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**Talk and Play as interactions among bilingual children in
Beacon Valley, Mitchell's Plain**

By

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Magister Artium

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Abstract

This study investigates talk and play as interactions in a “small context” among so-called coloured bilingual children and their interactions amongst themselves in the community of Beacon Valley (Mitchell’s Plain). One of the few communities to emerge from apartheid’s ruins, Beacon Valley, as a community, has given shape to bilingual children’s identities, i.e. the way they talk and play as a result of bilingual (English, Afrikaans) contact through individual interactions.

This study builds on the pioneering interactional study of Marjorie Goodwin’s “*He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children*” (1990), which focussed on a selected group of bilingual children and particularly on peer-to-peer interaction. Goodwin’s study is a qualitative study that analysed audio interactional data through a participation-framework in order to understand how bilingual communication among bilingual children informs us about how they manage interaction, frame interaction, but also sustain interactions with their peers and parents. The data analysis suggests that bilingual children, in their bilingual socialization, come to learn about the terms and conditions and interaction dynamics as they navigate through English and Afrikaans (and Afrikaaps) to participate in interactions.



This study concludes that historically racialized, so-called coloured bilingual children organize their interactions, talk, and play within their community, with their peers (friends) and parents. The data collected revealed from a structural and interactional perspective that bilingual children use particular strategies of participation-framework to take a stance and that they use languages in such a way to manage everyday social activities, conversations, and games. It concludes with several suggestions for future research on bilingual children’s talk and play.

Declaration

I declare that *Talk and Play as interactions among bilingual children in Beacon Valley, Mitchell's plain*, is my own original work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Mullisa Chantel
Baatjes 2504736

Signed.....

Date.....



Acknowledgments

Jeremiah 29:11

“For I know the plans I have for you,” declares the Lord, “plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future”

I'd like to thank the individuals named below, without whom I would not have been able to perform my research or finish my Master's degree! Professor Quentin Williams and Dr Amiena Peck for their willingness to impart their knowledge. I could not have done this without you. I have learned so much from you and it has contributed immensely to my personal growth which I will treasure throughout my life.

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The families and research participants who took the time to complete my questionnaires, and allowed me to record and interview them, you have contributed thoroughly to my research, without you this would not be possible.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.0 Introduction

This research is based on Marjorie Goodwin's book, "*He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children*" (1990), in which she studies children from a black working-class community to investigate how children used language and communication to socially organize themselves. Similar to her research, a few children from a bilingual working-class community in Beacon Valley were used as research participants for this research to represent the black community. Goodwin's research history was looked at briefly and how it is relevant to the research.

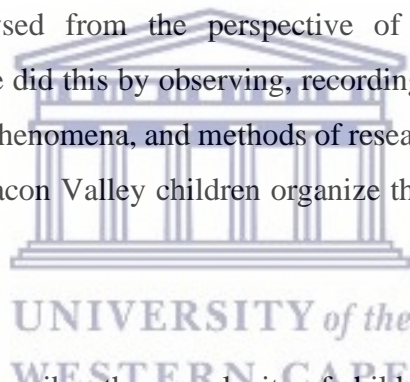
In addition, a brief introduction to apartheid will be presented to provide context around its importance and influence on the sociology related to this topic. Beacon Valley is one of the few communities to have resulted from the aftermath of apartheid. The Beacon Valley community is still experiencing inequalities, and this affects the development of generations even years after freedom was granted. Children's identities, conversations, play, and interactions are influenced by their communities, their history, and their parents. Modern society is constantly evolving and social organization among children is becoming more and more topical, which makes this area of study more and more important. Over the years, children grow into independent adults and their identities are shaped by their upbringing and community influence. In this study, children's interaction dynamics were examined during play and communication activities. This is how children's sociological cognition is managed through conversation and play while exploring and applying Goodwin's theories.

1.1 Studying Bilingual Children's Interactions: Building on *He-Said-She-Said*

This study advances Marjorie Goodwin's (1990) interactional research on speech as a social institution in black children. Goodwin, a well-known linguistic anthropologist, conducted extensive research on language and interaction among children, illuminating bilingual speech practices unique not only to the contexts she focused on, but also on how we should think and write about social interaction in young children. Goodwin's field of specialization concerns

how people use expressed language practices to co-create the social, cultural, and cognitive contexts in which they live. Much of her research focuses on the management of language use and types of interactions in typical contexts where young children interact, such as the family, amongst friends their own age, and in the workplaces of their parents. Goodwin explored how young people in peer groups develop and debate their opinions about ethical behaviour as children play or work together. Some of her more recent research examines a range of mutually evolving communication methods, such as language, touch, emotion, structure, influences, human society, closeness, and family integration.

Marjorie Goodwin's research can be summed up by looking at the embodiment of human language practice as language is used to construct the social, cultural, and cognitive world in which we live, as well as survey, research, and study how children interact with each other by observing their ethical behaviour, the inequalities between them, and how they play and work together. In addition, she examines how children's multilingual interactions are shaped by sociocultural dynamics, analysed from the perspective of linguistic anthropology and interactive sociolinguistics. She did this by observing, recording, and comparing interactions. Like this study, these aspects, phenomena, and methods of research will navigate and organize the ways in which selected Beacon Valley children organize themselves socially in a similar fashion.



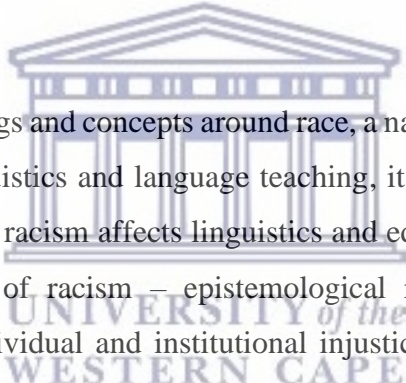
Overall, Goodwin's research describes the complexity of children's communication practices through conversational analysis. Many bilingual children by nature practise their bilingualism not knowing the impact their bilingual communication has on monolingual types of interactions. As a result, children's speech patterns and language habits are often overlooked. This phenomenon mainly emphasizes the elements in the process of conversation and play.

In bilingual contexts, surveys of collaborative play with children have reported a variety of imaginative bilingual pronunciation patterns, including point-by-point testing of multiple dialects. The meaning-making practices of children in interaction and through their bilingual communication with their peers (one on one or in groups) are effectively accomplished not only as a matter of how they are socialized but also the type of personality they portray, and this influences their own sense of belonging. In many ways, in the management of children's

intimate and personal playful interactions with peers, a particular degree of intimacy between children is usually expected. However, the way this sociability arises and is created among children and peer to peer interaction link daily and thus becomes an obvious focal point of investigation.

1.2 Researching Children’s Bilingual Interaction: Apartheid and Beacon Valley

There is a gap in sociolinguistic research in South Africa that focuses specifically on the bilingual interactions of young children. Much of this has to do with apartheid linguistics, a body of knowledge that privileged the study of English and Afrikaans mainly, and to a lesser extent the varieties of those languages as tied to racial consciousness and the racial way of life in South Africa. Although this study is not a study of language and race, but rather how previously racialized speakers use language in interaction, for background purposes, it is still imperative for us to discuss how race shaped language in apartheid life in South Africa, and how it could give shape to language interactions.



There are multiple understandings and concepts around race, a nation, culture, and how dialects relate to all three. In sociolinguistics and language teaching, it has been examined how race and language intersect and how racism affects linguistics and educational practices. A critical examination of another form of racism – epistemological racism. Questioning is often conceptualized in terms of individual and institutional injustices. Inquiring into how racial disparity affects our knowledge creation and consumption in academia, Boas (1940:4), for example, argued that with respect to dialects, “when we discuss race, we ruthlessly assemble individuals who share certain physical characteristics”. It is encouraging that a considerable amount of research has been done on language and race since Boas. The work of Mary Bucholtz (2011), among others, are important in this respect because considerations of race affect our understanding and use of dialects, in particular with respect to understanding a speaker’s exposure to issues of language and race. As Bucholtz (2011: 5) described it: “Language and race meet in three fundamental ranges: the utilization of racial terms, racially-themed talk, and the typical utilization of dialect shapes as shapes of discourse related to particular racialized groups.”

From these quotes, we understand that race can be a social construct that classifies people into

different groups based on their physical appearance and cultural background. Harris and Rampton (2003: 34) have shown that “the nature of dialect is closely linked to culture”.

In 1948, the government of the National Party (NP) introduced the ideology of apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid, which means *segregation* in Afrikaans, was implemented as a system to separate ethnic groups in South Africa (South African History Online, 2016). Apartheid clearly illustrated that race is a social construct with no biological significance. The Population Registration Act defines a “white person” as “a person who is clearly, or generally accepted as white, but does not include a person who, although clearly white, is generally accepted as white. Apartheid law in the past had negatively put many coloured South Africans at a disadvantage because they were not white. Apartheid also maintained the separation of ethnic groups by ensuring that coloureds remained below the poverty line.

People of various ethnic groups had to live and develop in isolation, resulting in inequality among non-white ethnic groups. The law prohibited interracial marriages, restricted access to places, access to land, and other forms of integration. Beacon Valley was thus conceived as a “model township” by the apartheid government and erected once the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act 1950 (South African History Online, 2016) came into effect.

The bill imposed physical isolation between people and stipulated which ethnic groups could and could not live in designated urban spaces in South Africa. The law also resulted in the forced relocation of Cape Town’s District Six. The Bantu Autonomy Promotion Act of 1959 also stipulated that different ethnic groups had to live in different regions. Non-white areas were located outside the city, far from white ethnic groups. The aim of the Group Areas Act was to separate South African citizens based on race, physical appearance, and geographical location, to control the people according to racial hierarchy.

The idea was to keep coloureds and “blacks” as far away as possible from “white-only” designated areas and the city centre. A lot has changed in post-apartheid South Africa, where the community has not only become diverse in languages but also racialized bodies and identities (Adhikari 2009:49).

In Beacon Valley, there are three dominant varieties of language which is Afrikaans, English, and isiXhosa, though many of the children who grow up in the community are widely exposed to the Afrikaans variety Afrikaans, which is defined as a non-standard language spoken in South Africa, and mainly in the Western Cape (see Williams, 2018).

Beacon Valley is a bilingual community initially known as a coloured township, established about 32 km from the city centre of Cape Town. It is located on the Cape Flats, near False Bay between Muizenberg and Khayelitsha. The area was created to alleviate the housing “shortage” for coloured communities in 1950 during apartheid.

While this thesis did not focus on race explicitly as a marker of social life in apartheid and post-apartheid society, race and racism nevertheless endure. This thesis explores how the historically racialized and marginalized circumstances of the children and parents who participated in this study, as so-called coloured bilingual speakers, organize talk and play as types of interactions.

1.3 The different styles of research applicable to this study

The distinctive styles of investigation Goodwin employs incorporate communication ethnography; encapsulated human interaction; discussion examination; dialect and gender; family interaction; working environment ethnography; and social organization of children. Although you may be referred to as “black” in South Africa due to your race, which is greatly dependent on your culture, you can also be referred to as Xhosa or Zulu. For the most part, as noted above, your race classification/identification can be dictated by your local dialect.

In South Africa, the local dialect can vary from 11 dialects or more. In sum, organic contrasts are the antecedents of race, and race is based on social contrasts, while social contrasts are based on etymological heritage, ethnicity, and other variables (Bucholtz, 2011).

Linguistic ethnography is neither a paradigm, a unified ‘school’, nor a conclusive synthesis.

Instead, it is better described as a meeting place where several established lines of research collide, pushed together by circumstance, open to discovering new affinities, and familiar enough with one another to approach discrepancies with equanimity.

There is an academic justification for this connection, and it is based on two key principles.

- (a). Meaning is created and constructed by operators with predictions and sets that must be ethnographically captured in social relationships, histories of relationships, and regulatory regimes specific.
- (b). Examining the internal structure of phonetic (and other types of semiotic) information is necessary to comprehend its relevance and place within the world. Meaning is essentially more than fair because life narrative, recognized pieces of evidence, position, and nuance are all strongly indicated within the phonetic and literary fine grain.

Next, the embodied human interaction takes the centre of the association of activity in human connection. The inquiry quickly emerges with respect to where and how the construction of human activity may be explored. Various disciplines have taken totally different sorts of marvels, running from the psychological expectations of individual entertainers to enormous, verifiably moulded social constructions, as the legitimate locus for such investigation. Here, we take our starting point as occasions when different gatherings complete endogenous approaches working together in human eye cooperation. The significance for work on an encapsulated connection has been Mead's study of methodological independence (Mead, 1909, 1934), that is, of those records of public activity and representative connection that set the self as given and treat significance, psyche, and intersubjectivity as epiphenomena or results of person minds.

Mead (1934: 222-223) kept up with the hypothesis that imagined communication as a discussion of signals. Signals in Mead's origination are not handed motions as they are concentrated today, yet more comprehensively early portions of acts, parts that can become isolated as unattached units with natural and inspired, yet regular, connections to the social demonstrations in which they have arisen. All things considered, Mead's origination is viable

with interactionist records of hand motions. He saw that, through the whole course of collaboration, we break down the early activities of others by our own natural responses to changes in their stances and different indications of creating social activities (Mead, 1909: 219).

With social activities, conversation analysis examines and explores the methodology members utilize to build and make coherent communication, and the occasions that happen inside it (Sacks, 1984). Groupings of talk are analysed to perceive how members make meaning together, not just through the way they produce talk for others to react to, but also through their take-up to what others are saying.

Although some biological characteristics of people play a crucial role in the acquisition and subsequent use of language, language is mostly a social phenomenon. This raises the possibility that language will represent all characteristics of the social system. This assumption forms the basis of sociolinguistics. The relevance of language and social identity has some very interesting implications for language acquisition. There is no doubt that laypeople have certain biological attributes that allow them to learn languages. Motivation is provided by the strongest urge: the urge to identify with and be placed in the social system as a member of the community. From early childhood, learning and communication have been captured only as a means of understanding a person's practice and performance of identity in a social unit. Language is the most effective way of communication, and perhaps the clearest way of social identification to have received attention in this capacity. In linguistic theory, the concept of "ability" has been introduced (Chomsky, 1965) as a determinant of the language area that the language model must be able to explain. Quite simply, the ability is the idealization of the speaker's knowledge of languages; the description of a language should at least be able to clearly indicate what the speaker knows—perhaps only implicitly—about his own language. It should be clear that the word "speaking" used in these sentences is an abstraction that is similar in many ways to the concept of language in linguistics and the concept of collective consciousness in the field of sociology.

This study aims to build on Goodwin's work, theory, and methodology on a small scale based on the concepts discussed. Goodwin's research animates this project significantly as her

research focuses on the bilingual organization and interaction in peer groups and children's families.

1.4 Research Problem

Talk and play as multilingual interaction and social organization between coloured children and other racialized bilingual children are under-researched by interactional sociolinguists in post-apartheid South Africa. There is a gap in literature from a sociolinguistic perspective on how bilingual children manage their interactions with their peers by using various speech styles as well as speech registers to talk, play and socially organize themselves. The rationale for this study is that to address how children are socialized, we need to focus on some of the dynamics of language through socialization.

Furthermore, the methodological approach used assists with understanding those dynamics as it unpacks the bilingual practices of children as they participate in daily social activities, revealing the historical and future traces of ideologies influenced by race and identity.

In this regard, it is understood that children are active agents in subtly reproducing and modifying language practices as well as ideologies (Ochs, 2001).



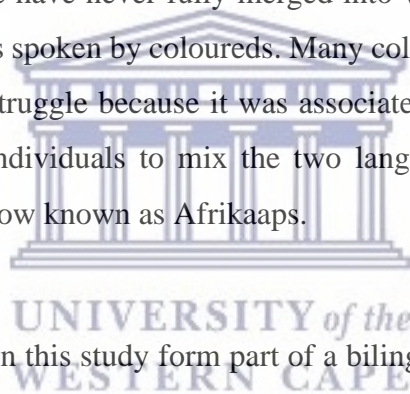
1.5 Research Question

- What are the interactional dynamics of bilingual talk and play, as activities, among a select group of young bilingual children in Beacon Valley, Mitchell's Plain?

1.6 Research Objectives

- To explore how talk and play are the key factors to the management of bilingual interactions among young children;
- To bring sociolinguistic awareness to parents on how peer interactions are managed through talk and play.

Specifically, this study investigates how bilingual children, historically classified as coloured, living in a working-class community, organizes their bilingual talk and play through interaction with other children. A coloured is a racial classification based on the pigmentation of your skin, as defined by legislation during the apartheid era. A distinctly coloured and linked Cape Malay culture has formed in the Western Cape. People classed as coloured in other parts of southern Africa are frequently the offspring of people of two different ethnicities. Coloured descendants in South Africa were classed as the result of a marriage between white settlers, aboriginal Africans, and Asian slaves imported to the country from Dutch colonies in Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Coloureds were mostly known as domestic workers, farm labourers and fishermen, but many also engaged in skilled trades. Most of Cape Town's structures were painted and designed by people of colour and black tailors known for their skill. Coloured people have traditionally been linked to white people. They share the same language (English and Afrikaans), attend the same church (mostly Christian Protestants, but some Catholics), eat similar foods, and dress similarly, particularly in recent years. Despite their shared history, coloured people have never fully merged into white civilization. English and Afrikaans are the two languages spoken by coloureds. Many coloured races avoided Afrikaans throughout the anti-apartheid struggle because it was associated with white supremacy. It is not uncommon for coloured individuals to mix the two languages to create a unique and informal vernacular, which is now known as Afrikaaps.



The children who participated in this study form part of a bilingual community in which they use more than three different languages, namely English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, but speech styles and registers (such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal) are also evident. The age group of children ranges between six and eleven. They come from different religious backgrounds, specifically Christian and Muslim, both boys and girls. All the children are at primary school and part of a household with both parents present. Most of the older population in this community speaks Afrikaans and their younger offspring speaks English with a growing isiXhosa culture, as this is now a subject at many schools in the community.

1.7 Chapters Overview

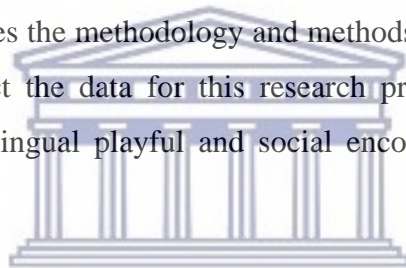
Chapter 1: This chapter serves as the introduction and background of the study and provides the reader with the necessary context needed to understand the study and introduce the

importance of the study of interactional sociolinguistic research on talk as a social organization among and between bilingual children. The building blocks of the research are discussed as well as the research problem, questions, objectives, and scope of the study.

Chapter 2: The literature review maps out the literature used to support the study by drawing on the theory of previous studies and defining the terms relevant to this specific research. This chapter explores how bilingualism is more than the acquisition of two or more languages and that it is intrinsic.

Chapter 3: This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study. Important for the study is interactional sociolinguistics as the overall guiding theoretical framework, as well as child interaction theory and participation frameworks.

Chapter 4: This chapter outlines the methodology and methods, including the data collection processes I followed to collect the data for this research project. This project sought an empirical basis for various bilingual playful and social encounters in a selected group of children.



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Chapter 5: This is the first analytical chapter. It focuses on the analysis of grammatical features of the audio data sets (voice recordings) and transcriptions thereof which includes the following aspects of the conversations captured during the interactions:

- Lexical function - language vocabulary; particular attention will be focused on the children's stylistic forms and techniques of talk in interaction;
- Syntactical function - language rules, the norm and standard practice of the language used both in English and Afrikaans, and how the children differentiate from this;
- Phonological function - language sounds, what this means is that the focus will be on pronunciation and articulation of certain words in interaction.

Chapter 6: This second analytical chapter focuses on natural interactions amongst children who gathered on Saturday afternoons to socialize. The analysis and discussion in this chapter focus on interactions which stem from talk and play.

Chapter 7: This is the discussion chapter which shows the relations of bilingualism amongst the children and their interactions during weekend social visits. The focus is on showing how bilingualism and mixed languages are stylized in interaction. It also reviews the similarities and differences in these interactions.

Chapter 8: The last chapter provides a summary of the research results and will reflect on the relationship between this research and Goodwin's research. Possible suggestions for further research are also discussed in this section.



Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

This chapter will discuss scholarship on bilingualism as the intersection of race, dialect, and societal interest in coloured children. Some of the key audit takeaways to contextualize the review will focus on language and dialect socialization, repetition, competence, children's play, peer grouping, intelligence, parent-child intelligence, and code change.

2.1. Language Socialization

Language socialization refers to the way that young children are raised to become speakers of their particular speech community (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). In this way, every adult that we come across has had their own language socialization journey which resulted in their particular linguistic background, accent and therein, membership to a particular community. Ochs and Schieffelin (2017: 1) point out that “Language socialization presupposes that community members desire and expect children and other novices to display appropriate forms of sociality and competence. Language becomes instrumental in effectuating these ends through symbolic and performative capacities that mediate human experience.” While socialization has become associated with children's passive reception of knowledge from more experience adults, Ochs and Schieffelin (2017) argue that language socialization is more dynamic, as it is the “...outcome of synergistic communicative entanglements of novices with sources of knowledge, human, or otherwise”. In many ways, children engage with a whole host of different human and non-human prompts in their environment to make meaning.

Notably, the definition of ‘socialization’ has long been viewed as “too defined, one-sided, and mature in very different fields, such as brain research, human thinking, and sociology” (Ochs *et al.*; Schieffelin, 2011: 3). Essentially, “cultural acquisition” has been criticized for the fact that children are perceived as slow recipients of communication due to the locally celebrated period (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011: 3) through socialization.

On the other hand, Boas (2004) sees socialization as an invitation to change children's intuitive and unconscious tendencies to speak, act, and think. Information is socially reproduced in childhood by imitation and internalized when there is no adaptation. In this context, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) compare the teacher to an "impregnation" in which the learner assembles the inferred logic and coordinates the logic of national capitalism, structure, and refinement. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) separation see orientation strategy as a violent and harassing symbol of a subjective social power. Although according to Boas (1966), cultural transmission is the most highly trustworthy, fundamental, and effective (Boas 1966 cited in Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). Sapir's (1924) statement that "Language can be an incredible driver of socialization, possibly the most important attribute that exists" served as the initial inspiration for the term "socialization", which is now used in a variety of contexts (Mandelbaum 1958:15 cited in Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011).

The study of language socialization therefore clearly focuses on how children and other language learners interact with one another in specific situations and cultural environments as they grow up. The knowledge of the different conclusions of loose and contradictory meanings in children's perception (Geertz, 1973) of the "unconscious notion of behaviour" (Sapir, 1929) are typically part of everyday dialect socialization. This prepares students for courses in a variety of social settings, including family, education, religion, play, the media, and the workplace, among others. Children therefore go through a continuous unconscious learning process where challenges are presented on a regular basis and they learn how to express themselves in a way that is acceptable in society. This is their language socialization.

Apart from language socialization, there is also dialect socialization, which is known as the method by which children become verbal communicators in addition to becoming members of the community. Their dialect competence depends on their viability, on the development of perspectives, including specific situations, and on building relationships, teaching, moral and ethical universes (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). Becoming a perceived part of a community involves preparing to conform to the belief systems of communicative assets, calculating how they perceive and disclose information, express feelings, perform functioning, forming people, and establishing and maintaining relationships (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). Each speech community's degree of cohesion is determined by how children organize their interactions around cultural expectations of the community and it often depends on how communication takes place in situations of contact, including who communicates with whom about what and

in what form, lessons, and standards of conduct (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011: 7). The idea of focus groups becomes imperative in the recognition and representation of social orders and relationships that have been tested through change, contrast, and development. Dialect socialization research allows us to understand how children's social systems of meaning and social interactions in the research community were acted out. Dialect socialization approves the hypothesis that people/children can be both specialists and learners of dialect at the same time. Counting domains and viewpoints based on human science, human studies, and brain research, the concept analyses the social and etymological capability inside social groups.

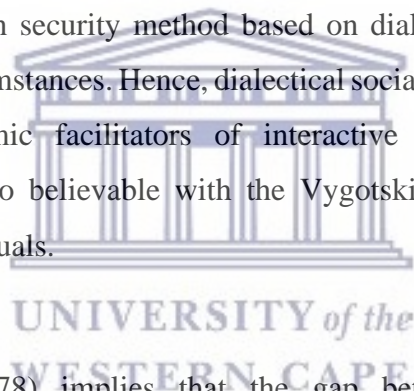
Since it is the result of long-term interactions between individuals, examining the language community is an important first step to understanding how children are socialized in a particular community.

The term "speech community" refers to a group of individuals who speak the same dialect. A speech community also involves, embodies, develops, and shapes significant social interaction. It also requires those who exchange data and refine their importance in social contexts to use a typical and generally reasonable ideological framework for communication. The study I am focussing on is that of the Afrikaans coloured speaking speech community.

Therefore, the focus of this study will be on children and how they socially organize themselves in terms of language socialization. Children understand that social and cultural institutions complement their intuition and everyday involvement in society and their communities. People prepare themselves in unexpected ways through dialects and semiotics that suggest situations, illustrate social activities, organize social parties, and stimulates them intellectually. Semiotics is global and based on cognitive, enthusiastic, and widespread forms of interaction in the physical and social world (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011: 7). Communities are socialized through these joint affiliations, which strengthen social engagement within and through phonetics and promote the internationalization of teaching and points of views. From this, it can be deduced that individuals are conditioned by hierarchical socialization in communities. Children are frequently taught and conditioned to sociocultural etymological signals that communicate a sense of environmental flexibility from birth (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011: 8). To improve the understanding of etymological varieties, bilingualism, dialect states, and the boundaries

between dialect and social personality become important distinctions for this study. Bilingualism would be looked at as the increased norms of linguistic division and separatism at a social level, such as territorial measures to accommodate the controlled rigidity of monolingualism (Auer and Wei, 2007); and how “this often requires prior social activity as it is an additional language, language-related information and/or a set of language-specific skills to maintain systems of dedicated systems, politics and budgets” (Aronin and Singleton, 2008: 9). Sociologists also object to the idea of bilingualism, put forward on the assumption that a further variety of ‘people’ is determined by territorial norms and that a given person speaks a certain language through the coexistence of another, or maybe different languages (Fasold, 1984).

In addition, dialect security and socialization are some of the coordinates to be managed, covering the two main needs communicated through dialect socialization. Therefore, the main activity of ensuring the dialect is influenced by the capacity of the member of the society. The next method is the information security method based on dialect skills, social distribution, enlightenment, and social circumstances. Hence, dialectical socialization is a clever manoeuvre; children are therefore dynamic facilitators of interactive beneficiaries. The links of socialization traits are then too believable with the Vygotskian system which favours an emphasis on competent individuals.



The Vygotskian system (1978) implies that the gap between easy and achievable communication with associated feedback is called the “zone of proximal development”, which implies that society dialect socialization takes place in a shared and intuitive information space, where the translation is based on what has been instructed. Meaning is inferred when culture and perception are shared to achieve understanding. Therefore, during socialization children are expected to form capacities in communication practices with adults. As Clancy (1999) would later point out, language socialization concerns the modelling of how to communicate as a child, with your peers and adults, in the same way adults would communicate with children, coordinating communication and negotiating in communication:

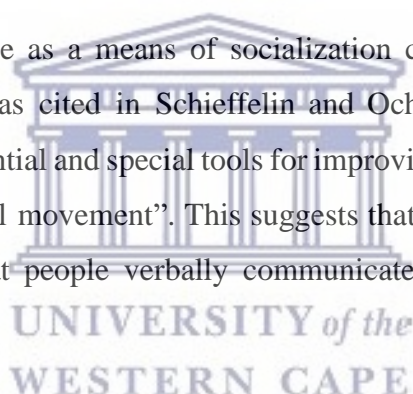
- 1) modelling
- 2) coordinate instruction

3) negotiation

Dialect usage and society's needs are considerations that drive the overall impact of authoritative dialect use. According to Bernstein, children acquire social information by acquiring information about dialect structure and usage. Dialects are defined by individuality and identity. Geographic and social dialects are also defined as a particular form of a different language with different variations of the same language influenced by a particular society.

Dialects, whether related to time, space, or the social attributes of the speaking community, are always a descriptive category, linking sentence to sentence. Although dialect boundaries are always associated with certain foreign language elements, they cannot be used to predict the absence or existence of formal patterns that define dialect identities. The relationship between the two is not an addiction or a rational companionship, but just a coincidence. Thus, the internal formal patterns of a dialect, whether temporal, geographical or social, are purely descriptive studies; they have no connection to the life of the linguistic community involved.

The organization of a language as a means of socialization can be a force of persuasion. According to Corsaro (1986, as cited in Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986:167), "language and conversation have become essential and special tools for improving the social world of children because language creates social movement". This suggests that understanding how to handle socialization is not about what people verbally communicate, but how communication is organized.



There are four priorities that form the focus of the socialization of the language, known as: "revive, incite, repeat and play with jargon" (Moore, 2011: 209). This gives us information about the culminating points of the culture from associations, characters, actions, and positions that are most seen in the communities. This takes a brilliant look at excess effect over sociability and illustrates how it clarifies the understanding of characteristic communicative events, as well as the time course of substance, setting, and transformative components.

Researchers found that there was a link between the exchange structure of children's communication, shared social projects, and social disposition. Also, language socialization is based on understanding the child's conversation at the micro-analytic level. It combines

children's conversations with more frequent ethnographic reports about social-emotional and family relationships, social groups, or communities in which children integrate into society. The scope of slang socialization focuses on the language proficiency of children, peers, and the relevance of how it relates to the language proficiency of people in a broader social setting. The most surprising way to illustrate the relationship between linguistic behaviour and methods of social understanding is through the examination of ethnographic data, interviews, judgment, and transcription. The relationship between linguistic constructs and sociocultural information is indexed in the sense that the use of constructs constitutes certain social contexts and cultural frameworks of thought and feeling (Gumperz, 1982; Hank, 1999; Ochs, 1990; Pierce, 1955; Silverstein, 1996). A key company of linguistic anthropology is the analysis of important indexical relationships to explain social contexts and events. What happens during language socialization is that, with normal developing children, they are able to form and interpret socio-cultural language use based on linguistic cues.

Language socialization is founded on the ability of bodily communication to motivate newcomers to grasp and identify ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that is both familiar and unfamiliar to others. The assumption behind language socialization is that members of the community unconsciously socialize children and other newcomers to conform to the standard social forms and competencies which are important for that society. The novice's ability to infer meaning from habitual links between forms of speech and sociocultural behaviours, relationships, institutions and emotions is of utmost importance.

Some people think of socialization as a passive flow of knowledge from experts to novices, however, this process is dynamic with all role players forming part of knowledge exchange. Knowledge asymmetry does not always correspond to power or maturity. Indeed, new learners' adaptability to changes in socio-political and technological contexts is one of the tools that drives innovation. Because it is intertwined with notions connected to children's ability to communicate, the initial studies on language socialization focused on input.

2.2. Repetition

Repetition will now be discussed in this chapter to provide more context after the previous chapter discussed socialization. Anthropologists, linguists, and experts in language instruction

and development have paid close attention to speech repetition (Bauman, 2004; Becker, 1995; Johnstone, 1994; Tannen, 2007). Repetition studies have clearly demonstrated that no two goods are alike; in fact, the languages are the same since each new production is a re-documented language, changing the meaning (Bakhtin, 1981; Tannen, 2007). While repetition helps to perpetuate language and cultural norms, its role in interaction can be effective.

Repetition is a resource that is always available and can be used to do many different things (Merritt, 1994; 1998), ultimately culminating in the ability to adequately communicate in a given situation. Even before the research model was conceived, Keenan (1977) highlights children's repetitive use to perform a variety of social behaviours and thus progress in their pragmatic capacities. Keenan's findings challenged the then-widespread view that adult words repeated by young children are just "imitations", an opinion that reflects researchers' underestimation of children as communicators and repetition as a source of communication.

Brown (2001), on the other hand, suggests that repetition is fundamental to characterizing cultural objects, influencing craft, music, and all performance, as well as critical rights (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). Brown (2001) postulated that prior learning allows for memorization and that estimation is initiated by memory. Brown (2001) also suggests that social life inevitably involves repetition. Without the fundamentals of repetition, we cannot attach or socialize (Moore, 2011: 210). However, according to Tannen (2007: 56), "repetition lies at the heart of language", and the majority of what is done with dialects is to reuse what we have previously learned or heard. Dialect socialization, considered from an explanatory perspective with allowance for redundancy, is well-characterized by the fact that repetition is the middle part of one's arrangement, skill exercise, and imagination. Repetition is crucial for comprehensive socialization because it involves withdrawing, prodding, and playing vernacular. Languages in nature promote the acquisition of a permissive phonetic culture in children. In calculating the capacity to improve for change, skills are needed for the job of recognizing competent individuals. Repetition is an important asset to the achievement of social activism; it helps individuals appreciate the dynamic role of learners in socialization.

The meaning of the two arrangements is unfair, as Tannen (2007) quotes, "no two arrangements are alike; in fact, the unused arrangements help to re-semantize the distinction terms and

thereby modifying the meaning” (Bakhtin 1981; Tannen 2007). Repetition can move systematically between communities and time periods, as certain competencies often cooperate with each other in terms of goals, values, characteristics, and socio-ecological conditions. Emphasis plays a fundamental role in the central illustration, exploring the organization and meaning of codes.

Repetition plays an important role in the development of linguistic and sociocultural skills. Experts in language socialization are always interested in repetition and some have made it an axis of analysis by examining its organization and what it means across a wide range of communities, code, and operational contexts. Repetition is an important resource for accomplishing social action, and therefore attention to the rehearsal allows one to appreciate the active role of the newcomer in their own socialization. Each repetition is something new (Deleuze, 1994), and repeated actions can be transformative.

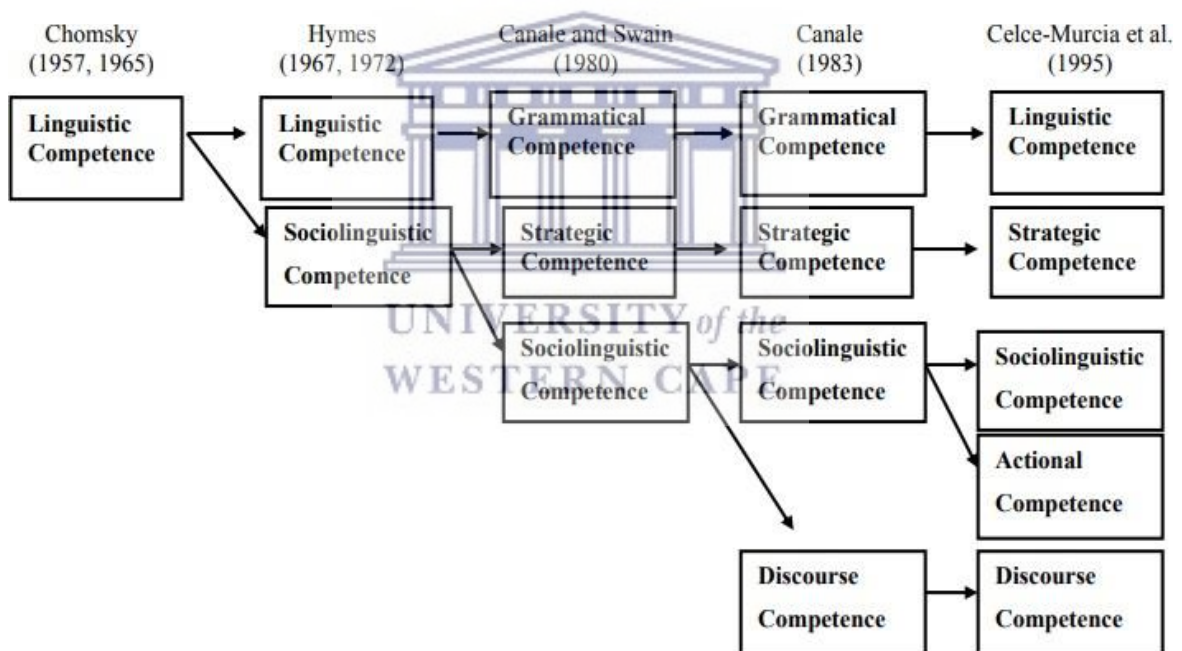
Following the above discussion on repetition in context and language socialization, the next section will focus on the nature of communicative competence.

2.3. Communicative Competence

Linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes (1967, 1972) coined the term “communication competence” in response to orthodox linguist Noam Chomsky’s (1957, 1965) theories, which focused on language proficiency and maintained that considering social elements was outside the scope of language research. In addition to language competence, Hymes (1972) contends that we need the concept of social competence to account for language acquisition and use, and that there are guidelines for the appropriate use of language in context (rules for describing sound systems and combining sounds in morphemes and morphemes in sentences). Language structure and acquisition, according to Hymes, are not contextual, but Chomsky claims that they are (i.e., an intrinsic language sufficient to account for the learning of a first language). In the English-language applied linguistics literature, the creation of the concept of communicative competence was frequently linked to a departure from an overly grammar-based paradigm for language studies. Austin (1962), Halliday (1973, 1975), Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens (1964), and others’ work in the fields of language studies and language instruction paved the way for a paradigm change in the 1960s and early 1970s. Hymes’

ethnographic exploration and elaboration of communicative competence (1972, 1977, 1994) – itself a critique of Chomsky’s (1965) highly abstracted notion of competence – serves in many ways as a clarion call for language educators to pay attention to social rules of use, a dimension of language use “without which the rules of grammar would be useless,” (Hymes, 1972: 278). When working on an integrated theory of the language in use, this “social” inclusion necessitates a commitment to concerns about communication situations and cultural features. Hymes (1972: 281) advises that four empirical issues be posed in this regard: 1) whether or not something is officially possible (and to what extent); 2) if (and to what extent) something is doable with the current implementation resources; 3) whether (and to what extent) anything is acceptable (full, cheerful, adopted) in the context in which it is used and evaluated; and 4) whether (and to what extent) something is actually done, and what that means.

Apart from the empirical questions, there is also specifically four areas of communicative competence as seen below:



Chronological evolution of ‘communicative competence’

- 1) Grammatical competence: This capacity is related to “knowledge vocabulary items and rules of morphology, syntax, grammar semantics and phonology” (Canale and Swain, 1980a: 29). This knowledge and skills enable learners to understand and produce the exact literal meaning of statements.

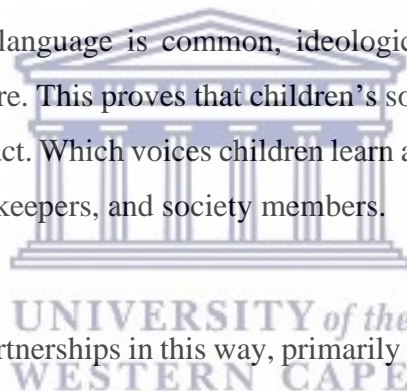
- 2) Sociological competence: This capacity, in a broad sense, concerns what Hymes (1972, 1974) would call the usage rules: this refers to the extent to which statements are made and appropriately understood in different sociological contexts depending on contextual factors, such as the status of the participants, the goals of the interaction, and standards or conventions for interaction. Meaningful relevance relates to the extent to which communication functions (e.g., command, complain, and solicit), attitudes (including politeness and formality), and ideas are assessed appropriately in each situation (Channel, 1983: 7).
- 3) Presentation skills: This skill is what Halliday and Hasan (1976) called coherence and Widdowson (1978) coherent. It refers to the knowledge and skills required to incorporate grammatical forms and meanings to create categories of spoken or written text, e.g., oral, and written accounts.
- 4) Strategic competence: This type of skill refers to mastering verbal and non-verbal communication strategies which may be called to action for two main reasons: (a) for reparation for communication errors due to internal boundary conditions in actual communication (e.g., transient inability to remember an idea or grammatical form) or due to incompetence in one or more other areas above; and (b) to improve the effectiveness of communication (e.g., purposefully slow and soft voices for rhetorical effect) (Channel, 1983: 11).
- 5) Communicative competence: this formula represents a significant expansion of the conceptual base which attempts to capture sociability, discourse, and interaction aspects of language teaching that are stimulating.

2.4. Children's Play

When children play, it is important to see and evaluate what they are learning through play, rather than relying on social structure or social contact. Using the distinction of medium and substance, children's play can be studied based on what has been taught. According to Schwartzman and Barbera (1978), ethnographic representations of children's play are employed as information representations and interpretations of children's behaviour. As a result, play is defined as "the pantomime and/or course of action in the lives of adults" (Schwartzman and Barbera, 1978: 231), which serves as a cultural endeavour and a means of socialization for children.

The environment in which children learn voices and collaborations wins through peer play in culture. It shows that these children learn, in a common sense, how certain voices of culture are composed. Through their struggles and brilliant solutions in a heteroglossia social environment, the capacity for heteroglossia is preserved. Social encounters, in relation to heteroglossia associations, are fought with oneself, socially organized, and incessantly internalized in a “process of improvised interaction” (Sawyer, 1995: 140141). In my opinion, based on the sociolinguistic approach to children’s play, there are several things in common. Children’s voices are drawn as if adopted from the adults in their lives. Like social evacuation and the relationships they experience, they affect the way they move forward. In relation to this, the culture of peers is clarified and modelled in a playful way through the socialization of children. From this, it can be selected and assimilated that the child is competent and confident in the language, speech behaviour, and speech registers.

This indicates that children’s language is common, ideological, and easy to organize and socialize with their peers’ culture. This proves that children’s social organization is influenced by their identity and social impact. Which voices children learn are promoted to them by better-prepared family members, gatekeepers, and society members.



Children develop voices and partnerships in this way, primarily through peer play. Along these lines, it is critical for children to acclimate to the various voices that are constituted in culture and their social environment on an extremely fundamental level.

The anthropological literature, according to Schwartzman (1978), characterizes children’s play in two ways. The main form of writing is ethnographic, as all people, regardless of geographical or social area, participate. Thus, geographical dialects and social dialects can be considered as nearly parallel descriptive categories of institutional linguistics. In both cases, the approach taken by linguists is essentially the same: the identity of a dialect is determined by its formal features that distinguish it from other dialects of the same category. The search for language extrinsic factors related to differences in formal properties is based on the following assumptions: consistent patterns of formal changes do not occur randomly; if the same language has different variants, then some factor outside of that language should summarize

its functional limitations. The types of dialects vary from level to level, and it is not always the same as the language learned by other speakers.

An examination of the ethnographic literature by Schwartzman and Barbera (1978) indicates that anthropologists present and interpret data on children's play behaviour in terms of four testable metaphors:

- (a). plays the role of imitation and planning of adult life, a driving force towards the pragmatic cultural process and socialization of children; how this affects children's roles in society;
- (b). playing distracting exercises;
- (c). children's games as an objective test of their stressors and seeing dangers known from the educational concepts of a culture; and
- (d). past playful behaviour of children is unrelated.

Like Loizoz (1966), play is related to adult development. The explanation for children's play is always unintentionally transformed by exercises into useful works for the vigorous development of social organization; this is a popular theory by anthropologists. On the other hand, Mead (1977) examines the game, especially from the point of view of jargon change and diversion. He separates diversion and play and engages a clear competence in his work on the relationship between his path and the sense of self in children.

According to Loizoz (1966), play means training for adult development. The interpretation of children's play as a routine exercise has become a valuable undertaking for the popularization of social organization, which is a popular theory recognized by anthropologists. However, Mead (1977) views play as allowing children to assume different social roles, and it is in this way that the children build their claimant personality. Either way, he suggests that children play games to "take care of the others involved" and thus establish a clear relationship between them. According to Mead, children in are the process of "becoming a regular member of society" when they can sustain the aura of others (Mead 1977:159). Anthropologists use this

approach, viewing children's play as a form of mimicry or imitation, and hence as a cultural instrument.

However, Malinowski (1939) takes a different view of how games should be understood, arguing that it is viewed with educational appreciation. According to Smilansky (1971) (cited in Schwartzman, 1976), imitation/multicultural diversity is a strategy used by children to outstrip a generation of wealthier adults. Some analysts have viewed children's play as a strategy for learning and practicing socially appropriate gender.

Bateson (1972) initiated widespread speculation about communication with the game as a demonstration. He describes play as occurring among human beings with superb communication abilities and the ability to perceive thought-changing messages. The messages serve as "frames" or patterns for decoding the message. These frames or patterns must be added to the message in order for the participants to play the same activity. According to Bateson (1972), the game's content and setting are inextricably intertwined and cannot be separated. The structure and substance of interaction must be considered in relation to each other. A distinction is also made between game and diversionary communication.

Play can also include game communication which Bateson (1972) suggests can be a central area of a game. Since behaviour can be regulated consistently or in one way, the form or part chosen is related to the composition and attitude of the behaviour. Anthropologists sometimes think of a quasi-verbal game since this kind of game is not easy to understand due to important data about the language of a society. In this way, the phonological approach is important because it can examine essential investigations of children's play, often identified by prints, rather than a large investigation. According to Loizoz (1976), there are different types of motion that become game action, namely:

- (a). behavioural change sequences
- (b). exaggerated motion
- (c). repetitive motion
- (d). both repetitive and magnified motion
- (e). continuation sequence, discrete, interrupted, and unrelated operations are then

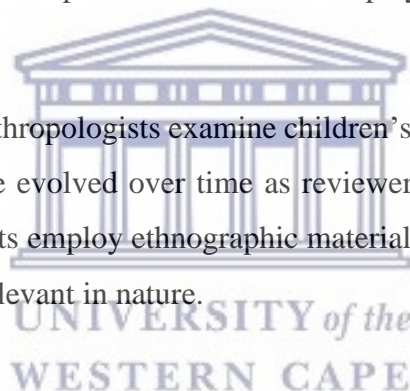
introduced and continued

(f). incomplete and repeated sequences

Distracted communication is based on a set of rules that govern how objects, space, time, and player practice are used. Although game communication does not always follow this pattern, it does not always define players who are happy with the game's quick execution structure.

Considering the downside of characterizing play behaviour, experts describe it as occurring when a child encounters playing objects or engages in games. In addition, there are many skills that can be considered puzzle pieces, i.e., speaking, laughing, standing, crying, laughing, detaching from facial expressions, voice, and posture. There are different focal points from which children's play has been assessed. Anthropologists and sociologists examine the scientific signs and implications of children's play.

To begin, psychiatrists and anthropologists examine children's play behaviour using play as a framework. This could have evolved over time as reviewers investigated this marvel in different ways. Anthropologists employ ethnographic material to aid in phonetic discovery, which is both scientific and relevant in nature.



In addition, children's games focus on cross-social testing, counting the settings children play in (family, city, neighbourhood, school, etc.). With the medium mentioned last, confusion and alignment of concerns need to be considered, as this often alters social organization. In addition, a preliminary examination of the connections between gender, play, the parts associated with words, and cognitive abilities, in general, is fundamental in choosing what children learn through play. Bateson (1972: 20, 22) asks whether children learn "in terms of social characteristics and skills, or do they primarily learn to learn?"

One of the resources that children use when playing with their imagination is controls; this leads to an arrangement "in which children recognize a dominant and comfortable position among characters" (Goodwin, 1990: 127). Children exhibit keen awareness of certain social

figures who appear as specific “voices” in the play of the imagination (Goldman, 1998: 155). Children “exploit their awareness of control movements in their households, neighbourhoods, and global levels” (Paugh, 2005: 65) in the absence of adults, and “construct selective social forces through which children are responsible”.

However, cognitive abilities are based on the theory of judgment, which involves understanding feelings, needs, and capacities that are different from your own. In this way, there is a connection between what individuals can grasp, and human behaviour. Breaking the story or playing with your imagination are great places to virtually keep in mind the enthusiasm of other people’s discussions.

2.5. Peer groups

Children’s peer groups are made up of the same age, status, and interests. In peer groups, there is a framework for “subgrouping instruction in imaginary play and ethnographic perspectives” (Goodwin, 2006: 155), which allows for testing the social coordination of exercises and their evolution. Dialect refinements are provided in peer groups using social control and transactions. What children from different societies and regions use in social organization, is often used to build community and peer group behaviours through overarching etymological nuances. Schieffelin and Ochs (1996) argue that the remarkable nature of socialization centred on the verbal expression of language, which seems to be consistent with a special and powerful ability, almost communicative communication between learners and teachers (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1996: 257).

Children of the same or comparable age are integrated into communities, neighbourhoods, schools, and other areas through which children are connected. Many of the stress responses examined, such as understanding adolescents and children, did not just reveal negative peer traits in interactions, but also the consequences of words and talk. From the basis and system of interest, the social categories of peers are organized in a way that is contradictory or emphasized according to the social order in which they come. These concepts relate to the hypothetical system used by Marjorie Goodwin in connection with this research and to the use of misappropriation of other people’s speech in diversion, argument, and narrative. Child members socialize as individuals from peer groups or across multiple age groups. An important

measure that has been examined in research is the understanding of appropriate emotional positions in the composition of becoming a competent part of a social group, marked in reflection as it relates to a very basic level to how learners perceive trends, ways of existence, addresses how social orders contrast across cultures and appear rife with emotional arrangements or positions (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004:351).

According to Goodwin (1990), “talk” is a tool that can be utilized to alter social organization in social interactions. ‘Talk’ requires us to co-construct communication interactions, which frequently entails physiological situations that contribute to and expand social organization, specifically with reference to face-to-face interactions. As a result, Goodwin (2007) claims that in both visual and cognitive thinking, the relationship between people and their bodies is organized in tandem with the establishment of an open common centre. Diverse individuals do magnificently with exercises in accordance with the situation in which they find themselves, they are frequently vital to the societal organization. Face-to-face connection is also “the earliest capable sort of social structure in which human creatures participate” (Goodwin, 1990:2).

Goodwin investigated children’s statements and facial expressions by scrutinizing their brilliant non- syntactic faults. She examined the portions they were gripping to monitor the interaction through language and body arrangements, focusing on the peer groups of children. Her research reveals that older children behave as “directors” in interactions, acting out instructions and illustrations for those who will need them later, but younger children copy the “more capable partners” (Goodwin 1990: 12; compare Kyratiz, 2000).

2.6. Identity and Categorization

The word personality implies ‘identity’, so it seems that personality becomes more imperative when everyone is first and foremost the same. In fact, this deceptively simple state is more complicated. It is difficult for an outside witness to say when a group of individuals should be called “like”. With so many ways to distinguish people from one another, the premise of such a classification is increasingly ambiguous. Thus, the types of characters forced at a distance are often a matter of location and control over the observer’s personality when they are around any fair descriptor of social reality. As sociologists and anthropologists have characterized

participation in discourse communities, such challenges frequently arise, because what constitutes participation in phonetic terms can vary among equally important social, chronic, and political sectors (Silverstein, 1996).

An established and unwavering personality/self-identity is described by the essentialist viewpoint (Horner and Weber, 2012). People are born with a personality/identity that does not change over time, according to this perspective. The “peach picture” is used by the core view to clarify the concept of personality; the “peach stone” is the part of one’s personality that is maintained (Horner and Weber, 2012). However, from a sociological standpoint, Goffman (1959) claimed that personality is the mental expression that people have about themselves, and that people shape and convey their personality to others through their social intelligence. Personality, according to the constructivist viewpoint, is a dynamic process that evolves over time (Horner and Weber, 2012). Personality is not established but made up of many layers like an onion. Characters, like onions, are made up of varying degrees of classes. The social constructivist perspective is the best-known approach to personality.

Along with classification and personality, the child’s categorization is perceived by one another in intelligent behaviour, evident in the characteristic events in which the characters are formed. Connections are recharged and completed by a conversation with a group of actors contributing to relationship types (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2012). Children use orderly skills and resources to create interesting interactions in their social universes in the form of curated elements that perform intuitively, including dissecting companions, their distribution, the generation of decompositions and chains of command, the construction of imaginary universes, and the use of dialect modification methods. In doing so, they assess patterns of socially adaptive behaviour (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2012).

Children who grow up in bilingual communities use dialect rotation to create resistance, align, and characterize social spaces with their variety of dialects in different languages. In general, children’s use of social neighbourhood classifications and exercises yielded a profile. Descriptive assessment words, hateful personal descriptions, and negative assignment classifications are on-screen clues to the social values children support and place when they make agreements. According to Goodenough (1965), the concept of personality is closed,

ordered, and conditioned, the idea of personality that culture integrates body structures, skills, and strategies, as well as structures of language dialect.

2.7. Parent-child interactions

Children are dependent on their families to give shape to their language socialization and how they later communicate in society. Ochs and Taylor (1992) discuss family dynamics based on important institutions for “forming, creating, and socializing gender identity” (Ochs and Taylor, 1992: 447). Ochs (1992) claims that people’s positions in a common family cannot be properly understood in isolated social contexts. This indicates the position presented in the conversation, which can be chosen between children and adults depending on their gender. This can be tested on select family members who are easier to talk to, are more organized than women, and are more coordinated. Usually, it is viewed primarily with the degrees of coordinates related to roundabout control.

Family attitudes play with the centre of the child’s proportions, command events, introductory sexual generalizations, and control movements. With this vivid feeling, we feel the understanding of the children, who describe family life and relevant topics in a pair group arrangement with portion play. During the children’s conversations, it became evident that families had gender-specific generalizations and age-related restrictions. Conflicts between family members, as well as children and adults, occur in everyday family life, according to Levinson (1987). Parent-child intelligence includes affective states that refer to behaviourally or emotionally related words that speakers bring up in discussion. There are five types of influence states used when analysing intelligent socialization and parent-child dialect.

See featured affect status types below:

- Encode certain emotional states and you can treat engagement as a theme
- Represent speakers in relation to inspirational influences
- Characterized words that clearly assess the positive/negative value of individuals, activities, and their representation of physical characteristics or tangible knowledge with full intent about emotions
- relates activities that are inspired to events or physical states with unsurprisingly

positive or negative emotional or negative results, and refers to other productive states; the latter suggests the interactions between parents and children give shape to a child's language socialization.

2.8. Code-switching

Goffman (1979) argued that code-switching is a model of change, integrating the sequential approach with the investigation of changes utilizing alternative systems and interaction designs. An in-depth study of the work of speaker-centred, voice compilation, equalization, and associative representation was used as an illustration to test the balance in bilingual play. Goffman's (1979) idea of equilibrium emerged as a way in which individuals act by accepting participation in discussion. Different types of code-switching can be presented as below:

- (a). Ignore subordinate conversation between approved participants
- (b). Cross-play, informal chat between approved and unapproved participants
- (c). Sub-playing sub-conversation between participants

Adaptive change is the phenomenon in which changes are discovered by the individual rather than depending on the movement patterns of the speaker.



Goffman (1972) suggests a connection between code-switching and setting changes (in Cromdal and Aronsson, 2000). This means that if the code switch is not displayed, the smallest sound markers are displayed, namely "pitch, volume, cadence, extent, and sound quality" (Cromdal and Aronsson, 2000: 436). This is how custom changes are made in code switching. There are two forms of code switching: dialogue and syntax. Conversational code switching involves focusing on the magnitude of changes in speaker characteristics in interactions (Cromdal and Aronsson, 2000). The syntactic code switch is to focus on the syntactic aid of the speaker's expressions. This is the area of internal code switch or the exact area of the syntactic alignment of categories (Cromdal and Aronsson, 2000). Furthermore, Myers Scotton (1988, 1993) speaks of code-switching based on a conventional sociological approach that, in addition to formal etymological studies, focuses on the question of language choice. The reasons for the change and modification of the code are considered theoretically from anthropological etiology. Theoretical cases of code switches are usually tested in school

environments with children of similar ages. There are contrasts, similarities, and comparisons drawn from this.

Code-switching and language movements are based on phonetics. It analyses how children behave in peer groups and how their personalities are formed, how they are socially organized, and how they are influenced by discussions. Children understand, explore, and modify instinctively problematic etymology and belief systems experienced daily. In general, it is also a resource for sociability and can be a variable in questions, almost as well as a variable in other conversational forms, actions, groups, vocabulary, morphology, voice, expression, phonology, tone and voice (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). Social consciousness itself inherits codes and is decided based on ordered languages or languages forming a phonetic set, through which children prepare the means for constructing social data.

Code-switching adjustments have been used both to investigate speaker changes and to aid frame considerations (Goffman, 1979). Auer (1984) examined linguistic diversity based on discussion considerations.

The change in conversation code speaks to the organization of the interaction, without interruption. This shows that code-switching can be used to investigate the contrast between an ongoing conversation, a hyper-communication, and for a real conversation, joke, or game. Code-switching has multiple purposes, which means it can simultaneously incorporate elements related to speech and the inclination of the language-action degree.

Later in this study, the analysis will demonstrate that bilingual children code-switch regularly between English, Afrikaans and Afrikaans, utilizing the interest system concerned with beneficiary address and confirmation of support.

2.9. Conclusion

This literature review has been partitioned into eight areas, which are: specific dialect socialization, repetition, communicative competence, children's play, peer groups, identity and

categorization, parent-child interactions, and code-switching. These areas have given a diagram of conversation and play as interaction. In the next chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework used to analyse the data.



Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

3.0. Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the theoretical framework for the study. Important for the study is interactional sociolinguistics as the overall guiding theoretical framework, as well as child interaction theory and participation frameworks. These theoretical framings have been employed to explore language use of young children during play.

3.1. Interactional Sociolinguistics

The theoretical framework that underpins this study focuses on Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS). This framework focuses on the discipline of linguistics based on language in society. This framework allows the scope of discourse to be analysed in wider contexts with the focus on culture, community, and their norms which leads to interpretations of how the society interacts. Goffman (1994: 105) discusses social interaction as “...form and meaning of social and interpersonal contexts that provide presuppositions for the decoding of meaning”. In essence, this approach is beneficial as it does not only provide contextual information but also functions as an analytic tool in the understanding of meaning negotiated between participants in the interaction. Understanding these contexts allows for the study of contexts of interaction, and the listener’s influence on the speaker’s meaning.

This approach utilizes natural everyday conversation and analyses social relationships between speakers based not only on what is being spoken, but also on *the way it is spoken*. This type of analysis includes the focus on people in conversational interaction within the ethnographic context. Particular attention to detail of linguistics features such as turn taking, language used, use of pronouns versus honorifics, as well as other para-linguistic features such as pauses, overlap, and so forth, are important discourse markers amongst interlocuters. The way talk, relationships and identities are negotiated and maintained is an integral component of interactional sociolinguistics, hence, it is the best-suited framework to analyse the organizational structures in peer play and power relations. There are also various perspectives of communicative action, however, interactional sociolinguistics focusses mainly on four

important resources for analytical purposes, namely (1) linguistic and discourse analysis, (2) Goffman's footing, (3) conversational analysis, and (4) ethnography.

Interactive sociolinguistics is relevant to the interview selection approach, which focuses on the everyday communicative subtleties that make up explanations. It allows society to be informed beyond dictionaries and the use of languages. The communicative tuning, as it happens every day, is inspected in parallel to the events of the discourse from an associative-sociolinguistic approach. Such subtleties act as a middle ground and can systematically create unmistakable organizational levels. Goffman (1981) proposes the concept of "order of interaction" of the degressive organization as a bridge between etymology and social interaction rather than technical language and interaction. Participation framework, which will be discussed later, has replaced the discussion and the speaker-listener dyad seen in former studies.

Moreover, audio-visual advances currently allow the detection of face-to-face interactions, and this system allows us to understand the implications that are communicated in the interaction through speakers and other environments other than verbal communication on its own. The fundamental analysis of Erving Goffman's (1981) idea of the "floor" is compelling and gives the system comprehensive support for the idea of cooperation. This does not include speakers in a conversation, so to speak, but the connection of numerous parties through forms of encapsulation and social organization.

However, for the relevance of this study, only linguistic and discourse analysis along with ethnography will be used. The purpose of this is to provide a limited number of frameworks and procedures through which children's language use during play will be analysed. Ethnography contributes to the resonance and status of the linguistic forms, semiotic materials, and rhetorical strategies in the various social networks. The data collected was analysed through the participation framework following Marjorie Goodwin's (1990) *He-Said-She-Said*.

Interactional sociolinguistics is pertinent to the approach of talk examination that centres on everyday communication strategies. It permits for the dissemination of information in a society,

which goes past dictionaries and linguistic use. Fine-tuning communication in everyday life is tested from a sociolinguistic approach along with discourse opportunities. Goffman (1981) proposes the concept of “Interaction Order”, of digressive organization being the bridge between etymology and social interaction. He energizes talks around the communicative organization, as asked interaction addresses the gap between verbal and social acts and is inspected through both lingo and interaction.

Fundamentally, the nature of Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) incorporates face-to-face interaction, where there are noteworthy changes within the member’s phonetics collection and/or control status (Rampton, 2017). Rampton encourages an expansive toolkit consisting of techniques such as ethnography, dialectology, pragmatics and conversational examination, which occurs normally in spontaneous conversation (Rampton, 2017).

Interactional Sociolinguistics is therefore relevant to the study and is applied closely as it is very critical to understanding dynamic communicative strategies for self-expression and displaying group identity.

Participation frameworks are considered complementary IS approaches for this study as it consists of interactional data. These concepts allow for in-depth analysis of how the children socially organize themselves.

3.2. Participation framework

Essentially, audio-visual advancements now make it possible to experience live interactions, and this system makes it possible to understand the implications conveyed in interactions on speakers and other parameters beyond verbal communication.

Erving Goffman’s (1981) idea of “footing” is persuasive and involves the idea of interactional cooperation. This includes not only the speakers in the conversation, but incorporates numerous parties’ connections through shapes of encapsulation and social organization by building together important activities in diverse settings.

Cooperation systems allude to “the coordination of human beings’ conduct towards coparticipants amid conversation and how they show to one another what they are doing and how they anticipate others to adjust themselves towards the given activity” (Goodwin, 2004: 222). Activities and dialects supply significant assets that realize ideal social arrangements. Support is known or alluded to as “actions illustrating shapes of association performed by parties inside advancing structures of talk” (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004: 222). Inside the scope of this study, the term will be utilized to allude to the common members of the social group. Interest in this way is foregrounded as an explanatory concept utilized to centre on intuition engagement between the listeners and speakers. Speakers address the hearers as dynamic coparticipants and methodically re-examine their conversation because to consider what their listeners are doing.

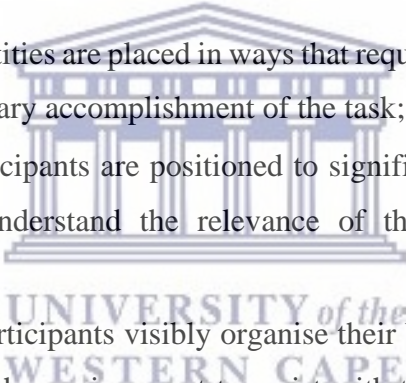
Consequently, inside a single run of articulations, speakers can adjust to the engagement or to the withdrawal of their listeners which emerge from the consistent alterations of their dialect during conversation. This may be fulfilled by speakers through things like: including modern fragments to their developing discourse; changing the structure of the sentence and the activities on the go; and tweaking their position toward the conversation in advance. This means that human activity, perception, dialect, and social organization include situations where many of its members are intuitively consistent with the activities of others, and who determine and shape the world of life.

With face-to-confront interaction, members organize themselves in an introduction with one another in ways that set up an open, shared centre of visual and cognitive consideration. These structures of cooperation systems empower partitioned people to construct joint activities together in ways that consider both the environment and their intelligence. Multimodal systems, among members, centre on organization, cognition, and activity, coupled with motions through which assorted semiotic modalities such as dialect, signals, and the structure of the environment frame their interactions. Through these diverse interactions, connecting the etymological talk of a community to important representations becomes conceivable. Cooperation systems are noteworthy due to their importance as a go-between in the organization of human interaction, cognition, and influence. Cooperation systems frame the

most important activities that form the central point of cooperation work.

Through talk and action in interaction, sequential organization occurs where participants calibrate their actions and perceptions. What this means is that embodied actions are accompanied through talk. The relevant participation framework focuses on the willingness and ability of the participants to dynamically organize themselves and work together in interaction to achieve a common goal. This is usually not problematic, but it can be debatable, according to Garfinkel (1967), as he suggests that competence and practices illuminate situations of natural experiments breaching moral and social actions which need to be developed.

Participation frameworks are important in the central phenomena of the organization of discernment, human interaction, and influence. Hence, participants' alignment towards one another is characterized by five different kinds of stance:

- 
- Instrumental stance – entities are placed in ways that require the exchange of signs to be processed for the necessary accomplishment of the task;
 - Epistemic stance – participants are positioned to significantly experience, acceptably perceive, grasp, and understand the relevance of the events in which they are participating;
 - Cooperative stance – participants visibly organise their bodies towards one another to match the relevance of the environment to assist with the construction of the task in progress;
 - Moral stance – participants act in a morally acceptable manner, ensuring that the actors in the activity can be trusted and the cognitive work necessary for the relevant accomplishment of the tasks in which they are pursuing concert with one another;
 - Affective stance – participants use their emotions towards each other to organize themselves in an interaction.

According to stance in the participation framework, individuals can organize themselves based on specific alignments, which changes constantly based on the activity, hence, participants are moral, social, and cognitive actors. Therefore, the analysis of how participants are organized in daily interactions elucidate the fundamental practices suggested in the organization of

actions and human body interactions. Participation status is described by Goffman (1981) as the “relationship between a particular participant and his or her utterances when regarded from the point of reference of the larger social gathering” (Goffman, 1981: 243). As a result, a Participation Framework is the sum of all participants’ participation statuses at any one time in a meeting (Goffman, 1981).

Goffman’s notion of Participation Framework will assist in detailing the description and analysis of roles and statuses of participants’ assumptions during the interaction. Participant Framework refers to the role-players in an interaction and the structure which governs the involvement of the participants. It informs the researcher of multiple interactional roles assumed by various people in a group within a confined space, who the speakers and hearers are in that confined space, and the participation status they take on. In every turn of interaction, participants will communicate with a participant in relation to status or with respect to who the hearer, speaker, or overhearer is. Participation frameworks change frequently and at any given time. Roles are often switched around according to the involvement and status of each contributing speaker in an interaction. There are varying degrees of speakers and recipients in the Participation Framework, which is not necessarily prefixed or given. Participation frameworks discuss recipient changes in footing; however, speakers’ changes were analysed in terms of production formats. This described a speaker’s involvement in conversation as either being the animator, creator, or alternatively, the principle in the conversation. The Participation Framework concerns whether a recipient is addressed or not and whether there were ratified or unratified participants.

With a collaborative system, Goodwin argues that the study of intelligent organizations of behavioural frameworks in social interaction is inclusive. Exercises provide a framework to guide the translation of events and are evaluations co-created by various members. This gauges separate evaluations of occasions within the amazing world and complicatedly illustrates how people’s minds are in tune with each other. To survey and clarify the ideas of bilingualism, race, character, coloured personality, conversation and play as social organization, dialect socialization, and children’s play, this system would support the hypotheses put forth in Marjorie Goodwin’s book *He-Said-She-Said*, on which this dissertation is based. In this book, Goodwin suggests that using exercises as interpretive tools allows members to confront and

prepare for life at the same time.

Inside the interest system, the individual's conduct is changed into important social activity, fondness, and cognition which is investigated as socially conveyed wonders. Studying the medium in the exercises allows the characters on the screen not only to be inserted into the set, but the method of constructing that set can be understood thanks to the cooperation of modern depictions of moments in which they are included. Given these speculations, these concepts will be utilized to examine bilingual conversations and play as a social association, moulded by and overseen through acts of character and racialization.

By offering support in arranged exercises, it becomes possible to examine how speakers and listeners manage to coordinate a shared activity, by analysing both one-on-one and group interactions during conversations. This system is appropriate to the current study, as it looks at how the key concepts raised so far is connected, and how investigating these concepts contributes towards the conclusions that were drawn during the analyses of the collected data.

3.3. Analysing Child Interaction and Participation Frameworks

This chapter centres on the concepts utilized to examine the collected information, and talks about how conversational investigation and interest systems frame the portion of Association Sociolinguistics. As the writer suggests, the following chapter will incorporate the methodological system that has been connected to this study.

The concept of “participation” (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004: 224) is used to view social life and social encounters as constituted by participants' actions, which are essentially multimodal and embodied: multiple participants build action together in embodied practices and use a variety of semiotic resources. Participation involves vigilance, with social actors continually considering one another and influencing the construction of a common course of action within shifting discourse systems (Johnson, 2017; Kyratzis, 2017: 8; see also Melander, 2012). Thus, “cooperative” participation and action are realized through “the process of producing something new through destruction and reuse with the modification of materials placed in a public location by a previous actor” (Goodwin, 2017: 7).

Cooperation, or the process of “inhabiting the activities of others”, can be seen of as a general

method for gaining and transforming knowledge (Goodwin, 2017: 7).

While discourse analysis can provide information about the linguistic media with which the frames are generated in the interaction, the concept of framing provides a fruitful theoretical basis for the discourse analysis of the interaction. Indeed, frame theory is already at the heart of the most comprehensive and coherent theoretical paradigm of interactional sociolinguistics, i.e. Gumperz's (1982) conversational inference theory. Gumperz shows that conversational inference, a process required for conversational participation, is enabled by contextualization cues that signal voice activity in which participants perceive that they are engaged in a conversation. Gumperz's concept of speech activity is therefore a kind of framework. In fact, the work of Gumperz, and those influenced by his work, is found to be the greatest justification for Goffman's faith in the ability of linguistics to elucidate the structural foundations of framing.

This chapter aims to give readers an understanding of the dynamics of bilingual children in Mitchell's Plain, with a focus on the various activities and the language used by the speakers. The chapter consists of observations, field notes, parent interviews, audio recordings, and transcripts. This design provides cultural and contextual descriptions and interpretations of coloured phenomena, with an emphasis on socialization through language. By using this design, this study examined the similarities and differences between the topics within the data analysis process. Data were arranged thematically; transcripts were interpreted and analysed according to the Talk and Play participation framework with a focus on different attitudes in interactions and their influences. The two main frames used were conversation and play. Firstly, the children used different postures in conversation to illustrate how to model, use direct instruction, and negotiate through language. Secondly, board games such as snakes and ladders, ludo, and billiards have been used to illustrate the different styles and functions of speaking and acting. The role of stances in Participation Framework – resources transmitted and embodied by language – “through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others) ... in relation to all outstanding dimensions of the sociocultural field” (Du Bois, 2007: 163; Goodwin, Cekaite, and Goodwin, 2012), is emphasized to the extent that they make a significant contribution towards the involvement of the participants in the cooperative organization of a common course of action. By adopting the multimodal

interaction perspective, the present study analyses and discusses talk and play as an interactively refined and sociocultural practice in which young children can immerse themselves through cooperation in aesthetic experiences and affective character assessment and events.

3.4. Conclusion

The theoretical framework used for this research focused on interactive sociolinguistics (IS). This framework was used because it focused on linguistics based on social language. This framework analysed discourse in a broader context, focusing on culture, community, and its norms, leading to an interpretation of social interaction. As stated previously, Goffman (1994: 105) discusses social interaction from the perspective of supplementing Gumperz's attention to situational reasoning. In essence, this method is beneficial because it not only provides contextual information but also serves as a useful tool to study the negotiation of meaning in interaction by participants. Understanding these contexts provides a broader contextual premise to determine meaning.

In essence, the nature of connected sociolinguistics (IS) involves face-to-face intuition, where the voice collection and/or the control state of the members changes significantly (Rampton, 2017). Rampton encourages the investigation of IS, including techniques such as ethnography, dialectics, pragmatics, and dialogue testing, which usually focuses on normal dialogue (Rampton, 2017). This means that the focus is on checking normal conversations to visually compare each other.

Advances in audio-visual technology currently allows for the perception of face-to-face interactions. The fundamental test is convincing and provides systematic and comprehensive support for the idea of cooperation. This does not only include the speaker in the conversation, but also includes the social organization through the multi-party contact in the form of encapsulation, and the gathering of important activities and attitudes.

Goodwin's cooperative system involves "people's coordination of the actions of other participants in the conversation, and how they show each other what they are doing and how they expect others to adapt to a given activity" (Goodwin 2004: 222). The embodiment of the

dialect provides an important asset for the realization of ideal social arrangements. Support is referred to as “an action that illustrates the form of association that the parties perform in a progressive dialogue structure” (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004: 222). In the context of risk research, the term is used to refer to the common members of a social group. Interest, in this way, appears in the foreground as an explanatory concept to focus on the intuitive interaction between the listener and the speaker. The speakers treat the audience as a dynamic participant and methodically re-examines their conversation when observing what the audience is doing.



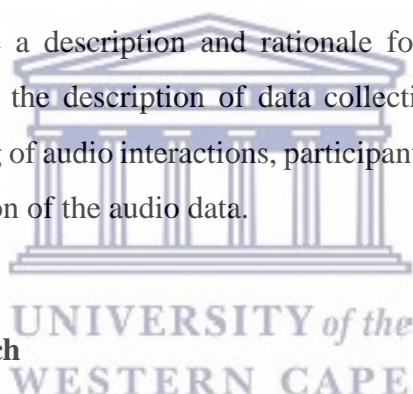
Chapter Four

Methodology

4.0. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and methods, including the data collection processes I followed to collect the data for this research project. This project sought an empirical basis for various bilingual playful and social encounters in a selected group of children. The project uses an ethnographic structure and methods of participant observation, the transcribing of audio recordings, the analysis of the children's interactions and practices to form a central database. The data was collected from the community of Beacon Valley in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. The selected participants speak varieties of two of the three official languages in the Western Cape province. The audio and transcriptions extracted from the larger data sets attempted to display, as I discuss below, how certain words relate to the themes of culture and identity.

In this chapter, I first provide a description and rationale for the study's methodological approach, research population, the description of data collection, and the methods of data collection, such as the recording of audio interactions, participant observations, interviews, and the codification and transcription of the audio data.



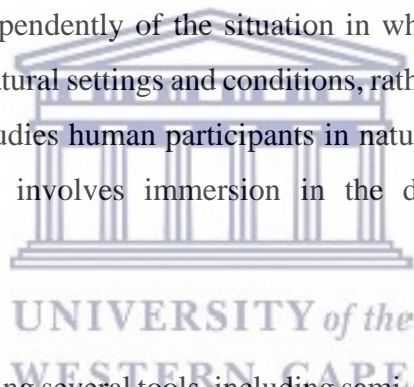
4.1. Methodological Approach

A qualitative study approach was used to collect interactional data from a small group of boys and girls who participated in a variety of activities that included speaking and play. Similar to Goodwin's (1990) study, the focus was on a variety of interactions during play sessions, which included mostly indoor activities such as drawing, quizzes, telling jokes from a joke book, making things with paper, watching YouTube clips, and board games such as Twister, puzzles, and snakes and ladders.

Qualitative research is a situated activity in which the observer is placed in relation to the rest of the world. It is a collection of interpretive and material acts that make the world visible. These activities have a profound impact on the globe. They transform the environment into a sequence of representations, which include field notes, interviews, dialogues, images, recordings, and

self-memos. This implies that qualitative researchers look at things in their natural surroundings, aiming to understand or interpret events through the lenses of the individuals assigned to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 4–5). Holliday (2007: 1) points out that it is customary to begin by separating qualitative research from quantitative research, ‘unadventurous’, if necessary, approach, because this is how most people perceive it. This is undoubtedly true, and it is worth remembering, as this section places qualitative research in its larger philosophical and historical context. In fact, the contrast between quality and quantity is one of several simple but useful alternatives, such as words/numbers, subjective/objective, or specific/generalizable.

There are several reasons why qualitative research is the best research approach for this study: it is locally situated (it studies human participants in natural settings and conditions, rather than artificially constructed situations); participant-oriented (it is sensitive to, and seeks to understand, participants’ perspectives of their world); holistic (it is context-sensitive and does not study isolated aspects independently of the situation in which they occur); inductive (it studies human participants in natural settings and conditions, rather than artificially constructed situations); and inductive (it studies human participants in natural settings (it depends on the process of interpretation that involves immersion in the data and draws on different perspectives).



This study was conducted utilizing several tools, including semi-structured interviews, surveys, and audio recordings. The chapter continues with tactics and ways for reinforcing these methods. The central database is made up of data from participation observations, audio recordings, transcriptions of interactions, facial expressions, body dialects, and any nonverbal communication that was recorded during the recording process.

4.2. Research population

The study was conducted on six children, specifically two boys and four girls from Beacon Valley, Mitchell’s Plain, all under the age of 13 years old. The children are all scholars at local schools within the community. All the participants are family, the children are cousins, and the parents are siblings. The three households are made up of unemployed mothers, working fathers, and two children in each household. The family consists of children who are at school

during the day while the fathers are at work. The mothers take care of the household while the children and husbands are away. Two of the families are Christian, with the last remaining family following the Islamic faith.

The table below depicts the diversity of the participants included in the study in terms of gender, age, religion, and language.

#	*Name	Gender	Age	First Language	Additional Language	Religion
1	*Jack	Male	6	English	Afrikaans	Christian
2	*Kate	Female	11	English	Afrikaans	Christian
3	*Jill	Male	6	English	Afrikaans	Christian
4	*Sam	Female	11	English	Afrikaans	Christian
5	*Faried	Male	6	English	Afrikaans	Muslim
6	*Shariffa	Female	11	English	Afrikaans	Muslim

Table 1. Gender, age biographies, language, and religion

For the scope of the current study, the selected categories in the table above were explored in relation to how they influence the interactional dynamics of bilingual talk and play during activities.

4.3. Description of Data collection Process

The data collection day would start off with driving to the destination every Saturday or Sunday and setting up. The sessions proceeded by organizing the wireless audio recorders within the vicinity of the six children. The recordings would commence capturing the interactional activity of play, their communications were recorded during this time. Apart from the audio recordings, their interactions were also observed and written down in a notebook. The duration of these sessions was 30-45 minutes respectively, which was coordinated over an 8-week

period of weekends.

The data collection process was conducted by following the steps below:

- 1) Ethical clearance and permission from the parents and children were obtained by having one-on-one discussions with the parents and a group discussion with the children. The completed consent forms were then saved to my laptop for safekeeping and as evidence of consent.
- 2) Participant-observation protocols were followed and interviews were conducted and recorded. The interactions of the children were recorded with the focus on their talk and play. This was done to explore the patterns in their interactions, looking at the similarities, differences, use of rare words and sayings, what they spoke about, and how it related to bilingualism and the linguistic landscape that they were a part of. The process of participation-observation was conducted closely with the children using a tape recorder, my phone, laptop, and notebook to take notes, which was later typed out and saved. The children participated freely in these sessions. I made them feel confident, safe and at ease by letting them be themselves.
- 3) Interviews were also conducted with the parents in the comfort of their homes. I booked an appointment with each parent, asked open-ended questions to allow the parents to answer as needed, and gave them the liberty to explain things from their perspectives.
- 4) Limitations of the process were time constraints and finding a suitable time to meet with the parents and the children. Another limitation was having to contact the parents on WhatsApp, SMS and phone calls to arrange the appointments for the interviews and dropping the children off at the agreed parent's house.
- 5) The interviews and participant observation sessions could only be done on weekends due to the parents working during the week and the children having to do homework after school and chores at home. Weekends were the only days available.

This process of data collection meant that I spent time with the children and learning a lot about their personalities and identities. I was allowed to view things from their end, as opposed to the views of their parents. Using learners and their parents as research subjects was extremely

beneficial as the children were reliable and the process verifiable.

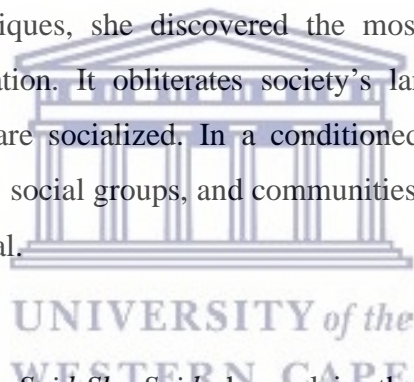
4.4. Methods: Audio recordings, participant observations, and interviews

The methods listed below were used for the collection of data:

- 1) Audio recordings: The key advantage of the audio recording was the focus on the conversation rather than writing notes, which can be distracting. Audio recordings were saved on a mobile phone and voice recorder interchangeably. Recordings were saved onto a laptop after each session and observation notes were copied onto the laptop as well.
- 2) Observations of children's play: Observations, as opposed to reported behaviour or opinions, are particularly beneficial for gaining insights into a specific situation and actual behaviour. The observer is a part of the observed context in participant observations. The observer takes notes on everything or specific pre-determined aspects of what is going on around them throughout the observation, such as interactions or conversations. Observations have several advantages, including reducing the distance between the researcher and the subjects of the study, the potential discovery of topics that the researcher was unaware was relevant, and the ability to gain deeper insights into the real-world dimensions of the research problem at hand.
- 3) Field notes: Depending on feasibility (which is usually lower during participant observations) and acceptability, written notes can be made during or after the observations (e.g., when the observer is perceived to be judging the observed). Following that, the field notes are converted into observation protocols.
- 4) Face-to-face interviews with the parents about their views on bilingualism, race, and interaction also took place on data collection days. This method was applied because it allows for more accurate data collecting and understanding. Instead of facts or behaviours, interviews are used to acquire insight into a person's subjective experiences, opinions, and motives. Body language and facial expressions are easier to recognize and comprehend. Also, explicit explanations could be elicited from the respondents. The interview can be aided using stimulant material and visual aids. These interviews were used to elicit information from the parents on how they manage social

interactions with their children, to understand their language choices, race, and identity in their everyday interactions. The assumption of the interviews would be to demonstrate what the parents understood as cultural and social framing devices for their children's interactions, guiding in some way the children's turn-taking and sequencing of actions during talk and play. Semi-structured interviews were used for the purpose of this research with open-ended questions and the use of an interview guide (or topic guide/list) in which the general areas of interest, were established. Qualitative interviews, as opposed to written surveys, have the advantage of being interactive, allowing for unexpected themes to emerge and be pursued by the researcher. Written surveys, by their very nature, can only measure what is already known or expected to be of significance to the researcher, therefore this can assist in overcoming a provider or researcher-centred bias. Interviews can be recorded on audio or video, but in other cases, the interviewer may only be allowed to take written notes.

In Marjorie Goodwin's techniques, she discovered the most illuminating and visual of children's linguistic indoctrination. It obliterates society's language plans and conviction systems in which youngsters are socialized. In a conditioned world influenced by social emotions and skills in families, social groups, and communities, understanding children from the centre of their view is critical.



In Marjorie Goodwin's book *He-Said-She-Said*, she explains the language model and ideology of children from the perspective of language socialization. The interest is in children's linguistic resources in their daily environment to organize the interaction between children, their peers, and adults. The language socialization of children focuses on their interaction similarities and differences in social interactions, as well as across the broader community on a small scale.

4.5. Audio data and transcription

The transcription process started with the foot pedal of creating verbatim transcript notes from the audio recordings. Audio data refers to a file format for storing digital audio data on a computer system. The data can be in the form of a raw bitstream in an audio coding format, but it is frequently embedded in a container format or an audio data format with a defined storage

layer. The transcription process was done using a laptop, as it eased listening, typing, and rewinding significantly. The process was simple, transcribing the information directly by listening and typing at the same time, to save time. Transcripts make recording features clearer and more accessible, allowing the researcher, to ‘see’ the vocal and non-vocal actions that take place on the recording. An excellent transcript aids the analyst in gaining an understanding of the interaction’s structure, particularly its brief and ephemeral aspects. A transcript is not a replacement for the recording; rather, it is an important analytical tool to employ in conjunction with the recording.

Jefferson (2004) defines transcription as the process of “interactionally transcribing features of talk-in-interaction using a system that was developed for conversation analysis research and is internationally recognized as the ‘gold standard’ for interactionally transcribing features of talk-in-interaction” (Jefferson 2004: 3-4). This system compares the analytic results of talks or interactions, resulting in a detailed transcription with conversational features. The transcription system’s goal is to demonstrate the value of transcripts to the reader by focusing on the positioning and design aspects of talk-in-interaction.

The Jeffersonian type of transcription (which was aimed at speech) was later adapted by Goodwin into Goodwinian transcription, which dealt with visual information in a similar elaborated way by inserting symbols into the text, as Goodwin was interested in the “gaze” as a way of determining where a participant’s attention was directed during an interaction. This is mostly utilized in behaviour and interaction research.

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have extensively discussed how the data was sourced, collected and analysed. The participation of the members involved in the research and their roles and capacities were also discussed. I also reflected on the data collection process.

Chapter Five

Data Analysis

5.0. Introduction

The following chapter provides insight into the dynamics of so-called coloured bilingual children's interactions and management of participation-frameworks with a focus on the analysis of the linguistic structure of such interactions. In this chapter, I analyse the structural language use of bilingual children's interactions in talk and play. Specifically, I focus on the participation-frames of conversation and play, analysing the structural linguistic aspects thereof, and then how the children mix English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps¹. The analysis below provides various participation-frameworks based on conversations and play, using direct instructions during play, and negotiations of their positions/emotions/ideas. The participation-frameworks of play are board games such as snakes and ladders, ludo, and billiards that I have analysed to illustrate the different participation-frameworks bilingual children manage in order to interact with their peers and parents.

5.1. The Linguistic Structure of Bilingual Children's Interactions

Language is a defining characteristic of the human species. Radically different theories have been proposed about language socialization and acquisition, and as Chapter 2 indicates, has given shape to interactional research on bilingual children's interactions. Researchers working within linguistic and psychological frameworks focus most of their research on innate knowledge of children's linguistic structures, an approach that separates the child from cultural settings and frames of interaction. However, over the past 20 years, linguistic anthropologists have developed an important perspective and approach to the study of language acquisition. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) deal with putting together and documenting the lives of children in a society and at the same time, how they become competent social actors with the appropriate use of language.

Language and the social self are mutually dependent. This perspective brings together aspects

¹ Afrikaaps (or Kaaps) is according to Williams (2019), is closer to Kaaps than it is to Standard Afrikaans, though there are observable differences in accent, how AfriKaaps is linked to identity practices, and where the speaker comes from.

of the child's social, cultural, and linguistic aspects. In the studies cited throughout this thesis so far, bilingual children's grammatical linguistic aspects (on the phonological, lexical, and grammatical level) have received much attention worldwide but to a very little extent in South African sociolinguistics (see for example, Coetzee, 2018²). While certain cross-cultural studies demonstrate how children's grammatical organization impacts interaction through simplified conversation (with short sentences; slowing down their rhythm and intonation contours exaggerated), Coetzee's study supports the below analysis. Furthermore, my argument is that, in order to understand the interaction of bilingual children on the Cape Flats of Cape Town, it is important to study the grammar, in order to conclude whether bilingual children's interactions are defined by culture-specific settings.

5.1.1. Grammar Features of Interaction

Regarding conversation and play as participation-frameworks, the focus here is on examining the grammatical features to understand and describe the interactions of bilingual children. Much of grammar in interaction leads to the mixed use of languages and language varieties and meaning-making. In these subsections, I am interested in demonstrating and analysing the words used, the pronunciation of these words, and the way these words are combined into sentences. The linguistic structure of a language concerns the creation and organization of a single phonetic (phonetic and phonemic) learning to the smallest meaningful units, such as prefixes, complements, and roots (Bucholtz 2011: 8).

There are three sub-subsections to this subsection. The first concerns the meaning of a word as it shifts through time and is referred to as lexical characteristics. The second entails an individual utilizing a specific term to gain meaning in many circumstances, resulting in the creation of a new category, known as lexical selection. I am interested to demonstrate how word meanings and forms vary in relation to meaning, with a focus on language vocabulary in interaction and the participation-frameworks that the bilingual children navigate. I then consider the syntactical aspects and then finally the sound patterns of the languages the children used.

² Coetzee, F. 2018. Hy leer dit nie hier nie ('He doesn't learn it here'): talking about children's swearing. (*International Journal of Multilingualism* 15(3): 291-305).

5.1.1.1. Lexical Features of Interaction

At the lexical level, the use of words in interaction by bilingual children changes over time since they are essentially in the infant process of language socialization. Below, the analysis highlights the lexical variation of how words are formed into meaningful comprehension. In other words, this part of the chapter attempts to illustrate how the meanings of words and their forms change in relation to their meaning. In the extracts below, I illustrate how exposure to certain lexical features of interaction are indicative of the interactions of bilingual children.

Setting the scene: Extract 5.1

In the below extract, we have five participants. They are involved in a dancing and drawing activities. The atmosphere is energetic because the main aim of the exercise/activity is dancing. We see that children use English mainly and use an Afrikaans word, in this instance, to help them express a feeling. In the below extract, the word “Jinne” is used to express emotion, used in the participatory frame where the bilingual children were engaged in dancing and drawing.

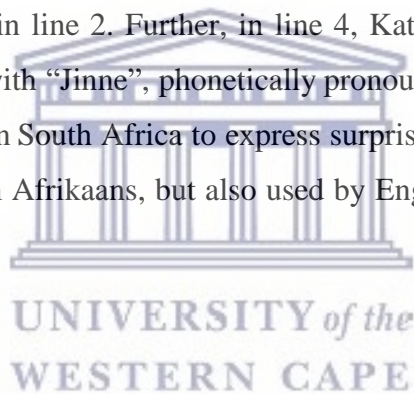
Extract 5.1: Jinne and other words

1. Kate: Oh my word I feel so sorry for I nearly took the eyes off.
2. Kate: Oh, my God, it seems me.
3. Sam: You don't know what tigers do, neither do I know.
4. Kate: Jinne
5. Jack: I breathe fire at you aaaahahaa.
6. Shariffa: why are you always so?
7. Sam: Tom what is it.
8. Jill: Mustn't you supposed to dance.
9. Kate: at least we know Jack is the loudest.
10. Shariffa: I know

In the above extract 5.1, line 1, Kate opens the conversation with “Oh my word [I feel so sorry for I nearly took the eyes off]”, and in line 2 she says, “Oh, my God, [it seems me]”. “Oh my word” and “Oh, my God” both mean the same thing and are used to express a variety of emotions: anger, joy, surprise, astonishment, frustration, and excitement, amongst others. These expressions are used when something unexpected happens (good or bad), or as a filler

comment when people hear something upsetting or surprising. “Oh my word” is generally used primarily by Christians to avoid violating the commandment, “You shall not abuse the name of your God” to represent an abundance of emotions, due to anger, disappointment, or even joy. It can also be used in response to anything you have been told. In line 2, Kate says “Oh, my God, it seems me”, which is a different variation of the “oh my word”. “Oh my God”, it’s an exclamation that expresses disbelief, frustration, excitement, or anger in various ways. These phrases can also be seen as an English idiom which can be described as the way in which a particular group of individuals, classes, parishes, or districts use a particular phrase consistently. For idioms, the words and phrases involved generally have a different but specific meaning that can be difficult for non-native English speakers to understand.

In line 3, Sam displays an affective stance in his statement, “You don’t know what tigers do, neither do I know”. The affective attitude refers to a “state of mind, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity” (Ochs, 1996: 410). It is as if Sam is surprised by Kate’s statement in line 2. Further, in line 4, Kate expresses her annoyance to Sam’s question and responds with “Jinne”, phonetically pronounced and articulated as [ji:nə]. “Jinne” is an interjection used in South Africa to express surprise, admiration, shock, etc. The word is originally derived from Afrikaans, but also used by English speakers in conversation nowadays.



Setting the scene: Extract 5.2

In the following extract 5.2, we see how the children use the phrase “Haai jinne” in the interaction between Kate, Jack, Jill, Faried and Shariffa. It was a Friday evening around 19:20 in the evening. The children gathered at the home of Kate and Jack to play games. They sat in the living room, in a circle on the floor. Both the parents of Kate and Jack were present. The children found an activity on YouTube and thought it was a good idea to follow the video. They ended up making paper dogs. At the same time, unsupervised, Kate’s mom was busy preparing supper, and her dad was busy fixing his car in the garage with a friend.

Extract 5.2 Haai Jinne...

1. Kate: I need to re-watch this. First, they fold it like this, then they fold it in. okay

2. Jack: I don't know what they are talking about?
3. Jill: now on the other side
4. [background music stops]
5. Faried: that's not a dog, but... okay!
6. Kate: must I go over or must it be in the line like this?
7. Jill: must go over
8. Jack: Haai jinne
9. Kate: I don't know how use.....
10. Jill: haai jinne man
11. Jack: don't get upset Shariffa
12. Shariffa: I'm already upset
13. Kate: (gasp)

Extract 5.2 starts with line 1 in which Kate opens with “I need to re-watch this” referring to what is being explained on the video. This is followed by, “first they fold it like this then they fold it in. Okay”. She repeats what she hears on the clip that they were watching. In line 2, Jack finds it difficult to understand what is being explained, and this is obvious in the statement he makes: “I don't know what they are talking about”. In line 3, Jill is supervising Jack and says, “now on the other side”. Faried, on the other hand, in line 5, does not seem to think that Jack is making what he is supposed to be making as per the clip's instructions. This is interpreted by his statement “That's not a dog, but...Okay!” In line 6, Kate needs confirmation from the rest of the children to gauge if she's on the right track and questions her actions by asking “must I go over, or must it be in the line like this?” Furthermore, in line 8, Jack says “**Haai jinnie**” to voice his annoyance at Jill. Kate, in line 9, says, “I don't know how use”. She informally refers to all the children as “use” which is not a standard English word in the context. She uses it as informal/slang plural form of the pronoun ‘you’, to refer to more than one person. In line 10, Jill then repeats the phrase “**Haai jinnie**” as previously used by Jack in line 8. The phrase is familiar to them, and they use it almost as if they disagree with what is happening during the interaction. In line 11 Jack says, “Don't get upset Tom”, he does not approve of what Tom is doing and requests him indirectly not to upset himself. Tom in line 12 confirms “I'm already upset”, meaning that it is too late for him to change the way he feels at that present moment as he has already reacted to the comment/action. In line 13 Kate “gasped”, which is a nonverbal action that can be interpreted as a sigh of dissatisfaction.

Seated in Kate's room watching YouTube clips, they learn how to make things by using paper.

In extract 5.2 above, the interaction highlights the use of the phrase “**haai jinne**”, which can be interpreted as “hey you”. This phrase would only be understood if you belong to a specific speech community, such as the children’s, to make meaning and understand the context in which the phrase is used.

If the children are not from the same area and communicate in both English and Afrikaans as part of the languages they speak, their meanings will not be understood. The phrase “**haai jinne**” is also common in coloured communities who speak Afrikaans or Afrikaaps as a first language.

The meaning of the word is multi-layered and context-dependent. It could be used as a marker of sadness or when someone feels empathy towards another person. Alternatively, it could be used as an expression of shock or surprise. It can also be used as a statement to express annoyance or irritation. All the children in the interaction have the background knowledge and share a common linguistic landscape, hence, they can understand the context in which the phrase is used.

5.1.1.2. Syntactical Features

The use of syntactical phrases by bilingual children is also indicative of language socialization within the selected group of children in this study, and their exposure to English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps as a first, second and third language. Syntactical features in interactions are important markers of managing participation-frameworks of interaction, over and above the rules and norms for how to properly use English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps. In this section of the analysis, I attempt to demonstrate the syntactic function of interaction. My focus at the level of the sentence is to demonstrate how words and expressions are organized to form well-formed sentences in a language. I demonstrate how, through play, bilingual children in this study use syntactic features to make sense of and sustain play as a form of interaction.

Setting the scene: Extract 5.3

In this particular setting, we have four participants. It was a Saturday afternoon around 14:15. The children are involved in an indoor activity, making tiger face masks. One of the boys did not join in the activity and chose to watch television in a separate room. The parents were present but left us in the lounge as they continued with their chores: washing and cleaning the

house. There were cars driving up and down in the road which you could hear in the lounge with loud music. The road was busy with people walking to the corner shop and gathering on the corner to speak to the neighbours.

Extract 5.3 Tiger face masks

1. Kate: Attention people (commanding tone)
2. Faried: Jack soesh man.
3. Sam: hahaha (laughter)
4. Jill: Yoh! Yoh granny did let me skrik
5. Jack: Everyone's things folded in half right?
6. Jack and Jill: Yes!
7. Sam: But mines here
8. Kate: Except mine.
9. Faried: But mines here

In extract 5.3, Kate, Faried, Sam, Jill, and Jack are cutting out tiger face masks following the instructions from a YouTube clip. In line 1, Kate tries to draw everyone's attention and use a commanding tone as they were not listening to her. She says, "Attention people": here we see that she takes the lead in the group. In line 2, Faried tries to silence Jack using the informal word "soesh", known typically as requesting someone to be quiet and not talk, for illustrating the syntax of the interaction. Sam laughs out loud in line 3, displaying that he finds Kate's statement of "attention people" funny. In line 4, the focus is on the statement made by Jill "Yoh! Yoh granny did let me skrik". The structure of the sentence does not follow traditional conventions of English and contains a slang word - yoh. We see that the tense of the sentence is correct in the sense that English is being used over Afrikaans syntax, however, the children understand the message being conveyed and they can make meaning of the sentence. The word "Yoh!" is a South African slang word that expresses an exclamation of surprise and can also be recognized as a suitable synonym for the word *wow*. The fact that Jill repeats this word twice in the statement indicates that she was really in shock/surprised by the granny who entered the room where they were playing. The word "skrik", pronounced **skrik**, means to be suddenly frightened, or to panic, which can also be associated with the element of surprise.

Below is a breakdown of the syntactical features of the words used in line 4 to illustrate that

Jill did not use standard English or Afrikaans in her sentence:

- Granny – noun - slang word for the noun grandmother
- did -verb/let-verb/ me-pronoun
- Skrik – Afrikaans word for fright

The last two bullet points are verbs typical of bilingual speakers on the Cape Flats. As a rule, bilingual children customarily alter clauses when they use verbs of the ones illustrated above. For example, Jill's surprise reaction led her to use a pre-set understanding of Afrikaans syntax to express her surprise in English – this is indicative of bilingual children's use of all their linguistic resources in interactions.

5.1.1.3. Phonology

Phonology is an examination of the sound frameworks of a language. In this section of the chapter, I am interested in demonstrating how the sound patterns help to organize the interactions of bilingual children. Phonology is about discovering and portraying the regularities of sound segments, and in the data I have collected, there are interesting variations in sound patterns that emerged and which we can classify as typical of bilingual children on the Cape Flats who are exposed to Afrikaans, English and Afrikaans.

Setting the scene: Extract 5.4

In this particular setting, we have four participants. It was a Friday night around 19:20 in the evening. The children gathered at Kate and Jack's house to play games. They sat in the living room, in a circle on the floor. Both Kate and Jack's parents were present. The children found an activity on YouTube and thought it was a good idea to follow the video, and ended up making paper dogs:

Extract 5.4 Making paper dogs

1. Jack: Yoh did you see her?
2. Kate: ai
3. Jill: Oh my
4. Jack: Mal mense
5. Sam: This is my dog
6. Kate: pffffff
7. Faried: Look at my precious dog and Jill'ssomething
8. Kate: They can go to work now
9. Jack: Oh wait
10. Jill: My dog with black everywhere

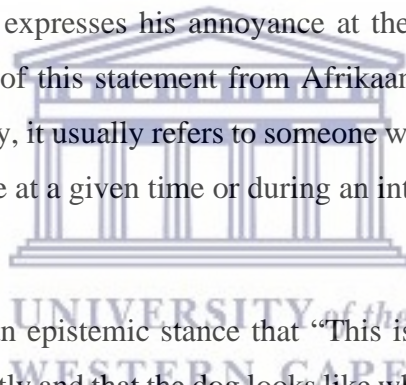
In the above extract 5.4, in line 1, Jack says “Yoh did you see her?” Here you will take note that the verbalization of “yoh” is articulated by the speaker’s vowel sound but without the [ɹ] sound, which is phonetically interpreted as [jɔ:]. There is no utilization of the [ɹ] sound, and consequently, there are no lengthened vowel sounds within the word “yoh”. Not utilizing the [ɹ] sound goes hand in hand with the way in which children verbalise consonants. In most cases, the consonants inside the words are articulated harder and are complementary. Be that as it may, the speaker does not move the tongue upward when articulating the word. In other words, there is no utilization of the retroflexed consonant. The word “yoh” is also used in South Africa to express amazement or surprise; it is also a variant of yo! just with more of an exclamation. “Yoh” also sounds similar to “your”, however, they have completely different meanings even though they sound the same.

In line 2, Kate says “ai”. This expression can be classed as a diphthong. Diphthongs denote two sounds and are represented phonetically using the two monophthong symbols. It is best to think of a diphthong as a single, sliding sound. It is a self-contained unit, the quality changes during manufacture, in contrast to the relative constancy of monophthong quality. In fact, Ladefoged (2001) points out that diphthongs do not necessarily always contain sounds like the individual monophonic symbols that make up these diphthongs.

“Ai” (English and Afrikaans) is a noun and is pronounced as: /a:i/. The first sound of this diphthong is akin to pronouncing the ‘A’ sound in `aa` or `bat`: the back of the tongue rises

towards the soft palate, but not as high as in `aa`, as in vowel `bat`. In the pronunciation of this sound, the tip of the tongue remains forward and touches lightly behind the lower front teeth: $\alpha\iota / \rightarrow [\Lambda\iota] / ___ [+ \text{cons}, - \text{voice}]$. The vowel $[\alpha]$ has the characteristics $[+ \text{low}, + \text{back}]$, while the vowel $[\Lambda]$ has the characteristics $[+ \text{middle}, + \text{middle}]$. This rule includes not only raising, but also facing in a certain sense. This is not intended to mean that the diphthong is directed forward or raised; in both cases, the tab still assumes the same final position, namely $/ \iota /$. It is only at the beginning of the vowel that the position of the tongue is changed, as it is in front and raised.

In the extract above, in line 3, Jill's "Oh my" can be interpreted as a general interjection that expresses surprise, concern, and admiration in various ways. It is sometimes used for picturesque or humorous effect. This phrase can also be used as an expression of pleasure or surprise. In this instance, Jill uses it in the context of being surprised at what she sees being made, as they were making paper dogs and the shape was not what was supposed to be made. Comparatively, in line 4, Jack expresses his annoyance at the activity and blurts out, "Mal mense". The direct translation of this statement from Afrikaans to English would be "crazy people". Not to be taken literally, it usually refers to someone who does or says something that does not necessarily make sense at a given time or during an interaction.



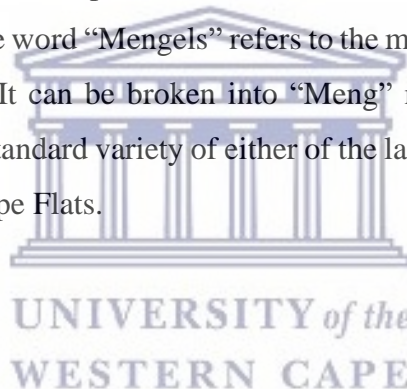
In line 5, Sam confirms with an epistemic stance that "This is my dog". He affirms that he followed the instructions correctly and that the dog looks like what it was supposed to look like according to the instructions. In line 6, Kate shakes off the comment and dismisses the affirmation by expelling air sharply and therein making the sound "pffffff" which denotes that she is not happy with Sam because he managed to make a proper paper dog and she has not. In line 7, Faried says "Look at my precious dog and Jill'ssomething". He pokes fun at the others who did not fold the dog correctly. He uses the word "precious" to place emphasis on his achievement and to make the other children in the group jealous.

In line 8, Kate redirects the conversation and says "They can go work now", meaning that the paper dogs they made are good enough for them to earn money and should generate an income for them. This statement can be interpreted as being sarcastic as she is unhappy that her dog was not perfect like Faried's. In line 9, Faried says, "Oh wait": this phrase is usually used in

arguments to insult someone or refute a statement by emphasizing why the statement is inaccurate. This can also be used as something you would say after you just made fun of someone for something they did or did not do. It is as if Faried has changed his mind about his paper dog. The conversation ends in line 10, with Jill pointing out the features of her dog: “My dog with black everywhere” – she coloured her dog in black to resemble her real-life dog.

5.2. Mixing English and Afrikaans: Mengels

In the below extract, Afrikaans words are paired with English interpretations to illustrate that the participants are bilingual. The participant’s interpretation of Afrikaans structure is used in the interaction, displaying basic syntactic knowledge. We see that the standard variety of Afrikaans rules is applied by the children. The extracts demonstrate how the participants use more than one language in a sentence or statement. The interactions include Kate, Jill, and Jack and we see that the word “Mengels” is used as a metalinguistic marker to indicate the mixed use of English, Afrikaans and Afrikaaps. We can see that the common features of Afrikaaps are used in their interaction. The word “Mengels” refers to the mixing of English and Afrikaans in one sentence or statement. It can be broken into “Meng” meaning to mix and “Engels” meaning English. It is not the standard variety of either of the languages, but an informal/slang word which derive from the Cape Flats.



Setting the scene: Extract 5.5

In the below extract, Kate, Jack and Jill are drawing pictures on the mat in the lounge. This took place on a Friday evening at the start of Covid-19 and the area was locked down by the army before curfew. The community was instructed to go into their houses and this was followed later by load shedding. It was very noisy and busy as people were trying to go to their houses.

The interaction illustrates how the children in the group use “Mengels” to discuss the drawings. In the extract, the children are discussing how one of the pictures is skewed. The interaction starts in line 1 with Kate, who introduced the discussion and says, “look at this eyes”.

Extract 5.5: Drawing pictures

1. Kate: look at this eyes
2. Jack: Let me see
3. Jack: Oooh it looks skief
4. Kate: hahaha
5. Kate: yep
6. Jill: what is 'skief?
7. Jack: but it's true, you can come see how skief her eyes look. Even her eyebrows are skew
8. Jill: I'm talking Mengels
9. Jack: What?
10. Kate: Mengels means you mix Afrikaans with English
11. Jack: Mengels
12. Jill: Don't your school teach you anything?
13. Jack: I'm speaking mengels
14. Kate: They don't teach that because you not supposed to do that
15. Jack: what is wrong with that?
16. Kate: it's nonsense

In extract 5.5, the children's interaction comprised of drawing pictures on paper, and then comparing their pictures to one another's. They are poking fun at a drawing where the eyes are skew. The conversation starts with Kate in line 1 pointing out that the eyes were not where they were supposed to be. She says "look at this eye". In line 2, Jack affirms and says, "Let me see". In line 3, Jack confirms that the eyes are skewed and says with surprise "ooooh, it looks skief". Instead of saying the drawing is skew, an Afrikaans word is mixed with standard English. In line 4, Kate laughs at the statement as she knows that the sentence is made up of two languages and that she finds this funny. In line 5 Kate says, "Yep" in agreement with the fact that the drawing is in fact skew, as pointed out by Jack in line 3.

In line 6, Jill asks "What is skief" as she does not think that her drawing is skewed. She then laughs afterward as she realizes that she is not using only one language to express herself, but that she is using both English and Afrikaans. In line 7, Jack reiterates that the drawing is skew, "but it's true, you can come to see how skief her eyes look. Even her eyebrows are skew". At this stage, he now points out that even the eyebrows are skewed as well as the rest of the drawing. In line 8, Jill realizes that she had mixed languages in her previous statement and says, "I'm speaking Mengels". She is conscious of the fact that the sentence structure used was not

convenient to either of the languages that she had mixed together. In line 9, Jack asks “What?” as if he does not understand what Jill had just said.

This is how the conversation of “Mengels” comes about. In line 10, Kate explains what “Mengels” means as Jack was not familiar with the concept. She takes an epistemic stance where she is positioned to significantly experience an acceptably perceived idea, and understand the relevance of the word “Mengels”. Kate shares her knowledge of her language use and does not agree with the structures of “Mengels”. In line 14, she suggests that it is not taught at school and is not an acceptable form of language in education, therefore, removing it from the domain of standard education. In line 15, Jack questions her opinion and in line 16 Kate says “it’s nonsense”, which confirms her disapproval of “Mengels”. Jack is amused by the concept and pokes fun at the fact that he is speaking “Mengels”, in line 8. From the interaction, we can see that the children share different views on “Mengels” even though they are from the same speech community. Jack is comfortable and accepts the concept whereas Kate does not want to be associated with it.



5.3. The use of standard Afrikaans and Afrikaaps

The data also reveals a minimal use of standard Afrikaans in the interactions. The children in the study often replace an English word with a standard Afrikaans word. This is indicative of how their linguistic repertoires are expanding with varieties of Afrikaans, which will likely give shape to their identity, since the participants all belong to the same peer group and they likely understood standard Afrikaans used at school and in speaking with their parents. I also observed that the parents would use a different variety of English to socialize the children into a respectful participation-framework.

Setting the scene: Extract 5.6

In the below excerpt, we see the interaction between Kate, Sam, Jack, and Jill. They are telling jokes from a joke book called *Hard Head Henry’s Joke Book*. The interaction illustrated how the children in the group switched between English and standard Afrikaans. In the extract the children are telling jokes from the joke book, sitting in a circle on a mat in the lounge of Kate’s parents’ house. The interaction starts off in line 1 with Jack who introduced the activity and

says, “Hard Head Henry’s Joke Book”.

Extract 5.6 Joke Book activity

1. Jack: Hard Head Henry’s Joke Book.
2. Jill: Haai, see here?
3. Jack: You know I was playing still.
4. Faried: What you two playing?
5. Jack: They’re playing a mannetjie game.
6. Jill: What?
7. Jack: I don’t know.
8. Jill: A skateboard
9. Jack: See how small this one is. Did it break?
10. Jill: I do no know. It’s Faried’s gems. Ja, the stuff broke. Some of its broken and some of it’s not broken.
11. Jack: Kate, what do you get when you cross a fish and a kitten?
12. Faried: A fish kitten
13. Jack: Oh catfish
14. Faried: A Parana. Are we - - Kate, this is how its going to work; you’re going to –you read a joke and I read a joke.

In line 2 Jill expresses shock with “Haai, see here”, trying to draw the attention of the other children to another game she was playing. In standard Afrikaans “haai” is referred to as a shark and in this extract, it is used to guide the children’s attention. Moreover, from line 3, Jack says, “You know I was playing still”, because his game was interrupted and the rest of the children wanted to continue with the jokes instead. We see in line 4 that Faried asked, “What you two playing?”, as if he felt excluded from the activity. In line 5, Jack goes on to say, “They’re playing a mannetjie game” (using the diminutive). This game is known as a drawing game like the concept of hangman, drawn with lines on a page displaying sticks.

In line 6, Jill says “What” in disapproval of what Jack confirms they are playing. Jack then answers Jill in line 7, saying “I don’t know”, he no longer knows what she is doing. Jill explains in line 8 that it is a “skateboard”. They move on from focusing on the joke book to what Jill is doing. Jack asks Jill if she broke the skateboard; in line 10, Jill confirms that some of the toys they are playing with are broken. In line 11, Jack shifts his focus back to the joke book and asks “Kate, what do you get when you cross a fish and a kitten?” Faried answers in line 12 that it is

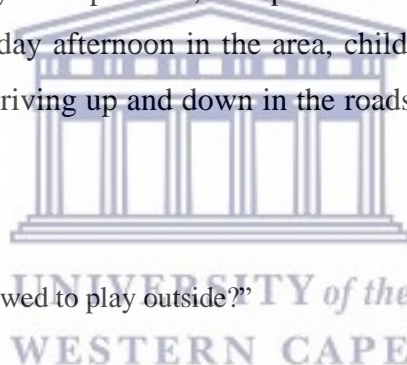
“A fish kitten”, and repeats the answer by reordering the words to “catfish” in line 13. In line 14, Faried says “**Parana**”, The pronunciation of “piranha” is pronounced “parana”, which suggests that the participant’s standard language use is influenced by the spatial location.

Jack was trying to draw everyone’s attention to listen to his jokes, but Jill wanted to do something else instead. Jack takes a moral stance; he acts in a morally acceptable manner ensuring that he can be trusted and is cognizant of what needs to be done for the rest of the children to listen to him.

Afrikaans is used outside: Interview with Mom

Set the scene

The interview took place in the comfort of the mom I was interviewing as this added to her comfort. It was a Saturday afternoon, 27th July 2019 at 13:30 p.m. The weather was rainy, cloudy, and a typically cold day in Cape town, also part of the reason why the interview was indoors. It was a regular Saturday afternoon in the area, children playing outside, teenagers standing on corners, and cars driving up and down in the roads, it sounded busy and buzzing with all sorts of noises.



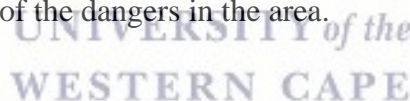
Question: “Are your children allowed to play outside?”

Response in Afrikaans:

Ja soes dit met ons gewies het, ons het gespeel ons was free. Ons kon gespeel waar ons wil gespeel, waneer ons wil gespeel het ons kon laat buitekan gewees het. Nou kan ek nie eers my kind winkel toe stuur nie want ek is te bang sy gaan gekidnap word of sy gaan raak geskiet word of enige iets kan gebeur met haar hier buitekant. Dis nie nou meer diselfde soes wat ons gespeel het nie. Ek kan nie eers my kind...kinders leer hoe het ons lekke fun gehet buitekant tot laat toe nie, speel Nikkies allerande games het ons gespeel nou moet ons kinders sit in die huis in want ek is te bang enige iets kan gebeur met hulle buitekant, soe dit is nie die selfde nie. (English translation: *Yes, so it had been with us, we played we were free. We could have played where we wanted to play, when we wanted to play, we could have been left out. Now I cannot even send my child to the shop because I’m too scared, she’s going to be kidnapped or*

she's going to get shot or anything can happen to her out here. It's not the same as we used to play anymore. I cannot even my child ... children learn how we had fun outside until late, Nikkies play all kinds of games we played now we must put children in the house because I'm too scared anything could happen to them outside, so it is not the same.)

The above extract is from an interview with a mom of a child participant of the research. The interview question she responded to was, “Are your children allowed to play outside?” In the conversation, the parent expresses her feelings about how her children cannot play outside in the area they live in due to it being unsafe and dangerous. She explains how things have deteriorated since apartheid and from the time she was a child. She uses both English and Afrikaans to explain how she feels – you can sense the frustration in her tone of voice and the words she uses like “ons kon”, “ons gewies het”, “gespeel”, all these are used in the past tense. She explains how her child is at risk of being shot or kidnapped just by going to the shop and that they must remain inside the house to avoid these bad things from happening. She says, “Ons het gespeel ons was free”, meaning that they were able to play outside freely when she was a child but now her children cannot. She says, “Ek kan nie eers my kind...kinders leer hoe het ons fun gehet buitekant tot laat toe nie”. In this sentence, we see that she uses the English word “fun” as she explains her frustration at her children not being able to play outside. The children now have to revert to playing indoor games and playing games on their phones as they are not allowed to play outside because of the dangers in the area.



From the conversation with the mom, we gain a sense of the community and why the children have to change the way they play games. Much of the language the mother uses is Afrikaans but notably not standard Afrikaans; she uses different tenses and an English word in between. The variety of Afrikaans she uses is usually associated with the coloured identity, evidenced with words like “ge-kidnap”, where “ontvoer” is the proper Afrikaans word to use. Instead, the mom uses the regular collocation (joining of words) and morphemes such as the past tense marker “ge” and an English word “kidnap” to produce “ge-kidnap”. Here, Afrikaans is used to join words which do not follow the standard convention of the Afrikaans language; instead, she adds an Afrikaans regular collocation to an English word to express the meaning of her sentences.

5.4. Code-switching

Code-switching is the mixing of words and sentences with different linguistic units with another language (Bokama, 1989). As an important feature of the bilingualism of children in this study, in the below examples, I illustrate how bilingual children code-switch in interactions.

Examples

1) *Mixed language extract (MLE): Haai, see here*

Interpretation (I): This usually refers to an element of surprise

2) *MLE: they're playing 'n mannetjie game*

I: Mannetjie means man, typically referred to as a drawing of a picture which resembles a man

3) *MLE: That is kwaai*

I: Standard Afrikaans meaning of this word mean “cool”, however, in this context it is used as the acknowledgement of something being cool or awesome

4) *MLE: I soema say rest in peace*

I: Slang word, with reference to

5) *MLE: Naai man*

I: Disagreement of something with disappointment

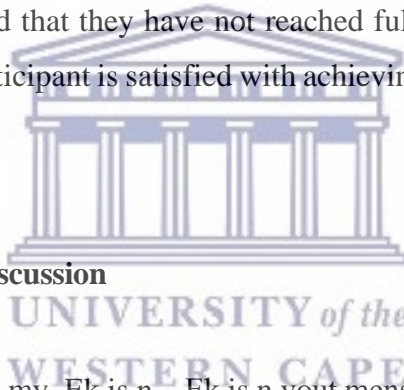
6) *MLE: kom hier ek, they don't want to open for me*

I: Come look here, emphasis of the importance by using the statement in Standard Afrikaans

In the above examples, code-switching is a common bilingual feature in the children's communication. It occurs when the two languages are used in the same conversation, as described. Words in bold are associated with the coloured culture on the Cape Flats. As illustrated in the examples, we can see how the children use code-switching in their interactions.

They do not code-switch when they talk with their parents.

In the below excerpt 5.7, the participants discuss their feelings about **standard Afrikaans** as a language. The children discuss doing Afrikaans orals, which is part of the school syllabus. This is when individuals must talk in Afrikaans in class and display their competence in the language. They discuss their feelings about the language and how well they do or not do at school in Afrikaans as a subject. Kate, in line 1, expresses herself as being a “**vrou mense**” but pronounces it as “**vout mense**”. The discussion is about who likes the Afrikaans language but dislikes oral, and those who dislike Afrikaans altogether, however, they use the language regardless of this sense of dislike throughout the discussion. This confirms that the participants are English first language speakers and that they experience challenges speaking Standard Afrikaans as is required during school oral. However, they are comfortable using the informal variety of Afrikaans as this is easier during interactions with peers. The participants would not dislike the language if it were their mother tongue, and they were competent in it. From their grades, as mentioned, it can be determined that they have not reached full competence in the additional language at school. The one participant is satisfied with achieving a five at the end of the term and accepted this grade.



Extract 5.7: Afrikaans oral discussion

1. Kate: Alles is vout met my. Ek is n...Ek is n vout mens.
2. Sam: yes
3. Shariffa: You done even know how to say it properly, you know that?
4. Kate: Ek is ‘n vout mens
5. 5. Sam: Tom do you also do Afrikaans orals?
6. Shariffa: Yes, but I hate it
7. Sam: Kate, I get a 7 for Afrikaans. Jack get a 5
8. Kate: is it?
9. Jill: I hate it
10. Sam: hahahahah!
11. Jack: Afrikaans and 5’s are normal for me
12. Shariffa: A..Acc Actually got. She got a math’s something ne. she got a math’s award but she got a 6 for math.
13. Kate: No I didn’t. I never got a 6 for maths in my life
14. Shariffa: but you did
15. Kate: Nope. 7’s forever.

16. Sam: Go in this persons house (as Sam points at Jill)
17. Jill: I lag me kla you get a 5

Kate, Sam, Shariffa, and Jack have a conversation about oral in Afrikaans at school, they compare their scores they received on their report cards at the end of the term to the knowledge they have of the language. With seven being the highest score that can be achieved in any of the subjects at school, any score below this would mean that you need to improve in a subject or focus more on it to achieve a seven, which ultimately means that you have achieved the intended knowledge of the subject and passed it. The conversation opens up in line 1 with Kate having difficulty with the pronunciation of the Afrikaans word “vrou”, instead she pronounces it at “vout”. The sentence can be interpreted in two ways. “Alles is vout met my” can mean that she feels like everything is wrong with her, and “ek is a vout mens” could mean that she is a “vrou mense”, meaning a lady/woman in English. Kate has difficulty with the two words which sound similar but have slightly different spellings. She excluded the “r” and included a “t”. The play on words here could be interpreted that Kate does not understand Afrikaans properly and is not sure how to pronounce the word or in what context to use it. In line 2, Sam says “Yes”, as if he is agreeing with what Kate said in line 1.

In line 3, Shariffa points out that Kate does not know how to pronounce the word “vrou”. Shariffa realizes that she omitted the letter “r” in the word, changing the meaning of the word and the context in which she said it, and gave it a different meaning to what she intended or what she was trying to say in her message. In line 4, Kate repeats that “ek is a vout mens”, not realising that she is using or pronouncing the work incorrectly. Further in line 5, Sam asks, “Shariffa do you also do Afrikaans orals?”, bringing about the irony in the conversation as Kate cannot even tell the difference between the two Afrikaans words “vout” and “vrou”. In line 6, Shariffa confirms that she does Afrikaans orals but that she “hates it”.

In line 7, Sam pointed out to Kate that he obtains “7’s for Afrikaans” and compares himself to “Jack who gets 5”. It can be interpreted that Sam recognises himself as being the smarter one in Afrikaans. However, in line 8, Kate sarcastically questions the statement made by Sam, by saying “is it?” In line 9, Jill confidently confirms her hate for Afrikaans oral by expressing “I hate it”. This displays an epistemic stance where Jill is not shy about her hate for Afrikaans

oral and displays this with certainty. In line 10, Sam finds humour in Jill's hatred of Afrikaans orals and expresses this by laughing "hahahahah!" In line 11, Jack shares with the others how "Afrikaans and 5's are normal". He takes a standard approach and tells the rest of the group how he achieves fives for Afrikaans. He wants to imply that he is not great at the subject either but that his score is not very bad. He does not confirm whether he likes the subject or not. As the conversation proceeds in line 12, Shariffa points out that "She got a math's something new. She got a math's award, but she got a 6 for Math". She intentionally does not mention whom she is talking about.

The conversation moves from the discussion of Afrikaans orals to the grading received for the subject to the discussion on other subjects taught at school. In line 13, Kate responded to Shariffa's comment by saying, "No I didn't. I never got a 6 for math's in my life", she disagrees with Shariffa's statement about her receiving a six for Maths. She exaggerates the statement by using words like "never" and "in my life". Kate is still young and at primary school, hence the phrase "in my life" is used to place emphasis on her disagreement with the statement. Here we can see another example of epistemic stance of certainty, overtly illustrating Kate's knowledge of her grades. In line 14, Shariffa reiterates her statement by saying, "but you did", as if to imply that Kate must be mistaken. In line 15, Kate corrects her by boastfully mentioning her great achievements in her statement, "Nope. 7's forever". She confirms that she only achieved top grades for all her subjects excluding Maths.

The use of the word "forever" implies that Kate always achieves top marks and always does well at school. In line 16, there is a shift in the conversation as Sam points at Jill and says, "Go in this person's house", meaning that when you go to Jill's house you will find different grades and not sevens. In line 17, Jill laughs at the statement and confirms that she obtains fives and not sevens. She confirms this in her statement, "I lag me kla you get a 5". She speaks of herself in the third person as if she was distancing herself from the average grade. "Lag me kla" is an expression using used as LMK on Whatsapp, which usually means that someone is laughing out loud. She uses an Afrikaans word "kla" ("klaar") which means 'finish', referring to the result. Alternatively, it is an expression referring to a lot of laughter, which could imply that she finds her average marks extremely funny. This is where the conversation ends.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to provide an analysis of the structural linguistic aspects of bilingual children's interactions, with an extra focus on mixing and code-switching. In this first data analysis chapter, we see that bilingual children in the study often replace an English word with a variant of Afrikaans or use slang/informal language instead. They are familiar with their own languages at this point, as they understand the messages being conveyed at any given moment. All participants belong to the same peer group and therefore understand the language used. However, this would not be the same variety of languages that they would use in school or when speaking with their parents. It is clear that in communication with their parents, they would use a different variant of English to show that they are subordinate to their parents, as I have also observed and noted in the recorded field notes. In the next chapter, the analysis will focus more explicitly on games interactions.



Chapter Six

Analysis of Game Interactions

6.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I looked at the structural linguistic and mixing practices of bilingual children in the management of the participation-frameworks and interactions with their peers and parents. In this chapter, I pay closer attention to the organization of game interactions by the bilingual children who participated in this project. I am interested in how game interactions (organized by various participation-frameworks) are characterised by various interactional features of bilingual talk amongst the bilingual children in this study. The data that I analysed demonstrates how bilingual children sometimes overlap, cross talk, and take turns when they are engaged in natural talk about board games, cell phone games, and other types of games. In the first part of the chapter, I analyse general game coordination. This is followed by an analysis of object-orientated activities, and how bilingual children interact in various games. I conclude this chapter with a general conclusion.

6.1. Game Coordination

Interactions in the organization and participation of games is a highly coordinated form of action. Game coordination allows us to understand the organization of the interactions of bilingual children, with a focus on specific turns of interaction, phrasal indicators, when a participant speaks at what turn, and when they provide specific organizing information within a participation-framework. In this section of the chapter, I focus on the representative characteristics of call analysis of game coordination by briefly outlining the structure of the games by looking at overlapping dialogue and other interactional aspects. This analysis follows next.

Set the scene: Extract 6.1

In the extract below, a typical participation-framework is formed in the coordination of a game that involves Kate, Jack, and Jill. While the interaction is largely accomplished in English, there are nevertheless lots of overlap/cross-talk talk, indicative of game coordination.

Extract 6.1: Game Co-ordination

1. Kate: Jack, don't put it away. We're going to play now.
2. Jack: Okay, because we don't want to win
3. Jill: You guys must start now hey.
4. Jack: We already did.
[Overlapping/Cross-talking]
5. - - moving.
6. Jill: Kate come we switch.
7. Kate: Switch what?
[Overlapping/Cross-talking]
8. Jack: Now Sam gets this, Sandy gets that. Kate, put the drawing down. Now we get to play and let's see who wins.
9. Jill: Who now?
10. Sandy: You get a pen; Kate gets a crayon. Let's start playing the game. I'm going to try to start the round.
[Overlapping/Cross-talking]
11. Jack: Oh, so we, so we must give point to you?
12. Jill: No. You write whatever you want to.

In line 1, Kate opens the interaction of game coordination with an instrumental stance. In this participation-framework, Kate is trying to organize everyone into positions to start the game called, "Boys, Girls, fruit and veg". She uses a firm tone of voice by instructing Jack, "don't put it away, We're going to play now". This is a direct order from Kate to Jack to leave the stationery and the pages on the table. Jack, in line 2, responds with "Okay, because we don't want to win". He says this sarcastically as if he is ignoring Kate's instruction of not packing away the pages and stationery necessary for the game. In line 3, Jill reminds everyone "You guys must start now hey". She initiates the start of the game even though Kate gives the initial instruction of wanting to play the game. Both direct instructions come from the females in the interaction. This puts them in a leadership position and they dominate the interaction.

In line 4, Jack confirms that they have already started the game by saying, "We did already". Here, we see Jack speak over Jill, as indicated with the square brackets. In line 5, a nonverbal communicative action is noted, and the children move their bodies towards the pages, pens, and crayons in the centre of the circle. In line 6, Jill wants to switch positions but does not explicitly say this, she only says, "Kate come we switch". Kate is confused and unsure of what Jill means and questions her, "Switch what?" She needed clarity with regards to what Jill was

talking about. We see again that Jack speaks over Kate and here we notice a switch of roles in terms of the dominance of the conversation. Jack, in line 8, takes control of the conversation by using a demanding tone, “Now! Sam gets this, Sandy gets that. Kate, put the drawing down. Now we get to play and let’s see who wins”.

Even though Kate and Jill were dominant initially, they could not decide on their positions, so Jack took over and co-ordinated the game. He wants to finalize everyone’s seating positions so that they could start playing the game instead of discussing and arguing about who should get what and sit where. In line 9, Jill is not clear on what Jack has instructed and says, “Who now?” Sandy, in line 10, repeats what Jack explained; however, she uses more details and reiterates clearly, “You get a pen, Kate gets a crayon. Let’s start playing the game. I’m going to try to start the round.” In line 11, Jack speaks over Sandy without allowing her to finish what she was explaining and wants to confirm, “Oh, so we, so we must give the point to you?” He was not sure who was supposed to be awarded the point. In line 12, Jill says, “No, you write whatever you want to”. She wanted to move on to the next letter of the alphabet in which they are supposed to match boys, girls, fruit and vegetables.

In the extract above, it is clear that the bilingual children are aware that turn-taking is a natural process of interactions and conversations. It is also clear that they are aware of the change of speaker on the conversational floor as well as changes in the length of the round and the length of the utterance. Therefore, it shows that the speech is fluent and not pre-fixed. This awareness is important in the engagement of object-orientated activities and game interactions.

6.2. Engaged in Object Orientated Activity

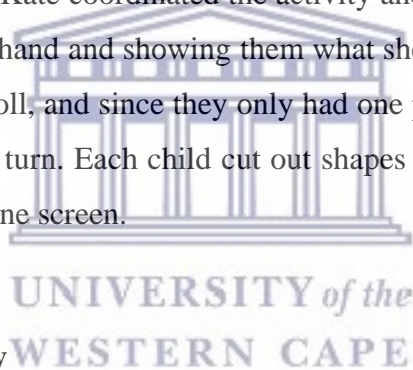
Goodwin (1979) used technical data sources to study interactions and video recordings. The material collected included several videotapes, in which fragments were found to contain instances of the phenomenon she described. According to Goodwin, it can be shown that a sentence can be shaped and reshaped during its discourse, particularly in face-to-face interaction, issues such as gazes of direction (representing the attention of the receiver to the speaker), and the relationship between the parties are of interest. She therefore suggested that interaction analysts should further consider what is a sentence problem, by showing that, as a separate unit independent of the production, the situation may not be understandable. The

impact on linguists and others who use this unit of expression is multifaceted.

However, it has long been understood that the examination of bilingual children's interactions does not only concern the exploration of word use in games, but also meaning-making. Bilingual children use languages in such a way that they become speakers and listeners on the conversational floor, and as such they alter the sentence frame of interactions with their words, expressions, and clauses. Both the length and the meaning of their sentences in the long run of game interaction (which is usually not that long) depends on how invested the children are in the game, particularly in object-orientated activities, such as below.

Set the scene: Extract 6.2

It was a sunny Saturday afternoon in August 2019 before 3 p.m. The children had already had lunch. The children were calm and withdrawn and a little quieter than usual because they were interested in the day's activity. Kate coordinated the activity and instructed everyone on what to do, holding the phone in her hand and showing them what she was looking at. They started cutting the inside of the toilet roll, and since they only had one pair of scissors, they passed it around for each child to use in turn. Each child cut out shapes of their choice to match what they were looking at on the phone screen.



Extract 6.2: Toilet roll activity

1. Jill: Ok so everybody take the toilet roll.
2. Kate: Got it.
3. Jack: I got it
4. Jill: Sam, do you have one?
5. Jill: Sam, why are you not talking now?
6. Jill: Ok so I am going to start, we cut here like this
7. Sam: Must we cut it straight?
8. Jill: It does not have to be straight because no one can cut straight, you know that.
9. Jill: Here you go.
10. Sam: Must I cut only two times?
11. Jill: Yes, like that.
12. Jill: Careful.

In extract 6.2, the interaction concerns a toilet roll activity. Kate, Jack, Jill, and Sam are

involved in it. The conversation opens up with Jill in line 1 instructing the others, “Ok, so everyone takes the toilet roll”. She shows them what needs to be done and stands in front of them. Kate, in line 2, confirms “Got it”, as well as Jack in line 3. Jill, in line 4, asks, “Sam do you have one?”, referring to whether Sam had a toilet roll to participate in the activity they were about to do. This implies that Jill takes an epistemic stance by showing understanding of the relevance of why the toilet rolls are required. Sam does not respond to Jill’s question, so she becomes frustrated in line 5 and asks, “Sam, why are you not talking now?”

In the above extract, there is a power struggle between the genders based on the attitude of Jill and Sam. There are instances where neither Jill nor Sam is listening to each other and ignores the utterances made. They argue about the line and how the lines of the toilet roll do not need to be cut straight. Jill uses a demanding tone and is sarcastic her statements. Jill dominates the conversation and talks over Sam. Sam asks the others if they need to cut the toilet roll straight, even after Jill has confirmed this already. In line 6, Jill says, “Ok so I am going to start, we cut here like this”. She starts the activity, and as Sam did not answer her, she continues with the activity. Eventually, in line 7, Sam asks, “Must we cut it straight”, after he ignored Jill previously. In line 8, Jill confirms that the line does not need to be straight: “It does not have to be straight because no one can cut straight, you know that”. We sense that she is slightly annoyed, as she says at the end of the sentence, “you know that”. Jill finished her cutting and shows it the rest of them as a sample of what the rest are supposed to do, in line 9, by saying “here you go”. Sam, in line 10, is still confused about what he is supposed to do and asks again, “Must I cut only two times?” Jill is happy to assist and confirms in line 11 that what he is doing is right and also shows concern in line 12, when she says “Careful”.

From lines 6 to 12 we can conclude that each of the children’s moods is being influenced in the naturally occurring conversations by certain things that are being said. There are a range of attitudes and moods displayed in this conversation.

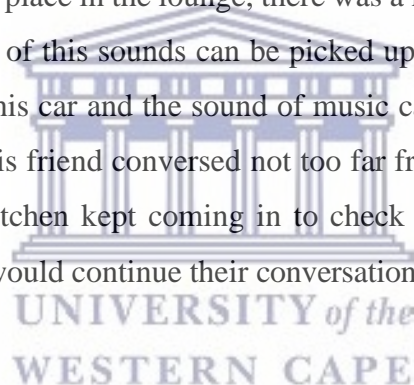
6.3. Board Games and Cell Phone Games

The bilingual children usually gathered on a weekend to talk about the week they had at school,

how they felt and regularly indulged in activities like watching YouTube videos, drawing, playing games on a phone, and telling jokes from a book.

The extracts below occurred at a selected house for a play date in Mitchell's Plain. The street was busy and noisy with people walking up and down and children playing in the street. The bilingual children in this project were all sitting in a circle in the lounge of the house building puzzles, playing with Legos, and colouring in, while conversing with each other about school. Halfway through the activities, one of the children took out a cell phone and they all played a pool game on the phone.

This was the first time they were together since the school holidays started and they were excited to be together. The girls sat side by side having their private conversations. They dominated the conversations and dictated what needed to unfold, so the boys listened and followed their instructions. As this was taking place in the lounge, there was a mother present who was in the kitchen doing the dishes, some of this sounds can be picked up on the recordings. The father was in the garage working on his car and the sound of music can also faintly be heard in the background as the father and his friend conversed not too far from where I was recording the children. The mother in the kitchen kept coming in to check up on the children. Once the children saw the mother, they would continue their conversation.



Set the scene: Extract 6.3

The following interaction about YouTube and tiktok took place on a cloudy Saturday afternoon. The children gathered in Kate's room as they watched a YouTube video on how to make crafts. Present were three girls and one boy, all sitting on the bed looking at the phone on the cabinet so everyone could see the video.

Extract 6.3 Brief conversation on YouTube and Tiktok

1. Jill: You could've downloaded the video from YouTube where you make that people's faces
2. Jack: that would be good
3. Kate: oh soesh!

4. Jack:....we just have a pen and a crayon
5. Jill: and what now?
6. Kate: a peeling crayon
7. Jack: Doesn't matter
8. Kate: You need a pencil
9. Jack: So, I don't care
10. Kate: haai shame
11. Jill: stop saying haai shame ne
12. Kate: what is that?
13. Jack: tik tok
14. Sam: You rude you [looks at Jack]
15. Jill: She doesn't like tik tok
16. Jack: who doesn't like tik tok?
17. Jill: Kate
18. Sam: Now why does she download it?
19. Kate: Its YOUTUBE!...difference
20. Sam: You must stop getting addicted to YouTube ne
21. Kate: I'm not addicted to YouTube

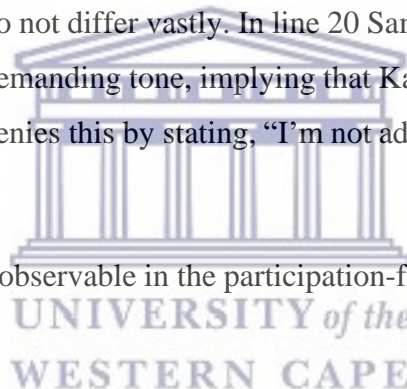
The conversation between Jill, Jack, Kate, and Shariffa is about the two online platforms Youtube and tiktok, in except 6.3. In line 1, Jill says that a video should have been downloaded on how to make faces, this shows us an epistemic stance. She wanted to do something other than what they were about to do. Jack agreed with her in line 2 that he would have preferred the video on making faces. Kate disagrees in line 3, as she exclaims “Oh Soesh” to silence Jack and his opinion. The word “soesh” usually used to quiet someone and to not make a noise or talk. Jack ignores her and goes on talking and points out that he only has a “pen and a crayon” in line 4. In line 5, Jill says sarcastically, “and what now?” This could be looked at as an effective stance as she used her emotions and a rant to obtain what she wanted, almost as if she dismissed what Jack just said. Kate, in line 6, mentions that the crayon is peeling, as if this would negatively impact the use it.

In line 7, Jack takes a cooperative stance and says, “Doesn't matter”, meaning that he will continue to use the crayon whether it is peeling or not. Kate, in line 8, argues with him and says, “you need a pencil”, but Jack stands firm and confirms he will continue using the crayon and says, “I don't care” in line 9. Kate, in line 10, shakes off the comment by Jack and says “Haai shame”. This implies that she is unbothered by how he feels. Jill, on the other hand, in line 11, comes to Jack's defence and says, “Stop saying haai shame ne”. She dislikes the words Kate

used and suggests that she stop saying it. Kate, in line 12, questions what Jack is doing, pretending that she does not know what Jill is referring to by asking “what is that”. In line 13, Jack says “Tiktok”, which is an online video platform on which people can record funny things. Sam, in line 14, comments, “You rude you”, making known that he is not happy with Kate’s behaviour and the way she was treating Jack.

In line 15, Jill confirms that Kate dislikes the platform by uttering “She doesn’t like tiktok”. Jack, in line 16, questions her preference and says, “who doesn’t like tiktok?” He cannot believe that she does not like tiktok as it is fun and entertaining. Sam, in line 18, then takes an instrumental stance and questions why Kate downloaded the platform on her phone even though she does not like it, “Now why does she download it?” Sam wants to understand why Kate would download something she does not like and wants answers. Kate, in her defence says in line 19, exclaims “It’s YOUTUBE!...difference”, implying that she did not download tiktok but rather YouTube which, according to Kate, is different from tiktok. The concepts, however, are the same, but the contents do not differ vastly. In line 20 Sam says, “You must stop getting addicted to YouTube ne” in a demanding tone, implying that Kate is addicted to YouTube and needs to stop. In line 21, Kate denies this by stating, “I’m not addicted to YouTube”.

The same type of interaction is observable in the participation-framework of board games:



Extract 6.4 Board game and electronic pool game on cell phone

1. Kate: Cheers Come we play that game, pool
2. Sandy: I like pool,.
3. Jack: How much are we?
4. Kate: One two three.
5. Sandy: Me three four five.
6. Jack: No. Only four.
7. Kate: Only four five.
8. Kate: How much you playing.
9. Sandy: Five
10. Jack: Who wanna be green.
11. Sandy: ME.
12. Jack: WHO’S GOING TO BE RED.
13. Sandy: ME.

14. Kate: ME.
15. Jack: I can play you Kate.
16. Kate: No I'm blue, I'm going to be blue, its fine.
17. Sandy: I'm red
18. Shariffa: Pulpit my call.
19. Kate: What you doing?
20. Jack: To.
21. Kate: Join S, Ah ha 2 players
22. Sandy: There come me and Kate vs each other you and Shariffa vs each other and Sam is going to be the laanie.
23. Sandy: OK so there's a laanie, each one vs the laanie. Each one versus Sam, me vs Kate and you the Lannie

In this interaction Kate, Sandy, Jack, and Shariffa are playing board games and electronic pool games on a cell phone. The conversation opens with Kate in line 1 who states, "Cheers...come we play the game, pool". She initiates what needs to be done and takes the lead and suggests playing the pool game. In standard English "cheers" refers to an expression of good wishes on parting or ending a conversation; however, in this case, the word is used to start a conversation which is unusual. In line 2, Sandy agrees with Kate by saying "I like pool". Jack, in line 3, tries to organize and arrange everyone who needs to participate and asks, "how much are we?" In standard English this sentence would be grammatically incorrect as he should have said "How many are we". The word "many" should have been used instead of "much". In line 5, Sandy starts counting "Me three four five", instead of starting: "One two three four five", which would be the conventional way of counting. In line 6, Jack disagrees with the number of children Sandy has counted by using an affirmative tone and says "No! Only four", thereby correcting Sandy.

In line 7, Sandy teases Jack and says, "Only four five", poking fun at the number of children who were present. Kate intervenes in line 8 and questions "How much you playing", trying to clarify the number of children needed for the game. This sentence structure is incorrect and should read: "How many are playing". Again, in line 9, Sandy confirms the number of children as "five". In line 10, Jack asks about which colour each person wants to be: "Who wants to be green?" Sandy confirms in line 11 by shouting out "me!" In line 12, Jack shouts out "who's going to be red?" Sandy again says, "Me" in line 13, however, at the same time Kate, in line 14, also indicates that she wants to be red by also shouting out "me". In line 15, Jack chooses

to play Kate and confirms this by saying “I can play you Kate”. Further, in line 16, Kate disagrees with Jack and changes her mind about the colour she chose and says “No, I’m blue, I’m going to be blue, its fine”. Even though she previously confirmed that she wanted to be red, she changed her mind and chose blue instead.

In line 17, Sandy reaffirms that she chose to be the colour red. Shariffa randomly says “Pulpit my call” in line 18. In standard English, a ‘pulpit’ refers to an elevated platform or a high reading desk usually used for preaching in churches or conducting a worship service, which in this case is a very odd statement from Shariffa. In line 19, Kate asks “What you doing?” but she does not state who she is asking and does not say anyone’s name. She does not use a formal structure in this sentence, as in standard English the sentence would read as “What are you doing?”

In line 20, Jack says “to” with reference to the question posed by Kate in line 19. In line 21, Kate says “Join S, Ah ha 2 players” as if she only figured out at that stage that the game was only supposed to consist of two players. In line 22, Sandy confirms “there, come me and Kate vs each other, you and Shariffa vs each other and Sam is going to be laanie”. This sentence suggests that they need to compete against each other by pairing up. The word “laanie” is thrown in as an Afrikaaps word which makes refers to a “boss/winner” or could mean a “well-to-do-person”. In this case, it refers to the boss of the game. As they go along, the children make up their own rules of the game, as confirmed by Sandy in line 23 when she says, “OK, so there’s a laanie, each one vs the laanie. Each one versus Sam, me vs Kate, and you the laanie”. This means that each person is going to have to challenge the winner/ “laanie” of the game to see who the actual winner of the game is.

Extract 6.4 illustrates turn-taking in the interaction while the children played pool and chose the colours which would represent them on the board games. Most of the conversation noted was during the pool game. On the recording you also notice that the conversation becomes livelier once the cell phone comes into play. The children’s interest immediately moves from the activities they were busy with to the phone, as they want to know how to play the game they were shown by the boy. The youngest girl in the group, however, continued to colour in the book with crayons. While the children were doing activities, talking, and playing on the phone, they were snacking on chips, you can hear the packets in the background, and also

sipping on cooldrink.

Various forms of data collection were used to elicit the information for this discussion to display the experience of the parents and how their experiences impact their children indirectly. In this case, the bilingual children use of the word ‘laanie’, meaning boss, which is used in the game to help resolve the five children, four-player game issue, but also how they are aware of the meaning of the word. What the children decided was that the winner of each round needs to challenge the “laanie”, the boss of the game (the person who is the champion at the game and knows it very well). Here it is illustrated that Sam, who is a male, is chosen as the “laanie”. Gender/age dynamics are evident in this exchange i.e., how they decide on who will be the laanie. Typically, children choose a male to represent the “laanie” as this is common practice on the Cape Flats based on their knowledge and experience of the power dynamics of gender, race, language and socio-economic status. However, this is changing, and more females are now becoming bosses.

6.4. Making Objects as a Game

Set the scene: Extract 6.5

In the below setting, four participants are in conversation during a participatory frame about how to make bats. They are involved in an indoor activity, making bats and butterflies from recycled materials like toilet roll inners, plastic, and paper. The atmosphere is calm and happy as the sun is out on a beautiful winter’s day on Saturday, 03 August 2019, with no wind. We see the children use certain words like “ja”, “Shuuuush”, and “haibo” to express themselves during the interaction.

Extract 6.5 Making bats

1. Jack: Kate is going to cut my bat out.
2. Kate: Say what?
3. Sam: I said bat I said bat I said bat
4. Jill: Can you draw the bat for me? [Looks at Sam]
5. Jill: I know this is not where the eyes go, but just shuuuush.
6. Sam: Ja but can you draw the bat for me?
7. Jill: can you draw the bat for me? [Looks at kate]

8. Kate: for the bat you only draw the wings you know that right.
9. Kate: And then you put the toras.
10. Jill: Haibo.

In extract 6.5, the children engage in an activity where they are making bats from paper. In line 1, Jack suggests that Kate should cut out the bats and in line 2 Kate says, “Say what?”, highlighting that her surprise at the request coming from Jack as each individual needs to make their own bat. Sam, in line 3, uses repetition to poke fun at the activity: “I said bat I said bat I said bat”. In line 4, Jill asks Kate to draw her bat for her as well, portraying that she does not know how to do this. She mentions in line 5 that she knows where the eyes go but that is all she knows. Irritated at the end of her sentence, she says “Shuuuush” to silence the others before they can share their opinion.

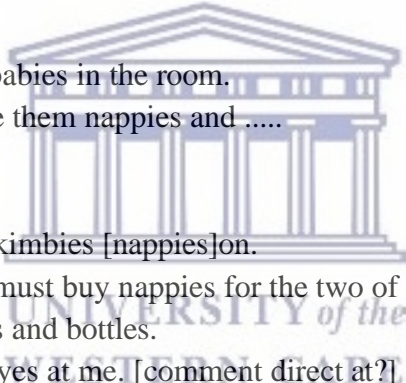
In line 6, Sam responds by using the Afrikaans word “ja” which is additionally a shape of stylization of “yes” in Afrikaans. This displays that the children have a coloured background and identity. Speaking amongst themselves, they use informal, slang language, as illustrated by the words “ja”, “Shuuuush”, and “haibo”. “Haibo” means ‘Oh no’, and is stylized in the dialogue by starting with the disincentive of communication demonstrated in line 10. Jill uses “haibo” to disagree with Kate, and after that, code-mixes. “Haibo” is a Zulu word that means “never” or “no way”. It is an expression of surprise, synonymous with “My God!” It is also a word that means “no” but in an emphatic tone, like disbelief. If someone were to use that, it would be synonymous with “Absolutely not!” A similar phrase that has both meanings in English would be “By no means”, which can express disbelief, or act as an answer to a question or statement. If an incredible event happened, I would say in disbelief, “No way!” Or if someone said you must do something that is completely out of your character, like lying to someone about something for them, you would say, “No way”.

From this interaction, we notice that the girls in the conversation are more dominant than the boy, and that each girl takes the lead to give instructions. Typically, this would be the social organization in a coloured home according to observed and lived experiences on the Cape Flats, where the wife gives instructions and commands, and the children listen.

Set the scene: Extract 6.6

In the following extract, Kate, Shariffa, and Jill become angry at Jack for fiddling while they were busy trying to make a craft. They continued to draw and monitor the activity and were annoyed that Jack had lost focus and was doing his own thing outside of the activity Kate had organized. Jack continued to do his own work and started rapping in isiXhosa, creating his own songs. Kate, Shariffa, and Jill teased Jack that he was a baby and that he should wear nappies, bibs, and have a bottle. This caused a split the group. This continues for a short while until the conversation moves to a different stage in the interaction. Here we can see how Kate dominated the interaction as it was her idea to follow the activity they found online, and she gathered all the resources for everyone to participate. It seems that, as the younger child, Jack could not focus for a long time and became distracted, and to the girls this was a sign of acting like a “baby”.

Extract 6.6: “Baby conversation”

- 
1. Kate: so we have two babies in the room.
 2. Shariffa: you must give them nappies and
 3. Jill: and dummies.
 4. Shariffa: Ja
 5. Shariffa: And also the kimbies [nappies]on.
 6. Kate: Jill, I think you must buy nappies for the two of them.
 7. Shariffa: And dummies and bottles.
 8. Kate: Don't roll your eyes at me. [comment direct at?]
 9. Jack: I'm fine, Shariffa look here.
 10. Jack: I'm fine

In excerpt 6.6, we see the association of coloured identity to the “kimbies” and the concept of rolling eyes. Kate, Shariffa, Jill, and Jack converse about who is being a baby in the company. In line 1, Kate opens with “so we have two babies in the room”, meaning that someone is not acting their age and their actions are resembling that of a baby. In line 2, Shariffa suggests that they must be given “nappies”, to which Jill adds in line 3 “dummies”, a baby soother or pacifier, known in the coloured community as a dummy. In line 4, Shariffa confirms and agrees with the statements made by the others by saying “Ja”, meaning yes. In line 5, Shariffa adds that they need “kimbies”, a traditional coloured word, not a standard English word and it refers to nappies or disposable diapers. In line 8, Kate confirms “Jill, I think you must buy nappies for the two

of them”, suggesting that the baby in the company needs baby supplies. Jack, in line 7, repeats what is needed by saying “dummies and bottles”. In line 8, Kate says “Don’t roll your eyes at me”, usually a sign of annoyance or irritation by someone. This may be interpreted as a common act to place emphasis on feelings, or that one is not fazed by what is happening, or to dismiss someone or something. The conversation ends with Jack saying in line 9 and 10 that he is fine.

In the analysis of the above extract, I focused on a few themes that are linked to the material and cultural lives of the bilingual children who participated in this study. Their current process of language socialization suggests that the use of words such as “kimbies”, “dummy”, “Ja”, and the act of “rolling eyes” are socioculturally based. These words are used by so-called coloured speakers of Afrikaans and some are not standard English words. There are various meanings associated with the word “dummy” for example: when used as a noun, the meaning is understood as a *model or replica of a human being*; but when used as a verb, it is associated with the meaning of *creating a mock-up of (a book, document, etc.)*. However, in this instance, the word is used as a replacement for “pacifier”, which in the coloured community they use the word “dummy”. A “dummy” or “pacifier” is an object used to replicate a bottle or a mother’s breast, so it can be associated with something that is not real.

The word “ja” in this context is another common informal word used as part of South African slang. The word is pronounced as **ja:**, which usually expresses exclamation or the confirmation of a statement or question. “Ja” is often used as a sentence substitute and used to express appreciation, affirmation, approval, consent, or approval; to respond when spoken to, often with interrogative intonation; to point to someone; speak or continue speaking; or as confirmation to enter a room or to do something. The word is derived from Afrikaans but is used in most international languages informally.

Another common example of how the coloured community expresses their feelings would be the act of “rolling eyes”, which is usually a sign of anger or irritation, also recognised as a universal human expression. In my interpretation, “rolling your eyes” is also a common act among coloured people to emphasize how you feel.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to analyse the organization of game interactions by the bilingual children who participated in this project. I wanted to illustrate through an analysis of participation-frameworks how bilingual children approach game interactions (organized by various participation-frameworks) and how they used their bilingualism to manage the various interactional features of bilingual talk amongst their peers and with others on the conversational floor. I hope to have demonstrated that bilingual children sometimes overlap and cross-talk, but minimally, including turn-taking when they are engaged in natural talk about board games, cell phone games management, and other types of games in the interactions. In the next chapter, I conclude this thesis report with a conclusion on whether this study answered the research question and whether the aims of the project were met. I also end with a few recommendations.



Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

Research on the socialization and interaction of bilingual children in South Africa remains an under-researched area in sociolinguistics. In this thesis report, I have attempted to account for how historically racialized, so-called coloured bilingual children organize their interactions, talk and play within their community and with their peers (friends) and parents. This study, an attempt to contribute to interactional sociolinguistics in South Africa, aimed to address how children are socialized into bilingualism through the dynamics of language in their community. In this conclusion chapter, I reflect on the findings, whether the data sufficiently answers the research question, and whether the study overall has satisfied the objectives. I then provide a number of recommendations for future studies of bilingual children in South Africa. This is followed by a general conclusion.

7.1 Revisiting the Research Question

The interest to investigate the bilingual interactions of children on the Cape Flats, specifically Mitchell's Plain, goes back to the literature on the topic that has surveyed what children do with language in interactions such as play and talk. This study closely followed such studies to understand the lexico-phonological and lexico-grammatical dynamics of bilingual talk and play among bilingual children, as they shifted between languages and language varieties. The research question I raised in this study concerned not only the variety of bilingual practice of bilingual children, but also their meaning-making processes in interactions. I was particularly interested in how meaning-making emerges in bilingual communication with their peers and parents, not just as a matter of their socialization but what it said about how they navigate and manage their own interactions. The research investigation and the subsequent data collection and analyses suggested early on that the selected bilingual children highly valued peer-to-peer interactions and that close proximities impacted on meaning-making, but that parents impacted significantly in supplementing the interactional cues and directions that children would initially come to rely on.

The question I asked: What are the interactional dynamics of bilingual talk and play, as activities, among a select group of young bilingual children in Beacon Valley, Mitchell's Plain? This question was answered by the data analysis, as the summary of the findings revealed. In the next section, there is a need to conduct more research into bilingual children's interactions to learn not only about the use of English and Afrikaans, but about varieties such as Afrikaaps. While we continue to consider the apartheid legacy of our country that shaped and impacted how we come to understand language communities, there is a need to develop a body of knowledge in sociolinguistic that specifically focusses on the language variety socialization and use of bilingual children (as this study has shown). The data I collected revealed the early variability of bilingual communication amongst the selected children, not only in terms of the linguistic structure but in terms of interaction as well. In the next sub-section, I summarise the findings of the data analysis.

7.2 Summary of Findings

The data that was collected, interaction-based, revealed, that from a linguistic structure perspective, bilingual children draw on a number of lexico-grammatical and phonological features of their bilingualism to manage interactions. In many ways, they are aware of the syntactic salience and phonetic information they have been exposed to and are well equipped to use it in conversations, in talk, and when they play, even if it has to be as part of their early socialization practices of translation. The use of certain words and phrases characteristic of their bilingualism, as I analysed in chapter 5, reveal not only their interactional linguistic arrangement, but also how they vary their talk compared to when they play. From the phonological to syntactical level, bilingual children's interactions, in this study, comprised a mixture of English and a variety of Afrikaans, namely, Afrikaaps (or Kaaps). The data reveals a normative use of words and sentences that cannot be easily categorized as code-switching in the way Myers-Scotton (1998) defines it, but rather in the way Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998) puts it.

Specifically, the findings suggested that the use of Afrikaaps and English combined is not only normative for bilingual children, but an important resource for meaning-making in interactions with peers and adults. It is clear that from a structural point of view, the use of Afrikaans (and Afrikaaps) syntax or "Mengels" (mixed) is indicative of the non-standard language

socialization the bilingual children are socialized into in their early bilingual development.

The mixed use of English and Afrikaans is reflective of the larger language community's use of those ways of speaking. In this context, speaking correct standard English is not a matter of concern as much as meaning-making in interactions. This strategy is picked up by bilingual children and expressed in interactions as they mix English and Afrikaans words. It also provides early insight into how they are going to shape their identity, from a mixed language perspective.

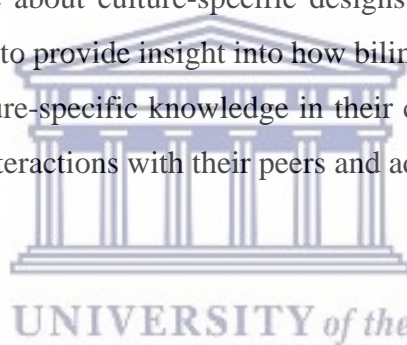
Meaning-making through the mixed use of English and Afrikaans is an important strategy of interaction and organization of participation-frameworks, whether bilingual children are familiar with their peers or not. At this age, the selected participants seemed to be familiar with the mixed use of English and Afrikaans, because in this case, they all belonged to the same peer group, so there was common ground in the communication, and participant-frameworks were well managed. However, as the data analysis revealed, there was much use of English with parents and what was considered appropriate language use, as guided by the parents. Of course, the interactions are natural and uncoerced and as such, bilingual children in this setting attached much social value and meaning to the group and interactions.

These findings point to the fact that the bilingualism of children involves strategies for organization and management of topics and discerning types of interactions for peer and parent communication. By and large, in the analysis chapters, I have tried to demonstrate that the data analysed offered a window into the language use of children in a so-called coloured community, on the Cape Flats of Cape Town. The findings also demonstrated how children use language in play interactions. As I discussed in the introduction chapter of this thesis, research on talk and play among bilingual children in South Africa remains an under-researched focus in interactional sociolinguistics, but I hope that this study contributes to expanding the literature. These findings demonstrate that an investigation of bilingual children's interactions are dependent on a number of linguistic and non-linguistic dynamics in order to understand how they talk and play. In this regard, the findings satisfy the first objective of this study: how talk and play, which are the key factors to the management of bilingual interactions among young children.

7.3 Recommendations

The data collected for this project is inadequate to form generalizations, since there were limits to the amount of data that could be collected. Therefore, in this last section, I want to make a number of recommendations for future research on bilingualism research for children, how they organize social and linguistic interactions, and specifically, how children use talk and play to represent their socialization.

- We need to develop studies that investigate how previously racialized communities socialized bilingual children into multilingual interactions, as they mixed different languages and dialect selections to give shape to their linguistic repertoires.
- In order to map the language change of bilingual and multilingual children, focus should be placed on the language community material conditions and how such conditions intersect with the bilingual and multilingual interactions of children.
- We need to learn more about culture-specific designs of bilingual and multilingual participant-frameworks to provide insight into how bilingual and multilingual children are socialized into culture-specific knowledge in their communities as they organize, navigate and manage interactions with their peers and adults.



7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a general conclusion of the findings and analysis, whether the project answered the research project, and whether we have reached the objectives of the study. This study found inspiration in the work of Marjorie Goodwin and her seminal study, *He-Said- She-Said*. While not strictly based on that study, Goodwin's work informed an interactional sociolinguistic research project to study bilingual children and how they organize and manage talk and play amongst their peers, friends and parents. The data collected revealed, from a structural and interactional perspective, that bilingual children use particular strategies of participation-frameworks to take a stance and use languages in such a way to manage everyday social activities, conversations, and games while negotiating with friends, peers, compared to their parents. It is clear from this study that more research is required to understand the dynamics of bilingual children's' talk and play. It is also my hope that, based on the second objective of the project, this study is able to bring sociolinguistic awareness to how peer interactions are managed through talk and play.

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