

## INTRODUCTION

### HETEROGLOSSIA AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN CHILDREN'S PEER PLAY INTERACTIONS

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#### 1. Introduction

The five articles in this issue examine how children, in naturally occurring school and neighborhood peer and sibling-kin groups across a variety of cultures and societies, socialize one another to *do* heteroglossia, drawing upon a diverse repertoire of linguistic and discursive forms in their everyday cultural practices. Through the use of ethnographic techniques for recording natural conversations, they demonstrate how children, in their peer play interactions, make use of and juxtapose multiple linguistic and cultural resources at their disposal in linguistically diverse and stratified settings. The analyses provide detailed insights into children's *heteroglossic verbal practices* (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), that is, their use and differentiation of multiple codes and registers in the creation and negotiation of social distinctions. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia addresses the dialogic relationship between multiple and sometimes conflicting codes or registers and the larger socio-political and socio-historical meanings that are negotiated through those linguistic forms. In particular, the concept refers to tensions between the multiplicities of language varieties within a national language, which are drawing it towards a standard central version, and those that are moving away from national standards through hybrid linguistic forms of official and unofficial languages. Research on heteroglossia entails an examination of how speakers indexically hail socio-historical tensions and contradictions in situated instances of language use that result in the regimentation of codes and associated notions of collective membership and personhood (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Hill & Hill 1986; Kroskrity 2000; Pujolar 2001; Schieffelin 1994; Silverstein 2003; Woolard 1998, 1999). Bailey (2007) recently remarked that much of the sociolinguistic and discourse analytic work on code-switching and other so-called syncretistic discourse practices are productively reinterpreted through the prism of heteroglossia, which attends equally to monolingual and multilingual forms. The perspective of heteroglossia allows the analyst to focus on alternations of officially authorized codes and languages, without neglecting "the diversity of socially indexical linguistic features within codes" (Bailey 2007: 268). As will be demonstrated in the articles, the concept of heteroglossia provides a conceptual framework that draws from diverse traditions that address different social and temporal scales while simultaneously attending to the indexical and meta-pragmatic properties of language.

## 2. Heteroglossic practices, language socialization, and children socializing children

The articles in this issue draw on a language socialization approach to the study of children's heteroglossic practices. Language socialization "offers unique insights into the study of multilingual speech practices and language contact phenomena such as language shift, convergence, and maintenance" (Paugh 2005: 65; see also Fader 2006; Kulick 1992; Makihara 2005; Schieffelin 1994, 2003; Zentella 1997). In areas of language contact, "language differences (either real or perceived) may map onto and index, or may be used to constitute and reinforce, the boundaries of other social categories and divisions based on such notions as ethnicity, nationality, race, class, gender, religiosity, and generation (Irvine & Gal 2000)" (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002: 350). According to theories of language socialization "children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief (ethnotheories) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions" (Ochs 1986: 2). It is the members of a community who form the associations between social categories, language codes, and social value. Moreover, according to Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002), members multilingual communities can be agents of social change in forging these associations. "Multilingual individuals, even young children, may be in a position to renegotiate, challenge, or transcend the existing social categories that are constituted and indexed by the codes and communicative practices at their disposal" (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 350; see also Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002; Zentella 1997).

Another common theme shared across the articles is a focus on children socializing one another *to* and *through* heteroglossic discourse practices in naturally occurring peer and sibling-kin groups. Children in multilingual communities may be agents of their own socialization, forming their own associations between linguistic codes and social value. In contrast to adult-based models of socialization, these articles see children as engaging in processes of "interpretive reproduction" (Corsaro 1992), whereby they appropriate resources from the adult culture and "take a variety of stances toward cultural resources - acceding to, eagerly reaching out for, playfully transforming, actively resisting" (Gaskins, Miller, & Corsaro 1992: 11; see also Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press; Cook-Gumperz & Kyratzis 2001 and Kyratzis 2004 for reviews) them. A particular subset of these interpretive approaches focuses on children's use of cultural resources to negotiate local social order in moment-to-moment sequences of interaction (e.g., Goodwin 1990a, 2006; see Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press for reviews). Through moment-to-moment sequences of interaction, children "manage and monitor local hierarchies, as displayed in their accomplishment of subordination and authority in local play-role hierarchies" (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007: 280; see also de León 2007; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Goodwin 2006, 2007; Griswold 2007; Kyratzis 2007; Kyratzis, Marx, & Wade 2001; Reynolds 2007). In negotiating inclusion and hierarchy within the peer group, children draw and comment on social relations in the adult world (Corsaro 1985; Ervin-Tripp 1996; Reynolds 2007, 2008) and articulate moralities and identities of their own (see Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press and Kyratzis 2004 for reviews). As they act to "construct and reconstruct their social organization on an ongoing basis" (Goodwin 1990b: 35), they appropriate adult registers, performance genres, and language varieties, and re-organize them in ways that render their own commentary on social relationships in the adult world (de León 2007; Griswold 2007; Kyratzis 2007; Minks 2006; Reynolds 2007, 2008, this volume). They index negative characteristics

for the peer group (Evaldsson 2002; Goodwin 1990a, 2006), reproducing and challenging dominant ideologies (e.g., gender ideologies; see Evaldsson 2004; Goodwin 1990a, 2006; Thorne 1993).

Recently, a few studies have taken this approach of studying children socializing children in moment-to-moment interactions to their appropriation, reproduction, and change of language ideologies in areas of language contact and language shift (Evaldsson 2005; Garrett 2007; Makihara 2005; Minks 2006; Paugh 2005; Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002; Schieffelin 2003). Zentella (1997) followed a peer group of girls in a New York City Puerto Rican community and found that the girls used bilingual practices more fluidly than their parents, to signal membership in a bilingual neighborhood community. Paugh (2005) followed children's peer groups and their code-switching and play practices in Dominica. Through their practices, the children "contribute[d] to the maintenance of" (Paugh 2005: 80) Patwa, a French-lexicon creole, even while adults in their rural community forbade its use, wanting the children to acquire English (see also Garrett 2005, 2007). The children were observed to select Patwa to enact particular authoritative roles in pretend play and through this selection, "transform[ed] the associations with the languages" (Paugh 2005: 80). Schieffelin notes that "through [their] fantasy play, children draw on and reproduce more broadly held ideologies about the relationship and meanings of the two languages, including ideas about the people who use them and the appropriate social places for their use" (Schieffelin 2003: 158). Moreover, because children move more "easily across social and linguistic boundaries" (Minks 2006: 125) than their parents, and construct their own associations between role, place, and code in their peer interactions, they therefore impose their own "hierarchies of linguistic value" (Minks 2006: 125-126) that may differ from their parents' (see also Evaldsson 2005; Paugh 2005; Rampton 1995; Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002).

Although children can play an active role in language maintenance and shift, they are viewed to form their associations between language code and place or role incidentally, during the course of pursuing effects in their local social order, in moment-to-moment processes of interaction with their peers, as they act to "construct and reconstruct their social organization on an ongoing basis" (Goodwin 1990b: 35; see also de León 2005; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press; Griswold 2007; Kyratzis, Marx, & Wade 2001; Minks 2006; Paugh 2005; Reynolds 2007). In Paugh's (2005) study, children's allocation of linguistic codes to particular places or roles occurred in moment-to-moment interactions, as children acted to garner "positions of autonomy or authority" for themselves within their peer play interactions and local social order (Paugh 2005: 79; see also de León 2002; Minks 2006). This view of children's peer socialization of one another is in keeping with recent accounts of code-switching, which attend to how speakers use code-switching locally in the interaction (Auer 1984, 1998; Cromdal 2004; Cromdal & Aronsson 2000; Ervin-Tripp & Reyes 2005; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2005; Jorgensen 1998), for example, for social positioning and conversational orientation (Li Wei 2005) during talk-in-interaction. The children's peer language socialization approach combines the language socialization perspective with a conversation-analytic one which focuses on moment-to-moment processes of children's interaction with one another in their own peer groups, in order to be able to "account for much of the situated communicative behavior that can be observed at almost any given time in any community" (Garrett 2005: 330), with, in this case, children's peer groups being thought of as their own

community of practice. This combined approach allows the analyst to both follow Auer's caveat, that analysis of code-switching "requires close attention to be paid to details of its local production" (Auer 1998: 1), while at the same time, seeing how children construct their own "ethnotheories" (Ochs 1986) and attitudes towards language varieties through their language practices within the peer group.

### 3. The papers in this volume

The present set of studies considers both perspectives and focuses on how children's moment-to-moment interactions and practices within their peer groups can challenge and transform social categories and language ideologies. In moment-to-moment sequences of interaction, as the children act to effect their local social order (Goodwin 1990b: 35; see also Goodwin 2006; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press; Kyratzis 2004), they appropriate and transform cultural resources, in this case, language varieties, registers, and genres, while simultaneously indexing socio-historical tensions among them (Bakhtin 1981), thereby contributing to "processes of sociocultural and linguistic reproduction as well as those of innovation and change" (Paugh 2005: 66).

The paper by Jennifer Reynolds illustrates how a network of children, aged 21 months to eleven years, in a Guatemalan Kaqchikel Maya town in the advanced stages of language shift entextualized (Bauman & Briggs 1990) *el Desafío* (the Challenge). This is a re-conquest performance genre dating back to medieval Spain that re-inscribes a dichotomous moral order pitting *el Rey Cristiano* (Christian King) against *el Rey Moro* (the Moorish king). The children in this peer network delighted in reciting royal speeches during their own socio-dramatic play performances that recalled the adult genre while imbuing them with their own stances (Goodwin 1990a), as they engaged in peer negotiations on how to interpret and enact the genre. One major resource for accomplishing this was through the juxtaposition of different voices as children improvised and innovated next turns of poetic talk. At times these contrasts had tropic effects, thereby expanding the social range of who could be imagined to speak in a royal voice and command moral authority. Reynolds, relying on Sawyer's (1995, 2001) work on heteroglossic improvisation and Agha's (2005) work on *enregisterment*, argues that the improvisation and juxtaposition of voices provided the children a resource to indexically render commentary on, and draw their own relations of power among, social scenes and social roles in the adult culture, as they negotiated their own social positions within the sibling-kin group.

The paper by Amanda Minks focuses on the peer play interactions of Miskitu children on Corn Island off the Nicaraguan coast, specifically, a transcript of play called *piaki pulaia* - cooking play. Minks demonstrates how the older children, aged 7-12, used phrases from Spanish and Creole English in their Miskitu-dominant discourse to a 2-year-old within the group, indexing the cultural belief that younger children should be socialized to use Spanish and Creole English. The analysis provides insights about how language ideologies and socialization practices "are articulated within complex histories of cultural interaction and stratified social relations" which eschew any iconic ordering of the relationship between signs, their meanings and the contexts in which they are employed. It also underscores how the young child and older children mutually socialize one another into heteroglossic practices with indeterminate outcomes. The children of this group only partially reproduce dominant language ideologies of the

community; not all languages are treated equally in these exchanges, but the heteroglossic interplay facilitates the maintenance of marginalized languages in some form.

The paper by Inmaculada García-Sánchez analyzes the code-switching and other linguistic practices of a Moroccan immigrant girls' peer group during an extended pretend-play interaction, a doll game. The data come from a larger ethnographic study examining the daily interactional routines of a group of Moroccan immigrant children in a Southwestern rural Spanish community. The analysis illustrates how the children organize pretend-play activities with an orientation to the cultural and linguistic practices of both their communities of origin, as well as of the larger Spanish community. Within the doubly-oriented framework of their fantasy play, these Moroccan immigrant girls (re)produce, contest, and negotiate the sometimes similar, often incongruous, preferences and expectations that they must learn to navigate in their communities. Drawing on Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) notions of heteroglossia and hybridity, the paper explores the meanings of the code-switching practices that this group of Moroccan immigrant girls deploy in their doll pretend-play to construct female identities; identities that they treat as desirable in the context of Spanish idealizations of femininity, but that are considered transgressional by adults in Moroccan diaspora communities in Spain. The coexistence of two linguistic codes - Moroccan Arabic and Spanish - in the children's pretend play results in a heteroglossic polyphony of voices imbued with social and moral tensions.

The study by Amy Kyratzis applies language socialization theory (e.g., Garret and Baquedano-López 2002; Schieffelin 2003) and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of "heteroglossia" to understand how members of a peer group of linguistic minority children attending a bilingual Spanish-English preschool in California used bilingual Spanish-English practices among themselves. The children are beginning to confront polarizing discourses about national belonging. The bilingual preschool, although respecting the children's home language and supporting their bilingual practices, is preparing them for public school education in California, which is English-only. The peer group was followed over several months during free play in their preschool using methods of ethnography and talk-in-interaction. An extended episode of birthday play was examined. The children use code-switching as a resource to negotiate locally shifting "frames" (Goffman 1974) in the play interaction. Their practices of frame-shifting and "double-voicing" provide a resource for them to reflexively portray and deal with tensions between their languages (Bakhtin 1981). They inscribe some domain associations (Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005; Schieffelin 2003) for English and Spanish (e.g., use English for references to birthday party events relevant to U.S. consumer culture; Spanish for topics of food and family). These practices in some ways reproduce hierarchical and gendered rankings of the languages inscribed in monolingual discourses of the dominant U.S. society. However, the children also challenge regimented patterns, through using, at moments, hybrid utterances that blur boundaries across frames and groups of children. At this early stage in their schooling, the children's language practices challenge "static unitary categories of language and identity" (Bailey 2007) and affirm heteroglossia and cultural hybridity (Haney 2003: 164) within the peer group.

The study by Ann-Carita Evaldsson and Asta Cekaite shows how playful heteroglossic language practices in multilingual peer groups are highly ambiguous and paradoxically tend to enforce language hierarchies and reproduce a monolingual

ideology. The data draw from ethnography combined with videorecordings of minority schoolchildren's everyday interactions in multilingual peer groups in two Swedish school settings. The analysis demonstrates how Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia provides ways for understanding the social processes that guide how norms for language use are talked-into-being and appropriated in multiethnic educational settings where a monolingual ideology is the norm and children's social languages differ substantially from the institutional expectations for appropriate language use. The children recurrently participate in corrective practices, such as commenting on, mimicking, teasing, and insulting, in which they playfully exploit multiple linguistic resources and the turn structure of varied language practices to play with and consolidate a collective critical view of not-knowing the majority language (i.e. Swedish). Moreover, they transform faulty talk (repeating structural elements, recycling arguments, using parodic imitations, joint laughter, code-switching) to display their language competence, assert powerful positions and strengthen alliances in the multilingual peer group. It is argued that the highly ambiguous and hybrid forms of linguistic resources, manifested in the minority school children's creative appropriation of hegemonic values regarding language, paradoxically might change the norms for how (national/standard) language ought to work.

#### 4. Conclusions

In summary, all five studies examine how children render commentary on language practices and social categories, and through their heteroglossic practices including code-switching and other voicing contrasts, draw associations among codes and registers on the one hand, and, places, roles, and social content on the other, in their peer play interactions. In these ways, the children reproduce and transform ideologies about the relationship and meaning of codes and registers, and "problematize the boundaries through straddling linguistic and social worlds in their language and identity practices" (Bailey 2007: 259). At the same time, the studies demonstrate how the code-switching and, juxtapositions of linguistic resources and social categorizations operate within children's moment-to-moment processes of garnering "positions of ...authority" (Paugh 2005), and achieving communicative effects, within their local social order (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press). By considering both the language socialization perspective and the conversation-analytic perspective of children socializing children, all five studies are able to "account for the situated communicative behavior that can be observed at almost any given time in any community" (Garrett 2005: 330), which in the case of the studies here, consists of children's heteroglossic peer group practices.

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