03

8.40

I bump into Noma's mother, (Unathi), at the entrance to another school. She is selling sweets to the children through the fence, and is very pleased to see me. She gives me a big hug.

Unathi: Noma is coping well there, neh?

[Noma's mother was referring to school. She was seeking my affirmation for this comment.]

Unathi: She read this writing in a book, 'Look here is a cat' and then she wrote it for me without looking.

Unathi means that Noma did not copy the writing. She could do it without the model to copy from. She has certainly progressed.

Noma was also given three sentences from the book 'Help' to copy in class by Janette. These used the same words that were on the grid stuck into the homework books. Although some letters were

reversed in Noma's work, she did copy all the sentences successfully (20/02, 11.28). From these examples, it seemed that Noma was capable of copying words and sentences that she knew from books she had read.

As mentioned above, Janette's teaching of reading started with flashcards. Each card had either a word or a sentence from one of the books Janette was using with the class. The sentences were limited to four words in length. Noma was able to keep up with the rest of the class when the flashcards were drilled for a group (20/02, 11.15). I unfortunately did not have the opportunity to see Noma read alone in any of the times I was in the Graham One classroom.

5.6.3 Noma's competencies across the G1 curriculum

As in Rhini One, there was only one language used in the classroom. This meant that there was no difference between first and additional language to be assessed. When it came to numeracy, Noma showed that she was capable of counting up to ten, as well as writing and using digits up to ten (25/02, 8.43 and 8.45 and 8.56). She often negotiated her understanding of the numbers and how they should be written with other learners before she wrote them down herself (25/02, 8.45 and 8.49). Again, this is not to say that she was copying, or was incapable of working independently. Janette gave the learners a task one day where they had to cut out squares from a grid, and match them to squares on another grid. The first grid looked like this:

Grid One

2	5	4	3	1	0
6	2	4	3	0	7
4	2	7	5	6	1
7	5	3	0	1	6

The other grid was a collection of domino faces, words for numbers, and digits. The learners had to match up the domino faces to the correct number and stick them down with Pritt. Noma's completed grid looked like this:

Noma's Grid

	5	4	3	1	SEVEN
SIX	2	4
....	..	7	FIVE	6	ONE

SEVEN			1
-------	-------	--	--	---	-------

Although she had not managed to fill all the spaces on the grid, her answer, which was one of many possible ones, and was negotiated with other learners at times, (13/03, 11.02), was entirely her own. The only number that she clearly had problems with was '0'. Her only problem with regard to writing digits was that she often confused 'p' and 'b' and 'e' and '6' (25/02, 8.54 and 8.45)

5.6.4 Janette's thoughts on Nomathemba

Janette had met Noma's mother a few times, but there had never been a discussion concerning academic matters, according to Janette. At times, Janette said, Noma would not finish work she had been set, but this was the exception rather than the rule (JI: 030). Janette felt that Noma was certainly capable of passing G1, only she did need a lot of support in the home to get her reading up to scratch (JI:037). She could see that Noma was trying, especially if she told her to go home and work on a particular aspect of reading. Normally, by the next day, Janette said she could see an improvement (JI: 037).

When it came to receptive understanding of English, Janette thought that Noma probably understood about ninety per cent of what she said directly to her, and gave an example (JI: 043). Noma's numeracy was fine, but Janette stressed that the class had not started on sums yet (JI: 034).

In general, it seemed that Janette was reasonably satisfied with Noma's progress, but that Noma would need to put more effort in than some children in the class to pass the grade, particularly with her reading skills.

5.6.5 Summary of Nomathemba at Grade 1

Nomathemba did not seem to be struggling with numeracy, and had developed some good learning strategies for coping with things she did not understand, or could not yet do well. There were aspects of her work where she was not as able, particularly reading, although this may have had something to do with the manner in which it was taught at Rhini One. It seems that she still had some work to do to pass the year satisfactorily.

Chapter 6

Development of Key Issues.

Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis were concerned with describing the case children and their respective learning environments over the course of the preschool year and the first term of G1. This chapter takes these descriptions as its starting point, and aims to highlight the aspects of those descriptions that are most pertinent in answering the research questions. I have divided this chapter into three sections, each one dealing with a different set of key issues. Each section looks at the differences between the learning environments of the case children, taking the learner as the focal point. I would also like to refer the reader to Appendices 4 and 5, which contain L2 assessments for each child based on the NCS.

6.0 How does the classroom environment (including the teacher) affect the learners' acquisition of English?

6.1.0 The languages of teaching and learning in Grade R and Grade One

The choice of LoLT at the preschools was influential in choosing which preschools to use for this study, but more important than this was how the languages were taught. The quantity and quality of English spoken in the classroom by the two preschool teachers was very different (see 6.1.3). At Prima, Xolelwa asked certain questions in English only, without a translation. These were mainly the questions that she asked every day in the morning ring, and as such became formulaic questions with formulaic answers. When a learner did not respond in English, but in isiXhosa, she would congratulate them on getting the right answer, but then ask them to reformulate it into English (e.g. 5/06/02 9.30). This reinforced the practice of the classroom that English was used to answer an English question and that isiXhosa was used to answer an isiXhosa question.

If Xolelwa was checking understanding, or working with new concepts with the class, she always used isiXhosa (e.g. 5/06/02 9.40.) However, if she was revising previously taught concepts, she would use English and then isiXhosa if the class didn't offer suggestions (e.g. 10/06/02 9.47).

Secunda used English as its sole LoLT. The children at Secunda were exposed to far more English from their teacher in their preschool year. In addition, Secunda made greater demands on the learners themselves to use English than Prima, because all communication with the teacher had to take place in the learners' L2.

6.1.2 The languages of teaching and learning in Secunda One, Graham One, and Rhini One

The choice of LoLT was one of the key differences amongst the G1 classrooms. Siphso would use either English or isiXhosa, depending on the activity she was carrying out with the class (see 5.2.1). By contrast, Janette spoke almost exclusively in English for every lesson and said that she did not speak any isiXhosa (JI: 010). Priscilla spoke isiXhosa, although it was never used as an LoLT for the whole class, only to reinforce certain structures, or to explain something in detail to a particular pupil (e.g. 27/1/03, 8.46 and 8.55).

Both Priscilla and Janette enforced a strict policy of 'English only' in the classroom (27/01, 9.16) and (29/01, 8.40 and 9.04). They did not want the children to speak in any other language while in the classroom. Since the children did not always have the words they needed in English, they often resorted to isiXhosa or Afrikaans when they thought the teacher was not listening (e.g. 13/03/03, 11.28). Siphso actively encouraged the use of both isiXhosa and English in the classroom. She was rigorous in her own language choice for particular activities, and mostly she insisted on the children using the 'correct' language for different activities (e.g. 26/02/03, 9.22). In this sense, Priscilla and Janette were implementing a policy of subtractive bilingualism with their classes, with Siphso taking a more additive approach.

In the G1 classrooms, Janette's attitude to the use of English meant that the children were given little chance to practice structures or to undergo a 'silent period' before attempting to express themselves in English. By contrast, Priscilla gave the learners the chance to use and hear isiXhosa at the beginning of the year, and then made a gradual switch to English with those whom she thought were capable of it.

It is interesting that for all four case children, precisely the opposite LoLT situation in their G1 classrooms was true of their preschools: Andile and Noma were both taught by Xolelwa at Prima, where the LoLT was isiXhosa, and the additional language was English. At Rhini and Graham One, their respective primary schools, they were taught subtractively, with English replacing isiXhosa. Aiyabulela and Sandiswa were both taught by Anita at Secunda, where the LoLT was exclusively English, (subtractive methodology), and by Siphso at Secunda One, where the methodology was additive, isiXhosa and English.

6.1.3 Teacher capacity in English language

None of the four teachers in this study spoke English as a first language. Two of them, (Priscilla and Anita), spoke Afrikaans as a first language, with Xolelwa and Siphso being isiXhosa first language speakers. I did not carry out a formal assessment of the teachers' language abilities, but through my classroom observation and in the interviews I conducted with the teachers, I was exposed to enough of their spoken English to get a general impression of their capability.

Anita spoke only English and Afrikaans, but in the classroom she used almost exclusively English and the occasional isiXhosa word which she had learnt from the children (e.g. 16/08/02, 9.00). Anita's English, as I mentioned in Chapter 4, was clearly her second language and was influenced by Afrikaans syntax and grammar (e.g. 'She is capable to do the tasks that is given to her' (AI:22)). Nonetheless, she was much more verbally confident in English than Xolelwa. Xolelwa was a first language isiXhosa speaker and spoke BSAfE to a conversationally fluent level.

Anita and Priscilla both spoke English with a coloured Afrikaans accent, which was particularly pronounced in Anita's case. Anita's English included many direct translations from Afrikaans, and she often made errors of concord in her English, which sounded like they came from her L1 (e.g. 21/08/02, 9.00). Priscilla's English had a slightly less heavy accent, and she was less inclined to concord errors than Anita. I felt she was also generally more confident about speaking in English than Anita.

There was a much bigger disparity in English language confidence and ability between Xolelwa and Siphon (the pre-primary teachers) than between Anita and Priscilla (the G1 teachers). Both spoke English with an isiXhosa accent, but in Siphon's case, she was more capable of using a much broader range of vocabulary and of understanding my interview questions without reformulation than Xolelwa was. Xolelwa mentioned specifically in her interview that she thought she needed more help with improving her English to help her in her job (XI: 020).

Two teachers, (Priscilla and Siphon), said in interviews or on other occasions that they found it easier to teach in their mother tongue, and said they would prefer to do so (PI: 068) (SI:5.42). Xolelwa said she found it easier to teach in isiXhosa, but that she preferred teaching in English (XI: 015 and 016). Janette was not inclined strongly either way. The other three teachers gave similar reasons for their preferences, which were along the lines of it being easier to express oneself in one's mother tongue. However, in the case of Xolelwa and Siphon, I got an additional impression about which language they preferred to teach in. They seemed to find it difficult as opposed to simply less easy to teach in English than in their L1.

Xolelwa's lack of confidence in English clearly impacted on the amount of English she used with her learners in the classroom. The knock-on effect of this was a relative lack of exposure to English for the children in the Prima classroom when compared to Secunda. However, the children at Prima did get a lot of exposure to isiXhosa and traditional isiXhosa oral narrative from Xolelwa. In direct contrast, the Secunda children were actively discouraged from using isiXhosa in the GR classroom with one another, but were exposed to a much greater quantity and broader range of English through Anita.

6.1.4 Pre-literacy activities in Grade R

Both teachers had different amounts of books and literature in the classrooms that were predominantly in English. Prima had about ten books, and Secunda had about twenty-five. The teachers used these resources in different ways.

Xolelwa read in English to the class from children's books about once or twice a week. One example of this was when she read the children *The Magic Porridge Pot* (29/05/02 11.05). She read one or two sentences at a time in English before reformulating them into isiXhosa. Occasionally, she would turn the book to the class, and point out the characters or the features of the story to the children. In the time I was at Prima, I did not observe Xolelwa ever using a text in an interactive manner with the class. For example, she would only ask questions about the text once she had finished presenting it. Texts were read to the class in isolation, (the children were entirely passive in the story telling process), and there were no support or extension activities linked to them.

In place of reading to the class, Xolelwa would sometimes ask a learner to come into the circle and 'tell their news' (this could be telling a made up story, or a recount of an event that had actually happened to the learner (27/05/02 9.30).) Xolelwa would choose the learner, who would normally be one of the more competent children in the class. The learner would speak in isiXhosa, using actions and movement to tell their story, which would last for about two minutes. Although having the opportunity to tell a story to the class was clearly enjoyable for the learner concerned, it seemed from the observation period and my time working at Prima the year before that only certain learners were invited to tell stories. Nonetheless, it was interesting to see isiXhosa traditional literacy being supported in the preschool classroom.

By contrast, Anita often used stories from diverse media with the children, and made them interactive. The media included oral narrative with masks for the children to wear, (14/08/02 11.43), oral narrative with sequenced picture aids (16/08/02, 9.15), and oral narrative with foam characters (23/08/02 12.00). I did not observe Anita ever reading from the books in the classroom, or encouraging the children to interact with them. She often had defined target language for the children to learn from the story, which would be drilled during and after the first telling. It would also be drilled before later tellings (e.g. 16/08/02, 9.30). Anita did not always make the story interactive: when she told the story of Noah, she used picture boards and no text or book to tell the story. She often repeated the same story on every day of one week. As the end of the week approached, she would elicit more and more, and present less and less, of the story's language.

The activities described in this section from both Grade R classrooms involved the beginnings of learning of literacy and the development of pre-literacy. However, both classrooms also conducted activities specifically geared towards the acquisition of formal literacy, which are the subject of the next section.

6.1.5 The teaching of literacy in Grade R: Prima

This aspect of the classroom environment showed some of the most marked differences between Prima and Secunda. In both cases, the English phonic system was applied to the alphabet, not the isiXhosa one. No attempt was made in either classroom to teach the children the sounds of the letters of the alphabet through isiXhosa words.

At Prima, Xolelwa's method was based on the Animal ABC chart described in AP1.10. She stood all the learners in concentric semi-circles around the board that the poster was attached to. She then pointed at the letters A to I, and said their names, followed by the animal they stood for. The learners had to repeat after her. Xolelwa gave no credit to those learners that gave the sound of the letter instead of the name (10/06/02 10.40). She told them that the sound was wrong.

The learners struggled with many aspects of this method. Firstly, many of the animal pictures were not linked to words that the learners immediately associated with the picture. When Xolelwa asked Nomathemba what animal the unicorn was by pointing at the picture, she said 'Donkey!' (10/06/02, 10.42). In light of the fact that this animal was closer to her experience than a unicorn, this is not surprising. The class had never heard of the word alligator, and most thought the picture was of a crocodile or a dinosaur (25/05/02, 10.05).

The class were not given enough choral drilling in the target language before they were tested on the sounds. After Xolelwa had gone through the letters' names twice, she isolated learners from the class, and tested them in front of the others. Any that didn't know all of them were told to go and sleep. Additionally, because all the learners were standing, most could not see the board. The most able learners, who already knew the letters' names, were brought to the front.

Secondly, Xolelwa was drilling/testing the learners on names of letters which had little bearing on the pictures that went with each letter. The name for 'A' does not make the sound at the beginning of the word 'alligator'. It was not made clear to the learners that the symbol 'A' or 'a' was the first letter or sound of 'alligator'. Worse, the actual alphabet on the poster used capital letters whereas the names of the animals were all written in primary case. This meant the children would most likely not have made the link between 'A' and 'a' unless they had been introduced to it at home. Thirdly, certain children were excluded from further practice if they failed to name the letters or animals correctly.

I got the impression that Xolelwa had had no training in developing literacy in the learners. The method seemed haphazard and exclusive to certain children, mainly the ones that did not seem to need practice anyway.

Literacy teaching at Prima was begun with good intentions to prepare children for access to Grade 1 and beyond. Unfortunately, the teacher involved seemed to have little idea how literacy should be

successfully taught. Her methods and teaching aids were inappropriate and confusing for the learners that needed the most support, and some of the learners that needed the support were actually excluded from the teaching.

6.1.6 The teaching of literacy in Grade R: Secunda

Literacy teaching at Secunda was on another level entirely. Anita's teaching used visual aids that formed part of the learners' lived experiences and she constantly reinforced everything she did. By the time I went back at the end of the year, almost every child in the class was able to sound over fifty per cent of the letters in the alphabet as well as copy all of them. Her literacy teaching was systematic, planned, and effective. Even in the short time I was in the classroom, I observed children actively acquiring literacy.

Anita taught the children the sounds of letters using alphabet cards (see Figure AP1.11 p163). At least once or twice a day, she would assemble all the learners on the rug, and, using a pointer, model and drill each sound and the four words on the cards. Sometimes she would point at the sound without modelling it, and the class would have to make it. She listened to the sound, and if she felt it was not quite right, she modelled it again. This modelling and drilling was only carried out with the whole class, never with individual learners.

On most days, Anita extended the oral alphabet work with photocopied handouts. These typically involved copying letters or words, matching words to pictures from the alphabet cards, or identifying one letter from a group of three. Sometimes, Anita would select some children to come to the front of the class, and write a certain letter or word on the 'board'. If the child wrote it correctly, she would congratulate him or her, but if not, she would ask another child to come and show the class how to do it correctly.

6.1.7 The learners' attitude to and use of English in the GR classroom.

The one major difference between Prima and Secunda in respect of the learners' use of English was that at the latter, the learners were required to use English with the teacher to make themselves understood. They thus had authentic communicative contexts, (albeit limited ones), for which they had to find and use the appropriate language. The learners in Secunda were clearly under the impression that the classroom was supposed to be an English-only environment as demonstrated by 28/08/02, 11.55 and 23/08/02, 9.22. In the first example, Sandiswa reprimanded me for speaking in isiXhosa, and in the second, Anita told me about some of the learner's perceptions of classroom language. Despite this, the language used overwhelmingly by the learners with one another in both Prima and Secunda was isiXhosa.

There were, however, instances when children in both schools used English with one another when there was no external need to do so (e.g. 16/08/02, 9.40).

Sometimes, the more confident learners in both classrooms would 'assist' less able learners with their English. In this particular example from Prima, it may seem as though the more confident learner is simply filling in for the other one. At the time, however, it seemed to me that the more confident learner turned to the other one and engaged their gaze, as if instructing them:

27/05/02

9.00

PR: Good morning.....

Learner: Good morning.

PR: How are you?

Learner: [silent.]

Siya: I'm fine thank you very much.

Siya did this in an instructive kind of way, to model for others what the response would have been. It was not directed at me. Other children are likely to pick up language from this kind of instructive peer behaviour.

Although these examples of English usage between learners were rare, they are indicative of the impression I gained that at least some of the children were keen to learn English, and that they saw speaking English as something to be valued that was also good fun.

Further evidence of the positive attitude to English that the children held in both classrooms is evidenced by the instances when the case children spoke to me in English, which were far more numerous than with one another. I have already discussed these in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, so here I will briefly look at the instances when other children spoke to me.

Some children were keen to try out their formulaic language on me. For instance, a couple of days after the previous example, (27/05/02, 9.00), some other learners came up to me and began asking me some basic questions. I noted that the learners were not only interested in speaking to me. They also wanted to listen to the answer, even though they might have known what it was already (29/05/02, 9.00).

About an hour later, (29/05/02 10.15), another learner began asking me in English what the things in our immediate vicinity were called. I found this remarkable, because the learner was using the second language for learning.

The learners in both classrooms held similar attitudes to the use of English. They saw speaking the language as positive and enjoyable. The amount of English they were prepared to produce or attempt to

produce seemed to depend heavily on the learner's personal confidence. Neither GR classroom castigated learners for speaking in isiXhosa, although the use of English was encouraged, particularly in Secunda (GR).

6.1.8 Affective issues in teaching and learning at GR.

A striking observation during my time at Prima and Secunda was the lack of encouragement either Xolelwa or Anita gave to their learners. There were exceptions, (such as Anita on 14/08/02 12.00), but in general, I hardly ever witnessed either teacher congratulating a child on a piece of work they had obviously made a special effort with, or ever affirming a child's answer or product from an activity as positive. Sometimes, in contrast, there was active criticism of the children who were often only experimenting with learning in their own way (2/09/02, 12.15 and the example below).

3/09/02

12.00

Anita asks Shoan for the paper she gave him yesterday. (The paper said at the top: Please help Shoan to write his name.) Shoan produces it with his name underneath in pencil.

Anita: Where's the crayon I gave you yesterday? You should have written this in crayon.

But at least Shoan has written it, which is an achievement for him. Why does Anita not congratulate Shoan on having written his name at all?

At other times, this often harsh criticism turned into exclusion of learners from certain activities, often on the basis of minor indiscretions. Anita's methods of discipline were constructive and aimed at teaching the learners as opposed to simply punishing them (21/08/02, 12.20). Xolelwa, on the other hand often excluded the children who were most in need of assistance with an activity, or those children who were unable to answer questions (25/05/02, 9.45). With one learner, the exclusion appeared to be taking place for racially motivated reasons.

25/05/02

9.45

Xolelwa comes into the class. She takes out the Animal ABC chart and puts it on the board.

She goes through alphabet, calling learners up to name the letters in order. After a few learners have come up and had a go, Xolelwa calls Melinda up.

Melinda: (Has trouble even repeating after the teacher, let alone making the sounds. She looks nervous and shy.)

Xolelwa: (laughs at Melinda's attempt and tells her to sit down in isiXhosa) (to PR) (E) If you look at Melinda, you can see she is very, very black.

PR: What do you mean?

Xolelwa: She's very very black. She's not like us. Us Xhosas.

Is Xolelwa being racist, saying that Melinda's poor performance in the alphabet is due to her alleged Zimbabwean nationality?

At other times, Xolelwa forced learners who had nothing to contribute to a group discussion to stand up and say something. This had the effect of shaming the learners who had nothing to say, because they invariably stood up and remained silent until they were told to sit down (10/06/02, 9.50). Anita did occasionally play and joke with the children, (22/08/02, 11.55), but I never saw Xolelwa doing the same.

I struggled to understand why this was occurring in the classroom. The teachers both indicated in their interviews that they were motivated by their profession and had career goals beyond what they were currently doing. It may have been simply that there was a conflict between their own direct experiences of pedagogy, (i.e. how they were perhaps taught when they were at school), and their training, which advocated another pedagogy entirely. Aside from differences in the teachers' own capacities in English, aspects of affectivity in pedagogical style of the two preschool teachers almost certainly had a bearing on how the children felt towards learning to read and school in general. Issues surrounding the affective nature of the classroom environment recurred at G1 and form the basis of one of the central findings of this research. I will return to these issues in Chapter 7.

6.1.9 The static classroom environment and teaching resources.

(For a full description and plan of the preschool classrooms, see Appendix 1.)

The resources and the static features of each preschool classroom, such as wall displays, furniture, and playing equipment varied greatly between the two preschool classrooms. Some of these had a greater impact than others on the teaching and learning of the L2.

The quantity of available materials that the children themselves could use for learning English in the classroom was not as great at Prima as at Secunda. For example, there were four posters in English at Prima, excluding the ones aimed at adults. Only three of these were positioned in such a way on the wall that learners could interact with them, and only two were ever 'used' by the learners (i.e. read and pointed at). These were the Days of the Week chart and the Duty Chart. The Animal ABC was pinned on a notice board above a table where learners could only point at it but not touch it. At Secunda, Anita had gone to

great lengths to make her own teaching materials, most of which were displayed on the walls where the learners could interact with them. The alphabet cards were almost all within reach of the children, as were things pinned on the theme wall and lying on the theme table. The shapes notice board was positioned too high on the wall for the learners to be able to touch any of them. The number string was positioned at about head height for most learners.

In addition to the posters and displays, there were many more books at Secunda than at Prima for the children to use. Prima's learners were far more likely to interact with the books than Secunda's in the time I was at the schools. I saw children take books down from the shelves and 'read' them if they had to play inside for break because of bad weather. Xolelwa and Anita often asked learners to 'tidy the books'. Interestingly, this had different meanings at different schools. At Prima, it meant stand as many books as possible vertically on the top shelf, to display them. At Secunda, it meant lean the books in a line along the shelf. Xolelwa seemed to want the learners to display the books for people to see them, but Anita wanted the books to be arranged so that it was easy to find a particular one. In my opinion, Anita's way of arranging the books was more relaxed, and therefore encouraged the learners to use them. Xolelwa's way required the learners to rebalance the book when they had finished using it. Despite this, learners at Prima interacted more spontaneously with the books than at Secunda.

Prima had a table devoted to literacy, which Secunda did not. It usually had bits of learners' work lying on it and the odd book, but nothing that could be described as teaching material for literacy. I did not see any learner using the table for any kind of literacy activity whilst I was at the school.

The learners' work that was displayed at both schools was almost exclusively 'art' work. There was little work involving literacy or numeracy that was pinned up. Any work that was done in this vein was put in bags and taken home, not displayed on the walls.

One of the most immediate contradictions between Prima and Secunda in terms of the static classroom environment was the quality and quantity of resources, including furniture. As mentioned in Appendix 1, the furniture in Secunda was of an inferior quality to that of Prima, yet the quality and quantity of teaching resources was much higher. At Secunda, many of the resources had been made by Anita herself, whereas Xolelwa had made few of her own at Prima, apart from the posters. The exception was the absence of so-called educational toys at Secunda (toys and games designed to develop literacy and numeracy).

6.1.10 The schools' socio-economic contexts.

Just as a description of the classroom environment is crucial to forming a picture of a particular child's learning, so the social environment of the school in which that learner is learning is crucial to understanding the shaping of that classroom environment. The previous sections in this chapter have

contrasted the classroom environments of Prima and Secunda, but have not looked at the schools and their communities. Appendices 1 and 2 detail the differences in background between the schools such as the fee structure and linguistic background of the learners. Here I intend to make the reader aware of the broader educational context of the schools through my perceptions and received perceptions of the schools in their local context.

Each preschool had a different remit, or perceived remit to the other. These remits did not seem to be decided by the school so much as the teacher. At Prima, it seemed that according to Xolelwa, the main aim was to 'develop' children holistically (XI:09), whereas at Secunda, Anita seemed to think it was to prepare them specifically for G1 (AI: 18/09/02 9.10). Prima was not as focused on the goal of preparing children for G1 as Secunda in terms of academic skills, amongst them English language skills. These differences in remit appeared to me to be distinct, and in my opinion had their origin in the perceived status the schools had in the community they served.

Secunda One appears to have a status amongst the black community approaching that of a 'town' school (Model C school). Amongst the white community, it appears to be a flagship township school. When I was teaching at Secunda, there were frequently other researchers and trainee teachers coming to visit who did not appear to visit any other township schools. In other words, Secunda was seen as a school which middle class whites felt they could access and understand. In addition, many of the children from Secunda would find places or scholarships in former Model C schools in town. This is not to say the entire school was staffed or populated with middle class blacks: the staff were the most mixed in terms of race, age and gender of any school in town, and there were many poor children from informal settlements at the school.

Prima on the other hand seemed to be perceived as a school for black children who were not quite as fortunate as their peers at Secunda. Here, the assumption seemed to be that the children were coming to school to learn the sort of skills that many middle class homes would teach them, such as toilet training, clearing away one's own plate after meals, and more general skills like social responsibility, coordination skills, and pre-literacy and numeracy. Again, this is not to say that Prima is a school for poor or working class blacks: both Noma's and Andile's families could not be described as poor, relative to the other families living in their immediate locality. In addition, middle class whites who are involved with educational matters in Grahamstown had not heard of Prima, but most had heard of Secunda.

Prima was an initiative with a clearly perceivable focus towards a multifaceted upliftment of the community it served. The school buildings were also a focal point for all sorts of other initiatives and projects aimed at elevating the quality of life of every section of the community, from young children to grandmothers. (For instance, Prima was renamed shortly after my study as a multi-purpose centre as opposed to a preschool because at least one of the classrooms was given over to Adult Basic Education

and Training. It also boasted an information shop for the local community.) Prima was not focused exclusively on preparing children for success at G1. This was evidenced by Xolelwa's feeling that the school was not making her children ready for the demands of the G1 classes in 'town' schools. Xolelwa spoke to me about the curriculum in the preschool class at some length (7/06/02 9.40). She seemed to think that it was important that the preschool class spent more time working on school readiness and English. This was because some schools in town were starting to develop interviews and admission tests for Grade 1. Xolelwa felt that some learners did not have the necessary skills to pass these tests, and as such, some parents were dissatisfied with what was being taught in the preschool.

In making these points, I am not attempting to make excuses for the children from Prima, or to denigrate the achievements of Secunda. Both schools had different purposes, and served different sections of the same community. This clearly had an impact on the classroom environment of both schools, and therefore an impact on the L2 skills the learners had at preschool and were able to acquire in G1.

6.1.11 Conclusions.

Although there are, of course, similarities between the two preschools and the three primary schools, in particular their classroom environments, the differences between them are much easier to identify. The key factors that separate the schools revolve around the predominance of English as the main LoLT in the classroom, the level of training and experience of the teachers, and the social class or section of the community of the pupils who attend them. The way the schools are funded is closely linked to the section of the community they serve, but even here, the lines are blurred. Some are almost entirely dependent on government funding, (Graham One and Rhini One), yet they serve middle class black and coloured children as well as the poorest sections of the community. Others, like Secunda, rely heavily on fees to provide a much broader range of resources to black middle class children.

In all the schools, the children were encouraged to speak in English with one another, but this rarely happened except when their first languages were different. There was a noticeable difference in most of the children's attitudes to English from GR to G1. In GR, they were keen to play with the language and experiment with it, but by G1, with the exception of Aiya and Noma on occasion, they only used it when necessary for academic tasks. This may have been because the level of English used in the class was much higher in G1 than in GR, the children found it more demanding, and therefore the 'fun' of speaking English had waned.

Each of these key factors has a bearing on the quality of teaching and learning of English that occurs in the schools.

6.2 How does the home environment affect the learners' acquisition of English?

This section of the chapter looks at the respective home environments of the four case children, and discusses to what extent these environments contributed to the learner's learning of English in Grade R.

6.2.1 Andile's home environment.

It was an unfortunate aspect of this research that despite numerous attempts to speak to Andile's mother, I was unable to do so. I tried to reach some conclusions about why she was not willing to speak to me in section 4.1.2. In this section, despite the limited evidence available to me, I will attempt to construct a picture of how much support Andile's English received at home.

Andile's teacher at Graham One, Priscilla, had had much experience of talking to parents of children who struggled to communicate in English. She hazarded a guess during an informal chat I had with her about Andile's mother's shyness that the mother was intimidated about having to speak English to a mother-tongue speaker. Considering Andile's father's own difficulty in comprehending my interview questions, I think it is safe to assume that neither parent was conversationally fluent in English, or at least not confident enough in the language to speak it to their child. This may therefore have been the reason for her reticence.

Although I was not able to look into every room in the house, the one room I did see had a complete absence of reading material at the time, with not even a magazine or a newspaper. Edward did say that he read the *Herald* every week, but I could not be sure that this was true as he seemed evasive in many of his answers. It thus seemed likely, but not certain, that Andile's only involvement with the printed language would have been at school. The main room did have a television, and considering that it had been blaring out the news in English when we arrived, it is possible that Andile would have watched children's TV programmes when he returned home from school.

Xolelwa told me in the interview I had with her that Andile had needed a lot of assistance in the early years of his preschooling to carry out basic tasks such as eating by himself (XI: 029). This might indicate that neither parent took a great deal of interest in his learning from an early age, but this is contradicted by the at least apparent desire to send Andile to Secunda (EI:013).

Xolelwa also told me that despite exhortations to parents to practice English with their children at home, she thought that they mostly did not do so (XI: 027). She named the three children she thought received assistance at home in her class, hinting that she thought the rest did not. She told me that

Andile's mother was very busy at work, and that the mother had told Xolelwa she struggled to teach Andile at home (XI: 032). This leads me to believe that Andile's mother was more concerned about her son's education than his father, because she had made the time to visit his teacher on at least one occasion. However, according to Xolelwa, she found parenting and learning support in the home difficult to do, but she was or had been attempting to help her son at home.

Andile's home environment, while not definitely limiting his opportunities to be exposed to and to practice English, seemed not to be providing many 'quality' opportunities to do so, with the possible exception of the television.

6.2.2 Noma's home environment.

I mentioned in section 4.2.2 that I thought Noma's mother seemed to very close to her daughter, almost to the extent where she became overprotective. She seemed to be doing some schoolwork with her daughter after school reasonably regularly, (XI:046/047), but it became clear in the interview with Noma's family that the focus of this schoolwork was not English. The family saw isiXhosa as being as or more important than English (NPI: 21.11), but they were impressed with how much English Noma knew, and supported her speaking it (NPI: 22.57, 22.55).

Noma's mother did not seem confident enough in English to speak much of it to Noma. Her grandmother was more confident and said that she did, although not regularly, speak English with Noma (NPI: 1.45). One of the most fertile English learning areas for Noma outside of school must have been the visits from her cousins from Mossel Bay. They were slightly older than she and went to an English medium school. Although they did share isiXhosa, the children apparently, (according to Nkosazana, NPI: 11.50), tried to use what little English they could to communicate with one another. I felt this would be particularly productive for Noma as the cousins were likely to know slightly more English than she, and because they were of her peer group, would make any communication task in English genuine. However, the cousins' visits were limited to twice a year, so it would be difficult to assess whether there was any real long-term improvement in Noma's English because of the visits.

In terms of exposure to English from sources other than adults and the cousins at home, Noma did not seem to have any access to books, either from the library or elsewhere (NPI: 14.14). She did, however, take an interactive approach to the television by making it her own learning resource via her mother (see NPI: 25.25). This may indeed have been her richest learning resource in the home environment.

Although Noma was not being given structured help with her English at home, she was getting a certain amount of oral English from her grandmother and cousins on occasion. Through the television, she was being exposed to and was able to check her understanding of various levels of English. In

contrast to Andile, Noma's home environment was more supportive of her generally, especially in terms of academic skills, and she had much more opportunity to interact with English.

6.2.3 Aiyabulela's home environment

In the interview I had with her, Aiya's mother, Mrs. Quntu, clearly took the idea of home education supporting school very seriously. She told me that she read to her children from books she got from the library which were all in English (QI: 11-17). Interestingly, she did not think her children were too young to be doing this, unlike Noma's mother, who was 'not yet' reading to her child, or getting books for her. Mrs. Quntu also told me that she asked the children what things meant from the books, and that they replied to her in English (QI:17). Mrs. Quntu also told me that she conducted what I termed 'extension activities' with the children from the books. These involved colouring in and copying some words (QI: 19-20).

I had no reason to doubt that what Mrs. Quntu said about her reading and working with the children was true, other than that she seemed to have little time in her life for the kind of commitment she said she was making to her children's learning. She worked as an auxiliary social worker, (QI:50), and according to Anita, had recently got married again. She did not mention her husband in the interview. Although it is a generalisation, I got the impression from the teachers and school staff I met that most women of Mrs. Quntu's age, class, and colour who are married are still expected to perform most of the domestic duties whether they work or not. I felt in light of these probabilities that she would have had little time to educate her children quite as much as she claimed she did. If she was exaggerating, I think it can be put down to research effect, namely that I was a teacher from her children's school, and that I was essentially a representative of Rhodes University. On the other hand, she seemed very dedicated to her children and their improvement of English, so much so that she would actually make time to work with them (QI: 022).

Her attitude to English was in itself very different from the other sets of parents. She was very firm in her belief that English was the language her children should be learning (QI: 29). Her own English was of a high standard, and she was certainly more confident in it than Noma's mother and grandmother and Andile's father. She told me that she had to use English for her work, and also that she spoke English occasionally to the children at home.

Mrs. Quntu had high ambitions for her children, saying that she hoped they would go to university (QI:31). When I asked how well her children understood English, she said she believed that her children were better at English than most of the children she knew who were of the same age (QI: 59). This was an unusual thing to say, in my opinion, unless she was intimating that it was because of her support that they were so good. My general impression was that Mrs. Quntu saw English, and her support of it in the home,

as key factors in fulfilling her aspirations for her children. It was almost as if English itself was more important than school for her.

Perhaps because of his mother's use of and support of English in written and spoken texts in the home, Aiya was one of the most confident of the case children in spoken English. He was, however, not always the most accurate or the fastest learner, especially in terms of reading skills in G1.

6.2.4 Sandiswa's home environment

Sandiswa's exposure to English outside school was different yet again to the other three case children. She was exposed to many different sources of English outside school: an older cousin, her mother, (and to a lesser extent her father), and children's television. She also had three elder siblings. She and Andile were the only two case children to live with both their biological parents. This was something that Anita remarked on as a reason for Sandiswa's confidence in class (15/08/02, 12.25). Her father worked at Rhodes, and from what I could gather during the course of the conversation, the family seemed to be reasonably affluent. Mr. Futha seemed to place a lot of emphasis on his children's education, particularly their English acquisition (FHI:30S). I felt that this stemmed from his own previous political activity during the struggle for democracy in South Africa, the language of which was English (FHI Ibid).

Mrs. Futha had just recently begun reading to her child in English and asking her to tell her what the book meant in isiXhosa. It seemed that she also spoke to her daughter in English, because she did so during the interview. However, I cannot take this as conclusive proof that she always did so: it may have happened simply because I was in the room. The fact that Sandiswa was not surprised to be asked a question in English by her mother, (FHI: 07S), was perhaps an indication of the fact that the Futhas did engage Sandiswa in learning English in the home to some extent.

Sandiswa had an unusual sounding board for her English: her mother said she spoke English with her cousin who was a year older than her when she went to her grandmother at the weekends. It was of course not possible for me to assess how true this was, but considering the children shared isiXhosa, it was possible that they at least occasionally communicated in English. This is not to deny that a peer would be a fertile learning source for Sandiswa: on the contrary, she would be able to learn language relevant to her needs. It is possible that this was the main source for the English that surprised Mrs. Futha so (FHI: 44S).

Additional sources of English for Sandiswa at home were the television, on which her mother said she watched Yo TV, (an English language program aimed at pre-teens), and her peer group from her school or other local schools, who regularly came to play at the house.

A striking aspect of Sandiswa's education and of her parents' educational choices for their children was that Sandiswa had previously attended Prima for two years. The parents had moved her into Secunda

only the previous year. As I explained in Chapter 4, the reason for this move appeared to be to ultimately allow Sandiswa access to former Model C schools in town, and thence to encourage her upward mobility. However, her parents were not totally one-sided in their support of English, and thought that both languages were important (FHI: 38ES). My conclusion was that Sandiswa's English was to the Futhas, (especially Mr. Futha), not simply access and ambition, but a political statement. They wanted their daughter to have English in order to be the South African citizen of the future.

6.2.5 Conclusions

If I were to guess at the single most important factor in the development of English in the home of all the case children, I would say that it was social class. Noma and Andile's families belonged to a slightly lower class than Aiya's and Sandiswa's. The main differences between the parents were employment class and income. At least one of both Aiya and Sandiswa's parents were professionals and Sandiswa's had two incomes, although more children. Andile's and Noma's families had single incomes from blue-collar jobs. The Secunda children had parents who had been educated and trained to a higher level than the Prima children, which may have been the reason why they felt more confident in helping their own children academically. Thus class difference may have been one of the main factors that led to the increased ability and confidence in English.

However, even in the same social class, there were different motivations for the children learning English, just as there were different attitudes towards English. Noma's and Sandiswa's parents did not believe that English was more important than isiXhosa, but Aiya's clearly did.

Ultimately, the home environments of the children can be broadly divided along the same lines as their two preschools, Prima and Secunda. They are not just a reflection of language preference: the support for learning that occurs in the home is part of the class gap that exists between the schools which is maintained by the difference in fees, which in turn is maintained by the class gap. It seems true for these children that the child's home environment has a direct bearing on which school he or she will go to, and that this in turn has a direct relationship on how much emphasis English will get in the home.

6.3 Differences in educational achievement (including English language proficiency) in Grade 1

In this final section of this chapter, I will be contrasting the observations I made of the four case children in their respective G1 classrooms. In line with the aims of this study, the intention here is to provide support for determining the extent to which the L2 teaching and learning in the last year of the sample preschools affects the educational achievement in the first year of primary school. My conclusions concerning the extent of this effect can be found in Chapter 7.

6.3.1 Issues of validity and relativity in interpreting the Grade 1 data

There were as many differences between the G1 classrooms in this study as there were between the GR classrooms: different teaching styles, amount of available teaching resources in the school and classroom, and languages spoken in the classroom by teachers and pupils and to what extent they were used. Another key distinguishing feature was the amount of teaching experience each teacher had: Priscilla had been working in primary education for most of her adult life and was very experienced. Siphso had around ten years of experience in primary education, and Janette and Xolelwa were both recently qualified and in their second jobs. All of these features naturally had an impact on how much and for what reasons the children needed to speak and understand English, and to what extent they were exposed to English.

In beginning to write this chapter of this study, I realised that I was now getting to the stage where the effect of the preschool L2 learning environment on G1 achievement, (the primary aim of this research), would begin to manifest itself. This was because I was now going to be interpreting as opposed to simply describing the second timeframe of data collection (i.e. G1).

As I said in Chapter 3, the research set out to assess the L2 standards of the cases in G1 by means of what I took to be the most neutral form of assessment available, the NCS. However, when I began to evaluate the observation data and to try to match it to the NCS, I encountered problems. The problem now was not simply that the teachers' tasks did not match the task dependent ASs (see 3.8.3), but that because the classroom environments were so different in terms of expectations, languages used, and the home language backgrounds of the other children, it was not possible to really determine which children were succeeding in terms of the ASs and which were struggling, relative to each other. For instance, I could not say whether Noma's silence in her G1 classroom was due to her, her teacher, her home

environment, or her GR classroom, because I had no 'control' case to compare her to. In other words, it seemed at first that any conclusions I made about her learning and demonstrations of learning would be unfounded.

As previously mentioned in 5.0, the original intention of this research had been to have all four children in one G1 classroom. I had planned this to reduce the variables between the learning environments of the learners. However, as I explained in Chapter 2, it became clear to me that case studies should not seek to reduce variables, but rather to paint as accurate a description as possible of the case and allow the readers to reach their own conclusions about the case in light of the researcher's interpretations. The purpose of this study was to determine if the L2 teaching and learning in GR affects the overall performance of children at G1, not to simply describe and compare them with each other. I realised I had to be careful not to try to compare each child or their educational context to each other: any affecting factors had to exist between the two years of education and the same child, not across the cases and their diverse contexts.

I then realised that this research would be extremely limited in its application if it were only able to say: 'This child has achieved relative to themselves and their environment and this one has not'. Some sort of comparison between the cases and their environments had to be made, because otherwise there would be no real support for bringing about change in the current system. Additionally, the whole point of having multiple cases had been to improve the rigour/strength of the research. If the findings of one case were to mean anything, they had to be backed up by comparison with the other cases. The question was how to make the research specific, but not relative. How would I make the data and interpretation broad enough that a reader could generalise from the particular, but not arrive at a situation where the data ended up saying very little that was genuinely applicable to other contexts?

6.3.2 Issues with the identification of 'case'.

Because this is a critical case study, it must of necessity question whose interests are being served by the current structures and challenge the 'common sense' realities of the case and context. I have tried as far as possible in this research to be completely explicit about every aspect of the context while maintaining certain levels of confidentiality, because '...no teacher, classroom, or learner is an island divorced from its social context...' (Arthur 1998:314). In this sense then, the actual focus of this case study must be both broad and narrow at the same time in order to be able to make some kind of sense of what occurs in terms of L2 acquisition between the beginning of GR and the beginning of G1. It was at this point that I began to question what the case really was in this study.

This is a case study, but it is not, as I had thought when I started this research, a case study of simply the child. The case is actually a combination of something I will call *context + case*, where the

context is everything involved with the case, from the diverse history of black primary and preschooling to how much English language television he or she watches at home. As Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (2002:43) say, modernist perspectives of the child hold that he or she ‘...can be viewed and treated apart from relationships and context...’ Post modernist perspectives ‘...decentre the child, viewing [it] as existing through its relations with others and always in a particular context...’[Ibid]. Some aspects of the context are the same for each child, such as the learning outcomes in the NCS. Nonetheless, this study has aimed to present every child as an entity inseparable from his or her broad educational context. Some characteristics of the *context + case* indicate the existence of an effect from the preschool L2 learning environment on G1 achievement and some do not. I have aimed to identify what those characteristics are.

6.3.3 Issues in evidencing the effect of the preschool L2 learning environment on G1 achievement

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the combination of the NCS and intensive classroom observation was by no means the perfect tool for assessing the children’s language. It was however the best available. I should like to reiterate one of the particular difficulties the NCS presented me with at the G1 level before going on to discuss the competencies demonstrated by the children in G1.

Almost every LO at G1 uses the word ‘understands’ in some or all of the ASs (e.g. LO6 AS6 ‘Understands some negative forms.’). It is of course very difficult to assess if a child *understands* various aspects of language, because we cannot open up their minds and see if the item has been understood. We have only outward evidence that they have understood, like a physical or oral reaction in response to teacher/peer language, or production of the target language itself. Thus in many instances, I have had to infer competence from scant evidence, use evidence from GR, or conclude that there was no opportunity for the learner to demonstrate understanding of a certain item or set of items.

6.3.4 Andile in G1 (Rhini One)

When I first observed Andile in his Rhini One classroom, he displayed many of the same traits of learning and personality that I had observed at Prima. He was shy and reluctant to answer questions in class. This meant that he was unlikely to produce language either in the L1 or L2 unless he was put into a position where he had to, such as in front of the class. This clearly made it difficult to assess his competencies in the L2.

Initially, Priscilla had put him at a table with the slower learners in the class, which included those who had not been to preschool. However, as I came to the end of my time at Rhini One, it became clear that Andile was not struggling with most aspects of the curriculum, and was in fact showing potential to be above average in the class in terms of literacy and numeracy. This was despite the fact that he seemed to be getting little support at home for his learning at school, especially in English.

When I took the observation data I collected about Andile and compared it to the NCS Assessment Standards, I found that he was able to demonstrate ability in them at least once in nearly all the areas where he had an opportunity to do so (See Appendix 4).

6.3.5 Noma in G1 (Graham One)

Although Rhini One's classroom did have first language speakers of languages other than isiXhosa, Graham One's classroom was far more multilingual than Rhini One, and gave Noma the opportunity to speak in English to her peers. This, coupled with her talkativeness and strong social skills, meant that she produced a lot of her own language, or at least more than Andile. This was particularly useful in assessing LO6, which deals with discrete elements of grammar and vocabulary that the G1 children are expected to understand and possibly produce in their L2.

On the other hand, Janette's limited range of activities in the classroom, and her transmission based method of teaching reading meant that in many other areas such as almost the whole of LO5, it was impossible to observe or infer competence in Noma's English.

There was also clear evidence that Noma's mother was supporting learning in the home as much as she could (5/02/03, 8.40). Janette had also noticed the fact that Noma was getting some reinforcement of class work outside of the class (JI:037).

Janette's teaching style, which was strict and largely repressive, also seemed to have a negative effect on Noma's use of English with the teacher. Janette's manner of speaking to the learners in her classroom was often, in my opinion, too firm, bordering on harsh. This may have discouraged children from experimenting with the language, particularly with the teacher who would have been more likely to give feedback on language use than peers. For example: Noma was confident enough to speak to her peers and say 'Write you name' in English, (29/01/03, 9.00), but did not dare to say 'Look' to Janette when showing her some of her work, preferring to remain silent. On another occasion, a learner in the class was experimenting with writing letters 'i' and 'p' on the back of a worksheet. Janette stormed over to him and shouted at him not to do so (13/03/03, 11.19).

Nomathemba still had much to practice and learn in order to reach the standards of the NCS. However, I feel this was mainly due to the classroom environment, particularly the teacher's style and limited range of activities in the classroom. Janette did not seem to be adversely affecting Noma's oral English, and she seemed to be picking it up quickly, possibly because she had to use it in authentic communicative situations in and outside of the classroom.

6.3.6 Sandiswa in G1 (Secunda One)

Unlike the other case children, Sandiswa was much changed in terms of her production of oral English in G1. In GR, she had been very keen to initiate interaction with me on a number of occasions in English as well as isiXhosa (6/09/02, 10.50 and 15/08/02, 12.20). In G1, this interaction with me was virtually absent and she did not once initiate it with me as she had done in GR.

The classroom environment was certainly different from GR, especially in the sense that it was much less predictable, and there was much more work to be done in the school day. Sandiswa found that she had to concentrate more than she had had to in GR to keep up with her peers (e.g. 10/03/03, 8.53 and 3/02/03, 9.15). One particular task that she clearly found demanding was reading, where she was not managing to keep up with the fastest learners in the class (10/03/03, 8.53). This meant that she had less time to think about the other things going on in the classroom, such as my presence. In addition, I was not able to spend the whole day at school as I had been able to do at Secunda, meaning that I was not available for her to approach me during break times.

Perhaps for these reasons, many of the pieces of evidence Sandiswa gave for the G1 Assessment Standards are actually based on things she said or did in GR (see Appendix 5). Most of these examples are those that refer to oral production.

Sandiswa's numeracy continued to go from strength to strength in G1. She was very confident in mathematical tasks, although they were not the same as those which she had she found challenging in GR (3/02/03, 8.12 and 8.17).

Sipho's perception of Sandiswa's learning was that she was keen to speak and learn English, and she gave me an example of this (SI:16.15). She also felt that Sandiswa would have to continue trying hard to pass the year. In general, it seemed that Sandiswa was finding G1 to be more of a challenge than GR, but she was trying hard in areas she found difficult (10/03/03, 9.11). She also seemed to be enjoying her new classroom (5/03/03, 10.03). She was able to demonstrate competence in nearly all the Assessment Standards for G1 where she had the opportunity to do so (Appendix 5).

6.3.7 Aiyabulela in G1 (Secunda One)

Aiyabulela was able to demonstrate ability in virtually all the NCS Assessment Standards for G1 (Appendix 5). Those that he was not able to demonstrate specifically I was by and large able to infer from his own output. There were eight ASs that I was not able to infer or observe evidence for. These ASs required specific tasks to be carried out in order for evidence to be collected.

In saying that Aiya was able to demonstrate evidence for more ASs than other case children, I am not necessarily saying that he was more capable across a range of activities. Sipho's teaching style, by its very nature, involved a greater range of activities, thereby giving Aiya more opportunity to fulfil the requirements for more task specific ASs (e.g. Appendix 3, LO1 AS1c). Sipho's character/experience

created a much more fluid and permissive atmosphere in the classroom than I observed at Graham One. In many cases, it was the freedom to take risks that meant Aiya was able to demonstrate and develop his competencies more than children who did not like taking risks, like Sandiswa (12/02/03, 10.20). In fact, this liberal approach to learning allowed Aiya to actually exceed the requirements for G1 in some cases (12.02, 11.45).

Aiya did however struggle more with reading, which at Secunda One was conducted in isiXhosa. He had not struggled with the basic level of reading required at Secunda, but in GR the reading tasks had been limited to individual words, and were most often connected with pictures. In G1, the class were reading whole sentences as parts of a larger narrative structure, as well as reading individual words. The level of reading task required in G1 was thus far in excess of GR: Aiya was now required to use a new language for reading, where many of the phonics are radically different, and to make sense of abstract concepts in pictures to help him to read/remember the words (e.g. *Ndinekhaya*). I was also reasonably certain that Aiya's mother was helping the twins with English at home, and that she was reading to them in English when I interviewed her. The interview was conducted at the time that the twins were still in GR. I could not be sure, but it seemed likely to me that, considering how much emphasis Aiya's mother had placed on her children's education and English in the interview, she was still reading to her children in English in G1. This may have been the reason why Aiya was now not so strong in reading as he had been previously: his home environment was giving him practice in reading English, but he was now being taught to read in isiXhosa at school. Confusion was likely to be the result, at least initially.

Aiya's confidence in oral English and his feeling that he could take risks with the language meant that he was able to progress quickly, especially in terms of syntax and lexis. I had the feeling in GR that he used English not as a novelty, but simply as a means of expressing himself with me, knowing I did not speak isiXhosa. In terms of his development across the other requirements at G1, Aiya seemed to be well on track, and even ahead of his peers in terms of numeracy. My feeling is that much of Aiya's capacity for the tasks at G1 were based on the match of his character to Siphosho's teaching style and classroom atmosphere, and the home-based learning support he received from his mother.

Chapter 7

Findings and Conclusions

This chapter aims to conclude the study by attempting to answer the primary and secondary research questions posed in Chapter 1. Secondary aims 1, 2 and 3 have already been addressed in Chapter 6 and will be summarised here. It is now possible to come to some conclusions about how L2 teaching and learning in the sample preschools affects educational achievement in G1, what ideologies are latent in its delivery, and whose interest are being served by these ideologies. This chapter will also sketch some recommendations for change in L2 language teaching in the preschools and G1 classrooms involved in this study that, it is hoped, will give learners a better chance of success in G1.

7.1 Points pertaining to all the schools

One of the factors that may have influenced the quality of L2 teaching in the preschools was the range in the teachers' **confidence in speaking English** and the fact that for all of them it was a second language (for more detail on this area, refer to 6.1.3). The less confident a teacher was in using English, the less inclined she seemed to be to use it for all her teaching and the less she would use it for non-formulaic tasks. In general, the three coloured teachers, Anita, Priscilla and Janette, were more confident in English than the black ones, Xolelwa and Siphon. In addition, two teachers, Janette and Anita, said they did not speak the language of the majority of their learners, isiXhosa. This may have been one of the reasons for Janette's lack of confidence in her classroom, but it did not seem to inhibit or trouble Anita.

The **teaching of reading** was also a factor that at the same time distinguished the schools from one another but also created links between them. In Prima, the teaching of reading was very basic, being based only on letter recognition with some teaching of word recognition. Both schools taught these skills through English. At Secunda, it was a mixture of letter and word recognition, and it was conducted almost exclusively in English. The children at Prima were read to in either English or isiXhosa, but in the former case with the addition of a subsequent translation into isiXhosa. In Secunda, the children were not read to from books at all, but were told stories in English using visual aids, props and actors. In Secunda One, the children were taught to read through isiXhosa, but in Graham One and Rhini One through English.

The **material resources** available to the teachers in all five schools varied greatly. Nearly all the teachers made their own resources, particularly in the form of displays for notice boards. At Secunda, every child had what was called a workbook. This was a ring bound stack of exercises, one per page, which developed skills like counting, forming letters and digits, colouring in and grouping items. The

children normally worked on these books at least once a day. Anita had not made these: they had been copied by the school for use in the classroom. Almost every other resource that Anita used had been made by her, from the alphabet cards to the number strings and masks for story telling. In contrast, there were no workbooks at Prima, the only paper-based tasks being drawing/painting and writing one's name/copying the alphabet. The most interesting aspect of Prima's classroom was that although it was in some senses materially well resourced, the resources were often under-utilised by the teacher. The educational toys were simply placed on the desks of the children by Xolelwa with little instruction in how to play with or use them. By contrast, Janette conducted nearly all of her teaching through paper-based tasks such as worksheets similar to the ones at Secunda. Despite having access to tools like a photocopier in the school, unlike some other schools in the study, little attempt had been made to create resources for the children to use without the teacher's support. Siphon and Priscilla had, like Anita, made most of the classroom resources themselves, and had a wide variety of tasks to engage the learners with outside of the teaching materials.

The **atmosphere of the classrooms** was also a point of difference between the schools: there was often an atmosphere of repression and conflict in Janette's classroom between teacher and learners and little differentiation of task between the faster and slower learners. By contrast, Xolelwa's, Siphon's, Anita's and Priscilla's classrooms had flexible atmospheres: the children were assigned tasks which had to be completed before a certain time, but the teachers rarely sought to control the speed at which they worked or how the task was completed. Xolelwa and Janette rarely, if at all, sat with individual children or a group of children at a table and worked through an exercise or a task with them. Siphon, Anita and Priscilla regularly sat with individual learners and worked on specific tasks with them. They also differentiated the level of task for different learners.

In conclusion, the factors that distinguished the classrooms from each other generally, but not exclusively, stemmed from the teachers themselves and not from extrinsic factors like the school's finances, its religious background, or the social class of its intake.

7.2 Points pertaining to individual learners

This study used the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards of the National Curriculum Statement to assess the case children's English language in their pre- and primary schools. Looking at the grids in Appendices 4 and 5, it is clear that there is often very little evidence to indicate that a certain child was capable of a certain competence. I have had to try to assume a child's competence in, say, recognising and using prepositions, by looking at one instance when the teacher used a preposition in an instruction and the child carried out the instruction correctly. At first glance, this may seem a rather unreliable form of assessment. However, the aim of this study has not been to assess the child in terms of each separate

AS and come up with some kind of quantitative analysis of the child's L2 abilities. Considering the very short period of time available for data collection, this would be highly inappropriate. As mentioned in Section 3.8.2, Assessment Standards are not necessarily suitable tools to assess the *process* of teaching and learning and thus only cover the *product* of what occurred in the classrooms. The aim of this study has been rather to use the NCS and the grids in the appendices as guides in reaching a qualitative analysis of the child's linguistic competence in terms of the whole learning environment. This section of this chapter aims to establish if there is an effect from the preschool L2 learning environment on G1 achievement by making a qualitative comparison of the grids for each child, not a quantitative analysis for each child or between any of the children.

7.2.1 Andile

Andile seemed to be very unconfident in GR about using English. He was, however, much more confident in using isiXhosa and was prepared to risk putting his hand up in plenary sessions to express himself. He was certainly able to understand English stories and was keen to comment on them in IsiXhosa, more so in fact than many other learners in the Prima classroom. Andile had not been exposed to much English before he arrived in Rhini One. Xolelwa, by her own admission, was unconfident teaching in the language, and it seemed that both of Andile's parents were too. It was therefore a surprise to see him picking up the language and tasks dependent on it faster than any of the other case children. This would seem to indicate that in Andile's case, there was not much evidence to suggest that Andile's performance in G1 was strongly based on his L2 teaching and learning environment at GR. However, from what Xolelwa said about how much Andile needed to know before he got to the preschool year, it seems he needed GR and the years leading up to it to learn some independence of learning and some basic life skills, even if GR did not seem to prepare him for the level of English he was exposed to in G1 *per se*.

Andile's acquisition of English between GR and G1 and his overall educational achievement between the two grades was in some senses a contradiction. Initially, he had much trouble dealing with the demands of G1, so much so that his teacher, Priscilla, put him at a table with children who had not attended preschool. In a short space of time, (about eight weeks into the G1 year), his ability suddenly shot up, despite what I perceived to be a lack of learning support at home and the fact that according to Xolelwa, he had struggled with many basic tasks such as the toilet routine in the preschool years leading up to GR. By the time I left his G1 classroom, it seemed that Andile was likely to pass G1 across all learning areas by the end of the year, and especially in reading and writing English. (I did, however, feel that he was likely to struggle with the requirements of LO6, which deal with general oral fluency in English.)

Despite no indication that he was getting help at home, (his mother was working full-time, and his father seemed to take little interest in his education), he seemed in G1 to be acquiring the academic discourse of school very quickly indeed. He appeared, for example, to be confident and enthusiastic in developing his writing skills, (the LO4 area of G1), even though this had been a skill he had struggled with in GR. He was also able to complete a substitution drill using the present progressive with confidence. Appendix 5 shows that his receptive understanding of English had gone from low to being able to understand complex interrogatives, imperatives and mathematical language. I only observed one occasion where he seemed unable to understand what Priscilla was saying to him. He was a confident reader, and seemed to enjoy this activity more than most other members of his reading group. Priscilla also thought that he had made a lot of progress in this area since he arrived in the school.

I feel there may have been many reasons for Andile's sudden rise in academic achievement. Priscilla was a teacher with many years of experience in teaching children the 'core skills' (such as reading, writing and numeracy) at G1. Her pedagogy was furthermore much more academic than Andile had been used to at Prima. At Rhini One, I did not observe any time given over to play or 'free' activity, and neither did I observe Priscilla ever reading to the children or telling them a story without an 'academic' task to follow up. It is possible that the rigidity of the tasks and the structure of the school day at Rhini One was something that Andile could relate to better than that of Prima where the teaching was more haphazard and demanded more personal creativity. He often seemed lost in tasks requiring imagination in GR (AP7a 31/05/02, 10.06). In addition, I think Andile saw Priscilla as a supportive teacher and one who took a personal interest in him. Priscilla did not *always* congratulate or commend Andile when she had occasion to, but she sometimes did. By contrast, I did not witness Xolelwa ever congratulating Andile. (Although Xolelwa said in her interview that she also felt largely responsible for Andile's achievements, I think Andile himself responded better to Priscilla than Xolelwa.) From what I observed, it seemed that Priscilla gave Andile more encouragement to learn than Xolelwa did. Despite Priscilla's teaching style being more academic than Xolelwa's, it was nonetheless more affective. Priscilla regularly hugged children, smiled at them and generally valued their contributions more than Xolelwa. On one occasion when Priscilla asked all the children to come and hug her, Andile remained seated on the rug. He seemed to want to hug the teacher but didn't do so, probably because he was not used to it. Priscilla's affective teaching style could have been a major impetus for Andile's sudden success at G1. It may also be possible that his sudden progress at G1 would not have occurred without the help of Xolelwa in building a foundation for learning. Overall, Andile seemed set to pass the G1 year, assuming his progress continued at the same rate.

7.2.2 Nomathemba

Like Andile, Noma had had limited exposure to English in Grade R and virtually no authentic contexts in which to use the language. In Grade 1, she was exposed to an English-only environment both by her teacher and some learners. She clearly struggled to understand some instructions from the teacher, but in general seemed able to understand most of what was said to her in English.

Noma received much more exposure to English through Janette than she did through Xolelwa. In fact, I noticed that a great deal of Noma's language in G1 could be directly linked to Janette's, in the sense that she often used 'teacher talk' with the other learners (e.g. AP8.2.1 13/03/03, 11.28). Her English also had quite a heavy Afrikaans accent, like Janette and unlike her isiXhosa-speaking peers. However, Noma's English in G1 was also being developed by the necessity of communication with other learners at Graham One. Some of these learners did not speak Noma's first language, isiXhosa, so the *lingua franca* between them was English. Even with those learners who spoke isiXhosa, Noma sometimes spoke English in the classroom, and seemed to derive much pleasure from doing so. On the occasions that Noma spoke to other children in English, which were not in short supply, she seemed to be treating the language as a 'play' language. By this I mean that she often seemed to be using the language for the sake of fun rather than because she felt she had to or should do. This very positive attitude to English and her frequent attempts to use it were, I feel, likely to be one of the main factors in her continued acquisition of and success with the language. She was generally much more sociable than Andile, and the fact that the Graham One classroom had fewer isiXhosa speakers than any of the other G1 classrooms, meant that Noma had a fertile environment for acquiring spoken English in the classroom. Even in the first term of Grade 1, it seemed that her vocabulary was increasing steadily, and was probably set to increase to a level of 500-1000 words by the end of Grade 1 (LO6).

Noma's writing skills also seemed to be developing at a good rate. Her mother indicated that they were practising them together at home (AP8.2 5/02/03, 8.40). This may also have been due to Janette's authoritarian style of teaching and a heavy dependence on paper-based tasks. However, this reliance on written work meant that for many of the orally-evidenced Assessment Standards, there was very little or no evidence on which to decide whether Noma was capable of the task or not. Most of the teaching was based around worksheets and drills, with little opportunity for songs, rhymes, choruses and using books as more than just pronunciation exercises. A typical example of this was Noma's reading skills: Janette's method of teaching reading did not allow me (or her!) to see if Noma could actually understand what she was reading, as it was focused purely on recognition of words and letters and their pronunciation. Noma was, however, able to read the print on flashcards she was familiar with, but it was impossible to say if she knew what the meaning of the words or story was. Having seen how sociable Noma was as a person, I

feel she would have developed her reading skills much faster had she been asked to talk about what she could see and read in the book.

Noma was still using many of the learning strategies that she had acquired in Grade R in Grade 1. She listened carefully to the teacher's instructions and then checked the board or a neighbour's work before starting. Once she had started work, she did not copy from other learners. She also demonstrated the same social awareness that she had learnt in Grade R: she helped other learners when she could, and called the teacher if another learner was crying or upset.

Although Noma wasn't yet able to make her own grammatically correct sentences in English, she was very forthcoming about taking risks with the language and trying to express herself through it. This I felt would be one of the main strengths in her learning to deal with the demands of the rest of the year, and was a big change from Grade R, where she had been much more quiet and shy about using English. She was also apt to drill and reinforce English she had heard in the classroom to herself or to other learners, and did so on a number of occasions in G1. Again, this was something she had not done in Grade R.

It seemed that Noma's overall achievement at G1 was more dependent on her personality than the English teaching in GR. However, Noma was not coping as well with the demands of G1 as she could have been, had she had a classroom environment that was more diverse in terms of tasks and less rigid in its pedagogy. Her oral English was developing not because of the teaching that was occurring in the classroom, but because of her own learning strategies and her attitude to the language. Had there been more interaction with books and more informality associated with reading and writing, I believe Noma would have fared much better than she did. Her level of home support was also assisting her, particularly with writing, but it was not as structured as that of other case children like Aiya.

7.2.3 Aiyabulela

Aiya's general level of achievement at G1 was high, particularly in his listening and speaking skills. His English lexis contained many items that he was unlikely to have learnt at school and more often than not, he spoke with remarkable grammatical accuracy and clear pronunciation. His numeracy was also very advanced for the class at Secunda One, so much so that Siphso commented on it to me a total of three times whilst I was in the classroom. Although he had spoken to me on a few occasions in GR, he had not been nearly so confident about doing so as he was in G1. His spoken English in G1 seemed to be in advance of nearly all his peers.

I felt that these skills, particularly his oral English, were dependent largely on his home environment. Most of what he said to Siphso and me could not have been gleaned simply from the classroom environment. Aiya's mother was a working professional who from her interview seemed to have strong middle-class ambitions for her children. To this end, she told me that she regularly engaged

in literacy activities with her children at home on Sundays. This may or may not have been true, but because Aiya was so far ahead of his peers in both language and numeracy, it seemed his precociousness must at least in part be due to his home environment.

Aiya also had a longer concentration span than other children of his age, and would nearly always engage with a task until it was completed. He often finished tasks before other learners and helped those who could not complete the tasks. This in itself was a change from Grade R, where he would often be capable of completing the task well before others, but did not do so and would mock the attempts of other learners. I believe that the changes in his home environment regarding his stepfather may have caused this change.

One of the most salient factors in Aiya's general success with most tasks at Grade 1 was the classroom environment. He fitted into it very well and seemed happy to be at school nearly all the time. He responded well to the affective variation in Siphos teaching, which involved little direct one-on-one encouragement, but was very interactive, and often tailored to the individual learner. Siphos had a relaxed but structured pedagogy, where no child was ever without something to do, and there was often a choice of activity. I personally enjoyed her storytelling in particular, almost as much as the children did.

Aiya did however struggle to read in G1 beyond the simplest level of text (one or two word captions). He had not found the pre-literacy activities in GR overly challenging, so this came as a surprise to me, but he may have been struggling to cope with the transition from English letters and pronunciation to isiXhosa ones, as Anita had taught the children the English alphabet using English words. He always positioned himself right in front of the teacher and focused hard on the text at hand in G1. Because of this, and the level of support he was getting at home, there seemed to be no reason to assume that he would not find reading easier by the end of the year.

Aiyabulela was able to fulfil virtually all of the demands of G1 in terms of his L2, some of them even in the first term of the year. It seems then that the GR year did have a big effect on Aiya's achievement at G1, but it is not possible to say that his learning in that year was limited to the classroom. With his advanced level of home support, conducive learning environment and lengthy concentration span, he seemed on course to be possibly beyond the standard of the grade by the end of the year.

7.2.4 Sandiswa

Sandiswa demonstrated a strong competence in English in Grade R across a variety of activities. She could recognise and pronounce individual letters and words as well as copy whole words. She could clearly separate drawing from writing and write her own name. She did not find all these tasks easy, and clearly had to work at them in order to be able to do them. However, she was not lacking in confidence in her ability to learn. She often checked that she was doing the right thing by looking at other learners'

work, but she rarely copied exactly what they did. In GR, she was verbally strikingly confident in English, particularly in self-initiated interaction with me

Despite these indications that Sandiswa would cope well, (if not very well), with the demands of Grade 1, she often seemed to struggle with the kind of task that was expected there. Perhaps because of differences in how the day was structured, or because the speed at which new items were introduced was much faster than at GR, I had the impression that Sandiswa had to give G1 her all to stay afloat. She was much quieter verbally, both with her classmates, her teacher, and with me than she had been in GR. She seemed to find reading hard in G1, which may have been due to the switch to isiXhosa that occurred in G1. She also found the numeracy tasks in G1 more difficult than those at GR, but not to the extent she did with reading. The fact that numeracy had been in English in both GR and G1 may have meant that she was more confident in it than in reading. (In other words, there was continuity in the language that was used to teach the same type of task.)

The data that I recorded about Sandiswa in Appendix 5 shows that she was certainly capable of most of the tasks in Grade 1. Furthermore, during the interview I had with her parents, it became apparent that Sandiswa was the child who was most likely to be exposed to English in authentic circumstances in her home. Indeed, much of the interaction that she started with me in GR was likely to have been based on things she had heard and practiced outside the classroom.

Sandiswa worked very slowly on some tasks in both grades. I believe this was more to do with being conscientious about her work than because she could not have done it faster. Often, her slowness was best interpreted as diligence, because she ultimately completed tasks more accurately than some of her peers.

Sandiswa's success at GR was not necessarily due to her teacher. She often appeared bored by things that were done in class, especially rhymes and songs which she would sing a few times and then get bored with. Much of the English that Sandiswa spoke and much of her numeracy could not have come only from the classroom. Her home environment seemed to me to be a significant factor in her learning style and success. It was certainly a supportive one, but I got the impression that any learning that did occur in the home was not as structured as it was in the case of Aiyabulela, for example. Sandiswa's sister and mother were clearly spending time with Sandiswa playing games, watching children's television, or reading books together. The family were also relatively well off and seemed, especially in the case of Sandiswa's father, to be very interested in the children's education. Both parents had high expectations of all the children in the family, and it seemed that Sandiswa was treated like a bit of a Benjamin, the one whom all the other children treated as their own.

It came as a surprise then that Sandiswa seemed to be very much in a silent phase with her English in Grade 1, which was virtually a reversal of how she had been in Grade R. She would not even elaborate

in English when asked questions by Sipho, either when alone with the teacher or in plenary. She sometimes also seemed to misunderstand what she was being asked by Sipho. She often watched the page intently while staying completely silent as the class read the words from a book together. Sandiswa was generally so quiet in G1 that most of the evidence of her ability had to be inferred, or taken from GR. However, there was little direct evidence to suggest that she was not capable of carrying out the requirements of G1 for any particular task.

The teaching and learning of English in GR was definitely important to Sandiswa in G1, but her confidence and rate of achievement in G1 appeared to be lower than in GR despite a supportive home environment. Although she may have appeared to be struggling with the demands of G1, from my observations it seemed that she would be likely to be able to fulfil all the ASs for G1 by the end of the year, once her confidence in the structure of the new classroom began to grow.

7.3 Ideological considerations

This study is not intended to be action research: in other words, I have not been attempting to describe my own practice to radically alter the way English is taught and learnt in the sample preschools. Even though I was working in Secunda One at the time of data collection, whatever changes I suggest on the basis of what I found in this study are of necessity those of the outsider, the researcher 'looking in' at the situation on the ground. It is not therefore for me to determine what should or should not happen in the preschool classrooms. I can, however, using the data I have collected, attempt to determine which ideologies are at play in the GR and G1 classrooms and whose interests are being served by them. In this way, suggestions for change are grounded not in the researcher but in the data and theory.

One of the clearest ideological positions to come out of this study is that there are universals in the practice of ECD: there is a shared belief that there are certain things that are 'good' for children in GR, and these things should always be done (such as learning how to read the English alphabet, knowing the days of the week in English). Although both GR classrooms were involved in teaching, they were mostly not teaching the same things to the same level (e.g. the acquisition of literacy). Considering the intake of the learners, (100% isiXhosa first-language speakers in both schools), one striking feature of both GR classrooms was that neither teacher took a *proactive* (as opposed to a default) approach to their teaching which acknowledged or used indigenous languages or knowledge as learning resources. Amongst the G1 teachers, the same concept of universals in the approach to teaching the very young was evident, although in Sipho's case, there was a definite departure to the use of indigenous knowledge on many occasions.

There is also a clear ideological assumption amongst the wealthier parents and teachers that, unlike other South African languages, which are all linked to particular groups of people in the country, English is 'best' for children because it is devoid of social value and therefore has a harmonising effect on the

country at large. Although they did not say so directly, I deduced that Mrs. Quntu, Anita, and Janette all seemed to feel that English was a language of emancipation that held no affiliation to a particular group. Mr. and Mrs. Futha were supportive of English for very similar reasons. In my opinion, English is very far from being a 'neutral' language: it is the dominant language in the country, despite the fact that in 1991, it was the first language of fewer than 10% of the nation's households (HSRC 1996:155). It is also the language of many in the middle classes and the wealthy. Regardless of considerations of the cultural identity implicit in indigenous languages, most of the parents *and* teachers were driving all the schools towards the ideological position of English being neutral, progressive and socially advantageous. This, it could be argued, is a mindset that ultimately disadvantages the child. Bourdieu (1977) claims that the cultural capital, (the '...language, meanings, thought and behavioural styles, values and dispositions...' (Gibson 1986:55)), a child brings to school, will, in the case of a child who does not hold the same cultural capital as the school they are in, or who holds it to a lesser degree, be eroded in favour of the school and to the disadvantage of the child.

This study, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, has been careful to avoid encroaching on the territory of the LoLT debate, and has aimed throughout to accept the status quo regarding language choices in the classrooms observed. However, I feel it is important to acknowledge the fact that there were two highly pervasive ideologies at play in nearly all the schools, (and to some extent among the parents of the children in those schools), which would have had a marked effect on the attitude the teachers concerned had with respect to teaching English and would have instilled in the children as they learnt English. These were that the sooner we start teaching through English in the preschool, the 'better' it will be for the child and that children must be taught to learn to read in English, again because it is 'better' for them to do so. As I mentioned in section 3.1, this particular ideology has the potential to be damaging for the very learners it purports to be 'helping'. I will return to this point in section 7.4.

In terms of the way L2 teaching and learning was conducted, there was another ideology that seemed to pervade all the classrooms to a greater or lesser extent. This was that learning cannot be reduced to specific criteria, (such as in the NCS), and must focus on product not process. In addition, there was a prevalent view that the so-called 'core skills' in ECD can only be taught, not acquired. In this way, the instrumental rationality (or the 'common sense' idea) that children must be able to perform certain fixed tasks by a certain time, such as reading particular letters or words, forces consideration of the value of love and affectivity in teaching out in favour of 'results'. This ideological position was evident with all the teachers, but varied greatly in its extent. Janette and Xolelwa seemed to espouse it particularly through the way they taught children to read (see section 7.4 below). Priscilla, Anita and Siphon seemed to be more concerned with the process of learning and the atmosphere in which it occurred in their classrooms,

but they were still on occasion so concerned with the product of learning that the child occasionally became lost in the process.

In identifying the latent ideologies involved in L2 teaching and learning in GR, I should also attempt to establish whose interests are served by them, since critical theory suggests that ideological assumptions are intended to serve the power structures present in society through a process known as symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1977). Although not perhaps directly responsible for the way L2 teaching and learning is conducted in the sample schools, the ruling black middle class in South Africa clearly has much to gain if it excludes the poor and working class from its power structures. In this way, it would be possible for them to preserve power for themselves and ensure that it is not spread too thinly or widely. This could be achieved by ensuring that access to the middle-class structures, such as former Model C schools and middle-class universities, is granted only to those who can already speak English to a high standard. It could be argued that the establishment of English as the language of politics and business in South Africa, strongly favours the black ruling elite who have firmly established themselves to the exclusion of those they in many cases claim to represent. These interests, and thus the ideological assumptions that support them, are in most cases mutually confirmed by the parents and teachers alike.

7.4 Conclusions

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have looked at the various differences between schools, teachers, learners, and the learners' lived contexts. In this section, I will try to establish what aspects of these differences and similarities indicate that the L2 teaching and learning in GR is adequately preparing learners for G1.

One of the first conclusions I would like to draw from my data is that English language teaching and learning at GR does play a part in the eventual performance of children at G1, but not in the ways I initially thought it might. This study showed me that although language is a factor, it is, as with most studies of language and the people that use them, inextricably linked to a multitude of more complex issues. This correlates with the work of Tabors (1998) who conducted research into developing preschool programmes for linguistically and culturally diverse learners. She found that motivation, exposure, age, and personality are important factors in the language acquisition process for the learner and the teacher and were as important as individual learner competence and aptitude. In this study, the **personalities** of the four children seemed to have a key role in how well they coped with the transition to G1 and how well the L2 learning environment at GR was able to support them in this regard. This view is supported by Ellis (1986:10): "...Variability in language learner language is the result not only of contextual factors. It also occurs because of individual differences in the way learners learn an L2 and the way they use their L2 knowledge..."

I found that the amount of **experience** and the level of **motivation** that all the teachers had (both at GR and at G1), impacted greatly on how the case children felt towards learning. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the learner's progress and the motivation and the confidence of the teachers were often closely linked: the more dedicated and confident teachers created flexible learning environments in their classrooms which the learners could adapt to their own learning styles, whereas the less confident ones created restricted learning environments which were often heavily teacher-centred. Tabors (ibid) seems to suggest that acquisition of the second language is greatly improved if the teacher uses a broad variety of techniques as opposed to limited ones. With very young children, such as those who were the focus of this study, the **affective environment** of a classroom is dependant largely on the teacher. As with most language learners, children at the age of those in this study are strongly influenced in their learning by how they feel towards the target language and those that teach it to them. "...Understanding how human beings feel and respond and believe and value is an exceedingly important aspect of a theory of second language acquisition..." (Brown 1987:101). If the child does not feel comfortable in the atmosphere of the classroom, it is unlikely that they will feel positive about learning and they may therefore not achieve to their full potential. This finding is supported by Hilgard, writing in 1963: "...purely cognitive theories of learning will be rejected unless a role is assigned to affectivity..." On the other hand, Kutnick (1994) found that there was no difference in eventual primary school performance in children from teacher-centred and learner-centred preschool backgrounds, but that teacher-centred preschool classrooms did impact negatively on the learner-teacher relationship in later years in the school. This study was not, however, concerned with eventual performance in primary school but only with G1. In my opinion, the affective learning environments in Rhini One's classroom and to a lesser extent Prima's classroom were not always as flexible and therefore conducive to learning for all the learners as they could have been. To some extent, this is suggested by Andile's sudden rise in overall achievement once leaving Prima, and Noma's lack of progress (outside of spoken English) in her G1 class when compared to the other case children at Grade 1.

The data also seem to suggest that the **language choices** made for teaching literacy and methods of teaching it had both positive *and* negative effects on each child's individual learning, but only in some cases. Aiya and Sandiswa were both precocious in numeracy in GR and continued to be so in G1, perhaps because of their home environments and the support for numeracy there, and perhaps because the language in which it was conducted was the same (English). (Many other tasks at Secunda such as reading were conducted in isiXhosa.) The effort that Anita put into teaching the children to recognise, pronounce and copy English letters and words in Grade R was ultimately not as useful preparation for G1 as it could have been for Aiya and Sandiswa. They certainly struggled more with reading in G1 than they did in GR, not simply because the reading tasks were more complex, but also I believe because they struggled to

make the **switch** into the new phonic system of isiXhosa. The difficulty in making the switch to isiXhosa may also have been exacerbated by the fact that it seemed that both these children were receiving a lot of support at home and were possibly still being taught to read through English by their relatives. I did not feel, however, that the switch was an insurmountable hurdle for either child. Alvrado (1996) contends that the teacher's duty to a preschool child is to support the development and maintenance of the child's home language in the classroom. This only happened at Secunda One and Prima. In her research, this has been shown to assure strong English language development and furthermore supports the child's identity development and family unity. In other words, the child's cultural capital is acknowledged both in the home and school environment (Bourdieu 1977).

For Noma and Andile, it seemed that the **inadequate preparation** in GR for the **literacy** demands of G1 was at least initially a problem for both children. In Noma's case, she was clearly struggling to cope with Janette's method of teaching reading. Andile only suffered initially from a lack of grounding in reading skills at GR and soon began to pick them up with Priscilla's help. Had there been more structured support for learning to read at Prima, I believe that Noma and Andile would have shown much greater levels of confidence in their learning and higher levels of achievement across the board at G1. Although Frost writes very much within the paradigm of 'disadvantage' and 'deficit' (criticised in section 2.3.1 of this study), he confirms the view that literacy practice and exposure must begin and be properly structured in the preschool: "...Opportunity to actively exercise this developing language facility [literacy] [in the pre-school years] is indispensable to later more articulate use of language..." (1968:377).

The two preschools differed greatly in how much time they allocated to **reading skills**. One factor that I feel almost certainly hindered all four children was the low level of informal interaction with books by the learners on their own, or by learners with the assistance of a teacher. All four children had heard stories from books or flicked through them occasionally, but very little time was ever spent on linking the writing in the books to the meaning of the story in an informal way. Mitakidou found in her Greek preschool context that "...formal teaching approaches that emphasize form rather than meaning are incompatible with the active learning of young children..." (1997:Abstract). She found that by creating a learning environment in which children can experiment and discover the associations between language and meaning, literacy in English and spoken English were acquired faster than by the previously formal methods of teaching. The way books were stored in both GR classrooms often meant that the children were discouraged from using them or looking at them, meaning that the only interaction any of the children had with books was in formal contexts through the teacher. I believe these factors may have been obstacles for all the children in G1, when they were suddenly faced with a large part of the school day being given over to formal restricted tasks involving reading, recognising words, copying words, or using written language for reasoning and thinking.

With one exception, the **home environments** of the children seemed to have influenced how motivated and therefore how industrious and successful the children were in their G1 classrooms. Andile's seemingly unsupportive home environment did not seem to affect his fervent desire to learn in the classroom in G1. Sandiswa's, Aiyabulela's and Nomathemba's home environments were roughly equal in their support of the children only in different ways: Noma's mother only had a low level of schooling herself, and said she helped her daughter with her writing homework. She also said that she sometimes engaged in informal learning activities, such as 'colouring in', with her daughter in the mother tongue. Aiyabulela's mother had a high level of schooling and said she actively taught her own children in English at home using her own materials and books from the library. Sandiswa, on the other hand, was exposed to many types of educational influences from her mother, father, siblings and cousin. Nonetheless, there was an identifiable difference in the level of exposure to English and literacy activities in the home as reported by Noma's mother and grandmother and Mrs. Quntu (Aiya's mother), and Mrs. and Mr. Futhu (Sandiswa's mother and father). Frost tells us that these differences in home environment will make the transition to preschool and primary school easier for some children and more difficult for others "...for the child sensitive to the restricted code of the lower class, school typically represents symbolic social change or discontinuity..." (1968:373). The children's backgrounds, more working class in the case of Andile and Noma and more middle class in the case of Sandiswa and Aiyabulela, divided the children in terms of which schools they could afford to attend and also, to a degree, in terms of how much support was given to their acquisition of English in the home. In addition, Kutnick (1994) found that middle class children were more likely to succeed in primary school because they had had access to more costly schools, which practised child centred teaching in preschool. Secunda's learning environment was certainly more child centred than Prima's and also cost more to attend, making it, at least in some senses, an upper as opposed to a lower middle class establishment. In this sense then, **social class** seemed to have a bearing on both how effective the home environment was in supporting the child, and how effective the learning environment in the preschool was in promoting the success of the child at primary school.

If there is one firm conclusion that can be drawn from this study, it is that there is a need for **more focused research** into how teachers can better structure their learning environments in Grade R to align better with G1, or indeed vice versa. There was an implicit **lack of understanding** of the learner's experience when moving from GR to G1 amongst all teachers with the exception of Anita, who had previously worked with Grade 2 learners. (For an example of this, see AP8.1.3 12/02/03 10.46.) Add to this a general **lack of communication** between teachers in the two grades, and a quasi elitism from those teachers who held national teaching qualifications (Grade 1 teachers in general), compared to those who

do not (Grade R teachers in general), (as found in PI:012), and one is left with a situation for the learner that demands much more investigation in order to serve them better in these crucial years of schooling.

Despite the national trend of a mass failure rate at G1 at the time of writing, none of the children in this study, perhaps by virtue of their relatively advantaged social contexts, look set to fail the G1 year. However, none of the children will pass the year with only a little effort on their part or that of their teachers: they will all have to work hard at the areas of the curriculum they each find challenging.

The next section of this chapter takes the conclusions made here and suggests some recommendations for better practice arising from this study.

7.5 Recommendations arising from conclusions

One of the clearest issues arising from this study regarding the teaching and learning of English in the preschool is the lack of sufficient attention to the **development of literacy** in GR. Prima's teaching of reading, or rather the names of letters, was in my opinion intimidating, exclusive, and largely ineffective. It would have been better if it had not been attempted at all. Secunda's teaching of reading was clearly more focused and effective than that of Prima. However, increasing the children's familiarity with literacy practices was an area for improvement in both schools. In this regard, the staff at both preschools need to devise a syllabus for the development of literacy. It should include reading to the children in such a way that the words are visible to them, and that the text is interactive in its reading through choring and prediction activities, for example. Learners need to be made familiar with the concepts of books and writing, even if they do not actually learn to match letters to sounds and to make sounds into words. The GR teachers would have been able to prepare the children better had they known how books are used in G1 and in what language books are discussed. Many of the features and functions of books, such as the cover, illustrations and of course the words were not presented to some children until G1, despite the fact that there were books in the GR classroom for them to use. This meant that valuable time in the first year of school had to be dedicated to a cultural understanding of the book. The learners also need to be given extension activities from the text such as miming the story, as opposed to the current situation where a book or a story is merely an adjunct to a weekly theme. In this way, the book or text becomes one of the foci of the theme, not extraneous to it. Had there been more dialogue, possibly even peer observation between the two GR teachers and their G1 counterparts, I believe much of the confusion that arose in the children during the literacy activities of G1 could have been addressed effectively in GR, particularly that of the discrepancy in the language through which literacy is taught. There is a clear need for a **locally relevant GR syllabus** to be developed in conjunction with G1 teachers from the schools the Prima children are likely to attend (Rhini One and Graham One) so that a commonality of purpose develops between GR and G1. The process of developing such a syllabus may give rise to areas where staff feel

they need **more training**, such as the need for more English language teacher training that Xolelwa mentioned (XI:020).

However, it is equally important, perhaps even more important, that both pre-schools give much more voice to **indigenous literacies and practices** in their classrooms. A great deal of the basis for the policy and rhetoric on ECD currently available in South Africa is actually European in origin (Penn 1997:107). The proposed syllabus mentioned above actually needs to be developed by the teachers themselves, otherwise there is a grave danger of ignoring the: "...significant differences in conceptions of child rearing between African and Anglo-American cultures..." (Dahlberg *et al* 2002:163). Penn also cautions against the: "...enthusiastic transmission of 'developmentally appropriate practice' and Western models of nursery education or 'educare'..." because: "...far from enhancing competency in young children [, they] may be damaging to those who use it..." (Ibid 106-7). Given Scollen and Scollen's findings (1981) regarding the development of intercultural literacy practices, this would seem to be extremely important for the kind of schools and learners involved in this research.

Ultimately, I believe that there should also be generally more **informal interaction with written texts** at GR. In all the schools, books were something that came from the teacher and were not accessed by the pupils of their own accord. One reason for the predominance of teacher-centred methods of teaching literacy is suggested by Prinsloo and Bloch (1999). They say that there is a mismatch between the transformational intentions of OBE and the belief amongst teachers that 'they know how to teach literacy'. In none of the schools was there a real departure from behaviourist and positivist principles in the teaching of reading accompanied by a move towards communicative methods as espoused by OBE, although learner centred and communicative methods were partially evident in some schools (Secunda One). In this regard, the learners need to be given the opportunity to 'read' books themselves, be read to, and to talk about books with their peers or teacher in a positive and enjoyable way. Both GR classrooms should try to integrate a book or section of a book into every school day, perhaps using one book for the whole week. As with Prima, the aim should be not to focus on the skill of reading as a discrete activity, where words or letters are isolated, pronounced, copied and drilled, but to adopt a culture of being exposed to literacy practices on a regular and enjoyable basis. Having said this, another aspect of the work of Prinsloo and Bloch must not be ignored: children's existing literacies must be reinforced and valued far more than was the case in all schools except Prima and Secunda One, not rejected or suppressed in favour of the dominant academic discourse.

In general then, one major area for improvement is **synchrony** or at least **awareness** with respect to the challenges and aims of other teachers, particularly across the preschool/primary school divide. There appears to be a general lack of communication, sometimes bordering on a lack of respect, between pre- and primary school teachers, even if the two classrooms are on the same property and share the same

staff room. This lack of communication is exacerbated by increases in cultural and class distance, especially in a divided community like Grahamstown. This lack of awareness of what goes on “on the other side of the fence” often causes the two sides to pull in different directions at the same time, each one undoing or hampering the work of the other. For the sake of the learners, this fence needs to be broken down and assumptions challenged.

The teaching and learning of English *per se* was obviously the focus of this study, but in addition, English is used to teach and develop other skill sets in the G1 classroom. One of these is **numeracy**. It was my feeling that Prima did not give enough attention to developing numeracy with its learners, and that they subsequently struggled with it when introduced to it almost from scratch at G1. One simple way of contributing to the development of numeracy would have been to make the existing educational toys much more of a feature of the classroom, perhaps by helping the children to learn how to play the games in the manner for which they were designed. Anita commented in her interview on how much she wanted to be able to buy more educational toys for her classroom. I think this stemmed from a desire on Anita’s part to give the children more independence in their learning, and more opportunity for self-discovery, rather than the reliance on drills and plenary activities. In general, all the classrooms needed to give the children far more **opportunity for experimentation** with new concepts, perhaps by dedicating a certain part of the day solely to ‘playing with’ as opposed to being instructed in letters or numbers. The variety in types of task and therefore the range of skills learners could use and develop was limited in some classrooms (Janette’s and Xolelwa’s), and broad and extensive in others (Sipho’s and Anita’s). In general, the teachers need to increase the **range of tasks** attempted in one school day, and become much **more affective** in their pedagogies, not distant from the learners.

My final recommendation is not directly linked to the conclusions presented in this chapter, but is nonetheless one that I feel needs to be made. Despite the fact that this research did not set out to challenge the status quo of language choice in the LoLT of the classrooms studied, I believe that this important issue cannot be completely ignored in a study such as this one. The children in this study did not struggle unduly to learn English and learn through English to the required level in GR and G1. My experience of teaching later grades in the same school shows that this does not remain the case for the majority of learners. All the schools in this study were operating under an assimilationist language policy, just like the so-called ‘bilingual’ UK and USA language programmes found in state schools (Mackay 1993). Any programme of linguistic ‘assimilation’ (or rather subtraction) ultimately disadvantages the young learner. There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that learning through a second language too soon can actually hinder the progress of a child’s cognitive development (Heugh 2001:4).

In this regard, schools like Graham One and Rhini One should have **isiXhosa stream classes** in at least G1 where English is taught only as a *subject* in addition to their English and Afrikaans streams. Had

all the children in this study learnt to read in isiXhosa, both in GR and in G1 and only subsequently in English, I believe, on the basis of the literature mentioned in Part 2 of Chapter 2, that their eventual level of literacy would have been higher than I observed it to be. Some attempt in this direction was made at Secunda. However, since the LoLT at Secunda was English, despite the high quality of teaching, the learners were almost bound to be confused by having to learn two phonic systems for the same alphabet in two years.

Bibliography

- Alexander, N. and South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology(1996) *Towards a national language plan for South Africa: final report of the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG)* Dept. of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Pretoria
- Alvarado, C. (1996) *Working with children whose home language is other than English: the teacher's role* in **Child Care Information Exchange**, no. 107 (Jan./Feb. 1996) p. 48-50.
- Arthur, J. (1998) *Institutional Practices and Cultural Considerations of Primary School Teaching In Botswana* in **Comparative Education** vol. 34 no. 3
- Bereiter, C. and Engelman, S. (1966) *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool* Prentice Hall.
- Bot, M. (1998) *A Statistical Overview of Education in South Africa* in **Education Africa Forum, Second Edition**. Education Africa, Gauteng
- Bowerman, S. (2000) *Linguistic Imperialism in South Africa: the Unassailable Position of English*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town
- Bourdieu, P (1977) *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* in **Karabel, J. and Halsey, A. H. Power and Ideology in Education** p487-511 OUP, New York
- Brown, H. D. (1987) *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching* Prentice Hall, USA
- Cazden, C. (1972) *Child Language and Education* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) *Research Methods in Education* Routledge, UK
- Crystal, D. (1991) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* Blackwell, Oxford
- Cummins, J. and Swain, M. (1986) *Bilingualism in Education* Longman, London
- Dahlberg, G., Moss, P., and Pence, A. (2002) *Beyond Quality in Early Childhood Education and Care*. Routledge/Falmer, UK
- De Lange, J. P. (1981) *Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the main committee of the HSRC Investigation in Education* HSRC, Pretoria
- Department of Education (1996a) *No 84 of 1996: South African Schools Act* Pretoria, South Africa
- Department of Education (1996b) *Interim ECD Policy Document* Pretoria. Accessed April 2003 at: <http://education.pwv.gov.za/Policies%20and%20Reports/Policies/childdev.htm>
- Department of Education (1997a) *Curriculum 2005 Policy Document* Pretoria, South Africa
- Department of Education (1997b) *Language in Education Policy Document* Pretoria, South Africa

Department of Education (2001a) *The Nationwide Audit of ECD Provisioning in South Africa* Pretoria, South Africa

Department of Education (2001b) *Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools) Policy*. Pretoria, Department of Education. Accessed April 2003 at: http://education.pwv.gov.za/DoE_Sites/Curriculum/New_2005/languages.pdf

Department of Education (2002) *Education White Paper 5 on Early Childhood Education: Meeting the challenge of Early Childhood Development in South Africa* Government Gazette No. 22756, Pretoria

Ellis, R. (1986) *Understanding Second Language Acquisition* OUP, Oxford

Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power* Longman, UK

Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language* Longman, UK

Frost, J. L. (1968) *Early Childhood Education Rediscovered* Holt, Rinehart Winston, New York.

Gee, J. P. (1996) *Social linguistics and literacies: ideology in discourses* Taylor & Francis, London

Gerot, L. and Wignall, P. (1995) *Making sense of functional grammar: an introductory workbook* Gerd Stabler, Sydney

Gibson, R. (1986) *Critical Theory and Education* Hodder and Stoughton, London

Giles, H. and Bryne, J. (1982) *An intergroup approach to second language acquisition* in **Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 3: 17-40**

Gough, D. (1995) *Black South African English* in de Klerk, V. (ed.) **Focus on South Africa** John Benjamin Publishers, South Africa

Halliday, M. (1978) *Language as a Social Semiotic* Edward Arnold, London

Halliday, M. (1975) *Learning how to mean* Edward Arnold, London

Hartshorne, K. (1992) *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910- 1990* OUP

Hasan, R. (1992) *Rationality in everyday talk: from process to system* in Svartnik, J. (ed) **Directions in Corpus Linguistics: proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm 1991** Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin

Heugh, K. (2001) *The Case Against Bilingual and Multilingual Education in South Africa* **PRAESA Occasional Papers** PRAESA, UCT, Cape Town

Hilgard, E. (1963) *Motivation in Learning Theory* Cited in Brown, H. D. (1987:99) **Principles of Language Learning and Teaching** Prentice Hall, USA

HSRC RGN (1996) *A Socio-Economic Atlas of South Africa* HSRC Publishers, Pretoria

Jansen, J. (1999) *Why Outcomes-based Education Will Fail: An Elaboration in Changing Curriculum Studies on Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa* Jansen, J. and Christie, P. (eds) 1999 Juta and Co., Cape Town

Kingwill, P. (1998) *Transforming Language Education in Southern Africa: A History of the Molteno Project 1975-1996* Molteno Project, Braamfontein

Krashen, S. and Seliger (1976) *The role of formal and informal linguistic environments in adult second language learning* in **International Journal of Psycholinguistics** 3: 15-21

Krashen, S. (1981) *Second Language Acquisition Theory* in **Krashen, S. and Terrell, D. (1982) The Natural Approach** Pergamon, UK

Kutnick, P. (1994) *Does preschool curriculum make a difference in primary school performance: insights into the variety of preschool activities and their effects on school achievement and behaviour in the Caribbean Island of Trinidad; cross sectional and longitudinal evidence* in **Early Child Development and Care**, v. 103 (1994) p. 27-42

Lightbown, P. and Spada, N. (1999) *How Languages are Learned* OUP, Oxford

Lehohla, P. (ed.) (2002) *Statistics South Africa 2002* Department of Statistics, Pretoria

Lodge, T. (1983) *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* Raven Press, Johannesburg.

Macdonald, C. and Burroughs, E. (1991) *Eager to Talk and Learn and Think in a Second Language: Bilingual Primary Education in South Africa* Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town

Macdonald, C. (1990) *Towards a new primary curriculum for South Africa: Final Report of the Threshold Project* HSRC, Pretoria

Mackay, S. L. (1993) *Agendas for Second Language Literacy* CUP, Cambridge

McNiell, D. (1970) *The acquisition of language: the study of developmental psycholinguistics* Harper and Row, New York

Mitakidou, Christodoula, (1997) *Learning English in a Greek preschool* in **Reading Teacher**, v. 51 (Oct. 1997) p. 166-8.

National Educational Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) (1992) *National Educational Policy Investigation: Early Childhood Educare* OUP, Cape Town

Painter, C. (1996) *The Development of Language as a Resource for Thinking* in **Hasan, R. and Williams, G. (eds) (1996) Literacy in Society** Longman, UK

PANSALB (1998) *PANSALB's position on the promotion of multilingualism in South Africa: a draft discussion document*. PANSALB, Pretoria

Penfield, W. and Roberts, L. (1959) *Speech and Brain Mechanisms* Atheneum Press, New York

Penn, H. (1997) *Inclusivity and diversity in early childhood services in South Africa* in **International Journal of Inclusive Education** (vol. 1, ed. 1) p101-114

PRAESA Home Page (accessed April 2003) <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/praesaa/about.htm> UCT, Cape Town

Prinsloo, M. and Bloch, C. (1999) *Child's Early Literacy Learning: the mismatch between policy intention and teacher know-how* in **Critical Perspectives in South African Education** Kenton Educational Associates, Cape Town

Reilly, P. E. and Hofmeyer, E. (1983) *Preprimary Education in the RSA* Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria

Rose, B. (ed.) (1970) *Education in Southern Africa* Macmillan, South Africa

Schumann, J. (1978) *The acculturation model for second language acquisition* in **Gingras, R. (ed) Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching**. Centre for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, VA, USA

Scollen, R. and Scollen, B. K. (1981) *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication* Norwood, UK

Short, A. (1985) *Seeking change: early childhood education for the disadvantaged in South Africa* High/Scope Press, Michigan, USA

Short, A. (1992) *The provision of training for early childhood education in South Africa: first report of an investigation into non-formal preschool training* South African Association for Early Childhood Educare, Pretoria

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000) *Linguistic Genocide in Education or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, New Jersey

Soars, L. and Soars, J. (1987) *Headway Student's Book* OUP, Oxford

Stake, R. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research* Sage, London

Swann, J. (1994) *Talk in Educational Settings* (p26-48) in **Graddol, D. (1994) Researching Language and Literacy in Social Context** OUP, Oxford

Tabors, P. O. (1998) *What early childhood educators need to know: developing effective programs for linguistically and culturally diverse children and families* in **Young Children**, v. 53 no. 6 (Nov. 1998) p. 20-6 (Adaptation of an address given at the sixth annual National Institute for Professional Development Conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children in Seattle, Washington, June 27, 1997)

Taylor, N. (1989) *Falling at the first hurdle: initial encounters with the formal system of African education in South Africa*. Education Policy Unit, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Thomson, J. B. and Held, D. (1982) *Habermas: Critical Debates* The Macmillan Press, UK

Tollefson, J. (1991) *Planning Language, Planning Inequality*. Longman, UK.

Walters, P. (1995) *Issues in English Teaching in Black Primary Schools*. in **de Klerk, V. (Ed)** (1995) **Focus on South Africa** John Bergamus, Amsterdam

Webb, V. (2002) *Language in South Africa: the role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam

Yin, R. K. (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (2nd ed.) SAGE Publications, USA

Appendix Contents

Appendix 1 Background Data GR schools	156
AP1.1 Data Collection Timing	
AP1.2 Disparity between GR sites	
AP1.3 Age of learners	
AP1.4 Prima background data	
AP1.5 Prima teacher background data	
AP1.6 Layout of Prima's classroom	
AP1.7 Secunda background data	
AP1.8 Secunda teacher background data	
AP1.9 Layout of Secunda's classroom	
AP1.10 The preschool classroom environments	
AP1.11 The school day	
AP1.12 Morning ring	
AP1.13 After morning ring	
Appendix 2 Background Data for G1 schools	169
AP2.1 Data Collection Timing	
AP2.2 Disparity between G1 sites	
AP2.3 Secunda One background data	
AP2.4 Secunda One teacher background data	
AP2.5 Rhini One background data	
AP2.6 Rhini One teacher background data	
AP2.7 Graham One background data	
AP2.8 Graham One teacher background data	
Appendix 3 Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards for Grade R and Grade 1	175
AP3.1 Learning Outcomes Grades 1 and Grade R	
AP3.2 Assessment Standards for Grade R	
AP3.3 Assessment Standards for Grade 1	
Appendix 4 Learner Assessment for Grade R	181
Appendix 5 Learner Assessment for Grade One	195
Appendix 6a Teacher Interview Scripts	211
AP6.1.1 Interview scripts for interviews with GR and G1 teachers	

- AP6.1.2 Transcript of interview with Xolelwa, Prima's GR teacher
- AP6.1.3 Transcript of interview with Anita, Secunda's GR teacher
- AP6.1.4 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Secunda
- AP6.1.5 Transcript of interview with Siphso, Secunda One's G1 teacher
- AP6.1.6 Transcript of interview with Priscilla, Rhini One's G1 teacher
- AP6.1.7 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Rhini One
- AP6.1.8 Transcript of interview with Janette, Graham One's G1 teacher
- AP6.1.9 Additional Information gleaned during classroom observation at Graham One

Appendix 6b Parent Interview Scripts 236

- AP6.2.1 Interview script for parent interviews
- AP6.2.2 Interview with Andile's father
- AP6.2.3 Interview with Nomathemba's family (Nkosazana and Unathi)
- AP6.2.4 Interview with Aiyabulela's mother (Mrs. Quntu)
- AP6.2.5 Interview with Sandiswa's family (Mr. and Mrs. Futha)

Appendix 7a Grade R Data Transcription 258

- 7.1 Prima Preschool Casual and Intensive Observation

Appendix 7b Grade R Data Transcription 287

- 7.2 Secunda Preschool Casual and Intensive Observation

Appendix 8a Grade 1 Data Transcription: Secunda One 318

- AP8.1.1 Aiyabulela at Secunda One
- AP8.1.2 Sandiswa at Secunda One
- AP8.1.3 Classroom Environment at Secunda One

Appendix 8b Grade 1 Data Transcription: Graham One 332

- AP8.2.1 Nomathemba at Graham One
- AP8.2.2 Classroom Environment at Graham One
- AP8.2.3 Attitude of the teacher at Graham One

Appendix 8c Grade 1 Data Transcription: Rhini One 343

- AP8.3.1 Andile's English
- AP8.3.2 Classroom Environment

Appendix 9 Report Sheets GR and G1 schools 357

- AP9.1 Blank report card from Prima
- AP9.2 Sandiswa's report cards (Grade 1)
- AP9.3 Aiyabulela's report cards (Grade 1)
- AP9.4 Andile's report cards (Grade 1)
- AP9.5 Noma's report cards (Grade 1)

AP9.6 Sample workbook tasks (Secunda)

Appendix 10 Research Contracts

366

AP10.1 Research Contracts for staff

AP10.2 Research Contracts for parents

AP10.3 Sample letter issued to parents regarding interviews

AP10.4 Sample letter issued to teachers regarding interviews

Appendix 1

Background Data for GR schools.

API.1 Data Collection Timing

I began to collect data at Prima in May of 2002 and finished approximately five weeks later. In this time, I was in school for the majority of the teaching day, which ran from 8.30 until 12.30. Due to my own teaching commitments, I could only collect data three days a week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. I started collecting data at Secunda in mid August 2002, and finished in late September 2002. This meant that in all I spent about fifteen days in each preschool.

Preschool Name	Dates	No. of weeks	No. of days	No. of hours observation.
Prima	22 nd May – 10 th June 2002	4	16	64
Secunda	12 th August – 18 th September 2002	5	15	60

API.2 Linguistic disparity between GR sites

School	No. of children	No. of isiXhosa FL speakers	No. of Afrikaans FL speakers	No. of English FL speakers	Cost of preschool per month
Prima	38	38	0	0	R60
Secunda	35	35	0	0	R80

Factor	Prima	Secunda
Teacher's name	Xolelwa	Anita
Teacher's first language	isiXhosa	Afrikaans
Teacher's level of qualification	HDE	HDE
Teacher's years of experience	2	15
LoLT (Main)	isiXhosa	English
LoLT (Secondary)	English	English
Classes in school	5	2
Day care facilities	Yes	No
Meals provided	Yes	No

At Secunda, the official language of teaching and learning was English, but occasionally, Anita would teach the children an Afrikaans rhyme or song. Anita told me that she only knew a few words in

isiXhosa that she had learnt from the children. Anita also used English with the two coloured children in the class, even though their home language was Afrikaans.

At Prima, the media of instruction varied between isiXhosa and English. The LoLT situation here was much more complex than at Secunda. In general, Xolelwa used more isiXhosa than English, but the contexts in which each language was used and when code switching occurred are an important aspect of this study. For more details, see Chapter 4.

AP1.3 Age of learners

Learner	Age at Grade R	Birthday
Andile	7	13/07/95
Nomathemba	6	24/09/96
Aiyabulela	6	10/04/96
Sandiswa	6	20/06/96

AP1.4 Prima Background Data

Prima is one of many preschools that form part of a wider community project run by a local NGO. Some of these preschools are designed to be centres for the community. While the children learn in them during the day, there are adult evening classes at night and additional workshops for adults going on in spare classrooms during the day. Prima has four classrooms, a kitchen, toilet, storeroom, office, adult workshop classroom, and grounds with play equipment such as swings and climbing frames. High fencing covered in razor wire surrounds the whole complex. All doors have security gates and the buildings are alarmed. The complex is situated on the main linking road between town and township. This road has a reputation amongst the locals for being dangerous in terms of personal safety and traffic. While I was collecting data, the school suffered an attempted break-in.

Prima serves the children from the immediate vicinity in this section of the township and from the main bulk of the township. The fees are R60 a month per child, with a discount for a second child from the same household as another. This means that most children at the preschool come from households with at least one regular source of employment/income. Fees are collected at the school, but financial administration is conducted by the NGO.

There are four classes for children at Prima, which admits children as young as three. The preschool is holistic in terms of its goals: there is a kitchen, a cook and a cleaner as well as four teachers who all attend to the children's needs. The children receive three meals during the day: breakfast, lunch and a snack in between. School starts at 8.00 with breakfast. During the day, the children have a break of forty-five minutes to an hour and a half and then come back until 12.20 when they have lunch. After lunch, the school day is finished. Some children go home after a nap and others stay on until their parents come to fetch them after work at about 17.00.

The oldest children in the school are six turning seven years old, and as such are in the 'preschool class', or Grade R. At Prima, the class contained thirty-eight children.

AP1.5 Prima teacher background data

The teacher, Xolelwa, was a black female isiXhosa-speaking teacher with a Diploma in Education. She was in her mid thirties and married to a secondary school teacher. She was born in Grahamstown and had lived there all her life.

She had begun training in 1996 with the NGO that runs Prima. Her teaching practice for this training took place at Prima. She then worked at another preschool run by the same NGO before returning to Prima in 1997. Her post was made permanent in 1998 (Xolelwa Interview: 04). She said she had always wanted to be a primary school teacher, but there had been no money at home to send her to teacher training college at the time. She had seen an advertisement in the local newspaper offering free training in preschool teaching and had gone on from there (XI: 06). She was still keen to eventually work in a primary school and did not see herself staying in preschool education beyond the next few years (XI: 014). This is not to say that she was not committed to her post: she told me that she wanted to make sure that her learners were 'really ready' for school (XI: 053).

My overall impressions of Xolelwa were that she was a committed teacher and involved in all aspects of her school's life. She was confident in her English, but she wanted to be able to do better by her learners and teach them more English. She specifically mentioned her desire for more training in this area. She also felt under-resourced in terms of her personal language abilities and in terms of material resources to teach English. I detected a hint of frustration that she was not doing as much as she could have been with herself and that she was ambitious.

AP1.6 Layout of Prima's classroom

Please see the following page.

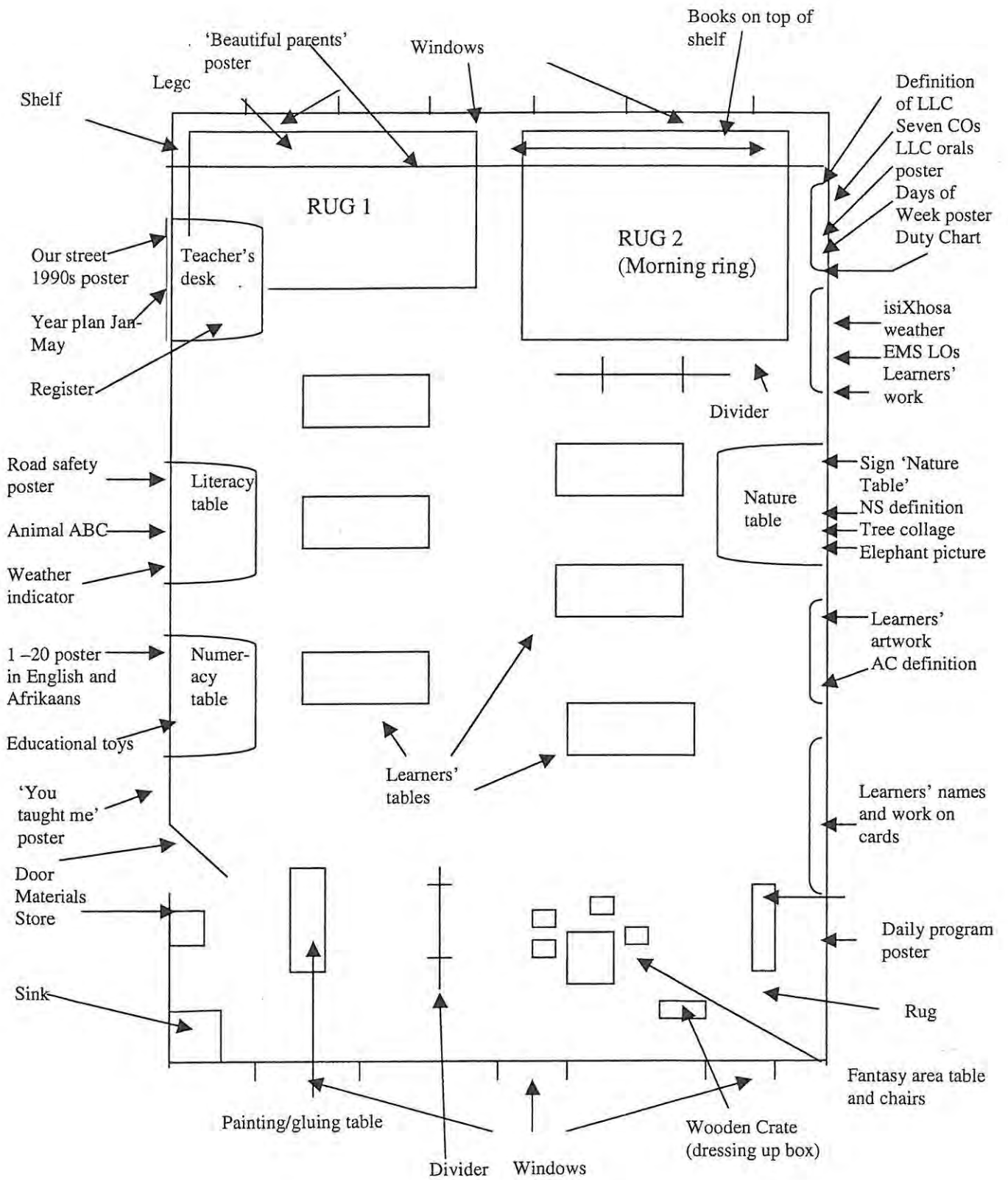


Figure AP1.6 Layout of Prima classroom

AP1.7 Secunda background data

Secunda is the preschool of Secunda One, a church primary school in Grahamstown. The preschool has two classrooms serving the penultimate year before G1 and the reception year. Children are no younger than four years old. Generally, children that come to this preschool are sent to G1 at Secunda One. In contrast to Prima, Secunda does not have a holistic philosophy of health and education. All the children were collected at 12.30 by taxis or their parents and the teachers were home at 2.30. No food was regularly made for the children on the premises, so the children brought their own snacks to school.

AP1.8 Secunda teacher background data

The teacher, Anita, who was originally from Cape Town, was coloured, in her mid forties and was married to an army officer. She had trained to HDE level in Cape Town in Grade 2.

She came across in the interviews as a highly motivated and imaginative teacher, which was reflected in her ability to create her own resources of outstanding quality. Her tasks and activities stretched the children, so much so that Sipho, the Secunda G1 teacher, on visiting the Secunda One classroom jokingly remarked that she would have nothing to teach the children the following year.

Anita's husband was unfortunately posted to Pretoria around the time I was collecting data for the study. She was the Secunda G1 teacher and she decided to move with him. Whilst I was in the staff room at break around the time I heard the headmaster of Secunda One say that he would do anything to try to get Anita to stay in Grahamstown.

Anita told me that she had always wanted to become a teacher and follow in her mother's footsteps (Anita Interview: 02/03). She was still ambitious, and wanted to work her way into the education department at some stage (AI:010).

She described herself as essentially bilingual in English and Afrikaans, because neither at her home, nor her training college had made a big distinction between the two (AI: 11/12). Although she could not speak isiXhosa, she said that she 'loved it', as well as Afrikaans (AI: 11/12). This, I understood that she did not feel threatened by languages she did not know, but rather that it was important to learn them if those she worked with spoke them.

AP1.9 Layout of Secunda classroom

Please see the following page.

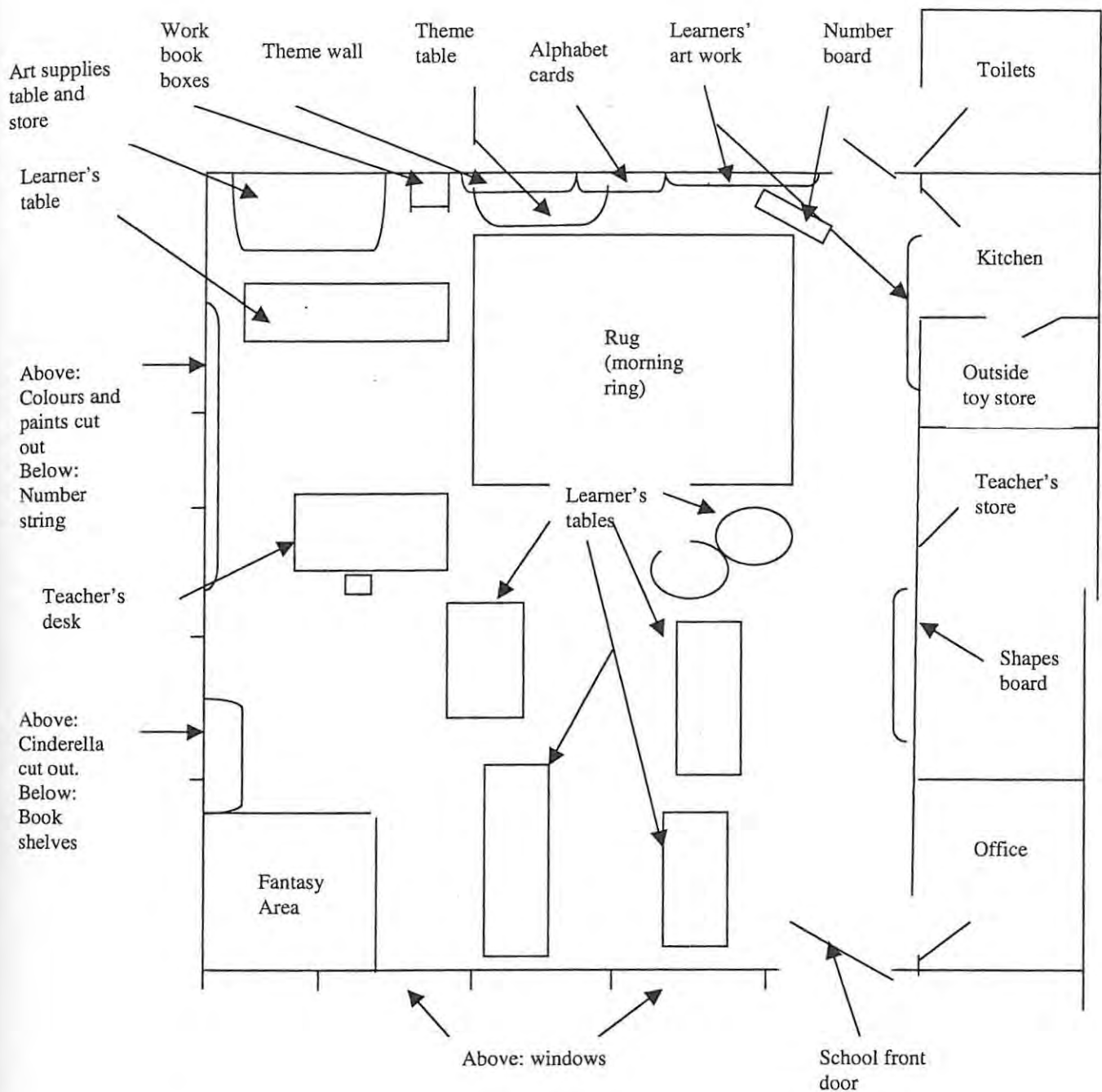


Figure AP1.9 Layout of Secunda classroom

AP1.10 The preschool classroom environments

The first time I entered Secunda, I was struck by the similarities with Prima. The classroom was about the same size, only square as opposed to rectangular. There were about six tables, around which there were chairs, between four and nine per table. There was also a large carpet that functioned as a teaching area in one section of the room. Along one wall, there was a table with the week's theme on it,

for example 'People Who Help Us', and an area of wall devoted to the theme. For this particular theme, there was a glove puppet of a fireman, pictures of nurses, mothers, the president, a priest, and teachers. Both schools had a play or fantasy area full of scaled-down furniture and household items made of wood. These included cookers, irons, pots and pans, and a dressing-up box. Secunda's fantasy area was marginally smaller than that of Prima. Both schools had a piece of wall space for indicating the weather and the days of the week. The differences between the classrooms were also immediately apparent.

None of the tables were alike at Secunda. Some were round, with plastic bins in the middle for crayons, others were large and broad with a chipboard surface, and others were improvised from old doors and the legs of other desks. This contrasted strongly with Prima, where all the tables were uniform solid wood, designed with the size of the learners in mind.

The use of wall space was also very different between the schools. At Prima, about fifty percent of the wall space was taken up with large notice boards displaying the learners' work. One board, about a metre square, was devoted to the weekly theme. There was a notice board with a large poster of the upper-case letter of the alphabet with an animal for each letter. It was called: 'Animal ABC', and was professionally printed. Above the level of the notice boards, the teacher had made her own posters. These were about A3 size, and contained quotes probably heard during training. One example was: 'Beautiful parents make a beautiful child.' There was also a bigger poster, about A2 size, with a poem on it called 'You taught me'. The teacher had copied this by hand from another source. The function of these posters was not clear. They were decorated with magazine clippings and borders, but with the exception of the poem, not placed at a level on the wall where learners could interact with them.

At Secunda, only about twenty percent of the wall space was taken up with the learner's work. In the time I was at the school, the work displayed did not change. (At Prima it changed three times in two months.) The theme occupied almost all of one wall, in front of the rug area. The theme wall had painted letters made of polystyrene foam stuck above it, saying: 'Our theme is'. One notice board had a foam cutout of Disney's Cinderella on it, also painted. Another was devoted to colours and featured a dwarf with a paintbrush and lots of tins of paint around him. He was also made from polystyrene. The last notice board was called 'Shapes', and had a collection of laminated cards showing common shapes with their names printed underneath them in English. Underneath one notice board, there was a number string, also made on laminated cards, with a digit and the same number of objects represented. (A number string is used to help children learn the significance and links between digits, words for digits and a number. It normally shows a digit or digits with the word for the digit or number next to it, and a collection of objects amounting to the number of that digit.)

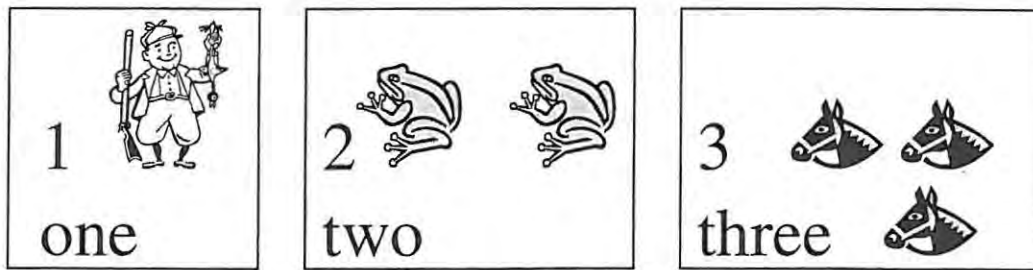


Figure AP1.10 An example of a number string

Next to the theme wall was a series of alphabet cards. Each card was divided into four, like this:

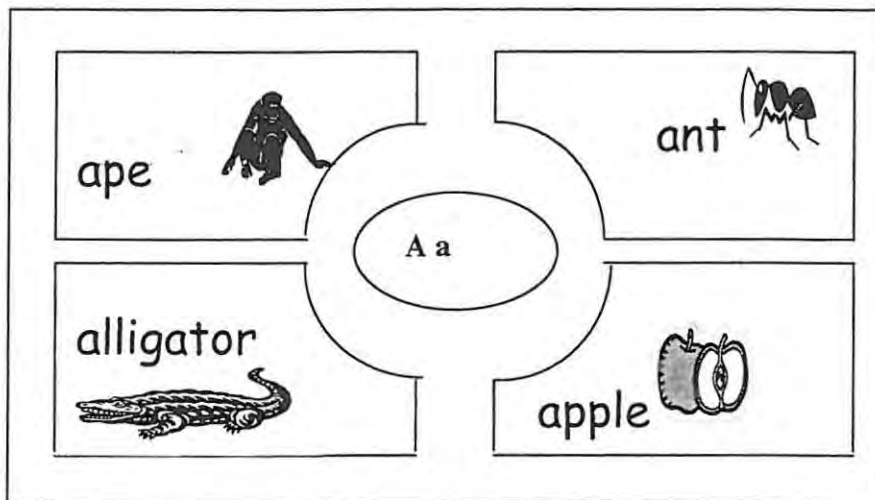


Figure AP1.11 An example of an alphabet card

Underneath these cards, there was a number board, which looked like this:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

Figure AP1.12 An example of a number board

Both these teaching aids were used every day at Secunda.

With the exception of some of the alphabet cards, the teacher had made all the displays on the walls at Secunda. She had bought the polystyrene and borrowed a polystyrene cutter to make them. She

had then painted them herself. The quality of all the teaching features was of a professional standard, good enough to be sold commercially. The teacher had also made foam characters for stories that she told to the class. A striking feature of all the human characters that the teacher had made, including ones for stories, like *The Gingerbread Boy*, was that they were all Caucasian in appearance.

AP1.11 The school day.

School started at Prima at 8.00. Learners came into the classroom, and sat down at their desks. The teacher would then serve them breakfast, which would invariably be porridge and milk. After breakfast, the learners would put their bowls away and go and sit on the rug for 'morning ring' (see below). At Secunda, the day started at 8.30. Learners lined up in four lines outside the Grade R classroom, went to their respective classrooms, and sat down on the rug.

AP1.12 Morning ring

Although both schools began the school day with this plenary session, there were noticeable differences between what occurred in them. At both schools, the teacher would ask the class what day of the week it was. At Prima, she would choose one learner to tell the class. She would then ask another learner to point to the correct day of the week on the wall chart (see diagram of Prima). Another learner would then be selected to tell the class about the weather that day. Again, the same learner would have to point to the weather indicator to say what the weather was like.

In Secunda, the procedure was similar, only the class answered in plenary, and no single learner was required to name the day or the weather. The teacher also put the name of the day and the weather up on a special board herself. Learners were not required to select the correct one for themselves. Both schools used large, clearly visible letters for the days of the week, but only Secunda did so for the weather.

The teacher at Secunda, Anita, used the morning ring for a variety of additional activities. The class would recite the Lord's Prayer in chorus. Then they would sing one or two hymns and maybe say a rhyme. After this, Anita would do some or all of the following:

1. Use the number board to count with the class from one to ten, one to one hundred, or in tens, twos, or fives.
2. Use the alphabet cards to sound letters, identify words/pictures starting with those sounds.
3. Elicit/drill elements on the theme wall.

Prima's teacher, Xolelwa, discussed the theme for the week. This was invariably elicited using the question: 'What are we learning about this week?' Learners would then be selected individually to stand

up and answer. Learners were allowed to speak in isiXhosa or English, but if they spoke in isiXhosa, the teacher always asked for a translation into English, but not vice versa. At Prima, the morning ring followed a strict routine, from which it hardly deviated. In fact, it became so routine that Xolelwa sometimes asked a favourite learner to lead the morning ring for her. This one learner knew the pattern of the morning ring so well that she was able to conduct the whole routine from memory in English.

AP1.13 After morning ring

At Prima, the class made two lines, boys and girls, after the ring. The teacher would then say which ones could go and sit down. The criteria changed every so often. Typical examples are: 'All those wearing black, go and sit down', 'All those with short hair, go and sit down'.

Before the class sat down, Xolelwa would lay out the tools for the task to follow on the table. The tasks were normally related in some way to the theme. A typical task would be to draw some part of the theme of that week, or to find pictures from magazines that related to the theme and cut them out.

Learners who finished the task while others were still busy were allowed to play on the rug until snack time (10.30). The school cleaner would come in with beakers of milk. The children stood behind their tables and said grace ('May God bless our snack in Jesus name Amen'). Once they had drunk the milk, the learners would have break time, when they would play inside or outside, depending on the weather. Break could last up to one and a half hours. When break ended, one teacher would start to clap a rhythm which all the other children would follow while they formed lines to go back into the class.

Once inside, Xolelwa would instruct the learners to do different tasks similar to the ones before break. These would last for about an hour to forty-five minutes, and then the learners would again say grace at around midday. They would stay seated at the same tables and the teacher and whoever else was available, such as researchers, would bring lunch to them! One learner would be instructed each time to hand out the spoons for the children to eat with. Two learners would then take the dirty plates back to the kitchen.

In theory, there was a duty system at work in the classroom. Each learner was allocated to a group, and a Duty Chart near the rug demonstrated this. At the beginning of the research period, some children knew which group they belonged to and knew which tasks were required of them. Later, the group system seemed to become less clear, with some learners not realising it was their turn to do a certain chore. Although the learners in Secunda all knew which group they were in, groups were not assigned responsibilities like they were in Prima. On the other hand, if a child spilt something on the floor, like crayons or food, they knew to fetch a mop or cloth and clear up the mess.

At Secunda, the class would then normally be assigned some sort of task after the morning ring, either from their workbooks, or on separate photocopied sheets. These books contained a series of

photocopied sheets, about sixty in all. The tasks were nearly all to do with numeracy and fine motor skills. Some tasks required learners to practice drawing lines a certain distance apart, or join the dots. For literacy, Anita used hand drawn or photocopied sheets. A typical numeracy task from the workbook and a typical pre-literacy task are shown below.

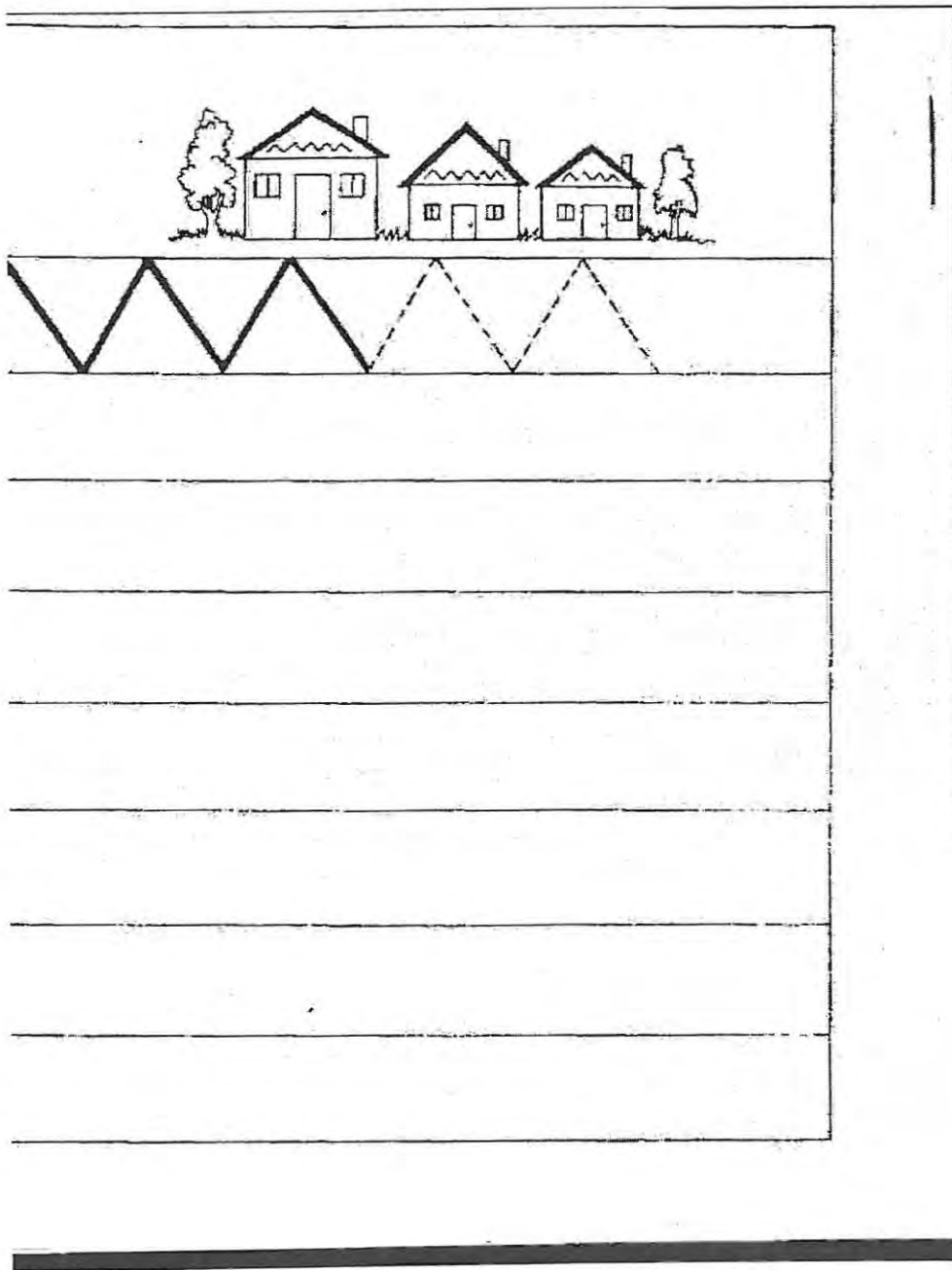


Figure AP1.14 a typical pre-literacy workbook exercise

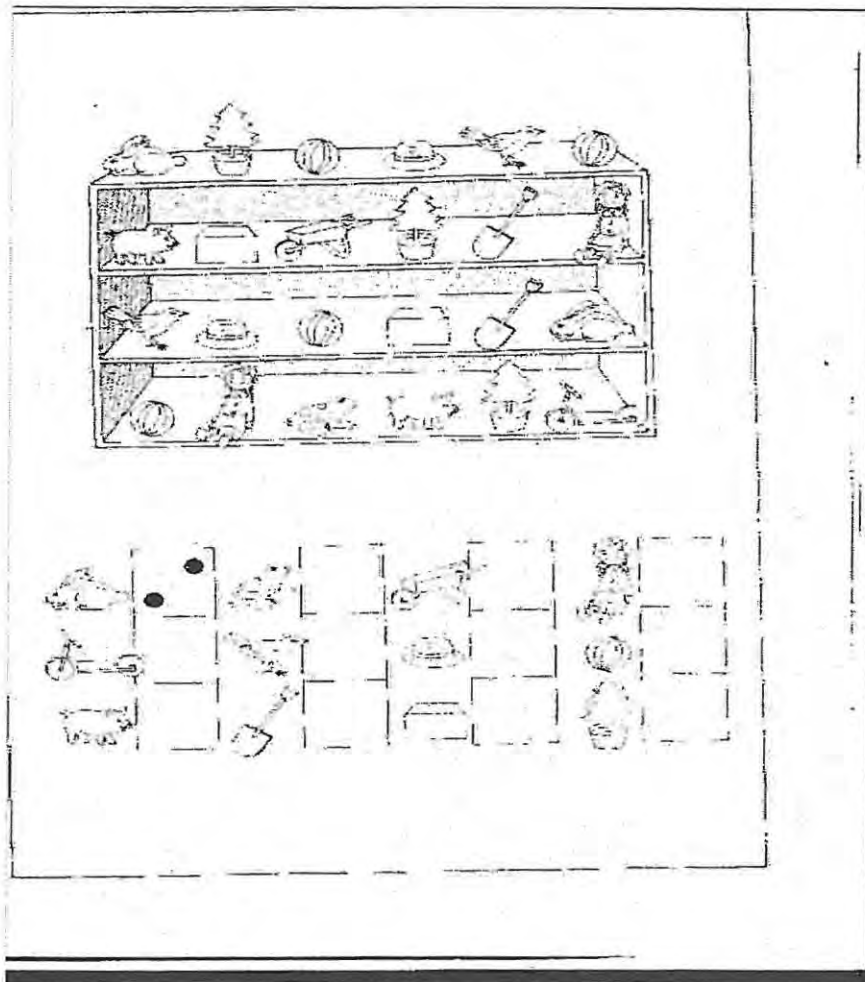


Figure AP1.13 a typical numeracy workbook exercise

In this task, learners had to count the number of each object shown in the boxes underneath. They then had to write the digit for that number below the picture in the box.

When a learner had finished a task, he or she would go and sit on the rug again. Learners would wait here until all the other learners had finished the required task, which would either be placed in a box lying on the rug, or would be put in the learners' bags for them to take home.

When all the learners had finished the required task, Anita would use the left over time between then and break (10.30) to continue with the activities from the morning ring. At this stage, she might also teach a new song. Learners would then line up to go and get their bags, which contained their lunch/snack. They then returned to the classroom to sit at their own tables to eat.

Learners would then go out for break, which lasted an hour. In this time, the teachers sat on chairs outside and drank coffee. The learners would play at the back of the school on the playground equipment there, where the teachers could not see them. At about 11.30, school would start again. Anita would call any learner who happened to be in the vicinity and say: 'Say "Come in children" '. This child would then bellow: 'Come in children!' until four lines were formed, one of boys and one of girls from each of the two classes. The children would then file into the classes and continue with the second half of the day.

The second half of the day would be similar to the first, with Anita assigning a task from the workbook or from a photocopied sheet. Sometimes, she would organise a dance to a song, or learners would be given the opportunity to perform to a piece of music for the other class. At 12.30, the transport for the children would start to arrive at the gate. The teachers would wait outside with the children to make sure that all of them had got away safely.

Tuesdays were what Anita called art days. Instead of working from the workbooks, the children would do purely 'art' activities: cutting and pasting, colouring, painting. Unfortunately, because of teaching commitments, I could not attend on Tuesdays.

Appendix 2

Background Data for G1 schools.

AP2.1 Data Collection Timing

All my classroom observation was carried out in the first term of the G1 year. I aimed to visit each school at least once a week. I began my classroom observation on the 20th of January and finished on the 14th of March 2003. This constituted nine weeks of observation. However, I was only able to be in any of the classrooms for a maximum of three hours a week because of other commitments. In all then, I recorded between twenty and twenty-seven hours of data at each school.

Primary school Name	Dates	No. of weeks	No. of hours of observation
Rhini One	20 th January – 14 th March 2003	7	20
Graham One	20 th January – 14 th March 2003	7	25
Secunda One	20 th January – 14 th March 2003	7	22

AP2.2 Disparity between G1 sites

School	Predominant colour of pupils	No. of children in the G1 class	No. of children who attended English pre-school	No. of isiXhosa first language speakers	No. of Afrikaans first language speakers	No. of English first language speakers	No. of children who attended isiXhosa/ Afrikaans preschool	No. of children who did not attend preschool	Staff paid by:	Funding	Cost to family (school fees)
Secunda One	Black	38	34	38	0	0	4	0	DET/School Governing Body	DET/fees/charitable organisations.	R80 pcm
Graham One	Coloured/black	36	1	19	17	0	35	4	DET	DET	R100 per year
Rhini One	Coloured	36	5-6	30	6	0	27-8	4	DET	DET	R100 per year

Table AP2.2: Preschool and language backgrounds of learners in the G1 classrooms.

The table above shows the clear disparity between the backgrounds the children came from and the classrooms the children went into in Grade 1.

AP2.3 Secunda One background data

Secunda One is a church school established with help from a religious mission. It continues to receive some funding from the original source. In terms of resources, Secunda One is a relatively wealthy school. Through the fundraising activities of the principal and staff, the school has a computer centre, technology room, a risograph, two PCs and a photocopier in the staff room, and a school bus. The school can afford to employ two cleaners, a receptionist and a groundsman. It has a teaching staff of nine.

The local education authority pays the majority of the teachers, although some are still in the pay of the school's governing body. The rest of the school's finances come from fees paid by parents, religious institutions linked to the school and private donations. The school has its own preschool and teaches up to Grade 9. There are approximately thirty-five to forty-five learners per grade, making the school total around 360, excluding the preschool.

Secunda One attracts a predominantly black middle class clientele. The fees are considered to be expensive for the local community at R80 a month. (Other primary schools in the area, which are almost entirely government funded, charge R100 for the whole year.)

AP2.4 Secunda One teacher background data

Siphosethu (Sipho) had qualified as a Foundation Phase teacher at a teacher training college in East London that has subsequently closed. She recently graduated with a BEd from Rhodes University and is currently training towards a certificate in Environmental Education. She went into teaching because there was little choice at the time, but said that she was now committed to the job, and found it rewarding (Sipho Interview: 2.00 and 2.45). However, when asked where she saw herself in five years time, she said that she wanted to leave classroom teaching and move into civil service, specialising in Environmental Affairs (SI:3.30). Her current post was her first one in education and she had held it for ten years. She had moved from East London to take this post. She was not married and had an eight-year-old child who attended a local Model C school. Interestingly, she said she was now regretting the decision to send her child to this new school so early, and thought she should have waited until Grade 8 or 9 (SI: 7.42). When I asked her why, she said that her child was struggling, because everything was in English, and that the school did not take account of the fact that she was a second language speaker (Ibid).

Sipho was a staunch advocate of the theory that children are best taught through the mother tongue in the first years of school (SI: 5.55). She also believed that the mother tongue should be supported all the way through school, and that English should be taught as a second language (SI: 6.28). She thought one

of the main problems with the school was that isiXhosa was not adequately supported, either in term of books in the library or by the teachers who taught the intermediate phase (Grades 7-9) (SI: 18.05).

AP2.5 Rhini One background data

Rhini One is a large primary school catering principally for the coloured and black sections of the Grahamstown community. It caters for children up to Grade 7, with three classes at each grade. Two of these are Afrikaans medium and the remaining one is English medium. Class sizes have been limited to a maximum of thirty-six per class. All the teachers are on the government payroll, but the school charges R100 a month per learner to cover extras like phone bills and photocopiers (Priscilla told me that some learners' families could not even afford this fee, despite the fact it was acknowledged to be the least expensive primary school in town).

Priscilla told me that out of a class of thirty-six, thirty children were isiXhosa first-language speakers, with six being Afrikaans first language speakers (PI:12.59-13.40). Some of the parents of the children spoke English to their children at home, but according to Priscilla, this seemed to be confined to the Afrikaans first language speakers (Ibid). She said that about seventy-five per cent of the class had been to preschool and she thought that five or maybe all six of the coloured children in the class had been to an English-medium preschool.

None of the children in the class had been kept down from the previous year. This was because the Department considered that there was a lack of evidence of intervention. Priscilla thought that there were approximately four children whom she might consider keeping down from the Grade 1 class in the current year.

AP2.6 Rhini One teacher background data

Priscilla has been teaching since 1970. She has been at her current school since 1984, and had worked in Cape Town, East London and other towns in the country. She had gone into teaching mainly because of the limited employment opportunities for South African women of her generation (PI: 14.49). She was due for retirement within the next five years. When she started teaching, she worked in rural schools, where she taught Grades 1-3, but since then had taught only Grade 1. At many times during the interview, Priscilla made the point that teaching is only successful, or a school is only good, if the teacher is committed (PI: 17.50).

She said she preferred teaching in English, because she liked teaching the children English from scratch, but mainly it seemed because she preferred teaching black children rather than coloured children. She felt that black parents were generally more interested in their child's education than coloured ones (PI: 18.10-19.20).

AP2.7 Graham One background data

Graham One is a church school, linked to Secunda One as a sister school. Graham One serves a similar sector of the population to Rhini One. Here the G1 children are also split between Afrikaans and English medium, one class and two classes respectively. The school caters for children up to Grade 7. The children pay R100 a year in fees to attend this school, which is the same as for Rhini One. The English-medium class that I observed had thirty-six children. Janette told me that the number was capped, and that the school now had a policy of allowing no more than this number into any class in the school. There were twenty boys and sixteen girls. According to Janette, most of the children were isiXhosa first-language speakers, (19), and the rest were Afrikaans speaking (17) (Janette Interview: 2.59). She said that one child was probably speaking only English at home, and that some of the Afrikaans first language speakers were also exposed to English at home. Janette called these latter children 'bilingual', but then said she felt there was likely to be more Afrikaans than English in these homes (JI: 3.17).

None of the children in the class were repeating in the current year, but Janette thought that there were four boys who were struggling with the work and would need to repeat (JI: 4.57.) These children had not attended preschool, unlike most of the class. Only one child had attended an English-medium preschool (JI: 5.14).

AP2.8 Graham One teacher background data

This was Janette's second job in teaching. She had previously worked at Graham One as a Grade 2 teacher, but had been redeployed to a rural school for a year. Her current post had then become vacant and she had got the job. She finished training in 1996, a four-year diploma after matric. Janette had ended up in teaching as a second choice because her father was afraid for her safety if she followed her first choice to be a traffic officer (JI: 7.47). Her inspiration had come from her grandmother, who had also been a teacher (JI: 8.35). Janette was not passionate about her work: she said that she would not recommend it to others as a profession (JI: 9.04). She did however want to advance her career in education, and mentioned that she was thinking of doing a BEd in the following year (JI: 12.09). I was not totally sure, but subsequent comments seemed to hint at the fact that the main motivation was to earn more money (JI: 12.20).

Janette said she enjoyed the school because she found the staff and children supportive and friendly (JI: 10.42). She said that she wanted to have children in the next four to five years, and that she would not send them to Graham One. She wanted to send them to '...an English school, a good... like a private school or something like that...' (JI: 11.49). This I took as an indication that Janette was middle class coloured and that she saw Graham One as not being a middle class school.

Janette said that she preferred teaching in her home language of Afrikaans, and would do so if she had the choice (JI: 12.55). She said this was because she felt '...more comfortable, I can express myself more freely in Afrikaans...' (JI: 13.34). She felt that one aspect of the job that made it difficult was what she called 'the language problem' with some children in the class (JI: 13.45).

Appendix 3

Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards for Grade R and Grade 1

The information in this appendix comes in its entirety from The Draft National Curriculum Statement published in 2001 by the Department of Education, Pretoria.

AP3.1 Learning Outcomes for Grade 1 and Grade R

LO1

The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment and respond appropriately and critically in a wide range of situations.

LO2

The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.

LO3

The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural, and emotional value in texts.

LO4

The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.

LO5

The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.

LO6

The learner knows and is able to use the sounds vocabulary and grammar of the additional language.

AP3.2 Assessment Standards for Grade R

LO1

We know this when the learner:

1. understands short, simple, dramatised stories:
 - a. joins in choruses at appropriate points (e.g. 'he huffs and he puffs and he *blows the house down*').
 - b. draws a picture of a story.
 - c. connects the story to his/her own life, with discussion in the home language
2. understands simple oral instructions (e.g. Stand up/Come here, please)
3. shows respects for classmates by giving them a chance to speak and by listening and encouraging their attempts to speak their additional language.

LO2

We know this when the learner:

1. uses and responds appropriately to simple greetings and farewells and thanks people
2. memorises and performs songs and action rhymes with the right rhythm and pronunciation including ones that develop phonemic awareness (e.g. we're going to the zoo, zoo, zoo. You can come too, too, too)
3. challenges bias by resisting name-calling of any kind (e.g. cruel, racist or xenophobic names).

LO3

We know this when the learner:

1. understands print in the environment (e.g. STOP)
2. recognises some print in the media (e.g. OMO)
3. names the sound his/her own begins with
4. reads picture books with very simple captions.

LO4

We know this when the learner:

1. draws pictures
2. understands that writing and drawing are different
3. understands the purpose of writing (that it carries meaning)
4. copies simple words he/she already knows orally
5. makes attempts at writing him/herself.

LO5

We know this when the learner:

1. understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to:
 - a. identity (e.g. My name is)
 - b. number (e.g. one, two)
 - c. size (e.g. big small)
 - d. colour (e.g. red, yellow)
2. identifies similarities (e.g. put the big ones together).

LO6

We know this when the learner:

1. shows some understanding of question forms in texts (e.g. What, who, how many/much/old, which, can)
2. shows some understanding of the simple present and present progressive tenses in texts (e.g. She likes school, He is reading)
3. shows some understanding of imperatives in texts (e.g. come here, don't sit down)
4. shows some understanding of modal verbs in texts (e.g. I *can* run skip jump)
5. shows some understanding of negative forms in texts (e.g. I *don't* like meat)
6. shows some understanding of plural nouns (e.g. book/books), including some irregular forms (e.g. teeth) in texts.
7. shows some understanding of personal pronouns in texts (e.g. I, he, she, you, we they)
8. shows some understanding of prepositions in texts (e.g. in, at, on, to)
9. shows some understanding of adjectives (e.g. big small) and adverbs (e.g. slowly, quickly) in texts
10. understands between 200 and 500 common words in context.

AP3.3 Assessment Standards for Grade 1

LO1

We know this when the learner:

1. understands short simple stories
 - a. mimes the story
 - b. joins in choruses at appropriate points (e.g. he Huffs and he puffs and he *blows the house down*)
 - c. draws a picture from a story
 - d. puts pictures in the right sequence
2. answers simple yes/no and open questions with one word answers
3. answers more complex questions in his/her home language
4. shows awareness of stereotyping (e.g. men and women in conventional roles)
5. understands simple descriptions (e.g. by listening to a description of an object or person and matching it with a picture)
6. understands simple oral instructions by responding physically (e.g. put up your hand, draw a circle)
7. shows respect for classmates by giving them a chance to speak, and by listening and encouraging their attempts to speak their additional language.

LO2

We know this when the learner:

1. responds appropriately to simple questions with single words or formulaic phrases (e.g. I'm fine, my name is)
2. uses and responds appropriately to simple greetings and farewells and makes simple requests and thanks people
3. expresses him/herself in simple ways if given the oral structure (e.g. I like...I don't like)
4. memorises and performs songs and action rhymes with the right rhythm and pronunciation.
5. pronounces familiar words clearly.

LO3

We know this when the learner:

1. uses pictures to understand written texts

- a. makes sense of a picture story (e.g. by identifying a picture that is out of sequence)
 - b. shows awareness of stereotyping
 - c. matches pictures and words (e.g. use written words to label objects and pictures)
 - d. use illustrations to understand simple captions in story books
2. recognises and understands print in the environment and the media
 3. matches words and objects by sticking labels on objects, starting with those that are similar in the home language (e.g. ruler/irula, board/ibhodi)
 4. follows printed instructions on one-word flash cards (e.g. stand, jump, smile)
 5. reads lots of picture books with simple one or two word captions.

LO4

We know this when the learner:

1. copies familiar words and short sentences (e.g. labels and titles for their drawings)
2. uses simple familiar words to complete sentence frames (e.g. My name is, I like, I don't like)
3. writes lists with titles (e.g. My friends).

LO5

We know this when the learner:

1. understands concepts and vocabulary relating to:
 - a. identity (e.g. My name is)
 - b. number (e.g. one, two)
 - c. shape (e.g. circle, square)
 - d. size (e.g. big small)
 - e. time (e.g. now)
 - f. age (e.g. I am six)
 - g. direction (e.g. left right)
 - h. sequence (e.g. first second)
 - i. ability (e.g. I can)
2. uses language for thinking
3. identifies similarities and differences (e.g. put the circles together; find the one that is different)
4. identifies parts from the whole (e.g. parts of face, a body)
5. classifies things (e.g. put plastic things in one pile and wooden things in another)
6. sequences things (e.g. from biggest to smallest)

Appendix 4

Learner Assessment for Grade R

This appendix provides a record of the English language achievements of the four learners in Grade R. There is one grid for each learner and there are ten columns on each grid. The first two columns state which Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards are being referred to. (For a detailed description of the LOs and ASs for each grade, see Appendix 3.) The third and fourth columns show how I interpreted the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards in terms of what kind of activity would provide evidence that the learner was competent in that area. The remaining columns detail exactly when the evidence was observed, what occurred, who the learner was interacting with at the time, the context of the evidence (such as the task the class were engaged in), and the order of events leading up to the observation. If there was no observable evidence that could be related directly to a particular AS, it was sometimes the case that competence in that area could be inferred from other pieces of data. Where this was the case, I have indicated this in the last column entitled 'Notes'. Some Assessment Standards could not be inferred or demonstrated for a particular learner, mostly because there was no activity in the data collection period that fitted the Assessment Standard. In these cases, I have filled the relevant boxes with grey hatching.

7. identifies things from simple descriptions (e.g. I am an animal. I have four legs. I have a long neck. I have two small horns. Who am I?)
8. understands and uses some mathematical language (e.g. add, take away from)
9. records information on simple charts (e.g. by putting ticks or crosses).

LO6

We know this when the learner:

1. understands question forms in texts (e.g. What, who, how many/much/old, which, can)
2. understands simple sentences (e.g. I want to go home)
3. understands the simple present and present progressive tenses in texts (e.g. She likes school, he is reading)
4. understands imperatives in texts (e.g. come here, don't sit down)
5. understands modal verbs in texts (e.g. I *can* run skip jump)
6. understands negative forms in texts (e.g. I *don't* like meat)
7. understands plural nouns (e.g. book/books), including some irregular forms (e.g. teeth) in texts.
8. understands personal pronouns in texts (e.g. I, he, she, you, we they)
9. understands some preposition in texts (e.g. in, at, on, to)
10. understands adjectives (e.g. big small) and adverbs (e.g. slowly, quickly) in texts
11. understands between 500 and 1000 common words in context by the end of G1.

Appendix 4

Learner Assessment for Grade R

This appendix provides a record of the English language achievements of the four learners in Grade R. There is one grid for each learner and there are ten columns on each grid. The first two columns state which Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards are being referred to. (For a detailed description of the LOs and ASs for each grade, see Appendix 3.) The third and fourth columns show how I interpreted the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards in terms of what kind of activity would provide evidence that the learner was competent in that area. The remaining columns detail exactly when the evidence was observed, what occurred, who the learner was interacting with at the time, the context of the evidence (such as the task the class were engaged in), and the order of events leading up to the observation. If there was no observable evidence that could be related directly to a particular AS, it was sometimes the case that competence in that area could be inferred from other pieces of data. Where this was the case, I have indicated this in the last column entitled 'Notes'. Some Assessment Standards could not be inferred or demonstrated for a particular learner, mostly because there was no activity in the data collection period that fitted the Assessment Standard. In these cases, I have filled the relevant boxes with grey hatching.

NOMATHEMBA		(PRIMA)						
Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Evidence	Interaction	Achieved?	Context of activity	Action	Notes
LISTENING 1 The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically to a wide range of situations.	Joins in choruses of L2 stories							Xolelwa did not get the learners to join in with choruses to stories.
	Draws pictures from the story				No			Noma did not draw or paint to task, rather she drew or painted what she wanted to.
	Comments on story in home language	31/05/02 9.35	Said: (X) flame and matches	Xolelwa-Noma, Noma- Xolelwa	Yes	Learners sitting in circle on rug	Xolelwa asked the learners in isiXhosa what things they could remember to do with fire. Noma put her hand up second and said 'flame and matches' in isiXhosa.	The class had recently read a book on fire, and it was the week's theme also.
	Understands simple oral instructions in L2: 'Sit down', 'Stand up' and 'Come here, please'	5/06/02 9.29	Sat down when Xolelwa asked the class to.	Xolelwa - learners	Yes	Learners all standing in a circle after morning ring	Xolelwa: (E) OK, sit down Noma is one of the first to do this.	Noma was not copying the other learners, and was listening to Xolelwa's command
		7/06/02 10.15	Shook body at right time in song	Xolelwa- Class	Yes	Learners all singing: 'If you're happy and you know it.' Xolelwa is showing them the actions.	Xolelwa: If you're happy and you know it, shake your body Noma sings the line and then shakes her whole body. She does this without copying Xolelwa or other learners.	
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages	27/05/02 9.30	Clapped after Melinda's attempt to tell a story from the weekend.		Yes	Many other learners did not clap after Melinda's attempt.		
SPEAKING 2 The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.	Uses and responds to greetings and farewells, thanks people	27/05/02 9.00	Repeated 'Good morning' after me.	PR to learners+Noma, Noma-PR	Partially	The learners were milling about before morning ring.	Noma: [talking to friends in Xhosa] (She looks at PR) PR: Good morning, Nomathemba. Noma: Good morning. [looks at me and smiles, then turns away]	
	Can perform action rhymes and songs with the right rhythm and pronunciation	27/05/02 9.24	Kept up with isiXhosa version of 'House is Burning.'	Xolelwa-learners, learners-Xolelwa	Partially	All the learners were sitting in a ring listening to Xolelwa.	She tells the learners the name of rhyme, and the learners and Xolelwa sing and do the action together.	Noma kept up with the isiXhosa version of 'House is Burning', actions and words, but couldn't do the same for the English version.
	Doesn't call other learners names	29/05/02 10.10	Defended a learner from another teacher's class when learner's picture is laughed at by Noma's peers	Noma- other learners	Yes	Noma is drawing a picture at her table where a younger learner is also sitting. Noma's picture clearly has a subject, whereas the other's picture is more of a scribble.	Two of Noma's peers come over and start to make unkind comments in isiXhosa about the younger learner's picture. She carries on drawing, staring intently at her page. She seems upset. Noma looks directly at peers and replies to their comments by saying in isiXhosa 'Don't be so nasty!' The other learners look at each other and then leave the table. Noma and the younger learner carry on drawing.	

READING 3 The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Understands print in the environment	25/05/02, 9.35	Said: 'A B C [] G'	Xolelwa-Noma, Noma- Xolelwa	Yes	Other learners were standing looking at the Animal ABC chart.	Xolelwa selected certain learners to come up to the poster. She then pointed at individual letters and asked the learners to give the letters' names.	See also 27/11/02 10.45 (Noma identifies Wednesday on the Days of the week Poster)
	Recognises some print in the media	27/05/02 10.35	Said: 'A is for alligator'.	Xolelwa-Noma	Yes	Xolelwa was asking individual learners to give the names of letters and animals.	Xolelwa pointed at the letter 'A' and looked at Noma. Noma said 'A is for alligator'.	Although there was a picture of the alligator for Noma to use, she was still able to remember the sound of the word, and knew that the letter 'A' had a name.
	Can name the sound their own name begins with	22/03/02 9 20	Wrote the first letter of her name.	Noma	Yes	Other learners were trying to write their names and copy the alphabet.	Noma tried writing her name. She managed the first two letters, but the rest was unclear.	Noma could not actually name the sound orally, but she did know which letter was the first of her name.
		27/11/02 10.40	Pointed at the letter 'A'.	Noma	Yes	Xolelwa and a group of five learners were sitting with the Animal ABC poster	After a few other learners had pointed to the first letter of their names, Noma pointed to hers without hesitation.	
	Reads picture books with very simple captions				No			I did not observe Noma reading any books in the time I was at Prima.
WRITING 4 The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes	Draws pictures	27/05/02 10.25	Painted a picture of a landscape in various colours.	Noma	Yes	Other learners painting pictures.	Noma had already finished doing her drawing to task, and was now relaxing by painting a landscape. PR: What's this? Noma: Flower.	
	Shows understanding that writing and drawing are different	10/06/02 10.12	Identified writing and a picture on the same piece of paper.	PR- Noma, Noma - PR	Yes	Other learners drawing pictures of trees.	Noma has finished writing her name three times on the same piece of paper. She is now drawing a cow. PR: (X) What's this? Noma: (X) A cow. PR: (X) OK. What's this? Noma: Nomathemba. Noma is able to identify her own name as distinct from a picture.	See Appendix 7a for more details
	Copies simple words that learner already knows orally				Unsure			I did not observe Noma copying any words in the time I was at Prima.
	Attempts to write own name (not copy)	10/06/02 10.12	Wrote own name three times in chalk.	Noma	Yes	Other learners drawing pictures of trees.	Instead of drawing trees as she has been tasked to do, Noma practiced writing her name. She wrote it three times. The letters are not all of one case, but are clearly legible.	

LEARNING AND THINKING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity	27/05/02 10.40	Responded to: 'What's your name?' with 'My name is Nomathemba'.	PR-Noma	Yes	Other learners were identifying themselves to PR to establish they were part of a certain group.	PR asks: 'All the triangles come here'. PR repeats this twice, and points at the duty chart. Some learners start to come forward. Then Xolelwa repeats the instructions in isiXhosa and many come up. Some are not triangles Xolelwa asks all the learners: 'What's your name?' Some learners reply: 'My name is. '	
	numbers and counting size (big small long short)	29/05/02 11.35	Noma correctly points to the big fish when asked, although she does get some help from other learners.	PR - Noma	Partially	Learners are playing with educational toys. Noma has a board with wooden fish cut out of it. Other learners are engaged with different toys.		There were no counting activities at Prima. See Appendix 7a for details
	colours	29/05/02 10.02	Noma correctly identifies colour in her own painting.	PR - Noma	Yes	Other learners on the painting table painting, inc. Kuhle.	PR: Good! What's this? Noma: Flower! (looking at me) PR: What colour is this? Noma: (pointing) Yellow, green, blue, brown.	
	Identify similarities. (put the big/green/small ones together)							Evidence inconclusive.
GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6. The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language.	Shows some understanding of: question forms in texts	25/05/02 8.00	Said: 'What is the dog?'	Noma- PR	Yes	Another learner has brought me an Obelix book. She is asking me questions about it. Noma is also present	Noma listens to the other learners questions, and then asks one of her own.	I think Noma wanted to say: 'What is the dog's name?', but her meaning was clear. She was referring to Dogmatix in the book. See also 25/05/02 8.30 ('Elephant!').
	simple present and progressive tenses							No evidence available
	imperatives	27/11/02 10.30	Carried out correct actions on command.	Noma-Noma + learners	Yes	A small group of learners were playing a game similar to 'Simon Says' with Xolelwa.	Xolelwa gave nine simple instructions to the group which they had to follow. Noma was able to do most of them from Xolelwa's voice command alone.	5/06/02 10.35 Noma was not able to recognise the command 'Stand on one leg'
	modal verbs							No evidence available
	negative forms							No evidence available
	plurals of nouns							No evidence available
	personal pronouns	5/06/02 10.45	Said: 'Your mother'	Noma-PR	Yes	A group of learners surround me after a painting activity and ask me questions.	Noma waits until another learner has asked me some questions in Xhosa. Then she asks me: Your mother. PR: Your mother? Noma: (nods) PR: My mother's name? Noma: (nods) PR: Anita.	
	prepositions							No evidence available
	adjectives							No evidence available
	200-500 common words in context				Yes			Noma knew the words for many different types of animals like iguana, cow, donkey, alligator and dinosaur. She said most of these when talking about the animal ABC poster. This suggest she may have known about 200-300 words in English.

ANDILE	(PRIMA)							
Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Evidence	Interaction	Achieved?	Context of activity	Action	Notes
LISTENING 1. The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically to a wide range of situations.	Joins in choruses of L2 stories							Xolelwa did not get the learners to join in with choruses to stories.
	Draws pictures from the story	31/05/02 9.55	Tried to draw a picture of a fireman.	Andile-learners, learners- Andile	Yes	The class were drawing pictures of firemen.	For a detailed explanation of these events, see Appendix 7a	Andile seemed very unconfident about his ability to draw pictures. He gave the task to another learner to do for him
	Comments on story in home language	29/05/02 11.45	Said, in isiXhosa, 'People were drowning in porridge.'	Andile - Xolelwa	Yes	Learners sitting in a ring around Xolelwa and PR, telling things they could remember from the story.	Xolelwa read the story of the Magic Porridge Pot in English with a paraphrased translation in isiXhosa. After the story, I asked the learners in isiXhosa to remember things from the story. Andile voluntarily put up hand to say something. His observation was correct.	31/05/02 9.35 Andile repeated what another learner had said concerning the subject of a story ('Matches' in X) Again at 5/06/02 9.40, Andile commented in X on what he had heard. ('Pipes') Also 27/05/02 9.35
	Understands simple oral instructions in L2: 'Sit down', 'Stand up' and 'Come here, please'	5/06/02 9.29	Sat down when Xolelwa asked the class to.	Xolelwa-learners	Yes	Learners all standing in a circle after morning ring.	Xolelwa: (E) Ok Sit down. The class sat down	Andile was one of the first to do this. He did not copy the other learners.
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages				Inferred			Andile seemed to let other learners speak in L2, but he doesn't always give an indication that he listening to them.
SPEAKING 2. The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.	Uses and responds to greetings and farewells, thanks people.	3/06/02 9.10	Said 'Thanks' when food was given to him.	PR- Andile	Yes	Learners being served breakfast. Andile is at a table of four boys.	PR is carrying a tray of porridges. PR places one in front of another learner, who says nothing, and then places one in front of Andile who says 'Thanks'	(See 27/05/02 9.25 and 29/05/02 9.20.) Andile did not respond to the plenary greetings: 'Good morning learners' and 'How are you today?'
		3/06/02 9.20	Said: I'm fine thank you very much teacher'.	PR-Andile, Andile-PR	Yes	A group of about six learners are standing around PR, looking at PR.	PR turns to Andile, and says: 'Good morning!' Andile stays silent. PR: How are you today? Andile: (smiles shyly) I'm fine thank you very much teacher	Very unclear and spoken very softly, but Andile did give the greeting at the right time.
	Can perform action rhymes and songs with the right rhythm and pronunciation	27/05/02 9.26	Sang 'Father Abraham'. The words were fine for the English version, but actions were a bit hazy.	Learners-learners, learners-Xolelwa	Yes	All the learners were sitting in a ring listening to Xolelwa.	She tells the learners the name of rhyme, and the learners and Xolelwa sing and do the action together.	31/05/02 9.14 A group of learners were sitting in a circle in break time singing Mary Mary to each other, even though they didn't know the words. Andile joined in, perhaps because the teacher was not present.
		27/05/02 9.24	Kept up with isiXhosa version of 'House is Burning.'	Xolelwa-learners, learners-Xolelwa	Partially	All the learners were sitting in a ring listening to Xolelwa.	She tells the learners the name of rhyme, and the learners and Xolelwa sing and do the action together.	Andile kept up with the Xhosa version of 'House if Burning', actions and words, but couldn't do the same for the English version
	Doesn't call other learners names				Yes			Andile did not call other learners names in the time I was in the classroom.

READING 3 The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Understands print in the environment	27/11/02 10.45	Said a day of the week when shown the relevant poster	Xolelwa-Andile, Andile-Xolelwa	Partially	Xolelwa and Andile were sitting in front of the Days of the Week poster	Xolelwa pointed to the word 'Monday' and asked Andile to read it. He said 'Wednesday'	Although Andile was not able to name the right day of the week, he was able to realise that the poster referred to days of the week
	Recognises some print in the media							Evidence inconclusive
	Can name the sound their own name begins with	27/11/02 10.40	Pointed at the letter A	Andile	Yes	Xolelwa and a group of five learners were sitting with the Animal ABC poster	After a few other learners had pointed to the first letter of their names, Andile pointed to his without hesitation.	
	Reads picture books with very simple captions	5/06/02 9.15	Looked at the pictures in a book, discussed in isiXhosa with peers.	Andile-learners, learners- Andile	Partially	A group of about three boys plus Andile were looking through a text.	The boys were looking through a book one of them had found on the shelf. They turned the pages, pointed at the pictures, and talked about them to each other in X.	The boys were not reading the words of the book, but they were interacting with the text as a group.
WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes	Draws pictures	27/05/02 10.02	Drew a picture of a fire truck,	Andile	Yes	Other learners making attempts at drawing things to do with fire. Most of the others have drawn fire trucks too.	Xolelwa told the learners to draw something to do with fire. PR approached Andile as he was drawing the truck. PR: Good, Andile. What is it? Andile: Fire!	Although this picture was very similar to other learner's drawings on the table, aspects of it were original.
	Shows understanding that writing and drawing are different							There was little evidence that Andile knew that writing and drawing were separate activities, as so little writing was done at Prima.
	Copies simple words that learner already knows orally				No			22/03/02, 9.30 Andile attempted to copy the letters of the alphabet from the Animal ABC poster. He managed to write three recognisable letters. However, this was a rare activity at Prima.
	Attempts to write own name (not copy)	10.02 27/05/02	Made an attempt to write name. Missed out 'w' but all other letters present and well formed.	Andile	Yes	Andile was sitting on a table with four other boys, all drawing with crayons. Andile was the first to attempt to write his name.	Andile had just finished drawing a picture of a fire truck, and was putting his name at the top, after being instructed to do so.	22/03/02 9.20 Andile attempted to copy his own name from a model.

LEARNING AND THINKING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity							Evidence inconclusive
	numbers and counting size (big small long short)							There were no counting activities at Prima. There were no size activities at Prima.
	colours	29/05/02 9.55	Identified the colour yellow.	PR- Andile, Andile- PR	Yes	The class were colouring in the outline of a candle.	PR approaches Andile, who is colouring in PR point at the candle and asks: 'What colour is this?' Andile: (without hesitation) Yellow.	
		9.55 29/05/02	PR points to area that Andile has coloured in, and asks 'What colour is this?' He responds straight away: 'Yellow'.	PR - Andile	Yes	Other learners colouring in an outline of a candle on the table. Andile has finished and is about to hand in his colouring.	PR comes over to table, and looks at Andile's work. He shows it to PR, PR asks the question and Andile responds.	
	Identify similarities (put the big/green/small ones together).							Evidence inconclusive
GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6. The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language	Shows some understanding of: question forms in texts	3/06/02, 9.20	Said: Sunday	Xolelwa - Learners Andile- Xolelwa	Yes	The class were sitting in a circle after morning ring.	Xolelwa asked the class: What day is it today? Andile responded.	Andile's answer was clearly wrong, but he grasped that a question was being asked which required an answer of a day of the week.
	simple present and progressive tenses							Evidence inconclusive
	imperatives	27/11/02 10.30	Carried out correct actions on command.	Xol- learner+Andile	Yes	A small group of learners were playing a game similar to 'Simon Says' with Xolelwa.	Xolelwa gave nine simple instructions to the group which they had to follow. Andile was able to do most of them from Xolelwa's voice command alone.	5/06/02 10.35 Andile was not able to recognise the command 'Stand on one leg'
	modal verbs							No evidence available
	negative forms							No evidence available
	plurals of nouns							No evidence available
	personal pronouns							No evidence available
	prepositions							No evidence available
	adjectives							No evidence available
	200-500 common words in context				No			There was little evidence to suggest that Andile's receptive vocabulary in L2 was any more than about 100 words in context.

AIYA (SECUNDA)								
Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Evidence	Interaction	Achieved?	Context of activity	Action	Notes
LISTENING 1. The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically to a wide range of situations.	Joins in choruses of L2 stories	14/08/02 11.43	Anita was telling three little pigs story using children from the class as actors.	Anita-Learners Aiya-Anita	Yes	Class was watching peers being used as puppets by Anita, listening to Anita tell the story.	Anita: What did the wolf say to the pig? Class (inc. Aiya): Little pig, little pig, let me come in.	See also 6/09/02 9.14 (Please, thank you and excuse me...)
	Draws pictures from the story							No task: learners did not draw pictures from a story told in class
	Comments on story in home language							No task: learners did not speak in their home language with their teacher
	Understands simple oral instructions in L2: 'Sit down', 'Stand up' and 'Come here, please'	8/11/02 10.40	Responded correctly to Anita's instructions.	Anita- Aiya	Yes	The children were playing a game similar to Simon Says in a group of six with Anita as Simon.	Aiya was able to do the correct action without looking at his neighbours for clues.	For details of the commands, see Appendix 7b
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages				No			Not achieved on 12/08/02, 9.40 (laughing at other learner's work).
SPEAKING 2. The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.	Uses and responds to greetings and farewells, thanks people.	2/9/2002 11.44	Said 'Excuse me'	Aiya-PR	Yes	Aiya's group was trying to sit down at the table where I was writing.	Anita told the red group to go and sit down. PR was seated at the table, and taking up one of the chairs that a learner would need to sit on. Aiya had already sat down, but noticed that one other learner could not, so addressed PR with 'Excuse me'.	
	Can perform action rhymes and songs with the right rhythm and pronunciation	20/08/02 12.10	Said: 'No I will not let you in by the hairs of my chinny chin chin'	Aiya-other learner	Yes	Aiya and three other learners engaged in performing the story of the Three Little Pigs.	Anita had set up the activity, putting masks on the characters, so that they knew what was expected of them. These learners had also seen another group of learners perform exactly the same dialogue a few minutes previously. Anita narrated and instructed the learners about when to speak.	
	Doesn't call other learners names				No			Not achieved on 9/09/02 8.25 (swearing at a poor boy's mother)
READING 3. The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Understands print in the environment	8/11/02 10.50	Read the words 'happy', 'cold', and 'long'.	Anita-Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were standing in front of the word cards stuck to the wall.	Anita pointed at the word cards and looked to Aiya to say them. Aiya was able to say all of them.	Aiya had recently been exposed to these words on the wall of his classroom.
	Recognises some print in the media							There was no interaction with objects from the media in the classroom.
	Can name the sound their own name begins with	8/11/02 10.45	Identified the sound his name began with.	Aiya	Yes	Anita and a group of learners were sitting in front of the alphabet cards	Anita asked Aiya to point to the letter his name began with. Aiya stood up and without hesitation pointed to the correct card.	
	Reads picture books with very simple captions							Anita did not read books to the children at Secunda and I did not observe the children interacting with books. It is therefore difficult to infer any competence in this area.

WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.	Draws pictures	13/08/02 12.10	Drew a cap.	Aiya	Yes	Other learners on table drawing 'C' card objects.	Anita instructed whole class to draw the letter 'c' and then choose an object from the card and copy it.	
	Shows understanding that writing and drawing are different							No evidence available
	Copies simple words that learner already knows orally	14/08/02 12.00	Copied the word 'bee' from the board.	Aiya	Yes	Other learners had sheets with a, b, c to fill in.	Anita pointed at picture of bee. Anita: What's this? Class: Bee. Anita: Good (Writes up word bee on board for class to copy onto sheets).	
	Attempts to write own name (not copy)	13/08/02 12.20	Wrote own name underneath 'C' and picture.	Aiya	Yes	Other learners engaged writing their names, or finishing drawings.	Anita asked whole class to write their names at the bottom of the sheet when they had finished.	
LEARNING AND THINKING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity	8/11/02 11.05	Responded to small talk questions.	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table.	Anita asked Aiya a series of questions about himself, (e.g. 'What is your name?') to which Aiya responded correctly, in the main.	
	numbers and counting	12/08/02 11.55	Counted the number of caps in a box, and wrote the digit underneath.	Aiya	Yes	Other learners engaged with the same task of counting and recording.	Anita set the task of counting the clothing items from the page and recording the number in the box.	
	size (big small long short)	8/11/02 10.55	Moved crayons according to Anita's instructions.	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita said to Aiya: 'Take all the big ones and put them this side and take all the small ones and put it this side.' Then: 'Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side.' Aiya did so.	Aiya initially only moved one crayon at a time, but then moved both at once.
	colours	22/08/02 12.10	Said: 'Blue, red, black.'	PR- Aiya	Yes	Other learners drawing a picture from alphabet cards.	PR approaches Aiya's table, asks 'What colour is that?' at the same time as pointing to colours on Aiya's drawing. He identifies all three colours he has used correctly without assistance.	Also 19/08/02 8.50 (Anita points at colours on the wall, Aiya manages to identify them.)
	Identify similarities. (put the big/green/small ones together)	14/08/02 10.10	Drew an oval, a star, a crescent and a diamond.	Anita-Aiya + learners	Yes	Learners were sitting at their desks. Anita held up a poster with the four shapes on it.	Anita held up the poster and said: 'I want you to draw these first four shapes on a piece of paper'. The class all began to discuss the task amongst each other. Some got up to look at the poster. Aiya then drew all four shapes.	In this task, Aiya had to copy a shape. This meant he had to identify what distinguished each shape from the rest and draw it. He did not have to, for example, separate the circles from the squares, but the fact that he could copy the shape indicates that he could probably have done so.
		8/11/02 10.55	Moved crayons according to Anita's instructions	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita said to Aiya: 'Take all the big ones and put them this side and take all the small ones and put it this side.' Then: 'Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side.' Aiya did so.	Aiya initially only moved one crayon at a time. but then moved both at once.
GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6. The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language	Shows some understanding of: question forms in texts	13/08/02 12.10	Replied correctly to a 'What..?' question.	Anita -Aiya, Aiya- Anita	Yes	The class were drawing things from the 'c' alphabet card.	Anita walked over to Aiya and asked him what he was drawing by saying: 'What is that?' Aiya replied: 'Cap'.	See also 30/08/02, 8.30 ('Where is the scooter?') See also 30/08/02 10.20 ('What is this one?')
	simple present and progressive tenses	21/08/02 8.40	Said (with class): It is sunny.	Aiya+learners- Anita	Yes	Class were looking at the weather chart with Anita.	Anita asked the class: How is the weather today? The class replied with Aiya saying it at the same time: 'It is sunny'.	See also 30/08/02, 9.00 (It's me this one) and 8/11/02 11.05 (I'm looking, I'm going).
	imperatives	30/08/02, 10.20	Said: 'Give me this'	Aiya- PR	Yes	During break, Aiya came over to stand at PR's desk.	PR was writing on a piece of paper, and made a mistake. PR crumpled the paper up and left it at the side of the table. Aiya volunteered to take it to the bin saying: 'Give me this'.	
	modal verbs							No evidence available

	negative forms	27/08/02 12.15	Said: 'Don't do this'.	Aiya - learners	Yes	Class were seated and engaged in a writing activity.	Aiya and his neighbour started hitting one another, in a tit for tat style. Aiya eventually turned to the neighbour and said: 'Don't do this'.	
	plurals of nouns	8/11/02	Moved crayons according to Anita's instructions.	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita said to Aiya: 'Take all the big ones and put them this side and take all the small ones and put it this side.' Then: 'Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side.' Aiya did so.	To carry out the task successfully, Aiya would have had to understand that Anita was referring to both crayons, not only one
	personal pronouns	8/11/02	Moved crayons according to Anita's instructions	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita said to Aiya: 'Take all the big ones and put them this side and take all the small ones and put it this side.' Then: 'Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side.' Aiya did so.	To carry out the task successfully, Aiya would have had to understand that 'ones' referred to the crayons
		30/08/02, 9.00	Said: 'It's me this one.'	Aiya-PR	Yes	PR was flicking through a magazine with Aiya standing close by.	Every time Aiya saw a picture of a male in the magazine, he pointed at it and said: 'It's me this one'.	Aiya showed here that he was able to use demonstratives as well as personal pronouns.
	prepositions	30/08/02 11.44	Said: 'Teacher, here?'	Aiya-Anita	Yes	Class had just finished a colouring activity and were seated.	As Anita walked past, Aiya put up his hand and held up his work. He pointed at the back of it, saying: 'Teacher, here?' Anita replied: 'No, in front.' Aiya then wrote his name on the front of the sheet.	Aiya would have had to have understood 'front' to understand the command, because the children sometimes had to write their names at the bottom on the back, or at the top on the back. (See also 13/08/02, 12.20 'Write your name on the bottom.')
		8/11/02 11.00	Placed a crayon next to another when instructed to do so.	Aiya-Anita	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita asked Aiya to: 'Put the blue one next to the green one' and to 'Put the blue one behind the green one'	
	adjectives	8/11/02 10.50	Read the words 'happy', 'cold', and 'long'.	Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were standing in front of the word cards stuck to the wall.	Anita pointed at the word cards and looked to Aiya to say them. Aiya was able to say all of them.	
	200-500 common words in context	8/11/02 11.05	Responded to small talk questions.	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table.	Anita asked Aiya a series of questions to which Aiya responded correctly, in the main.	Aiya's vocabulary and particularly his grammar seemed to be very well developed for his age. See the entry in Appendix 7b for more details.

Sandiswa (SECUNDA)								
Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Evidence	Interaction	Achieved?	Context of activity	Action	Notes
LISTENING 1. The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically to a wide range of situations.	Joins in choruses of L2 stories	14/08/02 11.43	Anita was telling three little pigs story using children from the class as actors.	Anita-Learners Aiya-Anita	Yes	Class was watching peers being used as puppets by Anita, listening to Anita tell the story.	Anita: What did the pig say to the wolf? Class No! Anita: So the wolf said... Class (inc. Sandiswa): I will huff, and I'll puff, and I will blow your house down.	
	Draws pictures from the story							No task: learners did not draw pictures from a story told in class.
	Comments on story in home language							No task: learners did not speak in their home language with their teacher
	Understands simple oral instructions in L2: 'Sit down', 'Stand up' and 'Come here, please'.	8/11/02 10.40	Responded correctly to Anita's instructions.	Anita- Sandiswa	Yes	The children were playing a game similar to Simon Says in a group of six with Anita as Simon.	Sandiswa was able to do the correct action for multiple commands without looking at his neighbours for clues.	For details of the commands, see Appendix 7b.
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages				Inferred			This item was inferred. Sandiswa never interrupted another learner whilst they were speaking, either in plenary or in groups.
SPEAKING 2. The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations	Uses and responds to greetings and farewells, thanks people	28/08/02 9.45	Said: '(It's) so nice'	Sandiswa - PR	Yes	Learners are eating fruit salad.	PR is sitting at the teacher's desk. As the children are eating, Sandiswa turns to PR and says: '(It's) so nice') PR: So nice? Sandiswa: (nods)	This item was inferred. Sandiswa did not actually respond to the offer of food, but was able to say what she thought of the food instead.
		3/09/02 11.30	Said: 'Hello'	PR-Sandiswa, Sandiswa- PR	Yes	Learners were playing by a tree with a bit of string.	PR comes into the preschool playground through the back gate, and says 'Hello' to a group of learners which included Sandiswa. Sandiswa replied and some others did after her.	
	Can perform action rhymes and songs with the right rhythm and pronunciation	15/08/02 12.18	Sandiswa sang a song to the boys with the other girls from the class.	Sandiswa	Yes	The girl learners were instructed to sing a song to the other learners.	The girls were instructed by Anita to perform a song for the boys. Another girl choose the song, but Sandiswa joined in with gusto.	
		21/08/02 12.30	Said the 'Myn Kaike' rhyme.	Sandiswa	Yes	Sandiswa said the rhyme after Anita.	The class were sitting in front of Anita who was saying the 'Myn Kaike' rhyme line by line.	
	Doesn't call other learners names	8.55 26/08/02	Did not laugh when other learners did at Khaya's attempts to write a number 6.	Sandiswa - learners	Yes	The class was watching a learner write a digit on the board at the front of the class.	Anita: Khayaletu..... 6 [Khaya comes to the front, and attempts to draw the digit 6. He begins to draw it wrong. The class begin to laugh] Anita: (to class) Hey! hey! Sandiswa remains quiet.	Sandiswa did however laugh at Yolisa's work on vertical lines on 27/08/02.

READING 3. The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Understands print in the environment	15/08/02 11.30	Said 'duh' when Anita pointed at the letter 'd'.	Anita-Sandiswa	Yes	All learners seated on mat facing the alphabet cards. Anita pointed at each one.	Anita pointed at each alphabet card in turn from 'a' to 'd'. Sandiswa said 'duh' for each word beginning with that letter on the card	
	Recognises some print in the media	6/09/02 10.40	Tried to 'read' a syllabus lying on the teacher's desk.	Sandiswa	Inferred	Most learners were going out to break. Sandiswa approached the teacher's desk on way out.	Sandiswa approached desk where PR was sitting, and picked up a syllabus that was lying there. She opened it and began to run her finger along under the line mumbling the sounds of letters to herself. After about ten seconds, she closed the syllabus and ran outside.	I had to infer Sandiswa's ability to understand print in the environment from this incident and from her ability to read the words on the alphabet cards. Seeing as the cards had pictures, I could not assume that she could read the words. Here, she did not read the text, but she realised that it was print and attempted to read it
	Can name the sound their own name begins with	15/08/02 11.40	Said: 'Eyeh'	PR - Sandiswa	Partially	Other children were drawing the letter 'a' and a picture of something from the 'a' alphabet card.	The class were tasked to write the letter 'a' and then draw something from the card. PR pointed at apple drawing, asked 'Ntoni lo?' PR then did the same for the letter 'a'. Sandiswa had drawn, and then for the 'S' in Sandiswa on her box. Sandiswa responded with 'eyeh'	There is contradictory evidence, though, on 26/08/02 11.45. Sandiswa did not stand up when 'a' was called.
		8/11/02 10.45	Identified the sound her name began with	Sandiswa	Yes	Anita and a group of learners were sitting in front of the alphabet cards.	Anita asked Sandiswa to point to the letter her name began with. Sandiswa stood up and without hesitation pointed to the correct card.	
	Reads picture books with very simple captions							Anita did not read books to the children at Secunda, and I did not observe the children interacting with books. It is therefore difficult to infer any competence in this area.
WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.	Draws pictures	13/08/02 12.10	Drew a cat.	Sandiswa	Yes	Other learners on table drawing 'C' card objects	Anita instructed whole class to draw the letter 'c' and then choose an object from the card and copy it. Sandiswa did so.	
	Shows understanding that writing and drawing are different	6/9/02 10.50	Said: 'Why are you draw this one?'	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	At break time, Sandiswa and two other students approach the desk where I was sitting.	The children approached the desk where PR was sitting. Sandiswa began to ask what the word for certain things are in English and in Afrikaans. She then asked me, in isiXhosa, to write down everyone's name in the group. After a while, PR tires of writing names. Sandiswa looked at the back of observation notebook and sees a picture of a stick man, prompting her to ask the question.	
	Copies simple words that learner already knows orally	14/08/02 12.00	Copied the word 'bee' from the board	Sandiswa	Yes	Other learners had sheets with a, b, c to fill in.	Anita pointed at a picture of a bee. Anita: What's this? Class. Bee. Anita: Good [writes up word bee on board for class to copy onto sheets].	
	Attempts to write own name (not copy)	13/08/02 12.20	Wrote own name underneath 'C' and picture.	Sandiswa	Yes	Other learners engaged writing their names, or finishing drawings.	Anita asked whole class to write their names at the bottom of the sheet when they had finished.	

LEARNING AND THINKING 5 The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity	6/09/02 10.50	Said: 'Bhala amagama' (Write the names)	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	A group of four learners including Sandiswa were standing at my desk asking me questions	The children approached the desk where PR was sitting. Sandiswa began to ask what the word for certain things are in English and in Afrikaans. She then asked me, in isiXhosa, to write down everyone's name in the group. This was followed by asking me in English: 'Where do you live?'	Although Sandiswa didn't ask me to write the names of her friends in English, she was able to ask me where I lived. I considered this to be a more advanced question than 'What is your name?', and thus feel I can infer she was able to give her name and ask for that of others.
	numbers and counting	12/08/02 11.55	Counted the number of caps in a box and wrote the digit underneath.	Sandiswa	Yes	Other learners engaged with the same task of counting and recording.	Anita set the task of counting the clothing items from the page and recording the number in the box.	
	size (big small long short)							There was no opportunity for Sandiswa to show that she understood adjectives relating to size in the classroom.
	colours	21/08/02 12.00	Replied: 'Orange' and 'Red'.	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	The learners had to copy letter 'C', copy the word carrot, and colour in the picture of a carrot on a sheet. Other learners were busy with the same task.	PR (to Sandiswa) What colour is this? [points at letter 'c' which S has copied.] Sandiswa: Kuh. PR: [points to carrot which she is colouring in with an orange crayon.] What colour is this? Sandiswa: [looks at PR] Other learner: (X) He's asking what colour is that. Sandiswa: Orange. PR: What colour is this? Sandiswa: Orange. PR: [points at colour of writing that she has used to copy word 'carrot'] What colour is this? Sandiswa: Red.	There were more instances when Sandiswa identified colours. See 12/08/02, 9.12 and 19/08/02, 8.50.
	Identify similarities. (put the big/green/small ones together)	14/08/02 10.10	Drew an oval, a star, a crescent and a diamond.	Anita-learners	Yes	Learners were sitting at their desks. Anita held up a poster with the four shapes on it.	Anita held up the poster and said: 'I want you to draw these first four shapes on a piece of paper'. The class all began to discuss the task amongst each other. Some got up to look at the poster. Sandiswa waited until her neighbour had started and then she drew all four shapes.	In this task, Sandiswa had to copy a shape. This meant she had to identify what separated each shape from the rest and draw it. She did not have to, for example, separate the circles from the squares, but the fact that she could copy the shape indicates that she could probably have done so.
		8/11/02 10.55	Moved crayons according to Anita's instructions.	Anita- Sandiswa	Yes	Anita and Sandiswa were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Anita said to Sandiswa: 'Take all the big ones and put them this side, and take all the small ones and put it this side.' Then: 'Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side.' She did so.	Despite being given two instructions at once, Sandiswa was able to carry out two of the four tasks simultaneously using both hands at the same time.
GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6. The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language.	Shows some understanding of: question forms in texts	6/09/02 10.50	Said: 'Where do you live?'	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	A group of four learners, including Sandiswa, were standing at my desk asking me questions.	The children approached the desk where PR was sitting. Sandiswa began to ask what the word for certain things are in English and in Afrikaans, and then to write down everyone's name in the group. She then asked me about some pictures I have drawn and then this question.	See also 12/08/02, 11.55 for an understanding of 'How many...?'
	simple present and progressive tenses	16/09/02 12.00	Said: 'This is a strawberry / The colour is red / These are pips.	Sandiswa-Anita	Yes	The class were sitting in front of the theme board. Anita asked the learners to pick a fruit and tell the class about it.	Anita asked Sandiswa to tell the class about the strawberry. Some other learners in the class had spoken about other fruit before her. With some prompting from Anita, (see Appendix 7a), she spoke about the strawberry.	Sandiswa did not demonstrate any ability to use present progressive tenses as opposed to simple present.

imperatives	6/9/02 11:30	Passed Anita a fly swat from the desk.	Anita - Sandiswa	Yes	Anita needed her fly swat to quieten the class. Sandiswa was standing near her desk so without hesitation.	The class were milling about and making noise. Anita wanted to get their attention. She turned to Sandiswa who was near her desk and asked her to pass her the swat. She did so without hesitation.	See also 3/09/02, 12:10 for an understanding of a negative imperative.
modal verbs	18/09/02 8:10	Said: 'Please may I water please?'	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	The class were working in their workbooks. Sandiswa was thirsty.	The phrase that she used to ask for water is formulaic. She has been taught to say it to Anita whenever she wants water or to go to the toilet. Nonetheless, it does contain a modal verb and Sandiswa was able to use it almost perfectly.	
negative forms	3/09/02 12:10	Stopped looking at Sinolando.	Anita - Sandiswa	Yes	The class were working in their workbooks.	Anita did not point at Sandiswa's work to get her to focus on it, or give any other physical indication of what she wanted Sandiswa to do. This was purely an oral command.	
plurals of nouns	14/08/02 10:10	Drew an oval, a star, a crescent and a diamond on her piece of paper.	Anita - Sandiswa	Yes	Learners were sitting at their desks. Anita held up a poster with the four shapes on it.	This is the only piece of evidence I saw that Sandiswa could grasp the gist of a phrase containing a plural, in this case 'shapes'. However, to understand the plural form, she could have used visual clues and the word 'four'.	
personal pronouns	6/09/02 10:50	Said: 'Where do you live?'	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	A group of four learners including Sandiswa were standing at my desk asking me questions.	The children approached the desk where PR was sitting. Sandiswa began to ask what the word for certain things are in English and in Afrikaans, and then to write down everyone's name in the group. She then asked me about some pictures I have drawn and then this question.	
prepositions	14/08/02 10:10	Drew an oval, a star, a crescent and a diamond on her piece of paper.	Anita - Sandiswa	Yes	Learners were sitting at their desks. Anita held up a poster with the four shapes on it.	This is the only piece of evidence that Sandiswa could grasp the gist of a phrase containing a preposition, in this case 'on'. However, to understand the phrase, she would only have needed to know 'paper' 'draw' and 'shape'.	
adjectives	8/11/02 11:00	Placed a crayon next to and on top of another when asked to.	Anita - Sandiswa	Yes	Anita and Sandiswa were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons.	Sandiswa was not able to place one crayon behind another when asked to do so.	
adjectives	8/11/02 10:50	Read the words 'full', 'many', and 'small'.	Sandiswa	Yes	Anita and Sandiswa were standing in front of the word cards stuck to the wall.		
200-500 common words in context	28/08/02 9:45	Said: '(It's) so nice'	Sandiswa -PR	Yes	Learners were eating fruit salad.	This was the only piece of evidence from an authentic context to show that Sandiswa understood or could use adjectives.	
				Inferred		Sandiswa demonstrated quite a large spoken vocabulary of her own and seemed able to understand all the instructions she was given by Anita in the classroom. I believe that her vocabulary was in this range.	

Appendix 5

Learner Assessment for Grade One

This appendix provides a record of the English language achievements of the four learners in Grade 1. There is one grid for each learner and there are seven columns on each grid. The first two columns state which Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards are being referred to. (For a detailed description of the LOs and ASs for each grade, see Appendix 3.) The third and fourth columns show whether and when evidence of the relevant assessment standards was observed. If there was no observable evidence that could be related directly to a particular AS, it was sometimes the case that competence in that area could be inferred from other pieces of data. The fifth and sixth columns show if there was any evidence to indicate that the learners' competence in a certain AS could be inferred, and what the evidence was that led to this conclusion. The last column shows which Assessment Standards could not be inferred or demonstrated for a particular learner and what the reasons for this were.

NOMATHEMBA

(GRAHAM ONE)

Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Interaction	Achieved?	Context and Action leading to Evidence	Notes
1. LISTENING The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to a wider range of situations	Understands short, simple stories	29/01/03 6 30	Janette-learners+Noma	Partially	Janette was revising the story she told the class yesterday about Adam and Eve. She asked the learners some questions. Janette: Who was the first man that God made? L: Adam Janette: And who was the wife that God made for Adam? Learners+ Noma: Eve. Janette: What was the story about yesterday? Learners+ Noma: Adam and Eve	Noma was less sure about more subjective questions like: Was God happy?
	Mimes the story					No miming of stories.
	Janette sings in choruses					No choruses in stories.
	Draws a picture of the story					No drawings done after story telling.
	Puts pictures in the right sequence					No sequencing activities.
	Answers simple yes/no questions	29/01/03 6 30	Janette-learners+Noma	Yes	Janette was revising the story she told the class yesterday about Adam and Eve. She asked the learners some questions. Janette: Who was the first man that God made? L: Adam Janette: And who was the wife that God made for Adam? SS+ Noma: Eve. Janette: What was the story about yesterday? SS+ Noma: Adam and Eve	Noma was less sure about more subjective questions like: Was God happy? See also 25/02/03 9 23 (Why don't you play with the crayons?)
	Answers more complex questions in L1					No home language encouraged by the teacher in the classroom.
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
	Understands simple description					No description tasks.
	Understands simple oral instructions	29/01/03 9 00	Janette-Noma	Yes	The class had been instructed to thread ten blocks onto a piece of string. As Janette walked past, Noma held up her string and blocks for Janette to check. Janette: (counts) There's only nine. Noma: (silent, puts on another block)	See also 10/02, 9.02 29/01/03 9.26 (Janette: Trace the one with your finger.)
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages	10/02/03 8 35	Noma-L	Inferred	The class had been instructed to cut out some letters from a page. One of Noma's isiXhosa speaking friends looked lost. Noma: (X) Cut them.	Noma still had the same sense of fair play and social awareness she showed in GR.

SPEAKING 2. The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.	Responds appropriately to simple questions with single words or formulaic phrases	13/03/03 10.47	Learner-Noma, Noma - Learner	Inferred	Noma was talking to her neighbour in isiXhosa about another learners work, which involved sticking the correct digit onto a square with the same number of dots on it. Noma: Hayi, look (holds up learner's work) Let me see, let me see! Haa! I see, I see, it's ten toes, nooo!	Noma was referring to the fact that the learner had stuck his '10' in the wrong place
	Uses and responds to simple greetings/requests	22/05/02	PR to learners+Noma, Noma-PR	Yes	The class were milling about before morning ring. Noma was talking to friends in isiXhosa. She looks at PR. PR: Good morning, Nomathemba. Noma: Good morning. PR: How are you? Noma: [laughs] How are you? PR: Good morning, how are you? Noma: Good morning, how are you? PR: I'm fine thanks. Noma: [looks at me and smiles, then turns away.]	See Grade R
	Expresses themselves using 'chunks'	25/02/03 9.23	Noma-learners	Yes	A bunch of crayons were spread out on Noma's table. She turns to a learner sitting next to her who is stacking them. Noma: Don't play to the crayons. Learner: (mimics) Crayuuuuuns! Noma: Why don't you play with the crayuuuuuns!	Noma used the structures 'Don't....' and 'Why don't you.....'
Memorises and performs songs /action rhymes		10/02/03 8.10	Noma+learners	Partially	The class were singing some hymns in English. Noma was just about able to keep up with the class.	See also 25/02, 8.49 and 8.56
	Pronounces familiar words clearly	20/02/03 11.15	Noma	Yes	Janette held up some flashcards of sentences from the book 'Help!'. Noma read the words on the cards with the other learners in her group. Noma: We can help, I can help you, We can help you. All were pronounced clearly.	
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
READING 3. The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Matches pictures and words					No sequencing or matching activities
	Uses illustrations to understand captions					There was no opportunity for Noma to show that she had understood the story of the book the class were reading ('Help!')
	Recognises some print in the media	27/05/02 10.35	Xolelwa-Noma	Yes	Xolelwa was asking individual learners to give the names of letters and animals. Xolelwa pointed at the letter A and looked at Noma. Noma said, 'A is for alligator'.	Although there was a picture of the alligator for Noma to use, she was still able to remember the sound of the word, and knew that the letter 'A' had a name.
Matches words and objects using labels					No sequencing or matching activities	
Follows printed instructions from flashcards					No activities involving actions and flashcards	
Reads picture books with very simple captions	20/02/03 11.15	Noma	Yes	Janette held up some flashcards of sentences from the book 'Help!'. Noma read the words on the cards with the other learners in her group. Noma: 'We can help, I can help you, We can help you.' All were pronounced clearly.		

WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.	Copies familiar words and short sentences	20/02/03 11.28	Noma	Yes	Janette told the learners to copy the sentences they have just read from the flashcards from the book 'Help!'. Noma was able to copy 'I can help you, We can help you.' She reversed the 'p' in 'help' both times..	See also 5/02/03 8.40 (Noma's mother says Noma could write 'Look here is a cat' without copying). See also 29/01/03 9.25 (Noma writes her name)
	Uses simple words to complete sentence frames	5/02/03 8.55	Janette-Noma	Yes	Janette has handed out a sheet with a series of sentences starting with 'I have' written on them. There is then a blank line followed by a picture of a body part, like an eye. Janette: (to class) How many eyes do you have? Noma+learners: Two! Janette: (to class) Write the number two on your line.	It wasn't clear if Noma knew that she was making a sentence. The activity was also heavily guided.
	Writes lists with titles.					No listing activities
THINKING AND REASONING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity	25/02/03 9.22	Noma -L	Inferred	As the class were colouring in a picture, Terry knocks over another learner's crayon pot and steals a crayon. Noma: Don't. Colour in, Terry.	Noma was able to use a name in an English sentence of her own. See also 27/05/02 10.40 (What is your name? My name is Nomathemba.)
	numbers and counting	25/02/03 8.43	Noma	Yes	Janette gave the class a picture of a cake with ten candles on it. The class had to count the candles and write the number underneath. Noma counted successfully and wrote the number '10'.	See also 25/02/03 8.45 and 8.56 (Counts seven objects, writes the digit).
	shape					No shape activities.
	size (big small long short)	11.35 29/05/02	PR- Noma	Yes	The class are playing with educational toys. Noma has a board with wooden fish cut out of it. Other learners are engaged with different toys See App 7a for more details.	See Grade R.
	time					No time activities.
	age					No activity.
	direction					No activity.
	sequence					No activity.
	ability (I can)					No activity.
	Identifies similarities and differences	10/02/03 9.02	Noma	Yes	Janette handed out a sheet with some die faces and digits in circles on it. Janette: (to class) 'Colour all the ones in green.' Some learners begin to do so. Janette: (to class) 'Find your green crayon.' Noma does so straight away. She looks to see what her neighbour is doing, and then colours all and only the ones in green.	
	Identifies parts of the whole	5/02/03 9.25	Noma	No	The class were doing a worksheet which had some body parts drawn on it. Janette: (to learners) What can you see on the page? Learners: 'Arms, head, legs.' Noma did not know the body parts that the other students knew, although she did drill the word 'legs' to herself as she heard it.	
	Classifies things					No activity.
	Sequences things					No activity.
	Identifies things from descriptions					No activity.
	Understands and uses some mathematical language					No activity.
	Records information in simple charts					No activity.

GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6 The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language	Understands question forms	10/02/03 8.14	Janette-learners+Noma	Yes	The class were seated on the rug. Janette asked some questions to get the class thinking about the story she would read to them. Janette: (to class) During the summer, is it hot or cold? Noma: Cold	Noma wasn't able to give the correct answer, but she knew what type of question was being asked.
	simple sentences	25/02/03 8.53	Janette-Noma	Yes	Janette called for the attention of the class by saying: 'All eyes to the board, Grade 1.' Noma instantly turned to face the board.	
	simple present and progressive tenses	13/03/03 11.26		Yes	As the class are busy with a paper task Noma said: 'Teacher, Siyabulela's talking'.	It wasn't clear if the 's' was present after Siyabulela
	imperatives	29/01/03 9.26	Janette-Noma	Yes	The class were completing a worksheet on the number one. Janette: (to learners) Trace the one with your finger Noma: (points at the large number one on the sheet) Janette: (to Noma) Write a 'one' in here (points at page) Noma: (makes a short mark that looks like a one.)	See also 10/02/03 9.00 (Don't cry!)
	modal verbs					No evidence available.
	negative forms	10/02/03 9.00	Noma -L	Yes	One learner on Noma's table has finished his work and has put his head down on the table. Noma laughs and holds up her cup of crayons. Noma: Look, Siyabulela, look my ice. Don't cry!	See also 25/02/03 8.49 (This one not seven, you).
	plurals of nouns					No evidence available.
	personal pronouns	25/02/03 8.49	Noma -L	Yes	A learner showed Noma her worksheet on which the learners had had to count seven objects and write the digit underneath. Noma: This one not seven, you!	Although not a personal pronoun, Noma was able to use a pronoun to talk about an object she knew the name of. See also 10/02/03 8.16 (This one, this one!).
	prepositions	13/03/03 11.18	Noma -Janette	Yes	The class had just finished an activity. Janette: Children, sit down. Noma: (to some learners) Sit! Sit! Teacher, look at Siyabulela!	See also 13/03/03 11.18 (Teacher, look at Siyabulela!).
	adjectives and adverbs					No evidence available
500-1000 common words in context				Inferred	Noma's productive and receptive vocabulary had certainly improved since GR. She would most likely have this range by the end of the year.	

ANDILE
(RHINI ONE)

Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Interaction	Achieved?	Context and Action leading to Evidence	Notes
1. LISTENING The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to a wider range of situations.	Understands short simple stories	19/02/03 9:08	Priscilla - Andile	Unsure	P was reading the book 'Run!' to the class. She has turned the book to face the class, and is on the last page. P. (to A) Where is the rhinoceros? A. In the fire stories.	Although P read to the children in the class, there was no firm evidence to suggest that A really understood the stories.
	Mimes the story	5/03/03 10:57	Priscilla - learners	Yes	P read the lines in the book 'A Cat in a Cap' to the learners who had to repeat after her. Andile joined in.	There were no miming activities P did not get the learners to join in with the reading of the books in a chorus style, but she did read to the learners and get them to repeat words.
	Draws a picture of the story	31/05/02 9:55	Andile- learners, learners- Andile	Yes	Following a discussion about things to do with fire, the class were drawing pictures of firemen. Andile tried to draw a fireman. For a detailed description, see Appendix 7a.	See Grade R
	Puts pictures in the right sequence					No sequencing activities
	Answers simple yes/no questions	27/02/03 10:37	Priscilla- Andile, Andile- Priscilla	Yes	P was doing a reading activity with a group of learners. A was sitting and staring out of the window. P. (to A) Are you finished? A. Yes. P. Did you colour all the circles? A. Yes. P. Did you write all the words? A. Yeeees.... P. I don't believe it. Andile picked up his book and turned it to face the teacher.	
	Answers more complex questions in L1					No home language used in the classroom by the teacher.
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
Understands simple description					No description tasks	
Understands simple oral instructions		12/02/03 9:30	Priscilla - learners	Yes	P was telling the class what colour to colour in the shapes on their paper. She held up a yellow triangle and said: Colour all your triangles in yellow. (Andile does so) P: (holds up a yellow rectangle) But I don't want you to do a yellow one, make it green. (Andile picks up his green crayon and colours his rectangles in with it.)	
Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages				Inferred		No evidence to the contrary

SPEAKING 2. The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations	Responds appropriately to simple questions with single words or formulaic phrases	12/02/03 8.42	Priscilla - Andile	Yes	Priscilla was drilling the days of the week with the class. She then drilled the phrase: 'Today is Wednesday' with the class three times. Then Priscilla asked three learners: 'What is the day today?' The fourth learner was Andile. A: 'Today is Wednesday.'	See also 12/02/03 8.45 (Today is cloudy) and 19/02/03 8.42 (cloudy)
	Uses and responds to simple greetings/requests	9.10 3/06/02	PR- Andile	Yes	PR was carrying a tray of porridges for breakfast. PR places one in front of another learner, who says nothing, and then places one in front of Andile who says 'Thanks'	See also 3/06/02 9.20 (I'm fine thank you very much teacher)
	Expresses themselves using 'chunks'	19/02/03 9.15	Priscilla-learners, Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Partially	P holds up a flashcard with a picture of a person walking and the words 'walk' and 'walking'. P: (to A) What is the boy doing? A: Walking. P: Stand up and show us walking. A: (walks, swinging arms) P: Tell us what you are doing. A: I am walking.	Technically, Andile was not expressing himself here. This was really a substitution drill.
	Memorises and performs songs /action rhymes	5/3/03, 11.53	Andile	Yes	P had all the learners standing on the rug. The whole class chorused the elephant rhyme. Andile just about kept up with words and actions. Then P asked him to do it alone. He was able to do at least 90% of the rhyme, (actions and words), unassisted in front of the class.	See also 12/02/03 8.25 (Andile followed the actions for the song 'All the little children'.)
	Pronounces familiar words clearly	Various	Priscilla - Andile, P-learners	Yes	Andile pronounced most of his words clearly when he spoke, but sometimes he was unconfident.	See 19/02/03 8.46 (cat) and 12/02/03 8.45 (Today is cloudy) and 19/02/03 8.42 (cloudy)
READING 3. The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
	Matches pictures and words					No matching activities
	Uses illustrations to understand captions	19/02/03 9.09	Priscilla - Andile	Partially	P was reading the book 'Run!' to the class. She has turned the book to face the class, and is on the last page. P: (to A) Where is the rhinoceros? A: In the fire	This was the first reading of the text with English captions. Andile may not yet have understood the story of the book. It seems he was unable to distinguish the foreground from the background in order to make sense of the story.
	Recognises some print in the media	See 27/01/03 8.25 (name flashcards) and 5/03/03 11.09/11.11/11.16 (reading a text)	Andile	Inferred		Andile was able to read words from flashcards and in books, but he was not strictly able to recognise print from the media.
	Matches words and objects using labels					No matching activities
	Follows printed instructions from flashcards	27/01/03 8.25	Priscilla - Andile	Yes	Priscilla held up the some flashcards with the names of the learners in the class on them. She did not say the word. When a learner saw their name, they had to stand up and collect their card. Andile stood up only for his card and collected the right one.	See also 19/02/03 8.49 (Exclamation mark!)
	Reads picture books with very simple captions	5/03/03 11.09/11.11/11.16	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Yes	P was reading the book 'A Cat in a Cap' to the class. P: Which words do you know here? A: Is. P: Come and show us. A: (gets up and points at the word) Andile was able to identify and pronounce the words 'A', 'is' and 'look!'	
WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes	Copies familiar words and short sentences	27/02/03 9.55	Andile	Yes	Andile had copied the words 'cat' and 'two' six times each on a page in his work book. The writing is neat and legible.	See also 12/02/03 9.45 (Andile wrote his own name clearly on the back of his work.)
	Uses simple words to complete sentence frames	5/03/03 11.25	Andile	Inferred	P told the learners to copy some words from memory after they had seen them on flashcards. Andile copied 'and', 'in' and 'cat' with no problems.	Andile did not have to complete a sentence frame with his own words, but he was writing words he knew from memory, not simply copying them. He was also able to identify those words in context.
	Writes lists with titles.					No listing activities

THINKING AND REASONING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to identity	5/03/03 11.40	Andile	Yes	Andile wrote his name on work	Unsure
	numbers and counting	12/02/03 9.00	Priscilla - Andile	Yes	Priscilla counts through the numbers one to ten with the class on a number board. The class counts up and then backwards from 10. Priscilla then takes one card away, the number three. Priscilla: Which number did I take away? Andile: Three.	Priscilla removed a new number for each learner she asked. Most learners found this task difficult. See also 12/02/03 9.20 (Andile counts to 10)
	shape	12/02/03 9.25	Priscilla-Learners	Yes	P had handed out a sheet with four types of shape on it, circle, square, rectangle and triangle. The shapes were all different sizes. P: Show me your triangle/rectangle/square/circle. Andile: (points finger to correct example of shape as P says them)	
	size (big small long short)					No activities on size
	time					No activities on time
	age					Not asked about age
	direction	19/02/03 8.40	Priscilla-Learners	Yes	P was holding up the weather card with 'Today is windy' written on it. She pointed at the 'w' in 'windy'. P: What sound is this? Learners: Wuh. P: Make the letter with your finger. Andile+ learners: (traces finger in the air and says) Down, up, down, up.	See also 27/01/03 8.45 (Andile + learners left, right, up down.)
	sequence	5/03/03 10.33	Priscilla-Andile, Andile	Yes	P handed out a join the dots exercise to the class. She demonstrated to the class how to join the first three dots. Andile was able to complete the picture.	
	ability (I can)					No evidence available
	Identifies similarities and differences	12/02/03 9.25	Priscilla-learners	Yes	P had handed out a sheet with four types of shape on it, circle, square, rectangle and triangle. The shapes were all different sizes. P: Show me your triangle/rectangle/square/circle. Andile: (points finger to correct example of shape as P says them)	
Identifies parts of the whole	5/03/03 10.55	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Partially	P was pointing at the parts of a book and eliciting full sentences about the parts from the learners. Andile was able to say each part as a full sentence. A: 'This is the cover/spine/title of the book.' However, with two parts, he said the phrase before P pointed at the object. (P must do them in the same order every time.)		
Classifies things	12/02/03 9.25	Priscilla-learners	Yes	P had handed out a sheet with four types of shape on it: circle, square, rectangle and triangle. The shapes were all different sizes. P: Show me your triangle/rectangle/square/circle. Andile: (points finger to correct example of shape as P says them)		
Sequences things					No sequencing activities	
Identifies things from descriptions					No oral description activities	
Understands and uses some mathematical language	12/02/03 9.25	Priscilla-learners	Yes	P had handed out a sheet with four types of shape on it: circle, square, rectangle and triangle. The shapes were all different sizes. P: Show me your triangle/rectangle/square/circle. Andile: (points finger to correct example of shape as P says them)	No mathematical functions	
Records information in simple charts					No chart activities	

GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6. The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language	Understands: question forms	19/02/03 9.02	Priscilla-learners, Priscilla-Andile	Yes	P was reading the book 'Run!' to the class. She has turned the book to face the class. P: (to A) What is the lion doing? A: The lion is in the fire	See also 27/02/03 10.37 (Did you colour all the circles?)
	simple sentences			Yes	See evidence in other Assessment Standards for this Learning Outcome.	5/03/03 10.51 Andile was not able to follow an instruction from P, perhaps because it was not clear that it was directed at him.
	simple present and progressive tenses	19/02/03 9.15	Priscilla-learners, Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Yes	P holds up a flashcard with a picture of a person walking and the words 'walk' and 'walking' P: (to A) What is the boy doing? A: Walking. P: Stand up and show us walking. A: (walks, swinging arms) P: Tell us what you are doing. A: I am walking.	Andile had seen this activity demonstrated by another learner with a different flashcard previously (see 19/02/03 9.15)
	imperatives	27/02/03 10.55	P-A	Yes	The class are supposed to be threading blocks with a piece of string. A does not have one, only the blocks. P: Where is your little string? A: (shrugs) P: Go and get one from the box at the back of the room. (Points to back of the room)	A would not have had to understand the whole instruction because P pointed to the back of the room, but he did understand that this was an imperative command, not simply a statement
	modal verbs					No evidence available
	negative forms	27/02/03 10.37	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Yes	P was doing a reading activity with a group of learners. A was sitting and staring out of the window. P: (to A) Are you finished? A: Yes P: Did you colour all the circles? A: Yes P: Did you write all the words? A: Yeeees..... P: I don't believe it. Andile picked up his book and turned it to face the teacher	
	plurals of nouns	27/02/03 10.37	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Yes	P was doing a reading activity with a group of learners. Andile was sitting and staring out of the window. P: (to A) Are you finished? A: Yes. P: Did you colour all the circles?	
	personal pronouns	27/02/03 10.37	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Yes	P was doing a reading activity with a group of learners. Andile was sitting and staring out of the window. P: (to A) Are you finished? A: Yes. P: Did you colour all the circles?	
	prepositions	12/02/03 9.07	Priscilla-learners	Partially	Priscilla was eliciting the prepositions using a number of coloured blocks on a table in front of the class. Priscilla: The one in the middle of the red and the blue, what is it? Andile: (shoots up hand, then puts it back down again.)	The prepositions /adjectives were behind, middle, between, underneath, last, left and right. Although Andile didn't actually give the answer, he clearly thought he knew the meaning of 'middle' otherwise he would not have had the confidence to put up his hand. See also 19/02/03 9.02 'The lion is in the fire'
	adjectives					No evidence available
500-1000 common words in context	27/02/03 11.30	Priscilla-Andile, Andile-Priscilla	Partially	P was holding up alphabet cards (see App. 7) and discussing them with the class. The 'm' card has a picture of a mousetrap on it. P: (to learners) What is a trap for? A: (puts up his hand) The trap is the cat. P: I'm not sure what you mean, Andile.	Andile was able to understand virtually everything that was said to him by P in the classroom, and, as on this occasion, was able to construct original sentences using words he had learnt from other classroom activities.	

AIYABULELA (SECUNDA ONE)

Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Interaction	Achieved?	Context and Action leading to Evidence	Notes
1 LISTENING The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to a wider range of situations.	Understands short, simple stories	17/02, 9.20	Sipho-Learners	Inferred	Sipho had just told the class the story about Vusi using the picture board. She followed this up with a discussion in English about how Vusi treated books. She then asked the class: Who is going to be Vusi? Aiya: (raises his hand.) Sipho: (to Aiya) Are you going to lick the pages? Aiya: (with other learners) Noooo.	Although Aiya did not answer the first question 'correctly', his second answer demonstrates he at least understood from the story that one should not treat books badly.
	Mimes the story					There were no miming activities
	Joins in choruses	17/02/03 6.52	Aiya + Sipho + learners	Yes	Sipho was telling the class a story using a picture board about Vusi and his way of treating books. The chorus to the story was: 'But books can't speak'. The second time Sipho read this, Aiya joined in with her.	
	Draws a picture of the story	26/02/03 8.18	Aiya	Inferred	Following a discussion in English about God's family, Sipho told the class to draw either a sun to indicate they were part of God's family or a cloud to indicate that they weren't. Aiya drew a sun.	Aiya did not draw a picture of his own from a story, but he was able to follow instructions in English to draw meaning from an English discussion.
	Puts pictures in the right sequence					There were no sequencing activities.
	Answers simple yes/no questions	13/08/02 12.10	Anita -Aiya, Aiya-Anita	Yes	The class were drawing things from the 'c' alphabet card. Anita walked over to Aiya and asked him what he was drawing by saying: 'What is that?' Aiya replied: 'Cap'.	See Grade R.
	Answers more complex questions in L1	12/02/03 11.45	Sipho-learners, Aiya -Sipho	Yes	Sipho was contextualising an activity by asking the learners in English about 'where we buy buns. Sipho: You all know what buns are? L: Nice Aiya: Cream Sipho: Where do we get them from? Learners: Spar, Shoprite, Aiya: Checkers. Sipho: At Spar, they've got them. Where exactly do we get them? Aiya: At the back.	Aiya was able to recognise and respond precisely to the question form in the last question.
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
	Understands simple descriptions					Sipho did not give the learners any descriptions in L2.
	Understands simple oral instructions	12/02/03 12.00	Aiya-Sipho	Yes	Sipho was giving the class instructions for a written task. Sipho: You're going to take a paper and draw five current buns in a baker's shop. Aiya sits without a paper for a while. Then Aiya said: 'Teacher, I don't have a paper.' Aiya then completed the task when Sipho had given him some.	See also 5/03/03 9.13 and 9.45
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages			Inferred		No evidence to the contrary

SPEAKING 2 The learner is able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations.	Responds appropriately to simple questions with single words or formulaic phrases	12/02/03 11.45	Sipho-learners, Aiya -Sipho	Yes	Sipho was contextualising an activity by asking the learners in English about where we buy buns. Sipho: You all know what buns are? Learner: Nice. Aiya: Cream. Sipho: Where do we get them from? Learners: Spar, Shoprite. Aiya Checkers. Sipho: At Spar, they've got them. Where exactly do we get them? Aiya: At the back.	Aiya was able to recognise and respond precisely to the question form in the last question.
	Uses and responds to simple greetings/requests	2/9/2002 11.44	Aiya-PR	Yes	Aiya's group was trying to sit down at the table where I was writing. Anita told the red group to go and sit down. PR was seated at the table and taking up one of the chairs that a learner would need to sit on. Aiya had already sat down, but noticed that one other learner could not, so addressed PR with 'Excuse me'.	See Grade R
	Expresses themselves using 'chunks'	12/02/03 12.00	Aiya-Sipho	Yes	Sipho was giving the class instructions for a written task. Sipho: You're going to take a paper and draw five current buns in a baker's shop. Aiya sits without a paper for a while. Then Aiya says: Teacher, I don't have a paper.	
	Memorises and performs songs /action rhymes	12/02/03 11.35	Sipho - Aiya, Aiya	Partially	Sipho was leading the class in the 'An Elephant Walks' rhyme. Aiya kept up with the class partially, needing some prompting at the beginning of some lines.	See also 10/03/03 8.48
	Pronounces familiar words clearly	12/02/03 12.00	Aiya-Sipho	Yes	Sipho was giving the class instructions for a written task. Sipho: You're going to take a paper and draw five current buns in a baker's shop. Aiya sits without a paper for a while. Then Aiya says: Teacher, I don't have a paper.	This utterance was clear with perfect grammar. See also 12/02/03 11.45 and 12/02/03 10.20.
READING 3 The learner is able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.	Makes sense of a picture story	17/02, 9.20		Yes	Sipho had just told the class the story about Vusi using the picture board. She followed this up with a discussion in English about how Vusi treated books. She then asked the class: Who is going to be Vusi? Aiya: (raises his hand) Sipho: (to Aiya) Are you going to lick the pages? Aiya: (with other learners) Noooo.	Although Aiya did not answer the first question 'correctly', his second answer demonstrates he at least understood from the story that one should not treat books badly.
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
	Matches pictures and words					No sequencing or matching activities
	Uses illustrations to understand captions	10/03/03 8.53	Aiya	Yes	Sipho read three books, (<i>Usana Lwam, Rainbow, and Ndinekhaya</i>), to the class by facing the book towards them and pointing at the words underneath the pictures while she remained silent. The class would then chorus the words as Sipho pointed at them. Aiya was able to keep up with the class most of the time, but sometimes listened to what the class was saying before he spoke.	The class had been exposed to these books many times before in a variety of ways, such as being read to, discussing the pictures and so forth. Aiya was able to read the one word captions without difficulty, but had trouble with the books with longer sentences.
	Recognises some print in the media	26/02/03 9.00	Aiya	Inferred	The class were reading out words from the reading books which Sipho had written on the board. (In other words, the learners would have seen and heard the words before, but not out of context.) Aiya was able to read the shorter ones like 'inja'.	Aiya was able to read aloud single words without contextual clues.
	Matches words and objects using labels					No sequencing or matching activities
	Follows printed instructions from flashcards	26/02/03 9.00	Aiya	Inferred	The class were reading out words from the reading books which Sipho had written on the board. (In other words, the learners would have seen and heard the words before, but not out of context.) Aiya was able to read the shorter ones like 'inja'.	Aiya was able to read aloud single words without contextual clues.
	Reads picture books with very simple captions	10/03/03 8.53	Aiya	Yes	Sipho read three books to the class by facing the book towards them and pointing at the words underneath the pictures while she remained silent. The class would then chorus the words as Sipho pointed at them. Aiya was able to keep up with the class most of the time, but sometimes listened to what the class was saying before he spoke.	The class had been exposed to these books many times before in a variety of ways, such as being read to, discussing the pictures and so forth. Aiya was able to read the one word captions without difficulty, but had trouble with the books with longer sentences.

WRITING 4. The learner is able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes.	Copies familiar words and short sentences	26/02/03 8.18	Aiya	Yes	As the final activity in a task, Siphon wrote up on the board the sentence: 'I belong to God's family' She wrote it slowly, pronouncing each letter as she did so. Aiya copied the whole sentence down, but omitted to start a new line when he ran out of space.	
	Uses simple words to complete sentence frames					Secunda One had no writing activities that involved completing sentence frames.
	Writes lists with titles.					No listing activities
THINKING AND REASONING 5. The learner is able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.	Understands concepts and some vocabulary relating to: identity	8/11/02 11.05	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table. Anita asked Aiya a series of questions about himself (e.g. 'What is your name?'), to which Aiya responded correctly, in the main.	
	numbers and counting	5/03/03 9.13	Siphon-Aiya	Yes	The class were engaged in a maths worksheet with a number of triangles on it. Siphon: How many triangles can you see? Aiya: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6!	Aiya was able to do this without pointing at the triangles.
	shape	14/08/02 10.10	Anita-Aiya + learners	Yes	Anita held up the poster and said: 'I want you to draw these first four shapes on a piece of paper'. The class all began to discuss the task amongst each other. Some got up to look at the poster. Aiya then drew all four shapes: an oval, a star, a crescent and a diamond.	See Grade R.
	size (big small long short)	8/11/02 10.55	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons. Anita said to Aiya: Take all the big ones and put them this side, and take all the small ones and put it this side. Then: Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side. Aiya did so.	See Grade R.
	time					No evidence available
	age	8/11/02 11.05	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita was asking Aiya a series of questions about himself in English. Anita: How old are you? Aiya: Six	See Grade R.
	direction					No evidence available
	ordinals					No evidence available
	ability (I can)					No evidence available
	Identifies similarities and differences	8/11/02 10.55	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons. Anita said to Aiya: Take all the big ones and put them this side, and take all the small ones and put it this side. Then: Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side. Aiya did so.	See Grade R.
	Identifies parts of the whole	8/11/02 11.05	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita was asking Aiya a series of questions about himself in English. She then asked him questions involving various body parts in the format: 'What do you do with your...?' Aiya was able to respond appropriately to each one, with the exception of 'nose'.	See Grade R (see also 8/11/02 8.40)
	Classifies things	8/11/02 10.55	Anita- Aiya	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons. Anita said to Aiya: Take all the big ones and put them this side, and take all the small ones and put it this side. Then: Put all the blue ones this side and all the green ones this side. Aiya did so.	See Grade R.
	Sequences things					No sequencing or matching activities
	Identifies things from descriptions					No evidence available
	Understands and uses some mathematical language	5/03/03 9.01	Siphon Aiya		Siphon had been eliciting the bonds of six from the class by saying: 'Four and what is six? Three and what is six?' She then asked Aiya to come up to the board and write the sum 'one and five is six' in digits. Aiya wrote: $1+5=6$ As he wrote it, Siphon was saying the words 'and... is...' but Aiya was able to write before she said the words.	Although not strictly mathematical language, (Siphon could have used 'plus' and 'equals'), Aiya was able to apply language to a mathematical problem with great success (see also 5/03/03 9.13, 9.14 and 9.45 and 10/03/03 8.31).
	Records information in simple charts					No chart activities

GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY 6 The learner knows and is able to use the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of the additional language	Understands: question forms	12/02/03 11.45	Sipho-learners, Aiya -Sipho	Yes	Sipho was contextualising an activity by asking the learners in English about where we buy buns. Sipho: You all know what buns are? Learner: Nice. Aiya: Cream. Sipho: Where do we get them from? Learners: Spar, Shoprite. Aiya: Checkers. Sipho: At Spar, they've got them. Where exactly do we get them? Aiya: At the back.	Although Aiya gave a response which didn't exactly match the first question, and he may have simply given another supermarket name for the second question, he was able to recognise and respond precisely to the question form in the last question. See also 30/08/02, 8.30 ('Where is the scooter?'), and 30/08/02 10.20 ('What is this one?').
	simple sentences	12/02/03 11.47	Sipho - Aiya, Aiya - Sipho	Yes	Sipho was discussing the location of the bakery in the supermarket with the class. Sipho: Somewhere in the shop, they've got a bakery. There is a side of stoves where they make buns. Aiya: Yes, I've see[n] it	Aiya was able to understand the gist of what Sipho said, and articulate an original and lexically complex response.
	simple present and progressive tenses	21/08/02 8.40	Aiya+learners- Anita	Yes	Class were looking at the weather chart with Anita. Anita asked the class: 'How is the weather today?' Aiya replied with the class, saying 'It is sunny'.	See also 30/08/02, 9.00 (It's me this one), and 8/11/02 11.05 (I'm going, I'm looking).
	imperatives	30/08/02, 10.20	Aiya- PR	Yes	During break, Aiya came over to stand at PR's desk. PR was writing on a piece of paper and made a mistake. PR crumples the paper up and leaves it at the side of the table. Aiya volunteers to take it to the bin saying: 'Give me this'.	See Grade R
	modal verbs					No evidence available
	negative forms	12/02/03 12.00		Yes	Sipho was giving the class instructions for a written task. Sipho: You're going to take a paper and draw five current buns in a baker's shop. Aiya sits without a paper for a while. Then Aiya says: Teacher, I don't have a paper.	This utterance was clear with perfect grammar.
	plurals of nouns	12/02/03 10.20	Sipho-Aiya, Aiya - PR	Yes	Sipho approaches PR to say why there are so few learners in the class. Sipho: It's so much easier with 25, they've gone to the dentist! Aiya: Dentist... wash the teeth	Aiya knew the irregular form of 'tooth'
	personal pronouns	12/2/03 12.05		Yes	The learners are engaged in a cutting and pasting activity. A learner shows PR his Pritt stick, which is finished. Learner: It's finish! Aiya: I have it.	Aiya was using it to refer his Pritt. Strictly speaking, it is the wrong pronoun, but the meaning is clear.
	prepositions	8/11/02 11.00	Aiya-Anita	Yes	Anita and Aiya were sitting alone at a table with a set of crayons. Anita asked Aiya to: 'Put the blue one next to the green one' and to 'Put the blue one behind the green one'. Aiya placed the crayon next to another.	See Grade R.
	adjectives	26/02/03 8.42	Sipho-learners+Aiya	Yes	Sipho was holding up a picture of her family tree to the class. She talked about who all the people were in English. Then she asked the class: How many old people are there in this picture? Aiya: Three. Sipho: How many young people are there in the family? Aiya: One! Two! Sipho then repeated both questions.	By the end of this exchange, Aiya was able to answer the questions correctly, suggesting he understood the adjectives 'old' and 'young'. However, later Aiya was unable to grasp the difference between the two (see 26/02/03 9.25 and 8/11/02 10.50)
	500-1000 common words in context	12/02/03 10.20	Sipho-Aiya, Aiya - PR	Yes	Sipho approaches PR to say why there are so few learners in the class. Sipho: It's so much easier with 25, they've gone to the dentist! Aiya: Dentist... wash the teeth	Aiya was able to understand at least one word of Sipho's. He then gave a response which fitted the context using his own words.
		12/02/03 11.47	Sipho - Aiya, Aiya - Sipho	Yes	Sipho was discussing the location of the bakery in the supermarket with the class. Sipho: Somewhere in the shop, they've got a bakery. There is a side of stoves where they make buns. Aiya: Yes, I've see[n] it	Aiya was able to understand the gist of what Sipho said, and articulate an original and lexically complex response.

SANDISWA (SECUNDA ONE)

Learning Outcome	Assessment Standard	Time/Date	Interaction	Achieved?	Context and Action leading to Evidence	Notes
1. LISTENING The learner is able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to a wider range of situations	Understands short, simple stories	17/02/03	Sipho-learners	Yes	Sipho was telling the story of Vusi to the children using the picture board. She leant forward to say: But....books can't speak. Sandiswa joined in every time, although Sipho did not insist on the learners doing so.	It was not possible to tell if Sandiswa necessarily understood the stories, but she was able to join in choruses at the appropriate moment and seemed to have an idea of what she was saying. See also 14/08/02, 11.43.
	Mimes the story Joins in choruses	17/02/03 8.52	Sipho-learners	Yes	Sipho was telling the story of Vusi to the children using the picture board. She leant forward to say: But....books can't speak. Sandiswa joined in every time, although Sipho did not insist on the learners doing so.	There were no miming activities.
	Draws a picture of the story	26/02/03 8.18	Sandiswa	Inferred	Following a discussion in English about God's family, Sipho told the class to draw either a sun to indicate they were part of God's family or a cloud to indicate that they weren't. Sandiswa drew a sun.	Sandiswa did not draw a picture of her own from a story, but she was able to follow instructions in English to draw something from an English discussion.
	Puts pictures in the right sequence					No sequencing activities.
	Answers simple yes/no questions	13/08/02 12.10	Anita -Sandiswa, Sandiswa-Anita	Yes	The class were drawing things from the 'c' alphabet card. Anita walked over to Sandiswa and asked her what she was drawing by saying: 'What is that?' Sandiswa replied: 'Cot'.	See Grade R and see also 8/11/02 11.05.
	Answers more complex questions in L1	8/11/02 11.05	Anita- Sandiswa	Yes	Anita and Sandiswa were sitting alone at a table. Anita asked Sandiswa a series of questions about herself, (e.g. 'What is your name?') to which Sandiswa responded correctly with single word answers.	See Grade R.
	Shows awareness of stereotyping					Removed
	Understands simple description	16/9/02, 12.00	Sandiswa-learners, Anita-Sandiswa	Yes	The class were sitting in front of the theme board. Anita asked the learners to pick a fruit and tell the class about it. Anita asked Sandiswa to tell the class about the strawberry. Some other learners in the class had spoken about other fruit before her. With some prompting from Anita, (see Appendix 7a), she spoke about the strawberry. Sandiswa: 'This is a strawberry/The colour is red/These are pips.	Sandiswa was able, with some help from Anita, to describe a piece of fruit.
	Understands simple oral instructions	3/02/03 8.17	Sipho-Sandiswa	Yes	Sipho was asking the class questions in English using the board to make the link between the word for one and the number 1. Sipho: Who can show me how to write the word 'one'? Sandiswa: (shoots up her hand and writes the word 'one' on the board.)	See also 26/02/03 9.45 (Sipho: How many old people are there in your home? Sandiswa: Three.)
	Gives classmates a chance to speak, listens and encourages			Inferred		No evidence to the contrary

Appendix 6a

Teacher Interview Scripts

AP6.1.1 Interview scripts for interviews with GR and G1 teachers

Turn on the recorder, and check that interviewee is happy with confidentiality. Explain that all names of schools and people will be changed.

Warmers

Are you having a good day so far?
How long have you lived in Grahamstown?
Where did you live before?
Are you married?
Do you have any children?

Classroom Background Data

Tell me some things about the class....
How many learners are there in the class?
How many boys/girls?
How many are isiXhosa/Afrikaans first language speakers?
Are there any English first language speakers in the class?
How many are repeating this year?
Are there any speakers of other languages in the classroom?
How much does it cost the parents to send their children here?
Does the government pay all the teachers?
How many children in this class attended preschool?

Teacher's Background Data

What is your professional background?
How long have you been working here?
Is this your first job in education?
What did you do before this job?
Tell me about why you became a preschool/primary school teacher.
Who gave you the idea?
Who did you speak to about it?
Who gave you your first job?
Where did you train and are you still training?
What's the most important part of the training for you?
Do you feel that the training has helped you in your work?
What's the best thing about working as a preschool/primary school teacher?
What's the best thing about working in this school?
Where do you see yourself in four years time?

Teaching (through) English.

Which language would you prefer to teach in if you had a choice?
Why?
Do you find it easy to teach in English or hard?
What things make it easy or hard? (Prompt if necessary: books, training, time.)

If you could give yourself a mark from one to ten for your English with ten being the best, what would it be?

Would you prefer your own children to learn in English or in isiXhosa/Afrikaans in the preschool?

Do parents of children in this class ever talk to you about English teaching and learning?

What do they say?

How do you assess the learners in your class?

What differences do you notice between children from different preschools?

The case

What do you think about ... as a learner? (Prompt if necessary: are they fast, slow, do they concentrate enough, what things are they good at, where do they need help, are they happy at school, do they have many friends, are they confident.)

What would make ... a 'better' student?

If you had time to meet ...'s parents, what would you say to them about him?

How much English do you think ... understands in the classroom?

How good do you think their spoken English is?

Do you think they will be ready to go to grade 1 /2 next year?

What things do you think they will find difficult in Grade 1/2?

What things do you think they find hard now/need help with?

Do you think the parents support ...'s learning at home? How do you know?

Outside factors influencing the classroom.

Do you get any support from organizations outside the school?

If you were having problems in your class, to whom would you go for help? (Prompt if necessary: Rhodes, Church, DET, other preschools, funders, Spar, other DE students.)

If you could change some things in this school, what would they be?

How do you think these problems could be solved?

Thank you for your time. I will type this up and give it to you soon to read. If there is anything you would like me to change, I will do so.

AP6.1.2 Transcript of interview with Xolelwa, Prima's GR teacher

Sections in highlight refer to interpretations made immediately after the interview as it was being transcribed.

PR: Are you having a good day so far?

01X: Oh yes, very much. I meet new people today. When you meet someone else, you are developed, you get more information. The learners feel that they are in another environment. They wanted to cry when those people wanted to go home.

The school had some visitors in the form of education students from the UK that day.

PR: How long have you lived in Grahamstown?

02X: I was born here. Then I went to Dankie. Then my parents bought a house in Joza.

PR: Do you have any children yet?

03X: No, not yet.

PR: How long have you been working here in this school?

04X: I started in 1996 as a trainee first. I was made permanent here in 1998. I was at Shaw Hall after training and then I came back to Prima in 1997. This is my first job in education.

PR: What did you do before this job?

05X: I was doing textile printing at Dakanwa Arts Centre, then fine art for a year. After that, I applied for this preschool course.

PR: Why did you become a preschool teacher?

06X: When I was at school, my goals were to become a teacher. Then my parents had no money to send me to college. I saw the advert in Grocotts for this preschool course, and I applied. At least I find something based on my goal. I love children very much.

PR: Who gave you the first idea to be a teacher?

07X: When I see a teacher in a school, I said, I want to be like this. My class teacher was a role model for me at that time.

PR: Are you still training now?

08X: I'm doing a Diploma in Education.

PR: What's the most important part of the training for you?

09X: Child development. Here at preschool, we know the child from the birth, up to... We start the child at three, up to six years. At the course, we learnt that we should know the child from birth, even though we don't have the babies here.

PR: Do you feel that the training has helped you in your work?

010X: Yeah a lot, because before I started here, I didn't know anything about the child, because I didn't have the child. But when I do the training, I learn a lot, even if I am going to have my own child. I am not going to suffer; I know everything about the child.

PR: What's the best thing about working as a pre-primary teacher?

011X: You meet lots of different people here. You talk with lots of different parents. Although you get lots of different attitudes, you afford to solve that problems.

PR: Whose problems?

012X: You might get a parent coming here wanting to beat a child that is beating theirs. So you are supposed to solve that problem, as a teacher. You must calm down. If the parents have that attitude, you must calm that parent down. You must sit down with them and explain everything. You meet different people, you learn different people, you learn different attitudes. When you do this preschool course, you learn many things for your home too. How to solve your problems at home, like with your husband. You learn those things.

PR: What's the best thing about working in this school?

013X: The best thing is that you work with many people. You share everything with those people you work with. We are all different ages here. We learn from the older people. It's interesting to work with other people.

PR: Where will you be in four years time?

014X: I see myself working for the government. I don't want to work here my whole life. I want to work in a primary school. That's why I continue with my learning. In a primary school.

PR: If you could teach in only one language in this school, which would you choose?

015X: I like English, but I'm not perfect. It's a language that we are supposed to use everywhere that we go.

PR: Why do you prefer to teach in English?

016X: Maybe because it's because it's another language we don't use a lot. Most of the time we use Xhosa. We like to learn other languages, and English is easier than others.

PR: Do you find it easy to teach in English, or hard?

017X: No, it's not easy. Xhosa is easy, but English is difficult, although we are trying.

PR: Why is it easy to teach in Xhosa?

018X: It's our home language.

PR: What things make it easy or hard to teach in English?

019X: Sometimes you have some words that are hard to understand, so you are supposed to go and check your dictionary. But it's nice to speak English, but some words are difficult.

PR: Do you have enough things in the classroom to help you teach in English?

020X: No, I don't have enough material. We have books, but we don't know how... I need some training. I need some training to know how to teach these young children another language. I need some books to learn how to teach children another language. Maybe if I can have some special training... I like to teach them it, because they enjoy it, especially those going to school next year.

PR: What mark would you give yourself for your English?

021X: [Lots of laughter] I don't know Phil!

PR: No, because I think you speak really good English.

022X: Maybe 8.... [Laughter]

PR: Would you prefer your own children to learn in English or in Xhosa?

023X: In both. Because your own language is very important.

PR: Which language would you like them to learn **in** most of the time?

024X: It's Xhosa. Because at home, when they are playing, they speak Xhosa. So most of the time, it's Xhosa.

PR: So Xhosa with some English?

025X: Yeah.

PR: Do the parents of the children in your class ever talk to you about learning English?

026X: Yes, but a few of them. Some parents want their children to learn English so that their children can go to the multi racial schools. Like Victoria Girls, Good Shepherd, Rhini One, Graham One... They want their children to learn English at least.

I tell them to help me at home. It's no use to teach the children English at school, but at home they learn Xhosa.

PR: What do they say when you tell them that?

027X: They promise to do that. Although I don't know if they do. Zikhona, Siya, some of them get help at home. Others don't care about anything. They just throw away those books there, and let their children play outside. They don't want to help them at home. Even if you ask them to help them, they don't care.

PR: Do the parents ever say anything else about English, or do they only talk about the English language schools?

028X: No, they just want their children to speak of English, because of the school they go to next year.

PR: What do you think about Andile as a learner?

029X: I started teaching Andile at 3 years old. When he first came here, he couldn't eat by himself; he always wanted someone to help him to eat. So I developed Andile. I tried. He's an only child, so his mother did everything for him. Andile is now developed. Last year, Andile couldn't draw even a person, just many eggs. Now he's trying.

PR: What things is Andile good at? What things does he do well?

030X: Story telling, his own stories, and sports.

PR: Where does he need help?

031X: He doesn't know colours and shapes very well. These things are important. He can write his name. I told his mother to teach him to do that. And counting too. He can count 1 -10. He's happy and confident now, but he used to be a shy person.

PR: What do you normally say to Andile's parents?

032X: I always shout at them to help Andile, because his mother is always busy at work, and I shout at her, to help Andile. He is the tall one in my classroom, but he still has a problem. Andile doesn't want to talk at school, so I tell her to support him. Andile's mother is always busy. She said that Andile is so naughty at home, he didn't want me to teach him, so I said, try. Try to teach Andile.

PR: How much English do you think Andile understands in the classroom?

033X: Yes, he doesn't reply in English, but he knows what you are talking about.

PR: Is he ready to go to Grade 1 next year?

034X: Yes, he's ready. It's only June now. He'll be ready in December. He's trying a lot.

PR: What things do you think he'll find difficult in Grade 1?

035X: You know, he's a shy person. He's not confident enough about himself. I'm afraid for him, because he is so shy. He doesn't want to talk. Especially if it's the first time he sees a person. He gets better over time. He's used to me now at least.

PR: What do you think about Nomathemba as a learner?

036X: Oh, Nomathemba is a curious one. She wants to know everything that is happening.

PR: Does she concentrate enough?

037X: Sometimes. She likes to play, she doesn't like to concentrate enough, she's always disturbing others. She's talkative. Very talkative!

PR: Fast or slow learner?

038X: It's a fast one.

PR: What things is she good at?

039X: Educational toys. She understands things quickly. But when you see her, she looks as if she isn't concentrating, but she is listening. She's good with drawing, and creative activities.

PR: What things does she need help with, do you think?

040X: Writing her name. If she doesn't see her name, she forgets how to write it. She needs to copy.

PR: Is she happy at school?

041X: Yes, very happy. Nomathemba started here at three, but then her mother didn't have any money, so Nomathemba stopped coming to school. She was worried, but then she came back, she was so excited. She likes her school.

PR: Does she have a lot of friends?

042X: She has a lot! She's a socialiser. She always has news.

PR: If you could meet her parents, what would you say about Nomathemba?

043X: Nomathemba is a good girl, she is participating at school, and she is performing to. She likes school. She likes her teachers. They must always help her in anything she wants, and give her support. Maybe when she is older, she will be something, or someone. [Laughs]

PR: How much English do you think she speaks in the classroom?

044X: She understands when you talk to her in English, but she doesn't reply in English. She knows other English words. She doesn't give a whole sentence in English.

PR: What things will she find difficult next year in Grade 1?

045X: No, I don't think there is something. She is ready. When she meets a new person, she just closes up. At least she will try at Grade 1.

PR: Do you think Nomathemba's family supports her learning at home?

046X: Yes, her mother does.

PR: How do you know?

047X: She always brings some homework. Miss, I do this and this and this at home, you see. She brings drawings, or pictures. Or, Miss, my mother tells me what what what.

PR: Do you get organizations supporting you in the school?

048X: The DET wants to help us, but they didn't start yet. They want to train us to teach the school readiness. Maybe next year, we are still waiting. I was there at a meeting for those Grade R ones. We had a meeting with Mrs. Matthews. We are still applying for that. They chose a few schools, Raglan and Shaw Hall were two of them. We are still waiting for that course, it will take two years. They are going to help us.

We get papers from different organizations, and waste too for the children. We also get helped when we go to the museums, and hospitals.

PR: What about churches?

049XN: Heeee.... Well, we invite the priest for graduation. And parents. When we ask something to them, they help us.

PR: If you were having problems with someone or something in your class, where would you go for help?

050X: First, I would speak with the supervisor. If the supervisor doesn't know how to help, we call the parent's committee. Then we call the field worker. She help us a lot. She is the field worker for Prima. If

we have a problem, we just phone her. She helps us a lot. She always visit the school. She's a trainer too. She was my level 1 trainer.

PR: If you could change something in this school, what would you change?

051X: [Long pause] Oh Phil...

PR: Maybe you don't want to change anything.

052X: Everything is still OK neh? When we started working here, all the people are older people. We changed everything. 'We' is Buki and me. Our training was different from the older ones. The way of teaching was different, everything.

After the tape was switched off:

053X: You know, I want them to be *really ready*. We are not teaching, we are developing. It will hurt me if these children fail Grade 1. Most want to work. They press themselves to work. They want to know everything.

Overall impressions.

Xolelwa is a very committed teacher. She is very involved in all aspects of her school life. She is confident in her English, but she wants to be able to do better by her learners and teach them more English. She wants more training in this specifically. She feels under resourced to teach much English. Her understanding of Nomathemba's and Andile's learning almost tallies with my own. She has of course known them for much longer than me. I detect a hint of frustration that she is not doing as much as she could be with herself. She is ambitious, and wants to move beyond pre-primary. She is bright. This is far more than just a job to her, but given an opportunity to leave it and move on, she would at a moment's notice.

AP6.1.3 Transcript of interview with Anita, Secunda's GR teacher

Background questions

Anita was schooled in Afrikaans at a Catholic school. She has worked for the last five years in Grahamstown in retail and before that in education in Cape Town and East London. She is married with no children. She started at Secunda in March 2002. She taught Grade 2 in Cape Town for eighteen 18 years.

PR: Why did you want to become a teacher?

01A: It's always been my dream to be a teacher. My mother was a teacher, and so was my grandmother. My mother didn't want me to be a teacher, and my father helped me.

PR: How did he help you?

02A: My mother said I must do matric, and then decide what I want to do. I left at Standard 8, and my father gave me the money to do it. At that time, they said to us that teaching is a calling. You have to be called to become a teacher, it's almost like being a priest. I just thought that was my calling at that time.

PR: Who gave you the idea?

03A: I think it is because my mother was such a good teacher, and when she came home she always talked about her job, what it does to her and all that. I liked the idea of starting at 8.00 and finishing at 2.00, and I saw that the job was really fulfilling.

PR: But your mother tried to put you off?

04A: Yes, she did! (laughs)

05A: My first job was in Mitchell's Plain in a school that was newly opened there. After Standard 8, I did my training of three years and then did my matric because I promised my Mum that I would. After that, I did my DET3.

PR: What was the most important part of the training for you?

06A: It was psychology. That was there they told you that teaching is a calling. If you go into teaching it's not for the money, it's to make you as a person feel good. For us it was about being with the children and telling them things that they would love to know and all that.

PR: What's the best thing about being a *pre*-primary teacher?

07A: For me it's fulfilling every day, learning new things from the children, and because they are so vibrant, and you get that fulfilment every day. You see them growing up, and you see them learning new things.

PR: Where do you see yourself in about four years time?

08A: I would love to complete my education in *pre*-primary, because I really love *pre*-primary.

PR: So you mean perhaps doing another qualification in *pre*-primary?

09A: Yes, or perhaps sitting there on top.....

PR: OK! (understanding principal)

10A: In the education department.

PR: Which language would you prefer to teach in if you had the chance?

11A: You see, my home language was Afrikaans, my father spoke Afrikaans, and my mother spoke English. But at school, we were never scared of speaking English or Afrikaans. So any language, English or Afrikaans, that's good.

PR: So there's no real distinction there for you?

12A: No, you see when I was at college, I trained in English and Afrikaans first language.

PR: If you could give yourself a mark out of ten for your English, what would it be?

13A: Oh, (laughs), I don't know, about six?

PR: Would you prefer your own children to learn in English or in Afrikaans, or Xhosa?

14A: I think Phil that the more languages you know will be very good. I think that English is the language that is spoken the most.

PR: So it should be English with other languages, or just English?

15A: No, it should be English with others.

PR: Which languages should they be?

16A: I love Xhosa, so it will be that, and Afrikaans. I really love Afrikaans.

PR: Do parents of children in the school ever talk to you about English teaching in the school?

17A: Yes, the father of the twins. He came to me and said that he would like his other child who is at this school, that he would like that child to come to this school because he would love his children to speak Afrikaans and English.

PR: And this is a black gentleman?

18A: Yes.

PR: So why did he come to you to say that?

19A: You see, he said he listens to his two little girls at home speaking, and he loves it he says, he thinks it's good for them, because if they go to Victoria Girls one day it will help them to know English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa.

PR: So he wasn't so interested in having Xhosa in the school, he thought that was fine at home?

20A: No, no.

Anita was affirming what I said here.

PR: Any other comments from parents?

21A: We had a meeting, and the parents said they prefer English, because some of them cannot speak English themselves, because they speak Xhosa at home, so they feel it is good for the children to speak more English at school.

PR: What do you think about Sandiswa as a learner?

22A: She is capable to do the tasks that is given to her. She has an outgoing personality, and she speaks quite often, and she often asks questions. She's a neat worker, and she is doing it thoroughly. She has her own time, but she does it.

PR: What would make Sandiswa a better learner?

23A: I would like her to work a little faster; I think she can do more than what she does.

PR: How much English do you think she understands in the classroom?

24A: She understands most of the things I say.

PR: About eighty percent?

A: Ja, Ja.

PR: What do you think about Aiyabulela as a learner?

27A: His attention isn't always with his work. He's forever looking around and all that. But he can do the work, but he is easily distracted with other things. You must go to him all the time, and keep telling him. It's not that he can't do the work, he can, it's just that his attention isn't always there.

PR: What about his English? Does he speak to you much?

28A: Yes, and I think he loves speaking.

PR: What else?

29A: Oh, we have to work on his concentration. [emphatic] Because it won't help him later on.

PR: How much English do you think he understands in the classroom?

30A: I don't think he understands every thing that I say; he understands some of the things.

PR: Have you met Aiya's mother?

31A: I've spoken to their mother; she says she *tries* to speak English with them at home.

PR: Do you think both the learners are ready to go to G1 next year?

32A: Definitely. With Aiyabulela especially, everything we do in the preschool, he knows it, he won't struggle, I think.

PR: And Sandiswa?

33A: Her confidence will see her through, I think.

Anita interprets the last question about whether the children are being supported in their learning at home as to whether their learning of English is supported at home. She doesn't answer about learning in general. Even when I asked: 'In what ways?' Anita said: 'In speaking English with them.' I think Anita doesn't encourage the parents to read to their children, or to go over things that the children have learnt in school. It also says to me that Anita views one of the core aspects of what she is doing as teaching English. It is the most important factor for her.

PR: Do you get any support from outside the school here?

34A: Not since I've been here.

PR: If you had a problem in the school, what's the first thing you would do?

35A: I would first go the principal. He is head of the school, and he is the first one to know if there is a problem.

PR: If you could change some things in this preschool, what would they be, assuming that money isn't a problem?

36A: (smiles, looks wistful) Oh. Lots. More educational toys. Puzzles, those matching puzzles, opposites. Painting the place. Getting a proper board. That would be very, very effective in this classroom. I would love to them to use the blackboard more, so that I can see who can do things, and who can't do them. A teacher's aide...[a person] to help with the discipline in the class as well. They are still small, and you can't be with all of them at the same time. So it will be a help if there is some one with another group, and you are with that group.

She has clearly thought about all these things before.

PR: Do you follow a syllabus?

37A: You know I was working with Rhini Business Machines before I came here, a lot of the pre-primary teachers used to come in and make copies there, and I used to make some for myself, because I always knew I would get back into teaching. So I use those copies there as well.

Anita doesn't work with a syllabus. I wonder if she even knows of the existence of one for pre-primary? The standard of her teaching is very high, especially compared to that of pre-primary trained teachers in Prima. She does have a lot of experience in teaching, far more than the other teachers in the study.

AP6.1.4 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Secunda

16/09/02

8.45

Anita to PR: That Siphosethu, he's clever man! Toni and I had to take him home yesterday because no one came to fetch him. On the way there, he was giving Toni directions. Toni would ask him: 'Where now?' and he said 'Left here, right here'. He's so naughty in class, and then he comes out with all this English.

Toni is Anita's husband. Anita rates the cleverness of pupils on how much English they understand.

Anita clearly changed in her behaviour towards Sip after this by using a much less harsh tone of voice with him.

18/09/02

9.10

Anita: This course that Annette is doing at Rhodes doesn't teach them to liase with the Grade 1 teacher. The tutors also don't liase with the Grade 1 teachers. The grade one teachers struggle. Preschool teachers should be taught to ask: 'What should the children know by Grade 1?' When I was at school, we had to copy what the teacher wrote on the board. So if the teacher can't do it right, how can the children? They said that children need routine. They told them that in the early years the whole class must go to the toilet together, now they say the child can just go.

PR: Your children have to ask before they can go, don't they?

Anita: Yes.

PR: So you are saying that the children don't have to ask anymore now?

Anita: Yes...(unsure) You know, the tutors have only been to see Annette teaching once. They never came back. I'm sure those tutors will say I'm doing it wrong if they came to my class. What I am doing is different from what they teach. They like to work in groups. I don't always do that.

Anita is feeling a bit insecure, I think, about the fact that she doesn't have pre-primary training.

However, she also feels that she knows more about what should go on in pre-primary than the tutors do. She doesn't feel they are very professional.

PR: So do you ever talk to the Grade 1 teacher here?

Anita: Not much, you know.

PR: So you are saying you know this because you used to teach in Grade 2.

Anita: Yes, that's right. You know this child Sinazo? She's the child of Siphosethu in Grade 1. Siphosethu came to see me the other day, and she said: 'Oh, my child speaks lovely English.' She couldn't speak a word when she came here.

I think Anita is saying this to demonstrate that she is doing the right thing, and doing it well, because the Grade 1 teacher has complimented her on the fact that her child in that pre-primary class can now speak English.

AP6.1.5 Transcript of interview with Siphosethu, Secunda One's G1 teacher

Siphosethu was schooled in an English medium school in Grahamstown. She subsequently did her BEd at Rhodes and has been at Secunda ever since.

2.00

PR: What made you want to go into teaching?

S: There wasn't much else at that time. But now that I am in the profession, I love it.

2.45

PR: What's the best thing about being a primary school teacher?

S: It's satisfying. When you see them at the end of the year, and they can write and read, and you can say 'That's me there'. It gives me satisfaction to see a result.

3.30

PR: Where do you see yourself in five years time?

S: I don't think I will be teaching then. I want to find work with the Department of Environmental Affairs.

PR: So you want to be a civil servant?

S: I want to continue teaching, I have a strong background in that, but now I want to move on. My teaching will help me in a job like that. It is all about educating people.

5.42

PR: If you had to choose one language to teach in, which would it be?

S: Xhosa.

PR: Why's that?

S: Because I can express myself more easily. Sometimes if I'm speaking English, I struggle to find the word, and I end up saying it in Xhosa anyway. It is my home language.

5.46

PR: Do you find it hard or easy to teach through English?

S: It's not hard or easy. It's in the middle, just so-so.

5.55

PR: With your own daughter, do you prefer her to learn in English, or in Xhosa?

S: If it had to be one?

PR: Yes. Only one.

S: Then it's Xhosa.

PR: Why?

S: Because once you have that start in the mother tongue, you can add other languages to it. You can build from there.

PR: So just Xhosa?

S: No, Xhosa with English. I want my child to learn in Xhosa with English. English is important, I know. But they need the basis in the mother tongue. After that, you can transfer things into a second language.

6.28

PR: Now in this school, they are teaching in English after Grade 1, not so?

S: Yes, in Grade 2 they are doing everything through English.

PR: So there's no Xhosa there?

S: They are only getting one hour of Xhosa a day. It's not enough.

PR: So you think there should be more Xhosa in the school?

S: It's difficult for one teacher to support the Xhosa all the way to Grade 9 with these bigger children. They should be doing things like poetry there, but they aren't. I think they should be learning through Xhosa with English.

PR: So all the teachers need to be able to speak Xhosa too?

S: It is best if teachers can all speak Xhosa and English, especially to explain things to the kids. Like if something is difficult in Maths, they can explain it in Xhosa.

7.42

S: I'm thinking now that I shouldn't have sent her so soon to Victoria Girls.

PR: Why's that?

S: You know, she is struggling there. Everything is in English, and she struggles with things like Maths. You only have to miss one word, and then you get everything the wrong way round. They don't make a difference for those children with English as a second language. I think I should maybe have sent her later, about Grade 8 or 9.

8.10

PR: How do you assess the learners in the class?

S: There are the reports every term. But I also have tests with spelling words.

PR: Xhosa words?

S: Of course, yes.

8.25

PR: Do you notice any difference between children from different preschools?

S: No, not really. Only some of them have focused on different skills, you can see. Some can read only letters, or give the alphabet to you, and others can recognise words. Then there are those who are good at cutting, and those that are not.

16.12

PR: What do you think about Aiyabulela as a learner? [] Is he fast or slow?

S: Oh, he's fast at Maths. Very fast. He isn't too strong at reading yet, but I can see he's trying very hard. He's not a great talker, he sometimes talks to you, but he's not risking a lot.

PR: How much English do you think he understands in the classroom?

S: A lot.

PR: Ninety per cent?.

S: Yes, maybe more.

PR: Hundred per cent?

S: Almost, yes.

16.25

PR: And Sandiswa? How is she as a learner?

S: She surprised me, you know. I thought she was always relying on her friend, but the other day I asked her to write some words for me, like a spelling test to see if she could do it alone. And she did. And her friends force her to speak in English. This friend of hers who was sitting here got her to play a game where the friend was the teacher, and she was the learner. They were talking in English, like teachers. Sandiswa had to keep up, and she could.

PR: So her friend was talking to her in English, and she kept up?

S: Yes. I told her some of the things she had to reply, and she repeated them.

PR: So you were telling her what to say?

S: Yes, sometimes. And then she would say it after me.

PR: How much English do you think she understands in the classroom?

S: She understands most things, like stories. Maybe she struggles with instructions sometimes.

16.42

PR: Are they ready to go to Grade 2 next year?

S: Yes, I think so.

PR: Are they now?

S: No, no. But they will be, they are trying.

18.05

PR: If you could change some things in this school, what would they be? [] If money wasn't a problem?

S: I'd buy more Xhosa books for the library. These children don't read enough Xhosa, you know. My colleagues can't really do their jobs, teaching Xhosa to all these children by themselves. It's too hard. She should be doing things like poetry and books, but she can't do those things.

Sipho said she hadn't formally met the parents of either child, but she had bumped into Aiya's mother once or twice.

AP6.1.6 Transcript of interview with Priscilla, Rhini One's G1 teacher

Priscilla was born in the Transkei where she was brought up until she reached Grade 5. From there, she moved to East London where she completed her Grade 10 before training as a teacher in Cape Town. She then moved back to the Eastern Cape to work at Rhini One where she has been for the last nineteen years.

PR: What do you think about the level of the children's English in your class?

01P: They catch on easily in English, and they look at what the others are doing. The thing with them is the speaking, the communication in English. That is what they find difficult, especially, even if they come from a preschool, some of them can talk to me in English, but it's broken English. At least I can understand what they are trying to say, a few words here and a few words there. At least they try....they're not scared of speaking in English. Then you get those that....even up to now, when they go to the toilet, I teach them, when they come in here I tell them, when you go to the toilet, you come to me and you ask me: Miss may I leave the room? I can promise you, up to now they're's most of them can't even give me that sentence. In proper English. Miss may I leave the room? They come like: Miss, may I room please? or Miss...their communication is bad, but they understand what the meaning of it is. But it's difficult for them to just speak it in English. So their communication is bad, even if they've been to an English preschool.

PR: Really?

02P: But the work that we do in the class, the reading, they...all these words, [*points to a series of one-word flashcards behind her*] they know it, because I taught them in English and they understand, but if I want to talk to them.....That's why we do those pictures and those little stories and stuff. That is why we do that, just to let them talk. A lot of talking.

PR: A lot of speaking?

03P: A lot of speaking, just for the language.

PR: How many children in this class went to preschool then?

04P: Most of them.

PR: Eighty/ninety percent?

05P: Say three quarters of the class.

PR: Really...and how many of them went to English medium preschool? Do you know?

06P: Oh no....There's only...Secunda, has it got a preschool?

PR: Yes.

07P: English preschool.....

PR: Nearly all of those kids go to the same Grade 1.

08P: Was Andile in the English class? I don't...

PR: He wasn't at Secunda, you see.

09P: OK, I've got five or six coloured children coming from English preschools, and they cope well with the English. Those are the one's I know of. The others are from Shaw Hall, and they do English there as well at Shaw Hall, I'm not sure.

PR: A bit.

010P: And the others come from the locations preschools. And there they speak Xhosa.

PR: So there's only maybe five children in the class who haven't been to preschool. Is that right?

011P: More than five...hmmm...I'm not sure, but most of them come from preschools.

PR: Do any of them come from your preschool, from Rhini One preschool?

012P: Yah, there's some of them, there's about five from this one here. But that is not actually English, because we were, we haven't been linked. This is the first year that we've been linked with that school. So now maybe from next year we will get more children and they will speak English. We must still go up there and talk to those people up there.

PR: You don't know what they are actually doing? Is it English or Afrikaans there?

013P: I think it's Afrikaans mostly.

PR: So how many of the grade one classes are English medium, and how many are Afrikaans?

014P: Here?

PR: Yah.

015P: There's three grade one classes, and only one is English. I'm the only English grade one here, the other two are Afrikaans.

PR: So what happens in Grades 2 and 3 then? What happens then? Do they all go to Afrikaans, or...

016P: No, there's one in Grade 1, and in 2 and 3, there's one English class going up.

PR: All the way to until...

017P: All the way to Grade 7.

PR: So the school only goes to Grade 7 then?

018P: Yes.

PR: So then there are three classes for each grade up to Grade 7?

019P: Yes.

PR: And then after that they would go to Nombulelo, or Mary Waters or...

020P: Most of them wants to go up to Mary Waters when they come from here. But now with all the primary schools feeding Mary Waters, there, they've got a problem now. The schools over there are basically empty, in the location, from grade eight up, because they all want Mary Waters.

P: Because it's better?

021PR: I won't say it's better, I don't know.

PR: Is it the language thing?

022P: I think it's the language thing. Because you see these come from English mostly. Then, when they get out of Grade 5, from the English class, I don't know but I think that the schools in the location they teach mostly in English from Grade 4 up. All the content subjects are English I think. But I don't know where the problem comes in then, why they all want to go there to Mary Waters.

PR: I've heard it's something to do with the fact that some, especially black children who've been to this school, or Graham One, or even Secunda, they don't want to take Xhosa. If they go to Nombulelo, then they have to take Xhosa as a second language, and they can't do it because they haven't done any Xhosa, or they've done a bit.

023P: Is it?

PR: Do they do any Xhosa here?

024P: No, no Xhosa here. But I can't understand, why don't they just change one of those Xhosa classes and make one English class like we do. I'm sure those teachers can speak English.

PR: I don't know. I hear they've run out of space for the learners at Mary Waters now.

025P: Yes, because that's why they are using this hall here for the children. And there's so many schools up there that are empty, that has got empty classrooms. Lovely schools. I really don't know what is thing really.

PR: Hmmm. So many kids have you got in this class in all?

026P: I've got thirty-six this year. We used to have forty, forty-five, but this year we've cut them. We've cut the admissions. We've stopped at thirty-six.

PR: Do you get some kids during the year?

027P: No.

PR: So how much do the kids pay?

028P: School fees? We've got one, that's one hundred rand for the year.

PR: Oh, so it's a government fee, it's not a private fee.

029P: No, we decide. The school decides. Only one hundred for the year. Other schools ask more. I think we've got the lowest rate of the town. And the people still can't pay it. They still struggle to pay the hundred rand for the year.

PR: So all the teachers here are government paid?

030P: Yes.

PR: There's no governing body staff?

031P: No! We don't have money, so we can't pay nobody.

PR: So the money that you've got goes towards what. The buildings, the sports.

032P: The phone calls, what ever we've got, and the machines. All the copiers and whatever.

PR: So who buys all these resources here? [*points to the classroom*]

033P: Yes, we've got to do it out of our own pockets. We used to get everything in the past, nowadays we don't get nothing, no.

PR: So how long have you been at this school?

034P: At this one... I started here in '84.

PR: Did you? In this room?

035P: Yes.

PR: And how long was that after you trained?

036P: I started teaching in 1970.

PR: So where were you before you came here?

037P: Yo, all over! I've been in Cape Town, East London, Transkei

PR: Have you?

038P: Yes, I'm from the Transkei, I started there in the Transkei. In the one town Butterworth, I went to Mount Frere, yes, and when the Transkei became independent, we had to move, because we didn't want to stay there because everything was now... the schools took over now the black schools and stuff, and we went now to Cape Town.

PR: So were you told to leave?

039P: No, we just wanted to leave. Because some of my aunts and stuff they stayed on, and they didn't get their monies. That's why we left and went to Cape Town. And from there my husband didn't like Cape Town, so we came back to East London, and from there we came here.

PR: So did you move with your husband?

040P: Yes. It was nice in the olden days, we got transfers. You don't get transfers now.

PR: You mean money to help with the transfer?

041P: No, no, no, from one school to another school.

PR: Oh, you can ask for that.

042P: Yes, but you don't get transfers now. Yes, I was lucky, wherever I was I just went to the principal, asked don't you have a post available, can I have a transfer and step into a school wherever I went.

PR: So is it nice working here?

043P: Yes... I don't have any problems wherever I work, because I'm a worker, even if I have to say it myself. You must be committed. I love teaching my children, and that's why I work. Wherever I've been, I was working, I just did my job, that's all.

PR: Yes, I can see.

044P: So I don't have problems. I wasn't performing because of you being here.

PR: No, no...

045P: That is just how I used to work. So I don't have a problem with anyone wanting to come and visit my class. I don't say I'm perfect, but I'm trying to do my best. And that is all I can do.

PR: OK....How many kids in this class are from last year? How many kids are kept down?

046P: Well, they're all new here. I didn't keep any. There should be children that went on to Grade 2 that I couldn't keep because the department didn't want us to keep the children. We didn't have a nice, full record of why we wanted to keep the children, that is why. But this year, I won't do the same thing, I've got my...observation book with children that's a bit slow. Every child that's slow, I write a letter to the parent, I say I want to see him, I talk to the parent, early in the year, your child is a bit slow, if he can't pick up I will have to keep him back another year, so I will try my best and see. Now that is all the records that I keep now, because I don't want them to pass a child to Grade 2 if he's not ready.

PR: So how many kids are there in this class who are possibly going to be in that book?

047P: OK, I've got four here. I'll still try with them and see. I don't really want to keep them, but there's now four that is really slow in the reading and the sounds and stuff. These two here, and those two there. [*points to the tables where these learners normally sit.*] I'm still going to try with them, pushing them to see how far they can go.

PR: How do you think Andile is doing?

048P: No, I've moved him, he's coming on very well, very nicely.

PR: In what things in particular?

049P: With all his work, he was a bit slow in the beginning, with the reading and the writing, but everything is coming on well now. He's remembering his sounds, he can read his words and stuff. His writing is coming on nicely.

PR: Would you say he's going to pass the year?

050P: Yes, yes, no he's much better than some of these I want to keep behind. He's at the normal level,

PR: He's about average, would you say?

051P: He's average.

PR: How many Xhosa first language speakers are there in the class?

052P: All of them, except those five, no six. [*counts the learners' tables*] There's six of them. They're Afrikaans speaking, first language.

PR: So Christo is Afrikaans first language, is he?

053P: Yes.

PR: Interesting, because he speaks English so well. So where does he get that from, do you think, from home?

054P: Yes, they speak to him in English, but their home language is Afrikaans.

PR: Right, so out of thirty-six children, there's only six here who aren't Xhosa first language.

055P: Xhosa speaking, hmmm.

PR: Where did you train?

056P: In Cape Town, Zonnebloem.

PR: Was it fun?

057P: No, it wasn't that fun, because the situation, it was in District Six, and there were lots of elements there, and I so young that I couldn't stand it, but I just had to do the two years there, I had to finish my training.

PR: District Six is no more, hey?

058P: It's no more, but those year, yooo, it was terrible. It was very nerve-racking, especially for us coloureds coming from these small places here. I just wanted to get out of Cape Town, yes!

PR: Why did you go into teaching?

059P: That was almost the only thing for us girls to do. If you're out of school, you either go for a teacher or for a nurse. That was the only two.

PR: For everybody in society?

060P: Especially, I don't know, perhaps for the coloured and blacks only if I can call it that. There was nothing, it was limited.

PR: [*jokingly*] You could've been a nun, I suppose?

061P: A nun? [*much laughter*] We had to work for money, we were so poor, there wasn't time to go for charity work like nuns do, neh? We had to just go out of school as fast as I could to help my brothers and

sisters because we were seven children, and I was the second eldest, my elder sister went for a nurse, and I was the teacher now, and we had to educate the other children because my father and mother they earned so little money they couldn't cope, so we had to just go out and get work.

PR: So did you leave school at standard 8?

062P: Yah, and I did my matric afterwards.

PR: So are you still training now, or did you give that up a while ago?

063P: I gave everything up because there's four years for me to go, I'll be fifty-five in four years and then I'll leave teaching. I'm tired, I want to go and relax at home.

PR: Good for you. It's been a long innings, eh?

064P: Yes!

PR: What's the best thing about working as a primary teacher do you think?

065P: The best thing? ...The children listen to you, they still respect you as a teacher, and they love you as a teacher if you, if you, if your relationship is like motherly to them, then oh they love you, because my children they run out of the gate and meet me halfway from school in the morning, they go fetch me halfway, because the children are still children, you can tell them what to do and they will still listen. You know it's not like the upper classes where they start getting out of hand now. It's difficult to keep them like the way you want. I love the Grade 1s. especially.

PR: Have you always been in G1 then?

066P: No, when I started teaching, I had combined classes, I had G1 to G3 together in that small rural school, and then I went on to G1 and 2 only, and then I went on to G3 alone when I was in Cape Town, and then in East London I started with Grade 1s. Since then I'm at G1.

PR: What's the best thing about this school?

067P: About this school? Yah, I don't have problems with this school, everything is fine with me. You just have to obey rules and do whatever is expected of us. Any school is the same, where if you are committed, as I said in the beginning, I don't see this school as better than any other, it all depends on you as a person and if you can work together with other teachers. So...

PR: If you had a choice, which language would you prefer to teach in?

068P: I prefer English now, because I had an Afrikaans class in the beginning,

PR: How long ago was that?

069P: About four or five years ago that we switched over to English, about four. I used to have Afrikaans,....with the black children speaking English, I love teaching them the English from scratch, that's why I love the English class. I don't know why, because everything they do,... it's like, I mean look at their uniforms, they're all uniforms, they've got uniformity. If I tell the parents I want this, I get it. From the blacks. Our children, that are very poor, our parents aren't interested. As long as the child is in the school, they just leave the child there, and you've got to do everything. You can see my class and the Afrikaans speaking classes. Just leave me with my English class and my Xhosa children, I'm much happier with them. Because if they catch up with English, their work goes much easier, so from now, when we open now, yesterday, and when I was here last term.

PR: Because they've been doing work at home you mean?

070P: No, because we've been coming together for three months now, they understand me better, when I give instructions or whatever, they understand me better and they are willing to learn, these children in English, because when I make this they love the English as they go on, they catch up with the language as the time goes by. As the year goes on, you don't have to shout and repeat things so much, they pick it up so much more easily as the time goes by.

PR: How much English do you think Andile understands in the classroom?

071P: Quite a lot.

PR: Most of what you say?

072P: Yes.

PR: Eighty per cent of it?

073P: Yes. It's just that he can't communicate nicely *yet*. But he tries. And what, whenever he talks to me in English, I can understand what he is trying to say. No, he understands most of it now.

PR: OK...But his spoken English is still weak?

074P: Yes.

PR: Would you say it is weaker than anyone else in the class?

075P: No, it's about average.

PR: Have you met his parents?

076P: No, I haven't.

PR: Not even his mother?

077P: No, earlier I have seen her, I can't remember faces and names.

PR: If you could meet Andile's parents, what would you say to them?.....If they came to the classroom and said, 'How's he doing?' what would you say?

078P: I'd just tell them that he's really coming on well, that he is coping with his work and that his English is coming on, I'll just tell them what really is going on with him.

PR: Do you see any evidence that they help him at home at all? Because you give them homework, don't you?

079P: I give them homework, maybe he does his homework, learns his sounds and stuff.

PR: So when you give him stuff to copy, you see it copied the next day.

080P: They know the words. They have to go home and learn them. That's how I know.

PR: So they don't have to copy the words?

081P: No, they do that on their own.

PR: What else do you think that Andile could do to make him faster?

082P: [] If only the parents could speak more English with them at home, every child will just flourish more in whatever they do, speaking,

PR: So it's not necessarily helping with the writing...

083P: Maybe just writing stuff, at home or whatever. I don't give them so much homework. Because the parents sometimes they mess up at home, especially the parents that is not learned, really.

PR: They tell them the wrong things?

084P: Yes, they tell them the wrong things, that's why I don't like to give the parents stuff to do. We've got meetings with the parents. Sometimes I call all the parents together, maybe one evening after work, and then I tell them to please help your children with this and with this and with this. But don't do stuff that you don't know. Like teaching them maths. They go and teach them all the wrong stuff. Like when I like to do my things here, they're all mixed up now. That's why I tell the parents not to do this or that, I give them the homework to do and it comes back. So if only they could speak more English to Andile, that will help me a lot.

PR: But you say that for most children, it's not just Andile?

085P: Yes. But later on I will give them more homework to do. And I will give them reading books to take home, and the parents must just help them to read up to work that I've done in the class. But they go on and they finish the books, yes, yes. I can see those children that did their homework, I can see.

PR: So which books? From READ?

086P: No, I don't give them READ's books to take home. I've got other books for that. READ books, I only do that in the class. There's only six READ books in every group, so I don't, I only do that in the class.

PR: So where did you get those other books from?

087P: From the department.

PR: OK, so they are old books?

088P: Yes, I got them the year before last. Yes, we do order books from the department, reading books. I've got lots of books

PR: Do you think there is anything that he's going to find difficult in Grade 2? Is he going to struggle, or will it be an easy ride?

089P: Well, if they go from here, and I'm satisfied with their work, then I don't think he'll get any difficulties with Grade 2. Just speaking more English at home, that's the only thing. Because in Grade 2, they've got to write more sentences. In English. And if they don't know how to speak it, how will they write it? If they cope with Grade 1, and I let them go, then they won't have a problem. If I pass. That's why I like to keep those that are a bit slow, I like to keep them.

Priscilla is non-committal about Andile's ability in English. She does not want to say where he is particularly strong or where he is particularly weak. In addition, she places a lot of emphasis on the ability to speak as the core language skill. Once this has been acquired, it is easy to acquire the others.

PR: Do you notice any difference between children from different preschools?

P: Not, actually. I think they do all the basic stuff in the preschools like the colours and the shapes counting of the numbers... No, I don't see, I don't really see.

PR: OK. How do you assess the learners? You said you give them reports at the end of term, how do you go about doing that? Do you do a test with them?

P: You've got continuous assessment, every day as you do the work. You've got a little book where you jot down what they know and what they don't know.

PR: Is that something you worked out yourself, or is it something the department gave you to do?

P: No, we do it together, as a school.

PR: Do any of the parents ever talk to you about English? About learning English in the classroom?

P: About what now, about the child speaking English or what?

PR: About learning about English, what they can do to help their children, or not really?

P: Not really. The parents are scared to come to school. That's why I give out little notes to the parents. If I want to see Andile's parents, I'll write a note. I've given out letters to some parents, but some of them haven't turned up.

PR: If you have any problems in your class, who would you go to for help?

P: Problems like what?

PR: Something was going wrong with a child at home.

P: We can go to social workers, we can go to the principal and talk about the child. And then he will refer to a social worker. But I hardly have any problems with my children.

PR: If you could change some things in this school, what would they be?

P: Things like what?

PR: You tell me!

P: In my class or in my school or what?

PR: In both. If there was something you could change, and money wasn't a problem.

P: If money wasn't a problem... Oh, I'll just buy everything for my children, like books, exercise books, you know the model C schools, they just tell the parents to buy that specific book for the child, and the child comes to school at the beginning of the year with that book, and they do all the exercises in that book. But we can't do that, there's no money, so now we've got to make copies. If you've got a little book, if I want to do something, I've got to make copies. I can't ask the parents for books. [*By exercise books, Priscilla means commercially available textbooks that the children work in.*]

PR: Do you get any support from organisations outside the school? Charities, apart from READ, obviously...

P: No. But there are schools that donated some books to us, like Kingswood if you ask for it. We used to ask them if they had books that they don't use like English reading books and they will give us old books. But that's once in a blue moon. Unless we ask. They've given us now a lot, I don't think they'll give us a lot soon.

PR: Well, that's really it, there's no more to ask you. Thanks, it's been inspiring to watch you!

P: Oh, I love it really. And especially now, it's like the second term, the children, if you sit back and look back to when they came here the first time, the difference, and when they came here yesterday... It's just

like you feel better, because at least now you can tell the child 'listen, do that'... You've at least achieved something in three months time, it makes you feel good... They get so excited when they know something. That is what I enjoy about Grade 1s. I don't think you see that in the other grades. Because you've started off with a child knowing nothing basically, he couldn't write, he couldn't read.

PR: How long does it take you to get through a book? Like 'Run!'

P: You're supposed to take a week, but we can't take a week, because we're only starting on the children. What helps me is those other books, I push with the sentences and those words. Those cat books. And then when I come from them and I go to read books, they catch up very easily. That's my secret.

P: Where do these cat books come from?

PR: All from the department. We've ordered these here. The vocabulary in these books is so good. That's why when the child is finished with this one, with the second one, he'll just go through it himself. There's just a few new words

PR: And those cat ones you give them to take home?

P: Yes, and I get them all back! One or two come back a bit dirty.

PR: I assume that if you've been doing Grade 1 for as long as you have, you don't have to prepare lessons any more?

P: No, I don't have to prepare nothing. If I see a child, I know that child will be able to cope and that one won't be able to cope. The markings not heavy, but you have to prepare the books for the next day every afternoon. That's all I don't like. If I had the exercise books, I wouldn't have to do that.

PR: I was impressed with how you can control many groups at once in the class.

P: These people at Rhodes and READ they think that this group thing is a new thing. It's not. We've been doing it for years. We were told to have three groups, a strong one, an average group and the slow ones. I've got four groups in this class.

PR: Do the groups ever change?

P: Yeeees... I do change. Like Andile was in my slow group. I took him out and put him in the middle group.

PR: Do you think he'll ever get to the fast group?

P: No, I don't think so. He's going to stay there, he's very comfortable there, he progresses well there. Even yesterday, I changed a few, from the fast group, I put them in the middle one, just to see how they were doing.

[some chatting]

PR: How often do you use Xhosa in the class?

P: I use it, especially in the first term, I use it a lot.

PR: To tell stories, or...

P: No, no, just to translate. If I talk to them in English, some of them will just look at me like this, and you can see it is blank. I repeat myself in English, I repeat myself, maybe three or four times. And then they look at me, they don't understand. Then I tell them in Xhosa. Then I tell them again in English. Then tomorrow, I do the same thing. And you'll see they'll respond a little better than before. I don't like to speak Xhosa with them. I speak English, but if I see they don't understand, I speak Xhosa, so they can at least understand. I don't want to do it often, because then they get lazy to think in English, they wait for me to translate it.

PR: So did you learn Xhosa in the Transkei, at school?

P: Yes, where I grew up.

PR: So you're fluent?

P: No, the schools ended there in Grade 7, so I had to go to a boarding school now, and that's the last of my Xhosa. Actually, I'm sorry about that, because I could've been fluent in Xhosa, I'm not fluent. But at least I can help myself in the class. It's only when people go on fast that I get lost along the way.

PR: So you speak it to the parents then?

P: No, they try to speak English, but if they find out that I speak Xhosa, they turn over. Because some of them can't speak English properly, and they struggle.

PR: So even if you tell parents to speak English at home with their children, they'll struggle.

P: That's where the problem starts. But that's really the problem in Grade 2, where they have to make sentences. So I just have to get something now for them, little sequences and stuff, like making tea. Like 'How do you make your bed?' I mix up the pictures; they must come and put them in order to make tea. What do you do first? They must tell me in English how to do it, but I help them of course. And tomorrow we do it over.

[some chatting]

PR: Andile is not the same boy now that he was last year. You know here, he's sometimes confident. Last year, he was very unconfident.

P: Was it a Xhosa preschool?

PR: He was very shy.

P: Even in Xhosa too? That's funny. He's more open now even in these last two days of this term. His hand is just going up now, more and more. He's picking up very well really. Some children in the beginning, they talk long to catch up. But when they've got it, they [clicks fingers] [tells a story of other Prima learner who picked up so well from June onwards, that P had to put him in the fast set.] Now I wonder if Andile isn't one of those? Because the way he's picked up from last term.

PR: Interesting.

P: When the parents see the child has a problem, especially in language, like these two, [*indicates two desks used by children who did not attend preschool*] if they went to the school over there speaking their own language, maybe they would've picked up better than [in] English. Because these two they don't talk to me at all. They look at me like that. No response, nothing. What can I do? I've got to speak in Xhosa, and they don't understand. I'll have to see if I can help them.

Priscilla seems to think that it might have benefited some children to have learnt in Xhosa in the preschool rather than in English.

AP6.1.7 Additional information gleaned during classroom observation at Rhini One

27/1/03

8.25

P holds up nametags. She doesn't say the name on the card: the learners have to recognise it from the writing alone. Andile recognises his own. The learners clap whenever another learner gets it right.

27/1/03

8.42

P (to PR): We were going to do a Bible story, but I have to do it in Xhosa not in English, or they won't understand a word.

Priscilla does not seem to believe that stories can be taught through pictures. She also doesn't seem to be preteach/ elicit/ translate some words before she reads the story.

8.46

P: (to PR) I know who is going to grade 2 in the first two weeks. I'm going to struggle with this one all year.

P was talking about a child who couldn't write her name. She seems to write children off if they do not perform as soon as they arrive in Grade 1.

12/02/03

9.55

P: I love what I do. I've been doing it for thirty-five years now. I tell the parents to speak English to their children at home. Because, the minute these children go out the door, all they get is Xhosa. I wrote letters to the parents saying practise English with the children, and practice the number 2.

PR: Did Andile's parents do that with him?

P: No. But this one did.

P then shows me some examples of work that the children have done at home. Even when the teacher intervenes, it seems that there is little that the family does at home for Andile.

12/02/03

9.15

A learner says something to the teacher in isiXhosa.

P: (to the learner) Don't speak Xhosa!

P: (to PR) If you ask them to speak in English, they close up.

9.40

Priscilla approaches one of the 'slow' learners who is sitting at her desk. The learner cowers when P comes over. P shouts in her ear to do what she asks her to.

P: I'm going to have to call the parents of this one.

P's attitude can be exceedingly harsh at times. The child is terrified of her.

9.45

Some learners are working on a number task on the pieces of paper. They have to draw the correct number of dots in a circle next to the digit and name of the number.

P is trying to get a learner to speak to her about what they have done on the paper.

P: (to herself and PR): Makes me sick. They can't even talk to you.

P is frustrated that the learners cannot articulate their thoughts about their work. She doesn't seem to take account of the fact that some learners may not want to speak, or cannot articulate abstract thoughts.

AP6.1.8 Transcript of interview with Janette, Graham One's G1 teacher

Janette had been on a march today against the retrenchment of teachers. She is politically active.

PR: So how many learners are there in the class?

01J: Thirty-six.

PR: How many boys?

02J: Twenty, and sixteen girls.

PR: How many of those are Xhosa first language speakers, do you know?

03J: Most of them are. Nineteen or more.

PR: So how many speak Xhosa at home, would you say?

04J: I'll tell you now. [*fetches the class list*] Nineteen. And the rest are Afrikaans.

PR: So there's none who speak English home language.

05J: One is, there's definitely one that I know of, Dylan. Some speak Afrikaans and English, they're bilingual. But it's more Afrikaans than English.

PR: Are there any repeating this year, or all they all new?

06J: No, they're all new.

PR: Are there any that you think will have to repeat this year?

07J: Jah, I've noticed there are some of them are weak. Especially three boys, although one isn't that bad, he's picking up nicely now, but this one is very playful, sometimes he just messes on his work. And this one, sometimes he doesn't understand what I am saying.

PR: Do you ever speak Afrikaans to the learners in the class?

08J: At the beginning of the year I had to.

PR: But now it's English.

09J: Jah, and they respond in English, they speak English.

PR: Do you speak any Xhosa?

10J: No.

PR: How much does it cost the parents to send their children to this school?

11J: It's R100 per year per child. If the parent has two children here, they get a discount.

PR: Do you know how many of the children in this class went to preschool?

12J: Most of them.

PR: Ninety per cent?

13J: Yes.

PR: So there's only three or four that didn't. Are those the ones that aren't doing well?

14J: Jah, there's only like three or four that aren't doing well. I can see straight away who went to preschool and who didn't go.

PR: Out of the Xhosa speaking people, did any of them go to English medium preschools?

15J: I know of one, he went to Kleuterland...He speaks English very well.

PR: I thought that was Afrikaans medium?

16J: No, Afrikaans and English, but he speaks English very well. His brother is at Graeme College.

PR: But the rest...

17J: You know Shaw Hall here in town? I think it's Afrikaans and Xhosa, or English and Xhosa. I'm not sure. There are coloured children that go there. Most of the children come from there and Prima.

P: What made you want to go into teaching?

18J: I didn't want to go into teaching. I wanted to be a traffic, [*meaning a traffic officer*] but my father wasn't happy about that. He said it was too dangerous. My grandmother, she was a teacher, and maybe because of that, my mother didn't want to do it.

PR: So you give them some reading homework you say?

19J: Jah, a lot of reading, there are quite a few of them that are struggling with the idea of reading. And I've noticed because they take it home, that some parents they just don't care about the children's work. Because the last time, I think it was the Thursday or the Wednesday just before the school closed, I gave them a Maths activity on more or less, and most of them, more than half of the class didn't do the work.

PR: Really? Is it because they couldn't do it, or because they didn't want to do it?

20J: No, we'd studied the activity quite a few times in the class.

PR: So which kids did do it?

21J: I can't remember off hand...

PR: Did Nomathemba and Siya do it?

22J: I'm not sure.

PR: But in general, homework doesn't get done?

23J: No.

PR: Do the parent's ever talk to you about English, the English language?

24J: No.

PR: It's not a priority for them?

25J: No.

PR: How do you assess the learners in the class? You have to write a report at the end of each term, don't you?

26J: Jah, we usually do continuous assessment and evaluation, as we do the activities we say who can do this, who can do that, and I know exactly now who knows their words their sentences, who struggles with it. It's something that we do before we give the reports. After each theme, we assess the kids, which will be like our formal assessment.

PR: Do you have a small exam or a test or something?

27J: No, it's like a test. Like I give them the normal work, like here [*shows me a document*] last term there were certain things that we assessed like formal assessments, you see, identify words, READ level 1, counting, position, cooperation.

PR: But that's not an actual test, that'll be a

28J: Jah, it's a normal activity that we give to them and we assess.
 PR: So you just make a mark to say whether they can do it or not?
 29J: Yes.
 PR: What do you think about Nomathemba as a learner? Do you think she is fast or slow or average?
 30J: She's not fast. I wouldn't say she is bad, but she's trying her best. Yesterday I did the Easter story with them, about Jesus and the crucifixion and everything, and I gave them an activity to colour in afterwards, and she didn't complete her work. And when the other children went home, I said those that didn't finish their work are going to stay in. And she was one of those that didn't finish her work. She never finished it.
 PR: Does she normally finish her work?
 31J: Usually. But she's getting very playful now.
 PR: Is there anything that she struggles with in particular?
 32J: Reading, and her phonics also.
 PR: When you say phonics, what do you mean? Making the sounds?
 33J: Ja, making the sounds.
 PR: So she doesn't know her letters?
 34J: That's it. But her counting and everything, maths it's all fine. We haven't done sums yet.
 PR: So you're still just talking about numbers now?
 35J: Yes.
 PR: Has she failed in her reading, or is it that she is not very strong?
 36J: She's not that strong.
 PR: But she's not that weak?
 37J: Sometimes, here are the new words and sentences, but if she go reads at home, and she comes back the next day, then she know her words. She has to go over her words and her work every day.
 PR: Do you think, from what you see in the class, do you think her parents help her at home?
 38J: Yes.
 PR: What things do they help her with?
 39J: If we do new words, and I say to her, go home and ask your parents to help you, the next day we do the same words, I see an improvement in the children. It just shows that some parents are helping the children at home.
 PR: So in Nomathemba's case, you can see that something is happening?
 40J: Ja.
 PR: What do you think would make her a better student? What things would help Noma to be better?
 41J: I would say maybe.... to make her a better student...
 PR: What thing could she do better? How could she be helped?
 42J: OK, for example, her parents are helping, you can see, if the parents put more effort into it, like helping her every day, that would help a lot. And now that she's getting so playful, to be more attentive.
 PR: How much English do you think she understands in the classroom?
 43J: She understands, because she was here today, and I was busy today, unpacking this cupboard, and I said, Noma, get a pin for me, go fetch a bag for me. She understood what I said.
 PR: Does she understand everything one hundred per cent?
 44J: No, not a hundred per cent, but most of the things.
 PR: Ninety per cent?
 45J: Jah.
 P: Do you think she'll be ready to go to Grade 2 next year?
 46J: Jah, if she keeps on like this and improving.
 PR: You think she'll be alright. Do you think there any particular problems that she will have? Or is it just time?
 47J: As I say it now, if she has problems, and I tell her to do the work at home with someone to help her, she comes back the next day, and she knows the work.

PR: So it's just practice, effort

48J: Jah, she must put more effort into it, ja.

PR: Do you get support from... Let's say you had a problem in the class with a child or something, or you had a problem with a parent coming to complain about something, who would you go to for help?

49J: I usually try to solve the problem in class first, otherwise I'll go to HOD, and they have meetings with the principal and call the parents in.

PR: Do you get any support from outside, like the unions, the church, or anything?

50J: No, no.

PR: It's just you?

51J: Hmm.

PR: So where do your materials come from, for example, this clock [*PR points to the cardboard clock J has for teaching telling the time*] and things like that? Did you buy that yourself?

52J: Those I got from a teacher where I used to teach. And I got that from her as well. From the moment, we don't get anything from the department at all. Photocopying paper we make ourselves, those charts we ask them to preprint, we usually go and ask for things or we make them ourselves.

PR: What about reading books, have you got any books from READ for example?

53J: Jah, we've got books from read.

PR: Any other books?

54J: No, that's it. We usually, at the end of the year, order books, but the books never arrive. We wait and we wait. If they do arrive, they arrive here last term, third or fourth term of the year.

PR: So when you were reading that book 'Help!', is that a READ book, or is that something else?

55J: No, that is the 360 series. The school bought those books. The sister, they had a nun here as principal, and she bought those books for the school. So they didn't get them from the department.

PR: But that's it, those are the only other books?

56J: Those are the books that we use, and then the READ books.

PR: So how many of those books have you got in that 360 series?

57J: It's quite a lot of books....

PR: And you use all of those in this grade?

58J: Ja. And in between, we do READ books as well.

PR: Do the kids take those home?

59J: We don't have enough books to take home. Me and the other teacher in the English class, we usually share the books. The maximum number that we've got all together, it's about ten or twelve.

PR: So you have to do it in small groups.

60J: And you can't give each child a book to take home, that's why we type out the sentences, paste them into their homework books, and then well...

PR: So you have a photocopier in the school?

61J: A photocopier and a risograph.

PR: Helps eh?

62J: Ja!

PR: But the children don't have any of their own workbooks?

63J: No, we make that ourselves, photocopying paper, we have to buy that ourselves, everything.

PR: So that is where the fees go?

64J: Ja.

PR: If you could change anything in the school, and money wasn't a problem, what would you change?

65J: Ja, the appearance of the school, it needs paint, a computer lab if we had the money, buy a school bus, we have sports, rugby, soccer, tennis, when the children have to go play at other places or out of town, we usually have to get someone to take them somewhere, even if the teachers have to go to workshops, we have to go get teachers with cars to take them.

PR: OK, I see.

AP6.1.9 Additional Information gleaned during classroom observation at Graham One

20/02/03

11.45

J: (to PR) It's so difficult to teach in English when there is no English at home.

J finds it hard to teach a language that is not supported in the home environments of many of the learners. This is not something that the other teachers expressed directly, although Priscilla did say she constantly exhorted her learners' parents to speak English with their children at home.

Appendix 6b

Parent Interview Scripts

AP6.2.5 Interview script for parent interviews.

Warmers

Hand over present.

Remind all those in the room in isiXhosa who you are and why you are here. Introduce Xolelwa if necessary.

Hand over another copy of the letter to parents and ask them if they have read it. Check their understanding of the interview concept and the research focus.

Explain you will turn a tape recorder on, but that you will give the parents a copy of what is said before it is made public.

Questions

1. How many siblings are there in the house? How many brothers and sisters does Andile have? What number is Andile? Was he born first? *Children in isiXhosa culture are accorded status according to birth order: this would affect how much money was spent on education of the child, and perhaps how much attention the parents would give that child.*
2. Do you ever speak English with Andile at home? What things do you watch on TV? What things does Andile watch on TV? What sort of videos do you like to watch? What things do you like to read? Do you read books? Which books do you like? Does Andile have any of his own books? How many? Do you read them to him, or does he read them alone? Do you buy any magazines? Which ones? Do you buy a paper? Which one? Do you like to listen to the radio? Which stations do you listen to? Do you have your own radio? Which room is it usually in? *These questions will help to find out how much English enters the home through a variety of media.*
3. Which primary school would you like to send your child to? Why do you think this is a good school? If Andile could go to any school in Grahamstown, which would you choose for him? In which language do they teach at that school? How did you choose Prima as a school? Why did you send Andile to pre-primary school? *The choice of school tells you about the parent's views on education and attitudes to language.*
4. Do any other adults attend the house frequently or live in it? Does your mother/father live with you? Do any members of your family or friends visit you often at home? How often? Does Andile have any cousins about his own age? How often do they visit? Do any of the people that visit ever speak in English when they are here? *This will tell you what other sources of spoken English the child might have.*
5. Which language does Andile use to speak with his brothers / sisters / cousins / friends? *The languages that are used between peers could make a difference to language competence in the classroom.*
6. Is Andile a member of any clubs? When he is not at school, which places does he go to (church, library, shops)? Which of his friends live locally? Are they friends from school, or other friends? Where does Andile most like to play after school (at home, or out on the street)? Who is Andile's best friend, do you think? *There may be other sources of language for the child outside of the school and the home.*
7. Are you working now? How long have you lived in this house? How many people work in this house? Is it your house, or do you rent it? When did you buy it? Where you born in

Grahamstown? Where is your home? *The level of expectation of the parents on the child would impact on their confidence and attitude towards English.*

8. Are you a member of any clubs or churches? How often do you go? What time do you normally get back from work? What sort of things do you like to do at weekends/evenings? What does Andile like to do? *It is important to establish how much time the child gets with adults in the house to interact with them and other media*
9. Where did you learn your English? Do you have to use English where you work? *This, as well as the interview itself, will help to understand what level of English the child is likely to be exposed to from their parents.*
10. Do you need to read a lot in your work? Do you read to Andile from a book? Do you tell him stories? Which language do you read or tell stories in? *Establish whether the parents are literate and whether they are attempting to teach their child literacy in the home.*
11. Which language is most important to you, isiXhosa or English? If Andile could only speak one language, which would you choose? *Establish the parents' attitudes to the status of the respective languages.*
12. What do you hope Andile will do when he finishes school? Do you think Andile is doing well at school, or would you like him to do better? *Establish how the parents perceive their child's overall academic ability and what their ambitions are for their child.*
13. How good do you think Andile is at understanding English? Could he read the name on an OMO packet? Can he tell you in Xhosa what is happening on TV in English? *Establish what the parents' perception is of their child's competence in English.*

AP6.2.6 Interview with Andile's father.

Present: PR, Edward, Xolelwa

PR: Does Andile have any brothers or sisters?

01E: No, he's alone.

PR: I hear there is another coming!

02E: Yes!

PR: She told me! [points to Xolelwa]

Xolelwa: [laughs loudly, embarrassed.] Yes, but we don't know if it is a boy or a girl yet.

PR: So the lady working outside is not a sister?

03E: No.

PR: She's just a friend?

04E: Yes.

PR: So you look after Andile?

05E: Yes.

PR: Do you go to church?

06E: Yes the Methodist church.

PR: How often do you go?

07E: We go here in the township.

PR: Do you go once or twice a week?

08E: We go on Sundays only

PR: Are you a member of any sports clubs?

09E: Yes, I am with a local team.

PR: Of football?

10E: Yes.

PR: How often do you play?

11E: A long time now.... I think since 1989.

PR: How many times do you play a week?

12E: Once on a Saturday

PR: Where would you like to send Andile next year?

13E: Secunda.

PR: Why did you choose that school?

14E: Eh...it's a good school...you know every child is disciplined; there are uniforms, all the good things. *I got the impression that Ed's wife may have had more hand in the decision. It felt like Ed was repeating someone else's ideas about the school. 'All the good things means', I think, religion, tradition, and English.*

PR: Why did you choose Prima?

15E: The same things you...as Secunda

There are no uniforms at Prima, so I take it he means the other things.

PR: Did you visit the school before you sent Andile there? How did you choose Prima?

16E: Yes, we visited the school before we sent him.

PR: Do any other people live here in this house?

17E: No, only the parents

PR: So there is no *makulu* here?

18E: No.

PR: Do you buy magazines, like Drum, You?

19E: Yes, sometimes.

PR: Do you buy a newspaper?

20E: Yes, the Herald [emphatic].

PR: Do you get it every week?

21E: Yes, every week.

PR: Does Andile have any of his own books?

22E: Yes.

PR: How many?

23E: I think about 6.

Final interpretation

This interview was not very successful because Edward was limited in his English and also seemed quite threatened by my presence. I need to talk to his wife: Xolelwa says that more often than not it is the mother's who make decisions about the children's education and so forth. I had to wrap this interview up before I could get further with the questions as Edward had clearly had enough of being asked.

AP6.2.7 Interview with Nomathemba's family

Present:

Nomathemba, Nomathemba's mother, (Unathi/U), Noma's grandmother, (Nkosazana) Noma's grandfather, Noma's mother's uncle, PR, and Melinda (another teacher from Prima).

First impressions

The house is located in K Street in the Old Municipal Location. The house is set in grounds and is in reasonable repair. There is a small, possibly black and white TV in the front room area. In the kitchen, I can see a large fridge freezer. The parlour, where we are sitting has a full lounge suite in it and is clearly kept for best. This does not look like the kind of room people actually live in. I am welcomed with coffee, made by Noma's mother. The uncle and grandfather stay seated, as does grandmother. We are also

offered biscuits. Nomathemba stays in the room throughout the interview, occasionally whispering to her Mum about what is going on.

1.35

PR: How many brothers and sisters does Noma have?

U: She doesn't have.

1.45

PR: (to Unathi) Do you ever speak English with Noma at home?

U: Sometimes.

PR: (to Nkosazana) Do you speak English with her?

NK: Sometimes I used to... if I say her something, I used to speak English, to try to learn her something.

2.03

PR: Which programmes do you like to watch on TV?

U: She likes Generation, and also me. [meaning Noma and her.]

PR: Anything else?

[U and NK talk in Xhosa]

PR: (overhears) People of the South, neh?

NK: Yes!

2.30

PR: Do you watch the news?

U: Yes.

2.46

PR: What things does Noma like to watch? [] She likes Generations, what else?

U: The choirs.

PR: OK. Anything else?

M: (X) Noma, what things do you like to watch on the TV?

Noma: [something in X]

NK: You know that game there on TV, Porcupine... They have their teachers there on TV.

PR: OK, porcupine.

3.40

PR: Do you have a video machine?

U: No.

3.47

PR: What things do you like to read? Do you read books or magazines, or newspapers?

U: Newspapers.

PR: OK. Which papers do you read?

NK: Grocotts, Daily Despatch.

PR: Do you buy them or do you read them?

NK: Buy them.

PR: Do you read magazines like Drum?

[NK and U discuss amongst themselves in X.]

NK: Only those club magazines, like Foschini, Edgars.

4.51

PR: Does Noma have any books that belong to her?

U and NK: No.

[U seems a bit embarrassed about this]

NK has a good command of English and seems to provide a good source of English to Noma. She works until 4.30 every day, and Nomathemba would not see her in the morning, as she would already be gone. From the way NK answered the question, I don't think she speaks English to Nomathemba that much, certainly not in structured lessons. The English. Nomathemba hears from NK is probably incidental. U is not very confident in English, so I think she would be unlikely to speak to Nomathemba in English at all for authentic purposes.

Nomathemba mainly gets exposed to English through the media, it seems. There is little English literature in the house, and she would be unlikely to be read newspapers or club magazines. Noma's main exposure to English would be through her grandmother and the TV.

5.02

PR: Do you have a radio?

U: Yes.

PR: Which station do you listen to?

U: Radio Grahamstown,

NK: Umhlobo Wenene.

PR: Which room is it in?

U: It's outside.

PR: So it's in the place where you eat?

U: No, it's outside.

I think this means in a shed outside, maybe an extra bedroom? Nomathemba would have to go to this place specially to hear the radio. It doesn't seem like it is always on in the background in the kitchen.

5.41

PR: Have you thought about which primary school you will send Noma to? Where will she go next year?

U: Graham One or Secunda.

5.48

PR: Why do you think they are good schools?

U: I see the conditions are good there.

PR: Is it just the conditions?

U: And the neatness of the children.

PR: Do you know which languages they teach in?

U: I'm going there to find out how is doing, but they said to me they have no forms, I must come at the 25th of August so that I can go there. [Breaks into Xhosa]

Melinda: [translates] Like when you go to Prima to see what happening: then you go to search there now.

PR: OK, so you will go to the school and visit to see what is happening in the classroom.

I think that Unathi doesn't know which languages they teach in at these schools. She is going to do some observation in the classroom it seems, to see how they teach. This certainly shows concern for Noma's schooling. Unathi wants to check it out personally and not rely on reputation alone. By conditions, I think she means the schools are reasonably well resourced. Neatness means uniforms and discipline. English medium does not seem to be a priority.

7.31

PR: If Nomathemba could go to any school in Grahamstown, which would it be? [] If it could be any school, doesn't matter...

U: Here in Grahamstown?

PR: Mmm. Which school would you choose?

[U looks to NK at this point.]

NK: After Secunda?

PR: No, now, for next year.

U: It's Graham One!

I get the impression that the real decision about Noma's school would come from Nkosazanana: she would be financing it, after all. Unathi is very adamant about Graham One, but she gives Nkosazana a chance to answer before her.

8.03

PR: Why did you send Nomathemba to a pre-primary school?

U: I send Noma, when she is growing, she was bright.

PR: She was bright. OK. Why did you choose Prima as a school?

U: I choose because of my sister's son was reading there [breaks into Xhosa].

Melinda: (to PR) She looked at her sisters son, the way, the conditions, what to teach the learners, what to safely, security, how to teach.

[I think U only mentioned the word security. Melinda's translation is not accurate.]

U: So that can grow up nice.

PR: Sorry, I didn't hear

U: Because of when my sister told me about the situation of that pre-primary school, I want to send her there so that that brightness of her is going up.

U heard about Prima through her sister. For U, it seems the biggest priority was not to waste Noma's talents, to stimulate her enough. U wants a lot for Noma, maybe what she never had herself. The aim of sending Nomathemba to pre-primary was not simply to get her ready for primary, it seems, or to give her more English. It was to build on her existing intelligence and skills, not to let them go to waste.

10.04

PR asks a few questions about those in the room and the house to establish who is who.

10.50

PR: Do any other members of your family visit you here? Which people come here?

U: Mossel Bay, come from Mossel Bay.

PR How often do they come?

U: June and December.

PR: Does Noma have any cousins of her own age?

U: Yes.

PR: How many?

U: [discusses in Xhosa with NK, names cousins] Eight.

11.50

PR: Do any of those people, the family from Mossel Bay, and the cousins, do they ever speak English with Nomathemba? Or do they always speak Xhosa?

U: They come and speak English sometimes then they... (Breaks into X)

M: When they are playing they speak English. She teaches them.

U: Noma tries to speak with them.

17Q: In English.

These books will all be in English, because of what Mrs. Quntu says later on about telling them stories in isiXhosa. So when Aiya is interacting with the book, he is using the same language that the story is in to ask questions about it. It is clear that this is a regular activity which the children and Mrs. Quntu engage in. There is lots of pre-literacy going on here when they ask questions about the book.

18Q: What I am trying to do there...[she loses her words, says it in Xhosa, to herself.] is for them to learn English, especially to start with the simple words, like those books, which are so simple. I am reading the book in English, and then I will ask: 'What does it mean in Xhosa?' I just want to hear if they can say what is it in English. They will tell me exactly what is it.

PR: So you will point at the word, and they will know what the word means?

19Q: Yes. They also try to write down the words.

I think the children can probably recognise the word, and tell Mrs. Quntu what it is in Xhosa. I did try to probe this, to see if the children could read words, but she just said 'Yes, yes, all the time'. Mrs. Quntu is teaching the meaning of words by code switching when she reads books. She is also asking the children about the book as she reads it. This means that the children are interacting with the book in three ways: listening to the story, asking questions about it, and being asked questions about it.

PR: Do you ask them to do that, or do they just do that because they want to?

20Q: I also ask them. They like writing so much. Sometimes when I am reading I will say, 'Come and see, this is a dog'. It's name is dog. So can you please write it on your own, dog. They write the name, but not in the right manner.

PR: So they try?

21Q: Yah.

Mrs. Quntu is more interested in encouraging the children to try to write than in getting them to write accurately. She clearly wants to keep the activity enjoyable, disciplined, but not exhaustive.

PR: When would you read the book?

22Q: I'm reading in the afternoon. Yesterday it was Sunday, so we were all in the house, so we took pencils and books, so we are all busy writing. And the story books in the evening when we are in bed. Long, long ago, those books.

Mrs. Quntu is very proud of the fact that she makes time to do this. Her work with the children is clearly structured. It always happens at certain times of the day, and on Sundays they also work with writing.

Telling stories

PR: Do you ever read or tell stories to the twins in Xhosa?

23Q: Yes, I did.

PR: Do you use books, or your memory?

24Q: No, not books, memory.

PR: What about the twin's father? Does he ever... tell stories?

25Q: Yes, sometimes he do when he comes from work.

PR: How long does he work during the day?

26Q: He is working from seven o'clock until six in the evening. So he comes home tired. He is a general assistant at Settler's Hospital.

The children do get exposure to stories and narrative in Xhosa as well as English, but this isn't structured like Mrs. Quntu's English 'classes'. They are unlikely to get much from their (step)father in terms of English, or tuition, because he works such a long day.

Media the adults expose themselves to.

27Q. Mrs. Quntu buys the Grocott's Mail and she listens to *Umhlobo Wenene* and Radio Grahamstown. The radio is in the main room, so the family would be listening to the radio in the main room as an activity in itself. These radio stations are almost exclusively in isiXhosa.

Q's ambitions for children

PR: Do you have any plans for the children? Do you want them to stay at Secunda until grade nine, or do you want them to go somewhere else?

28Q: No, I haven't got any plans. My aims are for them to stay there at Secunda, until the last grade of the school. Because it is so interesting...children of Secunda, they can speak English very well, so it's so interesting. I wish it can go up to Grade 12.

PR: Is that the main reason why you chose that school?

29Q: Yah. That is the main reason, for the English. Because in these days, you cannot go anywhere without speaking English. So that's very good if your child can reach the English starting from Grade 1 up to Grade 12. Even if she can pass matric, she can look for a job on her own.

Mrs. Quntu likes Secunda mainly because of the English medium aspect. She believes that the standard of English produced in the school is very high. She doesn't want her children to have to go to another school that will not be English medium afterwards.

Mrs. Quntu believes English gives children access to financial independence.

PR: If money was not a problem, which school would you send the twins to?

30Q: Oh yeah, if money was not a problem, I was going to take Bulelwa to Victoria Girls and Aiyabulela to Graeme College. That's where my wishes are. The problem is the money.

PR: What do you hope the twins will do when they finish matric?

31Q: Oh, my wishes for them are to go to the university. I wish the girl can do doctrate, and the boy can be a lawyer.

Mrs. Quntu was very clear and quick about this. She has clearly given it some thought in the past. I think these ambitions for the children are very closely linked to her passion for English.

PR: Do you think the twins are doing well at school, or would you like them to do better?

32Q: Ooo, they are doing very well at school. I also visited the class teacher to see how they are doing at school.

Mrs. Quntu is very involved with the children's progress at school. She seems to have a good relationship with their teacher.

Choosing preschool

PR: Why did you choose Secunda preschool for your children?

33Q: Because those teachers there are not Xhosa speaking person. They are speaking English. So I thought, if they can start there, they can start learning English, to understand the words of English. Because most of the time, they are speaking English.

PR: So the most important thing was the English language?

34Q: Yah.

Mrs. Quntu made a conscious decision that she didn't want her children to be around Xhosa speakers, even if they spoke English to the children. It was important to her that the children hear nothing but English in school.

Access to English from outside immediate family.

The children see their grandmother only at the weekend, and sometimes they stay over.

PR: Does your mother speak English to the children?

35Q: No.

PR: Can she speak English?

36Q: Yes, she can.

PR: Do the twins have any cousins?

37Q: Yes they do, in Joza.

PR: Do they play together?

38Q: Yes, they do.

PR: Do you know what language they speak together?

39Q: The language they are using is. ...Xhosa.

PR: Where do the cousins go to school?

40Q: They are both at George Dickerson.

PR: Do you get lots of visitors to the house?

41Q: Yes.

PR: And what language do you speak when you are together?

42Q: It's Xhosa.

PR: Where do the children go after school when you are at work?

43Q: Most of the time the children are here. Sometime I take them to work.

PR: Who do you think are the twins best friends?

44Q: They've got friends that live at Prima.

PR: Are they friends from school?

45Q: No, from church.

PR: Where do those children go to school?

46Q: Rhini One. They do come and we visit them at the weekend.

PR: Are they the same age?

47Q: No, they are Grade 2.

PR: And which language do they speak with those children?

48Q: Most of the time they are speaking Xhosa when they are playing together.

PR: But not all the time?

49Q: Sometimes there's a little bit of English.

Interesting contrast here with Sandiswa: when she plays with older cousins, she interacts sometimes in English. Mrs. Quntu would doubtless be aware if her children were using English with their cousins as she sets so much store by it, but she says they don't. The twins may be less motivated to use English than Sandiswa. There is some limited use of English with the church friends, but it doesn't seem that this is a consistent contact, or that the English used is very consistent either. Aiya seems to get hardly any exposure to English from adults and children, other than his teacher and his Mum. But he does get intensive, active listening to English through the media, and reading and writing with his mother. So his input is different from the other cases.

Q's English

PR: Do you need to use English in your job?

50Q: Almost all the time, it's English. [...] The social worker is a white lady, and I am an auxiliary social worker. So I am helping her in her interpretation. The clients are Xhosas.

PR: Do you need to read and write English, or do you spend most of the time talking and listening?

51Q: Mostly talking and listening. Not so much reading.

PR: Where did you learn your English, because it is very good!

52Q: [laughs]

PR: Just from school?

53Q: Yes. Just from school. When I was young, I used to go with my mother to work.

PR: Where did your mother work?

54Q: She was a domestic worker. When I was there, her maid would say to me, 'Come there is a little job I want you to do here, come and polish my shoes', so I started learning English there. I was in standard six. So every time when I came in from school, I would change my uniform and go there. I started learning English, little bit, little bit.

Mrs. Quntu has to act as interpreter for the English-speaking social worker, which means that her English is advanced and necessary in her work. She seems to enjoy her work a lot, she has been there for six years. She acquired colloquial English by being in an English-speaking environment after school. She continued with this exposure to English at her mother's work until she finished matric. This will doubtless have had a big impact on her abilities in it.

Economic Situation

The house belongs to the family. Although they live on the same street as Nomathemba's family, I get the impression they are slightly better off. The kitchen has a microwave, the television is more modern, and the house is generally bigger.

Activities during the week.

Mrs. Quntu teaches at Sunday school. The language used at church is exclusively isiXhosa. On Saturdays, she looks after the house and on Sunday afternoons they go to visit friends.

Attitude to English.

PR: Which language is the most important one to you? Xhosa, English, Afrikaans?

55Q: I think it is English.

PR: Why do you say that?

56Q: Because everywhere you go, you use English. So there is no ways I can say Xhosa. Most of the people can understand English. It is the easiest language people can understand.

PR: Do you think it is easier to learn for people?

57Q: Yeah, I think it is easier than Afrikaans.

Mrs. Quntu was not totally sure about this. It was not unequivocal. She doesn't see Xhosa as a powerful language. English has the wider communication aspect to it. She believes that almost everyone can understand it, and for this reason alone it is important. Elsewhere in this interview, it is clear that the access that English provides is equally important for her.

PR: If the twins could only speak one language, which would you choose for them?

58Q: English, I like English really.

Mrs. Quntu assessment of Aiya's English.

PR: How good do you think the twins are at understanding English? Do you think they are very good, or quite good, compared to the children of their age?

59Q: They are better than most of the children. They are better. Because they do understand what you are saying. They can even try to reply in English. They are trying a lot.

Summary

Mrs. Quntu is very keen on English. It seems that she doesn't accord much status to isiXhosa. She attributes small significance to it. She makes all the decisions regarding the children's schooling and supports their learning at home. The driving force is for the children to acquire English as soon as

possible for reasons of access. She has clearly defined goals for her children and she is taking steps to realise them. Her own English is good, but not perfect, slightly below the standard of Sandiswa's parents. She missed some of the questions I was asking and I had to repeat them.

AP6.2.9 Interview with Sandiswa's family.

Exposure to spoken English outside of school.

P: Do you ever speak English with Sandiswa at home?

01F: No, not always.

P: Do you ever speak English with her?

02F: Yes, sometimes.

P: Do other people ever speak English with her?

03F: Yes, like cousins, because another cousin of hers is at Graham One. She's in Grade 1.

P: How often does she see that cousin?

04F: Every weekend, because Sandiswa spends every weekend with her grandmother. They always sleep there, from Friday to Saturday.

So it appears that Sandiswa receives a sizeable exposure to English from her cousin, her teacher, and her mother.

Television/Academic literacy in the home

P: What things do you watch on TV?

05F: Because I am an adult, I watch movies, but I don't allow them to watch movies.

P: So what do they watch?

06F: The TV programmes for the children, like Yo TV.

S: Star Search.

07F: (To Sandiswa) What is the name of that programme with those teddy bears?

S: (X) [PR unable to hear.]

08F: The other one.

S: Teletubbies.

09F: I didn't want to tell her. I was trying to suck it from her (laughs).

This was a glimpse of the kind of language education that Sandiswa probably engages in with her mother in English. It is an eliciting technique. Sandiswa understood the question without having to be prompted in isiXhosa.

Videos

The only videos the family watches are church videos or home videos of the family. These videos from the church are all in English, says Mrs. Futha. I didn't ask whether Sandiswa watches these too, but I get the impression that she probably does. It seems they are the sort of thing the whole family would sit down and watch.

Reading.

P: What sort of things do you read?

10F: I used to read a lot, but now because of the work I do, I don't have so much time anymore. I can't believe now that I joined the Leisure Books club to order some books, but I've got about four of them, I've not started any of them. I don't know what has happened to me. I used to read every book that came along.

I think Mrs. Futha is a bit embarrassed by how little time she has to read now. She is proud of how much she reads, or used to.

Sandiswa's books

P: Does Sandiswa have any of her own books?

11F: She just joined yesterday, the library.

P: The library, Grahamstown Library?

I think Mrs. Futha is trying to get out of answering that Sandiswa doesn't have any books that belong to her. This is why I didn't repeat the question to find out whether this was the case or not. Again, this shows in another way that the mother has a great respect for books, even if she can't buy or read all she want for Sandiswa and herself.

Reading to Sandiswa

PR: So how often do you go to the library?

12F: So she got a two books and we read another one this morning, and I think she understands, although she can't write. But if I read to her, and she try to interpret in Xhosa, she understands, and I read again, and tell her to interpret for me in Xhosa, and she did that. So at least she knows the meaning of the words. What is the meaning of Holy Spirit? [Repeats to Sandiswa]

Sandiswa: []

13F: (laughs) She knew, but she did understand other words, like sky. What is sky?

Sandiswa: (mumbles and points upwards)

14F: I didn't notice that she can talk and speak some words, but today I was surprised. Because you know how we grew, our parents didn't treat us like that, you know speaking English in the house, so I was reluctant. I saw it was fun to do that, I thought it would be good to try and speak English. I thought that it is a teacher's duty at school.

P: But now you'll read to her?

15F: Yes, so something new.

Today was the first time that Mrs. Futha had tried reading to Sandiswa from a book and she was clearly surprised at her daughter's level of English. She was surprised by Sandiswa's receptive understanding. I wonder who gave her the idea of doing this? It is not something she grew up doing, and she also saw language and reading books to children as something that teacher's do.

Magazines and Radio.

Mrs. Futha does the crosswords in Edgar's club magazine. These will be in English, so she clearly likes working with words. She does say that she doesn't finish them. The family also buys the Grocott's, but only listens to Umhlobo Wene. The radio is in the sitting room.

Choosing schools

P: Why do you think that is a good school? [Secunda] The primary school, I mean, not the preschool.

16F: I like it because it is a medium school.

P: What do you mean by 'medium school'?

17F: Because they focus on English, and because the fees are manageable. And I think because of a touch of religion.

For Mrs. Futha, the salient feature is certainly the English language medium. The other issues are additional to this one. English is a priority for her.

18F: But Sandiswa don't want to study Grade 5 there, she says maybe I'll have money by that time, I want to go to VG. She's just there for the foundation.

P: This is what Sandiswa says to you?

19F: Eh, yes, yes. (laughs)

I'm not sure Sandiswa would have said this to her mother, although it is possible. Why would Sandiswa be aware of VG being in some way 'better' if her parents had not told her so? I think Sandiswa is a bit young to be thinking in this way. I think I can put this down to interviewer effect: Mrs. Futha wants to show off to me a bit. She also confirms that she would send Sandiswa to VG, and other girls as well.

20F: So we have an agreement here that this second one will go to VG

Choosing the preschool

P: How did you choose the pre-primary?

21F: She didn't start there. She started at Prima for two years.

P: So when did she go to Prima?

22F: At four, three years.

P: When she was five, we applied for Secunda.

So Sandiswa did go to an isiXhosa medium school, and has only been at Secunda to get into Secunda One, and only one year of it at that. Even then, this only served as a stepping-stone for VG later. The parents seem to gear the educational choices around getting in to schools, the ultimate goal being VG, for which of course English is necessary. Language is not the most important thing: the school itself is.

[At this stage, Mr. Futha comes in]

Sandiswa's Friends.

The parents tell me that Sandiswa does have other cousins who she sees, but that the cousins are at Shaw Hall and are younger than her. Sandiswa also plays with the neighbours' children. Mrs. Futha says they speak isiXhosa together. Sandiswa is not a member of clubs, apart from Sunday school and church

23F: Some of my friends like to do birthdays for their kids, so I make sure every time there is a different party, I take her. It is their way of enjoying life.

P: So where would Sandiswa play during the week?

24F: Here in the yard. I don't want her to go outside onto the main road, and all her neighbours come here.

P: So this is like a meeting place?

25F: Yes, yes.

P: Who do you think is Sandiswa's best friend?

26F: Khanyiswa. [the cousin]

Mrs. Futha gives Sandiswa a lot of social freedom; she obviously puts a lot of value on this aspect of Sandiswa's life. Sandiswa's best friend is outside of school. Mrs. Futha doesn't consider school to social network for Sandiswa. It is an academic thing: friends are after it and outside it.

Economic Situation

Eric, (Mr. Futha), has a job at Rhodes, and Mrs. Futha organises clothing parties. She goes to Dur collect stock, and then sells it from her house. She then has to go round to the houses to collect that she is owed. (Mrs. Futha: 'Just to help him with his salary.')

They have lived in this house for ten years and they built it themselves. (Mr. Futha: 'We just pay now.')

They don't pay any rent.

Eric and Mrs. Futha are both local. Mrs. Futha was brought up by her mother alone. Eric's mother died when he was young, so he was brought up by his father and step mother.

Eric is the breadwinner, and Mrs. Futha's work is additional income for the house. It is not something she sees as absolutely essential. I would say the family are well off by their community's standards.

Social Situation.

27F: Every weekend I go somewhere with someone. I'm busy for two weeks in the month.

Mrs. Futha's work is also her social circle: a lot of the local women are also doing similar jobs, so they all meet and sell to each other.

28EF: I go to church early every day. I leave the house at about sevenish, and get home about five or five thirty.

Eric is not going to have a great deal of time to speak or study with his children. I also get the impression that when he comes home, things are done for him, like a cup of tea is made and so forth. I can't see him having the time or the energy to read to Sandiswa as Mrs. Futha does.

Parent's English.

30EF: I am not educated, but I was clever in English. I'm not perfect; I always try to speak it. At school I was involved in everything, the struggle, politics.

Eric went to school in Alice and left at Standard 7 in 1980. He got involved in politics when he left school and arrived in Grahamstown. Here he met Rhodes liberals, and got further involved in politics.

30aEF: I encouraged myself to speak better English.

In 1986, he got a job at Rhodes, and he did some 'private studies'. He gave them up later.

30bEF: My interest is in the children now.

31EF: I speak Xhosa to Sandiswa, but I help her with some words. I don't have the time to teach her or read to her. I'm like a walking dictionary for them.

PR: Do you need English at work?

32EF: Yes, I use English, mixing Xhosa and English with my colleagues. I am using English on the campus. I sometimes have to express myself in English. I have to use all the languages: Afrikaans, English, Zulu.

PR: Do you ever have to read in English?

33EF: Yes, there are some documents to read.

Mrs Futha also needed English to get involved in what she was interested in at school. Language and politics were closely linked for both parents. Mr. Futha's motivation to learn English stemmed from the need to be accepted into the political circles he was moving in. He fulfils the role of reference books for the children: they obviously ask him things about academic work, and he gives an answer, but he doesn't actively make time to teach them things. He is unlikely to have so much contact with English that he is still acquiring it through his work. He doesn't seem to need it that much. On the way out, he told me that he is a lay preacher, so he is also very busy outside of work.

Attitude to languages.

PR: Which language is most important to you?

34F: I think now is probably English. Xhosa does not do anything for you. English is the language of communication now. It's a common language.

PR: If Sandiswa could only speak one language, which would it be?

35F: English. But I don't encourage Sandiswa to give up Xhosa.

PR: Why?

36F: Because of cultural values, she is a Xhosa. It's a point of culture that she must know culture.

Because other children will see her when she is growing up and say 'Eyho, that madam'. People will have an attitude to her if they see the child can't express herself in Xhosa.

PR: So if someone only speaks English...

37F: It's funny to people. I don't know how to put it. Even if I'm with my friends, and I like to speak English and we speak English, they say, 'Oh, think you're clever.' I've got other clever friends of mine who are eager to learn. With one of my friends, we laugh and speak and speak [in English].

For Mrs Futha, English is something she is proud of, it gives her status in society, but she has to be careful not to make too much of it, because it can be interpreted as snobby. Speaking English will give Sandiswa this status too. It's a social distinction.

PR: Which language is most important to you Mr. Futha?

38EF: Both important.

PR: So if Sandiswa could only speak one, which would it be?

39EF: I think English is the best language for Sandiswa.

PR: Why is that?

40EF: It's the useful language. Our children are lucky. We had Bantu Education. English is the language of opportunity and we were forced to learn in Afrikaans. Things were bad. All four of them are going to varsity.

41F: Doesn't the plan only cover a few of them?

42EF: No, no, all of them.

I think EF may have been trying to show off his social status (i.e. he can afford to send all his children to university). He is focused on providing opportunities for his children that he didn't feel he had. English for him is the language of the future, of liberation. Xhosa must take a second place to that for him.

Sandiswa's progress in school

PR: How do you think Sandiswa is doing at school?

43EF: I'm happy with her progress, I haven't heard any complaints.

Sandiswa's schooling is of interest to EF only in terms of whether she is working well, and is in the 'right' school. What she learns in that school is of secondary importance.

Sandiswa's English ability as perceived by her parents.

PR: How good do you think Sandiswa is at understanding English? [PR needs to prompt] She doesn't read yet, so we are only talking about English that she hears.

44F: I think sometimes she surprises me in that way because she will say a thing in English, and you can see me smiling because I didn't expect her to say that. Maybe when I'm saying something and I didn't want this little one to hear, this three month, I say, 'I want to run, I want to run' because he is crying then Sandiswa will say herself, 'Run away, run away'. I am surprised also. (Laughs.)

PR: You didn't know she knew that?

45F: Because she does not always express herself, so when she speaks something it is a surprise like that. So that's why I said to you I was reading that book. I try to guide. But I didn't know she talks [...]

Mrs. Futha doesn't feel that Sandiswa talks a lot in general, so when she speaks English, it is like a double surprise. From what Mrs. Futha says, Sandiswa mimics her mother's English when she hears it. It's not clear from this answer how much English Mrs. Futha thinks Sandiswa understands, only that Mrs. Futha frequently underestimates it.

PR: When you are watching something on the television, can she tell you what is happening in isiXhosa?

46F: Although I don't encourage them to watch the Bold, what they do is they watch it when I am not here, and then they know everything that happened there.

PR: So they tell you in Xhosa what they have seen on TV?

47F: Yes, they tell you what they heard.

Mrs. Futha tells me after the interview that the children who come from township schools other than Secunda often have to repeat the year that they just did at the new school (i.e. a town school).

Overall

Mr and Mrs. Futha's standard of English is high compared to other parents I have spoken to. It seems that Sandiswa's standard of English surprises her mother. Her father seems to make the schooling decisions for the family. English is a central feature of the schooling of the children in this family. The parents both pride themselves on their English ability. English is nurtured in the home directly and indirectly. Sandiswa has access to many sources of English, both written and spoken in many different media. Most importantly, Sandiswa is actively encouraged to use English by her family.

Appendix 7a

Grade R Data Transcription.

7.1.1 Prima Preschool Casual and Intensive Observation

22/03/02

8.00

Xolelwa and PR are in the GR classroom. Xolelwa is on a training course.

Xolelwa: Have you prepared anything for them, Phil?

PR: No.

Xolelwa thinks that I have prepared to teach the lesson. Is she unclear on my research purposes? I think I should make explicit that I must be involved as little as possible.

8.15

The class and Nomathemba and Andile start singing a rhyme: 'It's good to see [name of a learner in the class]' Andile stops singing after a while, and just watches as the names go round.

Andile can't concentrate easily on what he should be doing, but is involved in the activity, at least passively.

8.20

Xolelwa brings out the Animal ABC poster. She goes through the alphabet with the class. Xolelwa tells Nomathemba and Andile to watch.

As the rest of the class reads out names of letters of alphabet, both Nomathemba and Andile are mostly silent. Rest of class can identify and give name of A B C D X Y Z. Other letters give trouble, especially E and G. (E becomes F, and G becomes J.)

8.25

Class go to their desks after standing up when the letter that their name begins with is called.

Nomathemba and Andile have to be told which letter their name begins with. They don't recognise the first letters of their names.

There was no demonstration of the task to get up when your letter is called for them, because they were first. Nomathemba and Andile may know their name begins with A, but didn't make the appropriate response this time.

8.32

At their desks, the class use crayons to try to write their names, (not copy), and copy alphabet down.

Many members of class successful, they come and show me their work. Andile watches others on table, doesn't manage to start writing his own name. Nomathemba manages to write first letter of her name, and attempts the rest, although they are unclear. Xolelwa writes Andile's name for him on the paper, and Andile successfully, although slowly and with many interruptions to look around him, completes copying it.

Was Andile just unsure of the task? Or did he not know how to write his name? He seems able to copy his name very easily and legibly, so I think he does know how to do it, he just needs encouragement to start.

8.38

Various learners come up to me and show me finished names and alphabets. *Nomathemba and Andile are clearly less confident than these learners.*

Nomathemba gives up writing, after many attempts. Andile tries to write alphabet, seems to want to finish the whole alphabet when he knows he has little time left.

Andile seems to be capable of a lot, but he doesn't work fast enough to do much. Watches others a lot instead.

8.50

Music and movement ring. Three learners, Zikhona, Siya, and Asanda demonstrate a dance to a tape which the rest of the learners copy. Nomathemba really gets into it, and enjoys herself. Andile is clearly enjoying himself, but finds it a bit hard to do the actions, perhaps because he is enjoying himself so much!

22/05/02

11.30

Outside Prima school

I bump into a parent at the gates. Xolelwa who introduces me.

Prnt: My child is in grade 2 at Secunda, do you know her?

PR: I don't think so...

Prnt: There is no need for her to speak English at home, but she loves to. If I speak Xhosa to her, she replies in English! I'm very proud. I hope one day she'll read letter for me! (laughs)

This parent places a lot of value on English. Does her child really speak this much Eng at home, or is parent showing off to Xolelwa, or me? Parent doesn't seem concerned about Xhosa of child. English is not just useful for child: this child is expected to have better English than parents in order to help parents.

25/05/02

8.30

Before morning ring, after breakfast.

Noma: [asks PR a question in isiXhosa]

PR: (X) I don't understand

Noma: [smiles]

PR: (E) Say it in English

Noma: [shakes head]

Nomathemba doesn't know how to say what she said in isiXhosa in English. She was brave enough to ask me the question, but she doesn't want to try in English. She is quite confident at speaking to adults, unlike Andile who has only come up to talk to me once so far.

Rhetebile:[brings me a book, opens it, and points at various pictures.] What's this?

PR: It's a[lion, tree, dog, house.]

R: What's this?

PR: It's a man, his name is Obelix.

R: Oblix

PR: What's his name?

R: Obleis. Obelisse

(pause, learners look at pictures in book.)

Noma: What is the dog? [not directed at anyone.]

Nomathemba was watching the interaction between R and PR, although I was unaware of it. Her question seems to be about Dogmatix. She may have been trying to ask his name.

8.35

Noma: (X) (to PR) He's on your bag. [points at learner under table who is sitting on my bag.]

[Other learners hold up a picture book]

Learner: What is this?

Noma: Elephant! [very pleased, first to say so]

Another learner: Pheer!

Noma: Pheeeel!

[Nomathemba stays at table while others look at book.]

Nomathemba is keen to communicate with me and to act like a teacher too. She corrects other learners and tries her best to communicate in English as the faster girls do.

9.25

Xolelwa comes in. She takes out the Animal ABC chart and puts it on the board.

Xolelwa goes through alphabet once, naming the letters. She then calls learners up to name the letters in order.

Nomathemba and Andile are mostly concentrating, or at least looking the right way most of the time.

Andile is standing right at the back for some reason, just like on 22/03/02. [Nomathemba tells a learner who isn't concentrating to be quiet by putting her finger over her mouth.]

Xolelwa: (X) Next week, more of you must know this. It's not good enough.

It's not clear if this is a test, a demonstration, or teaching. How are the learners going to improve, especially with this teaching technique!

9.35

Andile is not paying attention now.

Xolelwa calls up Nomathemba. Xolelwa points at the letters as Nomathemba says them.

Noma: A B C [pause] G

Xolelwa calls out all letter names A – I, and Nomathemba repeats after her. Then she asks Noma to give the names of the letters again as Xolelwa points at each one.

Noma: A B G C

Xolelwa: Sit down.

[Most of the learners have now stopped even looking in the right direction. Thabang is playing in the corner.]

Nomathemba does know some of the letters of the alphabet, but nowhere near as many as Siya. Does Siya get help outside the classroom? Noma knows that C and G look very similar, but can't remember which is which. She knows an average amount of names of letters compared to the rest in the class. activity. If the activity was less stressful, I'm sure she could do better.

9.45

Nomathemba is playing around, Andile is still looking at the board.

Xolelwa calls Melinda up. Melinda has trouble even repeating the names of the letters after the teacher. She looks nervous and shy.

Xolelwa: [laughs at Melinda's attempt] Sit down.

Xolelwa: (E) (to PR) If you look at Melinda, you can see she is very, very black.

PR: What do you mean?

Xolelwa: She's very very black. She's not like us. Us Xhosas.

Is Xolelwa being racist, saying that Melinda's poor performance in the alphabet is due to her alleged Zimbabwean nationality? I can remember an incident on the first day I observed at Prima when all the children were crowding around me and I was asking their names. I asked Melinda's, and Simphiwe said something. All the other learners laughed, and Melinda looked angry and hit out at a few of them. Did they call her Zimbabwean? They certainly thought she was different.

9.50

Nomathemba is sitting right in front of me. Taps her finger on my shoe, and smiles.

She wants my attention, to know that she is there. Nomathemba seems to trust me, and is trying to form a bond with me. Has she twigged that she is getting a lot of attention from me?

Andile: A [pause] B

Andile repeats all the letters up to 'I' after Xolelwa.

Xolelwa tells Andile to go and sit down.

Class chants the names of letters A – Z as Xolelwa points at them. Nomathemba is trying to keep up.

Andile is not trying to.

Xolelwa: [points to the animal at A, which is an alligator.] What's this?

Class: crocodile!

Xolelwa: No.

Most of the examples of animals are inappropriate for this class. For example, B is bear, and all the learners are saying bird. The bear actually looks like a dog, and D is dinosaur! Why not dog? G is gorilla, but of course the learners say monkey, but M is a mouse!

10.05

Xolelwa sends Melinda to fantasy area. Andile and another learner are told to face the wall.

I couldn't see the indiscretion that caused this. Were these learners not just uninvolved, and tired? They cannot concentrate on this activity for this length of time.

10.06

Xolelwa: [points at the alligator picture] What's this?

Noma: [jumps up] Dinosaur!

Xolelwa names each animal A – I, and the class repeats. Then she just points, to see if class can repeat.

Nomathemba manages to finish off some words, but needs others in class to start the word off.

Nomathemba seems to be a confident communicator.

10.15

Xolelwa calls up some members of class to tell the animal names, but tells the slower learners who are not concentrating to go to sleep on the carpet.

Noma: Alligator, bear, cat, dinosaur, elephant, [...]frog, [...] horse iguana

Nomathemba is not as praised for this as was Siya, who did exactly the same. Nomathemba undervalued as a learner.

Xolelwa calls Melinda, Andile, and other learner who was looking at wall to the Animal ABC poster individually and tests them on the Animal ABC chart letters.

These learners have not had a chance to learn this language, because they have been at the wall. This just reinforces failure.

Andile is silent for all the animals, except elephant. Xolelwa does not congratulate him at all.

Xolelwa: I've got my suspicions about Melinda's father. I'm not racist, you know.

PR: I know.

Xolelwa: The other children know she is different, they call her the Zimababwean.

Xolelwa is, in my view, being xenophobic. She doesn't actually say Melinda is stupid/slow because she is Zimababwean, but I feel it was implied.

10.30

All the learners go for break to the far classroom, where they do a music ring with all the teachers. Many learners are not paying attention.

11.30

All learners are still in classroom, watching a video, or doing other things. Nomathemba comes and sits next to me on a table directly opposite the TV.

Is this to get a good view of the TV, with a seat, or because she wants the companionship? I feel it's probably a bit of both. Nomathemba is affectionate from a distance. She doesn't hug me or crawl all over me like the other learners do, but she's always there in the background.

Simpiwe: [is sitting in front of me, on a row of chairs which Andile has organized, and is marshalling. Andile seems to be very attentive to TV.] (E) What's your name?

PR: Phil

S: (E) What's his name? [same intonation as to me, but points at AN]

PR: Nomathemba.

Noma: [.....] is Nomathemba.

[]

PR: I like your hat.

Noma: [smiles]

PR: I like your hat. [points at hat]

Noma: This one? [points at motif on side of hat] Blue.

Nomathemba has possibly misunderstood the question, and answered 'blue', or she is just trying to be polite by replying. She doesn't look me in the eye when giving these answers all the time. Nomathemba is not very outgoing, which inhibits her language use and learning.

27/05/02

8.15

In the preschool classroom, just before breakfast.

Xolelwa enters: Mamelani, listen to me.

Xolelwa often translates formulaic expressions between X and E for learners.

8.55

Xolelwa: What is the time?

Class not listening, only some concentrating on Xolelwa: [various responses.]

Xolelwa: Five to nine.

9.00

Some learners approach me before morning ring

PR: Good morning.....

Noma: Good morning.

PR: How are you?

Noma: silent.

Siya: I'm fine thank you very much.

Siya did this in an instructive kind of way to model for others what the response would have been. It was not directed at me.

Andile and Nomathemba are still eating porridge. He is the last to finish on his table. Most learners are in the ring already.

Almost everything Andile does, he does it slower than other learners.

Xolelwa: I'm tired. I'm doing a Diploma in education. We've got many assignments. Yesterday I was with my church in Kenton. We're going to form a study group from the people on my course.

Xolelwa seems to have many heavy commitments outside of work. She also has a family, at least a husband.

9.05

All the learners are sitting in a ring singing their own songs in X. Xolelwa is preparing tables for them by placing art materials on them.

Noma: [does the actions at the right time for the words to the qwa qwa qwa song, but doesn't know the words.]

Siya is leading the song, backed up by Zikhona. Nomathemba is really showing off the actions, much more expressively than the other learners.

She seems to be directing her actions at Siya, or is she just following her? Nomathemba always seems to want to participate and do her best and to show off, but she sometimes feels shy about doing so and holds back.

Xolelwa comes back and asks the learners to count themselves out of the ring. When Noma is the ninth learner to leave the ring. She should have said nine, but says twelfth.

This could be shyness; normally Noma is able to count well.

9.10

Xolelwa goes back to sorting out papers for the learners to work with. Anathi is throwing bricks at other learners in the circle. PR intervenes and takes Anathi out of the ring.

9.15

The class are singing a song. Andile is trying to keep up with the actions, but finds it hard. Nomathemba seems perfectly capable of keeping up with a song in X.

9.24

Xolelwa comes back. She demonstrates and sings, "The house is burning". Nomathemba and Andile both keep up with actions and singing in the isiXhosa version, but not the English one.

Xolelwa: Good morning learners

Class: Good morning teacher

Xolelwa: How are you today?

Class: We are fine thank you very much.

Andile does not respond to these expressions with the rest of the class.

Does Andile not know them, or does he not bother to say them?

9.26

Class sings Father Abraham. The actions here are quite complicated. Andile doesn't really keep up, but can manage the words in English for this song.

9.28

Xolelwa: What's the weather today? (E)

Thabang: [Stands up, looks out of window] Kushushu.

Class: (X) Hayi...

Simpiwe: Kuyabanda

Xolelwa: (X) Point to the right weather on the weatherboard

[Thabang does so]

I think Thabang made this mistake, because he could see the sun outside, and thought it was warm. It was quite warm in the classroom, although chilly outside.

9.30

Xolelwa: (X) We're going to listen to the news from this weekend.

Class put up their hands to volunteer their information.

Noma and Ntombesizwe tell a story in X.

Nomathemba is very keen to communicate to the class and smiles as she does so.

Andile and Nomathemba listen carefully to other learners' stories. Nomathemba claps after each story, especially Melinda's.

Nomathemba acknowledges other learners attempts at communication.

9.35

Xolelwa: (E) What have we been learning about last week?

Learner: Winter.

Xolelwa: Good.

Xolelwa: (X) What do we use to keep warm in winter?

[Class offers various suggestions]

Xolelwa: (X) What's that thing we use to cook?

Learners: (X) flame, fire

Xolelwa: (X) OK, where do we find fire?

Learners: [offer various suggestions]

Andile: (X) At a braai

Xolelwa: OK

Andile has followed the task and is confident enough to offer his own, original suggestion on the theme. He usually remains quiet in plenary sessions.

Xolelwa: I haven't had time to prepare a programme organizer this week, so I'm just going to do fire. I'm going to call the firemen to come to the school if they can to teach us about it.

Xolelwa says she has been very busy and is not fazed by not being entirely up to date with her paperwork. She has the ability to be spontaneous in her lessons.

9.40

Xolelwa sends Melinda away to the fantasy area after another learner says that Mel hurt her ear.

Xolelwa did not check that this was actually the case, she just sent Mel away anyway. Is this to get rid of Mel because she is naughty, or because she is going to be naughty? Does Mel get a chance to show good behaviour? Antisocial behaviour is clamped down upon very harshly in Mel's case, but I had to catch Anathi, (see 9.10 above), because none of the learners complained to the teacher about him.

Xolelwa: (X) What colours do we find in fire?

Learners: (X) Orange, red, yellow.

Xolelwa: [repeats in E]

9.50

Mel is still in the corner, all the other learners are drawing things to do with fire, or painting. I feel the need to interfere, but I know I cannot in this case. Xolelwa has not forgotten her, because she walks close to Mel to pick something up.

9.53

Andile is sitting at his desk with an orange crayon in his hand. He isn't focused on the task. Other learners have started drawing. All other learners on his table are boys. *Andile seems to prefer to see what everyone else is doing before he has a go himself. In this respect, he is unconfident about his abilities.*

10.00

Nomathemba is working with magazines, looking for examples of anything to do with fire. She finds a picture of an oven, and shows it to Xolelwa. Xolelwa rips it out of the magazine. Nomathemba seems satisfied.

Noma: [finds a picture of a washing machine] (X) Is this a hot thing?

Xolelwa: (X) No, that's a washing machine, not a stove.

Noma: [no response, turns the page.]

Nomathemba is keen to learn, and wants to test her assumptions on authorities before she commits herself to them. She uses language to learn, she doesn't just point at the object to test if she is right.

10.02

Andile has started drawing. His drawing is very similar to that of other learners on the table. It looks like a truck.

PR: [to Andile] Uthini? [] What's this?

Andile: Fire!

PR: (X) It's a car, isn't it?

Andile: [doesn't respond]

Other learner on table: (X) What did he say?

Andile: (X) He asked what's this, and I said fire, he said it's a car.

Anathi: (to PR) Fire!

Thabang: (to PR) Fire brigade- ah!

Andile doesn't easily commit himself to his own ideas. Maybe he didn't understand the task, but because of his 'braai' comment, I think he knows it's all about fire, and he knows he should draw it, or something similar. He didn't want to draw anything until he saw what the others were doing.

I think he doesn't know the word fire brigade, but he knows that that is what he has drawn. The fact he picked up an orange crayon may be coincidence, or it may be that he is following Xolelwa's instructions of which colour to use.

10.10

Andile writes his name on the top left of his paper. He follows this with a strange mark on the right hand side, written from left to right. He did this before when Wendy asked him to copy his name she had written out for him.

Andile seems to be trying out writing for fun, trying to form other letters he has seen.

10.15

Nomathemba has found another picture, this time of a fireplace. She takes it to Xolelwa.

10.17

Andile has finished his picture. He is obviously very pleased with it. He runs around the classroom with it, showing it to other learners, who in the main aren't terribly interested in it. Eventually, he hands it in to Xolelwa.

10.20

Nomathemba is painting. By now, most learners have finished their activities, and are playing in the ring area. Nomathemba is not painting fire, she is painting a landscape.

10.25

PR: What's this? [without pointing at paper, but meaning her picture]

Noma: It's my name, Nomathemba

Nomathemba thinks I am asking her name, which is not written on the picture. Her response indicates she my find my question a bit threatening from the tone she gives it in.

PR: [points at paper Nomathemba is painting on.]

Noma: Flower.

Nomathemba is not painting to task. She wants to paint, but her own thing. She feels she has worked enough, and now she wants to relax. The picture has a foreground, sky, a tree, and a bank of flowers.

10.35

Xolelwa brings all learners to the Animal ABC chart.

Nomathemba is messing about. Xolelwa calls her up. She can remember the name of the letter C when Xolelwa asks her.

Xolelwa goes through alphabet with whole class. Siya and Zikhona clearly know it, so Xolelwa tells them to go and sit down.

Xolelwa gets every learner to come up to alphabet chart and tell her the name of one letter or animal on it. Andile knows elephant, but can't name the letter E.

Noma: A for alligator.

Nomathemba's command of the alphabet far exceeds Andile's.

10.40

The snack is brought into the room by one of the helpers.

PR: All the triangles come here. It's Monday today.

[repeats phrase]

[About five learners come up to me. I ask each one their name, even if I know it. Most of them reply, some in a full sentence.]

PR: [to Noma] What's your name?

Noma: My name is Nomathemba.

Other learners who think they are triangles have already modelled this, but some are not! (One is Andile.) However, Nomathemba is capable of making the correct response to my question.

11.15

Xolelwa starts the learners playing Chinese whispers. All learners involved. The phrase that they must pass round is in English. The message changes as it goes round. Xolelwa laughs when it doesn't come out right, but does blame some learners for losing the message.

Xolelwa has a relaxed attitude to some activities, like these and those that follow this one, but sometimes accuses some learners of not trying hard enough in what looks like a game. I think Xolelwa does this to ensure participation even in 'game' activities.

11.25

Xolelwa starts another game, where one learner is blindfolded and they have to guess the identity of the other learner by feeling.

11.35

After this game, one learner hides a piece of wood under their legs while another one leaves the room. By clapping softly for 'cold' and loud for 'hot', the other learners tell the learner who left the room where the piece of wood is hidden.

11.40

Xolelwa reads an English version of Jack and the Beanstalk to the class. She starts by holding the pictures up to face the children.

Xolelwa: (X) What can you see on this page?

Learners: [stand up and point to object on page] (X) father/boy/cow

Xolelwa: [points to the pictures] Dada, Father, *inkwenkwe*, boy.

Xolelwa then reads the story in E, then paraphrases and translates into X. She gets a learner to repeat some of the E phrases.

Lots of learners start to lose attention to the story and Xolelwa appears to be rushing it too.

The story wasn't really very well told. Xolelwa could have used much more action and involved the students in the telling. She could also have shown them many more pictures and used some asides. The story was long, but it didn't have to finished that day. I also thought the lexis level was a bit high for the learners.

12.45

After lunch

As I go to say goodbye to Xolelwa in the 2nd year classroom, she asks me to come to her office.

Xolelwa: I want to explain what the problem was in the kitchen [earlier, Mpho and Xolelwa had been arguing in X in the kitchen and I had asked what it was about. Xolelwa told me she would tell me later, 'not in front of everyone' It transpired that two educational field workers had come to the school to do a workshop with parents. They had encouraged the parents to take more ownership in the school. As a result of this, according to Xolelwa, one parent has started making complaints and accusations to her in front of the staff and the learners about all sorts of things, even about the sand pit in the playground.]

PR: Has she ever made trouble before (meaning the parent)?

Xolelwa: Yes she has, about all sorts of things.

PR: Do you want parents in the school, or do you think it's better not to have them here?

Xolelwa: No, I want them here, I really do.

Later

Xolelwa: There's no politics in this school

I took this to mean that Xolelwa doesn't want people to come into the school and 'start trouble'.

Xolelwa: It's not my school, it's the NGO's.

Xolelwa means that if the parent who came here has a problem, she should go to NGO's offices, not come here and insult the teachers.

Despite the fact that the parent had made other complaints in the past, Xolelwa's point I think is that she now has a licence to interfere where she is not wanted. Xolelwa and the rest of the staff should have been consulted before this parenting workshop took place.

13.00

The school cook tells me a story about when she saw Melinda beating another child at the toilet.

Cook: I said to her, in Xhosa, if you beat her again, I'll beat you. Melinda went away. Later she came back to cook in the kitchen and smiled at me. Melinda said 'Hello mother'. She was just checking to see if I was still angry with her. I smiled back, and she laughed and ran away.

Not all the staff are as xenophobic as the teachers, and even the non-teaching staff have a keen interest in the learners.

29/05/02

9.00

Various learners come up to me and ask these questions. (Zikhona, Asanda)

What is your name?

What is your surname?

What is my mother's name [meaning your]?

What is my father's name [meaning your]?

What is your brother's name?

What is your sister's name?

In most cases, I reply in full sentences. Other learners try to impersonate those asking the questions. *I think the learners are trying to communicate with me as best they can. They are trying out their communicative abilities in English. These learners seem to feel a need to communicate with me in English. Other learners do not share this, for example Andile and sometimes Noma.*

9.11

Xolelwa uses Zikhona to demonstrate counting round the class.

It becomes clear that none of the learners can count past twenty-nine on this occasion. Andile is not paying attention to the counting and is chatting.

9.15

Nomathemba and Kuhle are still eating. Xolelwa has moved their plates on to the floor so that they can carry on eating. Neither seem to be very keen to join rest of group. When they've finished eating, they get up and look at the papers that Xolelwa has laid out on the tables and discuss it. Kuhle seems to engage with and listen to Nomathemba and vice versa.

Noma, although she is always a bit out of the crowd, can listen to and be listened to by her peers. She is sociable and commands some respect from those around her.

9.20

Xolelwa: [to class] (E) Good morning/ how are you today?

Class responds in plenary in English. Nomathemba responds, Andile doesn't at all.

Is it that Andile doesn't know, or that he can't be bothered? He does join in with X. songs, which leads me to believe that he is unconfident in speaking English, and this is why he doesn't always respond in E songs. His development rate may be the same, only his production is slower.

9.25

Xolelwa: (E) What is the day today?

Class: (E) It is Wednesday today.

Xolelwa: (E) What is the date today?

Learner: (E) Wednesday.

Xolelwa: (E) No, the date, not the day.

Confident learners have a go at guessing the number.

Almost all the class can say: 'It is so-and-so' in response to 'What is the day?', so long as they are told what the day is first by another learner!

Xolelwa: What do we do with fire? [E. then X.]

[Some learners give answers in isiXhosa, and Xolelwa reformulates them in E.]

In general at Prima, explanations of things, hints, clues, and contributions to keep discussion going are all in X. Procedural language is all in E to start with and later in X if the learners do not understand.

9.35

Xolelwa: [uses realia from the theme table to promote discussion with the learners. She puts the fire extinguisher, a bottle of water and a fire engine on the floor in the middle of the group.]

It's not clear to me what these are for. Xolelwa is now called out of the room.

Nomathemba listens to the more confident girls in the classroom talk. She then moves over to talk to some of the boys. Andile is playing, but not talking to other learners.

Nomathemba is very gregarious. She doesn't seem to have a particular group, or a special friend, unlike some others in the class. Andile is always with the boys, like Thabang and Simphiwe, but I rarely see him engaged in actual conversations with them, as opposed to short exchanges.

9.55

Andile has coloured in a candle very well, each bit is in different colours and the finish is very neat indeed. As I come over, he smiles at the picture, and points it out to me, smiling. He is clearly proud of his effort.

PR: (E) What colour is this?

Andile: (E) Yellow. [very clear, no hesitation]

10.00

Andile has moved to another table, where the activity is free drawing.

10.02

PR looks at Noma's painting.

PR: (E) What's this?

Noma: (E) Flower.

PR: (E) What colour is this?

Noma: [] Yellow

With a slight pause each time, Nomathemba correctly identifies yellow, green, blue, and brown.

10.10

Andile has finished at the free drawing table. I am sitting on a table near Nomathemba. There is a learner from Xolelwa's class there for the day.

Noma: (X) (to PR) Phil, I want to have this crayon. [looking at other learner from Xolelwa's class]

[Nomathemba then takes the crayon from learner]

[PR comes and sits with Nomathemba at her table and watches her draw a picture of a person. It is quite detailed]

Some other learners come and laugh at the drawing that Xolelwa's learner has made. They are ridiculing her.

Noma: (X) Don't call names.

Nomathemba knew I was watching her, but I got the impression that she would have done this anyway.

Nomathemba is quick to defend other students from those calling others names. I think this is a good indication that Nomathemba has an advanced sense of emotional intelligence. She is not afraid to think independently from others. (She doesn't make the assumption, unlike other learners, that because someone is in a lower class at school than you that you can be rude to them.)

10.15

The same learners come and ask me the same questions as at the beginning of the day. In addition, they ask the following.

Learner: (E) What is this?

PR: (E) A pen.

Learner: (E) What is this?

PR: Paper

The learners seem to be trying to find out what I am doing. It doesn't appear that they are just trying to communicate with me for the sake of it. Their confidence as learners and in English lets them explore and develop their cognitive abilities and language at the same time.

10.30

During music and movement ring, all the learners are holding on to the back of the one in front and walking in time to the music. Rhetebile waves at me as she goes past and then Nomathemba does the same, with a big smile.

11.35

Nomathemba is playing with a board with fish shapes cut out of it. The fish range from small to large.

PR: (E) Which is the big one?

Noma: (E) Fiiish. [runs her hand across all the fish.]

PR: (E) Which is the big one?

Other learner: (X) show the fish.

Other learner: (X) Say which is small.

Noma: (X) Small.

PR: (E) Which is the big one? [using hands this time to show 'big']

Noma: [points to big fish]

PR: (E) Show me the small one.

Noma: [looks in pocket for her handkerchief]

She hasn't understood my question, and maybe wants me to stop asking!

PR: Show me the small one [not using hands this time].

Noma: [points to a fish smaller than the big one she pointed to before.]

PR: Good.

Nomathemba can identify big and small if she is prompted with gestures. She needed a friend to translate for her and help. She then needed time to work out what my second question was about. She did manage to do this successfully.

I've noticed that neither Nomathemba or Andile ever initiate a conversation with me or come up to me alone. I think this is nothing more than lack of confidence.

11.45

Xolelwa reads the story of The Magic Porridge Pot to the class in English. Both Andile and Nomathemba paying a lot of attention. Afterwards, I ask Xolelwa to get the learners to settle down so I can ask them to tell me anything they remember from the story. In English, I ask the learners to tell me anything they remember. Xolelwa repeats what I have said to the learners in isiXhosa and translates what the learners say into English for me. Lots of learners have something to say. Some merely repeat what others have said.

Andile: (X) People were drowning in porridge

Noma: (X) There was a mother in a home

Both answers are correct, but Andile's is original. It is a part of the story he could not have got from elsewhere. Nomathemba's comment is quite the reverse. Does she remember this, or is it just some thing to say? Maybe she does remember a lot of the story, but doesn't say it. She might have wanted to say, 'I can remember the mother in the home when the pot started to boil over', but doesn't have the confidence to say it, so just keeps the phrase short.

31/05/02

9.00

Melinda comes up to me as she has finished her breakfast.

PR: Molo, Melinda

Mel: Hello.

Anathi: (X) Uthini Molo!

Mel: (X) I did.

Anathi: (X) Uthini Molo!

Phil: Molo Melinda

Mel: Hello!

Mel says 'Hello' again to be naughty, and not do what Anathi says. It's deliberate. She is trying to make her communication as successful as possible with me by using English. The interesting thing is Anathi's reaction: he knows that English is the language I normally use, but because I said 'Molo', he thinks the response should be in the same language. This shows that learners realize there that both languages must be used at different times with different people.

Andile has finished eating early!

Andile, Thabang and Simphiwe come over. The latter two talk to me in isiXhosa.

T: (X) (to PR) What is your mother's name?

PR: It is Anita.

Andile goes away.

Thabang and Simphiwe leave and then come back with other learners. They all start shaking my hands, isiXhosa style. Andile joins in smiling.

Andile wanted to communicate with me, but went away when he thought I might ask him a question. He didn't try to communicate with me in the way that Thabang and Simphiwe did, but was pleased to be able to shake hands, probably because it didn't involve him being put on the spot to say something he didn't know or was unsure of.

9.09

Asanda and some other faster learners are 'reading' books. Andile, Siphosethu, and Thabang are looking at pictures of cars in a car book

Andile has an immersing literacy. He can share a book with other learners, and comment on it.

9.14

Learners are singing the rhyme 'Mary Mary, quite contrary', They don't seem to know the second line!

Andile is joining in, even if he doesn't know all the words.

9.20

Some learners are trying to recognize which fruit is related to Friday on the wall chart. One learner says apples, which is not correct. Andile repeats this answer slightly later on.

9.25

Xolelwa reads learners a bible story in isiXhosa from a picture book. She doesn't show the class the pictures in the book. At end of story, she asks the learners specific content questions in isiXhosa 'Who was so and so in the story?'

Learner involvement in stories is fairly minimal. Stories are not used as part of the lesson, they are extraneous to it. There is little schemata raising before a story starts, and learners are rarely shown the pictures in the book. Is Xolelwa trained to use stories in this way? Why does she keep the book to herself?

9.35

Xolelwa asks class for examples of things to do with fire. Some learners give some examples.

Noma: (X) flame and matches

Other learners: Paraffin, fire brigade.

Andile: [gets up slowly, not totally sure of what he will say.] (X) Matches.

Andile and Nomathemba both make a contribution, Nomathemba didn't do so the last time Xolelwa asked this. Andile gives a different answer to his previous one of 'braai'. He is less sure of himself this time. I almost feel like he wanted to have something to say, couldn't think of anything and so said what someone else had said. Andile definitely wants to demonstrate what he can do as often as possible, as I saw earlier with his colouring in (269/05/02 9.55).

9.40

Xolelwa has taken out a list of emergency numbers and displayed them on the board.

Noma: (X) We use these numbers when we need help.

[Nomathemba then carries on talking to Xolelwa about the phone numbers in isiXhosa. All the class is still sitting in the ring and Nomathemba has a lot to say to Xolelwa.]

When she has something to say, and she knows it, Nomathemba will say and do it. She is not a risk taker.

9.45

Xolelwa: (X) All those wearing jeans, go and sit down.

[Andile goes and sits down. He was wearing jeans.]

9.50

Learners engaged in various activities, pasting, colouring, free drawing, making collages. Andile still hasn't started drawing.

9.55

The other boys on Andile's table have finished what they were doing, (drawing a fire related object), and have left Andile on his own. Andile takes a red crayon, and draws a red circle on it very carefully. He then turns the paper over and rushes over to another table where there are some girls drawing. He finds a blank piece of paper there.

Andile: (X) I can't draw a fireman. [The comment isn't directed at anyone in particular]

Andile doesn't want to be alone. He is unconfident of what to draw without others to observe. His comment is asking for help.

10.00

Andile has started drawing. It is a green person. He pats the picture with his hand, and shoves it under Asanda's and Wanda's eyes. They push it out of the way, but are not totally dismissive or angry to be interrupted.

Andile wants some confirmation that he is doing the right thing. With his male friends, he feels he can ask them straight out, or discuss the task. Here he is on his own, seeking confirmation through his actions rather than by using words. Is he slightly intimidated by these girls?

10.03

Nomathemba gets pushed off her chair by Siphosethu. She laughs, and so does Sip. [Sip. was trying to get a reaction. Nomathemba laughs as she falls off. Then she pretends to hit Sip. with a crayon.]

Sip: Don't do that

Noma: [sits back down and carries on.]

Nomathemba is doesn't want to make trouble.

Andile shows his picture to Sip. (Sip has come to see Andile.) They converse.

Sip: (X) Go and get some more paper.

Andile gets up, leaving his green man on the table.

10.05

Nomathemba is playing at falling off her chair.

10.06

Andile returns to his table. Sip is trying to steal Asanda's picture of a lady with long hair. The picture is well proportioned. As Asanda chases Sip away, Andile tries to take the picture, which Asanda has left on the table. Asanda returns.

Andile: (X) (To Asanda) You haven't drawn the right thing.

Asanda ignores him.

Andile is jealous of Asanda's work. He wants to be able to do something like it.

Sip draws a man on Andile's paper. He is doing this to help Andile draw something.

Sip leaves, Andile makes some adjustments to his picture. [He appears very pleased with what he is doing, showing real motivation] Andile then colours in Sip's drawing. He runs to show it to Xolelwa.

Xolelwa signs it but says nothing. Andile skips back to table, punches air. He adds arms and hands.

Then goes back to Xolelwa, but this time much more slowly.

Andile is pleased to have something to hand in that he can be proud of. He wants to show other what he can do, but he doesn't seem to be proud of the other things he hands in. I think he is lacking hugely in confidence, to the extent that he has to rely on his friends to do work for him.

10.15

Break time.

Nomathemba and Simphiwe are playing tag. Andile is pretending to do karate.

Andile: (X) (to other boys) This is how you do it, look.

[Andile seems to be more concerned with avoiding being hit than actively being defensive.]

There is no aggression in AP, unlike the other boys who are trying to kick and punch each other in a stylised way, not to hurt.

10.37

Snack time

Simphiwe throws the remainder of his milk in his mug over Nomathemba.

PR: Hey!

Xolelwa and Xolelwa both admonish Simphiwe.

[Nomathemba appears calm, not upset, just a bit shocked.]

It wasn't clear what provoked this, but I think it was just random. Nomathemba does not retaliate, she just moves on.

11.00

Break time

PR and the teachers are now outside, in lovely weather, watching over the children during break. We chat; I play football with some of the boys.

11.30

Xolelwa has brought some of her course work for the Dip in Ed. outside. She asks those there what the values of the school are. Some of those present suggest things. Xolelwa writes down: 'to develop the learners to build confidence in the learners.'

Xolelwa seems to be the most confident about her answers. Others don't know or don't want to guess at what the values of the school are. It is a difficult question.

Xolelwa shows me the answers to another question in her work. She has to ask learners and their parents what the aim of education is. The answers are all written in English.

PR: When did you ask the children this?

Xolelwa: Just now in the class when they were working.

The assignment asks Xolelwa to frame the question in a suitable way for the learners. Judging by the answers, I think she asked: 'Why do you come to school?' Some of the answers from the children are:
So I can learn to be a policeman/athlete/nurse
My mother doesn't want me to stay in the family home.
It's nice here at school
My educators teach me.
So that I can learn to write my own name.
I want to draw pictures.
I learn because I want to know everything.

11.35

PR: What are you studying for now?

Xolelwa: It's a diploma.

PR: Where did you work before this?

Xolelwa: I worked at Shaw Hall for a year.

Xolelwa and I agree to go and see Andile's parents together on Wednesday at 1.00 (Xolelwa also has to ask some questions to a parent about the aims of education, so it ties in nicely.)

Xolelwa seems quite keen to do the work, but not so keen on how much there is to do. She seems pleased at the suggestion of both going up together.

Xolelwa returns to the question about values. She writes:

Teamwork between parents and children.

Fundraising to maintain broken equipment

Development for educators and parents.

Xolelwa seems to have worked most of these out alone. I hadn't expected her to have this level of thinking about her own school. She often seems over-worked and nonchalant.

3/06/02

9.10

PR is serving breakfast. PR gives Andile his plate.

Andile: (E) Thanks.

9.20

Lots of learners including Andile are standing around me. PR is sitting on the teacher's chair. Some learners are asking me to do a trick I can do with my nose.

PR: Good morning [to Andile]

Andile: [Looks shy, and smiles.]

A few seconds pass, PR involved with other learners.

PR: How are you today?

Andile: [shy smile] I'm fine thank you very much teacher. [The last part of this was almost inaudible]

Andile does know the formulaic answer and can give it in the right context, without needing an example. However, the answer was very garbled: he wasn't sure he was saying the right thing.

9.25

Class sitting in morning ring.

Xolelwa: What day is it today? (E)

Some other learners have a guess.

Andile: Sunday

9.30

Xolelwa: (E) We're going to do the news. (X) What did you do over the weekend? What about what happened at Radio Grahamstown?

[Various learners put up their hands, Xolelwa chooses them and they relate things that they did in isiXhosa.]

Despite the fact that learners have heard the phrase: 'We're going to do the news' almost every Monday, they still needed some prompting in X before they put up their hands. This might be because they need time to think to structure their answer in isiXhosa, or because normally when Xolelwa asks English questions, she expects English answers.

9.40

Nomathemba finally has finished her breakfast and comes and joins the ring.

She seems to be taking even longer to finish than Andile ever did! Why this change? She does look towards the ring, but doesn't have a pressing need to be part of it.

Andile: (X) [something in X]

Xolelwa: (X) Was it true?

Class: (E) Nooo.

Xolelwa: (X) Say it, Andile.

[Quite a few learners are not listening now.]

Andile: (X) We went to radio Grahamstown, and there was a lady there.

Xolelwa doesn't reward Andile for trying. She doesn't ask Andile if he's sure, Xolelwa may have misunderstood. Andile is embarrassed about saying the next thing, because so many learners are now not listening, maybe because Xolelwa has said he wasn't 'telling the truth.'

9.45

Xolelwa instructs the learners to draw the things they can remember from Radio Grahamstown.

As the learners go and sit at tables, six boys try and sit down at a table of four. Four of them go and form their own table on another spare one, leaving Lukhanyo and Andile sitting alone on the table. They then move to another free table. Thabang and Siphosethu then leave the table they moved to go and sit with Andile and Lukhanyo. Another boy and Ananthi are left alone on their table, even though there is room for one more boy on it. Kuhle joins Andile's table. The other boy then leaves Anathi's table, and goes and sits with the others. Lukhanyo then turns round and cocksnooks Anathi, who is now sitting alone. Anathi is not happy. Andile has now started drawing almost straight away.

This seems to be a play off between Lukhanyo's power and Anathi's power. Andile doesn't seem to be too involved in all this, except to follow what everyone asks him to do. He always seems to be a bit out of the action, but happy to be so. It might be that he starts drawing to confirm his allegiance to this group.

10.25

Xolelwa teaches the class the words to 'Mary Mary, quite contrary'. A lot of the learners are singing 'Wash a Mary'. Xolelwa drills the line and its components a few times, then the learners sing the first line a few times.

This is the first time I have seen Xolelwa teaching a song. She appears quite impatient. There is no attempt at teaching meaning, by means of actions or otherwise.

10.30

Xolelwa and class sing round and round the garden, about eight times all the way through, both verses.

The verses change in the last line: tickle me under there/tickle me there again.

Xolelwa then picks Siya out to sing the whole thing alone for the class. [This is done as a model for the others] Siya does not manage to sing both verses with the correct line in each one. Xolelwa then picks out Anathi. Anathi looks very scared, can't even sing one verse. Thabang is then picked out, but he can't

sing more than one section of the first verse. Also looks scared. Xolelwa then leads the whole class in the whole song again.

Xolelwa was using Siya to model. Why then did she pick on Anathi and Thabang to sing when even Siya could not do it? I felt like this was failure reinforcement. Xolelwa must have known that if Siya found the task hard, then Anathi and Thabang would be incapable of it. Why did she choose to shame them in front of the class?

10.35

The learners are playing inside.

Xolelwa: I am so tired, I have no time to relax. After Radio GHT, I cleaned the house, then I went to my study circle, and on Sunday too after church. Every weekend, the study circle.

PR: Is the study circle fun?

Xolelwa: Yes. At least if you don't understand something, you don't understand, you can talk about it. *Maybe Xolelwa feels a bit threatened about some of the diploma work. She seemed a bit nervous about some of it when she was sharing the work with us two days ago out on the field. She clearly feels overburdened by the amount of work she has to do.*

11.24

Xolelwa has taken over the class because Xolelwa is away in town on business.

Nomathemba is matching up apple and number cards. She asks Xolelwa to come and sit with her to watch her. Nomathemba matches up seven apples and the digit 7 and nine apples and the digit 9.

Nomathemba recognizes numbers and can match them to real quantities in the environment.

11.26

Andile is putting pegs into a pegboard. There is no pattern in his work, but other boys on his table have made one side of the pegboard one colour. Andile comes and shows me his work.

Andile: Phil!

PR: Good! Very nice.

He then takes his board to Xolelwa who has a neutral reaction.

Andile is becoming more interested in interacting with me, as the conversation at 9.10 today shows.

11.35

Xolelwa has told the learners to tidy up. Some of them are throwing their pegs on the floor. Noma: (X) Don't do that! Siya look!

[Siya acknowledges what is going on, but doesn't say anything]

Nomathemba then helps some learners to pick up the pegs on the floor.

Did Nomathemba just grab Siya because she was the closest person? Or was it because Siya is acknowledged by Nomathemba to have a high status in the classroom? (Something that is constantly reinforced by Xolelwa.) Nomathemba has an advanced sense of social responsibility. She knows when something is wrong and tries to stop it happening, as opposed to letting it go on, which is what Siya does.

11.40

Some of the boys, like Thabang, are singing 'Mary Mary' while they work on the beads in holes, but they are still singing, 'wash our Mary'

I think they've just got the song in their heads and aren't trying to practice it or anything. They are still singing what they think the song is, rather than what they have been taught.

5/06/02

9.10

Nomathemba is sitting on a chair on the rug 'reading' a book to some other learners who are sitting on the rug itself.

She's adopted the pose of a teacher at story time. The other learners aren't really paying too much attention to her and there's only about three of them anyway. But this does show Nomathemba has more an immersing literacy.

9.13

Yamkela is running about playing his usual game of hitting people with the rabbit. Nomathemba tries to get Yamkela to chase her. She stands in the middle of the room, and calls his name and waves at him. Yam. does not respond.

Yam is only prepared to play this game with boys. Even if Nomathemba wants to join the group, Yam excludes her. I think this is more of a reflection on Yamkela's exclusive behaviour of girls. Nomathemba is always keen to join in with whatever is going on, but she doesn't have a group.

9.15

Yamkela, Andile, and another boy are all looking at a book (Jack and the Beanstalk). They are discussing the pictures and laughing.

Andile and friends spontaneously begin reading a book, when they could be running about playing. They interact with the book as a group, turning the pages together, and pointing out the things to be seen there. There is a definite emerging literacy here.

9.20

Wanda is crying for some reason. Nomathemba alerts Zikhona, who alerts Siya. Siya moves over to find out the problem.

Nomathemba shows concern for a fellow pupil, but doesn't feel capable of working out the problem herself, so she calls over a 'senior' member of the group. Again, her the advanced sense of social responsibility that has been evidenced before.

9.29

Xolelwa: (E) OK, sit down.

Andile and Nomathemba are some of first learners to do so.

[Nomathemba and Andile have understood the instruction; they are not just following the actions of the others in the circle.]

9.30

Xolelwa: What day is it today?

Lukhanyo: Ulwesithathu.

Xolelwa: (E) Good, but what is it in English?

[Xolelwa acknowledges answer even if it isn't in the right language.]

Lots of learner put their hands up, but Xolelwa decides to ask the boys. Xolelwa picks

Andile. He stands up very slowly and stands in silence with mouth closed.

Xolelwa then chooses some other boys, but they don't know either, although they do guess.

Xolelwa: (X) (to the boys) Say the days of the week. Monday...

Boys: Tuesday, Wednesday.

Xolelwa: What day is it today?

Simphiwe: Wednesday.

Andile doesn't perform well when put on the spot. Then again, neither do most learners, except the ones that already know what is being asked of them. Xolelwa uses those learners to model for the rest of the class. Xolelwa is trying to force production too early, I think. The only thing Andile is learning is what it is like to fail.

9.40

Xolelwa: (X) What things do firemen work with?

[Learners put up hands, Xolelwa chooses them.]

Learners: (X) water, sand,

Ntombethemba: (X) foam

Andile: (X) Pipes

Xolelwa: (X) OK, yes, they use a pipe for the water, good Andile.

Nomathemba has not been involved in this activity. She is playing with a moisturizer, and has been handing it out to other girls.

Andile has used his imagination to come up with this answer. It is original, and shows perceptive observation. Apart from my story, he hasn't seen a pipe since he has been in the classroom, so this is something he has brought into the classroom from outside.

Xolelwa: (X) So now we're all going to draw a beautiful picture for the fireman, Chris Dyan to thank him.

9.50

Andile comes to the programme organizer theme table, and points at the extinguisher.

Andile:(X) (to himself) That's the thing they put water in.

Andile has associated the shape of the extinguisher with its function. However, he is carrying a crayon and you would expect him to have come to the table to find something to draw. This lesson, he doesn't draw anything.

9.55

Rhetabile has drawn an outline of a truck for Nomathemba to colour in.

Nomathemba lacks confidence in simple drawing tasks like this. If instructed to draw something other than what she knows, like flowers, she finds it hard, a bit like Andile who finds it hard to draw anything just by using his imagination and not copying.

Andile and Lukhanyo, sitting next to each other, are beating each other.

Andile is not the aggressor here: he is only giving back what was given to him. His punches are quite half-hearted, and Luk. is really trying to hurt him. Andile doesn't exactly avoid conflict, but he doesn't enter into it fully either.

10.21

Nomathemba comes to me and shows me a Lego ship she has made. It looks a bit like a plane.

Noma: Phil!

PR: Good! Very nice.

Nomathemba can show imagination in 3D. A plane is quite a boyish thing to make. Nomathemba doesn't seem to find this a problem. It is rare to see the other girls playing with Lego.

10.25

Andile has taken up Yam's game of chasing people with the toy rabbit. This game is not just a beating game, as it seems to be with Yam who enjoys hitting people. Here, Andile has made it into more of a hide and seek game, where he 'finds' people by hitting them on the bum with the rabbit.

10.35

Music and Movement ring.

Xolelwa gives the instructions in English.

Xolelwa: Stand on one leg.

[Some learners have not done so, including Andile and Noma]

Xolelwa: (X) Stand on one leg.
Andile and Noma and the rest do so.

10.45

After a painting activity, various learners group around me.

Learner: (to PR) Molo, unjani?

PR: Ndiphilile, enkosi.

Noma: Your mother.

PR: Your mother?

Noma: [nods]

PR: My mother's name?

Noma: [nods]

PR: Anita

Nomathemba is trying to engage me in conversation in the way she has seen Rhetibile and Siya do. She has learnt from them, and is trying it out on me. She seemed satisfied with the response I gave to the question.

11.25

The fire brigade are visiting. While the fireman is talking, Nomathemba tells the other learners to shut up. Andile is paying a lot of attention.

Fireman: (to class) Niyaqonda?

Noma: (with class) Yes, tata.

Nomathemba interacts with an adult she does not know.

11.45

The firemen are spraying water out of the hose.

Noma: (X) Missy, it is water? [to Mpho]

later:

Noma: (X) Missy, look at what he is doing!

Nomathemba is keen to interact with Nomathemba authority figure while she is learning. She wants to engage adults in her learning experiences.

Judging from this visit, in which both learners were obviously highly motivated, (Andile jumped up and down when the hose went on), I think I can conclude that Nomathemba has a longer concentration span than Andile. Nomathemba also wants to learn interactively, whereas Andile prefers to watch, and absorb passively. Interestingly, I didn't see either of them interact with their peers when they were excited.

7/06/02

Xolelwa is away at a workshop. (DE)

Andile is not at school.

8.55

PR is handing out porridge.

Kuhle: I don't want.

PR: Ok, you don't want any.....

Rhetebile: Don't want.

[Later]

Rhet: Tell me a story.

PR: OK, find me a story.

Rhet goes off to the bookshelves and finds a book (Jack and the Beanstalk).

It seems that some learners in this class have some English that is not formulaic. They can also use this language in context specific tasks, for authentic communication.

9.16

Learners are waiting for the morning ring. Although sat in a circle, the class has divided itself into three groups. Nomathemba is not in any of them.

She doesn't seem bothered. Nomathemba is not troubled about not being with the 'in' crowd. She has a lot of independence and self-confidence.

9.25

Xolelwa tells Zikhona to do morning ring. She then leaves the room. Sometime passes, then Siya takes a chair and sits on it.

Siya: (X) Who wants to tell us what the weather is?

[Various learners put their hands up, saying 'Ndim, Miss'.]

The class has completely accepted Siya as the teacher. If Siya is capable of being the teacher, aren't these learners capable of a lot more than they are doing in class?

[Siya selects learners who are not her friends.]

The most amazing thing about this was that the students were all chosen at random, e.g. Lihle, Simpiwe. (Admittedly, they had their hands up.) None of them got the answers wrong, and they leapt up to answer the questions. This was effectively a group work discussion organized by a learner. As a learning activity, it appeared to be extremely successful.

9.40

Xolelwa comes back in to the room. She thanks Siya.

Xolelwa: (X) Go and draw a picture of the fireman puppet from the theme table. Then you must try to write your name and the word 'fireman' underneath what you have drawn.

As the learners are working, Xolelwa talks to me.

Xolelwa: (E) We must give them encouragement to write a few words in this class. The cutting and pasting they do here they have had practice in all the other classes. Now they should do something more difficult. They have school next year. At some of these schools, they have interviews.

PR: Which schools have interviews?

Xolelwa: Oatlands, Rhini One, Victoria Girls. One learner failed their interview. So I phoned Victoria Girls to ask what they did in that interview. They ask the learner to draw some things, count to twenty, and go through the alphabet. We had a staff meeting about it, and we decided that we should have more difficult tasks in the preschool class, starting from June in the preschool year. We must only encourage learners in these things, not force them. That's why I want to use your exercise that you used last year.

[It was a word and picture matching exercise on the theme of fire.]

Xolelwa is clearly concerned that learners are not performing to the standard that these English medium schools require of them. She didn't seem to know whether these interviews are for every learner, or if they are for scholarships. This isn't so much the point, as that Xolelwa and the school feel they are not gearing the kids towards the required standard of school readiness.

Xolelwa: Look at this report card. [Xolelwa shows me a report card from a G1 class.] I feel we do most of the outcomes on this card, but they're two we don't do very well: one is think critically, and the other is solve problems. We don't see these things in the learners.

Xolelwa means that the teachers at Prima don't set up activities that develop these skills.

The parents are pleased that you are here. We know that the teachers need help here. You know, some parents say that when their children hear English on the television, they translate it into Xhosa for them. So we are doing the right thing in this preschool.

Do you remember Luvu and Vuyile from the class last year? They are at Rhini One now. The teacher thinks they are very bright; they speak English to the other pupils in the class.

By 'the right thing' Xolelwa means using English in the classroom. Is Xolelwa also trying to say that school readiness is a very big issue in the school? I think so, but also that English is crucial to parents. They see it as a big access provider to the schools mentioned above. School readiness and English are not just closely linked: they are almost the same thing for her and the parents. She acknowledges there may be problems with English teaching at Prima.

10.00

About seven learners come and show me their letters of the alphabet and their names that they have written. Almost all have small errors, but are largely complete. Nomathemba has attempted her own name, but not the alphabet. Her own name is not complete, it features only two recognizable letters, N and a.

10.15

The class are being lead by Xolelwa in the song: 'If you're happy and you know it' Xolelwa says 'Shake your body'. Nomathemba does so without copying Xolelwa or others. In other words, she follows the command.

11.20

Outside on the field.

Xolelwa: Xhosa is difficult, even for us. Some Grade 10s here fail Xhosa. We don't really speak Xhosa here in the towns. We have so many words from Afrikaans and English. There's lots of difficult words in Xhosa. The Xhosas in the Transkei do well, because they speak a pure Xhosa.

This ties in with the Grade 5 learner from Secunda, saying that it is easier to speak English, even if isiXhosa is his first language.

Xolelwa: Once on my course, this psychology professor came along, he went mmmmmmmmm all the way through, I couldn't understand a word. At my first DE sessions, I just kept quiet because I couldn't understand the long English words.

Xolelwa said this in a way to imply that she now doesn't have this trouble. But I should think this is an issue for many black students on the courses. They don't feel they can participate because of their language abilities/confidence. Does this negative feeling about using English then transfer into the classroom? If a teacher has been trained in English, and feels unconfident about her ability during the training, will she be any more confident with English in the classroom?

Xolelwa: You know, these Zimbabweans are dangerous.

PR: Why?

Xolelwa: The way they took those farms is bad.

PR: But that land was theirs, wasn't it?

Xolelwa: Yes, but they must sit down and talk about these things.

Xolelwa's apparent racism towards Melinda might stem from a belief that Zimbabweans are violent people, who aren't clever enough to talk about things before they turn wild. No solidarity at all with these farmers, but not really surprising, seeing as Xolelwa is not rural, and her family was never removed from what they owned under apartheid.

10/06/02

Andile is not at school today.

9.45

Learners all in ring area.

Xolelwa: (E) What are we learning about today? (Xolelwa points at theme pictures on the wall.)

Various learners: Flowers, grass, sky.

Noma: (E) Cows.

Nomathemba can identify pictures with English words.

9.50

Xolelwa: (E) What kinds of trees are there? [Xolelwa repeats this in X]

Learners, including Noma: Fruit, leaf, banana

Xolelwa: (X) What kinds of things are made of trees?

Noma: (X) Fruit trees.

Nomathemba misunderstands an isiXhosa question, but she makes an attempt to answer. It is interesting that Xolelwa did not precede this with an English version. Is this why Nomathemba didn't understand that the question had changed? Her answer was correct for the previous question. This tells you about student expectations of classroom language choice. Nomathemba expects English first, then an isiXhosa translation.

Xolelwa: (E) What kinds of things are made of trees? (X) Nomathemba, [and some other learners including Melinda] stand up, and tell us something that is made out of trees.

Nomathemba: []

Xolelwa makes learners who don't want to say anything stand up when they can't think of an example. This surely does not improve a child's confidence. Nomathemba is normally very responsive, only at the moment, she can't think of anything. Why does Xolelwa feel the need to make an example of her?

10.00

Nomathemba has gone straight to the magazine table. She finds a picture of a tree, and then takes it to another table to cut it out. Straight after this, she goes to the free drawing table.

[She isn't distracted by anything else in the room, she wants to work and concentrate.] Nomathemba has no trouble applying herself and concentrating on the task whilst having fun at the same time. She laughs about the pictures in the magazines, while making sure that she is all the while looking for tree pictures.

10.12

Nomathemba has written her own name on her drawing three times. She then starts to draw a cow underneath her names.

Nomathemba normally draws flowers in free drawing and painting. This time, she has been tasked to do so, but chooses to write her name for practice and in addition to draw a cow, which is one of the things on the theme table picture besides trees.

She writes her name very confidently and quickly the last time, although some of the letters are a bit erratic.

PR: (X) What's this? (Points at picture of animal)

Noma: (X) A cow.

PR: OK. (X) What's this? (Points at name)

Noma: Nomathemba

Note that she does not say: (X) 'My name' as you might have expected her to. Nomathemba read her name to PR. This might indicate that she knows that writing and drawing are different.

10.40

Alphabet practice.

Xolelwa points at each letter of the Animal ABC and then the animal. She remains silent. The learners must chant out the name (not the sound) of the letter in chorus, and then the animal represented next to it.

Xolelwa: [points at M]

Rhetabile: Maaaa

Xolelwa: Hayi, 'ehm'

Rhetabile knew that the word was mouse for this letter, and so tried to sound the first letter.

10.42

Xolelwa: [points at unicorn]

Noma: (E) Donkey!

Nomathemba names the picture, unaware of what the first letter must be, or even what its sound must be. This despite the fact that the class have just established the name of the letter is 'you'. What would have happened if the letter had been sounded, not named? Would Nomathemba still have said 'Donkey'?

Most learners are confident with the names of letters A- I. Xolelwa gives no credit for learners who call out the sound of the letter not the name, as with Rhetabile.

The learners are learning the names of letters in the English alphabet, not the isiXhosa one, using English words. Some learners in the class can clearly cope with this, like Siya, but I suspect she gets a lot of help from her mother at home. This teaching aid is inappropriate for these learners. A unicorn is a western concept. See earlier for all the problems with alligator/crocodile, and bird, bear.

12/06/02

Andile is absent again. Xolelwa is at a workshop.

8.20

PR meets Nomathemba and her mother at the school gate. PR arranges a meeting with Nomathemba's mother for an interview.

PR: (To Noma) (E) I like your hat.

Noma: Panama.

Noma's mother: (Laughs)

Nomathemba may not have fully understood that I like her hat, as opposed to knowing simply that I said 'hat' and looked at her. However, she has the confidence to respond to L2 input in front of her mother in an authentic communication situation.

I expect Nomathemba's mother to leave Nomathemba at the gate as other parents mostly do, but she comes all the way into school, and then leaves her there. She greets all the teachers and other staff in the kitchen.

Noma's mother is one of the more involved parents in the school.

9.20

Xolelwa: (X) What are we studying this week?

Noma: (X) Cows.

Nomathemba has taken this from the theme table picture that shows a country scene, including a cow. It is strange that she hasn't grasped that the topic is trees. Xolelwa and Xolelwa have been doing the topic for two days already. Nomathemba doesn't seem to have picked this up.

Xolelwa: (X) Do you know the parts of a tree? The things in the ground are called the roots.

Learners: Roots

...[and so forth for stem and leaves]

This is the first time I have seen an attempt by the teacher to teach new vocabulary items. It isn't necessarily good vocabulary to be teaching, and it is not done in a way appropriate to the learners. On 14/06/02, Xolelwa starts the lesson by asking learners to remember this vocabulary and none can do so.

9.45

Xolelwa leaves to go to a workshop. Xolelwa comes in and takes over.

Xolelwa starts to go through the alphabet with the learners.

Xolelwa: Thabang, A is for?

[After a while, the class picks up what Xolelwa is asking. Learners do ABC.]

Noma: D is for dinosaur.

Nomathemba is very confident of this, she is quite a distance from the board with the letters on, but she seems almost to know this by heart. This is an improvement on her ability previously with Xolelwa to name the letters in plenary.

It was clear that Xolelwa has left Xolelwa with no idea even what the programme organizer was for this week: Xolelwa had to ask me what was going on. I am surprised after Xolelwa's comments about doing something more advanced in this class that she takes it for three whole days with no preparation or guidance whilst Xolelwa is at the workshop.

14/06/02

Xolelwa is still at workshop. Xolelwa takes the class. Andile is absent again. Only fourteen learners are present.

PR is handing out the pappa.

Xolelwa: There aren't many learners here today because of the weather.

Why have so few learners turned up just because of the rain? The rain is heavy, but what is it that stops parents bringing their children? Is it laziness? The most involved parents in the school have brought their children, e.g. Siphosethu's Mum, Siya's, and Nomathemba's.

18/10/02

PR returns to Prima for a social visit. On the wall near the rug, there is the following poster.

LLC Orals.

1. What is your name?
2. What is your surname?
3. How old are you?
4. Are you a boy or a girl?
5. Where do you live?
6. What do you do with your mouth?
7. What do you do with your eyes?
8. What do you do with your ears?
9. What do you do with your nose?
10. What do you do with your hands?
11. What do you do with your feet?

I asked Xolelwa about this.

Xolelwa: I took groups of five learners each, and asked them the questions. Then I made them repeat the answers, those that did not understand. I used the answers when I wrote their reports. I used this poster eight weeks ago.

PR: Can they still do it now?

Xolelwa: Some of them. Some could not do it well then.

PR: But could they all do it when you finished?

Xolelwa: Yes... [not totally confident]

I think with the last question Xolelwa thought I was asking about her teaching ability, not the ability of the children. Outside of the formulaic things Xolelwa says in English, this is the first demonstration I have seen of an attempt to teach English formally. It is interesting that Xolelwa made a poster of the questions and that she took groups of learners aside to drill them, not the whole class. However, it sounds to me like she took the questions and answers to be only useful for testing. She taught this so that she could test them on it, not because she expected them to be able to actually use it.

Later the same day:

Xolelwa: My husband wants to get a job before me, but I told him I would keep going and do a BA or a BEd.

PR: Does he respect you?

Xolelwa: Oh yes, he's traditional, but I love him. He's lazy, he cooks *sometimes*, and I am always getting things for him.

I think this short exchange shows Xolelwa caught between traditional and modern values. She wants to progress her career, but it doesn't seem like her husband's attitude is helping. He expects her to be a housewife too.

27/11/02

10.30

Activity A.

I asked Xolelwa to carry out three group activities using the two case children. The first of these was to give Andile and Nomathemba the chance to show what they could do with regard to understanding instructions in English (Learning Outcome 1). See Appendix 5a for more details.

I choose instructions that the learners would already have had some exposure to. In the classroom, Xolelwa frequently used two of the instructions below in English. These were 'Close your eyes' and 'Sit down'. Some other instructions featured in action songs that the children had been taught and could sing as a class. One of these was Father Abraham, which included the following: stand up, sit down, turn around, right arm, left foot. Xolelwa had also played a game with the learners on 7/06/02, 10.15. It was similar to this activity, in that learners had to shake various parts of their body when Xolelwa asked them to.

In the following table, I have indicated which instructions the children did without copying or waiting for the others. In cases where it wasn't clear whether the children had copied their peers or not, I have written a No. Xolelwa repeated the game to give the children a chance to see how the game worked. The game was played twice, hence the four columns.

Instruction	Andile 1	Nomathemba 1	Andile 2	Nomathemba 2
Stand up	Yes	Yes	No	No
Come here	No	No	No	Yes
Turn around	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shake left foot	No	No	No	No
Shake right leg	No	No	No	No
Touch mouth	No	Yes	No	Yes
Close eyes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Touch ears	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sit down	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Andile and Nomathemba managed to do all of the actions, only in some cases they did so after their peers. Because they would have been able to copy their peers in these instances, I didn't consider them to be valid indications of their understanding of the English instructions.

Overall, Nomathemba performed only slightly better than Andile. Both children were confused about their left and right in instructions 4 and 5. Andile seemed confused about the location of his mouth in instruction 6. Instruction 2 was normally delivered in isiXhosa by Xolelwa, meaning that the children would be unlikely to have learnt it in English.

Activity B

10.40

In this activity, the children had to identify the first letter of their name in the alphabet. Once Xolelwa had explained the activity in isiXhosa, both Andile and Nomathemba pointed to their respective letters on the Animal ABC chart without hesitation. In the second half of the activity, where the children had to sit down when Xolelwa pointed at the letter of the alphabet that their name began with, Nomathemba sat down straight away, whereas Andile was less certain. Both children seemed to know which letter was the first letter of their names.

Activity C.

10.45

Here, the children had to recognise print that they frequently interacted with in the classroom. Both children realised that the print referred to the days of the week. Andile was unable to give the correct day when Xolelwa pointed at it, although he did guess what the day might be in English. Nomathemba was confident in naming Wednesday when Xolelwa pointed at it. Both children recognised that the print on the poster had the function of telling the days of the week, but only Noma was able to 'read' the print, i.e. recognise specific parts of the poster from the text alone.

Prima's concept of using magazines to re-enforce a theme is not carried through here. But the learners are possibly interacting more with the pictures in the magazines because there is no theme. They play with the pictures, discuss them, and put them together to make art collages from them.

9.30.

Aiya is at the 'drawing a house' table. He waits until someone else on his table starts to draw. Aiya then starts with a roof. He then puts a TV aerial on it.

There is a lot of detail to the picture, with a bit of 3D in the form of a path, which I have not seen in Prima.

9.35

Anita: Why do we have an aerial on the house? What's that thing you watch in the evenings?

Aiyabulela: [silent, listening.]

Anita: It's a television.

Aiyabulela: [Nods. After a while, draws what looks like a TV, a box with small people standing in it.]

Aiyabulela isn't able to answer Anita in English. He understands what she is talking about, i.e. the aerial, but probably doesn't know that it is connected to the TV. The fact that he then draws a TV shows that he knows what link Anita was making, or that he at least understands the answer.

9.40

Aiyabulela points at the pictures other learners on his table and laughs at them. His comments are not well received.

Aiyabulela has the elements about him of being a bit of a bully. Others don't dare to criticize him back.

11.55

Anita tells the learners to go back to their places and collect their workbooks. She explains which page and task to go to for the whole class. She then details the task to each table in turn. Learners have to count the number of objects on a page and then write the number in a box below a picture of that object. Anita asks the class when they have counted.

Anita: How many shoes?

Sandiswa and Aiyabulela: Four!

Anita then draws the digit '4' on the board. She then tells whole class to colour other shoes in with same colour. Sandiswa and Aiyabulela manage to count to four, five, and three and write the digits correctly in the correct space.

13/08/02

12.05

The class are sitting on the rug facing the alphabet cards.

Anita instructs a learner to point to sounds and objects on alphabet cards. Aiyabulela is very confident with 'cot'.

12.10

Anita sets up a literacy task, talking to whole class.

Anita: First write the letter c, then choose something from the c card, and draw it. Aiyabulela and Sandiswa both draw 'c' with no problems and all complete a coloured in picture of an object.

Anita: What is that?

Aiyabulela: Cap.

PR: What's this?

Sandiswa: Cot.

12.20

Anita: Write your name at the bottom when you have finished.

Aiyabulela writes his name with correct upper and lower case. Sandiswa has a mixture of upper and lower case. She makes a mistake with the 's', but then makes a correction below.

This is far in advance of what the children at Prima can do when it comes to literacy. Some learners at Prima can write the whole alphabet, but far more children are capable of more in this class than in Prima.

12.30

Anita and PR are chatting as the children are working.

PR: I was impressed with how the children can write their own names.

Anita: I started doing that with them in the first quarter of this year. There are only about three children in the class who cannot write their own name yet.

PR: How did you teach them? By getting them to trace or copy?

Anita: They copied what I wrote for them.

14/08/02

8.40

Anita points at the pictures of the paint pots again. Anita remains silent until after class has said which colour she is pointing at. Sandiswa and Aiyabulela all try to keep up but aren't totally confident in all colours. Anita watches learners as they chorus. Then she picks on one who isn't joining in the drill and asks him individually.

Anita is more concerned that all the learners say something than that they say the wrong thing. When she picks on this one learner, it is to get him to speak, not just to listen his pronunciation.

8.43

Anita draws a series of shapes on the board. She drills the name of each one. (She just points at first, listens to the class, then says it herself and drills while watching the class.) Anita then goes through the properties of each one. Some of the class fill in the gaps that Anita leaves. For example:

Anita: This is a triangle. It has three....

Learners: Sides

Anita:.. and it has three...

Class: Corners.

Anita does not insist on production from learners, nor does she go over anything exhaustively. I feel she understands that some learners just want to stay quiet sometimes.

9.50

Anita hands out a sheet to the class with four sums on it $3+4 =$, $7+2 =$ etc.

Anita: What's the first sum?

Learners: $3+4$

Anita: What's the answer?

Learners: 7

Anita writes up the completed sum on the board. [Aiyabulela had his back to the board, and didn't turn around before he wrote the answer. Sandiswa did not call out answer, and didn't write anything until she saw Anita write.]

I didn't feel that most of the class had had time to work out the answer to the sum. Only a few shouted out the answer and I saw hardly any of them counting out the sum on their fingers. I think for some learners this is just a copying exercise.

10.10

Anita hands out paper.

Anita: Draw these first four shapes on your piece of paper.

Sandiswa and Aiyabulela both draw an oval, star, crescent and diamond.

It isn't always clear if Sandiswa and Aiyabulela understand Anita's instructions first time round. They normally converse on the table to agree a course of action, or ask someone more confident, or copy them to see what to do. Aiyabulela normally starts without looking at others.

10.30

PR and Anita are chatting at break.

PR: What do you think of OBE?

Anita: I think you need to be half and half with it. Half old style and half new OBE. You can't use OBE for reading. You have to teach new words by getting the learners to sound a word to know it. In OBE you have to work with the whole class. In the old days, the student teachers were taught to work with one group of ten at a time. If the foundation is laid in grades R123, you get no problems later. There are two types of words. There are the look and say words, and the ones you can actually sound.

11.43

Anita tells the three little pigs story. The learners have heard it before. This time, Anita has masks for the three pigs and the wolf, which she uses to tell the story. She gives the masks to some children, and then moves them as if they were puppets. Sandiswa and Aiyabulela both join in choruses of story, though they do make some mistakes.

Anita is very good at telling stories and the masks make the children so eager to be part of the story. She also repeats it once every three days, so that the children all get familiar with the plot and the choruses.

11.50

Anita introduces the 'D' alphabet card. Drills the sound and the four words.

I didn't feel that the learners got enough chance to hear the model. Instead of repeating the target, Anita said: "Again" a lot. This meant that after six times, 'duck' ended up sounding like 'dark'.

12.00

Anita hands out grids to the learners with three columns and three rows. The first column has the letters a, b, and c in each row. Anita instructs learners to copy the letter 'a' after the example. Then she points at the picture of the axe on the alphabet cards.

Anita: What's this?

Learners: Axe.

Anita then writes this word up on the board. Learners follow the example. Anita then repeats the same task with 'b' and bee, and 'c' and 'cot'. Sandiswa and Aiyabulela copy everything perfectly. Anita gives lots of encouragement to Yongama who has completed the grid perfectly.

The learners are learning to copy words they already know the meaning of. They know that writing is connected to the object: 'bee' represents the real thing. Anita does not spend time with one learner who hasn't managed to draw anything but 'a' and draw all over his sheet. Maybe she hopes he will catch up of his own accord. She does spend some individual time with some learners who are having trouble.

12.10

Aiyabulela draws over his letters to make them perfect. He works very fast. He seems to be one of the first to finish in the class.

15/08/02

11.35

The class are sitting at their tables with paper in front of them.

Anita: You're going to write the 'eh' sound. Then choose any picture from the 'eh' card and draw it. [Anita does not demo the actual drawing, but she points at the 'A' card.] Sandiswa writes 'a' straightaway. Anita explains instructions to Sandiswa to draw something from the 'A' alphabet card again. Sandiswa nods and starts.

Sandiswa sometimes seeks reassurance from teacher that she has understood the task correctly by waiting to start until the teacher sees that she has not started. Then she can listen to the instructions again.

11.40

PR: (X) What's this? [points at Sandiswa's picture of apple.]

Sandiswa: [silent, looks questioningly at me.]

PR: (X) What's this? [points again]

Sandiswa: Apple.

PR: (X) What's this? [points at 'a' that A has drawn]

Sandiswa: Eh.

PR: (X) What's this? [points at 'A' in Sandiswa on Sandiswa's box.]

Sandiswa: eyeh.

Sandiswa thinks the two sounds are different, (a and A) but she can tell me what the first letter of her name is. I think Anita has made this confusing: the 'a' sound is not 'eh'. What will she teach for 'e'?

12.05

Anita teaches a new part to the song 'Jan Pierewick'. Anita calls out the lines and the learners repeat it as a chant. Anita repeats it as a chant four times and then puts it to music.

Every time Anita introduces something new, she does it three or four times and then reverts to a rhyme the children already know. This would increase the children's confidence with a new topic.

12.18

The girls perform a song for the boys. Sandiswa does so very confidently.

12.20

Sandiswa comes up to me when I am talking to Sisanda just before lunch.

Sandiswa: 1+1

PR: 2 [and so on up to 2048.]

Sandiswa: [shakes head.]

PR: 1+1

Sandiswa: 2 [and so on up to Sandiswa: 128.]

[PR expresses surprise at every new stage]

PR: 128 +128?

Sandiswa: [Shakes head.]

Sandiswa is very confident with me and wants to demonstrate skill to me. Does she know that she is one of the case children? I talked to Anita about this.

PR: Where did she learn that?

Anita: She probably learnt it from her father. She lives with her father and mother there. *It sounds like Sandiswa has a supportive learning environment in the home.*

16/08/02

9.00

Aiyabulela and Sandiswa are absent. Only nine learners are in the class.

Anita: I'm going to read you a bible story today from a long time ago. Not even *makulu* was there, or *tata* was there, or *dade* was there. [Yongama laughs to hear Anita speaking isiXhosa.]

Anita uses BSAfE syntax here and also some Xhosa words. She has adjusted her discourse to fit the learners.

[Anita uses pictures cut out from bits of cardboard, which she sticks to the wall as she talks about them. The story prompts are stuck on the back of each card, but Anita doesn't use them.]

Anita: God told Noah to put two of everything in to the ark, even people. He chose a male [touches head of a boy] and a female [touches head of a girl] to put in the ark.

Anita teaches vocabulary in a subtle and tactile way here. The aim is only for the children to understand what she is saying, not to have to repeat it or use the word. They hear male and female, but they only have to understand boy and girl.

9.30

Anita has finished the story now. She puts the pictures away.

Anita: Mr. Noah built an ark.

Learners: Mr Noah built an ark.

[Anita continues rhyme, which repeats ideas from the story as a verse. Learners repeat after her. She drills each line twice, but only does each rhyme once.]

This is also vocabulary and concept re-enforcement that Anita is doing. No doubt she will retell this story some time and the students will also have to do the rhyme drill afterwards. In this way, they are hearing the same keywords from the story at least four times, in context. Anita is giving lots of English exposure.

9.35

Anita tells learners to chant a rhyme they know and then elicits some colours from the wall.

Yongama: My colour is yellow.

I get the feeling that Yongama would not have said this had there been more learners in the class. But it shows how confident he is of his English.

9.35

The learners are sitting at their desks. Anita hands out a sheet divided into four, with 10, 5, 6, and 3 written in each corner.

Anita: You must draw ten triangles in the first square. [Anita does not demonstrate, or point at the picture of a triangle on the board. The triangle is not there any more]

9.40

Sisanda: [to Bathabile] You, you are bi!

Bathabile: [to Sisanda] You are cat! [Both laugh]

These two learners are very confident anyway, but the fact that they are using English to talk to each other to make a joke is remarkable.

9.44

Anita: You know, I don't want to go past eleven with them, or they'll get bored in Grade 1. It's better to do minus sums than go to eleven.

Anita is worried that she is making a bit too much progress with the children. They seem to need little consolidation, but she is aware that you can push too much at this age.

11.50

Anita creates a small stage using a table. All the boys get onto it and sing a song they all know to the girls. Then the girls perform for boys.

19/08/02

Sandiswa and Aiyabulela are present again.

8.40

The learners are sitting at their desks. Bongolwethu hits Sandiswa over the head with his sleeve. Sandiswa twists his ear and doesn't let go.

Sandiswa has a lot of self-confidence to defend herself, even from confident boys.

8.50

Anita points at paint pots on the wall. Aiyabulela knows almost all the colours, but Sandiswa seems to know hardly any.

Sandiswa did seem tired today.

8.51

Anita revises the story of Noah, using the pictures on the wall from Friday. Aiyabulela is very attentive. Sandiswa is in and out of concentration.

The story was only a revision, not a full retelling. Anita did not tell it as she did before by showing each picture as it comes up in the story.

9.05

Anita tells learners to get out their workbooks and turn to a join the dots task. Anita does not give instructions or demo to the whole class: she demonstrates the task to Lukhanyo on Sandiswa's table. Sandiswa pays close attention. Many other students come over to look. Lukhanyo then explains task to Sandiswa in isiXhosa. Sandiswa just copies Luk's drawing. She hasn't understood concept of draw the dots.

I don't know why Anita did not demonstrate this to the whole class and then help individuals who were struggling. The task was a demanding one and a lot of learners just sat there until Anita came over. It is interesting that Sandiswa waits until the task is explained to her in isiXhosa. It is not clear if she is checking the instructions or if she doesn't understand Anita's English.

9.25

Sandiswa and Aiyabulela have both joined the dots successfully and are colouring in the pictures.

Anita does not run from learner to learner helping them out for only a few seconds. She spends time with one learner, which forces the others to develop problem-solving abilities.

9.45

Anita calls out the names of groups to go and fetch their lunch.

All the learners can recognize the name of their group..

11.35

At the end of break, PR and Annette are talking

PR to Annette: [jokingly] What's a coloured lady doing reading an English magazine? Annette: I prefer it. All the exams at school I took in English. It's much easier for me.

Anita: You know my learner's licence test? I failed it twice when I did it in Afrikaans, and passed it first time in English.

The teachers have the same attitude to English as the children at Secunda do. English is perceived to be easier to read and learn. Is this really the case, or is it poor instruction in Afrikaans/Xhosa that is the problem?

11.43

The class are sitting on the mat.

Anita goes through alphabet cards again. Sandiswa is still not confident with all the letters, or the objects on the cards.

11.44

Anita hands out a sheet with three pictures on, an apple, a cap, and a bird, with four spaces on either side of the picture to draw the letters.

Anita: What is the first picture?

Some learners: Apple

Anita: What is the sound of apple?

Some learners: 'eh'

Anita then slowly draws the letter on the board. (She has a copy of sheet on the board)

The learners are familiar with this type of task and respond to it well. Almost all can do it with no problems.

20/08/02

12.10

Anita narrates the story of the three little pigs. This time, the children are dressed up with masks. They have to say the characters words themselves. Aiyabulela takes part as a pig and says his part with almost no mistakes.

Aiyabulela: No, I will not let you in by the hair of my chinny chin chin.

Aiyabulela is fairly confident about using English in restricted contexts, but not as confident as he is with paper tasks.

21/08/02

8.36

Anita has prepared a theme table of Vegetables. Various vegetables are lying on it with labels in the plural.

8.40

Anita: How is the weather today?

Aiyabulela: (with class) It is sunny.

8.44

The learners are sitting on the rug facing the theme table.

Anita puts up pictures and names of eight vegetables on the wall. She drills the name of each one with the class. Then she hands out triangles to the girls and circles to the boys. Learners must place the shape on the vegetable they like the most.

The learners were very motivated by this. Anita gives them the chance in this way to personalize the learning of vegetable names. Many were only familiar to learners in isiXhosa.

9.00

Anita then asks the learners to count the number of triangles and circles for each vegetable by asking them in the following manner.

Anita: How many girls love a carrot? How many boys loves a potato?

Most of the learners can count the shapes and tell the teacher in plenary.

Anita's English is not standard. However, she is not modelling this language; it is only for communication. How much of this do students absorb as 'correct' language, though?

9.30

Anita has handed out papers on which the learners must trace numbers one to five and colour in the vegetables. Then they must count the vegetables, draw one dot for each vegetable and then write the digit for it.

Sandiswa is unsure of how to do the second part of the activity. Lukhanyo comes and explains it to her as a friend watches.

What is interesting here is that the students all negotiate understanding of the task even from a young age. They do not immediately ask for the teacher's help if they do not understand. There is evidence of independence in learning. In this case, Sandiswa was unable to do the task from the English instructions alone.

9.40

Anita: (to Sandiswa) How many dots have you got there?

Sandiswa: One, two, three.

Anita: And how many cabbages are there?

Sandiswa: One, two, three, four, five. (Sandiswa then changes the number of dots.)

Anita was pointing at the dots and the cabbages as she said this, but Sandiswa still had to understand the phrase: 'How many?' to get the sense of Anita's question.

9.46

As the children are working at their desks, Anita comes over to PR.

Anita: (to PR) I don't know if this is the same as at Prima, but you know, in some preschools they have another teacher, a teacher aid they call them. I have to do everything myself here, like sharpen the pencils. I think Oatlands has got one for each class.

I think Anita was feeling the pinch a bit today. The class were quite rowdy, and not too well behaved. I think that is where this comment came from, although it wasn't a complaint as such. Just the comment of a weary teacher, although Anita never looks weary! In fact, she was still smiling after this class.

11.50

Anita revises some of the sounds on the alphabet cards. Then:

Anita: Who can show us which word has 'eh' in it? [One learner gets up and using a stick, points to peas.]

Anita then asks the same question for 'b' and 'c'.

Later, Anita said to me that she was surprised that some of the students could identify the letters within the words. This shows that she is always prepared to try something new with the students and doesn't limit them by her own conception of their limitations.

12.00

PR: (to Sandiswa) What colour is this? [points at letter 'c' which Sandiswa has copied.]

Sandiswa: Kuh.

PR: [points to carrot which Sandiswa is colouring in with an orange crayon.] What colour is this?

Sandiswa: [looks at PR]

Other learner: (X) He's asking what colour is that.

Sandiswa: Orange.

PR: What colour is this?

Sandiswa: Orange.

PR: [points at colour of writing that Sandiswa has used to copy word 'carrot'] What colour is this?

Sandiswa: Red.

Sandiswa did not understand the question at first. The task around the letter 'c' was to copy it. The only time any teacher has asked her a question about letters, it has been to pronounce it. So Sandiswa makes an assumption, she hasn't really understood the language I used. The last time I asked her a question, it was: 'What sound is this?', and I pointed at letters. She may have assumed it was the same question. It is

a shame her friend translated, but she did recognize that the question was the same. She also identified the colours correctly without being prompted.

12.20

Yongama has drawn 'b' on a table in crayon. Anita picks him up by the arm, and leads him to the kitchen to fetch the Handy Andy. She gives him a cloth too. Anita is firm, but not angry. *Anita's attitude is to be firm, to discipline children, but not to get angry. The other learners on the table actually ended up helping Yongama to clean the letter off the table. The effect of Anita's discipline was not to make Yongama associate writing with anger, but that writing occurs in certain places and not others. It was teaching and discipline mixed together.*

12.30

Sandiswa does not join in with the rhyme 'Two little Dickie Birds' She does repeat after Anita for 'Mijn Kaikie'
I think Sandiswa is capable of joining in rhymes, but she doesn't enjoy doing them with the class, only if the teacher is leading.

22/08/02

11.50

Sandiswa can name some of the sounds and words on the A-D alphabet cards in plenary. She waits to hear the rest of the class for the sounds.
Sandiswa is unconfident as a learner. Just because she waits for the rest of the class to make the right sound, it does not mean that she does not know it. See later in 23/08/02 when Anita asks Sandiswa to write the sound uncontextualised.

11.55

Anita has told the class to draw a picture of anything on the alphabet cards.
Yongama has been drawing a picture of a dog for 'd'. It seems to have a penis at the back!
Anita: (to Yongama) What part of the dog is this? [points at penis.]
Y: []
Anita: What part of the dog is this? [points at legs]
Another learner: Feet
Anita: What part of a dog is this? [points at penis again.]
Y: []
Learner: Arms. [laughs]
Anita asks again, and learner laughs.
Anita is joking with Yongama. It is not a question that she expects an answer to, only to make Y laugh, maybe. The learners are confident to laugh with the teacher, even when the teacher hasn't started laughing yet.

12.10

PR: (to Aiya) [pointing at colours in Aiyabulela's drawing] What colour is this?
Aiyabulela correctly identifies blue, red, and black.

12.20

Sandiswa lets Yonelisa on her table draw her doll for her. She then colours it in herself.
Sandiswa is not very independent and unconfident in her learning. Only when she is sure that she has the task right will she attempt it. She would not attempt the drawing of a doll. She had decided that she could not do it.

23/08/02

Aiyabulela is absent: the twins mother got married yesterday, Anita tells me.

9.00

Anita: (to class) How are you?

Learners: I'm fine thank you.

9.10

Sandiswa not joining in rhymes again.

Anita does seem to notice that some learners are not joining in rhymes, but doesn't do anything about it. Sandiswa is not even trying, she just looks away and does not want to join in. I think if she wanted to, she could join in, but she looks bored by the repetition.

9.20

Anita talks to the class about how the teachers made the stew with the vegetables.

Anita: Well, first you put in the onions and make them brown by braising them.. You know what braising is? It's making things brown. Then you.....

Anita is using procedural language with the learners. It's genuine communication, and not just teacher talk. So in this sense it is linguistically enriching.

9.22

Anita: (to PR) They don't speak much English to each other, but some times you hear them saying: 'English Please!'

The learners are made aware that English is preferred in the school, and that they should use it.

However, I have never heard a learner use English, except with me, or with Anita. This comment was made in the first few days when I arrived at the school, but for some reason popped into my head at this time.

9.40

Anita: There's two here that aren't ready for school yet.

PR: Which ones?

Anita: [gesticulates Sean and Zolani] The parents don't want to hear anything about it. Better to tell the Grade 1 teacher, and she can keep them. [.....] not grade 2.

I didn't catch what Anita said about grade 2, but I assume it had something to do with not going on past grade 1. It seems that this is possible then, to keep a learner down in pre-primary, and also in Grade 1. In the light of some of my colleagues comments about how hurt she felt about being kept down in preschool, and a friend's comment about children all developing at different rates at young ages, this is interesting. It could even cause more lasting damage to the child to be kept down.

11.35

Anita, Annette and PR are talking casually at break.

Anita: If you ask a child what an isiXhosa word means, they always say: Andiazi.

Annette: They get that from their parents, even if they see something, they say they haven't seen it.

This is all very light-hearted, and is about cultural differences. There is no racism in these comments that I can feel.

11.50

Annette is disciplining three boys from Anita's class in Anita's room.

Annette: What did you say to Anam? [She has to repeat the question a few times, and then Lukhanyo gives an answer.]

Luk: This one called her a mofi.

Annette: You mustn't call people mofi. It's not nice.

Annette lets her disapproval linger for a moment, but she does not raise her voice or punish the learners with anything other than words.

11.55

Anita goes through the alphabet cards again. Sandiswa does not say a word, or look at cards.

Does Anita not realise that many learners are not doing something in these choruses? See last event of the day.

12.00

Anita tells the story of The Little Gingerbread Boy. She has foam characters to help her tell the story, which she sticks on the wall as she tells the story. When she has finished, she revises the key elements of the story and the vocabulary.

I wasn't sure what the teaching aim was of this story. Was it vocabulary, or supposed to fit loosely into the theme of food? Not clear. Anita's telling was great though. All the learners were enthralled all the way through.

12.10

Class are sitting on the carpet.

Anita: Khayaletu, come and write on that page 'eh' for me. [Khaya manages to draw an 'a']

Anita: Zukiswa, come and write 'kuh' [Zuk draws 'b']

Anita: Who can show Zukiswa what is wrong? No, stay here Zukiswa. [A learner gets up, and draws 'c'] Thank you, Zukiswa and Siphosethu.

Anita is testing the learners' ability to know the shape of the letter from the sound it makes alone, with no contextual clues or things to copy. An advanced task seeing as they have only started with abcd about three weeks ago.

Anita: (to Sandiswa) Sandiswa, write 'duh'.

Sandiswa: [gets up and writes 'b']

Anita: Show me 'duh' on the cards.

[Sandiswa without hesitation points at the 'd' card.]

Anita: Try again.

[Sandiswa draws the 'c' of the 'd', and then a long downward stroke.]

Anita: Make the top longer.

[Sandiswa then draws the top of the stem of the d]

Sandiswa knows which sound fits which symbol, but she has a bit of trouble at first getting the bubble on the right side of the stem. She does not realise that she could have copied the d from the card seeing as she knew which sound it was that she should copy. Instead, she got nervous and didn't manage to draw the 'd' as successfully as she can do at her desk.

12.25

School has finished for the day. Anita is standing up with the class just before prayer. She has the fees list in front of her.

Anita: You mustn't come to school, Yongama. You must tell your mummy to pay the fees or come to the principal. [to herself] I don't know why we have to tell the children.

Anita clearly doesn't like having to tell a child in front of the class that they mustn't come to school. But has she been given instructions that she must tell the whole class? I'm not sure she has.

26/08/02

Aiyabulela is absent again.

8.40

Anita writes up some digits on the board and asks particular learners to give the name of the digit. Then she writes up some two-digit numbers and asks the class to say what they are.

Anita consistently allows the students space to push her expectations of what they know. When she wrote up 11 and 14, she was interested to see who knew what.

8.45

Khayaletu is not joining in the counting to one hundred.

Aniya: What's after 37?

Khaya: 38.

Anita: And then?

Khaya: 39,40.

Anita does watch the class to see that they are joining in choruses, but only for drills, not rhymes. That she seems to leave up to the student's discretion whether they join in or not.

8.52

Anita picks a learner from the class to come to the front and write a number that she tells them. There is some confusion between 9 and 'b' and 'd'.

8.55

Lots of learners laugh at Khaya's attempt to draw a 6. Sandiswa does not.

9.15

Ignoring all distractions in the classroom, Anita sits with a learner until she has finished the task.

Anita has a lot of patience for slower learners. She sits with this learner for about ten minutes all in.

9.32

Sandiswa joins in 'Open Them, Shut Them', and also 'The Wheels of the Bus' with the actions. Then it seems that she becomes bored or distracted. She starts to roll her head from side to side.

This is common for Sandiswa. I don't think she doesn't like the rhymes, she just finds it boring always doing the same ones.

9.34

Anita has finished the class for the first session.

I can appreciate that it is not always a good idea to start another activity in a short period of time, but it sometimes seems to me that the time is something to be filled for Anita, not a valuable resource.

11.30

Anita asks learners to come up to the board and draw a letter that she tells them. (Learners have to recognise the sound and then write the symbol.) Then they must point to a word that starts with that letter and copy the word. (Some of the words that learners have to copy they have not practised copying before.)

11.45

Anita: [points at the 'Ss' alphabet card] Whose name starts with this letter? Stand up if your name begins with 'S'.

[Lots of learners call out names of students in the class. Sandiswa is listening to them but doesn't realise that she should stand up. A few other students are persuaded to stand up.] Anita: Sandiswa, you must stand up, your name starts with an 's'.

[Sandiswa looks confused.]

I think Sandiswa did not hear Anita's initial instruction to stand up if your name begins with 'S'. I am still not convinced that Sandiswa has worked out that the 'es' sound is the first letter of her name.

11.47

Anita: Whose name begins with 'kuh'?

Sandiswa: Khayaletu!

The task this time was clear to Sandiswa. She can see what Anita is up to, but didn't quite appreciate the point of it until it came to 'c'.

11.52

In getting up to show Anita her work, Sandiswa knocks her friend's box of crayons off the table. Even before she gets to Anita, she bends down and helps her friend to tidy up all the crayons that have fallen on the floor.

Sandiswa is socially aware and has a developed sense of responsibility.

12.10

PR: Where did you get the alphabet cards?

Anita: Oh, just from the store cupboard. But you know, a few things left with the last teacher. There was a reading workshop where they gave out some books, but they have all gone.

Anita doesn't seem full of resentment about this; she's just making an observation.

12.12

Sandiswa is writing her name on her work and has written 'SAndiswa' The 's' is now the right way round. When I look again, she has changed the name to 'SAndiswas'

Is this a possessive, or has she just put an extra s on by mistake? It looks deliberate to me. It could be the first letter of her surname, as there are two Sandiwas in the class.

27/08/02

Aiyabulela is back.

8.00

Anita has been putting up all sorts of things in the classroom. There is a row of digits, 1-9 on the left hand wall, with different objects in different numbers for each card. I see Sandiswa and another learner catch sight of the 8 card with cakes on it. They look at the cakes.

Sandiswa and friend: Mmmm, jonga.

The learners in the class interact with the displays that Anita has put up on the wall.

Anita has also moved the colour paint pots she used on the theme section another notice board on another the wall. The theme section now has a set of laminated items of fruit with their names printed underneath. She has also taken up another notice board with laminated A4 sheets showing shapes and their names, which she has coloured in.

There is also a card for 'Ee' that Anita has made. The words on it are 'egg', 'end', 'edge', and 'empty'.

I am not sure about the choice of these words. They are much more abstract than the others so far.

8.02

PR: (to Anita, pointing at the cards) These things are great.

Anita: I got them done at Albany Business Machines. I paid for them myself.

Why does Anita not use the laminator at school? Maybe it's the time factor, but I've heard this attitude about the paper too. Anita does not seem to feel part of the primary school community at all. Why is this?

11.30

Anita introduces the 'Ee' card by drilling the sound of the letter. Anita: Not eh, ih.

I could not hear the difference between these two. How are the learners supposed to differentiate?

Anita then drills the words on the 'e' card. Explains 'end' and 'edge'.

Anita: If you take a chair, and you have all this space behind you, you are sitting on the edge of the chair.

And this here is the edge of the table. And you see this box here, [points to picture of box on Ee card], it's empty.

Anita does not check understanding with any learners.

Anita: And you all know what is an egg.

This is a big assumption.

11.55

Sandiswa points at Yonelisa's efforts to draw vertical lines the same width apart on the page. She nudges the learner next to her and says: Jonga Jonga, while drawing in breath and going: huhhh! She smiles as she is doing this.

Sandiswa is accusing Yon of not having done the task correctly. She doesn't call her a name, but she is accusatory. The intention is not to hurt her though. Later, I see Sandiswa being helped by her other friend to finish the lines.

12.15

Aiyabulela and another learner are hitting each other.

Aiyabulela: Don't do this.

The 'this' sounded Afrikaans, like 'thus'. It sounds to me like Aiyabulela has picked this up from the teacher and is using English because it is what the teacher uses when she tells people off. So English has a particular context and use for Aiyabulela. I think Aiyabulela was aware of my presence, but only once he had said what he said. He appeared to be upset about being hit and the hitter patted him in apology.

28/08/02

8.30

The children are all sitting on the rug.

Anita has put a new poster up. It has the numbers one to one hundred in rows of ten. Anita points to numbers on the sheet and the learners count. Then Anita does the same with the tens down the right hand side and the twos. Bathabile goes on past twenty and Anita lets him continue, until someone with him makes a mistake and everyone laughs.

Anita is very encouraging of Bhatabile, but you get the impression that every student that does more than Anita expects, she will reward. Bhatabile is definitely one of Anita's favourites. She told me later that 'My colleagues in Cape Town said I used to like the naughty ones.'

8.50

Anita points at the digits and counts backwards from ten. Aiyabulela struggles to keep up, Sandiswa is OK.

8.51

Anita points at laminated cards of fruit on theme wall.

Anita: [points at watermelon] These things here are called the pips.

Bathabile: It's pepe in Xhosa!

Anita: What is it?

Sandiswa and other learners: Pepe.

Sandiswa is confident enough to show what she knows when it is not only her on the spot. She has grasped the context of what is going on well.

8.55

Anita is counting the pears on the theme table with the class. Some other learners bring in some pears they have brought with them.

Anita: How many pears do we have now?

Sandiswa: Thirteen.

Anita: Good, you remembered!

Anita did not count the other two with the class. Sandiswa had remembered the previous sum, and had added two to it. When Sandiswa wants to be, she can be very alert and attentive, especially when it comes to figures. She must be getting some help from home in this aspect.

9.00

The children are at their tables.

Anita has instructed the class to sit in groups and get out workbooks. She holds open the page of the book that they must find, and says, over the racket: Right, listen here, open yeee books...page....

It was difficult to hear what Anita was saying, and she did not hold the book up for long enough for all the students to see what she was talking about. She seems not to like giving whole class instructions, maybe because it takes so long to gather all the students' attention at once.

9.05

All the learners have turned to the correct page in their workbooks.

Anita: What do you see in the fruit bowl?

Various learners call out names of fruit.

This is the first time I have seen Anita pre task anything she does, and the students responded well to it.

9.20

Aiyabulela grabs a yellow pencil from a friend to give it to another.

Aiyabulela has a lot of status, especially amongst the boys. He is a bit of a bully. He has quite a temper, but he is unusually aggressive today.

9.45

Aiyabulela is not joining in with the rhymes, or hardly at all.

10.00

Anita: You know, these people [blacks] believe in a lot of things. Sometimes it's not nice working in the Eastern Cape. They get jealous and go and see a witch doctor. (Anita then tells story of her husband's car and how he was supposed to die in it.)

Anita finds the rurality of Grahamstown a bit strange, I think, but also there is the fact that this is probably her first job with blacks. It is an adjustment process for her?

11.45

Anita holds up cards with words written on them. She drills the pronunciation then explains the meaning of the word.

Anita: [holds the 'bun' card up] Sandiswa, what did you have for lunch today?

(Sandiswa does not respond straight away)

Learner: A bun!

Sandiswa depends a lot on this friend for support. I think if Sandiswa could have heard the question again, she might have got the answer. By the look on her face, she could have done with hearing it one more time.

11.55

Khanyo is asking me in isiXhosa about where my bike is. Then he asks me if I will bring it tomorrow.

PR: (X) I'll bring the bike tomorrow.

Learners: [laugh.]

Sandiswa: (X) Don't say tomorrow, say (E) tomorrow.

PR: Huh?

[Sandiswa repeats what she said]

PR: OK.

Sandiswa was admonishing me for speaking in isiXhosa in the class. She sees the classroom, or me, as English speaking environments, even though she speaks isiXhosa in it most of the time.

12.05

Aiyabulela has not finished the assigned task, (copying letters from the board), although most on his table have.

This is unusual for Aiyabulela; he normally finishes way before the others on his table. He seems distracted, and easily frustrated.

12.25

Anita gives the class the instructions for how to play the game Simon Says. Most learners don't grasp the principle of the game at first.

The receptive understanding of the class is not as high as I thought it was. Anita does not demonstrate this task, she only gives the instructions orally. The learners this time have no contextual clues to use, like a book or a picture.

30/08/02

8.30

As I arrive, a learner comes up to me.

Khayaletu: (X) Where is your scooter?

PR: (E) At home.

Aiya: (E) Where's the scooter?

PR: (E) At home.

Aiyabulela has enough confidence in English to ask practice questions. He already knows the answer, but he may not have heard it. The question is grammatically correct, and his pronunciation is clear.

Later during break.

PR is leafing through a magazine at Anita's desk. Every time Aiyabulela sees a male, he points at it and says: It's me this one.

All the males in the magazine were white, so I can't say whether it was an aspirational statement, or a factual one (i.e. he is saying that he is a man.). Again, his confidence in English is high; he can use it to make statements about himself.

9.45

Anita, Annette and PR have been chopping up fruit for fundraising. These have been sold to the children for one rand a time. The learners come back into the class with their fruit salad.

Sandiswa sits down at her table, and says: (It's) so nice!

PR: So nice?

Sandiswa: [nods, smiles]

Unusual bit of English from Sandiswa. She is able to use appropriate adjectives in context.

10.00

PR is writing out a poster to sell the rest of the fruit salad at the primary school. Aiyabulela comes up.

Aiyabulela: (points at the letters I have written) What is this one?

PR: e, s, t.

Genuine questions from Aiyabulela. Is he asking because he wants to know, or because he wants to show off his English? It is difficult to tell. Either way, the question is again well phrased. Aiyabulela has much of the procedural language he will need for learning in Grade 1.

PR makes a mistake on another piece of paper and crumples it up.

Aiyabulela: Give me this.

Aiyabulela wants to help. He didn't have to say what he said, or even say it in English.

11.44

Aiyabulela has finished his work and knows that he needs to write his name somewhere on the page. He leans out of his chair towards Anita and says:

Aiyabulela: [points at the back of his page.] Teacher, here.

Anita: No, in front.

Aiyabulela uses as much English as is necessary to communicate his need. He does not use rising intonation for the question, which is odd. So some elements of English come easier to him than others.

11.54

Sandiswa has written her name on the front of her work. It reads: 'Sandisa S'.

I think I can now be sure that the 'S' was not a possessive, but a capital for the surname. The most interesting thing here is that she has now drawn the second 'a' as a primary case 'a', not a capital as she usually does. But the 'w' has disappeared! It is worth noting that the word the learners were copying was 'ant'. Perhaps Sandiswa has realised that the start sound of 'ant' and the 'a' in Sandiswa are the same?

12.00

Anita tells the Gingerbread Boy story again. She revises it when she has finished, and allows the learners to contribute words where she pauses.

Anita will not tell a story everyday, but she will tell the same story up to four times in one week.

Language is revised and reinforced in this way, not just presented and forgotten.

2/09/02

8.45

Aiyabulela starts the class singing with two songs.

He seems to like the singing in the class.

Anita: Now we're coming into spring, and the weather is warming up.....(goes on about spring time.)

Sandiswa: (to a friend) (X) What did she say?

Friend: (X) She's talking about spring.

8.50

Sandiswa and Aiyabulela can all count to one hundred in tens and in ones. They both struggle after twenty.

8.55

Anita: Repeat after me: Fruit is healthy. No, sorry. Fruit are healthy.

Learners: Fruit are healthy.

Anita changes her verb here. Does she think that fruit is healthy is grammatically incorrect? Anita is not self-conscious about her English, but it is interesting that she makes this adjustment to her speech. I'm not sure why.

Anita: Say it: an apple a day keeps the doctor away.

Anita has made the learning into more than just a words and colours identification game. But this happens very rarely. This school is much more concerned with academic readiness than life preparation. Input outside of academic skills is very low.

9.05

Anita hands out papers divided into four, with a number in each section.

Anita: Next to the 10 you must draw ten things; it can be anything but you must draw ten. I'm not going to show you what to do.

Aiyabulela does not start immediately.

9.46

Sandiswa comes to show Anita a bit of work that she is obviously very proud of. (It's the paper divided into four where the children had to draw a certain number of things.) Anita just counts the number of things and then hands it back.

Anita never seems to say good, or well done, or be especially pleased with what is obviously outstanding effort on the part of Sandiswa or another learner.

11.45

PR is sitting at Aiyabulela's table.

Aiyabulela (to PR): Excuse me.

PR gets up and Sandiso sits in PR's seat.

Aiyabulela can formulate requests in English. It is interesting to note that he said this on behalf of another learner, not himself.

12.00

Anita takes three pieces of paper and writes Zolani's, Siphosethu's, and Shoan's name on a piece of paper in crayon. Then in pencil at the top, she writes: 'Please help x to write his name. Thank you.'

This is Anita's way of getting the parent's involved in helping these children in their work. See 3/09/02 for what happened when Shoan brought his back.

12.15

Yonelisa has drawn an arrow and a heart on her paper, instead of just the word she had to copy, and colouring in the drawing.

Anita: Who told you that you could draw these things on here?

This visibly upsets Y. An arrow appears on the 'a' alphabet card, and the class were doing shapes earlier today, including a heart. So Y may just have been practising this. Why did Anita not just praise her creativity, instead of scolding her?

3/09/02

11.30

PR is walking into the preschool from the back door

PR: (to a group of learners including Sandiswa) Hello!

Sandiswa: Hello.

11.35

Aiyabulela has been kept in the classroom again for fighting.

11.37

The learners are sitting on the rug. Anita is using the alphabet cards.

Anita points at the picture of a doll.

Anita: Doll

Learners: Dole.

Anita: Not dole, doll.

Anita is trying to get the learners to pronounce words in WSAfE not BSAfE.

12.00

Anita asks Shoan for the paper she gave him yesterday. Shoan produces it with his name underneath in pencil.

Anita: Where's the crayon I gave you yesterday? You should have written this in crayon.

But at least Shoan has written it, which is an achievement. Why does Anita not rate it as such?

12.10

Anita: (to Sandiswa) Don't watch Sinothando, do your own work.

Sandiswa almost always copies Sino. I wonder how much work she can do by herself?

4/09/02

8.52

Anita has changed the display on the theme wall to road signs. Each has a printed name of what each is underneath it. Anita explains the meaning of about six signs to the class.

This sounds to me like formal input. Anita is trying to teach something other than letters and numbers. The language input that is not adjusted for the learners. It will be interesting to see how much the learners have understood in later lessons.

9.10

The class have a picture of two pedestrians crossing a road to colour in. The task was to write how many people there were in the picture on the page, and then colour it in.

Aiyabulela gives his paper to a girl on his table to draw the 2.

I don't know why Aiyabulela did this. Does the girl draw better than him, or is it because he can't do it himself? I didn't see him ask her to take it. Aiyabulela is actually a bit lazy, and doesn't take much pride in his work. He writes his name fast and it becomes messy. He doesn't stay on task for longer than about one minute at a time before he stops and talks to the whole table.

9.12

Thanduxolo asks Aiyabulela something about the time.

Aiyabulela: (X) No, not (E) half past four, (X) call at five.

Aiyabulela can tell the time, or at least can use time vocabulary.

9.15

Aiyabulela is colouring in the woman and child in the pedestrian crossing picture. He colours in the woman's dress, and also her hand. Then he realises his mistake, takes out his white crayon, and tries to draw white over it. He then crayons in white the faces of both the woman and the boy.

Nearly all the other students in the class that I can see have drawn skin as brown. Not really a language point this, but intriguing none the less. Why does Aiyabulela see the people as white? It's not that he doesn't colour them in, he actively sees them as white people, not black.

11.34

The class are sitting on the rug. Anita is pointing at words on the 'e' card. She points at 'end'.

Sandiswa: Arrow

Sandiswa shouted this out when the rest of the class wasn't sure what to say. She has the confidence to do this, which is good. 'Arrow' and 'end' have the same location on different cards. She is probably only listening to the sound that the teacher makes when she points at the central letter and then guessing which word it is from the location on the card. Considering Anita makes 'a' sound like 'e', I'm not surprised she is confused.

11.35

Anita: (giving instructions to class for a task.) I'm going to tell you this once and you're not going to ask me again.

Does Anita say this to encourage problem-solving abilities, or to enforce discipline? It seems like the former.

12.06

The class are sitting on the rug.

Anita: What do you do with an apple?

Learners: Eat

Anita: Say it properly, I eat an apple.

Learners: I eat an apple.

Anita repeats the same for bicycle, a clown (circus), a cap (head)

Anita always tries to elicit the verb from the class first before she drills it as a whole sentence. This is the first time I have seen her insist on production of more than words and formulaic phrases, like: 'May I go to the toilet?'

12.12

Anita: The colour of the dress is pink.

Learners: The colour of the dress is pink

Anita: Now what is the colour of the cap?

Some learners: The colour of the cap is green and blue.

Note that the class realised what Anita wanted, and substituted 'dress' and 'pink' for 'cap' and 'green and blue', without having the sentence modelled to them. By no means all the class joined in with this, but at a guess about fifty per cent did. When Anita tried the same later with another object, the class just shouted out the colour again, not as a full sentence.

I think it is easy to confuse academic literacy here with English language skills. The students haven't demonstrated anything other than the ability to guess what the teacher is thinking!

6/09/02

9.40

Anita: I'm not going to show you what to do, I'm going to give you a page, you draw the number ten and then you're going to draw ten flowers.

9.50

Anita has handed out paper, but learners do not start until Anita says:

Anita: OK, start now.

Again, Anita does not model the task, she relies on learners understanding oral instructions alone. Of course, the most confident students normally rely on the others on the table for what needs to be done.

9.52

Sandiswa has drawn '01' at the top of her page instead of '10'

Anita: No, not like that, first the one then the nought.

Sandiswa draws '01' again.

Anita: First the one, then the nought. This is only one. (points at '01') First the one.

Sandiswa pretends to draw the one, and looks at Anita with a questioning nod. Anita nods.

Sandiswa prefers not to use language to check the new instructions that Anita is giving. She could probably recognise and use 'Like this, teacher?' but she doesn't. Is it that she is not a risk taker? I don't think so, judging by what happened later in the day, see 11.00. I think she probably prefers not to speak English to Anita. Maybe she feels she will be criticised for it. She probably won't be encouraged, judging by Anita's way of dealing with children presenting work for praise.

9.05

Aiyabulela is playing about, not drawing his flowers, singing into his pencil.

Is this poor concentration? Aiyabulela is clearly capable of the task, more so than many others. Maybe he is bored.

9.11

Anita writes 06-09-02 on Aiyabulela's paper.

Aiyabulela: Oh – six – oh-nine-oh-two.

Aiyabulela knows the name 'oh' for 0, but interestingly, Anita uses nought when she talks about writing the number 10 above. Where has Aiyabulela got 'oh'? Why does Anita not make the learners write this on the top of the paper themselves?

9.14

The class are working on colouring in a picture at their tables.

Aiyabulela: (to the learners on his table) Please thank you and excuse me are the nicest words to say.

This is the first line to a rhyme that the class do often with Anita. Aiyabulela gets almost all the way through, before encouraging another learner to join in with him. This was spontaneous, proving that Aiyabulela knows it very well. The pronunciation is perfect all the way through, suggesting perhaps that Aiyabulela actually knows what he is saying.

10.40

Sandiswa sees a syllabus lying on Anita's desk. She attempts to read it to her friends.

It is interesting to see Sandiswa engaging in pre-literacy tasks of this nature.

10.50

Break time.

PR is sitting at Anita's desk. As I sit there, Sandiswa comes up to me with others, including Sinothando, Yonelisa and others. Sandiswa talks a lot to me, in Xhosa mainly, asking what the word for so-and-so is in Afrikaans and in English. After I tell her, the whole group repeats the word. Examples are:

Sandiswa: (X) How do you say sleep in Afrikaans?

PR: Slaap.

Sandiswa: (X) and in English?

PR: Sleep.

Sandiswa also asks a few more questions of this nature in English using the phrase: 'What is.....in English?'

Sandiswa wanted to acquire new English words. She was using me as a resource, and wanted to engage me in conversation. She was not trying to show off her knowledge, as she was with the 1+1 game.

10.55

This question and answer session developed into a game of 'Open my fist', started by Sandiswa. Then I had to try to open their fists.

What was so apparently out of character about all this is that Sandiswa is never so confident with Anita, or even with her peers in academic contexts. Yet here she was leading the group in talking to me. She is actually a fervent conversationalist!

11.00

Sandiswa: (X) Does your house have a pool?

PR: (X) Yes, it does.

11.02

Then Sandiswa asked me to write the names of people around us. PR does so. Then PR gets tired of writing everyone's name, closes book. The back cover is pointing towards Sandiswa.

Sandiswa: [points at picture a learner in Prima drew on the back] (E) Why are you draw this one?

PR: [is distracted by other learners]

Sandiswa: (E) Where do you live?

PR: In Fitzroy Street.

Sandiswa: Fizroy. Fizroy.

The first question Sandiswa asked was a genuine information question. Only one word is 'wrong', but the meaning is very clear. Sandiswa must have constructed this sentence spontaneously, but where does she get the input from the construct it? It is possible that it comes exclusively from Anita, but I doubt she gets enough exposure to Anita's language to come up with this from that alone. The second sentence is formulaic, and could have been taught to Sandiswa by somebody.

11.10

Sandiswa passes me my drink from the shelves she has been asked to tidy by Anita.

Sandiswa is keen to communicate with me and maintain contact after our chat. She recognises that the mug is mine. She doesn't just put it on the desk, she taps my arm to show me it is there.

11.20

Anita and Annette have organised a small singing competition for flower day. This involves all the boys entertaining all the girls and vice versa, and then narrowing down the field to ten and four respectively. Anita then gives out the prizes.

Sandiswa joins in Bathabile's singing. 'You're my angel you're my darling, you're....'

Sandiswa only knows the sounds and tune for the song. It is clear that she doesn't know what she is singing. The pronunciation is faulty, but she is trying. She accompanies Bathabile here, but doesn't join in the rhymes in the group. I think this is conclusive evidence that she finds the rhymes boring!

11.30

The class are milling around on the mat.

Anita: (to Sandiswa, who is sitting closest to Anita's desk). Pass me my swat. [Anita raises eyebrows to look at the desk, but doesn't point at the thing she wants.]

Sandiswa gets up and immediately picks up the swat and passes it to Anita.

More evidence that Sandiswa has an advanced receptive understanding for English. There was not enough contextual clue for Sandiswa to know that Anita wanted the swat. The noise level was high, but not so high that Anita would have to use the swat. Anita did not point at it, she only raised an eyebrow towards it. From this clue, Sandiswa could have picked up anything from the desk.

The concert continues, with Sandiswa and Aiyabulela all about as confident as each other. The atmosphere is such that all children must clap those on the stage, and laughter is only to encourage or to show enjoyment, not to jeer.

The children are learning public confidence from this, and also how to behave during performances. The winners get flowers or soap and face cloths, but ultimately, every learner gets a flower of some sort to take home, even if it is only a petal. Sandiswa is very interested in her flower. She tells all the other learners about it.

9/09/02

8.25

I have just arrived at school.

A poor street boy is standing in the class. As I come in, he leaves. Anita tells me that he came in to talk to her because Aiyabulela was 'swearing his mother'.

I can believe this is true because Aiyabulela can be a bit of a bully sometimes. However, the boy was much older than him, so I think it was unlikely that Aiyabulela had insulted him to his face. I also don't know if Aiyabulela was provoked or not.

8.50

Anita teaches learners a song, first by repeating after her as a chant. One line of the song is: 'My cup is full of running over.'

Anita never teaches the tune and the words on the same day, and always revises the words before she teaches the tune.

9.00

Anita has made some road signs and laminated them with labels underneath. She has stuck them to the theme wall.

I notice that the road signs on the theme wall for this week are labelled with words that most students would find very difficult to pronounce, like 'pedestrians crossing'. Would it not be better to have labels like: 'watch out for people'? Most children have trouble understanding the meaning of the sign from Anita's explanation, because it is purely oral. Also, nearly all the signs are for motorists, not pedestrians, which is what the children are.

9.05

Anita has told learners to turn to a page in their books with groups of objects on it. Learners must count the objects and write the digit. Anita checks instructions.

Anita: How many drums are there?

Sandiswa: (with others in class) Four. [Holds up four fingers.]

Sandiswa understood the question and made a response in English.

9.09

Anita comes over to Sandiswa who is working at her desk.

Anita: (to Sandiswa) In this box you draw two dots and in this box you write two.

Sandiswa: (to herself) and write two.

Sandiswa was drilling something here, maybe pronunciation or intonation. It wasn't just mimickery, she wanted to practice the phrase.

9.14

Sandiswa is copying Sino's work, even though she is sitting on the other side of the table.

Sandiswa is very keen to copy Sino as usual, even if it is more convenient to copy another learner. I think the copying comes down to friendship between the two, i.e. wanting to produce the same thing, rather than

that Sandiswa is incapable and needs to copy. Later evidence, (10/10/02), shows that she can work alone, and well.

9.30

Anita is not encouraging calm in the classroom today. There is a lot of scolding, and very little encouragement. Stressful atmosphere.

9.45

Aiyabulela and others are playing the hand-slap game. Aiyabulela loses well, and plays successfully with his sister and friends.

Aiyabulela doesn't try to dominate like he does on his table sometimes. Maybe it is because he is playing with girls and his sister that he is calmer. When other males surround him, he gets feisty.

9.55

Sandiswa has made another really great effort of colouring in and number writing. Anita gives her a nod.

Sandiswa makes big effort with her work a lot of the time. She takes pride in it.

10/09/02

Aiyabulela absent.

11.50

Anita divides the class into two, boys and girls. She instructs one learner from each group to write the same word on two different pieces of paper at the same time, like a writing competition. The learners must write on a vertical surface so they can see the word they have to copy. They have to identify which word it is first.

The class were very excited by this.

12.00

Sandiswa has a go at this game and writes 'dress'.

Yesterday, Sandiswa wrote 'bress' when Anita asked her to write 'dress'. Anita made her correct it yesterday, and now she has written 'dress'. This shows she is taking note of what she is being told. She learns from her mistakes.

12.15

Sino is not sitting at Sandiswa's table for some reason. Anita has instructed the class to write the letter 'e', and then copy all the four words on the alphabet card around it.

Sandiswa keeps going back to the board to check how each letter is formed. Sometimes she traces her finger over the letter on the card and as she walks back to the table, she traces it in the air.

Sandiswa works slowly, but she is not copying Sino, and is working independently. She eventually completes 'empty', 'edge', and 'end'. She seems to enjoy the process too, skipping up to the board.

Sandiswa can work effectively alone, and enjoys her learning too.

16/09/02

8.30

PR is sitting at Anita's desk. Sandiswa approaches.

Sandiswa: (X) Hello, how are you?

PR: (X) I'm fine thank you. How are you?

Sandiswa: (X) I'm fine also. (Speaks slowly like a teacher.) [pause] (X) It's cold, isn't it?

PR: (X) No, it's hot today.

Sandiswa: (X) No, (E) it's cold today.

Sandiswa is testing and teaching me Xhosa here. She smiled all the way through this as if it was a game. I don't know why she broke into English at the end. The 'it's' sounded more like 'idz'

8.40

Anita is talking to PR about a learner in the class

Anita to PR: That Siphosethu, he's clever man! Toni and I had to take him home yesterday because no one came to fetch him. On the way there, he was giving Toni directions. Toni would ask him: 'Where now?' and he said 'Left here, right here'. He's so naughty in class, and then he comes out with all this English.

Anita rates the cleverness of pupils on how much English they understand. Anita clearly changed in her behaviour towards Sip after this, much less harsh tone of voice.

8.56

Anita is using the number board to teach counting to the class. She is pointing at individual numbers.

Anita: (to Sandiswa alone) What number is this?

Sandiswa: (thinks) Thirty

Sandiswa has an advanced knowledge of numbers. She seems to be able to identify numbers that I haven't seen her being taught. Her parents, when interviewed didn't mention anything about learning numbers. Where did she get this from? Maybe from her friend in Grade 1 or her granny.

11.45

Anita divides class into groups of four. She gives one picture to each group and tells them to colour it in.

Anita: You must first colour it in, and then you must come to the front and tell me three things about it. I'll do it with this picture here. This is a hat, it looks like a triangle, it has many colours. OK?

Anita brings groups of learners onto the carpet and elicits facts about the picture from them. She then drills those sentences. Some groups then practice the sentences, drilling each other. For example:

Anita: What is this?

Sisanda: watermelon.

Anita: OK, say 'It is a watermelon'.

Sisanda: It is a watermelon.

12.00

Anita goes and sits with learners on the carpet. She calls up one learner from each group. Sometimes she prompts: What are those things there, what colour is it?

Sandiswa: This is a strawberry. The colour is red of green...and brown.

Anita: What else? (to class) Those little things are pips.

Sandiswa: These are pips.

Anita: How does a strawberry taste?

Sandiswa: Is nice.

Most learners did not make full sentences without being prompted by Anita to do so. Sandiswa and Lukhanyo were two of the three that did. Sandiswa's sentences are not perfect, but she is confident and eager to talk about her picture in English.

16/09/02

8.30

Sandiswa and others are outside playing an action game called 'My Teddy Bear'. It has a rhyme that goes: my teddy bear, my teddy bear, I love my teddy bear. Please shine my shoes my teddy bear, I love my teddy bear.

I wasn't entirely sure what this game was about, or how it works. I think the learners must have learned words for this from each other. 'Please shine my shoes' was accompanied by an action like wiping. This is not classroom English. It is also interesting that the majority of playground games I have seen the girls play involve English rhymes.

9.10

Anita: This course that Annette is doing at CSD doesn't teach them to liaise with the Grade 1 teachers. The tutors also don't liaise with the Grade 1 teachers. The grade one teachers struggle. Preschool teachers should be taught to ask: 'What should the children know by Grade 1?' When I was at school, we had to copy what the teacher wrote on the board. So if the teacher can't do it right, how can the children? I said that children need routine. They told them that in the early years the whole class must go to the board together, now they say the child can just go.

PR: Your children have to ask before they can go, don't they?

Anita: Yes.

PR: So you are saying that the children don't have to ask anymore now?

Anita: Yes...(unsure) You know, the tutors have only been to see Annette teaching once. They haven't come back. I'm sure those tutors will say I'm doing it wrong if they came to my class. What I am doing is different from what they teach. They like to work in groups. I don't always do that.

Anita is feeling a bit insecure, I think, about the fact that she doesn't have pre-primary training. However, she also feels that she knows more about what should go on in pre-primary than the tutors. She doesn't feel they are very professional.

PR: So do you ever talk to the Grade 1 teacher here?

Anita: Not much, you know.

PR: So you are saying you know this because you used to teach in grade 2.

Anita: Yes, that's right. You know this child Sinazo? She's the child of Sindiswa in Grade 1. Sinazo came to see me the other day, and she said: 'Oh, my child speaks lovely English.' She couldn't say a word when she came here.

I think Anita is saying this to demonstrate that she is doing the right thing, and doing it well, because the Grade 1 teacher has complimented her on the fact that her child in that pre-primary class can now speak English.

Anita: You know this taxi driver who picks up [...] [...] He said to me the other day: 'I love this school. I'm going to send my child here'.

The school is perceived in the community as being successful, and a good place to send children to school.

Anita: Because of the rule about not getting in to Grade 1 without having been to pre-primary, the preschool teacher has to do the work, because the school only takes three children from outside.

Anita is saying that the preschool teacher has a lot to do to bring the children up to the right level to tackle Grade 1 at Secunda. Otherwise the Grade 1 teacher will struggle with the whole class behind.

9.00

Anita reviews the names of all the shapes on the shapes board before choosing individual learners to name the shapes in front of the rest of the class.

Anita always reviews the target language before she asks learners to produce it. She is also very patient with Zolani and Shoan, and tells them 'Lovely' when they get the name of the shape first time. She never loses her temper because a learner is slow.

9.20

Anita hands out an exercise sheet where learners must match the standard shapes with objects resembling the shapes (e.g. crescent – moon). Learners are a bit confused. Anita asks Lukhanyo to come to the front and translate in to isiXhosa for the class.

I have never seen this done before. It appears to be very successful. I think Anita doesn't do this more often, because she wants to give the children maximum exposure to English.

Anita: When I first came to Grahamstown, I asked people if there was a place to train as a pre-primary teacher. They all said no. I said to Annette: 'If I had known CSD existed, I'd have gone there.'

I think this shows that Anita is definitely a bit worried about the fact that she doesn't have a formal pre-primary qualification.

11.45

Anita has put up a new alphabet card with fish, feather, and two other words. For some reason, the capital 'F' has been a bit obscured by the line above it.

Anita: We have a new sound today. It is fffffff. (Not fuh.)

Anita then goes on to elicit all the words on the card.

Anita: What's this sound again?

Learners: fugh.

Anita: OK, no that's better, say fugh.

Anita was responding to the way the class preferred to say the sound, and choose that instead. If they say 'fuh', it is better to stick with that than telling them it is wrong, and teaching them ff. I'm not sure I agree with her logic, but I can see why she did it.

12.00

Learners are all sitting on the carpet.

Phelela: Teacher, look Sandiswa and Sinothando.

Sandiswa: And you. (Sandiswa then starts saying unkind things to Phelela who blocks her ears.)

Sandiswa was angry at being accused of something, but then turns nasty towards Phelela. I hadn't seen this behaviour before in Sandiswa.

19/09/02

Anita is compiling learner's portfolios. This involves weighing them and measuring their height.

Anita hasn't given the rest of the class anything to do while she weighs each one individually. I think this is a hugely missed opportunity to get learners to learn to read a scale and to talk about how tall they are.

9.10

Sandiswa approaches PR

Sandiswa: (to PR) Please may I water please?

Sandiswa asked me because Anita was busy, because I was closest to the cups, and because she wanted to show off and speak English.

9.30

I catch sight of some application forms for Secunda next year. Sandiswa's father has put an English name as his first name on the form. Aiyabulela's mother has entered 'Methodist' as her religion, but Mr. Futha has written only 'Christian'.

Is this perhaps an indication that Sandiswa's family is less traditional than Aiyabulela's?

8/11/02

10.40

Activity A

Anita has assembled eight learners on the rug in the classroom. The rest of the learners are outside.

Anita: We're going to play a game, like Simon Says. The person who does it last goes out.

Unfortunately, Anita hadn't quite understood that I wanted her to use only certain instructions. This was despite the fact that we had been over the instructions once the week before, and again before the children came in. None the less, some of the instructions were similar.

Instruction	Aiya	Sandiswa
Touch your toes	Yes	Yes
Stand up	Yes	No
Blink your eyes	Yes	Yes
Touch your nose	Yes	Yes
Put your hands behind your back	Yes	Yes
Put your finger on your lip	No	Yes
Put your hands on your face	Yes	Yes
Sit down	Yes	Yes
Touch your ears	Yes	Yes
Bend your knees	No	No

Both children were capable of following most of these instructions from Anita's voice alone. I would regard some of these as being lexically more complex than those I asked Xolelwa to use at Prima. (For instance, 'finger' and 'lips' as opposed to 'touch your mouth'.)

10.45

Activity B.

Anita carried out this task the opposite way round to Xolelwa. She asked the children to stand up when she pointed at the letter that their name began with initially, and then asked them to point at the letter themselves. The only complication to this activity was that two other children had the same initial letter as both Sandiswa and Aiya. This meant that in the first half of the activity, I couldn't be sure that either one really knew the letter, as both Sandiswa and Aiya stood up slightly after their friend. In the second half of the activity, both children pointed at the letter straight away without hesitation or interference from their friends.

For the individual activities, Anita sent the child she was not working with out of the room so that they could not get clues about how to do the activity.

10.50

Activity E

Anita pointed at different words for the different children from the opposites theme. (I asked her to use these words as opposed to the ones that Xolelwa used because they would be the words that the learners had recently been exposed to.) The opposite cards had contextual clues rather like the words at Prima, only here they were pictures, not the objects themselves.

Word	Sandiswa	Aiya
happy	-	Yes
cold	-	Yes
long	-	Yes
full	Yes	-
many	Yes	-

small	Yes	-
-------	-----	---

Both children were easily capable of naming the words, although Aiya was slightly more hesitant than Sandiswa.

10.55

Activity H

As with Activity A, Anita changed the wording slightly when she gave the instructions in this task.

Anita: Take all the big ones, and put them on this side, and take all the small ones and put it this side.

Anita: Put the blue ones this side and the green ones this side.

In other words, she gave two instructions at once to the children. Neither Sandiswa or Aiya were phased by this, and carried out the tasks with ease. Aiya hesitated slightly over the first task by only moving one big crayon to the left. He then moved the other one. Sandiswa on the other hand grabbed both small crayons in her left hand, and both big ones in her right and separated them both at the same time.

11.00

Activity I

Both children had much more difficulty with these tasks. The vocabulary had only been taught receptively in the classroom to my knowledge, although Anita had made cards with the prepositional phrases on them. In other words, the children had not ever practised the skill in this task.

LO 6 AS 8 only asks the learners to "...Show some understanding of prepositions in texts..."

Although the prepositions used in the task are more complex than the ones the AS requires, I felt it would be fairer to test the children on prepositions they had encountered, as opposed to ones they had not encountered.

Neither child was able to apply the concept of 'behind' to the crayons. Neither of them had problems with 'next to' although Aiya was again very hesitant, taking about six seconds to make up his mind. Sandiswa was able to place one crayon on top of another, whereas Aiya did not do so, and placed his crayon next to the other.

11.05

Activity G.

This time, Anita asked the questions exactly as they were written on the sheet. See the table below for the answers the children gave.

Question	Sandiswa	Aiya
1. What is your name?	Sandiswa	Aiya
2. What is your surname?	Futha	Quntu
3. How old are you?	Six years old	Six
4. Are you a boy or a girl?	Girl	Boy
5. Where do you live?	Extension 6	B Street
6. What do you do with your mouth?	Eat	Talking
7. What do you do with your eyes?	Close	I'm looking
8. What do you do with your ears?	Hear	I'm listen
9. What do you do with your nose?	[]	[]
10. What do you do with your hands?	Take	Lunching

11. What do you do with your feet?	Go	I'm going.
------------------------------------	----	------------

Aiya seemed a little phased by this activity. Anita had to repeat the first two questions three times before he answered. In the second question, he was at an unfair disadvantage, because his mother had recently remarried, meaning that he now had a new surname. Anita asked him the question as it was written above first. She then repeated it again, and then said:

Anita: 'You've got a new surname now, what is it?'

Aiyabulela: []

Anita: 'What is your new surname?'

Aiyabulela: []

Anita: 'What is your old one then?'

Aiyabulela:[four seconds] Quntu

Once this section of the activity was over, Aiya carried on quite happily.

Both children struggled with the ninth question. I could only think of a few alternatives for this, such as breathe, blow, and smell. None of these words had been used in the classroom during my observation, so it was not surprising that the learners could not come up with an example.

In looking at the table above, it should also be remembered that the learners at Prima had been prepared in the answers to these questions about a month prior to Xolelwa asking them again. The learners at Secunda had had no such advantage. This may account for their single word answers over the embedded sentences that Nomathemba gave at Prima.

I particularly enjoyed Aiya's answer to question ten. Anita told the class every day to go and get their lunch after the first lesson. Aiya couldn't remember the word 'eat', so he made his own verb from the closest word he knew to food. The meaning is perfectly clear.

Appendix 8a

Grade 1 Data Transcription.

Secunda One

The following is a record of data transcribed at Secunda One. It is divided into observations concerning first Aiyabulela, secondly Sandiswa, and lastly the classroom environment in general. Comments in italics indicate interpretations made at the time of the observation.

AP8.1.1 Aiyabulela at Secunda One

6/02/03

11.05

Sipho elicits from class where to start writing on page in isiXhosa.

Aiya: Phezulu.

Aiya can articulate the response in isiXhosa to an isiXhosa question.

12/02/03

10.20

Many of the class are not in the room today.

Sipho: (to PR) It's so much easier with twenty-five, they've gone to the dentist.

Aiya: (to PR) Dentist... wash the teeth [points at his teeth].

Aiya understood at least one word of what Sipho said. He knows what the dentist is, he doesn't just recognize the word, and he can articulate it in English.

10.50

The class are sitting on the mat. Sipho is holding up a book cover of an isiXhosa book. She asks the learners, in isiXhosa, to identify 'a's in the words on the cover.

Aiya comes up to the front and points at an 'a'.

10.51

Sipho has written some words in isiXhosa up on the board from the book the learners were reading.

Aiya has written 'c', 'a', 'o', and 'e' in his book perfectly and practiced them until the page is full.

10.56

Aiya is laughing at Zolani's letters, along with some other learners. It doesn't appear to be malicious, only amusement at his work.

Aiya wasn't bullying Zolani: in fact Zolani was also laughing. This is a change from how Aiya was at the beginning of the Grade R year.

11.30

Aiya and a friend next to him are filling out a worksheet on the letter three together. They manage to trace all the threes and colour them in successfully.

The cooperation between these two learners was condoned by Sipho. Neither learner was incapable of the task or being taught by the other. They were simply working on the same thing together. It was pleasant to watch.

11.35

The class is standing on the mat. Sipho leads the class in the 'Elephant walks like this and that' rhyme.

Aiya is very motivated to join in.

He can say the whole rhyme, but needed prompting from Siphso to say it all.

11.45

Siphso tells the learners to come and sit on the mat. She switches to English. Most of the day so far has been in isiXhosa.

Siphso: You all know what buns are? What are they?

Learner: Nice

Aiya: Cream

Aiya got the question, but not the grammar of it. He got 'buns' only. It is interesting that he knows the word 'cream'. This is unusual vocabulary, and would be unlikely to have been heard in the class from other learners.

Siphso: Where do we get them?

Learners: Shop, Spar,

Aiya: Checkers

Learners: OK

Aiya can identify the word where, and that them is linked to bun.

Siphso: At Spar, they've got them. Where exactly do we get them?

Aiya: At the back.

Aiya's answer was totally correct in terms of content and grammar. He didn't just say 'back', he constructed the sentence with a preposition. Siphso does not pick up on his answer, suggesting she may not have been expecting something so good from the class.

Siphso: Somewhere in the shop, they've got a bakery. There is a side of stoves where they make buns.

Aiya: Yes, I {ve} see it.

Aiya was not called upon to make a response here; he was interacting in an English conversation about an abstract concept.

12.00

Siphso: You're going to take a paper and draw five current buns in a baker's shop.

A sits without a paper for quite a while. He has been drawing some letters in his exercise book while the story about the rhyme has been going on.

Siphso starts drawing an outline of the baker's shop on the board. Aiya stops drawing his letters.

Aiya: Teacher, I don't have a paper.

This was clear and accurate: many learners in the class would have said: 'Teacher, no paper'.

12.05

While the class are drawing their baker's shop, a learner shows me his Pritt. There is nothing left of the glue stick.

Learner: (to PR) It's finish!

Aiya: (to PR) I have it.

Aiya wanted to communicate with me when another learner initiated a conversation with me. This suggests he wants to speak English, but feels to shy to talk to me directly without a stimulus from outside.

17/02/03

8.30

Siphso is discussing birthdays in the class in English when I walk in. She has a big chart on one wall with the names of the children on each month of the year.

The class then chant all the months in a sort of song with Siphso. Aiya has trouble keeping up.

He doesn't seem to know all the months, or the order in which they come.

8.52

Sipho is telling a story to the class about a character called Vusi who mistreated a book. She uses a storyboard to do so. The chorus for the story is: 'But books can't speak.'

Sipho: But...books can't speak

Aiya says the sentence with Sipho.

Aiya didn't try and mime the words before he spoke them; he just stayed silent until he felt sure of himself.

9.05

Sipho has now finished telling the story.

Sipho: Do you think that Vusi should get another book from the library? If you say yes, you must be able to tell me why. If you say no, you must be able to tell me why.

Learners: []

Sipho: Should Vusi get another book?

Aiya: (with other learners) Nooo.

Aiya is following the post-narrative interaction well. He seems confident in his answer.

9.20

The learners are now at their desks drawing something they can remember from the story.

Sipho: (to the class) Who is going to be Vusi?

Aiya: (puts up hand and smiles)

Sipho: (looks at him surprised) Are you going to lick the pages?

Aiya: No.

Sipho was 'inversely eliciting', in other words, seeing who wanted to be the villain of the piece she had just read. Aiya didn't understand the context of the question, but he did understand the question. Also, Sipho had the patience to explain the context.

26/02/03

8.18

As I walk into the classroom, I see that Sipho has written the sentence: 'I am part of God's family' on the board. Aiya manages to copy out the whole sentence, only his letters don't fit on the two lines. The letters of 'family' trail off down the side of the page towards the spine.

Aiya hasn't yet grasped that a new line needs to be begun on the left whenever you finish the line on the right.

8.33

Sipho uses a big sheet of cardboard with some pictures of the members of her family cut out of magazines on it to talk about families with the learners. The class are sitting on the rug.

Aiya was fascinated by the family pictures, and was very involved all the way through with the poster and related tasks. He was sitting right at the front.

8.42

Sipho holds up a picture of a family of one man, one woman, and a baby to the class.

Sipho: (to class) How many old people are there in this picture?

Aiya with learners: Three

Sipho holds up the pictures of her family again.

Sipho: How many old people are there in this picture?

Aiya with some learners: Eight. Four.

Sipho: How many young people in the family?

Aiya with some learners: One, two!

In this exchange, Aiya got the idea of 'old' later as he went on.

9.23

Sipho tells the class to go to their desks and to try to draw their family. PR points at drawings learners are making of their families.

PR: (to Aiya) (points at the picture) Who is this?

Aiya: Is my sister.

PR: (repeats and points at other pictures)

Aiya: Is my mother.

9.25

PR: How many young people in your family?

Aiya: Four

It turned out that Aiya was actually talking about all the people in his family, as I know from visiting his house. He also, like Sandiswa, cannot yet distinguish the words young and old in a context.

5/03/03

9.00

The class are sitting at their desks. Sipho is eliciting the bonds of six from them.

SP: Four and what is six?

Aiya: Two (before the rest of the class).

9.01

Sipho asks Aiya to come up and write $1+5=6$ on the board. Prior to this, she has put the symbols '+' and '=' in between the bonds she wrote on the board, so that they look like complete sums.

Aiya is easily capable of writing the sum. The class clap as he returns to his desk, and he smiles shyly as he walks back. Sandiswa also smiles and claps.

While Aiya was writing, Sipho was saying 'one...and...how do we write and?.....is...OK. It seemed to me that this was more for the benefit of the class than Aiya, who didn't seem to need any help.

9.13

Sipho has handed out a sheet with six triangles on it to the class. Each triangle has a number inside it and four words next to it. Only one of the words is the word for the number in the triangle.

SP: How many triangles can you see?

Aiya: (without pointing at the triangles) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6!

Aiya said very fast. By contrast, Sandiswa was much slower, she had to point her finger at each triangle in turn.

9.14

SP: What words are there next to the triangle?

[written one on top of the other: four, one, two, six.]

SP: Which one says one?

Aiya: (puts his hand up straight away).

9.17

Sipho is still eliciting the words for the numbers outside the triangles.

Aiya: Me!

Aiya is one of the most confident learners in the class with maths. Note that he said 'Me' over 'Mna', or 'Teacher!'.

9.23

Sipho tells the class to put a circle round the word that matches the digit in the triangle.

Aiya uses the number cards on the board to match the digit to the word. He can't do it out of his head yet. *Aiya's maths ability is not always as fast as he sometimes makes it out to be. He may have found this task more difficult because it involved reading words as opposed to simply working with numbers.*

9.39

Aiya takes Zolani's worksheet and writes 'four' on it for him. *Zolani didn't seem too keen to have Aiya doing his work for him, maybe for fear of getting caught by Siphso. Aiya doesn't do everything correctly on Zolani's sheet. It felt as if Aiya was doing this to show off how fast he was, not intrinsically to help Zolani out.*

9.45

Siphso talks to the class about the next part of the task. Here, the learners have to count how many shells there are in certain boxes and write the number inside each shell.

SP: (to class) Count the shells.

Aiya: Six!

Aiya didn't have to count the shells, he just shouted out the number. He may have counted them before this, or he may just have seen how many there were without counting. Either way, he is advanced in counting.

10/03/03

8.31

Siphso is getting the class to write out bonds of 6. She tells them to 'change the sum around', and write $4+2=6$ and $2+4=6$

Aiya: (to Lukhanyo) Six and zero is six.

Lukhanyo: (to himself) Six and zero is six.

SP: (overhears) Write that down.

Aiya was the first in the class to write this sum down, although he had been exposed to this sum before.

8.48

Siphso leads the class in saying a rhyme called 'Ten Little Soldiers'. He keeps up with the actions and words about eighty per cent of the time.

8.53

Siphso sits the class down on the mat in front of her and opens the books they have done so far. She points at the words for the class to read and pronounces the words slowly herself. Aiya keeps up with the class in every book, *Rainbow*, *Ulsana Lwam*, and *Ndinekhaya*.

Aiya is not ahead of the class, but he can 'read' all the words as Siphso points at them with a marker. He has been exposed to these texts many times before. He doesn't wait for the rest of the class to start reading each word, but if the class makes a mistake, he isn't the first one to correct it by reading the word correctly. He is sometimes among the first, though.

9.29

Siphso reads the words to the learners from a new book, *Baleka!*. She points at each word as she does so. Aiya tries to keep up, even though this is the first time he has been exposed to the book.

On the second reading, he says:

Aiya: 'Baleka!' watsho... yatsho ingonyama.

3/02/03

8.12

Sipho leads the class in counting to one hundred in even numbers using the number board. Sandiswa manages to keep up quite well. She is not as confident as other learners. She is a bit slow in the teens.

8.17

Sipho: Who can show me how to write the word 'one'?

Sandiswa shoots up her hand.

She was very confident that she could write the word.

8.18

Sipho is explaining to the class how to fill in a worksheet. There are lots of '2' digits written in dots that the class have to trace. Then there is a blank space.

Sipho: (to class) If there are no dots to trace, you write the two yourself.

Sandiswa looks confused.

She has not understood the instructions for the task.

8.35

Sandiswa traces over the dotted twos slowly.

She is one of the slowest in the class in this activity..

9.00

Sipho is teaching the letter 'c'. She calls it by the Xhosa name.

Sipho: (holding up a large cardboard 'c') Trace it with me...round and round, don't close. (The learners all trace the letter in the air and then on the table. Sipho then hands out an enormous ruler. Learners must spot any example of a letter 'c' on the walls and point at it. Sandiswa spots the 'c' in March and nudges her friend to show her. She doesn't put her hand up to receive the ruler.)

Sandiswa seems to lack a lot of self-confidence in her learning.

9.07

Sipho gets all the learners together on the mat and opens *Usana Lwam*. She turns the book towards the class and asks them to 'read' the one-word verb captions underneath each picture while she remains silent. Sandiswa reads the ones that she can see.

Sipho could not hold the book in such a way that the whole class could see what was going on. This meant Sandiswa may have been able to say more.

9.15

The class are making their own book using folded pieces of paper. On the first page, they have to write the title of the book and draw the cover picture. Sandiswa is very unsure of the task, even though Sipho explained the whole thing in isiXhosa. Sandiswa copies Phelela. Some learners have already finished the first page by the time Sandiswa starts. Ultimately, Sandiswa's work is better than Phelela's: she has folded the paper correctly, and is doing the right task on the right page.

Sandiswa is unconfident with unfamiliar tasks, but she is clever in using as many resources as possible to carry out the task successfully. Ultimately, she sometimes succeeds over her peers who work faster.

6/02/03

11.05

Sipho: (E) Hold up your left hand.

Sandiswa does so.

Sandiswa knows her left from her right.

17/02/03

8.30

Sipho is discussing birthdays in the class in English when I walk in. She has a big chart on one wall with the names of the children on each month of the year.

Sipho: (to Sandiswa) When is yours?

Sandiswa: June.

The class then chant all the months in a sort of song with Sipho. Sandiswa keeps up with all the months.

8.45

Sipho puts a picture up on the wall that she will use to tell the story about Vusi. The learners point at the picture and talk excitedly about it to each other:

Sipho: What do you want to say about this picture? When I was putting it up, you all said oh and ah?

Sand: The tree.

Sipho: What about the tree?

Sand: (silent)

8.52

Sipho is telling a story to the class about a character called Vusi who mistreated a book. She uses a storyboard to do so. The chorus for the story is: 'But books can't speak.'

Sipho: (leans forward to engage the learners in the story) But... books can't speak.

Sand: (shakes her head and mimes the words along with Sipho)

Sipho doesn't insist on the class repeated the chorus with her, but some learners do anyway. Sandiswa is one of about seven learners who do try to repeat it.

26/02/03

8.18

As I walk into the classroom, I see that Sipho has written the sentence: 'I am part of God's family' on the board.

Sandiswa manages to copy out a whole sentence from the board onto a page in her exercise book.

8.33

Sipho uses a big sheet of cardboard with some pictures of the members of her family cut out of magazines on it to talk about families with the learners. The class are sitting on the rug.

Sandiswa remains distracted for the whole session on families. She was sitting quite a long way at the back.

She was not necessarily not listening, only much of the time, she was not giving the visual images much close attention.

9.23

Sipho tells the class to go to their desks and to try to draw their family. PR looks at drawings learners are making of their families.

PR: (to S) How many people in your family?

S: (shakes her head and smiles.)

PR: How many people are there here? (points at whole picture)

S: Three.

PR: Who is old?

S: []

PR: Who is young?

S: Is my sister.

PR: Is your sister old?

S: Yes. (pointing at each one) Is my mother, my granny.

Sandiswa found old and young difficult to understand. She seems to be able to deal with 'How many' but not in an abstract sense.

9.45

Sipho has told the learners to come up to her and show her their work on their families when they have finished. She has a long line of learners waiting to talk to her.

SP: How many old people are there at home?

S: Three

SP How many young people are there at home?

S: Four.

SP: What is three and four all together?

S: []

SP: Count them and come back to me here.

From this exchange, it would seem that Sandiswa could at least distinguish: 'How many people' from 'How many old people'. She can recognise the modifying word when Sipho speaks.

9.55

Sandiswa then comes back. She hasn't written seven on her page as Sipho instructed her to do.

SP: Write seven here.

It seems that Sandiswa did not understand the last part of Sipho's previous instruction, 'all together'. When she comes back, she has written the seven.

05/03/03

8.58

Sipho is checking the bonds of six she has written on the board with the class.

SP: (to class) Let's check. Hold up four and two.

(Sandiswa does so, even though she has not been doing so for the last few minutes.)

SP: (to class) Count.

Sandiswa counts on her fingers up to six.

9.00

SP: Five and one is...6

S: 6

Sandiswa doesn't always look like she is listening, but she seems capable enough of following the teacher. She also knew the answer to 5 and 1 without being asked it directly. Her mathematical ability is above average for the class.

9.19

Sipho has handed out a sheet with six triangles on it to the class. Each triangle has a number inside it and four words next to it. Only one of the words is the word for the number in the triangle.

Sipho tells the class to put a circle round the word that matches the digit in the triangle.

Sandiswa copies all the words to be ringed from a friend.

I still can't work out if this is laziness or incompetence on Sandiswa's part. I would guess that she is perfectly capable of doing this activity correctly given time.

9.31

Sipho copies the next task on the learner's worksheets onto the board. Learners have to count how many there are of a certain object, and write it in the box underneath. They also have to write the word for the number in another box next to it.

Sipho writes the number '1' for the carrots on the board in the box.

Sandiswa points on her page at the box where the number should go.

SP: (to class) What is this? (points at the number on the board.)

S: One. (holds up a finger.)

Sipho then gets class to follow as she demonstrates drawing 'one' (the word) in the air with her finger.

Sandiswa keeps up with the actions and the words for drawing the word 'one': Round and round and close, up, bump down. To the right, round and round and don't close.

Sandiswa can keep up with instructions on the board and refer them to her own work on the paper. She also knows how to draw the word one in the air, and realises what the teacher is talking about.

9.36

Sandiswa watches closely as Sipho shows class the actions for writing the word 'four'.

Sandiswa wasn't able to keep up with these actions; she didn't know them and had not had much exposure to them.

9.37

The class are now doing the task by themselves. (Counting, writing the digit, writing the word.)

Sandiswa counts five objects and writes the digit '5'. She then looks at the top of her worksheet at the previous exercise, and points at the word 'five' she has to copy. She then copies it successfully.

Sandiswa doesn't always copy her classmates, although she may have for the digit '5', I didn't see. She was resourceful enough to realise that the triangle exercise that the class had done previously and this new exercise were linked.

10.03

Sipho is playing a game on the board where the learners must tell her which number she is writing in words on the board.

The learners, including Sandiswa, are desperate to tell her which it is. Sipho looks like she is really enjoying the game too! She doesn't call the numbers out as quickly as other learners though.

10/03/03

8.38

Learners have to write the word 'six' as many times as possible after their bonds of six. Sandiswa writes the word without needing to look at her friends to copy.

When Sandiswa is absolutely sure of something, she doesn't need to copy.

8.48

Sipho leads the class in a rhyme. Sandiswa is still at her desk writing the sixes. She joins in saying the rhyme from her desk.

8.53

Sandiswa could read the occasional word in the 'Rainbow' book. She could read all the words in *Usana Lwam*. She had to wait for the rest of the class for *Ndinekhaya*.

Sandiswa was unable to read sentences longer than one word in the texts with the class. She really struggled with Ndinekhaya. However, she never really looks as though she is trying. I wonder if she could read the longer phrases in isolation?

9.00

Sipho writes the word 'inja' on the board. This is one of the words from *Ndinekhaya*. Sandiswa reads it with the class.

9.11

Sipho is still taking words from the books and writing them on the board. Sandiswa moves away off her own bat from a group of learners who are distracting her.

Sandiswa has an interest in what is going on at the front of the class, and wants to be able to concentrate.

9.15

Sandiswa stays silent as Sipho reads a book the class have only seen once before *Igama lam*. Sipho reads the words to the learners, pointing to each word as she does so. Sandiswa remains silent.

AP8.1.3 Classroom Environment at Secunda One

3/02/03

I notice that at the back of the classroom, there are a series of laminated cards on the notice board. They each have a letter of the alphabet on them, a picture of the word represented underneath, and the word, with the letter, normally in the middle of the word in bold. The words are all isiXhosa words; there are no English ones. There is no English alphabet in the room. The 'c' card has been removed today, maybe because it will be the focus for the lesson.

8.10

Sipho introduces me to the whole class.

SP: You don't know this man, do you?

Class: Yes, teacher.

SP: You do? What is his name?

Class: Phil, Mr. Rendel.

Sipho uses me as a resource in the classroom. Learners seem capable of following the English she uses.

8.28

The class are handing out worksheets to one another.

SP: (X) (to Zolani) Give them a paper here.

Classroom administration is nearly always in English, but here Sipho was using isiXhosa for the sake of Zolani.

8.29

Sipho: (Handing out worksheets.) At the top of the page, write your name. Bhala phezulu igama lakho. *Here, the administrative language was English with an isiXhosa translation. I don't know why Sipho felt the need to translate this.*

8.51

While the class are working on the worksheet, Sipho walks round looking at their work.

Sipho: (to Terence) You are far too slow.

Siphosethu and another boy then mimic this phrase to each other, wagging fingers: 'You are far too slow'. This then gets corrupted to: 'You are fast too slow'. The two boys then laugh.

Students in the class mimic Sipho's English and use it as intended. They seem to understand the function of what they are saying and are having fun. Sipho would have been able to hear them doing this as it was just over her shoulder, but she let it carry on, even though the boys stopped working to do this.

8.56

The class are sitting at their desks. Siphso does some alphabet practice using the laminated cards at the back of the room. She calls out the letter, says the word, and then does both again. She puts rhythm into it. The learners repeat this after her, some saying it at the same time as her.

The class clearly enjoy this activity. Some of them carry on repeating the chant throughout the course of the day. It is like a song for them.

9.05

Siphso is now holding up a book by the front cover *Umwethi imncinci*, which the class have clearly had some interaction with before. She asks the learners in isiXhosa to come to the front, say which letter they can see, and then point at it. Many learners in the class know letters in the words.

6/02/03

11.21

Siphso starts telling a story in isiXhosa, using the animal poster on the wall. She elicits the names of the animals in isiXhosa and in English before she starts.

While she is telling the story, the children are allowed to join in, stand up, play characters, and so forth.

This was a highly enjoyable and effective piece of teaching. All the learners were concentrating fully on the story that Siphso was telling. Siphso has combined African narrative discourse into her classroom culture.

12/02/03

10.46

The class are pointing at the letter 'a' they can see in the title of the book Siphso is using. They must make the sound of the letter as they do so.

Siphso: (X) No, not 'eh', 'ah'

Siphso was correcting a child who said 'eh' for the letter 'a' which the class was practicing. This contradicts what Anita taught the same children last year.

10.52

Siphso tells the learners to return to their desks and draw the letters from the title of the book. As learners are drawing their letters, she says:

Siphso: Thetha.....round and round and up down.

Siphso wants learners to use English as they construct letters. Most do so, and find it fun to say it as they write.

11.20

Siphso and Zolani have been working on the mini chalkboard with the bowl of water drawing letter 'a's.

Siphso then instructs Zolani to write a series of 'a's on a page in his book. He manages to do so.

Siphso congratulates him profusely in isiXhosa and in English.

The sense of achievement that Zolani feels is evident on his face. He looks so happy. This is certainly an aspect of Siphso's teaching that influences all learners in the classroom.

11.35

Whilst Siphso is doing the rhymes in the class, in this case 'An Elephant Walks Like This and That', she lets the children carry on with whatever activity they are doing.

The idea is for the children to enjoy the work they are doing, and to finish it. The teacher doesn't always demand total attention from the learners.

11.45

Sipho now switches to English. Most of the day so far has been in isiXhosa. She teaches learners the rhyme 'Five current buns in a bakers shop'. She says it a few times and the learners repeat after her.

Then she says:

Sipho: You all know what buns are? What are they?

Learner: Nice

Aiya: Cream

[This exchange continues for a while.]

Sipho: Have we got only a baker shop? (Rephrases in isiXhosa) Kwa.....Kwa Pa...

Learners: KwaPaulos!

Sipho: How big is a bun? Ingakanani ibuns?

(This extends into a lengthy session of 'this big'? holding up hands and dropping them down again.

'Have you ever seen a bun this big?' then...)

Sipho: Which is big and which is small? (Asks a learner to come and show the class which of two objects is big and small, like a board and a chair. Learners identify correctly.)

Sipho taught a rhyme, and then carried out a discussion about the things in the rhyme using the vocabulary from it. She uses any opportunity to teach extra vocabulary and contextualises it in the learners' lived contexts.

17/02/03

8.40

Between activities, oral and written.

Sipho: If you are talking, please go outside. (repeats) If you are cutting, please go outside.

These phrases were said in English in a firm- but not angry- tone. It is interesting that Sipho uses English as a formal language to discipline or arrange the class.

8.42

Sipho puts up a large A3 picture that she tells me she got from READ. She has coloured it in. She also has a collection of characters to put on the picture with Prestik. She reads the story from a prompt sheet in front of her. As she puts the picture up, many learners go: 'oh, ah'

Sipho: What do you want to say about this picture? When I was putting it up, you all said oh and ah?

Sipho can run a class from the reaction she gets from students. For her, it is not just a lesson plan. Her plans, which I saw on her desk, are only outlines. She can work fluidly.

Learner: I think the house is granny house.

Sipho: OK. Here is Vusi. Who does Vusi stay with?

Learner: With her mother.

Sipho: His mother.

Sipho error corrects in the class in plenary in a firm, but affirming way. Also, when Sipho is eliciting English from the class as she is doing here, before she tells the story, she speaks very slowly and clearly, and never picks on a learner she doesn't feel will be able to answer the question. She also allows learners to reply in isiXhosa to an English question with impunity.

8.47

Sipho is now telling the story about Vusi not looking after his book.

Sipho: What is the book about?

Learner: Animals

Sipho: The book is about....

Learner: Animals

Sipho: The book...

Learner: The book is about animals.

Sipho insists on a full sentence, no matter how long it takes to get to it.

8.50

Sipho repeats sections of the story that she thinks the students will find difficult.

9.05

Sipho: Do you think that Vusi should get another book from the library? If you say yes, you must be able to tell me why. If you say no, you must be able to tell me why.

Sisanda: Because the book is wet, and it is raining, and it is torn.

[This is a demanding task. Learners have to understand the question, think of a justification, and then formulate it into English.]

9.06

Sipho asks the class the same question as 9.05. Terence gives an answer in English, but it is not clear. Sipho reformulates it for the class in English.

Another learner makes a reply to a different question: 'What should Vusi do?' in isiXhosa. Sipho reformulates the answer into English, even though it was clear to the class what was said.

In this way, Sipho is using the answers from the learners and making it into a resource to help the other learners.

26/02/03

8.18

I have come into the classroom in the middle of a task. The theme of the lesson is families. The learners have had to draw either a sun or a cloud to signify whether they are part of God's family or not.

After this, Sipho starts writing up a sentence on the board for the learners to copy underneath their pictures (I belong to God's family). She does it one letter at a time, making the sound of each letter as she does it, and then giving the sound of the word so far as each letter is added.

As opposed to learners just copying, she elicits how to draw each letter, tracing in the air. She then lets the learners begin writing on the paper. The learners join in making the sounds of the letters after here, because she makes them fun, bellllloooooong, for example.

This is a great example of Sipho's effective, affective teaching.

8.33

Sipho holds up a poster of herself with members of her family on it. She conducts an explanation of who all the people are on it in English only. She also talks about the people who are not on the poster.

Sipho: How many people are there on this poster?

(Sipho spends a while eliciting this back from learners.)

SP: How many people are not on this poster?

(SP gets this back)

SP: So how many are there in my whole family?

Sipho integrates numeracy and literacy into one activity in her lessons. This will help to contextualise the lesson aims.

9.09

SP: (to an learner) (X) Do you want to go to the principal? Go on, then.

Sipho said this in a sort of 'sottovoce', to warn the learner. The way the scolding is phrased is interesting. She asks the learners if they want to go. This lessens the threat in the sentence, but makes the disapproval clear.

26/02/03

8.40

On the walls, Siphso has placed a huge letter D with pictures of things with the letter d in them in Xhosa. There is also a list of words for the pictures, including: *Sisanda, ndize, dada*.

There are also some 'b' words, but there is no large letter 'b' yet.

Making the letter huge and displaying it prominently at a low level on the wall means that the learners can interact with it. I observed them doing so on a number of occasions.

9.00

Siphso isolates words from the texts and writes them up on the board. The learners have to read the word and say which it is. The words were long compound words, such as *andinekhaya*, but others were short like *inja*.

Most of the class could not do the long words, suggesting that they can only cope with short words at this stage. The only learners who can get the long words are the repeating students.

9.22

Siphso: (points at a picture of a lion in *Baleka!*) (X) What is this?

Learners: Lion

SP: (X) No.

Learners: (X) Lion

The interesting thing here is that the learners understood totally that 'No' was the right word, only in the wrong language. The same learners replied in isiXhosa, showing that they didn't think that the 'lion' the concept was wrong, only that the word was.

Siphso does not tackle the words in *Baleka!*, except to 'correct' learners when they say an animal's name in English. She then points at the isiXhosa word in the text

She allows the students to get excited by the pictures and discuss them in isiXhosa. I didn't hear the students talk at all in English while they were reading, except for occasionally reading animal names.

Appendix 8b

Grade 1 Data Transcription.

Graham One

The following is a record of data transcribed at Graham One. It is divided into observations concerning Nomathemba, and lastly the classroom environment in general. Comments in italics indicate interpretations made at the time of the observation.

AP8.2.1 Nomathemba at Graham One

29/01/03

8.30

All the learners are sitting on the mat. J revises the story she told the class the day before.

J: Who was the first man that God made?

Learner: Adam.

J: And who was the wife that God made for Adam?

Many learners, inc. Noma: Eve.

J: What was the story about yesterday?

Many learners, including Noma: Adam and Eve.

Noma clearly understood what the questions were about, and was able to answer them as fully as the other children.

J then rereads story. At the end:

J: Was God happy?

Learners: Nooo.

J: Did Adam and Eve have to leave?

Learners: Yeees.

Noma did not join in with these answers until the others had started saying them. In other words, she was unsure of either the question or the answer.

8.40

The class are threading wooden blocks onto a piece of string. They have to count ten, thread them on, and then tie a knot in the end.

J: Stop playing with the blocks, and make a knot please.

[Noma does not obey, carries on regardless.]

N does not listen closely to what is being said by J, or she doesn't understand. She lets it wash over her, until J comes up to her and tells her one-on-one.

9.00

Noma holds up ten blocks on a bit of string for J to check. J counts.

J: (to Noma) There are only nine.

(Noma puts on another block.)

Noma initiated this conversation/interaction. She is clearly keen to try as much as possible to get the task right. She is the only learner I have seen doing this.

9.25

J has asked the learners to write their names on the top of a worksheet they have been doing on the number one. All the learners have a laminated nametag in front of them to copy from. Noma writes NOMathemba.

Noma is not copying the letters, but she has clearly been practising this. The letters are much clearer, and are in a line on the page, and of similar height.

9.26

The learners have to write the digit '1' inside the number on the worksheet.

J: (to class) Trace the one with your finger

(Noma points at the digit.)

J: (to Noma) Write a 'one' in here. (points at page)

(Noma makes a short mark inside the number.)

J: (to Noma) Make a long mark, long. (Traces hand down the one.)

J leaves. Noma is confused. Looks at other learners, and then draws a squiggle in the number.

Noma was able to point to the right object on the page, meaning she understood the command and also the digit. She may also have understood 'finger', otherwise she would simply have looked at the object. She was confused about the instruction 'long', and couldn't complete that aspect.

10.25

The class are doing a worksheet where they have to trace some lines to make a zigzag. Noma has drawn over the two lines she is supposed to have separated.

J: Here's a one, here's a space. One, One. (traces with finger)

Noma goes on to draw a line through her long ones, and shortens the others. This shows that Noma understood J's point, but most likely from J's actions, not her language.

5/02/03

8.40

I bump into Noma's mother, Unathi, at the entrance to another school. She is selling sweets to the children through the fence and is very pleased to see me. She gives me a big hug!

Unathi: Noma is coping well there, neh?

[She was seeking my affirmation for this comment.]

Unathi: She read this writing in a book, 'Look here is a cat' and then she wrote it for me without looking. *Unathi means that Noma did not copy the writing: she could do it without the model to copy from. When I went into the classroom this morning, one learner had a board with elements of this sentence on it, so that is probably where Noma got it. She has certainly progressed in this aspect of literacy from last year.*

8.55

J has handed out a sheet called 'Personal Development: Me' There are a series of sentences, starting with 'I have' followed by a line, a picture of a body part, and the word for that body part.

J: (to class) How many eyes do you have?

Noma and other students: Two! (holds up two fingers.)

J: Write the number two on your line (demonstrates on board).

Noma writes a sort of 'z', under the line.

N hasn't grasped the task yet. It is not clear whether she has grasped that she is completing a sentence.

9.00

J: (to PR) They don't look when I show them on the board.

N had looked, but I had trouble reading what was on the board from the back of the room. N only ever wrote the number in the spaces on the sheet when she had checked the board first. There is no evidence either way to suggest that she knows what she is doing, apart from copying digits.

9.25

J: (to class) What can you see on the page?

Learners: Arms, head, legs

Noma: (drills, after other learners.) legs...

N does not know the names of all the body parts, but she does reinforce what she hears through drilling. She seems very motivated to learn English.

9.30

J: (to class) Colour in the body parts on your page.

(N doesn't start doing so until she sees the others start.)

It isn't clear if N doesn't understand the oral instructions, or if she wants to check that she is doing the right thing.

10.25

Once the class have finished cutting out the body parts, Janette tells the class to cut them out. She demonstrates doing so.

J: (to the class) You must cut next to the line.

(Noma does not do so. She cuts crudely round the object, not on the line.)

J comes over to Noma.

J: This is not next to the line. Here is your line. (points to the thick black line around the body parts)

Look, Noma, look.

(Noma now cuts closer to the edge. Then I see she has only cut closer to the edge, not the actual edge.)

I think Noma has never had to cut so precisely before. At Prima, it was a question of cutting a picture out of another picture, not going round a line like this. She has trouble following J's oral instructions, that much is clear.

10/02/03

8.10

The class are singing some hymns in English. Noma just about keeps up with them.

8.14

The class are sitting on the mat.

J: (to class) During the summer, is it cold or hot?

Noma: Cold...

Noma tried to guess the answer. She knew the question and understood the options, but could not give the right answer. She maybe got confused between the meanings of 'hot' and 'cold' in Xhosa.

8.16

The class have been instructed to do some colouring in on one of their worksheets.

Noma picks up a crayon: (to Asanda) This one, this one.

Noma was trying to get Asanda to use the same colour as her in her work. It is interesting that she uses English, even though the person she is speaking to is someone she knows, and she knows that that person speaks Xhosa. This indicates that she knows that the classroom is an English medium environment and tries to conform to this.

8.25

The class have to trace over some letter 'v's and then write their own freehand. Noma seems confident in this task. As in Prima, she watches what the teacher does, and then checks with as many other students as possible to make sure she is doing it right.

In this case, Noma seems happy in the classroom, and confident about her work.

8.35

Noma: (to Asanda) (X) Cut them.

(Noma was talking about the Vs that Asanda has drawn. She has made a zigzag pattern, instead of doing separate Vs.)

I think Noma has an interest in helping her peers to succeed at GI. She is very attentive herself, and seems to be succeeding.

8.40

Noma has traced and constructed all the Vs correctly.

9.00

The class are at their desks colouring in a picture. Noma holds up her cup full of crayons, pretending it is ice. A friend on her table, Siya, has put his head down on the table because he is tired.

Noma: Look, Siyabulela, look my ice. Don't cry.

Again, Noma could easily have used Xhosa here. The teacher was far away, and Noma knows that Siya speaks isiXhosa. Noma knew that Siya was pretending to cry, because she had a smile on her face as she said this. She was interacting in play in English.

9.02

J has handed out a sheet with numbers in circles and die faces on it.

J: (to class) Colour all the ones green. (She does not demo the task on the board.)

J: (to class) Find your green crayon.

Noma does so straight away

Noma knows the colour green, but could not follow the first of Janette's oral instructions. In this case, she could understand enough to do the task, but often she does not rely on her understanding of English to understand a task, unlike other students. However, once she had started here, she could find the other number ones straight away, without 'copying'.

9.25

Noma and Asanda converse in isiXhosa, but Noma hasn't finished her work.

Noma has been concentrating hard all morning. Noma allows herself to be distracted and converse with others. She is not the fastest in the class at carrying out most tasks.

20/02/03

11.15

J is holding up flashcards, which contain words from the book that the children are now on. Some of these are sentences, others just single words. Janette holds the cards up to the class and they read the words out loud.

Learners + Noma: We can help. I can help you. We can help you.

All of the above were said with the class, not after or before. Noma seemed a little unsure about the 'we' in the last phrase. J tells me she has been doing these cards and words for about the last four days. The students have not seen the book yet. No wonder they don't seem too keen!

11.28

J has divided the class up into a group of eight learners on the mat doing the flashcard activity again. The others are seated at their desks, copying the same sentences underneath the ones on the photocopy J has given them.

Noma manages to copy: 'I can help you', 'We can help' and 'I can help you'.

Noma wrote the first sentence first, the third second, and the middle one last. Her writing is not particularly neat. She has also reversed some 'p's in the sentences.

25/02/03

8.35

J has handed out a paper with a picture of various items at a Christmas party on them. Underneath are a series of sentences: 'How many candles are there?' 'How many crackers are there?'

J: (to class) You all know what is crackers, neh? When you have a party at Christmas, you have crackers. Count the crackers, and write the number in the first box here.

Noma has trouble counting the crackers. She seems confused about what a cracker is. Eventually, she works out from her neighbours that there are six.

Noma and Asanda then negotiate between them how to draw a six. Asanda draws 'e' in her box. Noma copies her.

Noma later scrubbed out the 'e', and wrote a 6. She was not sure about Asanda's six when she saw it, but copied it anyway. Asanda seems to be falling behind Noma in this sense.

8.43

Noma now has to count the number of candles on the cake. She does so successfully. She writes the two digits, 1 and 0.

Noma seems to be more confident in counting when the things to be counted are all in a defined location, and she doesn't have to look over the whole page for them. When she has to search, she loses count.

8.45

Noma also counts the party hats correctly. She checks her counting three times, but doesn't write the digit. She waits until she can negotiate with Asanda. She traces the digit '7' with her finger on the table, once so that it is the right way up from her direction, and once so that it is right for Asanda.

Noma's understanding of numbers seems to be advanced. She counts confidently, and knows what the digit should look like. She only seems to get confused with which way round the circle should be on the 6, the p, and the d/b.

8.49

Terry-Lynn shows Noma her sheet with the numbers written on it.

Noma: This one not seven, you.

I think Noma was trying to tell Terry that she had written the wrong digit in the box, although I didn't get a chance to see if it was wrong or not. This is one of the first long pieces of English I have heard from her.

8.53

J: All eyes on the board Grade 1.

Noma instantly turns to the board.

This suggests that Noma is familiar with at least some of the 'teacher talk' in the classroom and can respond to it instantly.

8.54

J tells the class to count the buns on the plate in the picture of the Christmas party. Noma had to count the buns on the plate, which she did successfully, but recorded her answer backwards, looking like an 'e'.

(There were six buns.)

8.56

The class now have to count the number of balloons they can see in the picture. Noma very emphatically counts 'eight!'

Noma: (to Asanda) This is balloon.

Noma said this to Asanda, who she knows is an isiXhosa speaker, to help her understand what needs to be counted. Asanda was clearly confused. This suggests Noma is confident in English, and acknowledges the place of English as a language of learning. She often talks to Asanda in isiXhosa during the class, but about non-academic things.

9.22

The class are still working on counting the things on their sheet and writing the digit.

One learner on Noma's table empties his crayons all over the table, and then steals one from Terry Lynn.

Noma: Don't. Colour in Terry.

I have added the full stop between 'don't' and 'colour' here so that the meaning is clear. In reality, Noma did not pause between the two. An interesting aspect of this exchange is that it is teacher talk: this may be the reason that Noma chose to say it in English. There was a definite Afrikaans twang to the way she said this.

9.23

Noma: (to a learner who has spread out his crayons) Don't play to the crayons.

Siyabulela mimics Noma: Crayauuuns...

Noma laughs: Why don't you play with the crayauuuns... (laughs again)

The children were having fun with the sound of the language. It is interesting to note how Noma's sentence changed in the second instance. She used the correct preposition, but made it into a question, not an imperative. This shows she probably does know the correct preposition, and is capable of constructing Wh- questions and imperatives in English. She certainly showed no evidence of this last year!

10.50

The class are engaged in tracing a series of letter 'm's on a worksheet. The middle line of the worksheet has only vertical lines on it. Noma has copied the 'm' pattern onto all three lines of the piece of paper.

The middle line was supposed to be only vertical lines, but the teacher didn't tell her this.

Noma doesn't yet have the ability to realise that the first few vertical lines were a sample, and must be copied exactly. Her independence of learning seems low.

13/03/03

10.44

J: (to class) Write your name on the back.

Noma: (to Dylan) Write your nam [sic] on the back.

Dylan didn't seem to know what to do, so Noma repeated the teacher's instructions to him in English.

10.47

The class are filling in a grid with numbers and digits. They have to cut out words, die faces and digits from another grid and stick the correct symbols over the digits on their grid.

Noma talks to her neighbour about Dylan's grid.

Neighbour: Nooo. (pointing at Dylan's work.)

Noma: Hayi, look. (Holds up Terry Lynn's work)

Noma: (to Dylan) Let me, let me see. Haaaa! I see, I see, it's ten toes, nooo! (laughs)

[In this exchange, Noma was discussing with her neighbour whether Dylan had carried out a counting task correctly. Then Noma held up Terry Lynn's work. She was correct in saying that Dylan had made

mistakes. The ten toes comment refers to the numbers that the children were supposed to stick on. Her phrasing is not sophisticated, but it is entirely English.]

11.02

Noma seems confused about the word three and asks Shadleeh about it (Her neighbour on the other side). Shadleeh tells her it says 'Three', but she decides not to stick it on her digit three.

So Noma has certainly gained a degree of independence in her learning. On the other hand, she did ask her other neighbour for some help with identifying the words for numbers.

11.18

The class have just finished the grids activity and are trying to tidy up all the scraps of paper. J has already told the children to sit down.

Noma: Sit! Sit! Teacher, look at Siyabulela.

Unusually for this class, Noma uses the word 'at' in between 'look' and 'Siya'. A lot of what Noma says in the classroom is teacher talk she has picked up.

11.28

The class are doing a worksheet on the letter 'm' which involves tracing and colouring in. During this, I hear the following snippets from Noma.

Noma: You too.

Teacher, Siyabulela ('s) talking...

Don't lie.

J leaves the room for a second. Noma enthusiastically changes into Xhosa.

AP8.2.2 Classroom Environment at Graham One

29/01/03

In the classroom, on a board at the back, I see the following:

look in here no not in here yes yes in here.
--

There is also a cardboard clock to teach the telling of the time, some magnetic letters of the alphabet, and a number board supplied by RUMEP on the right.

29/01/03

8.40

J: Speak English please, English, uh?

This is the first of J's many exhortations to use English in the course of every day at the school.

8.42

J: Nomathemba and Asanda, take the counters off the string please.

J: I want your string and counters separate.

J does not reduce her vocabulary level for the level of English in the class. Is this to show off to me?

9.04

J: (with a raised voice to a learner who was speaking Afrikaans) Is this an English class or an Afrikaans class?

9.06

J asks five learners to come up to the front and count their beads and string for the others. Some learners are short of a few.

J: How many blocks does he need to add up to ten?

About four learners: One.

Some learners have already grasped aspects of arithmetic at this stage. J also uses learners in her teaching. She has a review after the task.

9.24

J hands out a sheet called 'The number one', which has an outcome at the top. 'By the end of this sheet, children should be familiar with using the number one.'

Outcomes-Based Learning is being introduced into the classroom in some senses.

9.32

The learners are engaged in colouring in an object on their worksheet.

Callum: Dayne, mine is going to be rer, rer, rer, rer.

Callum was talking about the colour an object on his worksheet was going to be. He didn't know the colour, but his grammar leading up to the colour is advanced.

9.35

Noma turns round to Callum, who is speaking Afrikaans. She smiles, glances at me, and pats her finger to her mouth.

Either Noma thinks Callum should keep quiet, or stop speaking Afrikaans. If it is the latter, she can clearly distinguish Afrikaans from English.

5/2/03

9.15

Most of the learners have finished the handout and are waiting for the others to finish.

There don't appear to be any extension activities for the faster learners.

10/02/03

8.20

As happens many times during the course of a task, J makes the whole class wait while a slower learner finishes something basic, like writing his name.

I think J does this to keep whole class under control. I think she might be better giving the faster ones extra to do, and let the slower ones work at their own speed.

8.35

The atmosphere in the classroom today seems to be one of struggle and conflict. Learner independence in tasks is not being encouraged. For instance, learners cannot carry on with the next section of a task until the whole class has finished the first.

20/02/03

11.22

This comment and the subsequent ones give some idea of the standard of English that Noma is being exposed to in the classroom.

11.35

The class are now sitting on the mat, waiting to go home. PR is sitting near by.

Learner: (to PR) That bike of yours, is it a mountain bike?

PR: (Nods)

Learner: (to another learner) See, I told you it was a mountain bike.

This learner was able to construct a complex interrogative sentence. This is advanced English, probably more advanced than the English spoken at Secunda by the children.

AP8.2.3 Attitude of the teacher at Graham One

29/01/03

8.45

J asks Noma to count out ten blocks on her string. Noma does so. J does not congratulate her.

Compared to other teachers, J rarely congratulates her learners, even if she asks them to perform a specific task.

20/02/03

11.25

One child has been crying ever since I came into the classroom. J asks her to be quiet, she doesn't try to comfort the child in any way. Eventually, she gets the child a pill for a headache.

It surprised me that J didn't really take the time to ask the child what was wrong. She seems to want to keep herself distant from the children, and rule by fear.

11.45

J: (to PR) It's so difficult to teach in English when there is no English at home.

Appendix 8c

Grade 1 Data Transcription.

Rhini One

This appendix is divided into two sections: one is the data collected specifically about Andile's English and learning of English whilst in Rhini One. The second is a record of things that occurred in the general classroom environment that may have had a bearing on Andile's English learning.

AP8.3.1 Andile's English

27/1/03

8.25

The learners are all sitting on the mat at the front of the class. Priscilla holds up some laminated nametags for each learner in the class. She doesn't say the name on the card. The learners have to recognise their name from the writing alone. Andile recognises his. The learners clap whenever a student gets it right. *Andile can read his own name without hesitation.*

9.20

The class are threading a certain number of blocks onto a piece of string. Andile seems well involved in the threading activity, totally absorbed, and concentrating. *This is a change from last year where Andile would have been looking at his neighbours to find out what to do before starting. He would not have started at all if he had not been confident of what he was doing.*

12/02/03

8.25

The class are singing a song, 'All the children, come along and praise him'. There are actions to all the words in the song. Andile is unsure of the words, but can follow most of the actions. Priscilla then elicits the actions for the song again.

P: And here we use our ...

A + class: Arms

Andile knew what he had to say in response to the teacher's question. He struggled with the English words for the song

8.30

Priscilla has been teaching a new song to the class about the love of God. Priscilla asks all the children to come and hug her to show love. Most of the class get up and hug Priscilla. Andile stays on the rug; he seems too shy to come up and hug the teacher. He rocks to himself, looking like he wants to get up. He does watch what is going on though.

I think Andile is not confident about showing emotion, although he wants to be.

8.32

Priscilla is eliciting the content of a story she has been telling over the last few days about Adam and Eve. She asks one learner to stand up and tell the class something they can remember.

Khanyiso: The snake told Eve to eat the tree.

P: Good. Andile, what did Khanyiso say?

A: (stands up, looks like he is about to say something, but then sits down.)

Andile has little confidence in English. However, he would have had trouble hearing what Khanyiso had to say, let alone repeat it because Khanyiso was on the other side of the mat to him. To Priscilla's credit, she does not shame Andile for not knowing what was said, she just doesn't congratulate him.

8.35

Priscilla is telling the Adam and Eve story again. Andile is yawning. He looks tired/bored.

8.42

Priscilla drills the days of the week, school days, weekend, and then the whole week. Then she drills: 'Today is Wednesday' with the whole class three times. She then drills some learners individually. The fourth learner she asks is Andile.

A: Today is Wednesday.

Andile's statement was confident and clear, but the task was not demanding because so many other learners had said the phrase before him.

8.45

Priscilla has been eliciting the weather from the students.

Learner: Is cloudy.

P: What must we say now?

A (+ class): Today is cloudy.

Despite staring at the mat, and not looking aware of what is going on, A can keep up with the drills. He knew how to make 'Is cloudy' into a sentence.

8.50

The learners are still sitting on the mat. Priscilla puts up a poster called 'Oral' on the board. It has a picture of two mice on it, one admonishing the other, and a series of six sentences underneath it about the mice.

First, Priscilla drills the whole class on all the sentences in order. Then she picks various individual learners on the sentences to say any sentence they like. Then they have to say which sentence comes next after a whole class drill. Priscilla comes to Andile.

P: One day she....

A: One day she said under the floor.

Priscilla tells me later that she has been doing this for four days. She said she is doing it: Just to get them to talk, you know, for pronunciation.

I don't really see the point. Do they have any clue what they are saying?

Andile took the first section of his sentence from the teacher's prompt and then the second from the previous student's contribution. He clearly has no idea what he is saying, but I blame this on the nature of the task, not on Andile.

9.00

Priscilla now moves over to another board she has in the classroom with the digits one to ten on it. She taps on cards with a stick. The class has to count up and then down to ten.

P: (to class) Close your eyes. (Priscilla takes one card away)

P: (to class) Which number did I take away?

(Priscilla then asks various learners to tell her which number is missing, each time taking away a new number.)

P: Andile, which number did I take away?

A: Three.

A is capable of recognising the number that is missing from the line. Many learners in the class had trouble with this concept.

9.07

As the last plenary activity for this section of the day, Priscilla goes over to a low table she has next to the board. On it are some coloured blocks. She uses them to elicit prepositions from the class (behind, between, underneath, last, left, right). She moves the blocks into a certain position.

P: (to class) The one in the middle of the red and the blue, what is it?

Andile shoots up his hand and then puts it down again, before Priscilla can ask him

This is a demonstration of Andile's lack of confidence in speaking in front of the class. He knows the answer, but decides not to give it in case he gets it wrong.

9.20

The learners are now at their desks. They all have number boards showing the digits one to one hundred on the top of their box lids.

P: (to class) Count from one to ten. Put your finger on each number.

Andile does so.

P: Put your finger on 3 (6, 5).

Andile puts his finger on all the digits.

P: (to A) Say: this is number 6.

A: This is number 6.

Andile can recognise the digits one to ten, count orally from one to ten, and follow numbers up to ten.

9.25

Priscilla has handed out a sheet with a variety of shapes on it, triangles, squares, circles, and rectangles. Each shape is a different size from the rest and they are all at odd angles.

P: (to class) Show me your triangle/circle/square.

The class, including Andile, put their fingers on a triangle/circle/square on the page.

Andile knows the names of some basic shapes and can distinguish them from each other.

9.30

Priscilla holds up a small wooden triangle and elicits its colour.

Learners: [is] yellow!

P: Colour all your triangles in yellow.

(This task is repeated for circle, square and rectangle.)

Andile did not look at any other learners to check that what he was doing was right, until he has finished colouring in four of the six triangles. He found all the squares, but he did have to look at other learners' papers.

With the rectangle, Priscilla held up a yellow one and said:

P: But I don't want you to do a yellow one, make it green.

Andile understood this instruction straight away. He picked out the green crayon from his tin, without looking at others' work.

9.45

A writes 'Andile' on the back of his paper, clearly and legibly.

Andile is now capable of writing his name accurately.

19/02/03

8.40

The class are sitting on the mat. Priscilla holds up the 'Today is windy' card. She points at the 'w' on it.

P: What sound is this?

Class: 'wuh'

P: Make the letter with your finger.

A + Class: (tracing a w in the air) down up down up.

Andile could trace the letter well. He knew what he was doing and said the right words as he was doing so.

8.42

P: How does it look outside today?

Andile + class: Cloudy

Andile said this with the class, not afterwards, suggesting that he would have given the same answer in isolation. He understood the question, formulated the answer, and it was correct.

8.46

Priscilla has now moved on to the card with 'Today is cloudy' written on it.

P: (to class) Who can give me a word starting with 'c' (kuh)?

(The class remain silent. Priscilla point at a learner and repeats the question.)

Learner: Cot.

Another learner: Cat.

Another learner: Cloud

P: Andile?

A: kuh, kuh, ...kuh... cat.

Andile's suggestion was not original, but he was able to link the sound 'kuh' to the beginning of a word.

8.48

P: (holds up 'Today is windy' card. Points at the 'w') Today is whur, whur,

A (+ a few learners): Windy.

Priscilla continues to do the same with the other weather cards, holding up cloudy, sunny, etc. She always gives the sound of the first letter of the adjective.

Andile keeps up with all the words. Priscilla didn't give Andile a chance to read the card before she made the noise 'whur'. However, he knew the word that was linked to that sound in the context of the weather cards.

8.49

Priscilla holds up a flashcard with 'The storm!' written on it. She points at the exclamation mark.

P: What is this mark here?

A + class: Exclamation mark!

P: What do we do when we see this mark?

Class: We shout!

P: Andile, what is this mark? (points at it on the card)

A: [eggs calum] mark.

Andile does know what the mark is, but he is too shy to try and say the whole word in front of the class. He does make an effort to say the word, though.

9.02

Priscilla holds a big book from READ up to the class who are still sitting on the mat. She has turned to the first page of the book 'Run!'.

P: (to Andile) What is the lion doing?

Andile: The lion is in the fire.

P: No. What are you doing on the floor? (trying to elicit sitting.)

A: []

P: (repeats Q)

A: []

P: Oh my.

Andile's answer was actually half correct, only it wasn't the answer that Priscilla wanted. He couldn't distinguish between the lion being in the foreground and the fire being in the background. His visual literacy is not so advanced. He may, however, have been trying to say that the fire was burning, or going to burn the lion. Priscilla does not acknowledge this.

9.09

Priscilla has by now turned to the last page of the book. There is a rhinoceros there next to the pool of water. All the other animals are on the page with the fire behind them.

P: (to Andile) Where is the rhinoceros?

Andile: In the fire.

Andile has answered the question in his understanding of the text. He hasn't realised that the rhino was not one of the animals running from the fire: rather, the rhino was the animal advising them to jump in. Andile saw the fire and the rhino in the picture and equated the two. So he has answered the question to the extent that his visual literacy will allow. It should also be borne in mind that this is the first time Andile had been exposed to the book.

9.15

Priscilla holds up some flashcards she has made for verbs. There is the verb in the infinitive without 'to', and the present participle. She holds up the 'run' card.

P: (to class) What is this person doing?

Class: Running.

P: Bongani, come and run for me here.

(Bongani comes to the front and runs on the spot.)

P: What are you doing? Tell them.

Bongani: I am running.

P: (to class) What is she doing?

Learners: She is running.

P: Why do we say 'she'?

Learners: Because it's a girl.

Priscilla is aware of the lack on gender in isiXhosa and concentrates on it as a teaching point with her learners.

Priscilla picks up the 'walk' card and shows it to the class.

P: (to Andile) What is the boy doing?

A: The boy is walking.

P: Stand up, and show us walking.

Andile stands up, walks on the spot, swinging his arms.

P: Tell us what you are doing.

Andile: I am walking.

Andile was very confident with this task, but received little encouragement from Priscilla. He made his own full sentence based on a model. He did not need any help to do so.

9.32

Back at their desks, the class is counting using the number boards on their tubs.

Andile just about manages to count to twenty.

The class then count in tens up to one hundred.

Andile does well the third time the class do this, but there is still confusion between sixty and sixteen.

9.40

The class are still sitting at their desks. Priscilla brings four girls up to the front of the class.

P: How many girls have I got here?

Some learners: Four.

P: How many eyes have they got?

Some learners: Six! Eight! Four!

Andile is very focused on this activity. He joins in with class, but is a little behind with his answer each time.

9.45

Priscilla gives each learner their exercise book. She has written a variation of the same activity in to each book. The learners have to fill in the right number of dots in a circle for the number and digit they see written next to it. She explains it very quickly, but after a false start, Andile manages to finish the dots.

P: (to Andile) Very nice.

Priscilla does encourage Andile when he get things right, but she is more likely to do so when he working alone.

10.00

P: (to PR) I think I can take Christo and Andile off this table now.

Priscilla thinks that Andile has reached a satisfactory standard and can go and sit with other learners now. Previously she had him down as 'slow'.

27/02/03

9.46

Sitting at their desks, the class have to trace the word 'five' and the digit '5' on a worksheet Priscilla has handed out. Andile has not managed to do this very accurately, but he has achieved it.

9.55

When the children go out for toilet routine, I look at Andile's book. The class have had to copy the words 'cat' and 'two' about six times on the page. Andile's writing is neat, legible, and in a line. He has not managed to continue a 'w' pattern across the page very well, but he does manage this later in the day with some assistance from Priscilla.

Andile seems to be keeping up with the writing demands of Grade 1.

10.30

Priscilla has drawn four bubbles and the word 'three' with the digit '3' in the student's books. Different students have different things missing. For example, Andile has four bubbles, and next to each bubble 'three' and '3'. Some learners just have four bubbles and 'three 3' written only once at the top of the page. In other words, some are expected to be able to copy 'three' and '3' from the top of the page alone. *Priscilla does not demonstrate the task. She talks about it verbally, in English.*

10.32

Andile starts by drawing three circles in his bubble in pencil. Then he colours these ones in.

Andile has grasped concept of three. He did not look at the other learners on his table whilst he was doing this, or before he started. He seems to be quite confident in his learning.

10.37

Andile has made all the three dots in all the three bubbles. He holds up his book to show it to the other learners on the table.

Priscilla is at the front of the class reading with a group.

P: (to A) Are you finished?

Andile: Yes.

P: Did you colour all the circles?

A: Yes.

P: Did you write all the words?

A: Yes...[less sure]

P: I don't believe it. (A turns his book to face P. He hasn't copied the words yet.)

P: Write those words for me.

Andile would almost certainly not have been able to carry out this conversation last year. Priscilla was speaking fast, from the other side of the classroom. He doesn't just nod, he says 'Yes', and he understands that he must do the next task, copying the words.

10.42

Andile still hasn't started copying the words as Priscilla asked him to do.

P: Did you copy it? (repeats x3)

Andile: (shakes head)

I don't think it was that A did not understand the instruction, simply that he didn't want to admit that he hadn't done so.

10.50

Andile has completed his copying of the word 'three' and the digit '3' very accurately.

10.55

The class are supposed to be threading blocks on to a piece of string if they have finished work. Andile only has the blocks in front of him.

P: (to Andile) Where is your little string?

A: (shrugs.)

P: (pointing) Go and get one from the box at the back of the room.

Andile didn't necessarily understand the second instruction, because Priscilla pointed, giving a visual clue. He did seem to get the first one though.

11.14

Priscilla has folded a page in the learners' books into four. The learners must draw a 'w' pattern between the folds.

Priscilla coaches Andile by holding on to his hand with the pen in it and making the pattern. After two lines, Andile can do it alone. When he starts a new line by himself, he doesn't quite hit the fold, but he is capable of writing the letter.

Interestingly, Andile could not do this a few days ago, according to his book. The pattern was a mess. After five minutes of individual attention from Priscilla, he was fine. He seems to learn new skills much faster in Grade 1 than he did in Grade R.

11.30

The class are sitting on the mat at the front of the classroom. Priscilla holds up one of her alphabet cards, in this case for the letter 'M'. The card has a picture of a mouse on it and a mousetrap. The class have seen this card twice before.

P: What is a trap for?

A: (puts hand up.) The trap is the cat.

P: I'm not sure what you mean, Andile.

I was not sure quite how to interpret this. Andile is right that in a way, a cat is a trap for a mouse. Cats trap mice. If this is what he meant, it is advanced, because it shows he can not only understand the word

'trap', but he can use it in an original sentence to explain an abstract concept. I doubt that this is what he really wanted to say.

5/03/03

10.33

The class are at their desks. Priscilla has handed out a picture of a cake with a join-the-dots exercise round the outside. There are ten dots on the cake. She elicits which number is next before she draws the line to it using her sample on the board.

Andile copies the whole thing correctly, but he isn't capable of finishing the exercise by himself.

10.35

Priscilla then tells the class to colour the cake in. Andile waits a full three minutes before he starts. *I don't know if it is that Andile doesn't understand the instructions from P, or if he just wants to give himself a break. I suspect the latter.*

10.51

Priscilla calls the cat group to the front of the class. (The class is divided into reading groups of about six learners.) Andile is one of the cats, but he doesn't seem to know what to do.

P: I'm waiting for the cats. (Priscilla repeats this about four times, pointing at the cat on the ceiling.)

Andile begins to move when he realises that other learners are also moving.

Andile definitely didn't understand the instruction here; he was looking at the teacher and she was talking in his direction. Maybe the instruction was not explicit enough. 'I'm waiting for the cats' doesn't say to Andile that he has to get up and move. If the instruction had been: 'All the cats come here to the mat', I think Andile would have been able to cope.

10.55

All the cat group are now sitting at the front of the class with Priscilla. She drills the parts of a book she is holding with the learners. Andile joins in with the group.

Andile: This is the cover/spine/title of the book.

Andile said two of these sentences before Priscilla pointed at them, suggesting that he had learnt them rote and doesn't really know what they referred to.

10.57

Priscilla then reads the lines in the book to the students. The learners must repeat after her.

11.02

Priscilla goes on to drill individual lines from the book with the learners.

P: (points at words in the book) A cat in a cap.

Learners: A cat in a cap.

P: Andile.

Andile: A cat in a cap.

This was loud and confident from Andile. Admittedly, he had had it modelled by the group, but Andile is not normally loud and confident about speaking at all. This time he was.

11.03

P: (pointing at the full stop) (to the group) What is that little thing called here at the bottom?

Andile: Full stop (with class)

Andile has had this modelled some time earlier in the week, but he can identify it none the less.

11.05

Priscilla drills a sentence from the text with the learners. She has written the sentence onto a separate piece of card.

Andile responds confidently to the drill.

Andile doesn't feel at all threatened by this reading activity. He seems to enjoy it, and is certainly one of the most confident in the group.

11.09

P: (pointing at a word in the sentence) (to Andile) What is that first word?

Andile: A ('uh')

Andile can identify the words within a sentence, showing that he doesn't just respond to the drills by rote. He is learning fast.

11.11

P: (still holding up the sentence) (to the group) Which words do you know here?

Learner: Cat.

P: Come and show us.

(The learner comes up and points at the correct word.)

P: Which other word do you know here?

Andile: is

P: Come and show us.

(Andile comes up and points at the word in the sentence.)

Again, evidence that Andile can identify discrete words within a sentence, showing that he doesn't just respond to the drills by rote.

11.16

P: (pointing at the word Look! in the sentence card.) What is this word here?

Learners + Andile: Look!

Andile said this first. Most of the other learners in this group could identify the sentence, but not the words in it.

11.22

Priscilla now holds up yellow flashcards showing single words from the white flashcards for the sentences. (In other words, the context for the words has been removed.) The first one she holds up is 'and'. None of the learners in the group can identify it.

Priscilla points at the white sentence flashcard 'A cat and a cap'. She points at each word as she says it, and stops at 'and' without saying it.

Andile: and

P: (to PR) I'm going to take Andile and Christo out of here, they're very fast.

Priscilla thinks Andile has made significant progress and probably that he is giving the answers too fast for the other learners to learn. It is interesting that Andile needed the context to get the word 'and'. He is not yet able to sound individual words.

11.25

Priscilla now holds up more yellow flashcards of discrete words. She instructs the learners to copy them. Andile copies 'in', 'and', 'cat' from the flashcard with no problems.

P: That's good, Andile, that's nice.

Andile: I'm finish.

Andile did not need to use English here. He could've remained silent. I think it was Priscilla's congratulation that inspired him to do so.

11.32

Andile has returned to his table. Priscilla takes another group and instructs the learners how to make a face using people in magazines. He is cutting out the parts of the faces.

Andile: (X) Here are the eyes, I'm going to cut them out.

Andile is clearing aware of what he doing and why.

11.40

Andile has his finished face and has written his name on the line underneath it. 'ANdile'

This time, he didn't quite manage to stick to the correct case throughout the name, but he did form the letters just as well as before.

11.53

The class are on the mat following Priscilla as she chants the elephant rhyme with actions. Andile just about keeps up with the class. Priscilla then asks him if he wants to do it alone. Priscilla helps when he runs out of rhyme.

Andile: He is [so] big and strong. He walks like this, he walks like that. He has no fingers, he has no [toes], but goodness gracious, what a nose.

The sections in square brackets are those things that Andile could not do himself, and Priscilla helped him with. He was not super confident doing this, but certainly not unconfident. The rhyme was long, and he even managed to do some of the actions. ('fingers', 'nose', 'big', and an attempt at 'walks like this'.)

AP8.3.2 Classroom Environment

27/1/03

All the learners have their names pinned to the desks where they are working.

27/1/03

8.35

The class are sitting on the rug. Priscilla has just finished handing out the nametags to the class.

P: Who doesn't have their name? (One learner puts their hand up)

Priscilla takes the child up to the front of the class.

P: Can you write your name?

Priscilla repeated this many, many times to the child, even though the child could not write her name. I felt the child was embarrassed and shamed by this.

27/1/03

8.41

The class are on the mat looking outside at the weather. Priscilla holds up the weather cards one by one.

P: (holding up the rainy card) Is this right?

Class: Noooo.

P: (holding up the sunny card) Is this right?

Learners: Yeees.

Priscilla drills: 'It is sunny' 'The sun is shining'

Priscilla ensured that the class knew what they were saying before she drilled the whole sentence.

8.45

The class are standing on the mat. Priscilla drills, 'This is my left hand, this is my right hand' with actions with the whole class.

She then points at a chart she has on the wall of the classroom. It has about twenty arrows on it, all pointing in different directions (left, right, up, down). She elicits all the directions in which the arrows are pointing. The class responds in plenary. She then goes through the class individually.

Priscilla did not contextualise the directions of the arrows using actions, but she did for the left and right-handed exercise. Sometimes her pedagogy seems abstract and difficult for the children to make relevant to themselves, (like the Oral poster of the mice), and at other times it is relevant and useful like here.

8.46

Priscilla occasionally uses isiXhosa words like 'Ithi' and 'Jonga' when explaining things to the children. *These were used like interjections in the course of speaking English. The classroom is not entirely English medium.*

8.55

The class are getting ready to go out for break.

P: (to Siya) Put your sweater in your bag.

Siya doesn't understand.

P: (X) Have you got a bag?

Siya puts her sweater away.

Priscilla does resort to isiXhosa to give instructions, but she also pretends not to understand learners when they speak to her. See 9.16 today.

8.56

P: We don't play in the toilet. (X) We don't play in the toilet.

Here Priscilla gives instructions first in English, but because she feels these instructions are important and are about discipline, she gives them again in isiXhosa to ensure that all the learners understand.

9.16

A learner comes up to Priscilla and speaks in isiXhosa.

P: I can't hear you, what did you say?

Learner: (repeats X phrase, and then rephrases in X)

P: I can't hear you, what did you say?

Learner repeats phrase again in isiXhosa, and Priscilla replies the same way again.

P: Go and sit down.

Priscilla is reinforcing the idea of English-only in the classroom, but this doesn't seem a very efficient method of doing so. The learner clearly doesn't have the English to produce whatever she is trying to say. (Learners know that 'I can't hear you, what did you say?' is Priscilla's code for 'Speak in English' because she says it so often to learners in the class.) Why does Priscilla not elicit the whole phrase from the child in isiXhosa and then get the learner to repeat the phrase back to her in English once she has heard it?

12/02/03

8.40

The class are sitting on the mat at morning ring.

P: You must talk to me, just talk. I won't hurt you. You talk to me, not to your friend. If you speak Xhosa, I will hit you.

Confusing and contradictory. Priscilla occasionally slips into isiXhosa to explain something further to a child, or when she gets frustrated with something. The children are not allowed to answer in isiXhosa, even though many of them are probably still in the 'silent' period, or at least not yet confident enough to speak in front of the class to the teacher.

9.05

The class are still on the mat in front of Priscilla. She takes out the five coloured blocks she sometimes uses to teach preposition. She counts them with the class.

P: (to class) How many blocks are there?

A + class: Five.

9.10

Priscilla then continues with the preposition theme by having students come up and stand next to, behind and so forth from her. Each learner has to say to the class where he or she is standing. Andile does not join in the drill once the learners at the front have said their line.

Priscilla often uses the children themselves as props to help in her teaching. They clearly enjoy this. It is much more affective than using wooden blocks, although she does also use them occasionally for reinforcement.

19/02/03

8.37

The class are sitting on the mat, and Priscilla is reading a psalm out to the class. After every line, they have to repeat what was said.

The psalm is very long, and contains words such as 'yeh, though I walk' The aim here does not seem to be to teach English. It seems rather to chant and repeat the text because it is the bible. Most learners look bored.

8.40

The class have just finished looking at the weather cards with Priscilla.

P: What other words begin with 'w'?

Learners: windy, wet, wind.

Some learners are able to identify the sound with other words they almost certainly got from the classroom. Others find this very hard. They are not even able to repeat words that they have heard from other learners.

8.58

Priscilla has got the book 'Run!' out on the easel. She asks the learners:

P: (touching the cover) (to class) What part of the book is this?

Learner: Cover.

P: Say, 'It is the cover'.

Learner: It is the cover.

P: What part of the book is this?

Learner: Spine.

P: It is...

Learner: It is the spine.

Priscilla insists on the learners structuring sentences when they make a response, not simply giving one-word answers. Teaches sentence structure.

9.15

Priscilla holds up some flashcards she has made for verbs. There is the verb in the infinitive without 'to' and the present participle. She holds up the 'run' card.

P: (to class) What is this person doing?

Class: Running.

P: Bongani, come and run for me here.

(Bongani comes to front, runs on the spot.)

P: What are you doing? Tell them.

Bongani: I am running.

P: (to class) What is she doing?

Learners: She is running.

P: Why do we say 'she'?

Bongani: Because it's a girl.

Priscilla is aware of one of the elements of difference between X and E, and specifically elicits it from students. She also has a substitution drill going on here for 1st to 3rd person.

10.45

Priscilla is reading a book with a group of twelve learners at the front of the class. The rest of the class are busy at their tables. She later tells me this is a 'fast' group. At first, Priscilla reads a sentence from the book. The learners must read the same one after her in their own books. They have markers to point at the words as they 'read'.

In this instance, the learners only really have to follow the words in the book and repeat after the teacher. They don't have to read for themselves.

Priscilla then hangs up some flashcards of sentences from the text. She drills them three times each. She then removes one word from the sentence and asks them which she has taken. When they tell her, she tells them to write the word in their reading books. (She doesn't let the learners copy the word.)

The last activity Priscilla does is to briefly flash the words at the group. Each learner has to say what one of the words says. Priscilla then chooses a learner to come to the front and put the new words into order to make a sentence.

This method of teaching reading seems to be highly effective: it reinforces different language skills on many levels, meaning that no matter how a learner learns, their learning style is catered for. Listening, drilling, reading, writing, and copying are all covered in detail.

11.30

Priscilla holds up some alphabet cards. Each card has a big picture on it of things starting with that letter. Underneath, there is something shaped like the letter, like a tap for 't', or an apple for 'a'. The card shows the capital and primary case of each letter. Priscilla goes through about three or four cards, eliciting the sounds of the letters and talking about pictures.

This activity is deliberately informal. It works, because it prompts discussion of the pictures and the sounds without putting learners on the spot.

Lots of learners have original contributions to make in English about the pictures. e.g. 'My dog catch a mouse.'

The level of original English that the learners produced in this activity was much higher than in other plenary sessions. Andile was of course there to hear it and learn from it.

5/03/03

10.49

Priscilla has handed out some worksheets with some outlines of faces on them to the class. She holds up hers and talks to the class.

P: What do you see?

Class: A face.

P: How many eyes does a face have?

Learners: (unsure mostly) Two!

P: How many noses/ lips?

Learners: One/two.

P: But you're not going to draw, you're going to cut out, and paste it on your pictures. (Holds up her own, as a model)

(Priscilla then hands out faces from glossy magazines.)

Priscilla's eliciting of the features of a face serves as instructions for the task. Learners always know what the aim of the activity is before they start it.

Appendix 9

Report Sheets GR and G1 schools.

This appendix contains report cards for three of the children at Grade 1 and a blank report card for Prima (Nomathemba's mother had lost her daughter's Grade 1 report cards). Unfortunately, neither preschool keeps a record of report cards, but gives the original to the child to take home. Despite asking the teacher to tell me when the report cards were to be handed out so that I could make copies, I was not able to make copies of the reports before the children took them home. This is why no reports from Grade R feature in this appendix.

AP9.1 Blank report card from Prima (p358)

AP9.2 Aiyabulela's report cards (Grade 1) (p359-361)

AP9.3 Sandiswa's report cards (Grade 1) (p362-364)

AP9.4 Andile's report card (Grade 1) (p365)

LITERACY		
Listening skills		
Pre-writing		
Pre-reading		
Speaking		
LIFE SKILLS		
Physical	Independence	
	Large motor skills	
	Small motor skills	
Social	Concentration	
	Helping others	
	Team work	
	Communication	
Emotional	sharing	
	taking responsibility	
	making choices	




Intellectual	Problem solving	
	Memory	
Spiritual	Self confidence	
	Caring	
Creative	Imagining	
	Inventing	
	Performing	
NUMERACY		
Number sense		
Space & Shape		
Measurement		
General remarks		
Class teacher		
Supervisor		Date:

FIRST TERM
REPORT ON PROGRESS

NAME: Aiyabulela GRADE: 1

SCHOOL RE-OPENS: Tuesday 8 April




SOCIAL SKILLS/ATTITUDES/VALUES

			
	HAVING GOOD PROGRESS	NEEDING SOME HELP WITH ASSESSED	NEEDING A LOT OF HELP
Interaction with teacher	✓		
Following instructions	✓		
Interaction with others	✓		
Responsibility	✓		
Independence	✓		

LITERACY (READING)

Holds a book the right way up	✓		
Turns the pages correctly		✓	
Knows where to start reading	✓		
Reads from left to right	✓		
Reads most words in familiar book		✓	
Can say the sounds of letters		✓	

LITERACY (WRITTEN)

			
Correct letter formation		✓	
Recognition of Xhosa sounds		✓	

LITERACY (ENGLISH ORAL)

Communication using short, simple sentences	✓		
---	---	--	--

NUMERACY

Counting up to 100	✓		
Skip counting in odd numbers up to 99	✓		
Skip counting in 2's up to 100	✓		
Number concept	✓		
Number formation	✓		

LIFE SKILLS

Participation		✓	
Concentration	✓		
Completion of tasks	✓		
Presentation of work	✓		

TEACHER Mantya

Name: Aiyabulela

Term: 2

LITERACY

XHOSA (FIRST LANGUAGE)

Oral participation
Spelling and phonics
Sound recognition
Word Building

Reading:
Word Recognition (prepared)
Word Recognition (unprepared)
Comprehension
Written Work:
Sentence building
*Creative Writing

ENGLISH (Medium of Instruction)
Oral participation
*Spelling and Phonics
*Comprehension
* Word Recognition (prepared)
*Word Recognition (unprepared)
*Sentence building

Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained	Can do it very well
		√	
		√	
	√		
		√	
	√		
√			
	√		

*Applies to Grade 2 and 3 only

NUMERACY

Number concept
Counting

SKILLS - HANDWRITING

Letter formation
Presentation of work

LIFE SKILLS

Listening skills (concentration)
Works effectively in a group
Creativity

Days absent: 1

Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained	Can do it very well
			√
			√
		√	
	√		
			√
	√		
√			

Name: _____

Term: 3

LITERACY

XHOSA (First Language)

Oral participation

Spelling and phonics:

Sound Recognition

Word Building

Reading:

Word Recognition (prepared)

Word recognition (unprepared)

Comprehension

Written Work:

Sentence Building

* Creative Writing

ENGLISH (Medium of Instruction)

Oral Participation

* Spelling & Phonics

* Comprehension

* Word Recognition (prepared)

* Word Recognition (unprepared)

* Sentence Building

	Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained (Can do it)	Can do it Very Well
Oral participation				✓
Spelling and phonics:				
Sound Recognition			✓	
Word Building			✓	
Reading:				
Word Recognition (prepared)			✓	
Word recognition (unprepared)		✓		
Comprehension	✓			
Written Work:				
Sentence Building			✓	
* Creative Writing				
Oral Participation		✓		
* Spelling & Phonics				
* Comprehension				
* Word Recognition (prepared)				
* Word Recognition (unprepared)				
* Sentence Building				

* Applies to Grade 2 and Grade 3 only

NUMERACY

Number Concept

Counting

SKILLS - HANDWRITING

Letter formation

Presentation of work

LIFE SKILLS

Listening Skills (Concentration)

Works effectively in a group

Creativity

	Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained (Can do it)	Can do it Very Well
Number Concept				✓
Counting				✓
Letter formation			✓	
Presentation of work		✓		
Listening Skills (Concentration)			✓	
Works effectively in a group		✓		
Creativity	✓			

Days Absent: 0

Next Term Commences on: Monday 6 October

Machisi
(Practioner)

can now write sentences very well

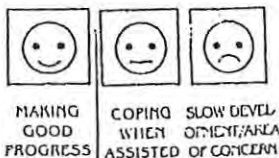
V. Dey
(Principal)

FIFTH TERM
REPORT ON PROGRESS

NAME: Sandiswa GRADE: 1

SCHOOL RE-OPENS: Tuesday 8 April

SOCIAL SKILLS/ATTITUDES/VALUES



	MAKING GOOD PROGRESS	COPIING WITH ASSISTANCE	SLOW DEVELOPMENT/NEEDS ASSISTANCE
Interaction with teacher	✓		
Following instructions	✓		
Interaction with others	✓		
Responsibility	✓		
Independence		✓	

LITERACY (READING)

	MAKING GOOD PROGRESS	COPIING WITH ASSISTANCE	SLOW DEVELOPMENT/NEEDS ASSISTANCE
Holds a book the right way up	✓		
Turns the pages correctly	✓		
Knows where to start reading	✓		
Reads from left to right	✓		
Reads most words in familiar book			✓
Can say the sounds of letters		✓	

TEACHER (NAME)



Correct letter formation	✓		
Recognition of Xhosa sounds		✓	

LITERACY (ENGLISH ORAL)

Communication using short, simple sentences		✓	
---	--	---	--

NUMERACY

Counting up to...100.....	✓		
Skip counting in odd numbers ^{up to} 99		✓	
Skip counting in 2's up to 100	✓		
Number concept	✓		
Number formation	✓		

LIFE SKILLS

Participation			✓
Concentration	PROVINCE OF THE EASTERN CAPE		
Completion of tasks	DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION CULTURE AND SPORTS		
Presentation of work	NORTH WINDY PRIMARY SCHOOL 24 BAKAN ROAD GRANAMTOWN 6140		

TEACHER

M. Mambija

DATE

TELEPHONE No: 0461-

Name: Sandiswa

Term: 3

LITERACY

XHOSA (FIRST LANGUAGE)

oral participation
 spelling and phonics
 Sound recognition
 Word Building

Reading:

Word Recognition (prepared)
 Word Recognition (unprepared)
 Comprehension

Written Work:

Sentence building
 *Creative Writing

ENGLISH (Medium of Instruction)

Oral participation
 *Spelling and Phonics
 *Comprehension
 * Word Recognition (prepared)
 *Word Recognition (unprepared)
 *Sentence building

Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained	Can do it very well
		√	
			√
			√
		√	
		√	
		√	
		√	

*Applies to Grade 2 and 3 only

NUMERACY

Number concept
 Counting

SKILLS – HANDWRITING

Letter formation
 Presentation of work

LIFE SKILLS

Listening skills (concentration)
 Works effectively in a group
 Creativity

Days absent: 0

Not yet attained	Attained with assistance	Attained	Can do it very well
		√	
			√
			√
		√	
			√
		√	
	√		

SKAAL	BEVREDIGEND / SATISFACTORY	✓
SCALE	OVERVIND PROBLEME / OVERCOME SOME PROBLEMS	0

SYKKEVAARDIGHEID / NUMERACY	2	3	4
Telwerk / Counting		✓	
Getalbegrip / Number concept		✓	
Basiese Bewerkinge / Basic Operations (+, -, x, :)		✓	
Probleem Oplossing / Problem Solving		✓	

GELKTEERDHEID / LITERACY	2	3	4
MONDELING / ORAL: Woordeskat / Vocabulary		✓	
Logiese denke / Logical thinking		✓	
Kommunikeer met selfvertroue / Com. with confidence		✓	
LEES / READING			
Herkenning van woorde / Recognition of words		✓	
Vlot Lees / Read fluently		✓	
Lees met begrip / Read with understanding		✓	
KLANKE / PHONICS			
Herkenning van enkelklanke / Recog. of single sounds		✓	
Klank 3- letter woorde / Blend 3- letter words		✓	
Herkenning van dubbelklanke / Recog. of double sounds		✓	
Woordebou / Wordbuilding		✓	

HANDSKRIEF / HANDWRITING	2	3	4
Patroon vormsels / Pattern formation		✓	
Letter vormsels / Letter formation		✓	
Spasering / Spacing		✓	

LEWENSVAARDIGHEID / LIFE SKILLS	2	3	4
Reëlheid / Neatness		✓	
Luistervaardigheid / Listening skills		✓	
Gehoorzaamheid / Obedience		✓	
Samewerking in groepe / Working together in groups		✓	

2. Opmerkinge :
 Remarks :

Days absent :
 Date :
 Klasseleraars :
 Class teacher :
 Skole heropener :
 School resopen :
 Prinspaal :
 Principal :
 Ouers :
 Parent :

3. Opmerkinge : *Works at a slow speed.*
 Remarks : *Getalbegrip*

Days absent :
 Date :
 Klasseleraars :
 Class teacher :
 Skole heropener :
 School resopen :
 Prinspaal :
 Principal :
 Ouers :
 Parent :

4. Opmerkinge :
 Remarks :

Days absent :
 Date :
 Klasseleraars :
 Class teacher :
 Prinspaal :
 Principal :

Appendix 10

Research Contracts

AP10.1 Research Contracts for staff

Below are copies of research contracts distributed to all staff participants involved in the research either directly or indirectly.

Research Contract for school staff (direct participation).

Research through Rhodes University can only be carried out with the full informed consent of those involved in it. For this reason, please read the declaration below, and sign it if you agree to its terms.

I have read and understood the research outline and/or proposal. I understand that conversations that take place in the school, both formally and informally, may be recorded and used in the research. Names will be changed to preserve anonymity. However, I also understand that none of these conversations will be made public beyond the school without my consent. I understand that I may be interviewed as part of the research, and that the Philip Rendel may be present in the classroom for up to six weeks. I understand that I will be supplied with copies of interview transcripts and copies of the research report, which I may ask to be edited as I see fit.

Signed.....

Date.....

Print name.....

Position in school.....

Research Contract for school staff (indirect participation)

Research through Rhodes University can only be carried out with the full informed consent of those involved in it. For this reason, please read the declaration below, and sign it if you agree to its terms.

I have read and understood the research outline and/or proposal. I understand that conversations that take place in the school, both formally and informally, may be recorded and used in the research. Names will be changed to preserve anonymity. However, I also understand that none of these conversations will be made public beyond the school without my consent. I understand that I may request to see a copy of the research report before it is made public. I may ask this report to be edited as I see fit.

Signed.....

Date.....

Print name.....

Position in school.....

AP10.2 Research Contracts for parents

The following letter, translated into isiXhosa on the reverse, was distributed and returned by all parents of all children in the all the classrooms in which the research took place.

Department of Linguistics and English Language
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown
6140

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to you about some research I am doing in your child's school. I am a teacher at and a student at Rhodes University.

I am trying to find out about how English is learnt by children of your child's age. One of ways I plan to do this is to listen and watch some children carefully for about four weeks at school. Your child will do the same lessons and activities as usual, only I will be recording some of the things he or she says and does.

When the research is finished, I will be writing about the things that your child said and did when I was in the classroom. I will change the name of your child when I do this, so that nobody will know who the child was. When the research is finished, I will contact you. You will be able to read what I have written and decide if there are things you would like me to change or not say.

I am writing to you to ask your permission to study your child when they are at school. I may need to visit you and your child in your home with your child's teacher. If I need to, I will contact you to arrange this.

Yours faithfully,

Phil Rendel (School: 046 636 XXXX Home: 046 622 XXXX)

Please sign below if you are happy that I work at ----- in your child's class.

Signed..... (person legally responsible for child)

Name.....(person legally responsible for child)

Name of child/children.....

Name of school.....

ANY QUESTIONS? Please contact me at school, (-----), or at home.

----- 636 XXXX

Home 622 XXXX

AP10.3 Sample letter issued to parents regarding interviews

The following letter was issued to those parents whose children were one of Andile, Nomathemba, Sandiswa or Aiyabulela.

Department of Linguistics and English Language,
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown

Dear

Thanks for agreeing to this interview. Your help in conducting this research will be very valuable.

I am a teacher at _____, and a researcher at Rhodes University. I became interested in the school when I worked here for about six months last year. I still work there now, only part time. I am trying to find out about how we can help learners to learn languages in preschool and grade 1.

The interview should take about twenty minutes to an hour, but no more. I hope the time that we have arranged will be suitable for both of us.

To give you some idea of how the interview will work, please read the following.

1. If possible, I would like to conduct the interview in your house with all the people who live in it. I need to know about all the people that speak to your child when he or she is at home.
2. An interview can only be useful if you give **your** answers to the questions. I need to know what **you** think, not what you think I want to hear.
3. Some things you say may be recorded, either in handwritten notes or by a recording machine. I will ask your permission to do this before the interview starts.
4. I will write down what you said after the interview. It will not say everything you said, only some things. I would like you to read it, and tell me if you are happy with it. If you would like anything changed or left out, I will do so.

There will be about four or five questions in the interview. I will be asking questions about:

- your child's work at school
- how you spend your free time
- what you think about education in Grahamstown
- what you think about languages

Lastly, please feel free to contact me at any time. I am at _____ every day, or at home on 046 622 3828.

Yours,

Philip Rendel

AP10.4 Sample letter issued to teachers regarding interviews

The following letter was issued to all five teachers directly involved in the research.

Department of Linguistics and English Language,
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown.

Dear

Thanks for agreeing to this interview. Your help in conducting this research will be very valuable.

The interview should take somewhere between twenty minutes and an hour, but no more. Together we will try to find a time that is suitable for both of us, maybe just after school.

To give you some idea of how the interview will work, please read the following.

1. An interview can only be useful if you give **your** answers to the questions. Your **personal** opinion, not the opinion you think I want to hear, is important.
2. Some things you say may be recorded, either in handwritten notes or by a recording machine. I will ask your permission to do this before the interview starts.
3. I will provide you with a written copy of the interview in the future. It will not be an exact copy of what was said, but a close one. I would like you to read it, and tell me if you are happy with it. If you would like anything changed or left out, I will do so.
4. I am currently writing a summary of what I saw in all the schools I will be visiting. All the names of teachers, learners, and even the school will be changed, so even if I do include what you said, no one will know it was you.

There will be about four or five questions in the interview. I will be asking questions about:

- your work in the school
- what you think about teaching English
- some of the learners in your class.

If you haven't yet read a copy of the research proposal, please ask me for it. It's important you understand why this research is happening.

Lastly, please feel free to contact me at any time. I am at
or at home on 046 622 3828.

on Tuesdays and Thursdays,

Yours,

Philip Rendel

