LATINA GIRLS' PEER PLAY INTERACTIONS IN A BILINGUAL SPANISH-ENGLISH U.S. PRESCHOOL: HETEROGLOSSIA, FRAME-SHIFTING, AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

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Abstract

The current English-only educational climate in California presents children with polarizing discourses about national belonging (Bailey 2007). This study uses language socialization theory (e.g., Garret and Baquedano-López 2002) and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of "heteroglossia" to examine how members of a peer group of linguistic minority children attending a bilingual Spanish-English preschool in California used bilingual practices among themselves to respond to such polarizing discourses and organize their local peer group social order. The peer group was followed over several months during free play in their preschool classroom 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) and participation frameworks (C. Goodwin 2007; M.H. Goodwin 1990a; 2006) during their play interaction. Through their language practices, group members reflexively portray the tension between their languages (Bakhtin 1981), and inscribe some domain associations (Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005; Schiefflin 2003) for English and Spanish (e.g., using English for references to aspects of birthday parties relevant to U.S. consumer culture; Spanish for topics of food and family). These practices 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, unmarked forms of code-switching, often within single utterances. These hybrid utterances blur boundaries across frames and groups of players, affirming "linguistic and cultural hybridity" (Haney 2003: 164) within the peer group.

Keywords: Multilingual peer group; Peer interaction; Code-switching; Language Ideology; Language socialization; Spanish.

1. Introduction

Children living in multilingual communities draw on features of multiple languages as they attempt to speak like members of the multiple peer social networks in which they participate (Zentella 1997, 1998). One of the language practices engaged in by members of multilingual communities is code-switching, defined as "the alternating use of two or more 'codes' within a single conversational episode" (Auer 1998: 1; see also Gumperz 1982). "Code switches can occur at the boundary of complete sentences (inter-sententially)…or within sentence boundaries (intra-sententially)" (Zentella 1997: 81). Zentella (1998) argued that to understand code-switching, one must do as Gal (1988: 247) advocated, understand how bilinguals use language to "construct and display multiple identities, to understand their historic position, and to respond to relations of domination between groups (Gal 1988: 247, cited in Zentella 1998: 110)." In other

words, one must understand how children in ethnolinguistic communities use "*multiple codes for multiple identities*" (Zentella 1998: 110).

Both language socialization theory (Ochs 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin in press) and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia can be useful in this endeavor. According to language socialization theory, in areas of language contact, members of a community, through their language practices, form associations between social categories, language codes, and social value (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002: 350; see also Irvine & Gal 2000; Kyratzis, Reynolds, & Evaldsson, this issue; Paugh 2005; Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin in press; Schieffelin 2003; Zentella 1997). According to Bailey, heteroglossia "affords attention to meanings in a larger sociopolitical field" (Bailey 2007: 268). As described by Bakhtin (1981), heteroglossia refers to the fact that "at any given moment of its evolution, language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strict sense of the word…but also - and for us this is the essential point - into languages that are socio-ideological: Languages of social groups, 'professional' and 'generic' languages, languages of generations, and so forth" (Bakhtin 1981: 271-272). Realist novels, or any given performance or act of speaking, draw their expressive strength from the ways in which they reflexively portray the conflict among these different voices or ways of speaking. "Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance" (Bakhtin 1981: 272). For Bakhtin, hybrid text or utterances ("double-voicedness") in particular allow(s) for the reflexive portrayal of the tension among language varieties. "The novelistic hybrid is an *artistically organized system for bringing different languages in contact with one another*, a system having as its goal the illumination of one language by means of another, the carving-out of a living image of another language" (Bakhtin 1981: 361). By using multiple codes, or by not doing so, speakers can portray "relations of domination" (Gal 1988) among different social groups. For example, Bailey, relying on work by Urciuoli, 1996, and summarizing his own observations of the peer conversations of Dominican-American high school students whom he followed in New York, points out that "frequent switching as a discourse mode is always socially marked in a wider U.S. society in which being a monolingual English speaker is an ideological default against which difference or distinctiveness is constructed" (Bailey 2007: 268). Frequent code-switching as a language practice is evaluated against, and itself evaluates, "a larger sociopolitical field" (Bailey 2007: 268).

2. Language socialization and language ideologies in children's peer group interactions

Polarizing discourses about national belonging (e.g., the Official English movement; see below) portray language alternation as "undermining American unity, citizenship, and decency" (Bailey 2007: 268). The present study uses Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981), as well as language socialization theory (Garret and Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin in press; Schieffelin 1994, 2003) 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 to respond to such polarizing discourses. There is now a

well established tradition of scholarship illustrating how children within their peer groups socialize one another (see de León 2005, 2007; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Goodwin 1990a,b, 2006; Griswold 2007; Kyratzis 2007; Kyratzis, Marx, & Wade 2001; Reynolds 2007 for examples of studies; see Kyratzis 2004; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press for reviews). In the course of negotiating local social order, children index positive and negative characteristics for the peer group (Evaldsson 2002; Goodwin 1990a, 2006). Through their language practices within the peer group, children growing up in multilingual post-colonial and transnational communities, challenge, "draw on, and reproduce more broadly held ideologies about the relationship and meanings of the two languages"(Schieffelin 2003: 158) in contact within those communities, as they act to accomplish their local social organization (see also Evaldsson 2005; Garrett & Baquendano-López 2002; Paugh 2005; see Goodwin & Kyratzis in press for a review).

Paugh's (2005) work provides a case in point. She followed children's peer-kin groups and their code-switching and play practices in Dominica. Away from the supervision of adults, the children "contribute[d] to the maintenance of" (Paugh 2005: 80) Patwa, a French Lexicon creole, even though adults in their rural community forbade its use. Paugh observed children "creat[ing] imaginary playspaces … appropriate for Patwa" (Paugh 2005: 63) which gave them "access to…positions of autonomy and authority" (Paugh 2005: 79) within their sibling-kin groups. By enacting certain pretend play roles (bus driver, farmer), and the code (Patwa) that they associated with those roles, the children ended up "transform[ing] the associations with the languages through using them in their play" (Paugh 2005: 80; see also Schieffelin 2003). Paugh's study illustrates that although children can play an active role in reproducing and challenging language ideologies, they form associations between language codes and social meanings in moment-to-moment sequences of interaction, as they act to produce local effects in the social organization of the peer group (Goodwin 1990b: 35; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007; in press). Garrett (2007) observed Kwéyòl-English speaking children in Morne Carré in St. Lucia. Older St. Lucian boys used Kwéyòl in "unsupervised peer contexts" to "index adult masculinity", in contrast to most everyday, adult-supervised contexts, in which they used English. Garrett concluded that these practices allowed the boys to work out their own "subjectivities" for Kwéyòl and English and led to their maintenance of Kwéyòl (Garrett 2007: 247-251). Minks found Miskitu children on Corn Island moving very "easily across social and linguistic boundaries" (Minks 2006: 125) in peer group interactions. By "socializ[ing] heteroglossia" within the peer group (Minks 2007, this volume), children play a role in supporting the maintenance of their indigenous language, Miskitu, despite language shift to Creole English and Spanish ongoing in their community.

In another study, conducted by Evaldsson (2005), members of a boys' multi-ethnic peer group in Sweden invoked negative characterizations of their native languages and language groups during the course of staging insults of one another. These categorizations contributed to the meaning or prestige of the minority language relative to the dominant one, reproducing the adult social order. These ideological outcomes were incidental, however, to the children's pursuit of local effects in their social order (see also Evaldsson & Cekaite this volume). Paugh's (2005) and Evaldsson's (2005) findings underscore how researchers can combine language socialization and conversation-analytic approaches (Auer 1998; Jorgensen 1998), attending both to the ways in which children reproduce and challenge language ideologies in areas of language contact and shift, as well as attending to how they use

code-switching to achieve local communicative effects. Like these prior studies, the present study will also consider how children draw upon broader language ideologies as they pursue effects in their local social order.

In language socialization studies documenting children constructing a strong relationship between code and place or code and domain through their code-switching practices (e.g., Garrett 2007; Paugh 2005), we see children aligning with a separation of the languages, even though these domain-associations and patterns challenge dominant monolingual societal ideologies by supporting maintenance of the minority language. In Jorgensen's (1998) study of Turkish-Danish bilinguals, unmarked code-switching (code-switching that proceeds in either direction) is viewed as helping construct resistance to dominant monolingual discourses. Jorgensen observed second- grade Turkish-Danish bilinguals in a Denmark school using Danish in formal settings, but shifting to Turkish for personal meanings. Jorgensen viewed these practices of the second-graders as aligning them with monolingual norms pushing for the use of Turkish at home and Danish in school, norms promoted by their teachers and parents. This was in contrast to the fluid (unmarked) code-switching of the older (fifth-grade) Turkish-Danish students (e.g., for "power-wielding" or social alignment), which Jorgensen viewed as marking their affiliation with a bilingual peer group and their opposition to adult monolingual norms. Children in immigrant communities such as these can use code-switching for marking their identity as members of a second generation immigrant youth or peer group (Zentella 1997); to reflect and "valorize" their "everyday ways of speaking" (Haney 2003: 164), and their own "peer group ways of communicating" (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2005). Along similar lines, Keim (2007, 2008) observed a Turkish-German speaking immigrant youth group in Mannheim, Germany, the "Powergirls", using fluid code-switching practices. She argued that "when performing mixing practices in their everyday activities, the girls demonstrate their affiliation with their group a well as their disaffiliation from relevant others, especially the monolingual German or Turkish social worlds" (Keim 2008: 218). The code-switching was used to assert peer group identity and express resistance, particularly resistance to "the traditional Turkish female role" and to "the German school world" (Keim 2007: 161), domains with which monolingual Turkish practices, and monolingual German practices, were, respectively, inscribed. Extrapolating across the work of Bailey, Evaldsson, Jorgensen, Keim, Paugh, Zentella, and others, it can be concluded that code-switching practices within the peer group, whether "marked" or "unmarked" (i.e., going in either direction), involve participants in taking active stances toward a larger sociopolitical field (Bailey 2007). As demonstrated by Haney (2003) in an analysis of comic dialogues performed by Mexican comedians in San Antonio, code-switching practices can both reinforce boundaries between varieties or language groups, as well as blur the boundaries and celebrate "linguistic and cultural hybridity" (Haney 2003: 163).

This study utilizes the approaches of peer language socialization and heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981) to understand bilingual practices as used among a friendship group of Latina girls attending a bilingual Spanish-English preschool in California. The preschool serves predominantly Mexican/Mexican-American families. These approaches will be applied to understanding how the girls use bilingual practices to respond to "the larger sociopolitical field" (Bailey 2007) of English-only discourses in the U.S. educational context, as well as how they draw upon these discourses to organize their local social order. Like the children described in Keim's (2007, 2008), Evaldsson's (2005), Evaldsson & Cekaite's (this volume), and Jorgensen's (1998) research, the

children are beginning to confront dominant monolingual discourses in their preschool, which is preparing them for U.S. kindergarten and elementary school, in this case, dominant monolingual discourses of English. They also encounter English-speaking peers who begin to introduce them to new cultural practices and "domains" of activity (Garrett 2005; 2007; Paugh 2005; Schieffelin 2003) with which English language practices may become inscribed (see García-Sánchez this volume). In the analysis, I will consider how the children enact tensions between (Bakhtin 1981) and assign domain associations (Garrett 2005, 2007; Paugh 2005; Schieffelin 2003) to English and Spanish, as they negotiate shifting participant alignments and participation frameworks during play.

According to Goodwin, "activities align participants toward each other in specific ways…this process is central to the way in which activities provide resources for constituting social organization" (1990a: 10; see also C. Goodwin 2007). To understand the children's social organizational work, I will also draw on Goffman's "frame analysis" (Goffman 1974), examining how children use code-switching to negotiate shifts in the definition of the common scene in front of them during play. As argued by Goodwin, in pretend play, children attend carefully to the framing of interaction, constantly signaling for one another what constitutes the common scene in front of them (Goodwin 1993: 155; see also Gumperz's (1982) discussion of "contextualization" strategies). In the course of defining the play scene and enacting their social positions within it during play, the children may negotiate "more broadly held ideologies about the relationship and meanings of the two languages" (Schieffelin 2003: 158). That is, as the children shift frames and align themselves with others during their talk, this may entail them in "mak[ing] use of…strategies of double-voicing" (Goodwin 1996: 77). "By slight shifts in alignment to their talk", participants "deal with conflicting constraints" (Goodwin 1996: 77). More specifically, as children juxtapose features from different frames, registers, and genres (Minks 2006, this volume; Reynolds 2008, this volume; see Goodwin & Kyratzis in press for a review), their playful exploratory combinations can provide them with resources for exploring relations among different social discourses and settings (Briggs and Bauman 1992). I will examine how the language practices of the children in this study, including frame-shifting, enable them to reflexively portray the tension among their different ways of speaking and "world views (Bakhtin 1981), either reinforcing boundaries between language varieties or social groups, or "blurring" (Bailey 2007) the boundaries to affirm linguistic and cultural hybridity within the peer group.

3. Setting of the study: Language ideologies of the bilingual preschool and California K-12 Education System regarding bilingualism

The excerpts for this study come from an ethnographic study of children's free play interactions conducted in a bilingual Spanish-English preschool center which serves economically disadvantaged families in a community in central California. The majority of the families served by the children's center are Mexican/Mexican-American.

In order to understand the children's language practices, it is necessary to understand the language ideologies (Hill & Hill 1986; Irvine & Gal 2000; Woolard 1998) of their preschool and the broader educational context - the public school educational system of California. The data were collected in 2005, a few years after

Proposition 227 was passed in California. Prior to the passage of Proposition 227, California school children whose primary family language was not English were entitled to bilingual education in the public schools. Proposition 227 was drafted by Ron Unz, as a culmination of the "English for the Children" campaign that he initiated in California with large public support, including from many bilingual communities. The proposition was grounded in arguments such as the following: "Whereas the English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the state of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity…" Proposition 227, after its passage in 1998, effectively ended bilingual education in most public elementary and secondary schools in the state. (Since Proposition 227 passed, about two hundred public schools in California offer two-way-immersion programs, a particular type of bilingual program). Proposition 227 was influenced by the political movement "Official English", which lobbied to make English the official language of government in the United States. According to Jim Cummins and other educational and linguistic/sociolinguistic analysts, movements such as Official English "justif[y their] existence on the grounds that national unity is threatened by the multitude of languages that immigrant groups have brought to the United States" (Cummins 2000: ix-x; see also Blommaert & Verschueren 1998 for similar movements in Europe and Pujolar 2007 for movements in the post-national context). These movements' polarizing discourses, "portray… language alternation as undermining American unity, citizenship, and decency" (Bailey 2007: 268).

Educational policy under Proposition 227 requires that immigrant children, after a transitional period of receiving English as a second language (English immersion) instruction (of one year), receive instruction which is conducted entirely in English. The wording of Article 2 of the proposed law in California is reproduced below:

> 305. Subject to the exceptions provided in Article 3 (commencing with Section 310), all children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language classrooms. Children who are English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year… Local schools shall be encouraged to mix together in the same classroom English learners from different native-language groups but with the same degree of English fluency. Once English learners have acquired a good working knowledge of English, they shall be transferred to English language mainstream classrooms…
>
> http://primary98.sos.ca.gov/VoterGuide/Propositions/227text.htm

Similar legislation was passed in Arizona, and campaigns were also begun in Colorado, New York, and Massachusetts. Like the European setting described in Evaldsson and Cekaite's (this volume) study, the call for language competencies in the official, majority language, English, in the public school educational system of California, was very strong at the time of this study, (and continues to be so currently), especially following the passage of Proposition 227 and other legislation like it that was proposed in several states across the country.

The bilingual Spanish-English preschool at which these data were collected is preparing children for education in the public school system of California. The national

program (Head Start) which supports the preschool "provides grants to local public and private non-profit and for-profit agencies to provide comprehensive child development services to economically disadvantaged children and families, with a special focus on helping preschoolers develop the early reading and math skills they need to be success-ful in school"
(http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ohs/about/index.html). The curriculum utilized at this particular Head Start center is bilingual. Both Spanish and English are used during instructional activities in the small circles and whole group circle in the classroom, and both languages are allowed during free play time. However, in order to support children who will be going on to English-only kindergarten classrooms the following year, it is recommended to teachers that they use mainly English towards the end of the school year in small group work with those children. Also, although instructional activities supporting language and literacy development in both Spanish and English are provided, in order to promote the goal of helping children develop the early reading and math skills they will need to succeed in school, among the goals for the preschool curriculum are for the children to: Reach receptive and productive competence in English; understand and respond to literacy activities in English; and be familiar with print and symbols in English.

Despite the curriculum's emphasis on acquisition of English language and literacy skills, there are important differences between the bilingual preschool and the elementary school experience that the children in this study were soon to encounter. For the majority (80-90%) of the families of the children at this preschool center, Spanish is the language spoken in the home. The Head Start curriculum emphasizes working closely with families, respecting children's home language, and involving parents in the learning of their children. A high value is placed at the preschool center on the children's retention of Spanish (especially for maintaining family relationships), and on building language and literacy skills in the first language (Spanish), as well as the second (English). For all class activities conducted in English, there are teachers (a lead teacher or at least associate teachers) available who know Spanish and can provide support in Spanish for those students who need it. (In this classroom, the lead teacher was a monolingual English speaker; the associate teachers spoke Spanish). For all these reasons, the peer group language utilized during free play at this preschool is marked by a heavy reliance on Spanish. Nonetheless, English is beginning to be introduced to all the children - through the preschool curriculum, through the media, through older siblings and cousins who are already attending elementary school, and through a small number of peers at the center who are predominantly English-speaking. Through all of these mechanisms, children are encountering strong associations between knowing and using English and the ability to achieve success in the institutional structures (school, media, work, leisure) of the dominant U.S. society.

4. Methodological approach

This study combines ethnography with methods of talk-in-interaction. Children were observed and videotaped in their friendship groups in naturally occurring interactions during free play in their classrooms across the school year using ethnographic methods. Ethnographically grounded studies "of naturally occurring interaction in the life-world of a particular group" carried out over long periods of time enable the researcher " to

view the range of diverse types of social organization [and types of social practices] which are possible for that group" (Goodwin 2002: 718; see also de León 2005; Evaldsson 2005, 2007; Evaldsson & Cekaite, this volume; García-Sánchez, this volume; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, in press; Griswold 2007; Minks 2006, this volume; Paugh 2005; Reynolds 2007, this volume). With that range in mind, the ethnographer is in a better position to make interpretations about the meanings of given language practices. It is "essential to make use of ethnographic knowledge of the children and school setting to understand children's categorizations" (Goodwin & Kyratzis in press; Evaldsson 2005, 2007) and language practices. Key episodes of play within friendship groups involving code-switching were identified and transcribed using Jefferson's (1984) transcription system (see Appendix). Instances of a switch between codes either within a speaker's turn or between speakers' turns were identified and analyzed using constructs and insights from language socialization and heteroglossia. Conversation analysis was also applied, examining how code-switches accomplish changes in "footing" (Goffman 1979) and participation framework (M.H. Goodwin 1990a; C. Goodwin 2007). (Code-switches are shown with carets in the excerpts).

5. Ethnographic perspective on the peer group

Due to Spanish-speakers making up the majority of the children attending this preschool center, and in an apparent effort to accommodate peers, some of whom did not have strong English competence, children heavily relied on Spanish in all classroom free play. However, depending on the make-up of individual friendship groups of children, there could be considerable heteroglossic Spanish-English code-switching, especially when there was a group member who was monolingual in English or relied on English heavily.

In the peer group followed in this study, there was a child, Gaby[1] who was a monolingual English speaker. With the exception of a few Spanish loan words, we did not observe her use Spanish in the recordings made of her friendship group. There were seven other members of this friendship group, Nereyda, Norma, Tracy, Carmen,Thelma, Gloria, and Erika. These seven girls spoke both Spanish and English. (Most of these girls had stronger competencies in Spanish than English, although Tracy had about equal competencies in both languages). Gaby and Nereyda exerted a leadership role in the group, as did Norma, while Tracy, Carmen, Gloria, Erika, and Thelma did not exert a leadership role and were more peripheral members. These seven girls would usually address Gaby in English, and use Spanish when playing among one another. This addressee-language pattern was accompanied by a pattern mapping language to domain (Garrett 2005; Paugh 2005). The Spanish-speaking members of this friendship group, when they played with one another, would usually engage in play (conducted in Spanish) having to do with caring for babies or organizing the participation of younger peer group members (e.g., Nereyda and Norma would organize the participation of Carmen and Thelma). When the play involved, or was organized by, Gaby, on the other hand, (and occurred in English), it surrounded topics of American consumer culture (grocery store shopping, birthday party play). Grocery store or birthday play could involve only Gaby and Tracy, since these two girls shared a strong dyadic friendship

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[1] All names of children used in this report are pseudonyms, to ensure participant confidentiality.

with one another. Or it could involve Gaby and Tracy, with other members of the larger group. When birthday party play or grocery store play included Gaby with the other girls in the larger group, there was code-switching among players.

6. Bilingual practices for shifting frames and blurring boundaries between frames

The examples below, taken from an extended episode of birthday party play, show the nature of this code-switching. The episode involves three of the members of the peer group, Gaby, Norma, and Tracy, and one additional girl, Carmen, as well as two more peripherally involved girls, Gloria and Erika. As the examples will illustrate, Gaby (together with Tracy), and the members of the larger group of girls, orient to different game events within the birthday party game, events that may symbolize the different "moral universes and ways of being in the world [that] enter into conflict" in the "multilingual, culturally syncretic environment" (García-Sánchez, this volume) that characterize the life-world of the peer group. However, as the episode will show, the girls use code-switching fluidly to multi-task and manage shifting frames (Goffman 1974; Goodwin 1996) and participation frameworks within the play, and to reflexively portray the conflict and tension among the different frames. Through the frame-shifting, the girls work out and inscribe a regimented patterning and hierarchical ranking of the languages. Although their language practices in certain ways reinforce boundaries between language varieties and social groups, the girls also at moments use hybrid utterances and cut across the frames to forge alliances, thereby blurring the boundaries and affirming heteroglossia and linguistic hybridity within the peer group.

6.1. *Shifting frames: Reflexively portraying tensions between languages*

In the episode of birthday party play, the children can be seen orienting to particular "membership categorizations" (Sacks 1992). They have constructed a "membership categorization device that constitutes their play" (Butler & Weatherall: 451) as birthday party preparation (see also Kyratzis 2007). However, group members orient to different game events within the birthday party device. Gaby and Tracy orient to birthday parties as involving a category set of game events such as rituals of calling and inviting lots of people to the party, entertainment components such as showing movies, dancing, and having clowns entertain at the birthday party, and shopping for dresses in preparation for the party with credit cards. For example, early in the birthday play, Gaby asks Tracy "we need some d-dr-dresses/cause I have more dresses/who's coming…to this party?" and "Tracy, here's your credit cards/credit cards/credit card/ are you going right now"? Gaby orients to the idea of inviting a large number of people to the party, possibly as a status symbol. In other words, Gaby and Tracy orient to events of the birthday party device (MCD) in ways that invoke characteristics of U.S. consumer culture. Norma and Carmen, in addition to another girl, Erika, on the other hand, orient to the birthday party device as consisting of more traditional game events such as serving and preparing food for the party.

One girl in particular, Norma, in this set of examples can be seen to use code-switching in ways that shift the participation frameworks of girls at different moments of the interaction. At moments, she orients to Gaby, the monolingual English speaker,

and Tracy, and to the birthday party events that those two children orient to. At other moments, when those two children go off to play with one another (especially to engage in play depicting elements of U.S. consumer culture like dancing to music or watching a "Shark Tale" video), or to engage in conflicts with other children, Norma displays a stance of opposition by walking away from the activity. Norma uses code-switching to establish a form of participation framework that she controls and in which she organizes food preparation (play) events in Spanish with Carmen and Erika. However, through various linguistic practices (e.g., including heteroglossic utterances with Spanish and English), Norma continues to relate these events to events to which Gaby and Tracy are orienting, thereby breaking down barriers between different frames of play and between different groups of players. By doing so, she also challenges regimented patterns of codes and domain. The girls sustain play across wide areas of physical space in the classroom, moving from a central table of the house area, to a play sink which is in corner of the house area, to a cozy area across the room set up with large pillows, and to other areas.

In the first excerpt, Example 1A, Norma is orienting to Gaby and Tracy as players and to sweeping and cleaning as game events. To orient to Tracy and especially Gaby, Norma uses English. However, in the middle of the interaction, Tracy proposes that there be "dancing" at the party. Norma protests this invasion of a new category of game event into the birthday party device, and when the girls do not abandon dancing, Norma leaves the central table in the house play area and goes to the sink in the corner of the house area, apparently to engage in food preparation activity. After Norma leaves, Gaby and Tracy continue to orient to events of the broader birthday party device, including watching a movie at the birthday. At the very end of the excerpt, Norma uses a code-switch to Spanish to shift into a new frame of her own.

Example 1A: Birthday party preparation

[Gaby and Norma are by the kitchen table in the house area, dusting and sweeping. Shortly thereafter, Tracy appears. Later in the example, Norma leaves the table to go to the play sink in the corner, and Gaby and Tracy run to area across the classroom to watch a "movie".]

1   Gaby: I said to go play outside cuz we have to get the party ready=

2   Norma: =Yeah and we're cleaning. ((sweeping))

3   Gaby: Yeah. ((Gaby releases hold of broom, grasps cloth, "dusts" stack
             of cots))

4   Norma: It's a mess, at the house.
             ((Raises arm up, flips it, grasps broom and sweeps again))

5   Gaby: We don't <u>need</u> the socks. ((stuffs socks between cots))

6   Norma: Yeah! ((Flips arm inward and up, continues sweeping))

7   Tracy: Okay. Let's dance now= ((Tracy arrives at table))

8   Norma: =No way, it starts!
              ((Norma flips her arm, leaves center of house area and goes to
              corner with sink))

9   Gaby: Yeah. You could go dance but we're trying to clean the house.
              ((to Tracy, as tries close cookie box top))

10   Tracy: Mommy. I'm tired. ((stands, facing Gaby, who doesn't look at
              her))

11   Gaby: Go to bed. I bet it's under here. ((points under table))
              But you can't go. Your bed is over there. ((points to other side of
              room))

12   Tracy: Okay. ((goes away from table, out of camera range))

13   Tracy: Who clean up this mess máma? ((returns, stands looking at Gaby))
              Mommy-mommy who cleaned up (xxxxxx) in my room-of my room
              máma? ((faces Gaby, who looks up))

14   Gaby: Your room is over there, where your party is going to be.
              ((points to pillows on far side of room, Tracy goes))

15   Tracy: Um um my my room is gonna be started= ((Tracy returns to table))

16   Gaby: =Okay. We go do- come on. ((Gaby, Tracy run to pillows across
              room))

17   Tracy: Yeah I'm (xxx) every body is going to be there.
              Everybody is going to be there this time and it's gonna be
              and we're gonna see the movie of Shark Tale and=
              ((Tracy sits on pillows, faces wall, Gaby arranges pillows))

18   Gaby: =Shark Tale?

19   Tracy: Yeah! (Flings her back against cushion)). Come here.

20   Gaby: =(xxx) before your party.((still arranges pillows))

21 > Norma: =Hay que ir al dentista! ((calling from sink, as Carmen walks past
              pillows, heading towards her))
               =*We have to go to the dentist!*

        In the beginning of this excerpt, Norma and Gaby are happily sweeping together.
Gaby says something to Tracy about needing to get ready for the party and Norma
validates this by saying "yeah and we're cleaning" (line 2) in English, further validating
the idea of cleaning for the party by providing a reason, saying "it's a mess in the

house" (line 4). In other words, Gaby and Norma at the beginning of this excerpt are displaying shared alignment to one another and to cleaning as their shared activity. When Tracy displays orientation to a different game event, suggesting "let's dance now" in line 7, Norma (in line 8) opposes this ("no way, it starts"), suggesting that her moral orientation to dancing as an event of birthday party is a negative one. Gaby at first goes along with the cleaning continuing, saying to Tracy ("you could go dance but we're trying to clean the house"). However, despite Gaby's willingness to continue to display orientation to cleaning rather than dancing, Norma displays a stance of opposition to dancing and walks away from the table (line 8), sweeping while she goes and moving towards the corner, where she is off camera and possibly becomes engrossed in solitary pretend food preparation.

In lines 10-14, after Norma leaves, Tracy makes information requests of Gaby, in which she uses the vocatives "mommy", and "mama", that index Gaby as being in the role of her mother, in response to which Gaby informs her that the party is going to take place on the far side of the classroom. In line 15, Tracy displays orientation to the game event that the party "is gonna be started" and in line 16, Gaby displays an orientation to the party starting as well, by saying ("okay we go do- come on") and both girls run away from the house area to a cozy area on the other side of the room set up with large pillows (usually used for quiet reading). Here, they proceed to display an orientation to the excitement of lots of people being at the party and watching movies there. Tracy sits on the big pillows looking at a blank wall (as though a movie is being shown) while Gaby stands by and arranges the pillows in the area, and in lines 17-20 both girls say ("everybody is going to be there… and we're gonna see the movie of "Shark Tale"). Through their play actions, both girls display an orientation to a product of U.S. consumer culture -- an animated cartoon movie (involving the son of a gangster shark boss) that was popular at the time. After Gaby's and Tracy's departure from the house area, Norma makes a bid to organize her own activity. In line 21, she calls out "hay que ir al dentista", so that she can be overheard by a Spanish-speaking girl, Carmen, who has just walked past the pillow area and is seen heading towards the sink in the corner of the house area where Norma is.

Excerpt 1B shows that Carmen orients to the play frame that Norma ushers in with her call "hay que ir al dentista", and the two girls eventually become engrossed in cooking play that is conducted in Spanish.

Example 1B: Birthday party preparation

[Norma and Carmen, the principal players in this example, are off camera at the sink in the corner]

| 1 | Norma: | =Hay que ir al dentista! |
| | | *=We have to go to the dentist!* |

| 2 | Carmen: | Quítale esto. Allí está la comida. |
| | | *Take that away. There is the food.* |

3	Norma:	Estamos cocinando. Primero hay que cocinar sí?
		Mientras vienen=
		We are cooking. First we have to cook yes?

Before they come.

4   Carmen: =COMI:DA! NORMA LA COMI:DA!
             =FOOD! NORMA THE FO:OD!

5   Norma: Ha voy a repasar, trae la escoba para acá.
             Hey I'm going to sweep, bring the broom over here.

6   Carmen: Mira la comida.
             Look at the food.

In Excerpt 1B, Carmen orients to a participation framework between herself and Norma. She takes up the code that Norma had used when Norma called out "hay que ir al dentista", Spanish, and in Spanish, Carmen makes her own announcement of a possible set of game events to orient to, saying in line 2 ("take that away/ there is the food"). Both girls are using imperatives, possibly indexing an adult caregiver register (see Minks, this volume). With that statement referencing "la comida", both girls start to orient to game events of food preparation. In the next turn, line 3, Norma shows orientation to that game event by herself saying "we are cooking" and "first we have to cook" in Spanish (estamos cocinando" and "hay que cocinar"). The phrase "hay que cocinar" ties back to her own previous "hay que ir" (line 1), but she now substitutes the verb "cocinar" ("cook") for "ir" ("go"), "re-voicing" (Minks this volume) and displaying alignment to both her own and Carmen's prior utterances and suggestions for the play. She issues her own directive "trae la escoba para acá" in line 5. By using an imperative and through its content, she is continuing to index an adult caregiving register. The two girls show their alignment to this shared cooking frame for several turns (lines 1-6), through the semantic content of their speech and through continuing the code selection of Spanish. Nonetheless, in line 3, Norma continues her turn and relates the frame that the two girls are orienting to, cooking, such that the participation framework is extended to include the other two girls, Gaby and Tracy. She says in Spanish in line 3, "primero hay que cocinar sí? Mientras vienen" ("first let's cook yes? (in the meantime) before they come"). Even though she says this in Spanish, displaying continued alignment to participation framework including Carmen, she makes a semantic tie to Gaby's and Tracy's activity by using a subordinate clause containing the third person plural form of the verb "to come", "vienen". The verb form refers to Gaby and Tracy and relates the activity frame that Norma and Carmen are orienting to, cooking or "comida" play , to the activity frame that Gaby and Tracy were orienting to (coming or going to parties). In other words, the construction "primero hay que cocinar sí? mientras vienen", although not cast in two languages, is heteroglossic in that it indexes the two activity frames, making comida and the broader birthday party game, simultaneously. By inserting a form indexing the broader birth party game into "comida" play, the girls are challenging domain patterns of the two languages. As noted by Bailey, a focus on the concept of heteroglossia rather than "code-switching" enables acknowledgement of "the diversity of socially indexical linguistic resources within codes" (Bailey 2007: 268). The shared participation framework that the two girls Norma and Carmen maintain through Spanish is sustained through several turns (lines 1-6), during which some food is prepared for the party for those who will come to it.

These examples suggest that code-switching is a resource that preschool bilingual children can use to shift frames and participation frameworks during play. These examples provide evidence that "analysis of code-switching requires attention be paid to details of its local production" (Auer 1998: 1).

The example also shows how the girls orient to the "larger sociopolitical field" (Bailey 2007: 268) through their language practices. The girls use code-switching to multi-task and manage shifting frames and participation frameworks in the play. Through the frame-shifting, the girls inscribe a regimented patterning and hierarchical ranking of the languages. Gaby (together with Tracy) orient to different game events within the birthday party game from the events that Norma and Carmen orient to, events that symbolize the different "moral universes and ways of being in the world [that] enter into conflict" in the "multilingual, culturally syncretic environment" (García-Sánchez, this volume) that characterizes the life-world of the peer group within the bilingual preschool. The frame-shifting enables the girls to enact their own stances and reflexively portray the conflict and tension among their different languages (Bakhtin 1981) and different "moral universes" (García-Sánchez, this volume). Norma can express her frustration with the cleaning and preparing for the party not continuing, and with its derailment by other girls' (i.e., Gaby and Tracy's) enactment of events of U.S. consumer culture, by walking away from the play and initiating her own sub-frame. Even though the girls inscribe a separation in the moral universes projected with English and Spanish practices, as the next examples will show, they also find a way to blur the distinctions between them.

6.2. *Hybrid utterances: Blurring boundaries across shifting frames*

The following examples will show the girls continuing to frame-shift and project a division between and hierarchical ranking of mapping particular languages onto activities. However, the examples will also show that, despite the frame-language patterning, strong flashes of heteroglossic practices and the "doing [of] being bilingual" (Auer 1984) can be seen as the girls act to forge alliances with one another and inscribe linkages across frames.

Shortly after Example 1B, Gaby leaves the pillow area and returns to the center table where Gloria, another girl, is sitting. The next example, Example 1C, shows how Norma joins Gaby and tries to re-establish a participation framework with Gaby through several means, including, when other means fail, a hybrid utterance with Spanish and English.

Example 1C: Birthday party preparation

[Gaby and Gloria are at the kitchen table arguing; Norma and Tracy arrive later]

1   Gaby: Stop. Stop.

2   Norma: La llevamos así? ((off camera, still at corner))
                  Do we take it like this?

3   Res: Is that your mommy? It's right there. I put it there.

She came between and then she left.
Move it. ((referring to the microphone))
She is over there. ((referring to next child to have microphone))

4   Tracy: ((runs over, sits at table)) ee-i, ee-i, oh. ((singing))

5   > Gaby: Sí pero she's-she's mine. ((hits Gloria's arm))

6   Gloria: Aw that hurts. ((Tracy and Norma arrive at table))

7   Norma: Okay! ((Norma at table, standing, looks at Gaby; Tracy also arrives at table and sits, doesn't speak in this example))

8   Gaby: (Don't, don't) be her friend. Be my friend ((looking at Norma))

9   > Norma: OKAY! I'M GONNA PART THE COMIDA AND START (blip!)
                   ((Gaby looks down, cleaning))
                   ((Norma walks away from Gaby, moving toward corner, flipping her arms))

10   Gloria: Are you my friend?

11   Gaby: No. ((cleaning))

12   Gloria: I mean…Are you my friend? ((asks Gaby))

13   Gaby: Nobody's your friend.

14   Teacher: They're cleaning. ((Gloria hits Gaby))

15   Gaby: S-Stop!
                   ((Gaby moves her face in to scold Gloria, and Tracy hits Gloria lightly in empathy with Gaby))

16   Teacher: Stop.

17 > Norma: QUI:ÉN QUI:ERE VINO? ((off camera, calls out from corner))
                   who wants wine?

In Example 1C, as Gaby returns to the table and the camera moves to where Gaby is, Norma is standing by Gaby at the table, having left the corner area where she and Carmen had been playing in the previous example (Example 1B). Gloria and Gaby begin to engage in conflict (line 1 of Example 1C). Norma soon arrives at the table from the corner. Norma's bodily positioning (she is facing Gaby) suggests that she is orienting to Gaby, even though a moment prior (Excerpt 1B), she had been engaged in cooking activity with Carmen. Tracy runs to the center table where Norma, Gaby, and Gloria are, and sits next to Gloria at the table. The conflict between Gaby and Gloria

contains a notable use by Gaby of a heteroglossic construction ("si pero she's-she's mine" – line 5). Although Gaby was hardly ever heard producing Spanish words in the recordings made for this study, in this expression, perhaps by way of indexing an orientation to Norma, Tracy, and Gloria, she uses the Spanish discourse marker, "sí pero", meaning "yes but". Although Gaby has been speaking to the girls in English all during the birthday party play, the insertion of Spanish words into her utterance breaks down any associations between codes and groups of players, or between codes and frames. After a pause in the conflict between Gaby and Gloria, Norma in line 7 says "Okay!" loudly with falling intonation, as though she is announcing resumption of some activity (perhaps more cleaning for the birthday party), but Gaby faces Norma very deliberately and tells her in line 8 "don't be her friend. Be my friend" (meaning that Norma should not be friends with Gloria).

Unable to re-establish the birthday party frame with her use of the discourse marker "Okay!", in line 9, Norma displays a stance of opposition; she leaves the table to return to the corner where she had been playing "comida" before, flipping her arms outwards as she goes, displaying her frustration with the failure to get Gaby to go along with re-convening the larger birthday party game. Nonetheless, enroute, as she is leaving, she calls out something out loud in Spanish and English, possibly indexing that although she is leaving their table, what she is going to do still relates to Gaby's and Tracy's activity. In line 9, she calls out "Okay! I'm gonna part the comida and start blip!

This construction is quite heteroglossic, a hybrid mixture of Spanish and English. She says "part", which suggests that she may be referring to the Spanish verb "repartir" (meaning "distribute", as in distributing or passing food around). Although she is talking about her own activity, she designs her announcement in such a way that it is made relevant to Gaby and Tracy's activity by speaking partly in English and by calling out loud so that Gaby and Tracy can overhear as she is moving away from them. This seems to be an "announcement", which Sacks (1992: 87-97) defined as the act of making a comment (e.g., about one's own activity) so that it is noticed by others (see Szymanski 1999: 7). Szymanski (1999: 19) noted that such announcements can be rendered as "outlouds" which Goffman (1978: 796) defined as utterances not directed to any particular participant but which are stated so that they are available for all co-present participants. Here, Norma is announcing her own activity in a way that is not addressed to anyone in particular, but is cast loudly so that all (Carmen in the corner, and Gaby and Tracy at the table), can overhear. This heteroglossic statement displays an orientation to both events, the activity surrounding "comida" that the Spanish-speaking girls had been orienting to in Example 1B (towards which location, the corner of the house area, the speaker, Norma, is currently moving), and the events of birthday party that Gaby, Norma, and Tracy had all been orienting to together in Example 1A. (And which Norma was attempting to re-instantiate with her "Okay!"). Norma's utterance in line 9 displays her continued orientation to the activity that Tracy and Gaby were engaged in, even though at this moment, Gaby and Tracy are not particularly oriented to game events of birthday party, and even though she, Norma, the speaker, is moving away from Gaby and Tracy. The hybrid utterance and insertion of Spanish or Spanish-derived words ("part", "comida") carrying resonances of "comida" play into the otherwise English utterance and birthday party play challenge regimented patterns of codes and frames, thereby celebrating the heteroglossic nature of the play. Finally, as she reaches the sink in the corner of the house area in line 17, Norma calls out loudly

and shifts to Spanish "QUI:ÉN QUI:ERE VINO?", an out-loud that indexes a shift to a new frame, serving beverages, and a new participation framework, with Carmen and Erika, who are nearby. Both the shift to Spanish and the semantic content of her utterance index a return to food-related activities.

In Example 1D, Norma's announcement "QUI:ÉN QUI:ERE VINO?" ushers in a re-orientation to the food preparation/serving play that had been going on between herself and Carmen formerly. This frame is oriented to over 8 turns, as Norma, Carmen, and a third girl, Erika, talk to one another in Spanish and display an orientation to an activity of serving beverages (wine, coke) to one another.

Example 1D: Birthday party preparation

[Norma, Erika, and Carmen, off-camera, pretend to serve wine and coca-cola to one another in Spanish]

1   > Norma: QUI:ÉN QUI:ERE VINO??
                who wants wine?

2   Erika: Yo no.
                I don't.

3   Carmen: Yo sí. Yo sí. Pues traete la copa. Copa.
                I do. I do. Then bring the wine glass. Wine glass.

4   Norma: Una copa en el suelo!
                A wine glass on the floor!

5   Teacher: Stop Gloria and Gaby.

6   Carmen: Stop.

7.   Erika: Yo te traigo una coca.
                I will bring you a coke

As the next example, Example 1E, begins, Norma notices that Gaby has left the area of the table to engage in an exchange with the teacher, and she moves her body over to the table, where Tracy is now sitting alone, and attempts to negotiate a new frame. She uses Spanish to mark continuation of the food related activity frame that she had been participating in with Carmen and Erika in Example 1D, but she frames the play activity as one in which she can act as Tracy's mamá. This is notable; she is clearly usurping Gaby's previous role of being Tracy's "mama", seen in Example 1A. Norma also inserts English words into some of her Spanish utterances to create "resonances" (see Minks 2006) with the prior talk and birthday party game that had involved all the girls (herself, Tracy, and Gaby). By using some English words in a space, "comida" play, that has up to this point (Excerpts 1B, 1D) been conducted in Spanish, Norma breaks down regimented patterns between codes and domains.

Example 1E: Birthday party preparation

[Tracy sits at the kitchen table playing with plastic bottles; Gloria is sitting there also but does not speak. Norma walks over from corner and speaks to Tracy but keeps moving back and forth between table and sink-in-corner throughout example. The conversation in the example is between Norma and Tracy]

1   ((Carmen and Norma are talking off-camera, at the sink. Tracy is
                   sitting at the table next to Gloria. Norma walks over to Tracy and
                   stands over her looking down at her.))

2   > Norma: Tracy yo creo que vamos a tener que comer soup. Si no lo vamos a
                  tener que tirar (alright)? ((Turns and goes back to corner))
                  *Tracy I think we are going to have to eat soup. If not then we are going
                  to have to throw it out (xxx).*

3   > Tracy: Okay. And you come mamá?

4   Norma: Primero échale la co(pia)!
                  First put the (bottle) ((Norma approaches Tracy then retreats to
                  corner))

5   Tracy: Ten. Ándele! ÁNDELE!
                  Here take it! Go away! Go! ((meaning, she understands what Norma
                  wants her to do))

6   Norma: Vamos a tener que lavar a todos los trastes.
                  We are going to have to wash all the dishes.

7   Tracy: La. La. La. ((singing))

8   > Norma: (xxx) todo y la fiesta ya está. There you did it. Ya está! ((Norma walks
                  to/stands over Tracy, speaks to her, returns to corner))
                  (xxx) all and the party is ready. It's ready.

9   Tracy: Ya está la fiesta.
                  The party is ready.

10   Norma: *Me first=*

11   Tracy: =Este la fiesta. Mira. (x x).
                   =Um, the party. Look.

12   Norma: A yo quiero la escoba. Ya se me fue. ((Norma walks to then past
                   Tracy to opposite side of table, raises hands, changes direction, returns
                   to corner))
                   Ah I want the broom. It left me.

Although Carmen. Erika, and Norma had been playing together in the corner in Example 1D, in line 1 of Example 1E, Norma moves her body over to the table and now orients to Tracy. (Norma in standing position suddenly appears on camera and stands over Tracy and speaks to her). Norma may be noting that Gaby is now out of the area, speaking with a teacher. Tracy is sitting alone at the table playing with some empty plastic bottles. The reader might recall that earlier (Example 1A), Tracy had been engaged in commercially oriented activities of the birthday party device (e.g., dancing and movie-watching) with Gaby, who was in the role of Tracy's mother, and although physically nearby, Tracy had not at any time joined in the cooking excerpts that Norma had led (Examples 1B, 1D). In line 2 of Example 1E, Norma takes advantage of the opportunity provided by Gaby's absence and makes an indirect request, saying in Spanish "Tracy, I think we are going to have to eat soup/ if not then were are going to have to throw it out (alright?)". This request, by its content (showing concern for household matters), indexes and hence ushers in an adult caregiving register, particularly, a mothering frame, although the mention of the need to put food away, simultaneously indexes a return to the larger frame, preparing for departure to the birthday party. This is not a code-switch within Norma's speech, as she has been consistently speaking in Spanish in the immediately preceding talk (Example 1D), but it represents a code-switch in terms of the speech that had been going on at the table in Example 1C among Tracy, Norma, and Gaby, which is the last time that Norma had been involved in a participation framework with Tracy. By moving her body to be by Tracy and facing her, but continuing to speak in Spanish, Norma seems to be extending the participation framework that had existed among herself, Carmen, and Erika surrounding food in the area of the sink in the corner (Example 1D) to now include Tracy. However, even though she uses Spanish to address Tracy, she nonetheless inserts the English word "soup" and also possibly the English tag question marker, "alright" (although the latter is not heard clearly). By inserting the English word "soup" into "comida" play, she creates "resonances" (Minks 2006) with the talk used in the activity (preparing for a party) that the English-speaking girls had organized in Example 1A. In this way, Norma marks her continued orientation to the broader birthday party game.

Tracy responds to Norma's indirect request as orienting players to a mothering frame; in line 3, she directs a phrase to Norma in English that ties to this frame "okay; and you come "mamá"? By inserting this phrase about coming/going somewhere, she is creating resonances with the broader birthday game that the girls had been orienting to in previous examples (e.g., see Examples 1A, 1B, and 1C). However, by using English, Tracy may be displaying that she at first does not completely align to a participation framework existing between herself and Norma (in which Norma, rather than Gaby, acts as her mother) or that she wants to re-orient to the participation framework that had formerly existed between herself and Gaby in Example 1A. (As previously stated, Gaby is momentarily away from the immediate area). However, Tracy uses a hybrid form in line 3, inserting the Spanish vocative "mamá", into her response to Norma, perhaps showing some accommodation to Norma's code selection and marking some willingness, after all, to orient to the mothering frame and participation framework that Norma is now organizing. Tracy's use of a heteroglossic utterance (an otherwise English utterance framed with a vocative voiced with Spanish pronunciation) further challenges regimented patterns between codes and domains in the play and affirms its heteroglossic nature. Norma answers the question directed to her by Tracy by saying "First put the bottle!" (line 4), but in Spanish, perhaps to ensure that the participation

framework is one that she controls and which does not include Gaby. In the next line, line 5, Tracy aligns with Norma by shifting to Spanish and addressing Norma's concern about putting something somewhere, she says in Spanish "ten" meaning "take", semantically tying to Norma's "echala" ("put"), although she also expresses some exasperation with Norma's urgency about the bottle, in saying "ándele! ÁNDELE!", implying that she got the bottle so therefore, Norma should move away already.

Over an extended sequence (lines 4-12), Norma walks back and forth between the sink in the corner and the table, but keeps addressing Tracy mostly in Spanish, responding to her comments, and even congratulating her for getting the bottles in order and ready by using an English borrowing ("there, you did it!") in line 8. By using the heteroglossic form ("todo y la fiesta ya está. There you did it. ya está!"), and inserting the English phrase "There you did it!" into the utterance, she may be creating "resonances" (Minks 2006) with the broader birthday party play that had involved all the girls and which had been conducted in English, but she also returns immediately to Spanish ("ya está!") meaning, "it's ready!" to maintain her control of the mothering/food preparation frame. Through orienting to Tracy's activity and addressing her for the most part in Spanish, Norma is successful in maintaining a private dyadic alignment with Tracy which does not include Gaby, which Norma controls, and in which she (rather than Gaby) can play the role of Tracy's "mamá". Tracy, although showing some initial resistance to aligning fully to the frame involving being mothered by Norma and cleaning up food that Norma is organizing, does ultimately display alignment to it, in tying semantically, and through code-choice (Spanish) with Norma's speech. Throughout this example, despite the two girls Norma and Tracy inscribing a domain association between "comida" play and Spanish, they also at moments (in lines 2, 3, 8) use heteroglossic practices to break down the regimented patterning and to display a clear orientation to one another and to the broader birthday party game.

The next example shows Gaby returning to the table and re-framing the participation framework to be one which includes her and which she leads.

Example 1F: Birthday party preparation

[Before example begins, Tracy and Gloria are seated at table for the most part not speaking. At line 1, Gaby walks over to table sweeping; Norma comes over and stands next to her; throughout example, all four girls, Gaby, Norma, Tracy, and Gloria are at or next to table]

1   Gaby: Okay. I'm-I'm going to sweep the stuff and you have to cook and=
             ((Gaby has walked to table and is sweeping, Norma comes over also,
             both stand over Tracy))

2   Tracy: =No-no-no=

3   Gaby: =And you get the stuff ready ok?= ((tells Norma))

4   Norma: =No-no I get it I get it to the cake.

5   Gaby: Okay make a cake and you get it ready and I will sweep. ((starts
             sweeping))

6	Norma:	Okay. ((Norma is still standing over Tracy))
7	Gaby:	And I'll clean up the room too. ((sweeping))
8	Norma:	What is this? ((walks to other side of table))
9	Gaby:	Because I have to call them before they could come. Guess how many people are coming. ((stops sweeping, walks, steps, looks up at Researcher))
10	Res:	Really=
11	Norma:	=Yeah because, because, ((Norma also walks over to the Researcher))
12	Res:	=How many?
13	Norma:	=Because we're making a party. ((After utterance, walks back towards table))
14	Gaby:	Um, twelve. ((still looking up at Researcher))
15	Res:	Making a party.
16	Gaby:	Twelve. Thir-twelve.

As Excerpt 1F begins, Gaby, who has returned from speaking with the teacher and is standing near Tracy and Norma by the table, but is involved in a skirmish with a boy, finally (line 1) calls the girls to a participation framework that she will lead and which displays orientation to particular events of birthday party. She uses a discourse marker "Okay!" with falling intonation. "Okay" signals a return to an existing activity (Beach 1993; Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp 1999), "Okay. I'm-I'm going to sweep the stuff and you have to cook and=". With this announcement, Norma, Gaby, and Tracy become fully engaged in a frame of preparing for the birthday party that is now led by Gaby. Norma, along with the other girls, switches to English (line 4) to accommodate Gaby's involvement in the activity and the new participation framework led by Gaby, saying ("no I will get it to the cake"). Now that the play frame is being reorganized by Gaby, she orients the girls' play activity to more consumer-oriented events of birthday parties, involving calling impressive numbers of people on the phone and inviting them to the party ("I have to call them before they could come. Guess how many people are coming?"). Norma happily aligns with these new game events that Gaby has rendered relevant, completing Gaby's proposal that many people are coming in line 9 "Guess how many people are coming?", with provision of a reason "because, because we're making a party" in English in lines 11 and 13. She thereby validates Gaby's proposal and displays a positive affective orientation to the new participation framework and set of game events that Gaby is organizing and orienting to in English.

These examples illustrate group members' use of code-switching and other resources as devices for negotiating shifting frames and participation frameworks during

play. The girls sustain play over several physical displacements (from a central kitchen table of the house area, to a cozy area with pillows, to a sink in the corner of the house area, and back to the central table) and through shifts in participation framework. Code-switching and other resources (heteroglossic statements, outlouds, physical displacements of the body, discourse markers, semantic and syntactic ties to prior talk) provide means by which these shifting frames can be established and sustained and even related to one another across large distances of physical space in the preschool classroom. One girl, Norma, in particular, shifts between orienting to a broader frame of birthday party involving movie watching, dancing, cleaning, and calling and inviting people, chiefly organized by two other girls, Gaby and Tracy, but at alternative moments instantiates a smaller participation framework within the larger frame involving only Spanish-speaking girls and revolving around food. However, even within the latter frame, Norma still at times shows continued orientation to the play of the girls who enact events of American consumer culture, Gaby and Tracy. She accomplishes this through several means, including outlouds that are heteroglossic in nature, switching between Spanish and English, and announcing her continued orientation to those two girls. She also accomplishes this through expressions which refer to these girls ("before *they* come"), refer to the topics they are orienting to in the code they used to express those topics ("There you did it. ya está"), or which index a return to a frame of play ("okay!") that had formerly involved them.

In this set of examples of birthday party play, the girls are making local uses of code-switching. These examples suggest that code-switching is a resource that preschool bilingual children can use to shift frames and participation frameworks during play. These examples provide evidence that "analysis of code-switching requires attention be paid to details of its local production" (Auer 1998: 1).

The example also shows how the girls "orient to the larger sociopolitical field" (Bailey 2007: 268) through their language practices. They are code-switching fluidly, between turns. The girls use code-switching to multi-task and manage shifting frames and participation frameworks in the play. Through the frame-shifting, the girls inscribe a regimented patterning and hierarchical ranking of the languages that are used. Gaby (together with Tracy) orient to different game events within the birthday party game from the events that Norma, Carmen, and Erika orient to, events that symbolize the different "moral universes and ways of being in the world [that] enter into conflict" in the "multilingual, culturally syncretic environment" (García-Sánchez, this volume) that characterizes the life-world of the peer group within the bilingual preschool. The frame-shifting enables the girls to enact their own stances and reflexively portray the conflict and tension among their different languages (Bakhtin 1981) and different "moral universes" (García-Sánchez, this volume). Norma can express her frustration with the cleaning and preparing for the party not continuing, and with its derailment by other girls' (i.e., Gaby and Tracy's) enactment of events of U.S. consumer culture and momentary skirmishes with other children, by walking away from the play and initiating her own sub-frame. Tracy can similarly express her frustration with so much cooking and food-tending by at first refusing to show alignment with Norma's suggested frame (Example 1E), although later, she does ultimately display alignment to it. The girls, especially Norma, also convey their stances with dramatic gestures (e.g., Norma's flipping gestures as she walks away from the broader birthday party game).

Through frame-shifting so fluidly, "by slight shifts in alignment to their talk", the girls reflexively portray and "deal with the conflicting constraints" (Goodwin1996:

77) and tension between languages (Bakhtin 1981) and "moral universes" (García-Sánchez, this volume) that confront them in the life-world of their preschool and peer group. Even though the girls inscribe a separation in the moral universes projected with English and Spanish practices, they also find a way to blur the distinctions between them. Despite the frame-language patterning, strong flashes of heteroglossic practices and the "doing [of] being bilingual" (Auer 1984) can be seen as the girls act to forge alliances with one another and inscribe linkages across frames, particularly in two girls' (Norma's and Tracy's), as well as at one moment, Gaby's, use of hybrid utterances to index orientation to events of both the "comida" and the broader birthday party game frames simultaneously. Through such language practices, the girls blur the boundaries, affirming cultural hybridity and heteroglossia within the peer group.

7. Conclusions

These examples illustrate how code-switching can be a resource that preschool bilingual children can use to shift frames and participation frameworks (Goffman 1974, 1979) during play. They can use a code-switch to signal a smaller participation framework within a larger group, and then back again out of the smaller participation framework to the big group or to a different small one, and to establish or reestablish an alignment. The ability to sustain such shifting participation frameworks allowed children in this study to sustain play over multiple physical displacements of players and allowed children to display re-orientation to participation frameworks (C. Goodwin 2007; M.H. Goodwin 1990a), frames (Goffman 1974), and membership categorization devices (Butler & Weatherall 2006; Kyratzis 2007; Sacks 1992) after they had been disrupted by players becoming involved in momentary skirmishes or competing participation frameworks and frames. Focusing analyses of code-switching on Goffman's notions of "framing" and "footing" is consistent with recent studies of code-switching (Zentella 1997), which take a conversation analytic approach emphasizing "locally determined" (Auer 1998; Jorgensen 1998), aspects of code-switching (Auer 1998; Cromdal & Aronson 2000; Ervin-Tripp & Reyes 2005; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2005; Kyratzis, Tang, & Köymen 2009; Zentella 1997). This approach argues that in order to understand code-switching, the analyst must not lose sight of the purposes that speakers' communicative practices serve within their "particular piece of communication" (Jorgensen 1998: 239; see also Auer 1998 and Cromdal & Aronsson 2000). Signaling shifts in frame, footing, and social alignment are just the kinds of local effects that speakers endeavor to accomplish in mundane interactions. I have argued elsewhere (Kyratzis, Tang, & Köymen 2009) that just these kinds of frame-shifting practices underlie emergent literacy skills valued in the U.S. schooling system (e.g., "decontextualized language" in the sense of creating non-present scenes); therefore allowing linguistic minority children to use their peer group communicative resources in the classroom would support their transition to school-based ways of communicating.

The examples here also provided evidence of how child peers, in their "own arenas of social action" (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis 1998) within the peer group, also socialize one another to orient to the "larger socio-political field" (Bailey 2007: 268) in certain ways through their language practices. The children are exposed to regimented patterns of codes and domains in the community around them, in an American media that glamorizes U.S. consumer culture and associates English practices with it, and in a

preschool culture that although conveying messages about the importance of Spanish maintenance, also associates English practices with future success in school. Through frame-shifting so fluidly, through their "skillful management of changing alignments towards the talk [they are] producing" (Goodwin 1996: 77) and by means of double-voicing, the girls enact their own stances and reflexively portray the conflict and tension among their different languages (Bakhtin 1981) and different moral universes (García-Sánchez this volume). They can juxtapose competing sub-frames and "world views" (Bakhtin 1981) side by side (see Minks 2006; García-Sánchez this volume; Reynolds this volume), and move among them, sometimes walking away from them, sometimes embracing them. "By slight shifts in alignment to their talk", they reflexively portray and "deal with the conflicting constraints" (Goodwin1996: 77) and tensions.

In this set of examples from birthday party play, a regimentation of codes was inscribed in the play of the children, such that they associated English practices with neutral events (cleaning), but also to events of U.S. consumer culture (e.g., "Shark Tale" movies shown at birthday parties; calling lots of people and inviting them to the party), and Spanish practices with traditional activities of preparing and serving food, as well as with traditional adult roles, such as those of mamá or hostess. This patterning suggests children's construction of a regimentation (Garrett 2005, 2007; Paugh 2005; Schieffelin 2003) and gendered ranking of these two languages of the type described in previous language socialization studies (Keim 2007; see also García-Sánchez this volume). However, the fluidity of code use by both Spanish and English speaking girls at moments of the birthday party event (where two girls, Norma and Tracy, challenged regimented patterns between codes and domains and used quite heteroglossic forms to maintain orientation to both kinds of frames simultaneously) illustrate how the gendered-ranking of these two languages can be challenged. Although the girls constructed some associations of Spanish with the domains of "comida" and family, they also challenged these same associations, when Norma inserted English words ("soup"; "There, you did it!") into "comida" play or used a heteroglossic construction with both English and Spanish words when she was leaving the larger birthday party game and moving into "comida" play ("Okay, I'm going to part the comida and start blip!"). Similarly, although the girls constructed some associations of English with themes of U.S. consumer culture, they also challenged these same patterns. This occurred when Tracy inserted the Spanish-accented form "mamá" even though she was speaking English and simultaneously creating resonances ("will you come") with the broader birthday party game, and when she eventually shifted to Spanish even though she had tried initially to resist participation in Norma's invoked sub-frame of "comida". It occurred also when Norma used Spanish or hybrid words ("comida" and "part" in "I'm going to part the comida and start blip") in the segment of play where she was trying to re-establish the broader birthday party game, and when Gaby used Spanish ("sí pero") in that same play segment. The heteroglossic statements the children produced, in which they varied codes within the same utterances and frames, showed them to be creating resonances and linkages across frames, diminishing boundaries, and affirming the heteroglossic nature of their play.

The girls' agency in signaling shifting frames and using hybrid utterances, utterances that crossed frames and related them to one another, even though they did not command equal competencies in both codes, underscores how the girls act to forge alliances with one another. They are beginning to display their affiliation with a bilingual youth peer group (Jorgensen 1998, 2004; Keim 2008; Minks 2006, this

volume; Zentella 1997). Second generation bilinguals use such bilingual practices "as a marker of individual bilingual identity in opposition to adult [monolingual] norms" (Jorgensen 1998: 249; see also Zentella 1997, 1998). By code-switching so fluidly, they may be "mark[ing] off a generational space" that is different from that of adults (Minks 2006: 125; Minks this volume) . Their language practices challenge gendered ranking of the two languages as inscribed by adult discourses in their home communities and by dominant monolingual discourses of the wider U.S. society. In the larger ethnography, the girls continued to code-switch and use heteroglossic forms on other occasions, so there is longitudinal evidence to suggest that in spite of the assimilationist policies which they were beginning to confront and receive messages about in the bilingual preschool in preparation for their education in the U.S. public school system, (as well as from the media and other venues), the girls continue to make ample use of it, thereby defying institutional and societal expectations that these codes become incrementally compartmentalized. It should be noted, however, that when the girls would reach kindergarten and elementary school the following academic year or the one afterward, assimilationist language policies would take much stronger forms than in the bilingual preschool, which is supportive of their family language; in elementary school, the institutional expectations will be that these codes become incrementally compartmentalized to eventually, English only. So in the future, there would be more for them to struggle against.

However, for the time they were observed here, as argued by Bailey, the children's "alternation of English and Spanish…diminish a linguistic boundary that others have created" (Bailey 2007: 269) and allow them to resist the media influences and English-only policies that they are beginning to confront. The fact that the language-activity patterning can shift quite dramatically at different moments of play is notable, and is only detectable through methods that combine longitudinal ethnography with studies of talk-in-interaction. The fluidity of the patterning shows the children responding to locally-relevant contingencies (e.g., displaying alignment to particular girls) and shows them constructing their own stances. At moments, particularly when they moved very "easily across social and linguistic" boundaries (Minks 2006: 125) and used hybrid utterances, (as they did at distinct moments during the birthday party play), they showed subversion and resistance, both to regimented patterns of languages and domains available in the adult community, as well as to monolingualist-nativist tendencies evidenced in polarizing discourses about belonging. The heteroglossic practices and contextual variation illustrate how the girls' social negotiations of locally-relevant social identities within the peer group can entail subversion of dominant discourses (see also Evaldsson & Cekaite; García-Sánchez; Minks; and Reynolds, this volume); their heteroglossic practices do not "fit into static unitary categories of language and identity" (Bailey 2007: 270).

Appendix

Transcription Conventions

The transcription symbols are as follows:

[	Left square bracket	the beginning of overlapping talk
]	Right square bracket	the end of overlapping talk
.	Period	falling intonation
?	Question mark	rising intonation
,	Comma	continuing intonation
-	Dash	abrupt cut-off
=	Equal sign	talk produced without transition
space		silence
:	colon	prolonged syllable.
<u>warm</u>	Underlining	prominent syllable
YOU'LL	All caps	loud speech
( )	Parentheses	undecipherable speech.
food	Italics	English translation of Spanish speech
(0.5)	Number in parentheses	Pause of designated no. seconds
((smiling))	Double parentheses,	Transcriber's comments

Acknowledgements

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