Reading & Writing - Journal of the Literacy Association of South Africa
ISSN: (Online) 2308-1422, (Print) 2079-8245

Using Sepedi folklore to teach reading comprehension and critical thinking skills in primary schools

Check for updates

Authors:
Nkame E. Ngobeni[1]
Ablonia D. Maledu[1]

Affiliations:
[1]Department of Language Education, School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of Limpopo, Polokwane, South Africa

Corresponding author:
Ablonia Maledu,
ablonia.maledu@ul.ac.za

Dates:
Received: 02 Mar. 2026
Accepted: 02 June 2026
Published: 19 Oct. 2026

How to cite this article:
Ngobeni, N.E. & Maledu, A.D., 2026, 'Using Sepedi folklore to teach reading comprehension and critical thinking skills in primary schools', *Reading & Writing* 17(1), a675. https://doi.org/10.4102/rw.v17i1.675

Copyright:
© 2026. The Authors. Licensee: AOSIS. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Read online:
Scan this QR code with your smart phone or mobile device to read online.

Background: Reading comprehension remains a significant challenge in South African primary education. The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study of 2016 indicates that 78 % of Grade 4 learners cannot read for meaning. Folklore, a culturally embedded pedagogical resource, remains underexplored as a response to this challenge in indigenous language classrooms in the Intermediate Phase (Grade 4 – Grade 6).

Objectives: This article analyses the theoretical basis for using Sepedi folklore as a pedagogical tool to enhance reading comprehension and critical thinking skills among Sepedi-speaking Intermediate Phase learners in South Africa.

Method: A conceptual analysis synthesised international, African and South African literature on reading comprehension, critical thinking and folklore-based pedagogy, following a funnel approach from global perspectives to context-specific South African applications.

Results: Folklore engages cognitive processes crucial for comprehension and critical thinking, such as interpretation, inference, evaluation and metacognition. Culturally familiar narratives reduce learners' cognitive load, freeing capacity for higher-order analysis. African oral literature traditions incorporate dialogic and participatory pedagogies consistent with constructivist learning theories.

Conclusion: Folklore-based pedagogy offers a theoretically informed and culturally relevant method for addressing comprehension and critical thinking challenges in South African Intermediate Phase classrooms. The proposed framework is a first stage that should inform subsequent empirical investigation in classrooms.

Contribution: This article contributes to culturally responsive literacy pedagogies by synthesising reading comprehension theory, critical thinking frameworks and indigenous knowledge systems, and presents a preliminary conceptual model for Folklore-Based Critical Literacy Instruction as a foundation for future empirical validation.

Keywords: critical thinking; culturally responsive pedagogy; folklore; indigenous knowledge systems; reading comprehension.

Introduction

Reading comprehension and critical thinking are mutually reinforcing cognitive processes that form the foundation of academic success and lifelong learning (Brevik 2019; Snow 2018). Comprehension requires that readers create meaning by synthesising textual information with existing knowledge, whereas critical thinking entails assessing that meaning, interrogating assumptions, and developing reasoned judgements (Fisher & Frey 2018; Okkinga et al. 2018). These complementary skills are particularly important for Intermediate Phase learners (Grades 4–6), who are transitioning from learning to read to reading to learn and who must increasingly engage with content area texts that demand both literal understanding and evaluative reasoning.

International literacy frameworks increasingly acknowledge that reading skills extend beyond basic decoding to incorporate critical literacy. Critical literacy includes the ability to analyse texts for bias, evaluate evidence, and comprehend how texts position readers within specific ideological frameworks (Cervetti et al. 2020; Luke 2018).

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), through its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), defines reading literacy as 'understanding, using,

Note: The manuscript is a contribution to the themed collection titled 'Advancing Literacy through Teacher Education: Insights from the PrimTEd Language and Literacy Initiative' under the expert guidance of guest editors Dr Mmamoyahabo Constance Makgabo, Prof. Maureen Robinson, Dr Elsie Carolyn Ann Kok and Dr Meshack Qetelo Moloi.

evaluating, reflecting on and engaging with texts in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential, and to participate in society' (OECD 2019:28). This definition explicitly positions reflection and evaluation alongside extraction and interpretation, signalling that comprehension and critical thinking are not separate ends of a continuum but interlinked cognitive demands that competent readers must address simultaneously.

Despite the global agreement on the significance of developing integrated comprehension and critical thinking skills, educational systems across the globe, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, face ongoing literacy challenges.

The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) of 2016 indicates that 78% of South African Grade 4 learners could not read for meaning in any language, marking the lowest performance among all participating countries (Howie et al. 2017). Research indicates that many learners show adequate word decoding skills but encounter considerable difficulties in comprehending connected text, especially when tasks necessitate inference-making, theme identification, information synthesis, or argument evaluation (Spaull, Pretorius & Mohohlwane 2020). These difficulties suggest that the South African literacy crisis is not primarily a decoding crisis but a comprehension crisis, which underscores the need for instructional approaches that explicitly cultivate higher-order reasoning alongside word-level skills. Comprehension challenges are further worsened by instructional practices that emphasise literal recall rather than higher-order cognitive engagement (Bertram 2020; Giacomazzi, Fontana & Trujillo 2021); in many classrooms, teachers ask questions whose answers can be retrieved directly from a text, leaving inferential and evaluative thinking under-practised.

Folklore serves as a culturally embedded pedagogical tool that offers a promising but underexplored approach to addressing these interconnected challenges. Research indicates that narrative engagement activates various cognitive processes, such as comprehension, interpretation, inference, and evaluation (Fisher & Frey 2018).

Because folktales unfold through cause-and-effect sequences, contrasting characters, and morally loaded outcomes, they routinely require learners to make predictions, infer motives, and evaluate consequences, which are exactly the higher-order processes that recall-oriented instruction tends to neglect. African oral literature traditions, such as folktales, proverbs, and riddles, have functioned as advanced educational instruments that foster critical reflection, moral reasoning, and the collective construction of knowledge (Emeagwali & Shizha 2016; Finnegan 2012). These traditions historically operated as a complete pedagogy in which elders, parents, and community members deliberately used narrative forms to teach moral judgement, ecological knowledge, and social roles. The South African curriculum frameworks, specifically the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), explicitly include oral literature in Home Language curricula (Department of Basic Education [DBE] 2011). Despite this curricular space, the pedagogical potential of folklore for fostering both comprehension and critical thinking has not been adequately examined in empirical research, particularly in the Intermediate Phase where the demands for higher-order reading intensify.

This article explores the gap identified in the literature on folklore-based pedagogy through a conceptual analysis that synthesises international, African, and South African studies, focusing on folklore as a means to enhance integrated reading comprehension and critical thinking skills. The analysis is grounded in two complementary frameworks. The Sociocultural Theory of Vygotsky (1978) views culturally embedded narratives as mediating artefacts for cognitive development. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1977) emphasises the importance of coherence between home and school learning environments. Together, these theories justify why culturally familiar narratives should be expected to support cognitive growth in formal classrooms. This article seeks to: (1) analyse the reciprocal relationship between reading comprehension and critical thinking in the context of folklore-based pedagogy; (2) examine the cognitive mechanisms through which folklore enhances both comprehension and critical analysis; (3) evaluate the pedagogical potential of folklore for addressing literacy challenges in South African Intermediate Phase indigenous language classrooms; and (4) propose a preliminary conceptual framework for Folklore-Based Critical Literacy Instruction (FBCLI) that can subsequently be tested empirically.

For clarity throughout the article, folklore is used as the broader term that encompasses the full corpus of oral cultural expressions, including folktales, proverbs (*diema*), riddles (*dithai*), songs, idioms, and ideophones.

Folktale refers more narrowly to the specific narrative genre within folklore in which fictional events involving human, animal, or supernatural characters are told to entertain and instruct. This distinction is maintained deliberately because the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, which obscures the fact that proverbs and riddles operate differently from narrative folktales in cognitive and pedagogical terms.

Literature review

The reciprocal relationship between reading comprehension and critical thinking

Modern reading science conceptualises comprehension as an active and constructive process rather than a passive extraction of information. The Construction-Integration model emphasises that comprehension entails the creation of mental representations through inference and elaboration, alongside the integration of textual information with existing knowledge to attain a coherent understanding (Kintsch 2018). In practical terms, this means that even a competent reader

does not simply receive the meaning that a text supposedly contains; the reader actively constructs that meaning by drawing on prior knowledge, making inferences across sentences, and revising interpretations as new information is encountered. Readers integrate surface textual features, propositional meanings, and situational models that illustrate described events and relationships (McNamara & Magliano 2009). Critical reading extends these processes by adding evaluative dimensions and requiring metacognitive awareness that texts are constructed artefacts reflecting specific perspectives (Duke, Ward & Pearson 2021; Okkinga et al. 2018). For Intermediate Phase learners, this implies that comprehension instruction should not stop at retrieving facts; it should also create opportunities to question the author's perspective and reflect on how the text positions the reader.

Bloom's revised taxonomy offers a recognised framework for the analysis of cognitive demands in reading, distinguishing between remembering, understanding, applying, analysing, evaluating, and creating (Krathwohl 2002; Smith 2016). Literal comprehension focuses on the processes of remembering and understanding, whereas critical thinking includes analysis, evaluation, and creation. The taxonomy is useful for teachers because it provides a vocabulary for designing questions and tasks that deliberately move learners across cognitive levels rather than concentrating their attention at the lowest level. The Question-Answer Relationship (QAR) framework operationalises this logic by categorising questions according to where the answer is located, distinguishing among text-explicit, text-implicit, and knowledge-based questions, each of which makes increasingly demanding cognitive engagement (Raphael & Au 2005). Research indicates that the types of questions teachers ask significantly affect the cognitive processes learners undertake; when teachers rely heavily on literal questions, learners receive limited practice in the inferential and evaluative thinking that critical literacy requires (Fisher & Frey 2018; Murphy et al. 2009). This evidence base implies that what is fundamentally missing in many classrooms is not the right text but the right kind of question.

Strategic readers draw on a range of cognitive and metacognitive strategies to extract meaning from texts. These strategies include activating prior knowledge, generating questions, making predictions, creating visualisations, determining importance, summarising, making inferences, and monitoring comprehension (Duke et al. 2021).

The presence of these strategies in proficient readers is not accidental; it is the product of explicit instruction and repeated practice with cognitively demanding texts. Metacognitive awareness, which includes knowledge of one's cognitive processes and the ability to regulate these processes, is particularly important for critical reading (Tibken & Tiffin-Richards 2025; Veenman, Van Hout-Wolters & Afflerbach 2006). Recent research indicates that metacognition develops through social interaction alongside individual practice: collaborative discussions help learners to externalise their interpretive reasoning, evaluate alternative perspectives, and collectively construct meaning (Murphy et al. 2009; Reznitskaya & Gregory 2013). For folklore-based instruction, this finding is particularly important because traditional storytelling is inherently social and dialogic, which means it provides a natural setting for the kind of talk that develops metacognition.

Folklore as cognitive catalyst: Mechanisms for comprehension and critical thinking

Folklore engages various cognitive processes that are directly related to comprehension and critical thinking skills. Engagement with folktales enables learners to construct mental representations of narrative worlds, monitor character motivations, analyse causal relationships, and interpret symbolic meanings (Wolosky 2013). The layered and symbolic features of folklore facilitate engagement with various levels of understanding, thereby enhancing higher-order reading skills (Brevik 2019). A Sepedi folktale such as the well-known cycle about Mmutla [the hare] and his rivals, for example, asks young readers not only to follow the surface storyline but also to interpret the hare's cunning as a commentary on the limits of physical strength, which already invites inferential and evaluative thinking. Traditional narratives often depict characters facing dilemmas that require judgement and decision-making, allowing learners to engage in reasoning processes that build evaluative thinking skills (Morris et al. 2019; Wolosky 2013). These dilemmas function as natural prompts for the kinds of *what would you do?* and *was this fair?* questions that teachers can use to move learners up Bloom's revised taxonomy.

Schema theory offers a compelling explanation for the cognitive benefits associated with culturally familiar folklore. Engagement with folktales from one's cultural traditions activates relevant background knowledge, including familiarity with typical character types, common plot structures, traditional values, and cultural contexts (Anderson & Pearson 1984; Rumelhart 2017). This activation decreases cognitive load, enabling learners to concentrate on higher-level analysis instead of basic comprehension, while also affirming cultural identities by acknowledging heritage knowledge as a significant educational resource (Dawson & Mäkelä 2022). Research indicates that comprehension significantly improves when learners interact with texts that mirror familiar cultural contexts, as background knowledge aids inferencing and interpretation (Maunganidze & Kasambira 2019; Wiysahnyuy & Valentine 2023). The implication for Sepedi-speaking Intermediate Phase learners is that texts featuring familiar settings (the village, the homestead, the river) and familiar narrative conventions (the trickster figure, the cumulative tale, the moral resolution) can free working memory that would otherwise be spent making sense of unfamiliar cultural reference points and redirect that capacity to inference and evaluation.

The moral complexity present in traditional narratives offers significant opportunities for critical engagement.

Folktale characters often display a mix of admirable and problematic qualities, resulting in ambiguity that requires evaluative reasoning instead of straightforward moral classification (Nnyagu & Umezinwa 2018). The Sepedi trickster, who is often clever and resourceful but also dishonest and self-serving, illustrates this point clearly: Learners cannot simply label him as good or bad, but must weigh his actions against their consequences. Research on character education through folklore indicates that learners who critically analyse traditional narratives develop a deeper comprehension of moral concepts such as justice, responsibility, and compassion (Narvaez 2002). This kind of analysis aligns with the evaluative level of Bloom's revised taxonomy and provides classroom teachers with a culturally credible starting point for cultivating critical thinking. The moral complexity of folktales reflects real-world ethical challenges and fosters a disposition for thoughtful, evidence-based judgement that is characteristic of proficient critical thinkers.

Narrative psychology clarifies the cognitive processes that contribute to the educational effectiveness of folklore.

Narratives engage imagination and emotional involvement more efficiently than abstract explanations, resulting in impactful learning experiences that combine cognitive and emotional aspects (Dawson & Mäkelä 2022). For Intermediate Phase learners who are still developing the abstract reasoning capacities that fully mature in adolescence, narrative provides an accessible scaffold; the same moral or scientific principle that may be difficult to grasp as a generalisation often becomes intelligible when it is embedded in a story about a familiar character.

The literature also suggests that bridging from narrative to abstraction is itself a teachable move: teachers can use a folktale as a concrete anchor and then guide learners to articulate the underlying principle, which is a strategy consistent with Vygotsky's notion of mediated learning. The prevalence of the subjunctive mood in narrative also allows for the exploration of possibilities and moral considerations, thereby enhancing hypothetical reasoning and critical thinking. This imaginative engagement facilitates deeper information processing relative to detached analysis when the text is matched to learners' reading levels, thus enhancing comprehension and long-term retention (Morris et al. 2019).

African oral literature traditions and cognitive development

African oral literature traditions display notable intellectual complexity, which establishes them as advanced pedagogical instruments for cognitive development. The corpus includes several distinct genres, each with its own cognitive demands. Proverbs (*diema* in Sepedi) serve as brief wisdom literature that necessitates interpretive engagement, contextual application, and analogical reasoning, thereby promoting higher-order thinking skills through culturally embedded cognitive challenges (Oni & Olalere 2024). A proverb such as '*Feta kgomo o tshware motho*' ([leave the cow and grasp the person], meaning that human relationships matter more than material possessions) requires the learner to move from the literal image to the figurative meaning, which is precisely the kind of inferential work that comprehension assessments target. Riddles (*dithai* in Sepedi) function as compressed cognitive exercises that improve lateral thinking, linguistic creativity, and metaphorical understanding; the conventional Sepedi riddle exchange ('*Thai*!') socialises learners into a participatory model of meaning-making from a young age. The participatory nature of traditional African storytelling sessions, characterised by call-and-response patterns, interpretive dialogue, and communal meaning-making, exemplifies collaborative knowledge construction processes that correspond with constructivist learning theories (Emeagwali & Shizha 2016; Finnegan 2012). These elements taken together show that African oral literature already contains the pedagogical features that contemporary literacy research advocates.

In South African educational contexts, folklore is increasingly acknowledged as a significant resource for literacy development, especially in African language education. Studies indicate that instruction rooted in folklore improves learners' inferential and evaluative comprehension abilities, particularly when conducted in their home languages. Folklore not only enhances linguistic skills but also integrates moral reasoning and cultural awareness, promoting comprehensive literacy development that meets both comprehension and critical thinking goals (Ajani 2025). The CAPS formally includes oral literature as a specific content area in Home Language curricula, thereby establishing an official curricular space for folklore within educational frameworks (DBE 2011). This curricular endorsement is significant because it means that incorporating folklore as a vehicle for comprehension instruction does not require teachers to step outside official policy; what is required, rather, is a pedagogical reframing of how the existing oral literature content is taught.

Research in multilingual African classrooms indicates that mother-tongue folklore improves literacy acquisition by strengthening comprehension strategies applicable to additional languages (Benson 2017). This finding is particularly significant in South African contexts, where learners navigate between home languages and the language of learning and teaching (LoLT), which, from Grade 4 onwards, is typically English for the majority of learners whose home language is an African language. The transition from home language instruction in the Foundation Phase to English-medium instruction in the Intermediate Phase often coincides with the comprehension difficulties documented in PIRLS results, which suggests that the language-of-instruction transition is part of the comprehension problem. Folklore offers culturally familiar entry points into literacy practices and may provide a continuity of meaning-making strategies across that transition. Studies on Sepedi folklore in Intermediate Phase classrooms demonstrate that traditional narratives provide accessible contexts for

improving inferential and evaluative comprehension, as familiar cultural content alleviates cognitive load linked to gaps in background knowledge (Ajani 2025; Nnyagu & Umezinwa 2018). This evidence base provides the rationale for treating Sepedi folklore not as a marginal cultural enrichment but as a core resource for comprehension instruction in Grade 4 – Grade 6.

Culturally responsive approaches to comprehension and critical thinking instruction

Culturally responsive pedagogy, as articulated by Gay (2018) and Ladson-Billings (2022), emphasises that effective teaching must acknowledge, validate, and use the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles that diverse learners contribute to educational environments. This pedagogical framework explicitly rejects deficit perspectives that regard cultural differences as deficiencies, instead positioning cultural diversity as an asset that enhances educational experiences (Suri & Chandra 2021). The relevance of this framework for South African Intermediate Phase classrooms is direct: When learners encounter texts and tasks that reflect their lived worlds, they are positioned as competent meaning-makers rather than as deficient learners of a foreign curriculum. Folklore functions as a cultural resource that enables culturally responsive pedagogy to improve relevance, engagement, and empowerment for learners from historically marginalised cultural backgrounds.

The incorporation of folklore into comprehension teaching tackles ongoing issues recognised in South African education. Studies show that classroom pedagogy in many South African primary schools often emphasises factual recall rather than analytical engagement, with teachers primarily asking literal questions that limit the development of critical thinking skills (Bertram 2020). This pattern is not universal, but observational research across multiple provinces has documented its prevalence. The instructional pattern commonly found in these classrooms illustrates Freire's (2018) notion of banking education, where teachers deposit knowledge into passive students for later retrieval during assessments. Such an approach neglects the development of critical thinking skills necessary for active democratic engagement and the requirements of the modern workforce (Darder 2018; Moodley & Chetty 2025). Folklore-based instruction interrupts this pattern by making interpretation, debate, and evaluation the natural mode of engagement with the text.

Dialogic pedagogies rooted in African communal learning traditions provide alternatives to transmission-based instruction. Traditional African storytelling necessitates active audience involvement, inquiry, and interpretive dialogue, which foster comprehension monitoring and critical engagement (Da Silva, Pereira & Amorim 2023). The *Ubuntu* [I am because we are] philosophy offers a culturally rooted theoretical framework for collaborative and dialogic methods of folklore interpretation, prioritising communal knowledge construction rather than individual understanding (Hungwe 2021; Metz 2016). In practical classroom terms, this implies that a Sepedi folktale should not be treated as a worksheet to be answered individually, but as a shared text to be discussed, debated, and re-told. Teachers promote critical examination of folktales by questioning represented perspectives, analysing the interests served by narrative resolutions, and exploring alternative interpretations, thereby fostering critical consciousness and honouring cultural knowledge (Franklin et al. 2020).

Language development through folklore as a foundation for comprehension

Folklore provides substantial contexts for language development, which directly enhance comprehension and critical thinking skills. Traditional narratives draw on a variety of linguistic and cultural elements, including specialised vocabulary, figurative language, and intricate syntactic structures that extend and challenge learners' linguistic skills (Morris et al. 2019). Oral language proficiency is important for reading comprehension, as understanding written texts depends heavily on oral vocabulary knowledge, syntactic processing skills, and discourse comprehension abilities (Khasawneh & Al-Rub 2020; Snow 2018). For Intermediate Phase learners in particular, the vocabulary and syntactic complexity demands of folklore texts approximate the demands of the content area texts they are increasingly required to read in subjects such as Natural Sciences and Social Sciences.

Sepedi oral literature uses a varied vocabulary that includes specialised terms associated with traditional practices, natural phenomena, social relationships, and cultural concepts (Ajani 2025; Molotja & Maruma 2018). Examples include kinship terminology that distinguishes maternal and paternal relations in fine grain (*rakgadi*, *malome*, *koko*, *rakgolo*), ecological terms tied to local flora and fauna (*morula*, *mosehla*), and ceremonial vocabulary tied to rites of passage that learners encounter in their families. Proverbs and idioms express intricate meanings through figurative language and require interpretive analysis that fosters higher-order thinking skills while conveying cultural values and perspectives (Oni & Olalere 2024). Ideophones convey sensory experiences through sound symbolism and represent a significant, yet often overlooked, aspect of Sepedi narrative language that enhances sensory imagery and narrative engagement (Dingemanse 2019). Instruction rooted in folklore that highlights these linguistic features both supports indigenous linguistic practices and enhances comprehension skills vital for critical literacy.

Research conducted in South Africa reveals that numerous learners enter school with developed oral narrative skills acquired through informal storytelling at home and in their communities. However, these skills often go unrecognised in formal educational contexts because school literacy is typically organised around print-based, individual, English-medium tasks that bear little resemblance to the oral,

communal, home language storytelling that learners already command (Spaull et al. 2020). The mismatch between what learners can do and what school asks them to do contributes to disengagement and to the misidentification of competent narrators as struggling readers. Folklore-based pedagogy offers organised frameworks for oral language practice that involve all learners, such as storytelling activities, small-group discussions on interpretations, and dramatic performances of traditional narratives (Mercer & Dawes 2014). These approaches connect home-based oral traditions with school-based literacy practices, affirm learners' cultural identities, and foster the linguistic foundations important for comprehension and critical analysis.

Research methods and design

This study adopted a conceptual research design. A conceptual analysis was conducted that synthesised international, African, and South African literature on reading comprehension, critical thinking, and folklore-based pedagogy. The review followed a funnel approach, moving from global perspectives on the reciprocal relationship between reading comprehension and critical thinking, through African oral literature traditions, to context-specific applications in South African Intermediate Phase classrooms. Sociocultural theory (Vygotsky 1978) and ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner 1977) served as the interpretive lenses through which the reviewed literature was synthesised into the findings and the preliminary conceptual framework presented in this article.

Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance to conduct this study was obtained from the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (No. TREC/2498/2025: PG).

Results

Finding 1: Folklore as an integrated cognitive tool

Folklore engages multiple cognitive processes that are crucial for both comprehension and critical thinking, functioning as an integrated educational tool rather than treating these skills as separate competencies, a position consistent with Saha and Chakraborty (2026). When learners interact with folklore texts in the classroom, they engage in a sequence of activities that the literature identifies as the core processes of reading comprehension.

They decode the words on the page or follow the spoken narrative; they activate prior knowledge of similar stories, characters, and settings; they make inferences about why characters act as they do; they evaluate whether outcomes are just; and they synthesise these moves into an overall interpretation (Duke et al. 2021; Kintsch 2018). Because these processes occur in the same task rather than as isolated exercises, folklore offers an authentic context for integrated literacy development. This integration mirrors how comprehension and critical thinking operate in authentic literacy practices, where readers must understand content while also questioning, analysing, and drawing conclusions from it. Folklore narratives, with their layered meanings, moral dilemmas, and symbolic language, naturally demand that learners move beyond surface-level understanding towards deeper analytical engagement. As a result, folklore provides a unified pedagogical platform that develops multiple cognitive competencies concurrently, which makes it a highly efficient instructional resource for the Intermediate Phase, where instructional time is at a premium and curriculum demands are growing.

Finding 2: Cultural familiarity reduces cognitive load

Culturally familiar folklore minimises cognitive load by activating pre-existing schemas that learners have developed through their home and community experiences. When learners encounter narratives rooted in their own cultural contexts, they do not need to expend excessive cognitive effort understanding unfamiliar settings, characters, or cultural conventions. This reduction in extraneous cognitive load frees up valuable mental resources that can then be redirected towards higher-order analytical tasks such as evaluation, interpretation, and critical reasoning. Schema theory supports this finding, as it demonstrates that prior knowledge structures facilitate more efficient processing of new information and deeper engagement with texts (Anderson & Pearson 1984; Rumelhart 2017). For Sepedi-speaking Intermediate Phase learners who have been schooled in English since Grade 4, this insight has direct pedagogical implications: a comprehension lesson that begins with a familiar Sepedi folktale and then bridges to an unfamiliar English text builds on what the learner already knows, rather than asking the learner to manage unfamiliar content and unfamiliar language simultaneously. Consequently, culturally relevant folklore creates optimal cognitive conditions for learners to develop advanced comprehension and critical thinking abilities without being overwhelmed by unfamiliar content.

Finding 3: Oral traditions align with constructivist and *Ubuntu* pedagogies

African oral literature traditions inherently incorporate dialogic and participatory pedagogies that correspond closely with constructivist learning theories and the *Ubuntu* philosophy of collective knowledge-building. In traditional storytelling contexts, audiences are not passive recipients but active participants who engage through questioning, responding, singing, and collectively constructing meaning from narratives. This participatory nature aligns with Vygotsky's social constructivism, which emphasises that learning occurs through social interaction and collaborative dialogue in the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978). Furthermore, the *Ubuntu* principle of communal interdependence reinforces the idea that knowledge is co-constructed in a community rather than individually acquired in isolation (Hungwe 2021; Metz 2016). The implication for classroom practice is that the seating arrangements, talk patterns, and assessment formats

that suit folklore-based instruction differ from those of traditional textbook instruction: small-group discussion, paired retelling, and whole-class debate are not optional extras but central features. These culturally authentic methods provide a pedagogically sound and contextually appropriate framework for enhancing both reading comprehension and critical thinking in African classroom settings.

Finding 4: Bridging home and school learning environments

Folklore-based pedagogy addresses the persistent disconnect between home learning resources and formal school instruction that continues to affect learners in many indigenous language classrooms. Many learners in rural and under-resourced settings come from homes rich in oral traditions and cultural narratives but find that their school curricula do not reflect or value these knowledge systems. This mismatch often leads to disengagement, reduced motivation, and lower academic achievement, as learners struggle to connect their lived experiences with classroom content. By incorporating folklore into formal instruction, educators can create meaningful bridges between what learners already know from their home environments and what they are expected to learn at school.

Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological framework offers a useful lens for this bridging: When the microsystem of the home and the microsystem of the school share content and discourse, the mesosystem between them is strengthened, which the literature associates with improved learning outcomes (Navarro & Tudge 2022). This alignment has the potential to improve both learner engagement and academic performance by validating indigenous knowledge and making the learning process more relevant and accessible.

Discussion

Theoretical implications

The findings have important implications for educational theory and practice. The integration of sociocultural theory, schema theory, ecological systems theory, and culturally responsive pedagogy establishes a strong theoretical basis for recognising folklore as a valid and effective educational resource for cognitive development. Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the zone of proximal development highlights the role of skilled teachers in scaffolding learners' engagement with folktales. This involves posing strategic questions that advance from literal comprehension to inferential reasoning and evaluative judgement, and modelling the kinds of thinking moves that learners are expected to internalise. Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological framework clarifies the connection between family storytelling and classroom instruction, thereby developing mesosystem coherence that improves learning outcomes (Navarro & Tudge 2022). Taken together, these theories provide a coherent justification for treating folklore as a serious pedagogical resource rather than as a decorative addition to the curriculum.

This analysis questions the ongoing characterisation of indigenous knowledge systems as incompatible with modern educational goals. Folklore-based pedagogy illustrates that cultural preservation and academic rigour are not in conflict but rather serve as complementary objectives. Traditional narratives offer culturally authentic contexts that facilitate the development of higher-order cognitive skills recognised by international frameworks as vital for 21st-century education, such as analysis, evaluation, creative thinking, and metacognitive awareness (OECD 2021; Thornhill-Miller et al. 2023). This reconceptualisation has implications for decolonial educational transformation, as it positions African knowledge systems as valid foundations for attaining internationally recognised educational outcomes (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2020).

Proposed conceptual framework

On the basis of this synthesis, this article proposes a preliminary conceptual framework for FBCLI. The framework is explicitly positioned as a first-stage product of a research programme; its purpose is to organise the theoretical insights of the literature into a workable model that can subsequently be tested in real classrooms. It is not put forward as an empirically validated intervention. The framework consists of four interrelated dimensions. The first dimension, Cultural Activation, entails the deliberate selection of culturally relevant folklore, such as Sepedi folktales, proverbs, and riddles, that engages learners' pre-existing schemas, thus minimising extraneous cognitive load and enhancing engagement. The second dimension, Scaffolded Cognitive Progression, entails the systematic organisation of questioning and discussion to advance from literal comprehension to inferential reasoning and on to evaluative and creative thinking, in accordance with Bloom's revised taxonomy (Krathwohl 2002; Smith 2016). The third dimension, Dialogic Engagement, is informed by *Ubuntu* philosophy and African communal learning traditions, and it promotes collaborative meaning-making via interpretive discussion, debate, and collective analysis. The fourth dimension, Metacognitive Development, entails making thinking processes explicit through think-aloud demonstrations, reflective discussions, and direct strategy instruction, thereby enhancing learners' awareness and regulation of their cognitive processes.

The FBCLI framework addresses the identified gap between the curriculum's explicit goals for fostering critical thinking and the actual classroom practices that predominantly focus on recall-based instruction. The CAPS articulates outcomes such as inference, evaluation, and the formulation of opinions for Intermediate Phase Home Language subjects, but the assessment items and instructional routines that classroom observation studies have documented are weighted towards literal recall (Bertram 2020; DBE 2011). The FBCLI framework offers a structured but flexible method for folklore-based instruction that allows educators to uphold high cognitive demand while incorporating culturally relevant content that promotes learner engagement and affirms indigenous

knowledge systems. Its four dimensions are intended to be used as planning categories for lessons and lesson sequences rather than as a rigid prescription.

Strengths and limitations

This conceptual analysis is strong because of its thorough synthesis of international, African, and South African literature on a theoretical framework that covers both universal cognitive principles and culturally specific considerations. The integration of multiple theoretical frameworks provides a detailed understanding of how folklore contributes to cognitive development. The article also offers a workable preliminary model that teacher educators and curriculum developers can use as a starting point for further refinement.

At the same time, the article has clear limitations that must be acknowledged. As a conceptual article, its argument is derived from synthesis of literature rather than from primary empirical evidence collected in South African Intermediate Phase classrooms. The proposed FBCLI framework has therefore not yet been tested against observable teacher practices, learner outcomes, or implementation challenges. Recommendations drawn from this analysis carry the limitations characteristic of any literature-based proposal: They rest on theoretical coherence and the empirical findings of cited studies rather than on direct classroom evidence in the specific Sepedi-medium Intermediate Phase context to which the framework speaks. For this reason, the article is understood best as the first stage of a broader research programme. The intended second stage is an empirical investigation that explores the application of the FBCLI framework in real Grade 4 – Grade 6 Sepedi classrooms, with attention to observable teacher practices, questioning strategies, learner engagement, and comprehension outcomes. Until that empirical stage has been completed, the claims of this article should be read as theoretically grounded propositions rather than as established findings. The reviewed literature also indicates a notable gap between the theoretical support for folklore-based pedagogy and the empirical evidence regarding its application and outcomes, especially in South African indigenous language classrooms at the Intermediate Phase (Grade 4 – Grade 6) level. Furthermore, the analysis relies predominantly on published English-language studies, which may not comprehensively reflect the range of research conducted in African languages or published in regional journals with restricted international indexing.

Implications and recommendations

The analysis suggests several implications for educational practice and policy that should be read in light of the stated limitations. The findings of the study suggest that teacher education programmes should include training in folklore-based pedagogical methods, providing both pre-service and in-service educators with important pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) of traditional narratives and effective strategies for fostering critical engagement. Such training should equip teachers not only with a stock of folktales, proverbs, and riddles but also with the questioning sequences and discussion routines that move learners across cognitive levels. Curriculum developers should improve the integration of folklore into comprehension instruction frameworks, shifting from treating oral literature as an isolated content area to employing it as a means for fostering reading comprehension and critical thinking across various cognitive levels. Assessment practices should be reformed to include performance-based tasks that assess learners' interpretive, inferential, and evaluative engagement with culturally relevant texts, rather than relying predominantly on recall-based testing.

Future empirical research should explore the application of the proposed FBCLI framework in real Intermediate Phase classroom settings, with a focus on observable teacher practices, questioning strategies, learner engagement, and comprehension outcomes across various cognitive levels. Longitudinal studies that examine the effects of sustained folklore-based teaching on the development of reading comprehension and critical thinking would yield significant evidence for policy formulation. Comparative studies of folklore-based approaches in various indigenous language contexts in South Africa may reveal universal principles as well as language-specific adaptations required for effective implementation. The authors intend to take up this empirical agenda as the next stage of the broader research programme to which this conceptual article belongs.

Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates that folklore offers a theoretically informed and culturally relevant method for improving reading comprehension and critical thinking skills among Intermediate Phase learners (Grade 4 – Grade 6) in South African primary schools, with a particular focus on Sepedi-speaking contexts. The synthesis of international, African, and South African literature shows that folklore engages cognitive processes crucial for comprehension and critical analysis, while the cultural familiarity of traditional narratives alleviates cognitive load and improves learner engagement. African oral literature traditions incorporate dialogic, participatory, and collaborative pedagogies that contemporary educational research recognises as effective for the development of higher-order thinking skills.

More specifically, the analysis indicates that folklore-based pedagogy can strengthen identifiable components of reading comprehension that are typically underdeveloped in current classroom practice. These components include making inferences about character motivation and unstated reasons, identifying themes and the moral logic of a narrative, evaluating the fairness or wisdom of characters' decisions, and synthesising information across episodes of a story. The current teaching practices most in need of modification are the dominance of literal questioning, the absence of structured

discussion, and the limited use of learners' home language oral resources.

Concrete reading tasks that folklore makes available include guided prediction (*What do you think Mmutla will do next, and why?*), comparative analysis of two folktales that resolve a similar dilemma in different ways, role-play retellings from a non-narrator character's perspective, proverb-matching to story episodes, and learner-led debate on whether a character's action was justified. These tasks operationalise the four dimensions of the FBCLI framework in ways that are appropriate to Grade 4 – Grade 6 and that align with CAPS Home Language outcomes.

The FBCLI framework, presented here in its preliminary form, offers a systematic method for harnessing these benefits in formal educational contexts. It is offered as a first stage in a programme of research, to be followed by empirical classroom investigation. If subsequently validated, the framework can contribute to tackling the ongoing literacy crisis in South Africa while respecting indigenous knowledge systems and facilitating decolonial educational transformation. Realising this potential will require ongoing investment in teacher education, curriculum development, and assessment reform that positions folklore as a central pedagogical resource rather than as a supplementary cultural enrichment, thereby supporting the attainment of core educational objectives.

Acknowledgements

This article is based on research originally conducted as part of Nkame E. Ngobeni's doctoral thesis titled 'Folklore as a pedagogical tool to equip Sepedi home language Grade 7 learners with 21st century critical thinking skills at Lebowakgomo circuit, Capricorn South District, Limpopo province, South Africa', submitted to the Department of Language Education, School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of Limpopo, in 2026. The thesis is currently unpublished and not publicly available. The thesis was supervised by Ablonia D. Maledu. The thesis was reworked, revised and adapted into a journal article for publication. The author confirms that the content has not been previously published or disseminated and complies with ethical standards for original publication.

Competing interests

The authors, Nkame E. Ngobeni and Ablonia D. Maledu, declare that they have no financial or personal relationships that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

CRediT authorship contribution

Nkame E. Ngobeni: Conceptualisation, Data curation, Formal analysis, Methodology, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. Ablonia D. Maledu: Supervision, Writing – review & editing. All authors reviewed the article, contributed to the discussion of results, approved the final version for submission and publication, and take responsibility for the integrity of its findings.

Funding information

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Data availability

The authors confirm that the data supporting the findings of this study are available within the article.

Disclaimer

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and are the product of professional research. They do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of any affiliated institution, funder, agency, or that of the publisher. The authors are responsible for this article's results, findings, and content.

References

Ajani, O.A., 2025, *Transforming teacher education through narrative dynamism*, IGI Global, Hershey, PA.

Anderson, R.C. & Pearson, P.D., 1984, 'A schema-theoretic view of basic processes in reading comprehension', in P.D. Pearson (ed.) *Handbook of reading research*, pp. 255–291, Longman, New York, NY.

Benson, C., 2017, 'Celebrating the rich resources represented by African multilingualism and multiculturalism in education', *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19(2), 218–225. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2017.1353336

Bertram, C., 2020, 'Remaking history: The pedagogic device and shifting discourses in the South African school history curriculum', *Yesterday and Today* 23, 1–29. https://doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2020/n23a1

Brevik, L.M., 2019, 'Explicit reading strategy instruction or daily use of strategies? Studying the teaching of reading comprehension through naturalistic classroom observation in English L2', *Reading and Writing* 32(9), 2281–2310. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-019-09951-w

Bronfenbrenner, U., 1977, 'Toward an experimental ecology of human development', *American Psychologist* 32(7), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513

Cervetti, G.N., Pearson, P.D., Palincsar, A.S., Afflerbach, P., Kendeou, P., Biancarosa, G. et al., 2020, 'How the reading for understanding initiative's research complicates the simple view of reading', *Reading Research Quarterly* 55(S1), S161–S172. https://doi.org/10.1002/rrq.343

Da Silva, C., Pereira, F. & Amorim, J.P., 2023, 'The integration of indigenous knowledge in school: A systematic review', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 54(7), 1210–1228. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2023.2184200

Darder, A., 2018, *The student guide to Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed*, Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Dawson, P. & Mäkelä, M., 2022, *The Routledge companion to narrative theory*, Taylor & Francis, London.

Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2011, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)*, DBE, Pretoria.

Dingemanse, M., 2019, '"Ideophone" as a comparative concept', in *Iconicity in language and literature*, pp. 13–34, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam. https://doi.org/10.1075/ill.16.02din

Duke, N.K., Ward, A.E. & Pearson, P.D., 2021, 'The science of reading comprehension instruction', *The Reading Teacher* 74(6), 663–672. https://doi.org/10.1002/trtr.1993

Emeagwali, G. & Shizha, E., 2016, *African indigenous knowledge and the sciences: Journeys into the past and present*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.

Finnegan, R., 2012, *Oral literature in Africa*, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge.

Fisher, D. & Frey, N., 2018, *Raise reading volume through access, choice, discussion, and book talks*, International Literacy Association, Newark, DE.

Franklin, M., Dunnavant, J.P., Flewellen, A.O. & Odewale, A., 2020, 'The future is now: Archaeology and the eradication of anti-blackness', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 24(4), 753–766. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-020-00577-1

Freire, P., 2018, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, 50th anniversary edn., Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Gay, G., 2018, *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*, 3rd edn., Teachers College Press, New York, NY.

Giacomazzi, M., Fontana, M. & Trujillo, C.C., 2021, 'Contextualization of critical thinking in sub-Saharan Africa: A systematic integrative review', *Thinking Skills and Creativity* 43, 100978. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tsc.2021.100978

Howie, S.J., Combrinck, C., Roux, K., Tshele, M., Mokoena, G.M. & McLeod Palane, N., 2017, *PIRLS Literacy 2016: South African highlights report*, Centre for Evaluation and Assessment, Pretoria.

Hungwe, J.P., 2021, 'The (in)compatible nexus between ubuntu and critical thinking in African philosophy of education: Towards ubuntu critical thinking in African higher education', in A.P. Ndofirepi & E.T. Gwaravanda (eds.), *Mediating learning in higher education in Africa*, pp. 23–40, Brill, Leiden.

Khasawneh, M.A.S. & Al-Rub, M.O.A., 2020, 'Development of reading comprehension skills among the students of learning disabilities', *Universal Journal of Educational Research* 8(11), 5335–5341. https://doi.org/10.13189/ujer.2020.081135

Kintsch, W., 2018, 'Revisiting the construction-integration model of text comprehension', in D.E. Alvermann, N.J. Unrau & R.B. Ruddell (eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of literacy*, 6th edn., pp. 178–203, Routledge, New York, NY.

Krathwohl, D.R., 2002, 'A revision of Bloom's taxonomy: An overview', *Theory into Practice* 41(4), 212–218. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4104_2

Ladson-Billings, G., 2022, *Culturally relevant pedagogy: Asking a different question*, Teachers College Press, New York, NY.

Luke, A., 2018, *Critical literacy, schooling, and social justice: The selected works of Allan Luke*, Routledge, London.

Maunganidze, L. & Kasambira, K.P., 2019, 'The integration of indigenous knowledge systems in Zimbabwean primary schools', *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research* 31(2), 178–195.

McNamara, D.S. & Magliano, J., 2009, 'Toward a comprehensive model of comprehension', *Psychology of Learning and Motivation* 51, 297–384. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0079-7421(09)51009-2

Mercer, N. & Dawes, L., 2014, 'The study of talk between teachers and students, from the 1970s until the 2010s', *Oxford Review of Education* 40(4), 430–445. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2014.934087

Metz, T., 2016, 'An African theory of social justice: Relationship-based egalitarianism', *Philosophical Papers* 47(1), 81–120.

Molotja, T.W. & Maruma, M.W., 2018, 'The relevance of folklore in an indigenous language teaching and learning situation: The case study of Sepedi', *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies* 28(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.25159/1016-8427/4293

Moodley, D.E. & Chetty, R., 2025, 'Contextualising critical thinking pedagogy in South African teacher education', *Childhood & Philosophy* 21, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.12957/childphilo.2025.85778

Morris, B.S., Chrysochou, P., Christensen, J.D., Orquin, J.L., Barraza, J., Zak, P.J. et al., 2019, 'Stories vs. facts: Triggering emotion and action-taking on climate change', *Climatic Change* 154(1–2), 19–36. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-019-02425-6

Murphy, P.K., Wilkinson, I.A., Soter, A.O., Hennessey, M.N. & Alexander, J.F., 2009, 'Examining the effects of classroom discussion on students' comprehension of text: A meta-analysis', *Journal of Educational Psychology* 101(3), 740–764. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015576

Narvaez, D., 2002, 'Does reading moral stories build character?', *Educational Psychology Review* 14(2), 155–171. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014674621501

Navarro, J.L. & Tudge, J.R.H., 2022, 'Technologizing Bronfenbrenner: Neo-ecological theory', *Current Psychology* 42(22), 19338–19354. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-022-02738-3

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J., 2020, *Decolonization, development and knowledge in Africa: Turning over a new leaf*, Routledge, London.

Nnyagu, U. & Umezinwa, R.N., 2018, 'Folktale as a tool for character development', *African Research Review* 12(3), 92–98. https://doi.org/10.4314/afrrev.v12i3.10

Okkinga, M., Van Steensel, R., Van Gelderen, A.J.S., Van Schooten, E., Sleegers, P.J.C. & Arends, L.R., 2018, 'Effectiveness of reading-strategy interventions in whole classrooms: A meta-analysis', *Educational Psychology Review* 30(4), 1215–1239. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-018-9445-7

Oni, B.O. & Olalere, T.O., 2024, 'African indigenous knowledge: Philosophy in history and history in philosophy', *Regional Journal of Information and Knowledge Management* 9(2), 171–181. https://doi.org/10.70759/2yyjb419

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2019, *PISA 2018 reading framework*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2021, *21st-century readers: Developing literacy skills in a digital world*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Raphael, T.E. & Au, K.H., 2005, 'QAR: Enhancing comprehension and test taking across grades and content areas', *The Reading Teacher* 59(3), 206–221. https://doi.org/10.1598/RT.59.3.1

Reznitskaya, A. & Gregory, M., 2013, 'Student thought and classroom language: Examining the mechanisms of change in dialogic teaching', *Educational Psychologist* 48(2), 114–133. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2013.775898

Rumelhart, D.E., 2017, 'Schemata: The building blocks of cognition', in R.J. Spiro, B.C. Bruce & W.F. Brewer (eds.), *Theoretical issues in reading comprehension*, pp. 33–58, Routledge, New York, NY.

Saha, S. & Chakraborty, S., 2026, 'Integrating folklore in education: Pedagogical and cultural perspectives', *The Social Science Review: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 4(1), 158–160. https://doi.org/10.70096/tssr.260401028

Smith, S., 2016, *Updating a taxonomy of assessment domains for staff and students: Modernising it to enhance academic practice and student learning*, Leeds Beckett University, Leeds, viewed 02 February 2026, from https://eprints.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/id/eprint/2316/.

Snow, C.E., 2018, 'Simple and not-so-simple views of reading', *Remedial and Special Education* 39(5), 313–316. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741932518770288

Spaull, N., Pretorius, E. & Mohohlwane, N., 2020, 'Investigating the comprehension iceberg: Developing empirical benchmarks for early-grade reading in agglutinating African languages', *South African Journal of Childhood Education* 10(1), a773. https://doi.org/10.4102/sajce.v10i1.773

Suri, D. & Chandra, D., 2021, 'Teacher's strategy for implementing multiculturalism education based on local cultural values and character building for early childhood education', *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 8(4), 271–285. https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/937

Thornhill-Miller, B., Camarda, A., Mercier, M., Burkhardt, J.M., Morisseau, T., Bourgeois-Bougrine, S. et al., 2023, 'Creativity, critical thinking, communication, and collaboration', *Journal of Intelligence* 11(3), 54. https://doi.org/10.3390/jintelligence11030054

Tibken, C. & Tiffin-Richards, S.P., 2025, 'Reading behavior as an indicator of comprehension monitoring', *Metacognition and Learning* 20(1), 38. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11409-025-09440-2

Veenman, M.V.J., Van Hout-Wolters, B.H.A.M. & Afflerbach, P., 2006, 'Metacognition and learning: Conceptual and methodological considerations', *Metacognition and Learning* 1(1), 3–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11409-006-6893-0

Vygotsky, L.S., 1978, *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Wiysahnyuy, L.F. & Valentine, N.B., 2023, 'Folktales as indigenous pedagogic tools for educating school children: A mixed methods study among the Nso of Cameroon', *Frontiers in Psychology* 14, 1049691. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1049691

Wolosky, S., 2013, *The riddles of Harry Potter: Secret passages and interpretive quests*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY.