Title
"Use Your Words": A Conversation Analytic Perspective on Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Children's Socialization into Oral Communication

Author
Montiegel, Kristella

Publication Date
2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

“Use Your Words”: A Conversation Analytic Perspective on Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Children’s Socialization into Oral Communication

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

by

Kristella Marie Montiegel

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"Use Your Words": A Conversation Analytic Perspective on Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Children's Socialization into Oral Communication

by

Kristella Marie Montiegel

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Tanya Jean Stivers, Chair

Despite the centrality of socialization in the field of sociology, there is still much unknown about its basic processes and mechanisms. We do know that social interaction plays a crucial role in socializing children into competent members of their community, and that schools constitute a major site for socialization. For deaf or hard-of-hearing (D/HH) children, their interaction and socialization experiences may be challenging because of potential communication barriers within their school setting. Yet, this issue has received little attention in existing research.

This dissertation examines D/HH children's social interactions in an oral preschool classroom, a special education setting specially designed for D/HH students to develop their spoken language and listening skills. My broad research question is: How are D/HH children socialized into oral communication? That is, in what ways are D/HH children socialized by their teachers and peers to 'use their words' in the production of social actions in interaction? What

interactional practices do participants use to facilitate this? I rely on the method of Conversation Analysis (CA) to address these questions. Data consist of approximately 25 hours of video-recordings in one oral preschool classroom in Southern California.

Chapter 2 analyzes the teachers' use of other-initiated repair as a discursive practice for socializing the D/HH children into oral communication. Specifically, I examine how teachers problematize the acceptability of students' non-vocal and/or minimally formatted (i.e., short) utterances, which consequently yields conversational preferences for vocalization and maximization in the oral classroom.

Chapter 3 examines the teachers' use of gesture — specifically, pointing to their mouth, pointing to their ear, and cupping their ear — as a non-verbal practice for socializing the D/HH children into spoken language and listening. I investigate how teachers deploy these gestures as part of their subsequent directives, after their prior directives are met with students' non-compliance or displays of trouble. In other words, I explore how teachers use gestures during their pursuits, as well as how gestural directives function to socialize the D/HH children into oral communication.

While Chapters 2 and 3 examine *teachers'* practices for socializing the children into oral communication, Chapter 4 explores the ways in which the D/HH *children* socialize *each other*. I focus on how the children adapt to the culturally specific norms of their classroom, create and negotiate different interaction-participation opportunities amongst each other, and modify their communication according to their peer recipient.

Taken together, the dissertation provides one of the few in-depth, interactional accounts of D/HH children's socialization in an oral classroom, special-education setting. I show how socializing D/HH children into oral communication is not merely accomplished through

classroom pedagogy and official curriculum, it is also through participants' social interactions and routine activities that bring the oral classroom 'into being,' where certain meanings, norms, and expectations on the use of spoken language in everyday life are constructed, negotiated, and reproduced.

This dissertation of Kristella Marie Montiegel is approved.

Steven Clayman

Giovanni Rossi

Louise Paatsch

Tanya Stivers, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

To the teachers and families who participated in this project, for without them there would be no dissertation. Thank you for letting me spend time with your adorable, vibrant, and inquisitive kiddos.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1:
SOCIALIZATION, COMMUNICATION, AND SOCIAL INTERACTION ……... 1

1.1 Introduction …….. 1

1.2 Research Context Background ……..... 2

1.2.1 Early Intervention and Special Education ……..…... 3

1.2.2 Education and Communication Options for D/HH Children …….…….. 6

1.2.3 D/HH Programs in California ……..……..……...….. 11

1.3 A Brief Review of D/HH Children's Interactions in Schools ……..……. 12

1.3.1 D/HH Children's Peer Interactions ……..…….…..…..... 13

1.3.2 D/HH Children's Interactions with Teachers ……..…….…….. 17

1.3.3 Gaps in the Literature ……..……..……..…..……..18

1.4 Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings: Socialization and Education …... 19

1.4.1 Socialization and Education ……..……..……..……..… 19

1.4.2 Sociology of Childhood ……..……..……...…..….. 22

1.4.3 Ethnomethodology ……..……..……..……..…….. 25

1.4.4 Conversation Analysis ……..……..…….…….... 26

1.4.4.1 Conversation analysis and child interaction …….……... 27

1.4.4.2 Conversation analysis and 'classroom talk' ….……..….. 29

1.4.5 Language Socialization ……..……..……..……..… 31

1.4.6 Conversation Analytic Research on D/HH Children's Interactions ….….. 34

1.5 Summary ……..……..……..……..……..…….. 36

1.6 Data and Method ……..……..……..……..……..…..…… 37

1.6.1 Participants ……..……..……..……..…….. 38

1.6.2 Data Collection ……..……..……..……...…….. 39

1.6.3 Analytic Procedure ……..……..……..…….…….. 40

1.7 Overview of the Dissertation ……..……..……..……... 41

1.7.1 Chapter 2 ……..……..……..……... 41

1.7.2 Chapter 3 ……..……..……..……...…….. 42

1.7.3 Chapter 4 ……..……..……..……...…….. 42

CHAPTER 2:
OTHER-INITIATED REPAIR AND PREFERENCE PRINCIPLES IN THE ORAL CLASSROOM ……..….. 44

2.1 Introduction ……..…….. 44

2.2 Preference Principles in Conversation ……..…… 44

2.3 Other-Initiated Repair and Classroom Talk ……...…… 46

2.3.1 D/HH Children's Use of Repair ……..…… 47

2.4 Data …… 48

2.5 Analysis ……..……..…… 50

2.5.1 Sequential Positioning of the Teacher's OIRs …… 51

2.5.1.1 During a student's response turn in-progress ……..….. 51

2.5.1.2 Next-turn OIR after students' responses ……..…… 54

2.5.2 Composition of OIR Practices ……..... 56

2.5.2.1 Acknowledgment tokens ……. 56

2.5.2.2 Designedly incomplete utterances ……...… 58

2.5.3 Students' Understandings of Vocalization and Maximization ……...… 60

2.6 Discussion ……..…… 63

CHAPTER 3:
TEACHERS' GESTURES FOR BUILDING LISTENING AND SPOKEN LANGUAGE SKILLS ……..……. 66

3.1 Introduction …… 66

3.2 Gesture in Language Learning Contexts …… 68

3.2.1 Embodied Directives ……...…… 70

3.3 Data …… 72

3.4 Analysis ……..…… 74

3.4.1 Teachers' Gestures After Initial Directives …… 74

3.4.2 Teachers' Gestures in Two Instructional Contexts ……..... 78

3.4.2.1 Targeting students' linguistic abilities ……..…… 78

3.4.2.2 Managing classroom conduct …….. 82

3.4.3 Deviant Case ……...…… 84

3.5 Discussion …….. 87

CHAPTER 4:
PEER INTERACTION IN THE ORAL CLASSROOM ……..……. 89

4.1 Introduction …… 89

4.2 Children's Socialization ……..……..……. 90

4.2.1 Socialization of Children with Disabilities in School Settings …….….. 91

4.2.2 Peer Socialization and the Role of Language in Children's Interaction …. 92

4.2.3 D/HH Children's Peer Socialization ……...…… 94

4.3 Data …… 96

4.4 Analysis ……..… 96

4.4.1 Peer Interaction as a Mechanism for Socialization Processes ……...…. 97

4.4.2 Socialization into Language Norms of the Oral Classroom ……..… 100

4.4.3 Language Novices as Local Experts ……..… 104

4.4.4 Modulating Communication According to Peer Recipients ……..… 108

4.5 Discussion …….……...… 111

CHAPTER 5:
CONCLUSIONS …….……. 114

5.1 Summary of Chapter Findings ……. 114

5.2 Contributions to the Literature …… 116

5.2.1 Conversation Analysis and Language Socialization of D/HH Children .. 116

5.2.2 Sociology of Childhood …… 118

5.3 Implications for Education ……... 119

5.4 Limitations and Future Directions ……...… 122

References …….…… 124

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning
D/HH	Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing
CA	Conversation Analysis
EHDI	Early Hearing Detection and Intervention
IDEA	Individuals with Disabilities Education Act
IEP	Individualized Education Program
ASL	American Sign Language
SELPAs	Special Educational Local Plan Areas
OIR	Other-initiated repair
IRE	Initiation-Reply-Evaluation
DIU	Designedly incomplete utterances

LIST OF TABLES

Name	**Age (at the start of 2018-2019 school year)**	**Hearing device**	**Primary language used with the child at home**
Aaron	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	Spanish
Adam	4	Bone-anchored hearing system	English
Brian	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Ella	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Evie	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Ivan	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
James	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Kevin	3	Two cochlear implants	American Sign Language
Sam	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	Spanish
Vicky	3	Bone-anchored hearing system	Spanish

Table 1. Summary of students (page 38).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express sincerest gratitude to my family — my parents, Ellen and Kevin Montiegel, and my sister, Megan Montiegel — for their unending support and words of encouragement throughout graduate school. We have lived on opposite sides of the country for years, but I have never truly felt distant from them. Mahal kita.

I am also extremely grateful to Matt Lawrence. Thank you for being so uplifting during all my times of self-doubt, and for reminding me that weekends are for pleasure and *not* for work. I love you and the life we share.

I owe a deep sense of gratitude to my advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Tanya Stivers, who never ceases to amaze me. I have grown so much as a student and researcher under your guidance, and I hope to be as impactful a mentor as you in the future. I will miss our walks, our talks, and spending quality time with the animals.

Thank you to my dissertation committee members, Drs. Steve Clayman, Giovanni Rossi, and Louise Paatsch. I feel so lucky to have you all on my committee. Your combined expertise and feedback through the writing stages of my project has shaped the dissertation into something I am incredibly proud of.

A special thanks to all my friends and colleagues at UCLA, especially Luis Manuel Olguin and Keith Cox, my so-much-more-than-office mates. Graduate school would have been so incredibly boring without you both. I am holding onto the dream of future employment at the same institution, where we are only a few steps down the hall from each other.

I must also acknowledge Drs. Stefan Timmermans, John Heritage, and Jeffrey Robinson for their advice and direction throughout the years, as well as the career-building opportunities they have sent my way.

Thank you to my best friends, Ally Walters, Samantha Bolchoz, Meghan Fitzmaurice, and Brittany Brownell. I cherish our therapeutic phone calls and Facetimes. Our friendship has helped me keep a sense of sanity over the years.

Finally, thank you to Stone, who has been with me throughout the entirety of graduate school.

VITA

EDUCATION

2019 Master of Arts, Sociology
University of California, Los Angeles

2017 Master of Science, Communication
Portland State University

2011 Bachelor of Arts, Communication
Coastal Carolina University

PUBLICATIONS

Montiegel, K. (2021) Other-initiated repair and preference principles in an oral classroom. *Journal of Pragmatics, 178,* 108-120.

Montiegel, K. (2021) 'Use your words': Vocalization and moral order in an oral preschool classroom for deaf or hard-of-hearing children. *Language in Society*, 1-21.

Montiegel, K. & Robinson, J.D. (2021). Conversation analysis and health communication. In T. Thompson & N. Harrington (Eds.), *Handbook of health communication, 3rd edition* (pp. 539-557). Routledge.

Raymond, C.W., Robinson, J.D., Fox, B.A., Thompson, S.A. & Montiegel, K. (2021). Modulating action through minimization: Syntax in the service of offering and requesting. *Language in Society*, 1-39

Montiegel, K. & Robinson, J.D. (2019). 'First' matters: A qualitative examination of a strategy for controlling the agenda when answering questions in the 2016 US republican primary election debates. *Communication Monographs, 86*(1): 23-45.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

2021 National Communication Association conference
Gestures for Highlighting Children's Metapragmatic Skills

2021 American Sociological Association conference
Peer Interaction in an Oral Classroom for Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing Children

2019 American Sociological Association conference
"Use Your Words": Other-Initiated Repair and Non-Minimal Responses in an Oral Classroom

2018 International Conference for Conversation Analysis

"First" matters: A qualitative examination of a strategy for controlling the agenda when answering questions in the 2016 US republican primary election debates

SELECTED AWARDS

2022	Best Graduate Student Paper Award in Language and Social Interaction Section, National Communication Association
2021	Excellence in Teaching award, UCLA Sociology Department
2021	Honorable mention for Best Graduate Student Paper Award in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis Section, American Sociological Association
2016	Top Papers in Master's Education Section, National Communication Association conference

1

SOCIALIZATION, COMMUNICATION, AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Research on the communication and education of deaf or hard-of-hearing (D/HH) children has expanded across the social sciences over the past several decades (for reviews, see Knoors & Marschark 2019; Leigh & Andrews 2016; Marschark & Spencer 2010, 2011). In particular, scholars have explored how D/HH children's school placement and social interactions impact their socialization and language development, with much of this work focused on mainstream (e.g., general education) settings (Antia et al. 2011; Batten et al. 2013; Xie et al. 2014). Fewer studies have focused on D/HH children in specialized school settings absent of hearing peers (but see Erting 1994; Evans 1988; O'Connell & Deegan 2014; Reilly & Reilly 2005). Additionally, little attention is given to the ways in which socialization occurs *in and through* spontaneous, naturally-occurring interaction; that is, how certain interactional practices and routines can be vehicles for socialization.

This dissertation will present one of the few in-depth accounts of D/HH children's socialization experiences with other D/HH peers in an early childhood special-education setting, specifically, an oral preschool classroom. I draw on conversational data (both teacher-student and children's peer interactions) in the classroom and use Conversation Analysis (CA) to address the broad question of how D/HH children are socialized into oral communication. My aim is to

uncover specific interactional phenomena involved in facilitating D/HH children's spoken language socialization and building their dispositions to 'use their words.'

1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT BACKGROUND

In the United States, it is estimated that one to two of every 1,000 newborns are detected with some degree of hearing loss (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention 2017). In 2000, US Congress passed legislation for statewide Early Hearing Detection and Intervention (EHDI) programs across the nation to assist in identifying children with hearing loss and directing families to intervention services. The EHDI process starts in the hospital, where most states have mandatory hearing screening tests when babies are born. If babies do not pass the initial hearing test, they are referred to a follow-up hearing test conducted by an audiologist. If the audiologist confirms a hearing loss, a clinical diagnosis is made and a referral will be made to the state's early intervention program.

The importance of early hearing testing for children is widely recognized. Research has shown that babies accomplish a number of language milestones between birth and six months (Browne 2009; MacWhinney 2017; Saxton 2017), and that the first three years of life form the most intensive period of language development (Anisfeld 2014; National Institute on Deafness & Other Communication Disorders 2017). For D/HH children, limited access to linguistic input, whether auditory or visual, can lead to delays in their language acquisition and social-emotional development (Ambrose et al. 2015; Bowen 2016; Hall et al. 2019; Netton et al. 2015). Thus, EHDI programs are crucial in addressing D/HH children's needs in a timely fashion. The Joint Committee on Infant Hearing, an organization of medical and educational professionals committed to supporting D/HH infants' development, recommends that states should adhere to a "1-3-6 EHDI Plan," where an infant's screening is completed by one month of age, their

audiological diagnosis is determined by three months, and early intervention is referred by six months.

1.2.1 Early Intervention and Special Education

Early intervention is authorized by Part C of the US Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA 2004), which declares that infants and toddlers who have been identified with disabilities or developmental delays may be eligible for a range of resources and supports, including early intervention services from birth up to age three. IDEA defines hearing impairment and deafness separately, where the former refers to "an impairment in hearing, whether permanent or fluctuating, that adversely affects a child's educational performance," while the latter refers to "a hearing impairment that is so severe that the child is impaired in processing linguistic information through hearing, with or without amplification" (Sec. 300.8 c). A child identified with either disability term is eligible for IDEA services. In this dissertation, I use the term D/HH to refer to one population of children who receive special educational services based on their audiological status (see Antia & Kreimeyer 2015).

If parents consent to early intervention, their child will be evaluated by a team of professionals to determine the appropriate services for the child. Such services may include family training and counseling, health and nutrition, and occupational, physical, or speech therapy. Early intervention can look different for each family, but importantly for D/HH children, early intervention providers should discuss with families the range of communication options available to the child (e.g., sign language, spoken language) and support the family's decision in communication approach through training and services that facilitate the child's language development at home (Sass-Lehrer 2012). Early intervention providers also help

families better understand their child's audiological diagnosis, which may include the use of hearing devices and other audiology services.

Once the D/HH child turns three years old, the early intervention team will determine whether there is still a need for services and if so, ascertain when the child might transition into an Individualized Education Program (IEP), which details the special education instruction and resources the child needs for their learning success in school. Under Part B of IDEA (2004), children with disabilities or developmental delays are entitled to a free appropriate public education. This can start as early as preschool, which, in the American education system, refers to non-compulsory, school-based early childhood education for children ages three to five. The IEP team, together with the parents, will determine the child's appropriate school placement in what is referred to as the least restrictive environment, which states that:

> *"(i) To the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities, are educated with children who are nondisabled; and (ii) Special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment occurs only if the nature or severity of the disability is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily" (IDEA 2004, Sec. 300.114)*

IDEA requires that school districts have a continuum of alternative placement options available if general education is not considered the least restrictive environment. Some options of alternative placement include a special education classroom (this could be self-contained, where the child spends their entire school day in the special classroom, or it can be part of partial mainstreaming, where the child spends some of their day in the general education classroom and some in the special classroom), a center-based school/program, or a Deaf residential school.

Mainstreaming, or including students with special needs alongside typically-developing students, has sparked widespread debate. Supporters of mainstream approaches argue that, not

only does mainstreaming promote inclusion and equality in education, but various studies have reported that special education fails its students and that integrated settings have positive effects on students' learning and social interaction (Hehir et al. 2016; Kauffman et al. 2018). Critics of mainstreaming argue that regular classrooms simply cannot provide the highly specialized services and qualified teachers that students with special needs may require, and that special education classrooms can allow students to be exposed to other students with similar disabilities, thus enhancing their self-esteem (Wang 2009).

This controversy has been intensified by discussions on the difference between *inclusion* and *mainstreaming* practices (c.f., Tomlinson 2017). As Stinson and Foster (1999) put it, "the difference between mainstreaming and inclusion is that mainstreaming implies that the child will adapt to the regular classroom, whereas inclusion implies that the regular classroom will adapt to the child" (p. 204). Both approaches are set on integration but have distinct ways in delivering services to students with special needs. Yet, proponents of special education claim that one size does not fit all (Gordon 2006), or that the principles of mainstreaming and inclusion are simply unrealistic for the demands of servicing students with special needs. Furthermore, as US federal law allocates a certain portion of funding to special education, some proponents worry that inclusion models will alter how funding is distributed, with fear that special needs students' access to a range of services will diminish (Connor & Ferri 2007; Norwich 2007). The tension, put briefly, is that special education "is both a service and a disservice" (Connor & Ferri 2007: 74).

The idea of inclusive education, then, can become especially complicated for D/HH children (Powers 2002; Stinson & Lang 1994), where ensuring full and effective participation entails access to all communication, as well as curricula that are sensitive to the linguistic and

cultural needs of the D/HH population, among other things (Jokinen 2018; Luft 2017; Marschark & Spencer 2010, 2011). Placing D/HH children into hearing settings without appropriate access to communication puts them at increased risk of linguistic exclusion, late language acquisition, and social isolation (Goico 2019; Jarvis 2002). Some scholars have even shown that D/HH children prefer to interact and play with peers of similar hearing status (for review, see Antia et al. 2011). Thus, mere placement in integrated educational settings does not automatically ensure that D/HH children will build relationships with hearing children (Antia & Kreimeyer 1992; Nunes et al. 2001; Wauters & Knoors 2007). Furthermore, the IDEA refers to D/HH students as a low incidence population but requiring highly specialized services. Because of this, schools often face difficulties providing adequate instruction, especially in rural areas where resources and qualified personnel are scarcer (Bowen & Ferrell 2003; Sibon-Macarro et al. 2014).

Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of American D/HH students ages six and older are mainstreamed in general education classrooms, with nearly half of them spending most of their school day there (U.S. Department of Education 2021). Interestingly, however, Page et al. (2018) found that preschool-age D/HH children are more likely to be enrolled in special schools or classrooms, but that most will be mainstreamed by elementary education. To be sure, there is no one size fits all approach for young D/HH learners; some will experience greater benefits in separate settings over regular settings and vice versa (Knoors & Marschark 2014). Still, this debate remains a contested issue in the field of deaf education (Knoors & Marschark 2019).

1.2.2 Education and Communication Options for D/HH Children

Educational placement is largely contingent on whether the D/HH child will communicate through spoken or sign language. The decision of communication modality

underlies a longstanding polarization between two competing ideologies: The "medical view" versus the "cultural view" of d/Deafness,[1] with the former regarding hearing loss as a deficit and promoting speech and auditory development so that D/HH children can successfully integrate into a hearing-dominant world, while the latter contends that D/HH children embrace their identity and sign language as part of a distinct cultural and linguistic group (c.f., Byrne 2015; Mauldin 2016; Pray & Jordan 2010). In the cultural view (Ladd 2003; Leigh et al. 2020), many see deafness as a difference in bodies rather than as a disability and contend that sign language is the best and most natural way for D/HH children to communicate (Humphries 2013). These opposing views have fueled a "war of methods" (Lang 2011), or a philosophical divide between oralism and manualism for educating D/HH children.

Indeed, many have long viewed oralism as a hegemonic system that marginalizes deaf communities and suppresses sign languages (Ladd 2005). Oralism was established in the US in the mid 1860's and taught D/HH children spoken language communication through the use of speech/lipreading and the exclusion of visual language, particularly sign language. In contrast, manualism advocated for the use of sign language to educate and communicate with D/HH children. In 1880, deaf educators across the globe congregated in Milan, Italy and declared the superiority of spoken over sign language, thus banning signing from schools (Hill 2012; Leigh & Marschark 2016). Soon thereafter, oralism became the primary method for educating D/HH children (Lang 2011; Moores 2001). Its domination ended in the 1960's, however, largely because D/HH children were falling so far behind academically (Drasgow 2019), and American Sign Language (ASL) was integrated back into educational programs for D/HH children.[2]

[1] The lowercase d in "deaf" refers to the audiological term, whereas the capital D in "Deaf" typically refers to someone who identifies as culturally Deaf (Lane 1995).
[2] Due to space constraints, I do not provide a comprehensive historical background of deaf education in this dissertation (for a thorough discussion, see Lang 2011; Moores 2001).

Deaf education in the US has changed considerably in the 21st century. Manual approaches are generally implemented through two types of programs: Bilingual-bicultural programs, which teaches ASL as a first language and English as a second, and total communication programs, which includes all modes of communication, including signing and speech. Proponents of manualism stress that sign languages are their own systems of language with complex grammar, vocabulary, and syntax (Moores 2001), and that signing is the most effective way to expose D/HH children to a fully accessible language and avoid the risk of language deprivation during the most critical period of language development (Hall et al. 2019; Hill 2012; Humphries et al. 2016).

Oral educational approaches still exclude the use of sign language and instead prioritize the development of D/HH children's residual hearing and spoken language skills, though individual oral educational programs may vary on the specific practices and interventions that are utilized. For example, auditory-oral therapy includes the use of speech/lipreading, while auditory-verbal therapy focuses on listening and spoken language development without this form of visual support (Bergeron et al. 2020; Dettman et al. 2013). Oral programs are generally offered in center-based programs (like a special day classroom/school) with other D/HH children or may even be offered in residential schools for the Deaf, though the latter places greater emphasis on sign language communication. D/HH students who are mainstreamed or placed in special education classrooms on general school campuses generally receive spoken language instruction, though they may have a range of support services such as an interpreter or itinerant teacher to help meet their needs.

Oral approaches have remained popular, largely due to the rapid advancement of cochlear implantation and the increasing enrollment of D/HH children with cochlear implants in

mainstream schools (Archbold & Mayer 2012; Mauldin 2016).[3] According to a 2014 report by Gallaudet University, nearly 60% of American D/HH students receive instruction through spoken language methods, while approximately 38% receive instruction through signing methods. Some researchers have found that D/HH children can develop age-appropriate progress in language, literacy, and social skills with spoken language interventions (Davidson et al. 2021; Kaipa & Danser 2016; Thomas & Zwolan 2019), especially with appropriate hearing technology (Bat-Chava et al. 2005; Dettman et al. 2013; Yoshinaga-Itano et al. 2018), and high quality parent involvement and interaction (Quittner et al. 2014), whereas others have determined the evidence on the advantages of different communication interventions to be inconclusive (Brennan-Jones et al. 2014; Fitzpatrick et al. 2016; Ganek & Cardy 2021).

Generally, oral classrooms are designed to promote oral speech by integrating into the daily schedule activities that focus on spoken language use and preparing students for transitioning into mainstream schooling and society.[4] Oral programs also emphasize the use of appropriate hearing devices (e.g., hearing aids or cochlear implants) in the acquisition of spoken language and are often equipped with assistive listening technology (e.g., frequency modulated systems or induction loop systems) to maximize students' auditory access in the classroom. Indeed, since oral programs are partly centered on developing D/HH children's listening abilities, some programs may limit or avoid the use of visual aids (e.g., lip/mouth movements, gestures, and especially signing) during instruction towards "truly ascertaining the contribution of the hearing technology to learning" (Soman & Nevins 2018: 207).

[3] A cochlear implant is an electronic device that is surgically implanted into the inner ear and can improve sound perception by sending nerve signals to the brain.

[4] Today, oral programs are more commonly referred to as Listening and Spoken Language programs, but since the setting of this project is called an oral program/classroom, these are the terms I use throughout the dissertation.

Additionally, oral programs do not merely focus on language acquisition. Increasingly, sociologists have investigated the role of institutions, such as schools, in shaping D/HH children's social experiences (Holcomb et al. 2020; Mauldin & Fannon 2016). As Horejes and Yerker (2016) stated, different schools "socially construct certain cultural systems in which values and norms determine which language or culture to incorporate into the school's curriculum" (p. 913). For example, oral- and sign-based pedagogies shape D/HH students' identities and ideas of their future role in society in diverse ways (Evans 1988). Oral classrooms entail socializing D/HH children to certain ideological beliefs and attitudes about speech and its use in social life (Montiegel 2021) and are designed to increase children's social opportunities and mobility in the hearing word (Holcomb et al. 2020). Thus, investigating D/HH children's education and socialization entails an analysis of classroom culture, classroom interactions, and the language and communication modality that is used in the classroom (Holcomb et al. 2020; Horejes & Yerker 2016).

Some may wonder if socialization into the use of spoken language is seen in preschool classrooms more generally. Studies, however, have reported considerable variation in the language activities of mainstream preschool classrooms with hearing children, with some researchers reporting little time spent in literacy lessons (Winton & Buysse 2005) and few instances where teachers engage children in conversations that promote language-skill building (Cabell et al. 2015; Whorrall & Cabell 2016). In oral programs for D/HH children, however, the pedagogical emphasis rests mainly on spoken language and listening development, which requires that activities, lessons, and the general progression of the day are virtually entirely organized to promote the students' use of speech and listening.[5]

[5] This paragraph was originally published in *Journal of Pragmatics*, 178, Kristella Montiegel, Other-initiated repair and preference principles in an oral classroom, pp. 108-120, Copyright Elsevier, 2021.

Regardless of the pros and cons of oral programs, the reality is that an average 95% of D/HH children are born to hearing parents (Mitchell & Karchmer 2004), and hearing parents are more likely to choose spoken language routes for their D/HH child (Lederberg et al. 2013), largely because they have no prior knowledge nor experience with deafness and/or sign language. Yet, educational options and language services are not necessarily equally available to any given family with a D/HH child. D/HH children are not always placed in an educational option by virtue of parents' affirmative or proactive choice. Instead, placement is often based on what is available within a reasonable distance from the child's home, thus families may find themselves operating inside a language ideology that they did not actually choose (Goico & Montiegel *in press*).

1.2.3 D/HH Programs in California

It is estimated that the state of California serves nearly 14,000 D/HH students every year (Taylor 2016). California utilizes special educational local plan areas (SELPAs) to help assure that D/HH students are receiving appropriate special education services. SELPAs are consortiums of school districts or local educational agencies that pool their resources to provide quality educational services through a continuum of program offerings for eligible students (www.cde.ca.gov). SELPAs also help foster critical mass, or the enrollment of a fixed number of students with similar characteristics in order to reduce social isolation and offer a variety of instructional approaches. Critical mass is important for D/HH children, because, as mentioned earlier, they are a low incidence population.

Some SELPAs offer more D/HH program options than others, as rural school districts tend to be limited in program offerings. According to a 2016 report by the California Legislative Analyst's Office, listening and spoken language instruction is the most common educational

approach for D/HH students, and about 55% of all D/HH students in the state spend most of their time in special day classes, classes of which may serve only D/HH students or may include students with different disabilities (Taylor 2016). The setting of this dissertation is an oral special day class that serves only D/HH preschoolers.

1.3 A BRIEF REVIEW OF D/HH CHILDREN'S INTERACTIONS IN SCHOOLS

Given the research context background provided in the previous section, I now turn to what social scientific research has uncovered about D/HH children's socialization in schools, specifically in spoken language environments. Stinson and Foster (1999) proposed that D/HH children's effective socialization in school requires peer interaction, extracurricular activities, and both formal and informal discourse, such as classroom lessons and hallway conversations, respectively. According to the authors, each of these processes optimizes the acquisition of social information, incidental learning, social engagement, and the formation of positive self- and group-identity. Yet, unless D/HH children have full access to communication in each of these processes, their participation opportunities are considerably limited.

Extant literature is largely situated in the context of D/HH children's social interactions and relationships in both integrated (with hearing peers) and non-integrated (with other D/HH peers) school settings. Much of this work has stemmed from perspectives in developmental psychology, education, and Deaf Studies, and focused on D/HH children's social development by assessing the quantity and quality of their interactions (Antia et al. 2011), and/or how certain behaviors are associated with various social outcomes (Kluwin et al. 2002). The following section briefly synthesizes this research. While the review is by no means comprehensive, it highlights some of the main themes in this literature, while also pointing out some areas in need

of further attention. For breadth, I include research on D/HH students in both preschool and elementary school, which roughly spans ages three to 10.

1.3.1 D/HH Children's Peer Interactions

Most studies on D/HH children's interactions and relationships have involved mainstream educational settings and thus apply a comparative lens to D/HH students and their hearing peers (for reviews, see Antia et al. 2011; Batten et al. 2013; Paatsch & Toe 2016; Xie et al. 2014). This research tends to highlight the communication challenges that D/HH children encounter, including restricted socialization. Ultimately, D/HH children are reported to spend long periods of time as nonparticipants in peer interaction, which has been attributed to limitations set by the hearing environment of mainstream educational settings (Keating & Mirus 2003; Martin et al. 2010). For example, studies have indicated that D/HH children are more withdrawn in interactions, less likely to have friends, and struggle with engagement compared to hearing children (Brown et al. 2008; Nunes et al. 2001; Wauters & Knoors 2007).

One major strand of focus is how D/HH students initiate interaction, or enter a peer group activity, though findings in this area are mixed. Many studies have found that D/HH children share similarities with hearing children in both the frequency of initiations and types of initiation-strategy used (Brown et al. 2000; DeLuzio & Girolametto 2011; Messenheimer-Young & Kretschmer 1994; Vandell & George 1981), whereas others have described the distinct initiation-strategies used by D/HH children with hearing peers and with D/HH peers (Lederberg et al. 1986; Vandell & George 1981; Weisel et al. 2005), which indicate that D/HH children can modify their communication behaviors to the hearing status of their peer interactants (Duncan 1999; Lederberg et al. 1986). Still, D/HH children are reported to have less successful initiations compared to hearing children (Antia & Dittillo 1998; Boyd et al. 2000; Brown et al. 2000) and

receive fewer interaction initiations from others (DeLuzio & Girolametto 2011; Weisel et al. 2005). Studies have also consistently found that D/HH children prefer to interact and play with peers of similar hearing status (Antia et al. 1993; Keating & Mirus 2003; Lederberg et al. 1987).

Other studies have demonstrated that D/HH children's conversational behaviors with hearing children depend on the social context. For example, Bobzien et al. (2013) found that D/HH preschoolers were more effective at maintaining reciprocal interaction than hearing children in D/HH-hearing dyads. Other scholars have explained group interactions as more challenging for D/HH children than one-on-one interactions (Bat-Chava & Deignan 2001; Martin & Bat-Chava 2003), in part because of increased noise levels (Martin et al. 2010). Brown and colleagues (2000) found that D/HH and hearing children were equally successful at entering peer interaction in the context of sociodramatic play, though D/HH children were less successful in non-play activities. In another study on play activities, Brown et al. (2008) found that D/HH children displayed less attention than hearing children, indicating that hearing children were more successful at maintaining social engagement.

Difficulty with interaction is considered one of the main reasons why D/HH children have more trouble forming peer relationships than hearing children (Antia et al. 2011; Nunes et al. 2001; Weisel et al. 2005). One main assumption is that oral language abilities are crucial for developing peer relationships in mainstream settings, which can promote peer interaction (Bat-Chava & Deignan 2001; Martin et al. 2010). Some researchers have suggested that cochlear implants can improve D/HH children's socialization in integrated settings precisely because their implants can improve their spoken language abilities (Bat-Chava & Deignan 2001; Bat-Chava et al. 2005; Christiansen & Leigh 2002; Martin et al. 2010). The implication is that improving D/HH children's speech skills will improve their interactional opportunities, thus cochlear

implants may be beneficial to D/HH children in accessing further socialization opportunities (Martin et al. 2010).

More recently, attention has been directed towards pragmatic skills, or social communication skills, and how they relate to D/HH children's interactions and relationships (for reviews, see Crowe & Dammeyer 2021; Paatsch & Toe 2016; Szarkowski et al. 2020; Toe et al. 2020). This literature has found that D/HH children generally experience more challenges with pragmatic language use when compared to their hearing peers (Lloyd et al. 2005; Most et al. 2010; Paatsch et al. 2017). However, the literature has also emphasized a wide array of pragmatic strengths that D/HH children demonstrate in their peer interactions (Lloyd et al. 2001; Most et al. 2010; Paatsch & Toe 2016; Toe & Paatsch 2013), including in conversational turn-taking and managing communication breakdown (Church et al. 2017; Ciocci & Baran 1998; Most 2003; Paatsch & Toe 2014; Toe et al. 2007; Toe & Paatsch 2010). Furthermore, it has been noted that many educational programs do not track social communication skills as part of their standard assessments of D/HH children's progress (Toe et al. 2020). Yet, observing how D/HH children use language in social situations is valuable for understanding not just their communication competencies, but also their socialization processes, in educational environments.

Fewer studies have examined D/HH children in non-integrated educational settings, such as special schools or classrooms, and most of this work has focused on describing how conversational behaviors in these settings differ from integrated ones. For example, Antia (1982) found that the frequency of D/HH children's peer interaction was the same across a special resource room and a regular classroom. As the author suggested, we might have expected more peer interaction for D/HH children in the special resource room with other D/HH peers, thus

further exploration on how the instructional context might shape children's interactional opportunities is warranted. Along this same line, Weisel and colleagues (2005) reported that D/HH children are more successful entering interactions and combine more initiation strategies in a special education center compared to a regular kindergarten program. The authors suggested that D/HH children may have recognized the common use of both vocal and visual communication strategies in the special program and adjusted their strategies accordingly.

When comparing D/HH special education settings, Williams (1993) found that children in a total communication classroom interacted more frequently and more freely (i.e., engaged in various topics) with each other than children in an auditory-oral classroom. These results seem to support the assumptions of limited language development in oral settings and fuller access to language in settings that include sign language. However, Williams carefully pointed out the variation in participant characteristics could not lead him to make such claims, nor was he intent on doing so (p. 280). Instead, his goal was to provide qualitative insight on interactions in these specialized settings.

In the same vein, Dammeyer (2012) longitudinally examined the peer interactions of three D/HH children with cochlear implants in specialized schools using spoken language communication. He found that, although the children improved their speech and hearing abilities, they continued to have social communication difficulties, particularly maintaining dialogue. Though Dammeyer's sample of children was small, his findings complicate existing studies that suggest a benefit of cochlear implants on D/HH children's socializing opportunities due to their speech improvements (Bat-Chava & Deignan 2001; Bat-Chava et al. 2005; Christiansen & Leigh 2002; Martin et al. 2010).

Clearly more recent research is needed to determine whether the abovementioned findings of D/HH children in non-integrated settings are still evident, and to further investigate how the communication modality of instructional contexts shapes D/HH children's social interactions and socialization. Nonetheless, the literature indicates that D/HH children's successes and failures in social interaction are not so much determined by their status as D/HH children, but may vary more than their hearing counterparts depending on contextual factors such as the social environment and the interactional partner (Bobzien et al. 2013; Duncan 1999).

1.3.2 D/HH Children's Interactions with Teachers

Another body of research has focused on how teachers interact with D/HH students in different classrooms, and specifically, teachers' instructional techniques in supporting children's learning (c.f., Easterbrooks 2020; Knoors & Marschark 2019; Spencer & Marschark 2010). Like peer relationships, D/HH students' relationships with their teachers are important for their social and academic outcomes (Wolters et al. 2012). A common argument found in this literature is that teachers of D/HH students must modify their communicative and instructional strategies in order to make classroom participation fully accessible for D/HH children (Marschark & Knoors 2012).

Cawthon (2001) questioned whether the quality of teacher talk differs when interacting with D/HH and hearing children in mainstream settings and indeed found that teachers directed fewer spoken utterances to D/HH students than hearing students, suggesting that opportunities for linguistic interaction were more limited than what might be found in special classrooms for D/HH children exclusively. Lloyd et al. (2001) found that D/HH children produced more conversational turns and utterances with teachers than with hearing peers. These findings, the authors suggested, could be because teachers strive to elicit language from students and have greater expectations for responses than peer interaction. Indeed, Toe et al. (2007) found that

D/HH students asked few questions to their teachers, even though teacher-student conversations contained many question-answer sequences.

In a series of studies, Antia and Kreimeyer (1987, 1988, 1996, 1997) examined the impact of teacher-mediated classroom interventions to improve D/HH children's social skills and increase their social interactions. Interventions consisted of activities where teachers modeled a range of social skills (e.g., greeting, sharing, praising, inviting) and had children practice them. The interventions resulted in D/HH children's decreased solitary play (Antia & Kreimeyer 1997) and increased positive peer interaction, though nonlinguistic behaviors like sharing seemed to contribute more to this increase over conversational behaviors (Antia & Kreimeyer 1987, 1996). In a more recent series of teacher-mediated intervention studies, Raver et al. (2013, 2014) investigated the effect of teachers' social stories containing verbal prompts on D/HH children's communication and social skills, both in a self-contained, oral preschool program at a public school and in an inclusive classroom with hearing peers. Specifically, the researchers examined children's behaviors during unstructured play sessions immediately following the intervention and found that the short stories led to an increase in D/HH children's verbal initiations and play turn-taking in both settings, and that the children even recited words and phrases from the short stories during play (Raver et al. 2013, 2014).

Overall, there exists a paucity of intervention studies on D/HH children's social learning (Luckner & Movahedazarhouligh 2019), and although Antia and Kreimeyer's (1987, 1988, 1996, 1997) and Raver et al.'s (2013, 2014) work contributed important insight on how teachers can successfully socialize D/HH children into both nonlinguistic and linguistic behaviors, more recent attention on D/HH children's social interactions with teachers is greatly needed.

1.3.3 GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

Taken together, the abovementioned studies on D/HH children's interactions with both peers and teachers illuminate key areas in need of research. A dearth of research exists on D/HH children who are educated in settings alternative to mainstream ones. Furthermore, few studies are observational in nature, and even these are largely focused on quantifying D/HH children's conversational behaviors, "identifying these as discrete abilities rather than actions that are interactionally achieved" (Church et al. 2017: 64), and usually in order to make key comparisons with hearing children. Researchers have called for more naturalistic studies to better understand how the educational environment shapes D/HH children's communication behaviors (Xie et al. 2014). More scholarly attention is needed to adequately reflect D/HH children's sociality, schooling, and learning experiences (Knoors & Hermans 2010).

This dissertation aims to redress these gaps in the literature by providing a qualitative, micro-sociological study on D/HH children's naturally-occurring social interactions in the special education setting of an oral preschool classroom. In particular, I examine classroom interactions in order to address the broad research question of how D/HH children are socialized into oral communicators. In what follows, I assemble a theoretical and methodological background to this dissertation by discussing sociological approaches to the study of child socialization. Next, I describe the specific frameworks of CA and Language Socialization and how these are complementarily and fruitful for the study of D/HH children's socialization into oral language. Finally, I end this introduction by discussing studies on D/HH children that are informed by CA principles.

1.4 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS: SOCIALIZATION, AND EDUCATION

1.4.1 Socialization and Education

It is important to conceptualize what sociologists have meant by "socialization" over the years. Socialization broadly refers to the basic process in which individuals come to understand the norms, values, and acceptable behaviors necessary to become a competent member of a society (Handel et al. 2007). The concept, however, has undergone substantial reconsiderations in the field over the past several decades, particularly with respect to the role that children have in their learning and social lives (Guhin et al. 2021). Children's socialization can be briefly explained in two main camps: Traditional perspectives, containing functionalist and reproductive theories, and a 'new' sociology of childhood, containing social constructionist and interpretive theories (for review, see Corsaro 2018).

Traditional functionalist perspectives approached socialization as a unidirectional process of individuals' private norm internalizations (Durkheim 1925/1961; Scott 1971), essentially viewing children as passive recipients in their acquisition of social norms and habits (for reviews, see Cookson & Sadovnik 2002; Goodman 1985). In this light, children are instrumental in the larger goal of maintaining social order insofar as socialization prepares them for their eventual participation in a functional society (Gaitán 2014). One of the primary means of children's socialization is education, and there is perhaps no more central a figure in this topic than Emile Durkheim.

For Durkheim (1922/1956), schools were the most important institutional agents in children's socialization, even more powerful than families, particularly because families could indulge children with affection, whereas schools could exert some external influence to effectively control children's desires and develop "their physical, intellectual, and moral states" demanded by society (p. 71). Durkheim saw education as comprised of "methodical" and dually natured socialization, connecting in all persons our individual being (or our private mental states)

with a system of sentiments, opinions, and habits of the larger groups in which we take part, thus forming our social being (p. 71-72). In this process, children are "naturally in a state of passivity" and "very suggestible," whereas educators (adults) assert authority and are superior in their experience (p. 85-86). Education, then, is crucial in maintaining social order.

Following Durkheim, Parsons (1951) continued a structural functionalist view of socialization and social control as mechanisms in preparing children for their adult roles in a functioning society. For Parsons, the social system — both societal institutions and society as a whole — consisted of social interactions and relationships that are "defined and mediated" by shared norms and values, of which guided individual action (p. 6). These norms and values are learned and internalized through socialization and education and are closely connected to societal roles and the expectations required to fulfill these roles in the maintenance of social order.

In contrast to Durkheim, Parsons viewed the family as the primary agent of children's socialization and believed children's participation to be a more central feature in this process. As he articulated:

> *"mechanisms of socialization operate only so far as the learning process is an integral part of the process of interaction in complementary roles. Thus not only the socializing agents but the socializee must be conceived as acting in roles. […] Purely physical care of the infant in which he has no role but is merely a passive object of manipulation is, if it ever exists, not socialization" (p. 209)*

Still, Parson's perspective focused on how children are instrumental to society and what outcomes we can expect from their socialization.

One critique of the functionalist perspective was that it overlooked how children's socialization affects and is affected by social conflict and inequalities (Bernstein 1981; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977), which entail "differential treatment of individuals in social institutions" such as education (Corsaro 2018: 8); thus, reproductive perspectives brought much needed attention to

these concerns. While Bourdieu did not direct substantial attention to children and childhood specifically, his ideas of social reproduction, particularly his theoretical concepts of "cultural capital" and "habitus," redefined understandings of socialization and education.

For Bourdieu (1993), people acquire cultural capital (e.g., knowledge, education, manner of speaking, dress) through the habitus, or a set of dispositions and habits to behave in certain ways. Habitus is conceived of as an unconscious process that begins at a very early age and is constructed through our routine encounters with the social world. Thus, the habitus is still assumed to be an internalized mechanism that guides behavior, though its interplay between structure and agency positions children as more active, yet limited, social agents (Corsaro 2018). Consequently, like functionalist theories of children's socialization, reproductive theories left the impression of children as "pushed to the margins of the social structure by more powerful adults" (Corsaro 2018: p. 6), which would be the basis of critique for an emerging new paradigm on children's social lives.

1.4.2 Sociology of Childhood

In contrast to functionalist and reproductive theories of socialization, contemporary approaches have sought to explain socialization as a bidirectional and relational process (Matthews 2007). In this perspective, socialization is dynamic and influenced by the actions of both adults *and* children (Kuczynski & Parkin 2007). This reconceptualization of socialization was partly fueled by a move away from 'old' understandings of children and childhood towards 'new' ones (Matthews 2007), namely that children were not passive, incomplete members of their social worlds and instead are active agents in them (Denzin 1972; Corsaro 2018; Jenks 2005).

This new sociology of childhood emerged in the mid 1980's (Adler & Adler 1986; James & Prout 1997; Jenks 1983; Thorne 1987) and turned its focus to the *construction* of childhood — that is, how children are capable of constructing meanings and acting on them, of resisting and transforming social order, thus helping to shape their own experiences (Corsaro 2009; Corsaro & Rizzo 1988), including their socialization (Denzin 1972; James et al. 1998; Jenks 2005; Mayall 1994). These assumptions were fundamental to the social construction and interpretive theoretical frameworks found in the field (Berger & Luckmann 1966; James & Prout 1997; Jenks 2009).

Early constructivist perspectives on children were influenced by developmental psychology, namely Piagetian and Vygotskian notions. Piaget (1964) proposed that children progress through a series of developmental stages, a process wherein children do not simply acquire knowledge but construct mental structures of their social worlds. Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) view of child socialization entailed that children acquire knowledge and skills precisely through their interactions and practical activities with others. As such, children internalize culture (including language) within this process. Different from Piaget, Vygotsky believed that children's social learning preceded their cognitive development, and that development was subject to cultural variation. Language, Vygotsky argued, is a cultural tool and the basis of learning. His ideas would form what became a known as a sociocultural view of human development.

Extensions of Piaget's and Vygotsky's models led to an increased focus on children's relationships (Adler & Adler 1998; Corsaro 2003; Fine 1987; Thorne 1993), as well as how children create and negotiate culture through their participation in collective activities (Corsaro 1992; James et al. 1998). Corsaro (1992), for example, suggested reconceptualizing socialization

in terms of "interpretive reproduction" to reflect how children's participation in society actively contributes to cultural production and change. For him, socialization does not merely consist of adaptation and internalization but also "appropriation, reinvention, and reproduction" (p. 18). Building on Cicourel (1974), Corsaro also emphasized the importance of children's language in their social activities, explaining that children's interactions with others "establish social understandings that become fundamental social knowledge on which they build continually" (p. 161). Although the concept of interpretive reproduction has not been widely understood and applied outside of the sociology of childhood (Guhin et al. 2021), it did provide a model for studying how children, through their interactions with each other, could construct their own understandings of identities, roles, and behaviors that are valued in their own peer groups (Cook-Gumperz et al. 1986; Corsaro & Eder 1990; Thorne 1993).

In short, studies in the sociology of childhood were instrumental in offering alternative ways of thinking about socialization processes, particularly that children actively construct and participate in social order. This approach to children's lives includes a consideration of micro-analytical questions such as *how* children demonstrate agency in their social interactions, and *how* they interpret, construct, negotiate, and reinforce social structure. Importantly, most scholars advocate for the use of qualitative methods in this endeavor because it "allows children a more direct voice and participation in the production of sociological data" compared to traditional quantitative methods such as surveys or experimental designs (James & Prout 1997: 8). Additionally, some have specifically called for more interactional analyses in order to capture children's lived experiences in their everyday social lives (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis 1998), as well as insight into socialization "within and alongside language itself and all the many social processes that undergird and go alongside the development of language" (Guhin et al. 2021: 14).

In order to examine the lived experiences of the D/HH children in this study, including their language routines and activities that socialize them into 'using their words,' a micro-sociological approach is necessary, specifically one that is informed by ethnomethodology and CA.

1.4.3 Ethnomethodology

In 1967, Harold Garfinkel established the sociological research program known as ethnomethodology, which explained how individuals, through their social actions, create and maintain the recognizably orderly properties of their social setting (Heritage 1984; Maynard & Clayman 1991). Garfinkel (1964) believed people to have taken-for-granted methods for common-sense knowledge and understanding, yet sociologists had neglected to uncover "how any such common sense world is possible" (pp. 225-226).

An ethnomethodological approach to children's socialization considers the ways in which children become members of a given social group, where membership refers to a "mastery of natural language" and where persons "are heard to be engaged in the objective production and objective display of commonsense knowledge of everyday activities as observable and reportable phenomena" (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970: 339). Ethnomethodology's conception of social order is one based on mutual trust in others to comply with and cooperatively preserve the "background expectancies" about interaction that allow us to effectively communicate in society (Garfinkel 1967; Watson 2009). Violations of these expectancies alter common-sense reasoning, create confusion, disrupt the orderliness of activities, and, consequently, are socially accountable (Heritage 1984; Jayyusi 1991; Samra-Fredericks 2010). In other words, we all "hold each other to account in terms of a practical reasonableness and appropriateness" (Fox 2008: 734). Our orientations to commonly accepted social norms and rules was demonstrated in Garfinkel's (1967) famous breaching experiments, in which he showed how participants interpret and

respond to deviant behaviors in order to illustrate such background expectancies of normative structure.

As Garfinkel was primarily interested in how people give meaning to their realities across a variety of social settings, he viewed institutions as comprised of "'methods' participants in the setting use to render the setting mutually intelligible" (Rawls 2008: 725). For example, schools, as social institutions, do not order action but instead are constituted by and accomplished through the shared understandings and situated practices specific to that social situation. Members' language, in the production of their ordinary activities, is central to these meaning-making processes (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970). Yet, Garfinkel did not provide specific analytical tools for the study of language and interaction and thus only partly scrutinized the interconnection between members' linguistic competences and social orderliness (*ibid*). This link, however, is emphasized in other fields and analytical frameworks such as CA and the linguistic anthropological theory of Language Socialization.

1.4.4 Conversation Analysis

CA emerged in the field of sociology in the 1960's, combining Garfinkel's work with Goffman's (1983) notion of the "interaction order," or the ways in which people are committed to concerted, meaningful action in order to fulfill the needs of their social selves. Goffman argued that face-to-face interaction is organized around 'ground rules' that protect and maintain the presentation of self in situations of co-bodily presence, which, in turn, places internal constraints on the interaction order that motivate individual compliance (Rawls 1987). In this way, interaction — as an institutional entity in itself, one that underlies the social structure of other institutions — should be considered a unit of analysis for sociological inquiry (Heritage 2009).

CA was also influenced by the field of Linguistics (Maynard 2013), though linguistics at the time held the prevailing Chomskian (1965) notion that "the actual use of language in concrete circumstances" could not be systematically studied "because of the disfluencies and 'noise' sources that occur in natural speech" (Hutchby 2019: 3). Sociologist, Harvey Sacks (1992), challenged this idea through a series of published lectures in which he proposed that talk-in-interaction actually possessed a describable social organization, introducing what he called 'rules' of both turn-taking and conversational sequence and demonstrating that conversation could be examined at the level of both individual turns of talk and sequences of turns. These rules are some of the key building blocks of recognizable social action (Schegloff 1988), and thus of human intersubjectivity (Heritage 1984).

Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson would go on to establish CA as an inductive, qualitative approach that uses "observation as a basis for theorizing" (Sacks 1984: 25), thus providing both a theoretical and methodological framework for studying human *action* in interaction (Sidnell & Stivers 2013). With respect to socialization, CA assumes that social interaction is a primordial site of human sociality (Schegloff 1991) and is thus the main vehicle for socializing children (Heritage 2009). Specifically, CA demonstrates the in situ nature of socialization processes, including "the ways in which social relations (including caregiver–child and novice–expert relations) are maintained, contested, and transformed across a variety of socializing interactions" (Duff & Talmy 2011: 342).

1.4.4.1 Conversation analysis and child interaction. Much CA work has concentrated on interaction with children (c.f., Bateman & Church 2016; Gardner & Forrester 2010; Kidwell 2013). Many of Sacks' (1992) lectures were based on observations of children's activities. He, as Schegloff (1989) stated, frequently referred to "the socialization problem," framing the question,

"'How does a child learn that X?,' for example, that activities are observable; what properties of competence does socialization have to produce, and how are they produced; how does this learning take place" (p. 204). Like the sociology of childhood literature, CA assumes that children actively contribute to establishing social order, though the perspective focuses on *how* social order is jointly achieved through intelligible interaction (Kim & Crepaldi 2021). In other words, much of children's socialization involves acquiring interactional competence (Carlin & Kim 2021), and CA provides a way of understanding socialization as an interactional accomplishment.

CA studies have shown how children's socialization into social and cultural norms takes place across a range of interactional activities, such as storytelling and family dinner conversations (Filipi 2017; Hepburn & Potter 2011; Kim & Crepaldi 2021; Sterponi 2009). This research has also illuminated distinct interactional practices, such as adults' use of directives (Burdelski 2015; Craven & Potter 2010; He 2000), repair and correction (Burdelski 2021; Kasper 2006; Maroni & Arcidiacono 2010), and nonverbal resources (e.g., gaze, touch) (Cekaite 2015; Kern 2018; Kidwell 2005), as vehicles for socializing children into control, compliance, and/or proper ways of speaking and behaving. Because CA assumes that children possess a range of conversational abilities and competencies, it also follows that they *themselves* can enforce rules and norms in interaction, rather than simply adhere to them (Bateman & Church 2016; Forrester 2013; Keel 2016).

Pontecorvo and colleagues (2001), for example, argued that children help their parents learn and gain experience in their social role *as parents,* thus parent-child socialization involves "mutual apprenticeship," where children are socialized into childhood and parents are socialized into parenthood through their interactions with each other. Similarly, studies have demonstrated

how children collaboratively engage in storytelling with their parents (Blum-Kulka 1993; Filipi 2017; Kim & Crepaldi 2021) in that their contributions "create contingencies for a parent to respond, such as with alignment, assessment and repair, in ways that occasion children's further participation" (Burdelski 2019: 30). Children's assessments, too, have been described as a practice for socializing parents. In particular, Keel (2016) showed that children, after producing an initial assessment of something, will actively pursue their parent's response to the assessment if one is not immediately given.

Altogether, the CA literature demonstrates that children's socialization occurs at the micro-level of everyday interactions. A CA framework builds on past approaches to children and socialization in several ways: (1) it contributes to further study of D/HH children by offering a qualitative perspective; (2) it complements the sociology of childhood by providing a way to examine how children, through their interactional practices, produce social actions and actively participate in their social lives; and (3) it extends notions of socialization by showing how language, used in participants' coordination of talk-in-interaction and co-accomplishment of activities, is embedded in children's socialization processes within a variety of settings, including education.

1.4.4.2 Conversation Analysis and 'classroom talk'. Sacks et al. (1974) posited that a turn-taking system of conversation exists in "a variety of transformations" across different speech environments (p. 730), and that the differing rules of these speech-exchange systems fundamentally shape the production and understanding of action. This assumption is fundamental to CA research on talk in social institutions (Heritage & Greatbatch 1991). Relative to ordinary conversation, "institutional talk" is affected by unique, normative constraints based on the particularized, professional roles of the institutional context, as well as the relevant tasks or

specialized role-based activities that are incumbent upon the interactional participants (Drew & Heritage 1992). The classroom is one such context in which talk is shaped by distinct institutional and organizational parameters, of which Gardner (2013) summarized:

> *"the teacher is the one who mainly imparts knowledge to students, generally corrects students and controls turn-taking and sequence organization, and who has greater rights to initiate and close sequences." (p. 593)*

Ample CA research has explored the interactional features of classroom talk, from turn-taking and turn-design (e.g., Hauser 2009; Seedhouse 2004), to sequence organization (e.g., McHoul 1978; Mehan 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975), and repair (e.g., Macbeth 2004; McHoul 1990). For example, widely cited throughout the classroom literature is a three-part instructional sequence known as Initiation-Reply-Evaluation (McHoul 1978; Mehan 1979), wherein a teacher produces an initiating action (usually a known-answer question) (Macbeth, 2004), a student provides a response, and the teacher, in the third turn, can monitor students' responses, assess their accuracy, and give feedback or accept/reject their prior turns. Combined, these studies demonstrate that classrooms are actualized by participants themselves in the moment-to-moment conversational exchanges of their routine activities.

A growing body of CA research involves language classrooms (both first and second language) (c.f., Gardner & Wagner 2005; Kasper & Wagner 2011; Seedhouse 2004), where language is the object of learning as well as the medium for teaching (Huth 2011). The question of what CA can contribute to language learning has seen much disagreement, as critics claim that CA captures action but not learning taking place (Hall 2004). Yet, others argue that CA offers a unique perspective by uncovering how participant understandings of learning are emergent and made visible in their communicative behaviors (Kasper & Wagner 2011). For example, one popular teaching technique examined in the literature is that of scaffolding (Filipi 2017; Koole &

Ebers 2014), where experienced members (such as teachers) provide verbal or non-verbal input to help learners with tasks, skills, or activities (Wood et al. 1976). By analyzing how teacher-student conversational turns are sequentially organized in scaffolding routines (and thus demonstrating how joint understandings are accomplished), CA illustrates how scaffolding functions to support the participation of young students, even bilingual learners (Theobald 2019) and children with special needs (Radford et al. 2015).

Indeed, an increasing number of CA studies have illustrated *how* language learning is situated in interaction, and *how* members' interactional skills enable their meaningful participation in their language classroom. For example, code-switching has been found to be a powerful conversational resource that children use in their daily classroom interactions to accomplish things such as negotiating entry into play activities (Cromdal 2001) or performing peer insults (Cromdal 2004; Evaldsson 2005). Other studies have shown how teachers socialize children into emotion and notions of morality (Cekaite & Burdelski 2021; Holm Kvist 2018) through conversational routines involving teacher-mediated apology sequences (Björk-Willén 2018) and peer dispute resolution (Church 2009). Another CA contribution to research on children's language learning is understanding the role of multimodality in classroom interactions (c.f., Mondada 2009; Streeck et al. 2011). Non-verbal resources (such as gaze, gesture, body orientation, etc.) constitute an inherent part of social interaction, and analyzing how people coordinate these resources with their verbal language offers valuable insight into issues such as turn-taking and attention-getting in the classroom (Kääntä 2012; Lauzon & Berger 2015; Sahlström 2002).

1.4.5 Language Socialization

The linguistic anthropological paradigm of Language Socialization (for review, see Duranti et al. 2014) is a branch of ethnomethodology and was partly influenced by CA (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004). Language Socialization also recognized the need for examining language in socialization processes, viewing "language as a socializing tool" and "the organization of language use [as] a powerful socializing force" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986: 167). Language Socialization studies are interested in how novice speakers acquire "the appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence" in their society (*ibid*), which is different from *language acquisition* studies that seek to understand linguistic comprehension and production over developmental time. Language acquisition is inherently embedded in children's socialization. However, language acquisition scholars traditionally apply developmental perspectives and leave out the role of culture in children's learning, presuming that certain sociolinguistic practices are universal and necessary for acquiring language (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004). Thus, Language Socialization recognizes the integral roles of both language and culture in children's socialization processes, and specifically, it examines how community members socialize children and other novices "into" and "through" language and to their "ways of thinking, feeling, and being in the world" (Howard 2014: para 1).

As children interact with adults and with each other, they are socialized to both the discourse practices of their speech communities, as well as the community's broader values, identities, and notions of power and knowledge through those exchanges (Ochs & Schieffelin 2014). In other words, children's understandings of meanings are socio-culturally constructed through the language routines in which they participate, routines which are themselves shaped by various sociopolitical influences (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004). Language Socialization researchers apply this concern to establish micro-macro links between how local, interactional

practices reinforce larger-scale social structures and systems, such as morality, power relations, and ideologies.

Language ideologies, "whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice" (Kroskrity 2004: 496), entail beliefs and feelings about the language itself, its speakers, and its use, feelings which are spread across given communities and are subject to the social positioning of its members (Schieffelin et al. 1998). Studies on language ideologies have examined multilingual communities, analyzing issues such as children's exposure to certain language practices used by adults, as well as which language practices are given restrictions or higher status and prestige (Howard 2017). Most notably, Riley (2014) examined how values can be assigned to communication modalities themselves, thereby revealing the implicit rationalizations of superiority in some language forms over others, for example, oralism over manualism. This, Riley explained, gives rise to ideologies that can "influence social structures and practices in ways that obstruct or facilitate socialization" (p. 499). In essence, the philosophy behind oral classrooms, situated within the larger socio-political context of sign or spoken-language education in the US, represents a form of language ideology based on communication modality.

In the D/HH oral preschool classroom of this project, as children acquire spoken language, they are simultaneously being socialized by teachers to certain ideological and cultural messages of oral communication itself. Yet, the *organization of interaction* tends to be overlooked as a main site of analytical inquiry in Language Socialization studies. Interaction is considered primarily in terms of language use, and not necessarily in terms of interactional organization and structure, features that are principle to CA (Kidwell 2013). Thus, in a methodological sense, CA has contributed considerable insight to Language Socialization's

framework, and many researchers have relied on the fine detail of CA to examine naturalistic data within the Language Socialization paradigm (Duff & Talmy 2011).

Pertinent to this dissertation are CA studies that have explored children's language socialization in early childhood educational settings (Björk-Willén 2008, 2018; Burdelski & Evaldsson 2019; Cekaite 2020; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007). What the literature has overwhelmingly found is that children display communicative competencies in domains beyond merely spoken language, for example, their sequential competence (Wootton 2007) and pragmatic abilities (Cekaite & Burdelski 2021). CA can also elucidate how knowledge and social relationships are locally produced by teachers and children in their orderly interactional practices, and how early classrooms are actualized through participants' routine and mundane activities (Bateman 2015). However, while CA-based early childhood educational studies have spanned a range of cultural contexts, such as preschool settings in Sweden (Björk-Willén 2018; Cekaite & Evaldsson 2019; Holm Kvist 2018), Japan (Burdelski 2010, 2013; Cekaite & Burdelski 2021), and Australia (Bateman et al. 2013; Theobald 2019), less have focused on children's interactions in special education early childhood classrooms. This is precisely the analytical goal of this dissertation, using CA to examine D/HH children's naturally-occurring interactions in order to uncover the organizing features of their oral language socialization processes.

1.4.6 Conversation Analytic Research on D/HH Children's Interactions

CA studies have provided considerable insight on conversation with D/HH adults (Egbert & Deppermann 2012; Ekberg et al. 2017; Wilkinson 2013), including the areas of repair and multimodal resources in spoken conversations (Pajo 2013; Pajo & Klippi 2013; Skelt 2007, 2010), as well as turn-taking in different sign languages (de vos et al. 2015; Girard-Groeber

2015; Groeber & Pochon-Berger 2014; Manrique 2016; Manrique & Enfield 2015; McCleary & de Arantes Leite 2013). Growing interest has been directed towards D/HH children's interactions, as scholars have sought to uncover the ways in which D/HH children use interactional resources when communicating with others (Church et al. 2017; Girard-Groeber 2018; Groeber & Pekarek Doehler 2012; Keating & Mirus 2003; Mahon 2009; Radford & Mahon 2010). For example, Church et al. (2017) focused on other-initiated repair (OIR) practices and found that D/HH children in a mainstream school setting preferred to initiate repair through open-class initiations (e.g., *What?*; see Drew 1997) that prompt the trouble-source speaker to repeat themselves, which was similarly found in studies with D/HH adults (c.f., Ekberg et al. 2017; Pajo 2013). The authors also found that D/HH children were sometimes reluctant to repair a hearing peer's conversational error, which has consequences for interactional progressivity.

Other CA studies have looked at specific classroom activities or teachers' practices that support D/HH children's participation and language learning (Mahon 2009; Radford & Mahon 2010). For example, in her UK based study of one deaf child and his nursery-school specialist teacher, Mahon (2009) demonstrated how the teacher's gestures helped the child accomplish multi-element turns (i.e., joining spoken and/or gestures elements) in a single turn at talk, and how the teacher's turns (prior to and following the child's turn) provided the child with language learning opportunities. In a general education setting, Groeber and Pekarek Doehler (2012) explored D/HH adolescents' classroom interaction and, specifically, how the presence of their D/HH teaching assistants mediated these interactions. The authors argued that D/HH students have to navigate between "ever-latent dual participation frameworks" (i.e., between the larger framework of teacher-led classroom interaction and the more intimate context of students'

interactions with their teaching assistant), which places interactional constraints specific to the D/HH children of the classroom (p. 87). This finding is useful for the present dissertation project, which also includes teaching aides as participant members in classroom interaction. That is, although my field site does not involve hearing peers, it is still important to investigate how D/HH children interact with their teaching aides, as well as the ways in which the teaching aides' interactional practices support the oral classroom's goals of listening and spoken language.

1.5 SUMMARY

As a sociological project, the main aim of this dissertation is to examine D/HH children's socialization in an oral preschool classroom, which is a valuable context for understanding the larger picture of D/HH children's communication and educational experiences. Specifically, I analyze naturally-occurring classroom interaction in order to address my broad research question: *How are D/HH children socialized into oral communication?*

An interactional perspective assumes that oral language socialization is achieved not just through formal institutional structures (e.g., IEP goals, curriculum benchmarks), but also through the communicative practices/routines and the implicit messages that children are socialized to in their daily interactions during various classroom activities. This dissertation presents one of the few qualitative studies on D/HH children's socialization in oral language special education settings.

Importantly, I *do not* take the position that spoken language is best for D/HH children and their families. Instead, I recognize that variations of oral programs continue to be popular and that exploring interactions in these settings, especially at the preschool level, is valuable for a better understanding of how very young children understand and actively participate in their socialization into language. Furthermore, I am not arguing against mainstreaming; there are clear

benefits of inclusion and diversity in education. However, special education settings continue to be the least restrictive (and therefore, the most appropriate) learning environment for some students (IDEA 2004), thus more scholarly attention should be directed towards the interactions and socialization processes that occur in these settings, particularly in children's peer groups.

1.6 DATA AND METHOD

I must foreground that I am writing this dissertation as a hearing woman with research interests in language and social interaction. In November 2017, during the first year of my PhD program, I became a volunteer in one D/HH oral preschool classroom and subsequently visited the class three to four times a month for two consecutive academic years. Access into the oral classroom was facilitated by a a personal connection I had with the instructor. The classroom became a field site for participant observations while I was enrolled in an ethnographic methods course (Montiegel 2021), and eventually turned into the site of this dissertation project. For the remainder of my doctoral program, I would learn about the larger process of identifying and serving D/HH children and the educational options made available to D/HH students in California.

The oral classroom of this project is located in Southern California. It is part of a larger, public special education center that serves children ages three to five years. Children with deafness or a hearing impairment as their primary disability are eligible to be enrolled in the oral classroom, per IDEA standards. The classroom is equipped with a wireless pendant microphone for the teacher and speaker system to amplify sound. The class lasts five hours each weekday and the daily schedule lists the following activities: Math and Play, Morning Meeting, Breakfast, Circle Time, Literacy Centers, Outside Play, Library, Lunch, Dramatic Play, Music, and Time for Home.

1.6.1 Participants

The class had one main teacher, Ms. Kate, who is deaf, uses oral communication, and uses a cochlear implant. There were two teaching aides, Brooke and Yolanda, both of whom are hearing. There were seven D/HH students at the beginning of data collection; however, because new students may be enrolled in (or, alternatively, current students may be placed out of) the class at any point during the academic year per their IEP evaluations, the total number of students in the class during data collection varied between five and ten. The students are summarized in Table 1.

Name	**Age (at the start of 2018-2019 school year)**	**Hearing device**	**Primary language used with the child at home**
Aaron	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	Spanish
Adam	4	Bone-anchored hearing system	English
Brian	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Ella	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Evie	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Ivan	4	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
James	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	English
Kevin	3	Two cochlear implants	American Sign Language
Sam	3	Two behind-the-ear hearing aids	Spanish
Vicky	3	Bone-anchored hearing system	Spanish

Table 1. Summary of students

All identifying participant information has been changed to protect anonymity. Brian, Aaron, Ivan, and Adam were in their last year of the program and transitioned into kindergarten at the end of the academic year. Evie and Ella were in their second year of the program. James,

Vicky, Sam, and Kevin were the newest students and were enrolled towards the later months of the academic year. All of the students have been identified with a hearing impairment as defined by IDEA, but to varying levels and configurations.[6] They all wear some form of hearing assistance device. Some students have special needs in addition to their audiological diagnosis, such as physical, developmental, or learning and behavioral disorders. All students in this project are children of hearing parents. Most of the students' home environments include spoken language communication only (except for Kevin), with English as the native language (except for Aaron, Vicky and Sam, whose native language is Spanish).

There were three occasions during data collection in which a substitute teacher filled in for a regular teacher who was absent for the day. These participants (two females and one male, all of whom are hearing) are also included in the data. Additionally, because I myself was a volunteer in the oral classroom, I am featured in the video-data; however, I do not analyze any of my own interactions with the participants.

1.6.2 Data Collection

This project was approved by both UCLA's Institutional Review Board, as well as the school board of my field site. Informed consent was obtained from all teachers of the oral classroom, as well as the children's caregivers. Data consist of approximately 25 hours of audio-video recordings conducted in the oral classroom. Recordings began in my second year as a volunteer and were collected over nine months, from October 2018 to May 2019. Three to four activities were recorded per visit, with most activities ranging around 20-30 minutes long. The particular activities that were recorded each day varied.

[6] For example, degrees of hearing loss can range from mild to moderate to profound. Individuals may have hearing loss in one or both ears (unilateral or bilateral hearing loss). The children's specific audiological information is not disclosed in this project.

1.6.3 Analytic Procedure

The method used is CA, an inductive and qualitative approach for studying the ways in which speakers organize social action and activities through language (Sidnell & Stivers 2013). Using audio- and video-data of social interaction, which are then transcribed using a system designed to capture how interaction is actually produced (e.g., words and sounds, elongation, silences, amplitude, pitch, and final intonation) (Hepburn & Bolden 2013), CA offers an "effective means of capturing the moment-to-moment deployment of talk in interaction" (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002: 342), or capturing participants' moment-to-moment understanding and production of social life. As such, CA can reveal "the interactional competencies of social members," including children, as well as "their methods to establish and maintain social order in their activities" (Kasper 2009: 11).

There are, however, challenges in analyzing interactions involving children with disabilities, especially speech difficulties. How do you transcribe, and thus represent, something which you cannot clearly comprehend (Davidson 2010)? One CA principle is that researchers transcribe talk (including sounds and utterances) according to how participants actually produce it, instead of according to standard orthography or how they might have intended it. Nonetheless, the task is to describe how participants orient to each other as interaction unfolds turn-by-turn. With this in mind, CA research has increasingly examined multimodality in interaction in order to capture the range of resources participants use to achieve intelligible interaction (Mondada 2019), including nonverbal resources such as gesture and movements. In particular, CA emphasizes that multimodal resources are consequential to the interaction order, thus they should not be studied in isolation and should instead be examined for its organization in the production of social actions and in certain interactional activities (Mortenson 2016; Seo & Koshik 2010).

In short, CA is well suited to gain an in-depth look at children's interactional competencies, including those children with communication difficulties, compared to other qualitative methods such as ethnographic observations or interviews (Davidson 2010; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis 1998).

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

The remaining chapters uncover three distinct interactional mechanisms for socializing the D/HH children of this project into oral communication: (1) OIR; (2) gesture; and (3) children's peer interaction. The first two mechanisms (OIR and gesture) are practices used by teachers to socialize the children; the third mechanism (peer interaction) constitutes a process by which children socialize each other. I explain each socializing mechanism in the following chapters.

1.7.1 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 focuses on the CA notion of repair (Schegloff et al. 1977). Specifically, I examine teacher-student talk in the oral classroom and find that the teachers use OIR as a predominant method for eliciting the students' speech. In particular, I focus on acceptability repairs, or repairs that problematize a speaker's turn as inappropriate, untrue, inapposite, etc. (Svennevig 2008). Analyses reveal that acceptability repairs are routinely used to target the modality and minimal formulations of students' responses (i.e., their non-vocal and short responses) to the teacher's first-actions, yielding *preferences for vocalization and maximization*. However, following these preferences subverts certain norms associated with minimization and responding in ordinary conversation (Levinson 1987; Raymond 2003; Sacks 1987), which presents a potential practical dilemma of socializing D/HH children to the local norms of their

oral classroom while also preparing them for interactions in a mainstream society. Chapter 2 addresses this dilemma.

1.7.2 Chapter 3

While Chapter 2 examines a verbal resource that teachers use to socialize D/HH children into oral communication, Chapter 3 explores the role of teachers' non-verbal socialization practices. Specifically, I examine the role of three particular types of teacher gestures: Pointing to their mouth, pointing to their ear, and cupping their ear. Given that these gestures are forms of non-verbal communication, I investigate their instructional functions in a setting that overtly prioritizes the children's use of spoken language.

I find that the gestures recurrently occur in sequences involving multiple directives to students and, most notably, are produced as part of *subsequent* directives, after a prior directive has already been issued but was met with student non-compliance or displays of trouble. In these instances, the teachers display an orientation to some problem or error on a student's behalf and use a gestural directive to pursue student actions that rectify such problems. I also analyze how students respond to teachers' gestures in subsequent directives, and, overall, how the gestures relate to the larger classroom goal of socializing D/HH students into oral communication.

1.7.3 Chapter 4

Different from the previous analytical chapters on the teachers' socialization methods, Chapter 4 explores the ways in which the children socialize each other in their oral classroom. I scrutinize the push for mainstream and inclusive education by investigating the potential unique benefits of alternative placement and D/HH children's interactions with fellow D/HH peers. That is, I explore the ways in which D/HH children can learn from each other in the oral classroom and how can they be models for each other in the absence of hearing peers.

Results show that children's interactions serve as mechanisms for socialization into norms and behaviors similar to what we see in general preschool settings, as well as those that are specific to their oral classroom. Their varying listening and spoken language skills and competencies enable different abilities and methods for peer teaching, illustrating the ever-shifting roles of socializing 'experts' and 'novices' in interaction (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs 1991). Additionally, the children display a sensitivity to recipient design in peer interaction (Sacks et al. 1974), which further demonstrates how they actively work to socialize each other.

2

OTHER-INITIATED REPAIR AND PREFERENCE PRINCIPLES IN THE ORAL CLASSROOM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

CA research has revealed a number of fundamental structures of interaction, both in everyday talk and in institutional settings (Schegloff 2007).[7] A line of inquiry that has emerged in the field is to what extent the generic properties of interaction are adapted in situations involving participants with communication difficulties (c.f., 'atypical' interactions; Wilkinson et al. 2020). Much of this literature analyzes aspects of conversational repair and the particular types of troubles that are being resolved in these interactions.

This chapter examines how teachers of the oral classroom use other-initiated repair (OIR) — specifically, acceptability repair (Svennevig 2008) — as a resource for eliciting and extending students' verbal utterances. I argue that the goals of the D/HH oral preschool classroom yield preferences for students' *vocalization* and *maximization*, which run counter to certain conversational principles found in ordinary conversation, such as minimization (Levinson 1987). In doing so, I discuss how different conversational norms are conducive to different contexts, particularly within the process of socializing young children into language and classroom talk.

2.2 PREFERENCE PRINCIPLES IN CONVERSATION

[7] This chapter was originally published in *Journal of Pragmatics*, 178, Kristella Montiegel, Other-initiated repair and preference principles in an oral classroom, pp. 108-120, Copyright Elsevier, 2021.

A general principle found throughout the CA literature is that human beings are oriented to cooperativeness to accomplish intelligible, effective communication (Enfield & Levinson 2006). This notion partially stems from Grice's (1975) cooperative principle and conversational maxims, particularly, the maxim of quantity, where a speaker should be as informative as possible and say no more than is required (p. 45). These theories were extended by Levinson (1987) who proposed the Q- and I-principles and the maxim of minimization; that is, make your statement as informationally strong as necessary to achieve communicative competence (Q-principle) while also minimizing the amount of talk used to do so (I-principle). In other words, "minimal specifications can get maximal interpretations" such that there is an "inferential richness associated with minimal (short) or semantically general linguistic expressions" (p. 84). This is precisely how speakers work to manage what Levinson (2000) analogized as a communication bottleneck — the asymmetry between our thinking and our ability to speak. We produce speech at a much slower rate than we cognitively process information, which can stall communication efficiency (p. 28).

These notions of expressive minimization and recipient inference regularly manifest in interaction, and it is precisely this observed regularity that offers a window onto the organization of more specific conversational structures, including sequence progressivity (Stivers & Robinson 2006). Simply put, we have a strong orientation to 'getting on with it' through our turns-at-talk. One area in which the normative features of progressivity can be observed is in speakers' methods for repairing conversational trouble in the sense that repair accountably intervenes and delays progressivity and, thus, "will be examined for its import" (Schegloff 2007: 15). Other conversational principles exhibit the principles of minimization and progressivity. For instance, responsive agreement/affiliation and alignment are provided more minimally and quickly (Lee &

Tanaka 2016; Raymond 2003; Sacks 1987); the principles of person reference prioritize using recognitional and single reference forms (most commonly yielding names) (Sacks & Schegloff 1979). Thus, overwhelmingly, interactants are oriented to minimization, to using the fewest units of talk to get their message across, to using inferential and implicit methods for communicating over explicit methods, and ultimately, to cooperatively accomplishing 'getting on with it.'

In the D/HH oral preschool classroom, the primary pedagogical goal is to maximize students' use of spoken language, which entails prompting and expanding their conversational sequences so as to elicit as much talk as possible. Contrary to talk in ordinary conversation, in this classroom there is a persistent orientation to the over-production of speech, to over-specification, and to the maximization of students' vocalized turns-at-talk. With this in mind, we might assume that the principle of minimization might hinder progressivity in classroom talk, rather than possess the enabling features previously described in the CA literature. Thus, we are faced with a puzzle: How are the norms of minimization and progressivity observed in the D/HH oral classroom? This chapter examines the orientation to maximization in the oral classroom, particularly through the lens of OIR (specifically, teacher-initiated repair) and how it is used as a resource to negotiate and enforce this distinct classroom norm.

2.3 OTHER-INITIATED REPAIR AND CLASSROOM TALK

The CA notion of OIR — referred to when a listener in conversation initiates repair on a current speaker's turn which has caused some trouble in either hearing, understanding, or speaking (Schegloff et al. 1977) — has received considerable attention in interaction research. In addition to resolving conversational troubles, OIR can be analyzed according to other things it can be doing, such as expressing disagreement or nonalignment with the preceding trouble-source turn (Schegloff 2007). At one level, the actions behind OIRs can be analyzed through its

turn-design. For example, practices of OIR can be ordered from "weaker" (e.g., *huh?*) to "stronger" (e.g., *You mean X*) formats, according to the level of specificity in locating the trouble source (Schegloff et al. 1977; Svennevig 2008). They can also express a stance on problems with the "acceptability" of the trouble-source turn (Svennevig 2008). For Svennevig, problems of speaking entails much more than linguistic problems such as pronunciation and syntax — "it also includes acceptability problems, such as saying something 'wrong' in a wide sense, that is, untrue, inappropriate, irrelevant etc." (p. 6). For instance, Kitzinger (2013) explained that one domain of "inappositeness" is often found in OIRs used by adults when targeting children's impolite utterances and socializing them to good manners.

Classroom talk must be examined according to its institutional context (Drew & Heritage 1992). As mentioned in Chapter 1, instructional talk is predominantly organized by Initiation-Reply-Evaluation (IRE) sequences (Mehan 1979). Correspondingly, teachers' OIRs tends to cluster in the third part of the IRE sequence, especially corrections, a sub-type of repair that replaces an error or mistake (McHoul 1990). A major consideration of repair and correction in instructional settings is how "conversational 'repair machinery' is modified in instructional activities in terms of their specific tasks and problems" (Weeks 1985: 195), as well as what is oriented to as being "correct" (p. 201).

2.3.1 D/HH Children's Use of Repair

A small body of research has examined D/HH children's use of conversational repair (in both spoken language and signing contexts) by comparing them with their hearing peers (Church et al. 2017; Ciocci & Baran 1998; Fitzpatrick et al. 2020; Most 2002; Tye-Murray 2003). Findings on D/HH children's use of repair-strategies are mixed. Ciocci and Baran (1998) found that, in response to a series of clarification requests, revision was the most frequently used

repair-strategy by both D/HH and hearing children, though D/HH children were more likely to use revision regardless of when the clarification request occurred in the sequence. In contrast, a similar study conducted by Most (2002) revealed that both D/HH and hearing children used repetition more often than any other type of repair-strategy. When comparing only D/HH children and their language modality, Most (2003) found that they used less variety in repair practices while speaking than while signing, though repetition was still the most common strategy produced by both groups. Yet, Fitzpatrick et al. (2020) found that elaboration was the most frequently used repair-strategy among D/HH and hearing children and that revision and repetition were used the least, although their study involved unstructured conversations, rather than the consecutive clarification requests used in the previous studies (Ciocci & Baran 1998; Most 2002, 2003).

While the abovementioned studies have proved fruitful, few investigated D/HH children in their preschool years and in their naturally-occurring interactions. Even fewer studies have used strictly CA to examine OIR with D/HH children (but see Church et al. 2017). Thus, the considerable lack of knowledge on this population leaves important lines of inquiry unanswered in terms of interaction.

2.4 DATA

For this chapter, because I was primarily interested in teacher-student interactions, the video-recordings of classroom activities that did not involve teacher participation (i.e., free play and library) were excluded from analysis, resulting in a total of 20 hours of data. Also, because of my focus on students' repairable verbal utterances, one student, Kevin, was excluded from analysis, as he communicates primarily through ASL (see Table 1, Chapter 1). During preliminary viewing of this collection, OIR became a general topic of inquiry because of its

pervasiveness in the classroom interactions. Upon inspection of OIR sequences, an "initial noticing" (Schegloff 1996) emerged where the main classroom teacher, Ms. Kate, routinely initiated repair on students' utterances but did not appear to target a problem in hearing nor understanding. This was revealed in the teacher's next-turn following the student's trouble-source turn, either through the particular repair-practice(s) used or through the teacher's explicit directives (e.g., *Use your words*). Nor did the OIRs seem to target students' speaking problems in the traditional sense of vocabulary, phonology, or syntax. In light of this, it seemed that problems of acceptability (Svennevig 2008) were behind the teacher's repair-initiations. This, then, became the phenomenon of interest, and I focused my analysis on these particular repair sequences, examining what was being problematized in terms of acceptability, what constituted an appropriate repair-proper, and how participants understood these trajectories as 'doing acceptability repair.'

The size of the database necessitated a selection of acceptability-repair cases. However, distinguishing acceptability repair first required examining any general instance of OIR that appeared in the data and individually analyzing the unfolding sequence in order to describe the repairable problem as one that ultimately concerned acceptability. For this reason, a distributional analysis of acceptability repair seemed unnecessary, as my main goal was not to describe the frequency of acceptability repair in comparison to other repair types, but rather to document how the participants themselves understand the action(s) embodied in the acceptability repair-sequence that they jointly accomplish. Accordingly, I systematically analyzed a sample of recordings, noting all instances of OIR but pulling out acceptability repair as the focus. To control for temporal and developmental factors, the sample recordings were selected from the beginning, middle, and end of the observation period. I conducted an iterative process of

collecting and analyzing instances of acceptability-repair sequences, tracking the details of this phenomenon in single occurrences (Schegloff 1993) and assessing its interactional outcomes until I reached saturation of the data, which generated a collection of 30 cases, distributed across seven activities, or about three hours of recordings. Though the number of cases is small relative to many studies on practices of action, the acceptability repairs I discuss are consistently used and oriented to by participants across the collection. Eight extracts were selected for this chapter. These are representative of the larger collection of cases gathered from the data. Ms. Kate is the teacher signified in each extract (Tchr), unless otherwise noted (e.g., [Aide], see Extract 6 below).

2.5 ANALYSIS

Analyses will demonstrate how OIR practices are routinely employed to address acceptability problems with students' response-formulation (i.e., the way in which students design their responses to the teacher's first-position turns), thereby exposing these formats as the object to be evaluated towards acceptance. Specifically, I argue that the modality and minimality of students' responses are targeted for repair, which resultantly creates two conversational preferences in the oral preschool classroom: (1) A preference for students' vocal responses only, rather than their (co-produced) embodied versions of the action accomplished; and (2) when there is indeed a vocal response, a preference for longer reformulations of students' responses (e.g., a complete sentence) fitted to the teacher's first-actions. What is especially striking is that, though these preferences for vocalization and maximization are strongly operative in the oral classroom, they are counter-normative to preference principles that usually govern ordinary conversation, namely those related to minimization (Levinson 1987), person reference (Sacks & Schegloff 1979), and aligning and affiliative responding actions (Lee & Tanaka 2016; Raymond

2003; Sacks 1987). I provide evidence for these claims in three key areas: (1) The sequential position of the teacher's OIRs, (2) the composition of her OIR practices, and in (3) how students themselves understand acceptability repair, which is displayed in their responses following the OIR.

2.5.1 Sequential Positioning of the Teacher's OIRs

This sub-section narrows its focus on the position of the teacher's OIR in the unfolding sequence, and how the repair trajectory displays her orientation to a problem with the ways in which a student is responding to her first-actions. I examine how OIRs positioned in the course of students' responses are primarily concerned with the preference for vocalization, and that OIRs in the teacher's next-turn following students' responses are oriented to the preference for maximization.

2.5.1.1 During a student's response turn in-progress. In many of my cases, the onset of the teacher's OIR is produced in overlap with the start of a student's response-turn in progress. The 'early' onset of the OIR suggests that the teacher anticipates trouble with how a student will respond to her initial turn. For example, in Extract 1, the class is gathered for Morning Meeting. The teacher has customized paper figures of each student with a photo of their face affixed to the head of figure. The teacher uses these cut-outs to take attendance as a routine part of Morning Meetings. During the month of October, attendance was taken by presenting an array of cut-out Halloween costumes and asking each student which costume they would like to 'be for the day.' The teacher calls on Ella (lines 1–2).

Extract 1. Morning Meeting: Ella, Skeleton

```
01  Tchr:  And Ella what would you: like uh::m: which co:stume would
02         you like to be for hallowee::n.
03  Ella:  (3.0) ((crawls toward the costumes and inspects them))
04  Tchr:  What would you like to be for hallowee:n.
05         (0.7)
06  Tchr:  Use your ˆwo:rds. ((touches Ella's arm))
07         (3.0)
```

```
08  Ella:  [((reaches for the skeleton costume)) [the-
09  Tchr:  [ ((grasps Ella's arm))               [What do you want?
10  Tchr:  Tell me: (.) first
```

Ella inches closer to the costumes and seems to contemplate her decision (line 3), but does not respond. The teacher re-asks her question (line 4), and when there is still no verbal uptake, the teacher prompts Ella with, "Use your ˆw:ords." (see Burdelski 2020). Note that the teacher co-produces this directive with physical touch (i.e., touching Ella's arm; line 6), a resource used to solicit children's compliance (Cekaite 2015). Although the teacher's directive is not a correction per se, it prescribes Ella's ensuing response to be oral. Thus, the indication of trouble seems to be based on the absence of Ella's words so far. This becomes more apparent when Ella reaches for the skeleton costume, after which the teacher intervenes by grasping Ella's arm and blocking her reach. Ella also initially begins to reply ("the-"; line 8), but ultimately abandons her turn as it overlaps with the teacher's pursuit ("What do you want?"; line 9). I characterize the teacher's pursuit as an OIR insofar as its positioning, immediately after Ella's embodied action and in overlap with Ella's oral turn-beginning, pinpoints Ella's nonverbal uptake as the trouble source. Indeed, the teacher continues her pursuit by explicitly directing Ella to use speech ("Tell me: first."; line 10), further revealing the repair as one centered on acceptability with Ella's communication modality.

OIRs are also produced in overlap with students' response-turns that are already well under way. Again, the sequential position of the repair, before a student's response is complete, suggests that the teacher could be orienting to an error with the way the response is being formulated. Extract 2 captures the teacher and Brian, engaged in a one-on-one lesson. The teacher holds tiny plastic pumpkins, and on the table in front of them lie various other toy objects (e.g., car). Brian is to tell her where to place the pumpkins using positional words.

Extract 2. Pumpkin Lesson: Brian

```
01  Tchr:  You tell me where to put the pumpkin.
```

```
02          (0.7)
03  Bria:   In- ((reaches for toy car))
04  Tchr:   ((blocks Brian's hands))
05  Bria:   [On the (car) ]
06  Tchr:   [No.<Nononono.] You don't tah- You use your words.
07  Bria:   I [ wanna ( )] ((drops a pumpkin on the table))
08  Tchr:     [I:'m gonna] hold the pumpkin. ((picks up pumpkin))
09  Tchr:   ((moves tray of pumpkins away from Brian))
10          (0.5)
11  Tchr:   Now where should I put the pumpkin.
12          (0.3)
13  Bria:   In the car [ (   )  ] ((reaches for car again))
14  Tchr:              [Okay.=No] don- don- ^tell me. ((blocks Brian's hand))
15  Tchr    Use your words. Tell me. Wa- put the pumpkin:,
16          (0.2)
17  Bria:   Put the pumpkin in the car.
18  Tchr:   In the ca:r. Okay.
```

In line 1, the teacher issues a directive that likewise makes relevant a directive in the student's response, "You tell me where to put the pumpkin." Brian begins his response (line 3), but abandons the turn, reaches for the car, and restarts with, "On the (car)" (line 5). The teacher, however, blocks Brian's reach and immediately produces emphatic negative evaluations ("No.<Nononono."; line 6), which overlaps with Brian's turn-restart, treating what came immediately before (i.e., Brian's embodied action) as erroneous. She continues with what appears to be a sanction ("You don't tah-), but is cut-off in favor of another directive, "You use your words.", which operates to elicit self-correction from Brian in the subsequent turn. Thus, similar to Extract 1, the teacher's orientation to an acceptability problem with the way the student responds (or, at least, begins to respond) is demonstrated quite early in the exchange. Interestingly, when the teacher redoes her initial turn in the form of a question (line 11), Brian responds with a phrasal unit ("In the car"; line 13) and again reaches for the car. While "In the car" fulfills the location reference made relevant by the teacher's *Wh*-question (i.e., *Where?*; Schegloff & Lerner 2009) and effectively does simple answering (Fox & Thompson 2010), the response is still treated as insufficient — the teacher acknowledges his response ("Okay.") but compresses her turn to produce another negative evaluation ("=No") and a series of directives

("^tell me. Use your words. Tell me."; lines 14-15). In this example, it is not that Brian's speech is missing, but his vocal response is co-produced with embodied action, which appears to be the teacher's target for repair. Thus, the acceptable response is one that is *first and foremost* vocal.

2.5.1.2 Next-turn OIR after students' responses. So far we have seen how the teacher's OIRs overlapping with a student's response in-progress can convey problems of acceptability with students' communication modality and turn-formulation. Oftentimes OIRs are produced in the teacher's next-turn following a student's reply to her questions with known answers, which follows the classic IRE sequence that affords teachers the opportunity to assess the adequacy or correctness of a students' reply (MacBeth 2004; Mehan 1979). For example, in the following extract, the class is gathered for Morning Meeting. On this day, the teacher takes attendance by calling on students according to particular items of clothing they are wearing.

Extract 3. Attendance: Brian, Kevin's Shirt

```
01  Tchr:  uh::::::m:: oka::y WHO:: is wearing (.) ay red shirt what sa::ys
02         >ah::- ah-< the mo:st <ama:::zi::ng.>
03         (0.5)
04  Tchr:  uh:::m it has wo:rds on it.
05  Tchr:  It has blue:: writing.
06  Tchr:  Boo:- blue letters.
07  Bria:  Kevi::n
08  Tchr:  ((nods head))
09  Tchr:  Kay what are you gonna say?
10  Bria:  Kevin.
11  Tchr:  ((holds left hand out and nods))
12  Tchr:  Kevin what_
13  Bria:  °Kevin°
14         (1.0)
15  Tchr:  Whaddis he ha:ve_ ((holds out left hand))
16  Bria:  He ha:s (0.5) blue (0.2) wo:rds (0.2) on his shirt.
17  Tchr:  Oh: good=I like that Brian.
```

In line 1, the teacher asks a *Wh*-question, which, again, grammatically and sequentially allows for simple, phrasal responses containing the specific types of information that the question seeks (Fox & Thompson 2010). Specifically, she asks a *Who?* question, which seeks a response-formulation that includes a person reference. The question is not directed to a particular student but is open to anyone who knows the answer. Brian indeed responds with a simple,

phrasal response (“Kevi::n.”; line 7), a response that fulfills the preferences of person reference in that it contains a single recognitional (Sacks & Schegloff 1979). Yet, the teacher initiates repair on Brian’s response, effectively diagnosing some kind of trouble in his turn (“Kay what are you gonna say?”; line 9).

Note that, prior to this OIR, the teacher initially appears to indicate approval by nodding (line 8) and follows this with an acknowledgement (“Kay”). These two features in themselves suggest that the teacher has plainly heard and understood Brian, and that Brian has correctly identified the student implied in the initial question. However, by immediately proceeding with, “what are you gonna say?”, the teacher conveys that there is *more* to be said and places Brian in an epistemic position where he *ought to know* what should be said. In other words, the teacher treats Brian’s response-formulation as inadequate, which reveals its minimality as the origin of the trouble source. Ultimately, the teacher produces additional OIRs (lines 12, 15), extending the repair trajectory until Brian elaborates on his initial utterance with, “He ha:s blue wo:rds on his shirt.” (line 16). Not only is this response-formulation accepted, but it receives praise (line 17).

To sum, though Brian's response is oral, accurate (in the sense of correct identification), and meets several normative preferences of ordinary conversation (particularly minimization), its overall design is revealed to be the trouble source as its extended reformulation ultimately receives teacher acceptance. While maximization is typically dispreferred in ordinary conversation, the benefits of maximization as a classroom norm presents opportunities for the teacher to elicit more verbalization from the student.

Most common in the data, however, are next-turn OIRs, produced after a student’s response in sequential contexts where the teacher’s first-action is not technically a known-answer question. This increases ambiguity regarding the repair target for two reasons: (1) The teacher is

not in a position to assess whether a student has answered her question (in)accurately (compared to known-answer questions), which (2) broadens the possible location of the trouble source to anywhere in the student's completed turn. These sequential contexts often involve teachers' offers as first-actions, which conditions an acceptance/rejection in the students' response, though the teacher does not necessarily know which action the student will perform. The remainder of the analyses will focus on these unknown-question sequences, with a particular eye towards the composition of the OIR practices, as well as students' orientations to the OIR.

2.5.2 Composition of OIR Practices

I have provided evidence that the position of the teacher's OIR suggests problems with the modality and minimal formulation of students' responses and creates preferences for vocalization and maximization. These claims are further substantiated when we consider the design of the teacher's OIR practices. While OIR in my data was employed through a range of vocal and gestural practices, this sub-section focuses exclusively on those that more strongly pinpoint acceptability problems over hearing, understanding, or speaking problems, namely OIR preceded by acknowledgment tokens and/or produced as designedly incomplete utterances (DIUs; Koshik 2002).

2.5.2.1 Acknowledgment tokens. Many of the teacher's repair-initiating turns begin with the receipt token, *Okay* (see Extracts 2, 3). This is unusual in repair-sequences precisely because *Okay*, in and of itself, not only acknowledges and/or displays understanding with the immediately prior turn, but is often used to display acceptance (Schegloff 2007), affirmation, or alignment (Beach 1993: 330). Furthermore, when used in turn-initial position, *Okay* can function to be both responsive to the prior turn and preparatory to next-matters (*ibid*). Indeed, when *Okay* precedes OIR in the teacher's next-turn, it appears to affirm/confirm a student's prior response as

on the right track to an acceptable response, while also assessing that it has not gotten there quite yet; thus the need for repair. One could argue, however, that the teacher is after students' linguistic errors or impoliteness. For example, acknowledgements can precede negative evaluations or directives (see Extract 2), as well as corrections, which clearly points to an acceptability problem of some nature. But consider Extract 4, in which the class is gathered at the table for lunch. The teacher holds a packet of grapes in front of Ivan.

Extract 4. Lunch: Ivan, Grapes

```
01  Tchr:  [Would you like some (white)? gr[apes?
02  Ivan:  [((nods head))                  [ye::s please]
03         (0.3)
04  Tchr:  'Kay I want some gra::pes.
05  Ivan:  I wa::nt some grapes.
06  Tchr:  Okay. ((gives Ivan grapes))
```

The teacher produces a question that does offering (line 1). Not only does Ivan respond with a type-conforming response fitted to the polar design of the question (Raymond 2003), but it is preferred in that it accepts rather than rejects the offer *and* is even polite ("ye::s please"; line 2)! This is both aligning and affiliative; yet a problem is still present. Although the teacher acknowledges Ivan's response ("'Kay"; line 4), treating him as adequately completing the sequence (Schegloff 2007), she subsequently produces a correction ("I want some gra::pes"), which, by providing a more suitable formulation for Ivan to model, reveals an acceptability problem with the turn-design of his initial response. The repair does not seek correction of linguistic accuracy, nor does it concern a lesson on manners (Kitzinger 2013) since the correction omits the politeness particle. Instead, the teacher is after a more extended response-formulation. Interestingly, by extending the formulation to partially repeat the question prior, the responsive-action that is performed alters from *accepting* to more agentively *confirming* the offer, an action that is produced more independently from — and conveys epistemic rights over — the matter in question (Keevallik 2010; Stivers 2005). Ivan's initial, minimal and polite

response meets preference principles common in ordinary-conversational contexts; however, it runs contrary to the classroom's preferences grounded in maximally-formulated utterances.

2.5.2.2 Designedly incomplete utterances. Another OIR practice that illuminates the preference for maximization takes the form of DIUs, described by Koshik (2002) in her study with second language learners as a strategy to prompt students' self-corrections by "eliciting a repetition or an extension of a student's prior oral answer" (p. 279). For example, in Extract 2, the teacher ends her turn in line 15 with the DIU "put the pumpkin:," which solicits Brian's completion of the utterance, thereby exposing the inadequacy of his prior turns as a formulation error and prompting him towards an acceptable response. In this way, the DIU elicits correction by presenting a candidate solution for Brian to model (*ibid*). However, instead of completing a DIU from where the teacher has left off, as in Koshik's data, in my data the students are expected to complete the DIU only after restarting their turn with the format of the DIU so as to formulate their response in its maximized (and oftentimes sentential) version.

For example, take Extract 5:

Extract 5. Lunch: James, Cheese or applesauce

```
01  Tchr:  You want some chee::se? ((presents cheese))
02         (1.2)
03  Tchr:  James, would you like some cheese or you want some (.) apple
04         sauce. ((presents applesauce in other hand))
05         (1.0)
06  Jame:  ((points to cheese)) (Some) chee:::se.
07  Tchr:  What
08  Jame:  Some chee::s[e.]
09  Tchr:              [Wh]at about the cheese. I want some chee:se? or
10         you want some applesauce.
11         (0.3)
12  Jame:  Chee::s[e]
13  Tchr:         [I]::
14         (0.3)
15  Jame:  wa:nt (.) some cheese.
16  Tchr:  I want some cheese.
17         (0.5)
18  Tchr:  Say it all one sentence, (0.2) I want some cheese please.
19  Jame:  I want some cheese pleas[e.]
20  Tchr:                          [Ok]ay.((gives James the cheese))
```

James displays difficulty understanding the actions behind the teacher's OIRs in lines 7 and 9-10. Specifically, he initially responds to the teacher's offer with 'Some cheese' (line 6), but orients to her OIRs as conveying a trouble in hearing, as his subsequent responses are produced with a repeat version of his initial answer and nothing else (lines 8, 12). In line 13, the teacher produces a DIU, "I::", which more strongly indicates that she understands what James would like to eat and is instead addressing a problem with the way he is responding. James orients to the teacher's DIU in this way by completing the utterance from where she stopped ("wa:nt (.) some cheese."; line 15); yet, the teacher does not accept his response, as she produces the formulation James was intended to model (line 16), and even directs James to perform the exact self-correction she seeks, "Say it all in one sentence, I want some cheese please." Thus, the action behind the DIU is made explicit — James must restart *and* syntactically complete the utterance, thereby producing an elaborated, maximized response-formulation.

Extract 6 involves another exchange of Morning Meeting attendance through students' selections of Halloween costumes. The teacher asks Aaron which costume he would like (line 1):

Extract 6. Morning Meeting: Aaron, Skeleton

```
01  Tchr:  A::::n:d (.) what would you like to be for halloween.
02         (2.2)
03  Aaro:  A skeleton.
04  Tchr:  ((nods)) (A- >okay-<) [I wannabe a sk]e- what
05  Aide:                        [I wa:nt.      ]
06         (0.2)
07  Aaro:  I wa:nt the skeleton for hallow[ee:n.
08  Tchr:                                [Good job.]
```

Aaron clearly communicates what he wants to be for Halloween in line 3, "A skeleton." The teacher nods and, similar to the previous three extracts, accepts the answer with a compressed ">okay-<" (line 4), but then initiates repair through a DIU ("I wannabe a ske-"), which partially repeats Aaron's costume selection, evidencing (along with her prior nod) that she has heard Aaron's response and is targeting some other trouble. This correction is ultimately cut-

off and replaced with the OIR, “what” (line 4). Interestingly, in this example, a teaching aide orients to the same acceptability problem in Aaron’s response and produces a similar DIU (“I wa:nt.”) in overlap with the teacher’s (line 5). Thus, both the teacher and the teaching aide are strongly oriented to a problem with the minimal formulation of Aaron’s response and jointly succeed in prompting him to extend his prior talk by repeating the correction into a reformulated sentential unit, “I w:ant the skeleton for hallowee:n.” (line 7).

2.5.3 Students’ Understandings of Vocalization and Maximization

Students’ own orientations to acceptability repairs constitute a third form of evidence for the classroom’s shared understanding of the preference for vocalization and maximization. For example, with regards to DIUs, note that in Extracts 2 and 6, both of the students *initially* orient to the DIUs by completing the DIU after restarting it from its beginning so as to produce a full sentence, demonstrating their understanding of trouble in the formulation of their initial response, rather than on a single lexical or linguistic item. This orientation by students is displayed in nearly half of the cases in my data involving DIUs, whereas in the other half of the cases, students experience difficulty understanding the actions behind the DIU and/or syntactically complete the DIU where it leaves off (such as James in Extract 5). But even in cases of the latter half, the teacher consistently prolongs the repair sequence until the student eventually restarts the DIU before completing it, thereby extending their initial response into its maximized formulation. Koshik (2002) noted that variations in DIUs “meet institution-specific goals and are specific to the settings in which they are used” (p. 305). I argue that the DIUs in my data operate towards fulfilling the distinct preferences of vocalization and maximization in the D/HH oral classroom, and that the students display a strong orientation to these principles when they complete DIUs from their beginnings.

Students' orientations to vocalization and maximization are also especially highlighted in sequences initiated through the teacher's first-pair-part offers. In these sequences, a student often provides an action-appropriate response (acceptance/rejection) to the offer, yet the response is still met with OIR. As the sequence unfolds, we see how the issue of turn-design is prioritized over other possible issues such as politeness, and that both teacher and students collaboratively achieve this understanding. Consider Extract 7:

Extract 7. Lunch: James, Apples

```
01  Tchr:  Okay. What would you like.
02         (0.7)
03  Jame:  A:pple ((points to apples on the plate))
04  Tchr:  What- what
05  Jame:  Apple
06  Tchr:  What about apples.
07         (1.7)
08  Jame:  (˚Can˚) me have (.) a::pples [plea::se.
09  Tchr:                               [((nods head)) Yes you may.
```

In line 4, it could be argued that the teacher simply has not heard James' response, as she produces an open-class repair initiator, "What-what" (Drew 1997). Indeed, that is how James understands the repair as he repeats his prior turn and produces nothing else. The teacher again initiates repair through a request for supplementary information ("What about apples."; line 6), and by repeating the item "apples", she confirms that she has indeed heard/understood James. James then orients to an acceptability problem, as he reformulates his initial response to, "(˚Can˚) me have (.) a::pples [plea::se.", which ultimately receives teacher acceptance. Note that James specifically understands the acceptability problem as one centered on turn-design rather than on politeness, as he could have just said "please" and nothing else, but instead designs his turn as a full sentence with the politeness particle attached at the end. Furthermore, the teacher nods (line 9) and immediately grants James' request ("Yes you may."), but her nod begins in overlap with his "plea::se.". Thus, the teacher's approval can be attributed to what came *before* her nod (and thus before James' politeness).

Extract 8 unfolds somewhat differently:

Extract 8. Breakfast: Aaron, Bananas

```
01  Tchr:  You wa:nt grapes, or bananas, or: apples.
02         (0.2)
03  Aaro:  Uh::m::::::: (0.4) orange juice.
04         (0.2)
05  Tchr:  I don't have any orange:.
06         (0.7)
07  Aaro:  Uhm::: banana::.
08  Tchr:  What_
09  Tchr:  What about bananas.
10         (0.4)
11  Aaro:  Please!
12  Tchr:  ((raises eyebrows and nods slightly))
13  Aaro:  Can I have bananana p[lease]
14  Tchr:                       [Okay.] ((gives Aaron banana slices))
```

In line 3, Aaron indirectly asks the teacher for an item that was not included in the prior list of offered fruits (line 1). His response is denied as she reports that she doesn't "have any orange:." Aaron then re-chooses among the offered fruits with, "banana::." (line 7), yet the response is met with OIR. The teacher issues an open-class repair and immediately follows with a request for supplementary information, which could suggest why Aaron orients to the OIR as exclusively addressing a problem with impoliteness, as he responds with a stand alone "Please!" (line 11).

Though the teacher conveys some degree of approval through her gestures in line 12, she continues to withhold the banana, indicating that the trouble remains unresolved. Aaron then orients to the trouble as centered on turn-design as he reformulates his initial response (though with a mispronunciation) into an extended sentence, "Can I have bananana please," which ultimately receives acceptance. The teacher affirms Aaron's reformulated utterance ("Okay."; line 14) in overlap with his polite expression; thus, it is clear that her OIRs prioritize problems with his minimal response over the issue of politeness, which is done in the service of maximizing Aaron's use of speech. Also of note, Both James' and Aaron's responses contain grammatical errors but are accepted nonetheless, demonstrating that the teacher prioritizes the maximization of response reformulations over another issue — grammatical accuracy.

There is one other important observation about James' and Aaron's accepted responses in Extracts 7 and 8, respectively, which is that both students design their turn with a canonical request format *Can I* (Curl & Drew 2008) and effectively 'do requesting.' But requests are not typically how speakers respond to offers in ordinary conversation. It is unusual to find offer-initiated sequences transformed in interaction so that the responding-action accomplished is that of a request, especially since requests are considered dispreferred first-actions, largely because of its degree of imposition on the recipient (*ibid*). Instead, the contrary is more common, where speakers' projectable requests can be preempted by recipients' offers, making the request unnecessary (thus neutralizing the imposition; Lerner 1996) and minimizing the risk of rejection (Schegloff 2007), thereby collaboratively maintaining agreement and affiliation in the interaction. Therefore, in the oral classroom, teachers' acceptability repairs in offer sequences seek atypical second-actions and go against preference principles of responding to *Yes/No* questions (Raymond 2003), as well as the preference for offers over requests (Lerner 1996). In this way, the teacher strategically manipulates items that were initially offered into rewards that the boys have earned through their vocalized efforts.

2.6 DISCUSSION

Pomerantz and Heritage (2013) once suggested that "participants make determinations about the appropriateness/inappropriateness of [various actions] based on context, so studying preference principles as they relate to how the participants view each other and the situation is a promising direction for future studies" (p. 225–226). This chapter has pursued this proposition by exploring how D/HH children are socialized in a setting where the goal is get students to use speech as much as possible. Specifically, I argue that there exists preferences for vocalization and maximization in students' responses to the teacher's first-actions, and that the routine use of

acceptability repair operates as a vehicle to enforce these preferences. However, these preference principles are unusual because they go against certain pressures of turn-design or action-formation that would normally unfold in mundane conversation, namely minimization, person reference, and agreeing/affiliative actions.

Acceptability repair often includes the suppression of students' gestures in the service of prioritizing their vocal responses. The issue of turn-design also seems to trump both grammatical accuracy and politeness. Given that, in most cases in my data, students eventually accomplish self-correction and achieve teacher acceptance by providing extended reformulations of their prior utterances, the repair trajectories seem to provide similar opportunities for language learning as described in past research across a variety of educational contexts (Gardner 2019). Specifically, the teacher frequently avoids initial, outright corrections of students' responses and instead relies on the organization of repair to elicit students' self-corrections (Schegloff et al. 1977).

Contrary to known-answer questions (Macbeth 2004), in my data, when the teacher's question does not necessarily assess students' comprehension of the subject matter at hand, it instead assesses their oral language usage, such that responses with more words are more positively evaluated by the teacher versus those that are minimally built. In most of the cases in my data set, these types of unknown questions embody offers (see Extracts 4, 5, 7, 8). Many offer sequences take place during mealtimes. Mealtimes are one of the most mundane activities of the classroom's daily schedule, yet the teacher works to transform even these moments into teaching moments, which differs from some typical preschool classrooms where children have little to no engagement in oral language development during mealtimes (Winton & Buysse

2005). The preference for vocalization and maximization in the oral classroom appears to have benefits for elaborating students' responses towards the larger goal of linguistic development.

This chapter does not investigate how the students respond to OIR outside of the classroom. Future research would be fruitful in taking a comparative approach to D/HH children's language practices across different environments. Additional interest lies in the variation of the OIR trajectories and what the teacher treats as acceptable in terms of the students' reformulated utterances. This suggests a sensitivity to the students' individual abilities; that is, while the main objective is to get children to use more words, the teacher calibrates 'acceptability' relative to the knowledge she has of the children's abilities. This also warrants further inquiry. Finally, this chapter did not examine visual-gestural aspects in the management of repair. However, these features are important for analyzing interactional organization, and I include them in the analyses of the following chapter.

3

TEACHERS' GESTURES FOR BUILDING LISTENING AND SPOKEN-LANGUAGE SKILLS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Extensive evidence has shown that gesture benefits children's learning (for reviews, see Goldin-Meadow & Alibali 2013; Kelly et al. 2008). In educational contexts, research has found that students learn better when teachers gesture during instruction than when they use speech alone (Singer & Goldin-Meadow 2005; Valenzeno et al. 2003), with similar findings reported for children with developmental disabilities (Demir et al. 2014; Singleton & Saks 2015). Increasingly, interaction studies have focused on embodied resources in classroom talk, including the organization and functions of teachers' gestures during language instruction (Hudson 2011; Lazarton 2004; Matsumoto & Dobs 2017; Smotrova 2017). From a CA perspective, gesture and other non-verbal conduct play an important role in the production of social action, particularly in how speakers closely coordinate these resources with verbal language in interaction (Streeck et al. 2011). However, it is also equally important to consider when speakers do not accompany their gestures with speech — that is, what gestures do independently in interaction, as well as what they contribute (Mondada 2014; Rossi 2014; Toerien & Kitzinger 2007).

This chapter explores the role of teachers' gestures in the oral classroom. Specifically, I focus on three gestures that the teachers frequently deployed when interacting with students: Pointing to their mouth, pointing to their ear, and cupping their ear. Because these gestures

center on the mouth and ears, they appear to go hand-in-hand with the oral classroom's main goal of supporting D/HH children's communication through the use of speech and residual hearing. This chapter addresses the question of *when* teachers rely on these resources.

The question is particularly important in this classroom context because, as I have previously reported, students are expected to 'use their words' as much as possible when communicating in the oral classroom (Montiegel 2021), and the teachers regularly prioritize this norm and maintain a preference for oral communication through interactional methods such as OIR and correction (see Chapter 2). As such, students' non-vocal responses to teachers' questions, even if *communicatively* appropriate (e.g., head nods or head shakes in response to *Yes/No* questions), are typically treated by teachers as inadequate and pursued for their vocalized equivalents (e.g., a vocalized *Yes* or *No*). Furthermore, the students themselves often reflect and reproduce these language norms in their peer interactions (see Chapter 4). In short, any form of students' non-vocal responses, including gesture, are treated as secondary to their use of spoken language.

Thus, we are faced with a puzzle: If gestures are important resources for students' language learning, then what is their role in a setting that overtly prioritizes the use of spoken language? In what ways do teachers' gestures — pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear — uphold the oral classroom's overarching goal of getting D/HH children to use and rely on their words as much as possible? By virtue of being a non-verbal form of communication, the teachers' gestures seem to contradict the oral classroom's pedagogy. This creates a paradox between using gesture to equip the children with speech yet discouraging the children's own gestural use when communicating. I address this issue by exploring the

instructional functions behind teachers' gestures and when they are deployed in interactional sequences involving directive actions.

3.2 GESTURE IN LANGUAGE LEARNING CONTEXTS

Research on gesture has demonstrated its utility as a communicative resource (Kendon 2004; McNeill 1992). In the context of language learning with hearing students, a growing body of qualitative, interactional studies has provided insight into teachers' naturally-occurring gestures in classroom interaction, including how and when they are produced, their instructional functions, and how students respond to them (Hudson 2011; Smotrova 2017; Taleghani-Nikazm 2015). Scholars of second language acquisition in particular have extensively documented how the study of gesture is important for language learning and comprehension (for reviews, see Gullberg 2006; McCafferty & Stam 2008). For example, researchers have applied CA-based principles to explore the "embodied sense" of how language is taught (Hall & Looney 2019; Lazarton 2004), including how teachers use gesture to manage classroom participation (Kääntä 2012; Majlesi 2015), initiate repair (Mortenson 2016; Seo & Koshik 2010) and explain aspects of language such as grammar and phonetics (Hudson 2011; Smotrova 2017; Matsumoto & Dobs 2017). This work also considers how gesture co-occurs with other important visual cues such as touch, gaze, and facial expressions in language instruction, and how the study of such phenomena should take into account this multimodal complexity.

Pointing, for example, is widely considered an important source of input for children's language learning (Goldin-Meadow 2007; McNeill 1992). At its most basic function, pointing helps to establish joint attention between the speaker and listener towards some particular referent (Kita 2003). Adults often teach children words by pointing to its object- or location-referent in the immediate environment; however, pointing can also index something abstract or

metaphorical in nature (McNeill et al. 1993) — for example, pointing forward to represent a future time. Such is the case with teachers pointing to their mouth or ear during instruction, where the reference may be their actual mouth or ear as objects, or the reference may be to speech or hearing/listening.

For instance, Hudson (2011) described how second language instructors used pointing to bring students' attention to the mouth, teeth, and throat when explaining and demonstrating how certain sounds are produced. Outside of language classrooms, Merlino (2021) observed speech-language therapists' use of pointing gestures when their adult patients encountered speech difficulties during sessions. Therapists pointed to their own face to direct patients' gaze towards the articulatory movements of their mouth/lips when pronouncing a target sound, which enabled patients to recognize and eventually repeat the item correctly. Indeed, there is empirical evidence that seeing facial cues such as mouth/lip movements improves learners' speech perception and listening comprehension (Hirata & Kelly 2010; Navarra & Soto-Faraco 2007).

There are other functions that can underlie pointing (Enfield et al. 2007), including indirect requesting and managing conversational turns (Kääntä 2012; Mondada 2007). Thus, students can interpret teachers' pointing gestures in particular ways and, as such, their responses are necessary for explaining the instructional functions behind pointing in learning contexts.

Less attention has been given to gestures that rely on the ear as a visual resource, though a few studies have examined cupping the ear (Atar et al. 2020; Balaman 2018; Feshbach 1967; Mortenson 2016). Cupping the ear has been described as a resource for speaker nomination (Balaman 2018), ensuring co-participants' listening (Feshbach 1967), and other-initiated repair of some trouble in conversation (Atar et al. 2020; Mortenson 2016). In his study on interaction in a foreign language classroom, Mortenson (2016) demonstrated instances where a teacher's

cupping the ear gesture, when produced *without* an accompanying verbal repair-initiation, was treated as a hearing problem, though he argued that "hearing" did not have to do with the acoustic reception of a student's trouble-source turn and instead had "more to do with the prior turn and its production within an established participation framework" (p. 49). Specifically, when the teacher's gaze and body orientation were away from a student speaker, cupping the ear helped re-establish the teacher's recipiency and legitimize the student's turn as part of instruction for the whole class. When co-produced *with* verbal repair-initiation, cupping the ear specified the location and type of problem in a student's prior turn and, thus, was treated as an instructional prompt rather than a hearing problem (*ibid*). Atar et al. (2020), however, found that cupping the ear *only* related to hearing problems. In their study, teachers cupped their ear while also leaning forward following a students' problematic turn, such as a turn containing pronunciation errors.

3.2.1 Embodied Directives

Directives are important tools for socializing children into appropriate ways of thinking and behaving (Cekaite 2010; Goodwin 2006). Directives have been defined as a type of action designed to get a recipient to do something (Goodwin 2006) or "alter the trajectory" of a recipient's in-progress behavior (Floyd et al. 2020: 34). They are considered a subset of recruitments (Floyd et al. 2020; Kendrick & Drew 2016) which, some have argued, include commands, requests, prohibitions, pleas, etc. (c.f., Ervin-Tripp 1976; Searle 1979). Others have described directives as distinct actions in that they tell rather than ask someone to do something (Craven & Potter 2010). In this chapter, I use the former definition of directives as a super category of related actions.

Directive formats can vary and are often discussed in terms of a speaker's orientation to recipient compliance, which is displayed through the selection of imperatives (e.g., *Sit down*)

versus interrogatives when directing others (e.g., *Can/ Will you sit down?*), thus indexing different degrees of participants' rights and obligations (c.f., Kent 2012; Rossi 2015; Sorjonen et al. 2017), as well as the recipient's willingness or ability to comply with the directive (Craven & Potter 2010; Curl & Drew 2008). In interactions involving people with physical or intellectual disabilities, the matter of speakers' orientations to recipients' abilities in complying with directives is especially relevant, as recipients may have difficulties in hearing or understanding speakers' directives and, resultantly, have trouble responding with the desired complying action (Antaki & Kent 2012). This is especially pertinent to this analysis of D/HH children's interactions with their teachers.

Recipients sometimes resist directives, which can consequently impact the trajectory of directive sequences (Goodwin 2006). In situations of multiple directives, where initial directives are not immediately met with recipient compliance, speakers commonly pursue compliance through a range of practices such as mitigation, upgrades, or accounts of the initial directive (Aronsson & Cekaite 2011; Craven & Potter 2010; Ervin-Tripp 1988). Pursuing compliance can entail a range of discursive resources such as increasing specification or modifying the modal construction in the subsequent directive (Ervin-Tripp 1988; Craven & Potter 2010; Wootton 1981), issuing threats or warnings (Aronsson & Cekaite 2011; Ervin-Tripp 1988; Goodwin 2006), or adding profanity (Kent & Kendrick 2016) or politeness particles (Wootton 1984), all of which are frequently delivered through increased volume, prosodic stress, or a more aggravated tone (Ervin-Tripp 1988; Craven & Potter 2010; Kent & Kendrick 2016). Speakers also routinely add embodied elements, such as gestures, to their directive turns in order to achieve collaborative action in moving the activity forward (Goodwin 2006; Goodwin & Cekaite 2018; Rossi 2015). Embodied resources, as Goodwin and Cekaite (2013) explained, are closely coordinated and

calibrated with verbal directives "for upgrading the social force of directives" and constraining opportunities for recipient non-compliance (p. 134).

In the context of instructional interaction, teachers' directives to students are quite common, as teachers have the institutional authority to guide their students through the various task-based lessons and activities that constitute their classroom setting (Antaki & Kent 2012; Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012). Teachers, much like parents, often pose requests or offers to their students, though they treat their turns as conveying more of a directive and indeed orient to students' complying actions in response (Craven & Potter 2010; Mondada 2014). The modality of the teacher's directive is the main focus in this chapter; thus, I do not distinguish directives from related actions such as requests and offers. Instead, I am interested in how teachers use gesture to accomplish a broad array of directive actions in the oral classroom, as well as the sequential contexts in which they occur.

The abovementioned studies have documented how gesture can enhance students' language learning, particularly by making aspects of language both audible and visible (Merlino 2021; Smotrova 2017). I build on existing literature by examining three gestures used by teachers in the oral classroom: Pointing to their mouth, pointing to their ear, and cupping their ear. I also extend interactional work on directives by exploring the role of gesture in teachers' directive sequences in this distinct context. In doing so, I explore how these gestures contribute to the goal of socializing D/HH children into spoken language and listening, despite them being forms of non-verbal communication. I address this paradox by examining the interactional sequences in which teachers' gestural directives occur, as well as how the children respond to the gesture.

3.3 DATA

Upon initial review of the data set, I noticed that Ms. Kate and the teaching aides frequently pointed to their mouth, pointed to their ear, or cupped their ear when interacting with the students in various classroom activities. These gestures sparked interest because, by focalizing the mouth or ears, they appeared to invoke the classroom's fundamental principles of maximizing students' speaking and listening abilities. This observation indicated that the gestures were vital resources for the oral classroom's teaching practices, thus they became broad phenomena of interest.

CA emphasizes that multimodal resources are consequential to the interaction order; thus, gesture should not be studied in isolation and should instead be examined for its organization in the production of social actions and in certain interactional activities (Mortenson 2016; Seo & Koshik 2010). Preliminary analyses revealed that the gestures of pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear accompanied a range of teachers' verbal actions, such as directives (e.g., *Tell me your name*), praising (e.g., *I like how you're listening*) and reporting (*I hear the telephone*). Upon closer inspection of the data, a pattern began to emerge across the cases of directives. Teachers routinely deployed gestural directives while orienting to some problem or error on a student's behalf. At the same time, the gestural directives pursued student actions that rectified such problems. Gestural directives recurrently occurred in sequences involving multiple directives to students and, most notably, were produced (or co-produced with speech) after a prior directive had already been issued. Teachers' gestural directives, then, became the focus of this chapter.

I use the broad definition of directives discussed in extent literature that encompasses a range of other actions such as commands, requests, etc. (Ervin-Tripp 1976; Searle 1979). The

general pattern of teachers' gestures produced as part of subsequent (versus initial) directives is irrespective of the formulation of the directive turn.

3.4 ANALYSIS

Analyses are organized around two main claims. First, I argue that teachers routinely deployed the gestures of pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, or cupping the ear during their *subsequent* directives to students, in the wake of students' non-compliance or displays of trouble related to teachers' prior directives. Primary evidence for this claim is that the gestural directives were performed during pursuits, only after a failed directive. Thus, these gestures were not performed as part of initial directives. Second, I show that these directives are used in two main instructional contexts: When targeting students' linguistic abilities, such as getting students to vocalize or for aspects of articulation, and when managing classroom conduct, including issues related to students' inattention or other undesired behaviors. Finally, I add further support for my claim that gestures are used in pursuits for these two functions with a deviant case where a gesture accompanies what appears to be a sequentially initial directive.

3.4.1 Teachers' Gestures After Initial Directives

I begin with an illustration of gesture performed during a pursuit. In Extract 1, Brooke (AIDE) is sitting at a table with Kevin for a counting activity. Kevin is pasting numbers in order onto a strip on paper. Brooke initiates counting by pointing to the number 1 on the strip of paper, then issues an imperative for Kevin to vocalize the number (line 1; Figure 1).

1. Counting lesson. Point to mouth.

```
01  AIDE:  Say (.) o::ne ((holds up one finger))
02  KEVI:  ((gazes downwards toward the numbers, holds up one finger))
03  AIDE:  Look. ((grasps Kevin's hand))
04  KEVI:  ((gazes up towards Brooke))
05  AIDE.  >Look.<
06  AIDE: *[((points to her mouth))
07  AIDE: *[O:ne.
08  KEVI: *((holds up one finger, produces vocal sound through closed lips))
09  AIDE: *>No< mmmhh
```

```
10  AIDE: *((head shake))
11  AIDE: *One.
12  KEVI: *O:ne. ((holds up one finger))
13  AIDE:  Tw[o:. ((shifts pointing gesture into V-sign))
14  KEVI:    [Two. ((holds up two fingers))

*Asterisks represent how long the teaching aide holds her pointing gesture
over a series of turns
```

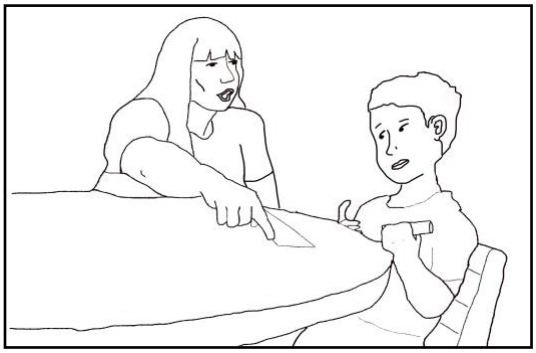

Figure 1

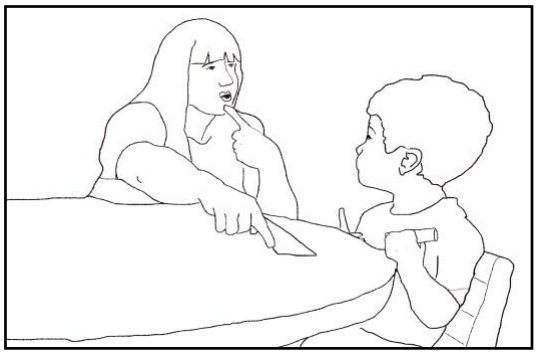

Figure 2

Kevin, who is gazing at Brooke's pointing finger on the strip of paper, counts along but does so nonverbally as he holds up one finger (line 2; Figure 1). Subsequently, Brooke orients to something as accountably missing, as she directs Kevin's gaze towards her face by telling him to "Look" and grasping his hand (line 3). She continues her pursuit by telling him to "Look" once more, then points to her mouth and repeats, "One" (lines 5-7; Figure 2). This turn is recognizable as a directive because the verbal utterance, "One," despite it containing a single word, not only reinstates part of the initial directive in line 1, but its co-production with self-pointing to the mouth highlights important information about what Kevin needs to do in order to progress forward with the activity (see De Stefani & Gazin 2014).

Upon establishing mutual gaze, Kevin responds with a vocal sound, though it is produced through closed lips (line 8). Brooke, who sustains her pointing gesture, imitates Kevin's prior turn of 'trapped' speech, "mmmhh" (line 9) and rejects this both verbally (">No<"; line 9) and nonverbally (head shake; line 10) as an appropriate way of participating in the lesson. Brooke then re-issues her initial verbal prompt, "One" (line 11), maintaining Kevin's gaze on the

articulatory movement of her mouth while doing so. This successfully elicits a verbal repeat from Kevin (line 12).

Having obtained a spoken repair from Kevin, Brooke moves on to the next number, and Kevin continues to orally count along with her (lines 13-14). Thus, when the audible cue of Brooke's vocal counting fails to elicit Kevin's use of speech, she relies of the visual cue of self-pointing to her mouth (Merlino 2021). Notably, she holds this gesture over several conversational turns until Kevin sufficiently demonstrates his oral ability to count. This hold visibly "mark[s] something out as 'not yet quite dealt with' and [its] retraction as a way of displaying (literally) that the issue has been resolved" (Floyd et al. 2016; Sikveland & Ogden 2012: 194). Indeed, in this exchange, Brooke does not retract her pointing gesture until they collaboratively move forward to the number two.

It appears, then, that teachers can use gesture to upgrade or clarify their initial directives that are not immediately met with a student's complying action, whether due to displays of resistance or to trouble in performing the desired action. Further evidence for this claim is provided in Extract 2. Brooke is sitting at a table where she has prepared an activity involving marshmallows and toothpicks. Brian and Adam approach and slide their chairs out from under the table. Brooke greets the boys as Brian eyes the marshmallow bag and enthusiastically asks what they will be doing with them (line 1). At this point, both boys are sitting on their knees in their chair and are leaning across the table on their elbows (Figure 3).

2. Shapes with marshmallows. Point ear.

```
01  BRIA:  >What do we< do with [these.
02  AIDE:                       [Oh:: sit down. ((points to Brian's chair))
03  BRIA:  ((continues kneeling in his chair))
04  BRIA:  What do we do with the[se.
05  AIDE:                        [Oh sit down.
06  BRIA:  ((sits on his bottom in the chair))
07  AIDE:  List[en.=listen for directions.
08  AIDE:      [((points to her ear))
09         (0.7)
```

10 AIDE: Look. *((reaches for bag of marshmallows))*
11 AIDE: Look, what do we have inside this bag?

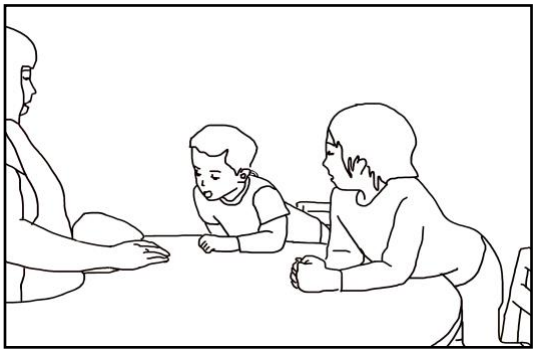

Figure 3

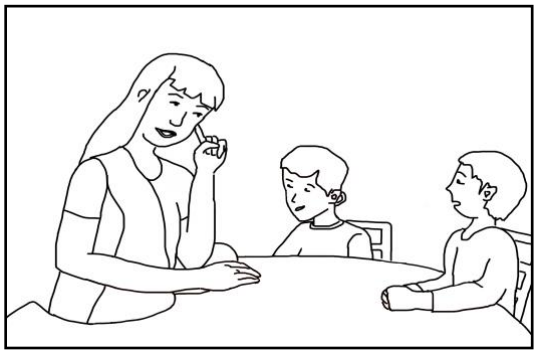

Figure 4

Brooke does not answer Brian's question and instead directs — both verbally (through the imperative) and nonverbally (by pointing to the chair) — him to sit down (line 2). Brian, however, remains kneeling in his chair as he repeats his question (lines 3-4). Up to this point, Brian's actions can be characterized as resistance to the directive (Kent 2012). Technically, he is in his chair, however, we see that his seated posture does not quite constitute full compliance, evidenced when Brooke once again does not take up Brian's question and instead reissues the same directive as earlier (line 5). Once Brian sits on his bottom (line 6), Brooke indicates approval by moving on from the issue of 'sitting,' though she immediately orients to another kind of issue through the imperative, "listen for directions" (line 7), while pointing to her ear (Figure 4). The boys in fact do listen, as they withhold any response (line 9) and instead wait to hear what Brooke says next.

It seems that Brooke orients to an apparent failure on Brian's behalf to display proper 'readiness' to participate in the activity (see Robinson 2013), precisely because he was sitting improperly and preoccupied with the marshmallows before she could explain the activity directions. To deal with this, she delays beginning the activity (and thus, delays access to the marshmallows) to correct Brian's sitting posture and explicitly demand his listening. Similar to

Extract 1, the gesture here does not occur as part of an initial directive; instead, it is deployed after the teacher has oriented to some problem with a student's conduct and thus it pursues good or improved behavior.

Together, Extracts 1-2 demonstrate how teachers' gestures are not produced during initial directives; rather, they are deployed during subsequent directives in the wake of a student's shortcoming in correctly following instructions. When the progressivity of an ongoing task is delayed by students' displays of trouble or non-compliance, teachers use gesture to guide students in doing what they had initially desired for them to do. In other words, the gesture is used to help establish a shared understanding of what appropriate compliance to the initial directive entails and what is required to move the activity forward. Importantly, the gestural directives in both cases were eventually met with student compliance, thus they function as effective resources for resolving various problems (see Stevanovic 2020). I now turn to two distinct instructional contexts in which gestures were found to target such problems.

3.4.2 Teachers' Gestures in Two Instructional Contexts

3.4.2.1 ***Targeting students' linguistic abilities.*** The focal gestures of the study were often used by teachers to support students' speech production. We saw this in Extract 1, where Brooke used gesture when pursuing Kevin's use of spoken language while counting. Teachers rarely produced the gestures during their initial directives, where a student's language-use has yet to be evaluated in the immediate activity context. Nor did teachers produce them when students appear to be 'using their words' correctly. This is demonstrated in Extract 3. Ms. Kate is practicing spelling with Kevin. He has just traced the letters of his name with glue onto a piece of paper. There are tiny pieces of crushed leaves on the table in front of him. In line 1, Ms. Kate instructs Kevin to put the leaves on the letter A.

3. Name activity. Point to mouth.

01 TCHR: Oka:::y. Put the lea:ves on you're a::::y.
02 KEVI: *((gazes downward and sprinkles leaves on his paper))*
03 TCHR: A::::y. *((taps Kevin's arm))*
04 TCHR: *((grasps his wrist))*
05 KEVI: A::y.=
06 TCHR: *=((brings pointing finger towards face but retracts))=*
07 THCR: A:::y. *((nods head))*
08 TCHR: *((releases Kevin's wrist))*

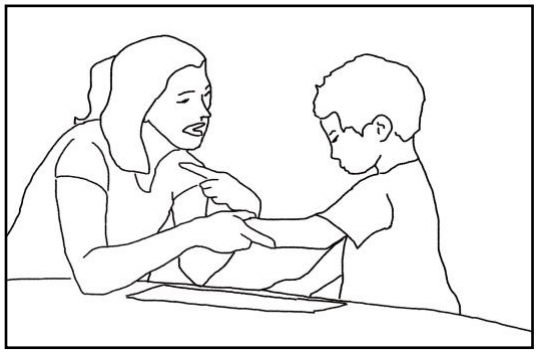

Figure 5

Though Ms. Kate issues an explicit imperative, it becomes clear that her action-agenda is rather implicit. Specifically, she seeks not only for Kevin to identify the correct letter, but also to elicit his vocal repeat of the letter. This is evidenced in several ways. First, even though Kevin proceeds to decorate the correct letter with the leaves (line 2), he does so silently. If identifying the correct letter was a sufficient complying action, then we would expect to see the interaction continue unimpeded. However, Ms. Kate orients to some problem as she engages in a pursuit. Specifically, she repeats the letter from her initial directive and taps Kevin's arm (line 3), as well as grasps his wrist (line 4). She then points her finger and begins to raise it towards her face (line 6, Figure 5); however, she does so just after Kevin indeed vocalizes the letter (lines 5-6). Subsequently, she quickly retracts the gesture, nodding in approval (line 7) and releasing her hold on Kevin's wrist (line 8). Thus, Ms. Kate is clearly oriented to Kevin's vocal participation. She uses the gesture to clarify her initial directive and negotiate what constitutes an acceptable

complying action (Kent 2012), pursuing Kevin's speech but abandoning the gesture in the wake of his vocal turn, indicating that the matter is resolved.

Aside from getting the students to vocalize first and foremost, teachers also instruct students on the ways in which speech sounds are produced. This is shown in the following extract, which involves gesture used to target the students' speech volume. In Extract 4, the class participates in a popular children's fingerplay activity in which hand motions accompany the "The Itsy Bitsy Spider" song. The students are sitting in a semi-circle and Ms. Kate sits in the middle facing them. In this configuration, the students are able to imitate her hand motions as they sing the song with her. Before they start, Ms. Kate tells the students that she does not want to sing and instead wants to hear them sing the words (lines 1-2):

4a. Fingerplay. Cup ear.
01 TCHR: I wanna hear- I: don't want to sing it.
02 TCHR: I: wanna hear you:: sing the words.=Ka:y,<Ready?

All of the children (in extract as CLAS) participate by singing the first verse of the song and performing the appropriate hand motions (line 4; Figure 6).[8]

4b. Fingerplay. Cup ear.
03 TCHR: [The itsy bitsy spider climbs up the water spout
04 CLAS: [The itsy bitsy spider climbs up the water spout
05 TCHR: *((cups her left ear))* [Down came the rain and washed . . .
06 CLAS: [DOWN CAME the rain and washed . . .

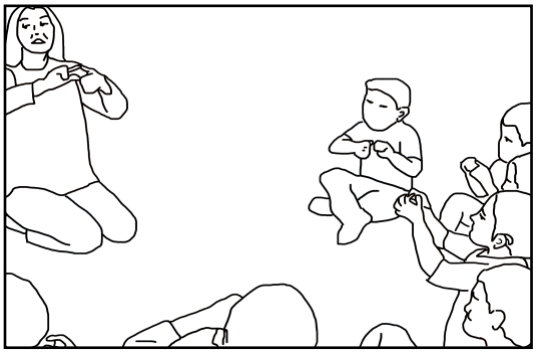
Figure 6

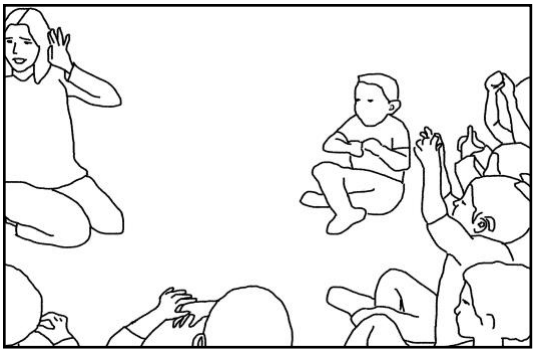
Figure 7

[8] Given the complicated nature of transcribing group songs, Excerpt 3b is only roughly transcribed according to CA conventions.

Just before the second song verse, Ms. Kate cups her ear with her left hand (line 5; Figure 7). Notably, this is not a gesture associated with the fingerplay song; instead, the gesture is doing *other* communicative work. Specifically, cupping the ear is targeting the students' verbal participation in the song activity and encouraging them to sing louder. This demonstrates that Ms. Kate is not quite satisfied with the students' singing so far.

Although cupping the ear can be a resource for repairing problems of hearing a trouble-source turn (Atar et al. 2020; Mortenson 2016), in this example, the gesture is not an OIR in the traditional sense in that it does not deal with repairing students' prior turns, it deals with how the students sing the rest of the song. The students themselves also do not orient to the gesture as dealing with a prior turn as they do not repeat the prior song verse. Instead, the children treat the gesture as forward-looking and dealing with the acoustic production of the remainder of the song, which is evidenced when the children begin to sing louder (line 6). In other words, the students have understood cupping the ear as directing what to do with their speech *only*, and not what to do with their hands. This pragmatic distinction is especially remarkable given that the students are already engaged in a simultaneous hand-motion and singing activity, and it highlights an area of D/HH children's communication competencies that may be obscured due to the oral classroom's prioritization of spoken language use and development, a point I will return to in the discussion of this chapter, as well as in the final conclusions of Chapter 5.

Extract 4 illustrates the importance of both the activity context (in this case, group songs) and its sequential organization in the analysis of language, and how these, in turn, can shape the participation framework (Goodwin 2006), including how participants use gestures and understand the meanings behind them. In this case compared to the previous ones, the gesture is especially useful as a directive because it allows Ms. Kate to avoid impeding the progressivity of

the song activity in that she can sing along with the students uninterruptedly while simultaneously using the gesture to launch other actions, such as pursuing students' louder singing voices. In this way, the gesture functions as a resource for managing multiple (or dual) involvements, wherein a speaker uses embodied conduct to engage in two intersecting courses of action (Goffman1971; Raymond & Lerner 2014).

Analyses of gestures targeting students' linguistic abilities reveal that these particular gestures are deployed in interactional environments where a teacher has oriented to some sort of vocal shortcoming or error on a student's behalf and thus the gesture is produced as part of a pursuit (i.e., pursuing a student's speech when it was previously absent, or pursuing louder or clearer speech). The gestures occur in sequences involving multiple directives, and specifically, are deployed during subsequent (versus initial) directives. In the cases above, the teacher has treated some aspect of the students' use of speech (or lack thereof) as problematic and uses gesture as a resource for pursuing improvement. I now turn to gestures as embodied directives for managing issues related to students' classroom behaviors.

3.4.2.2 Managing classroom conduct. Teachers' gestural directives also frequently occurred when students were not following directions or paying attention to the activity in-progress. This was demonstrated in Extract 2, where Brooke pointed to her ear when pursuing the boys' compliance to sit properly and await instructions. Another way that gestures can relate to classroom management is when teachers deploy them during negative sanctioning of student conduct, such as in Extract 5, which occurs during breakfast. Kevin is holding a milk carton and blowing bubbles inside of it through a straw. Ms. Kate hears this and does the following:

5. Breakfast milk. Point ear.

```
01  TCHR:  Kay. [No no,
02  TCHR:       [((taps Kevin's milk carton))
03  KEVI:  ((raises head from his milk carton))
04  TCHR:  I [hear that.
05  TCHR:    [((points to her ear))
```

06 TCHR: That's not very:- that's not [nice.
07 TCHR: [*((points to other ear))*
08 TCHR: I [hear the bubblies. *((scrunches the air with both hands))*
09 TCHR: [*((points to ears with both hands))*
10 TCHR: *((shakes head))*
11 TCHR: We don't make that noise.
12 KEVI: *((lowers head and continues drinking milk))*

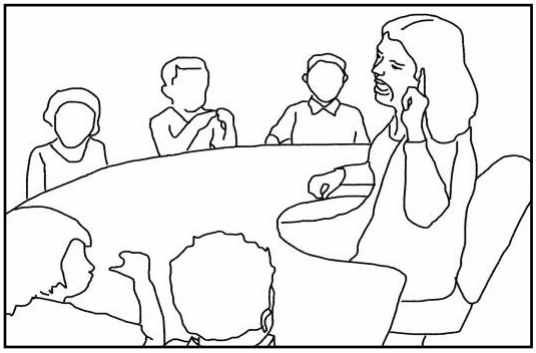

Figure 8

Figure 9

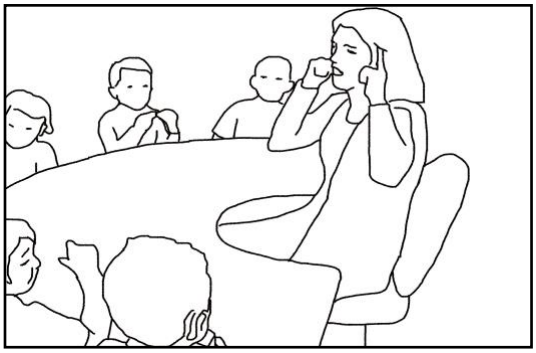

Figure 10

The first directive takes the form of a prohibition, wherein Ms. Kate taps the milk carton that Kevin is holding while uttering, "No no" (lines 1-2). This locates the source of the problem conduct, and although it effectively gets Kevin's attention and stops what he is doing (line 3), at this point it is not explicitly clear what the teacher has treated as problematic. For example, the prohibition, 'stop playing with your milk,' specifically pinpoints a violation, whereas 'no' leaves room for interpretation regarding the desired complying action. Perhaps Ms. Kate wants Kevin to stop drinking his milk entirely and start eating his food instead? There is also the possibility that the sound of the bubbles is not as audible to Kevin as it is to Ms. Kate. Moreover, although Kevin stops drinking his milk, he continues holding his carton, suggesting that he might resume

drinking momentarily. All that to say, what might constitute acceptable compliance is somewhat ambiguous at this point, which "highlights the careful negotiation that can be required when initiating an action that impinges on another person's freedom of action" (Kent 2012: 712).

At line 4, however, we see that Ms. Kate is still orienting to some unresolved trouble, as she begins a series of moves to further constrain Kevin's behavior and thus guide his interpretation of her prior actions (Rossi 2015). First, she informs Kevin that she hears the noise he is making while pointing to one ear (lines 4-5; Figure 8), then she negatively assesses the noise as "not nice" while pointing to her other ear (lines 6-7; Figure 9), and finally she clarifies the source of the unpleasant noise while pointing to both of her ears (lines 8-9; Figure 10). Importantly, each of these gestures accompany facial expressions that convey a look of distaste, particularly through furrowed brows and a scrunched nose (Ekman et al. 2002). Ms. Kate also signifies disapproval with a head shake (line 10).

The exchange ends with Ms. Kate overtly correcting Kevin for his prior disturbance ("We don't make that noise."; line 11), which is designed in a way that socializes him into the collective identity and behavioral norms of the classroom. Altogether, lines 4-11 are recognizable as complaints, which clarify and escalate her prior directive by attributing the problem conduct to the noise Kevin is making. The pointing gestures function to manage classroom conduct in the sense that, during mealtimes, there is a conventional type of etiquette that students should follow. Notably, while the gesture in the Extract 2 was used to reference the students' listening, in this example, Ms. Kate points to her ear to index her own listening, and specifically, to convey that she dislikes what she hears and thus disapproves of Kevin's behavior. Her gestural directives are indeed effective, as Kevin continues to drink his milk but forgoes blowing bubbles for the rest of the mealtime.

3.4.3 Deviant Case

Only one case in the data appears to deviate from the general pattern that teachers' gestures — pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear — do not occur during initial directives and are instead found in subsequent directives as part of a pursuit. In Extract 6, the class is gathered for their Morning Meeting. Ms. Kate is holding a pile of nametags and begins attendance by asking 'whose name starts with the letter J?' (line 2). The student she is referring to, James, is actually absent on this day. As context, the teachers usually conduct the daily attendance by either calling out the first letter of a student's name or by describing a piece of clothing a student is wearing (see Montiegel 2021).

6. Morning meeting. Negative case.

```
01  TCHR:  Oka::y.
02  TCHR:  ^I have somebody:: (.) uhm (.) whose name starts with a ja:y.
03         ((Aaron and Adam are engaged in side conversation))
04  TCHR:  ^Whose name starts with a ja:y.
05  EVIE:  Jame:::s.
06         ((boys continue their side conversation))
07  TCHR:  I- [Aaron (.) and Adam,
08  TCHR:     [((points to ear))
09         ((boys gaze at the teacher))
10  TCHR:  Whose name starts with a ja:y.
11  TCHR:  And who's no:t he[re.
12  AARO:                   [Jame:::::s.
13  TCHR:  ((nods))
14  TCHR:  Ja::mes.
```

Ms. Kate's question is open for any student to answer. Notably, this is a known-answer question (Macbeth 2004), which transforms the activity into a type of literacy instruction, as Ms. Kate can monitor students' responses and evaluate their accuracy. This turn, however, is difficult to characterize as a directive — it seemingly does not attempt to control a student's behavior and rather 'checks' for student comprehension. Two students, Aaron and Adam, are not paying attention and are instead engaged in their own side conversation (lines 3, 6). Ms. Kate summons them by name while pointing to her ear (lines 7-8).

Summons, as actions, secure recipiency (Schegloff 1968), and while they may be features of directives, they do not themselves attempt to control a recipient's actions in any way. However, the teacher delivers the summons while pointing to her ear, which by now clearly embodies a directive for the students to listen, and specifically to pay attention and/or stop what they are doing. Note also how Ms. Kate does not summon any other student, only the two who are clearly being disruptive. Thus, on the surface it appears that the gesture *does* occur during an initial directive, one that is centered on terminating the boys' side conversation, and that the extract presents itself as a deviant case. However, there are several pieces of evidence that counter this interpretation.

First, as mentioned above, teachers routinely take attendance this way, therefore they have posed this very question to the students on numerous occasions. James is the only student whose name starts with the letter J, which the students likely know by now (this particular case is drawn from a recording conducted in April, well into the school year). Second, one student, Evie, indeed demonstrates this knowledge when she hearably responds to Ms. Kate's question with the correct answer (line 5). Yet, Ms. Kate does not acknowledge this correct response and instead continues to suspend the ongoing activity to deal with Aaron and Adam's inattentiveness.

I argue that, although the teacher constructs her turn as an instructional question, she orients to it as more of a directive (e.g., *Tell me whose name starts with the letter J*), and that in this daily activity, one where the teachers routinely ask students the same (or similar) questions, there are appropriate ways of behaving and participating that have long been established. It is certainly not a time for students' side conversations with each other. Ms. Kate orients to the boys' failure to properly follow directions and respond to her question, using the gesture as a subsequent directive to pursue their compliance. The boys also orient to the gesture as conveying

a directive, as they proceed to sit quietly and turn their gaze towards the teacher (line 9). Upon the boys' display of participation 'readiness' (Robinson 2013), Ms. Kate resumes the attendance activity and even effectively solicits the correct response to her prior question from one of them (line 12).

3.5 DISCUSSION

The data demonstrates that teachers' gestures of pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear function as useful tools for issuing directives to students in the oral preschool classroom. In particular, analyses show that the teachers deployed gestural directives strategically, such that they were not produced as part of their initial directives and were instead recurrently used as part of subsequent directives when prior directives were met with displays of student non-compliance. In doing so, teachers used gestures to clarify or upgrade their initial directives and thus negotiate what constitutes acceptable compliance with a suggested course of action. These findings, however, reveal a paradox in which teachers rely on their gestures as embodied practices for facilitating instructional interaction, though they strongly orient to students using their words instead of non-vocal forms of communication (Montiegel 2021; see Chapter 2).

Extracts 1, 3 and 4 illustrated how the teachers' gestural directives were concerned with students' linguistic abilities. In particular, pointing to the mouth and cupping the ear functioned as visual resources for eliciting students' vocalizations or for correcting students' articulation, such as getting them to speak (or sing) louder. In these ways the gestures served as tools for socializing children into the classroom's pedagogical goal of listening and spoken-language use. Extracts 2, 5, and 6 demonstrated how teachers' gestural directives were related to managing classroom conduct. This was observed in interactional contexts where teachers sought to direct

students' attention or sanction students' problem behaviors. In each of these cases, although the teachers did not appear to be concerned with the students' use of spoken language abilities, they did display a strong orientation to the process of listening as a matter of primary importance, where students' listening was related to their abilities in following directions.

Students' successful displays of listening were often related to their embodied readiness (Robinson 2013), for example, sitting properly and being quiet. Teachers' gestural directives were also used to control students' noisy or disruptive behaviors, behaviors that clearly did not conform to the 'normal way of doing things' during certain routine activities, such as mealtimes and attendance. Of course, listening is not only a desired behavior in classroom contexts, it is also fundamental to effective communication and, particularly, for displaying recipiency in conversation (Heath 1984). Thus, teachers' gestures that pursue students' active hearing/listening also appear to be in line with the classroom's main goal of socializing the students into competent oral communicators.

It should be noted that there are some sign variations in ASL where pointing to the ear or cupping the ear means 'hear/listen' and touching/tapping below your lower lip means 'say;' however, because the class excludes sign language, and because most students did not use sign language prior to enrolling in the class, it seems unlikely that the teachers were orienting to these specific hand movements as signs rather than gestures. This ambiguity, however, strengthens the paradox — if it cannot be certain whether these hand movements were produced as gestures or signs, then there is a possibility that some students indeed interpreted them as the latter, which further complicates their role in a setting that is dedicated to socializing students into oral language only.

4

PEER INTERACTION IN THE ORAL CLASSROOM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A crucial component of children's social lives is their peer interaction. Children not only play with one another but socialize each other, spontaneously instructing and learning in these interactions (Cekaite et al. 2014; Corsaro & Rizzo 1988). These processes include the ways that children use language to understand and participate in social interaction (Corsaro 2018; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). Social scientific research on children's peer interaction and socialization has paid little attention to children with disabilities (Burke 2012; Connors & Stalker 2007). In the context of education, socialization studies that do include children with disabilities almost exclusively take place in mainstream school settings. As a result, studies overwhelmingly examine the peer interaction and socialization of children with disabilities in relation to typically-developing children, thus portraying non-disabled children as peer models from whom children with disabilities can learn and imitate. This leaves open a question of whether and how children with disabilities socialize *each other* in settings absent of typically-developing peers, such as special education settings.

To address this question, this chapter focuses on the D/HH children's peer socialization processes in the oral classroom. While the overarching pedagogical goal of the classroom is to develop students' listening and spoken language skills, the students have varying levels of hearing and speech. Thus, I explore the question of whether and how D/HH children instruct and learn from each other, which includes taking into account their differences in communication

abilities. In addition to the perspectives of CA (Sidnell & Stivers 2013) and Language Socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), in this chapter I draw from the Social Model of Childhood Disability (Connors & Stalker, 2007) to explore how peer socialization processes unfold in the oral classroom, focusing on D/HH children's interactions as a primary mechanism.

4.2 CHILDREN'S SOCIALIZATION

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the sociology of childhood (Corsaro 2018) is a perspective that explores how children are capable of constructing meanings and acting on them, and of resisting and transforming social order, thus helping to shape their own experiences. This literature considers the important role of peer groups in socialization, elucidating how children establish shared understandings, negotiate rules and identities, and create friendships and peer culture within their activities. For example, studies have shown how children develop understandings of social processes like gender and class through their interactions with each other, and how such understandings are mobilized to enact forms of social hierarchies and power within their peer groups (Butler 2016; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, 2014; Griswold 2007). Socialization, then, is a collective process, one that relies on children's participation, their language and interpretive abilities, in interaction (Corsaro & Rizzo 1988).

Yet, relatively little sociological research has explored the basic processes and mechanisms of socialization (Guhin et al. 2021; Handel et al. 2007). If socialization is indeed bidirectional and interactional, then further research on children's specific socialization practices is needed to better understand this phenomenon. Moreover, the literature rarely includes children with disabilities and their socialization (Burke 2012; Connors & Stalker 2007), though their experiences are especially important since they may face difficulty engaging with others and participating in various social situations. By examining the interactions of children with

disabilities, we can begin to understand the ways in which they actively participate in their social lives, including how they can be socializing agents for each other.

4.2.1 Socialization of Children with Disabilities in School Settings

Studies that include the peer socialization of children with disabilities tend to focus on those in mainstream school settings, where all students learn alongside each other. This is perhaps since over 60% of students with disabilities spend 80% or more of their time in general classrooms (U.S. Department of Education 2021), and federal law mandates mainstreaming unless the nature of a child's disability is such that special education classrooms are more appropriate for their learning. Typically-developing students have been described as peer models or tutors who can potentially improve the interactions and socialization of students with disabilities through various methods such as peer imitation, a method that is not only vital for children's language and skill-building (Tomasello 1992), but also inherently tied to children's social goals, particularly the need to affiliate with others and foster a sense of belonging (Over 2020). This research has almost exclusively examined how students with disabilities are socialized *by* their typically-developing peers, particularly through peer tutoring and peer-mediated approaches (Rogers 2000). In these situations, then, typically-developing students are positioned as the relative 'experts' who can facilitate the communication and social-skill development of students with disabilities (Alquraini & Gut 2012).

However, children with disabilities, including those with the same disability, are not a homogenous group (Burke & Claughton 2019). They do not share the same perspectives, experiences, nor behaviors (Davis & Watson 2002) and thus should not be met with assumptions of inability and incompetence (Goodley 2001). Rather, they demonstrate varied skills and competences in nuanced ways that enable them to enact agency in their social experiences and

relationships (Nind et al. 2010). These beliefs are foundational to the Social Model of Childhood Disability (Connors & Stalker 2007), which criticizes much of the existing research on children with disabilities as being essentialist in nature, using "a fairly unreflexive acceptance of the distinction disabled/non-disabled" and failing to recognize the fluidity, diversity, and complexity of disabled children's social lives (Davis & Watson 2002: 160). The model underscores the need for more qualitative, participatory methods that include the voices of children with disabilities in order to "value and recognize each child's experience […] rather than be viewed with a perspective of limitation" (Graham et al. 2018:181).

Furthermore, some have argued that simply placing students with disabilities in mainstream classrooms does not automatically increase their social interactions nor improve their socialization (Alquraini & Gut 2012; Xie et al. 2014); in practice, full inclusion requires individual accommodations and necessary services to ensure students' success. While inclusive education is important, the reality is that some students with various and intensive needs continue to be placed in special education classrooms and schools. Thus, a puzzle arises: If an argument for mainstreaming is that it can enhance the interactions and socialization of students with disabilities, then what of those students placed in separate special education classrooms or schools? Does peer socialization still occur in these contexts? Is peer socialization subverted in the absence of typically-developing peers?

4.2.2 Peer Socialization and the Role of Language in Children's Interaction

Language Socialization studies have considered how children collaboratively rely on linguistic practices (e.g., directives, teasing, codeswitching) and resources (including those based in voice, gaze, gestures, etc.) to organize their social worlds, including their own ideas of acceptable ways of talking and behaving (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, 2014). These studies have

also expanded our understandings of socializing 'experts' and 'novices' and how these roles are always shifting in interaction and dependent on certain features of the socio-cultural context, such as participants' ages, range of experiences, and knowledge of conversational topics (Ochs 1991). As Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) articulated, "competence is largely a matter of participating effectively — of deploying linguistic and other communicative resources […] in ways that enable one to locate oneself strategically and flexibly with respect to currently ongoing interactions and activities" (p. 346). Thus, all children bring some degree of competence to their interactions (*ibid*), and can take up the role of relative expert at various points in processes of peer socialization.

Similarly, CA considers socialization in and through *interaction*, specifically interactional organization and structure (Kidwell 2013), which makes it especially effective in capturing the moment-to-moment nature of situated activities. Many researchers have relied on CA to uncover socialization processes in children's peer interactions in school settings (c.f., Butler 2016; Danby & Theobald 2012). Much of this work takes place in preschools, illuminating how even very young children "can serve as powerful sources of language input and information" (Blum-Kulka & Snow 2004: 296). For example, studies have shown how young children use correction episodes to socialize each other into appropriate behaviors (Cekaite & Björk-Willén 2012), use accounts to resolve peer disputes (Church 2009), and use apology practices to avoid tattling and maintain peer play (Björk-Willén 2018). CA research in second language classrooms has also been fruitful in illustrating interaction as "a fundamental locus of socialization" (Mondada & Doehler 2004: 464), particularly by documenting how language learning is made visible through the ways children understand and respond to others in classroom

interaction (Kasper & Wagner 2011). In short, CA studies have shown that children's talk serves as a site for displays of social and interactional competence (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis 1998).

These bodies of research have yielded important insight into socialization in various types of peer groups, such as kin groups and multilingual communities (c.f., Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007), but much like the sociology of childhood literature, they seldom include how children with disabilities socialize each other. We need a better understanding of how peer socialization is possible in special education settings, which requires identifying specific interactional practices that enable peer socialization processes.

4.2.3 D/HH Children's Peer Socialization

For D/HH children, a small body of research has examined the role of deaf children as peer educators of sign language (Anglin-Jaffe 2013; Reilly & Reilly 2005; Senghas 1995; Senghas & Coppola 2001). In studies involving deaf schools with oralist approaches, children were found to use sign language to communicate with peers when teachers were not looking (O'Connell & Deegan 2014; Senghas 1995), which was framed as opportunistic acts of resistance in response to adult/school authoritative structures (Anglin-Jaffe 2013). In their study of a Deaf residential school in rural Thailand, where teachers lacked formal training in sign language instruction, Reilly and Reilly (2005) found that students' peer interactions after school hours functioned as a key socializing mechanism in which they "helped one another learn their first language, the norms of the school and society, and worldly knowledge" (p. xii). In particular, younger students acquired most of their language skills through interactions with same-age and older students, rather than through interactions with teachers. In an exceptional case — situated in the 1980's, where Nicaragua's first schools for the Deaf prioritized lip-reading and spoken Spanish and were largely unsuccessful in educating deaf children — researchers found that deaf

children's gestural communication with peers led to the spontaneous development of a national sign language (Senghas 1995; Senghas & Coppola 2001). These are remarkable examples of how D/HH children act as powerful socializing agents for creating and organizing not just their intimate peer cultures, but also much larger social structures.

To summarize, research on peer language socialization and children's talk-in-interaction suggests that all children draw on various levels and forms of competence in their interactions, and thus the process of who is socializing whom is constantly changing and negotiated. This has important implications for peer socialization research involving students with disabilities and urges us to consider the ways in which they can function as agents of socialization rather than only subjects, which is how they are predominantly portrayed in existing research conducted in mainstream settings. If children experience disability and childhood differently, as the Social Model of Childhood Disability contends (Connors & Stalker, 2007), then this heterogeneity should not only enable peer socialization processes outside of mainstream settings but should also help elucidate the different ways in which children with disabilities instruct and learn from each other.

I situate this chapter among these bodies of literature by exploring the ways in which D/HH students socialize each other in the distinct setting of an oral preschool classroom absent of hearing peers. In mainstream settings, though there may be ample opportunities for peer interaction, D/HH children's access to communication (and thus their ability to participate in interaction) is often restricted. In the oral classroom, though access to oral communication may be better supported, there can be considerable variation in the listening and speech skills among D/HH students, plus they are often learning *how* to communicate effectively in the first place. Thus, how do D/HH children communicate with their peers and make sense of each other's

actions? Given that D/HH children have different experiences and communication preferences, in what ways do they demonstrate skills and competencies and learn from each other? What does peer socialization into language use and interaction-participation look like in this setting?

4.3 DATA

This chapter draws from children's peer interactions during indoor free play and mealtimes, which consist of approximately nine hours of the total video-data collection, or 36%. While peer interactions do occur during other activities (e.g., lessons and Morning Meeting), these activities are much more structured and frequently involve a teacher guiding the interaction in ways that are best suited to the ongoing activity, which is not the primary interest of this chapter. Instead, I focus on the children's spontaneous interactions with each other. Free play and mealtimes are the most opportune moments for this.

I present eight cases with extracts, some of which are supplemented with line drawings of video still frames that were composed in Adobe Photoshop. The last case is also supplemented with acoustic output generated in Praat.

4.4 ANALYSIS

I begin this section by presenting two examples that demonstrate how the D/HH children of this study engage in peer socialization processes similar to what we find in mainstream settings, namely socialization into play and politeness. In doing so, I show how D/HH children can serve as peer models in ways that hearing children are predominantly framed. Next, I direct attention to the children's particular skills and resources and how they are employed within the unique context of the oral classroom. I organize the remainder of the section according to three main findings.

First, the data will illustrate how D/HH children socialize each other into behaviors that conform to the local language and social norms of their oral classroom environment, namely how students should use their words as much as possible when communicating with each other (Montiegel 2021). Second, within these socialization processes, the data will show how the role of relative 'expert' in peer interaction is not always dependent on which child has the 'better' spoken language skills. Rather, the communication asymmetries across the children enable their individual capabilities in creating and negotiating participation opportunities and, thus, socializing others in particular ways. Finally, given the basic socialization to use spoken language virtually at all times, the data will show how the children may understand the need to follow this 'rule' in certain situations and can modulate their communication based on the hearing and speech status of their peer interactant, demonstrating a keen awareness of recipient design (Sacks et al. 1974). Though I am interested in the broader phenomenon of peer socialization and how it occurs, because language is at the center of the oral classroom, the cases presented below will underscore children's communicative practices that are embedded within their socializing activities.

4.4.1 Peer Interaction as a Mechanism for Socialization Processes

I begin with evidence that D/HH peer interaction in the oral classroom constitutes a key mechanism for socialization similar to what we find in mainstream settings. Specifically, Extracts 1 and 2 demonstrate students socializing peers into social norms related to play and politeness. In Extract 1, the class is gathered around the main table for breakfast. Ivan, Aaron, and Evie are sitting next to each other and engage in a game of Rock, Paper, Scissors just before food is served. In this game, players are to produce one hand symbol (either a fist for rock, a flat hand for paper, or two fingers for scissors) at the same time. The rules to determine the winner

are that rock beats scissors, paper beats rock, and scissors beats paper. Ivan initiates a round of the game with Aaron (line 1), and Evie, who sits to the left of Aaron, observes (Figure 1):

Extract 1. Breakfast: Rock, paper, scissors.

```
01  IVAN:  WAH- you wanna play °rock° (.) °paper scissors° (0.2) shoot.
02  IVAN:  Ro:ck pa:per scissors, [shoot!=Awh::: I got you:.
03  IVAN:                         [((chops Aaron on the shoulder))
04  EVIE:  Roc[kt (.) paper (0.3)
05  AARO:     [((turns body toward Evie))
06  EVIE:  scissors (.) [shoot! I got you.
07  EVIE:               [((chops Aaron on the shoulder))
```

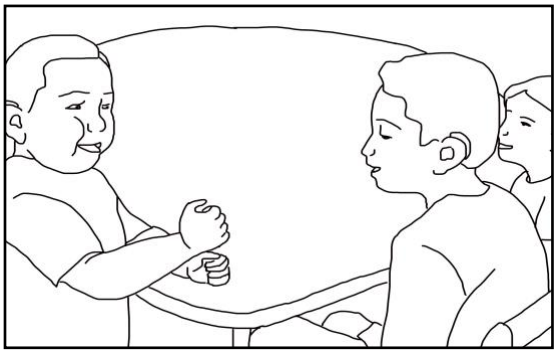

Figure 1

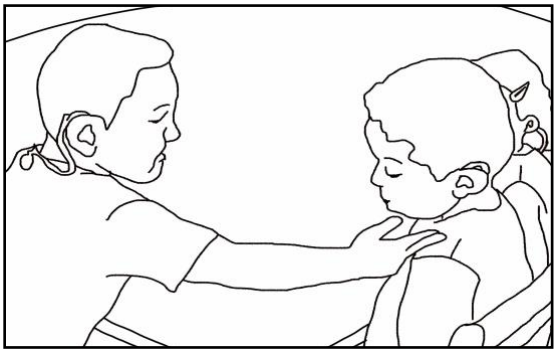

Figure 2

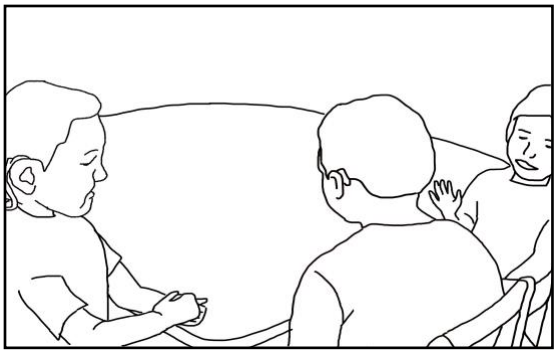

Figure 3

Note that the boys do not actually play the game properly. Neither one delivers a final hand symbol; instead, Ivan touches Aaron's shoulder in a chopping motion (Figure 2) on the word "shoot!" and immediately follows this with "I got you:." (lines 2-3), thus declaring himself the winner. Evie then initiates her own round with Aaron (line 4; Figure 3). Just like the previous round, neither Aaron nor Evie deliver a final hand symbol, yet Evie chops Aaron's shoulder on the word "shoot!" and announces herself the winner, "I got you" (lines 6-7). Thus, Evie imitates

Ivan's game-playing both verbally *and* nonverbally. Not only does she model after Ivan and, in doing so, attain the opportunity to directly engage in play with her peers, but she recycles Ivan's subversion of the game rules. In this example, imitation functions as a device for affiliating with peers, as well as creating, maintaining, and negotiating game rules and participation.

Unlike Extract 1, some instances of peer socialization contain teacher involvement, as shown in the next case of peer socialization into politeness norms, taken during free play. Ms. Kate is absent today and a substitute teacher has taken her place. Brian and Ivan are playing with toy trains and have assembled train tracks on the floor. Ivan moves his train along the tracks, but Brian's arm lies on top of a section of the tracks, blocking Ivan's path. Ivan calls out:

Extract 2. Free play: Not nice.

```
01  IVAN:  Toot toot!
02         (0.5)
03  IVAN:  Move out the wa:::y.
04   SUB:  Be nice.
05         (0.7)
06  BRIA:  That's not ni:ce!
07  BRIA:  That's not nice you don't say get out the way.
08  IVAN:  Come o::n, I'm trying to (.) get i::n.
```

Ivan imitates the sound of a train (line 1), alerting Brian of his train approaching and indirectly requesting that he move his arm. When Brian does not budge, Ivan issues a clearer, more forceful directive, "Move out the wa:::y." The substitute teacher warns, "Be nice." (line 4), though it is not entirely clear for whom the utterance is intended nor what behavior is being targeted. Indeed, it is followed by a noticeable silence (line 5). Brian, however, understands the teacher as targeting Ivan's conduct, which he demonstrates by reproducing and reformulating her turn to his peer, "That's not ni:ce! That's not nice you don't say get out the way." This reformulation pinpoints the design of Ivan's prior directive as the source of discourteous conduct. Even though this case contains teacher intervention, Brian recycles the teacher's directive into a more explicit socialization into politeness for his peer. Note that Ivan responds

immediately after Brian's turn and not the substitute teacher's, first by pleading ("Come o::n," line 8), then by providing an account ("I'm trying to get i::n"), which is arguably a step down from his previous, more assertive stance.

4.4.2 Socialization into Language Norms of the Oral Classroom

The previous sub-section offered evidence for how peer interaction in the D/HH oral classroom works at the most general socialization level, similar to what materializes in mainstream settings. Next, I offer evidence for the role of peer interaction in socializing children into the local educational order, including socialization into the language and social norms influenced by the institutional organization and goals of the oral classroom (Cekaite & Björk-Willén 2012). Given that the essence of the classroom is for children to use oral communication as much as possible (Montiegel 2021), and that the teachers regularly maintain this preference (through methods such as conversational repair and correction; see Chapter 2), the children often reflect and reproduce these norms in their interactions with each other. For example, the next three cases demonstrate children's orientations to (in)appropriate ways of responding.

In Extract 3, the class is gathered for breakfast. There is another substitute teacher today. Aaron and Ivan are sitting next to each other. Prior to line 1, the teacher had placed some fruit on Aaron's tray. She gazes at him and asks, "What was your name again?"

Extract 3. Breakfast: Say your name.

```
01   SUB:  What was your name again?
02  ARON:  ((gazes down at his tray while eating))
03         (1.0)
04  AARO:  ((gazes up at the teacher))
05   SUB:  What was your n[ame?
06  IVAN:                 [Aaron.
07         (0.2)
08   SUB:  ((points to Aaron)) What was your name?
09         (1.2)
10  IVAN:  ((Ivan gazes at Aaron))
11  IVAN:  You say Aaron.
12   SUB:  It's ^okay=wait for him to finish.
```

Aaron is looking at his food while eating when the substitute teacher asks her question (line 2), which could help explain why he does not respond (e.g., he did not know she was talking to him). Upon securing Aaron's gaze (line 4), the substitute teacher re-issues her question (line 5), but this time Ivan, who has been monitoring the interaction thus far, answers the question for his peer (line 6). The teacher then points to Aaron before asking her question a third time (line 8), thereby assigning speakership to Aaron only. Yet, Aaron still withholds a response, and after a noticeable silence, Ivan verbally prompts his peer with, "You say Aaron." (line 11). In other words, Ivan orients to Aaron's non-response as a violation of sorts and holds him accountable by telling him what to do, thus socializing his peer into the appropriate way of responding.

Further support for the socialization value for classroom norms is provided in Extract 4. This occurs during the same mealtime with the same participants.

Extract 4. Breakfast: Say yes.

```
01    SUB:  ((turns to Aaron and holds out a banana))
02    SUB:  Would you [like a banana?
03   AARO:             [((nods))
04   IVAN:  ((recoils))
05   IVAN:  Sa::y ye:s.
```

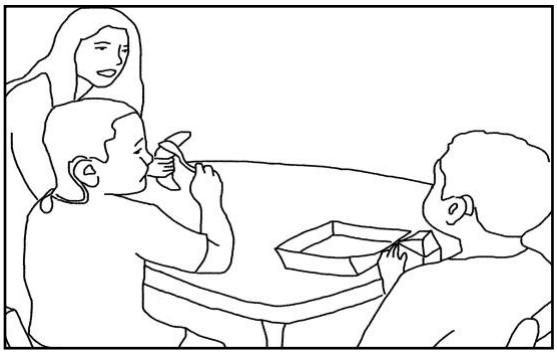

Figure 4

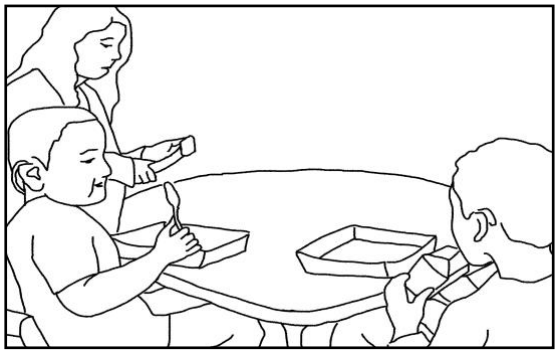

Figure 5

The substitute teacher asks Aaron a question that embodies an offer, "Would you like a banana?". In contrast to the previous example, here, Aaron *does* respond to the teacher's question, although it is nonverbally produced via a head nod (line 3). As previously mentioned, one of the central goals of the oral classroom is to promote the students' use of spoken language.

As such, teachers regularly prompt the students to 'use their words' when communicating (Montiegel 2021), and initiate repair or correction on students' nonverbal turns in order to elicit vocalization (see Chapter 2). Nodding functions as a responsive action and is generally communicatively appropriate following a polar question (that is, it is widely considered to be a form of response similar to *mm hm*, *uh huh* and *yeah* [De Stefani 2021]). Yet, in this exchange, Aaron's head nod is treated as problematic. In particular, he recoils from Aaron, suggesting some indication of surprise or distaste (line 4; Figures 4-5), which is immediately followed with a verbal prompt, "Sa::y ye:s." This functions as a correction in the sense that it proposes its verbal equivalent, "yes," as the more appropriate way of responding to the teacher's offer. As Cekaite and Björk-Willén (2012) explained, "correction episodes provide a social site in which children socialize each other into appropriate ways of acting as members of the peer group, while holding one another accountable for their understanding of local norms of language use" (p. 177). Thus, Extracts 3 and 4 demonstrate how the children can orient to the local norms of their classroom in the sense that 'appropriate' language entails that (1) you should respond when someone asks you something, and (2) your response should be verbal.

Extract 5 offers still further support for peer interaction as a locus for socialization by illustrating yet another dimension of the norms of responding in the classroom. The class has gathered for lunch. Ms. Kate holds up a green bean in one hand and a piece of celery in the other and asks Aaron if he would like either (lines 1-2). The focal sequence occurs on lines 13-15, though it is part of a larger activity initiated by the teacher.

Extract 5. Lunch: No thank you.

```
01   TCHR:  Uh::m:: Aaron: would you like some (.) celery:, or some
02          green beans?
03   AARO:  ((shakes head))
04   TCHR:  Which one,
05          (9.0)
06   TCHR:  Uh::m I- Ivan what would you like.
07   IVAN:  Uh:::m (.) no thank you.
```

08 TCHR: *((turns and looks at Aaron))* Yeah. That's what you say.
09 TCHR: Would you like some?
10 (3.0)
11 TCHR: Or you can say no thank you:.
12 AARO: °No thank you° *((slumps))*
13 IVAN: Teacher ca:n't hear you=say NO THA::nk you:.
14 IVAN: Say °no thank you° *((slumps))*
15 AARO: *((shakes head))*

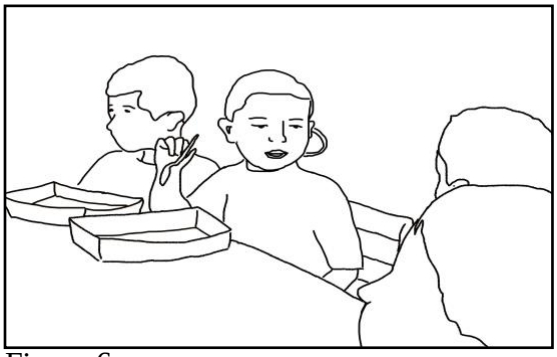

Figure 6

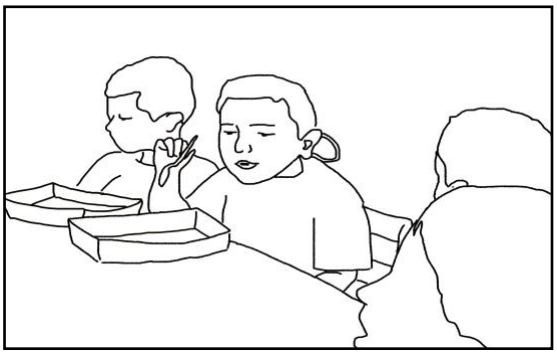

Figure 7

Different from the previous extracts, this example contains teacher-initiated correction, produced in the form of verbal prompting (lines 8, 11), where Ms. Kate uses Ivan's response as a formulation for Aaron to model. This effectively elicits a verbal response from Aaron in line 12, though he slumps and verbally produces this very softly, almost inaudibly. Despite the teacher's correction of Aaron's prior non-response, Ivan socializes his peer into language use on a *different* level, one targeting audibility. Specifically, Ivan says "Teacher ca:n't hear you=say NO THA::nk you:." (line 13; Figure 6), then simultaneously mimics both Aaron's verbal and nonverbal behavior by slumping in his chair and faintly repeating the polite decline (shown with the degree symbols; line 14; Figure 7). Ivan corrects Aaron on the basis that his previous response was not produced loudly enough for the teacher to hear. So, in addition to (1) responding when someone asks you something and (2) verbally producing your response, (3) the verbal response should be *hearable*. If it is not hearable, this is accountable. Moreover, by mimicking Aaron's body language, Ivan associates the slumping posture with inaudible (and

thus, improper) communication, which adds a layer of multimodal competence to his efforts in socializing Aaron into 'good' oral communication.

Taken together, Extracts 3-5 demonstrate how children's prompts and corrections can serve as interactional spaces for peer socialization into the local language and social norms of the oral classroom, norms that center on the classroom's pedagogical goal of getting the children to use and rely on their speech in the production of social actions.

4.4.3 Language Novices as Local Experts

So far we have seen instances of peer teaching concerning play and games, politeness, and norms of language use in the oral classroom, which illustrate the ways in which D/HH children can serve as peer models for each other in the absence of hearing children. In this section I offer evidence for the claim that all the children, not just those with the most advanced spoken language abilities, can act as socializing experts in interaction with each other. Kevin is the student who primarily communicates through sign language. Yet, given this communication difference, he is not always the recipient of peer socialization and can instead actively participate in interaction as an enforcer of socialization processes. This is demonstrated in the next two examples.

Extract 6 occurs during breakfast. Prior to this exchange, Kevin and Ella, who are sitting next to each other, were laughing together, making silly faces and tapping each other on the shoulder. A school staff member enters the classroom to briefly chat with Ms. Kate. She stands behind Kevin and Ella. Kevin turns in his seat and points upward at the visitor, uttering a loud and stretched vocalization (lines 1-2; Figure 8).

Extract 6. Breakfast: Shush

```
01  KEVI:  ((points up at the school staff member))
02  KEVI:  ((produces loud, elongated vocal sound))
03  ELLA:  ((laughs at what Kevin is doing))
04  AARO:  ((shushes Kevin and Ella))
05  KEVI:  ((turns to Ella and shushes her))
```

06 ELLA: *((smiles and shushes Kevin))*
07 *((Kevin and Ella shush back and forth))*

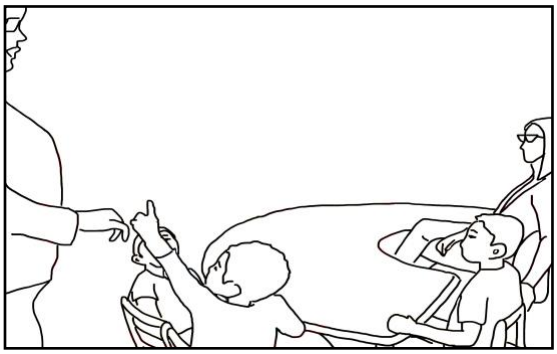

Figure 8

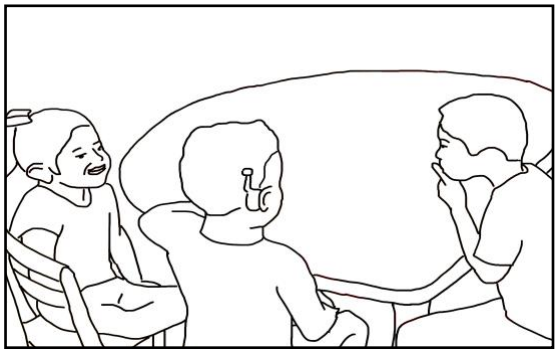

Figure 9

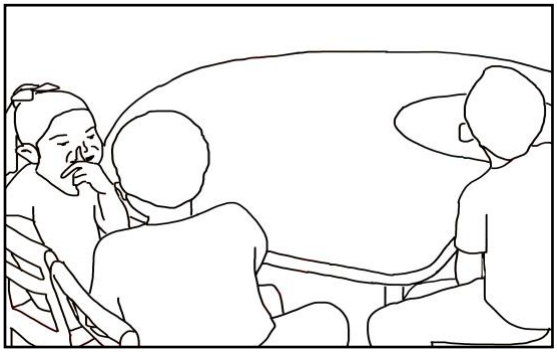

Figure 10

Ella laughs at Kevin's behaviors (line 3), and shortly after, Aaron shushes them (line 4; Figure 9). Shushing is an emblem (gesture-sound combination) that is widely used and understood to quiet someone (Goldin-Meadow 2011). It is common in many preschool classrooms, as adults frequently shush children to control disruptive conduct. In this example, Aaron judges his peers' ongoing interaction as inappropriate, using shushing to enforce a rule or norm. Yet, after Aaron's shushing, rather than following this rule and being quiet or disengaging from interaction with Ella, Kevin reproduces the emblem and directs it to Ella (line 5; Figure 10), who subsequently smiles and shushes Kevin back in amusement. Thus, both Kevin and Ella resist the shushing emblem, transforming its use as a rule-enforcer into an object of play. In this way, Kevin and Ella can be viewed as mocking Aaron.

Mocking has been described as a practice that both reflects and resists existing social orders (Kyratzis 2004), demonstrating children's meaning-making capabilities within their peer socialization. In particular, mocking is a form of humor associated with teasing that can be used and understood in either playful or antisocial ways (Keltner et al. 2001). Here, Kevin negotiates what is and is not appropriate behavior during mealtime, using mocking as a practice to disalign with Aaron but to affiliate with Ella. Even though Kevin is considered the novice spoken language user compared to Aaron and Ella, he actively participates as a socializing agent.

The case above illustrates the multidirectional nature of socialization, particularly how processes of socialization are contested and transformed. Extract 7, which takes place in the library, provides further evidence for these dynamics. Ella and Evie each read a book and sit together in one armchair. Kevin, who has been observing the girls, approaches them and touches Evie's wrist (Figure 11). The exchange then unfolds as follows:

Extract 7. Free play: One chair

```
01  Kevi:  ((points to Evie and shakes his head))
02  Kevi:  [((holds up one finger))
03  Ella:  [Ye:s.
04  Ella:  No no no no ((shakes one finger))
           .
           . ((Kevin walks away and returns with the teacher))
           .
05  Kevi:  ((points to the girls in the chair))
06  Tchr:  They're sha:ring?
07  Tchr:  They can sit down together.
```

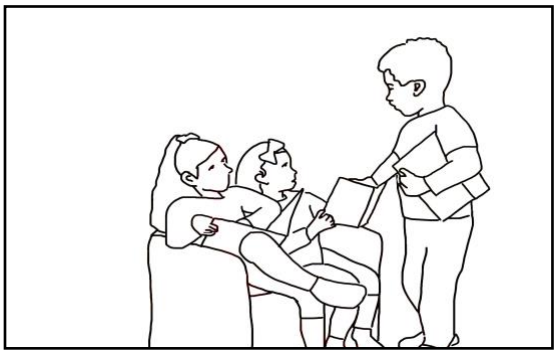

Figure 11

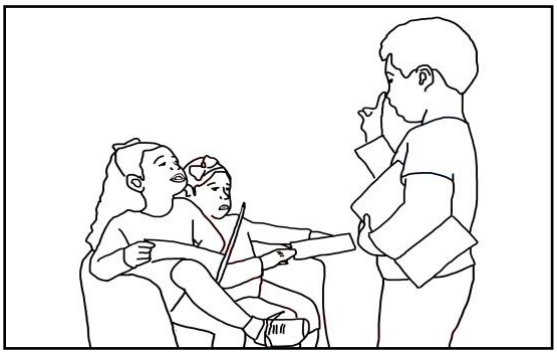

Figure 12

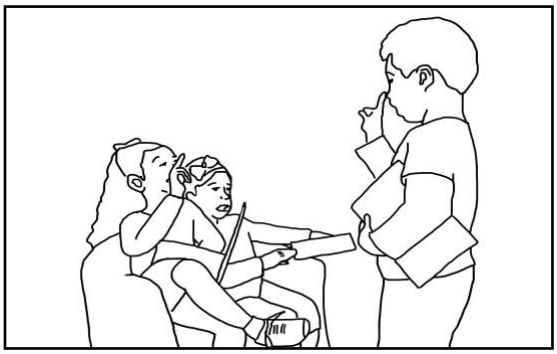

Figure 13

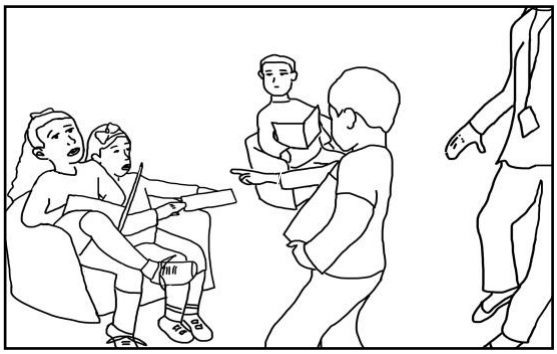

Figure 14

Kevin points to Evie, shakes his head, and holds up one finger (lines 1-2; Figure 12), to which Ella promptly counters with "Ye:s." (line 3), followed by "No no no no" while shaking her own finger (Figure 13). It appears that Kevin was admonishing the girls for sitting together in one chair. (Note, in Figure 14 you can see that Brian sits by himself in a chair that is identical to the one the girls share. Kevin does not approach him). As context, in the oral classroom there is not an explicit rule of 'one person per chair' in the library, and given the size of the chair, the children use their own discretion as to its seating arrangement. Ella and Evie share a chair and create a sense of sociability. For Kevin, however, this discretion should be managed and is sanctionable. This interaction, then, revolves around an implicit rule, one "discerned by the participants' reactions to each other's actions" (Cobb-Moore et al. 2009: 1478). Ella responds with resistance, characterized by her expressions of disagreement and the fact that neither of the girls arise from the chair.

Unsatisfied with the girls' conduct, Kevin recruits Ms. Kate's assistance in the issue, ushering her to the library space and pointing to the girls (line 5; Figure 14). Ms. Kate, however, portrays the girls' behavior as sharing (line 6), which is generally a desired classroom behavior and indeed receives her verbal approval (line 7). Nevertheless, what is noteworthy in this

example is that Kevin interprets the girls' sitting as a norm violation and initially tries to correct it *himself,* demonstrating agency in enforcing rule-following behavior. It is only when the girls do not comply that Kevin seeks teacher intervention, using Ms. Kate to help influence his peers in behaving according to what he views as appropriate participation for the library setting. Even though his rule-enforcement is ultimately resisted, and even considering his communication differences, Kevin effectively participates alongside his peers and the teacher in negotiating and co-constructing the social order of the library.

4.4.4 Modulating Communication According to Peer Recipients

Up to this point in the chapter, I have shown how interactions between D/HH children in an oral classroom can serve as mechanisms for important socialization processes (e.g. with respect to play and politeness) similar to what can be found in mainstream classrooms. I have also shown how D/HH children's interactions can reflect their understandings of cultural knowledge, rules, and values particular to the oral classroom and socialize each other into what it means to be competent members and language users in their learning environment. Furthermore, in these interactions, the roles of socializing experts and novices do not depend on which children have the most advanced spoken language skills; rather, they are constantly shifting according to the children's definition of the situation with their peers (Goffman 1959). This contingent nature of peer socialization points to one final claim: In the oral classroom, the children can modulate their communication based on the hearing and speech status of their peers, revealing an orientation to recipient design in peer socialization (Sacks et al. 1974). By tailoring their messages differently depending on their recipient, the children show that they are actively working to socialize their peers.

This phenomenon is particularly clear in interactions with Kevin, as shown in the final extract below, taken during free play. Evie is on the floor playing with a toy truck. Just prior to line 1, Kevin walks over to Evie and snatches the truck out of her hands. Ms. Kate is sitting nearby.

Extract 8. Free play: Truck

```
01  EVIE:  e:::::h!
02         (9.0) ((Evie stares at Kevin and the toy truck))
03  EVIE:  AH:::!
04         (1.0)
05  EVIE:  ((produces whimper and points to the truck))
06  EVIE:  ((turns to the teacher))
07         (2.0)
08  TCHR:  What. (0.3) [What Evie,
09  EVIE:              [((points to the truck again)) °it my ca:r,°
```

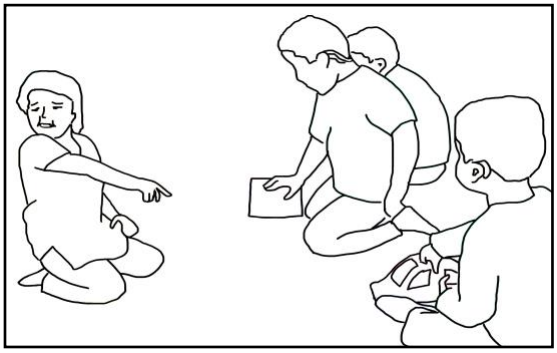

Figure 15

We have already seen in Extract 1 that Evie is verbal, yet in this exchange her verbalizations are absent. In line 1, Evie reacts vocally, but not verbally, with the outcry "e:::::h!" when Kevin takes her toy. After a considerably prolonged silence, where nothing has been done (by the teacher nor Kevin) to rectify the transgression, Evie lets out another response cry (Goffman 1978), "AH:::!" (line 3), and a whimper (line 5) before indirectly requesting intervention by pointing to the truck in Kevin's possession and gazing over her shoulder, presumably towards a supervising adult (Figure 15). Ms. Kate indeed acknowledges with, "What Evie," and only then does Evie use her speech (though softly) to contend that the truck is 'her car' (line 9). Evie's vocal utterances in lines 1 and 3, as well as the whimper, can be viewed as vocal, but not verbal,

forms of complaining. Evie relies on non-verbal signals with a recipient who is less able to respond with oral communication. Ultimately, the teacher does not resolve the issue and Evie moves on to play with another toy (transcript not shown).

Though she withholds her speech with Kevin, Evie verbalizes her complaint when responding to the teacher. One could argue that Evie verbalizes with the teacher simply because the teacher asked her a question, which puts interactional pressures on Evie to respond with some explanation. However, note that Evie *thrice* produces vocal sounds when facing Kevin and before the teacher's intervention, suggesting an awareness that nonverbal communication is suitable in this situation. Moreover, each of her sounds are produced differently with slight adjustments in articulatory force and pitch (see Figures 16-18 below).

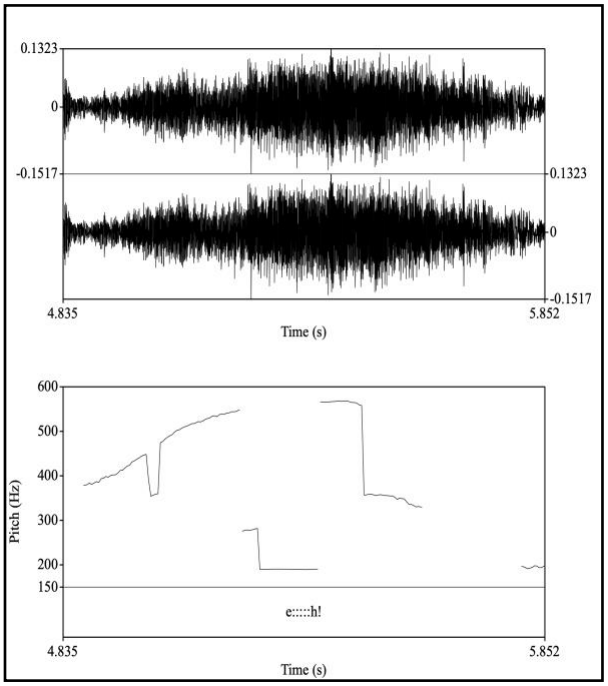

Figure 16. Waveform and pitch curve of Evie's "e:::::h!" (line 1)[9]

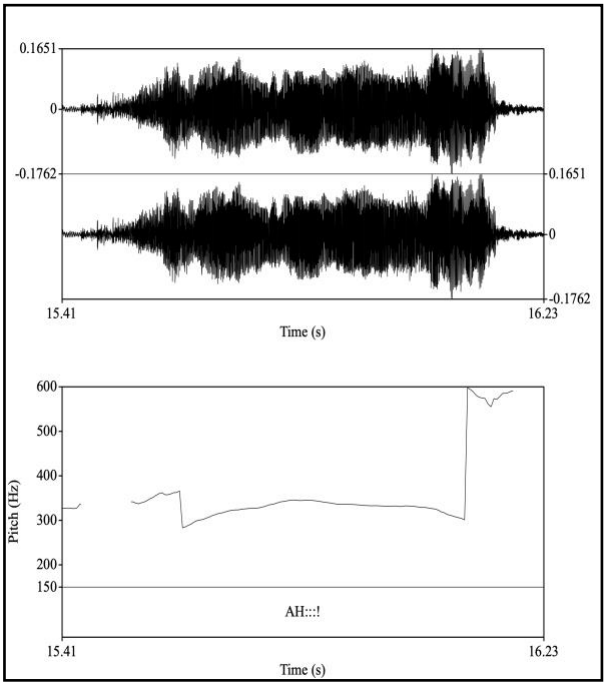

Figure 17. Waveform and pitch curve of Evie's "AH:::!" (line 3)

[9] While there are pitch tracking errors in Figure 16, the general shape of the pitch curve and waveform give us a rough idea of its delivery compared to the sounds in Figures 17-18.

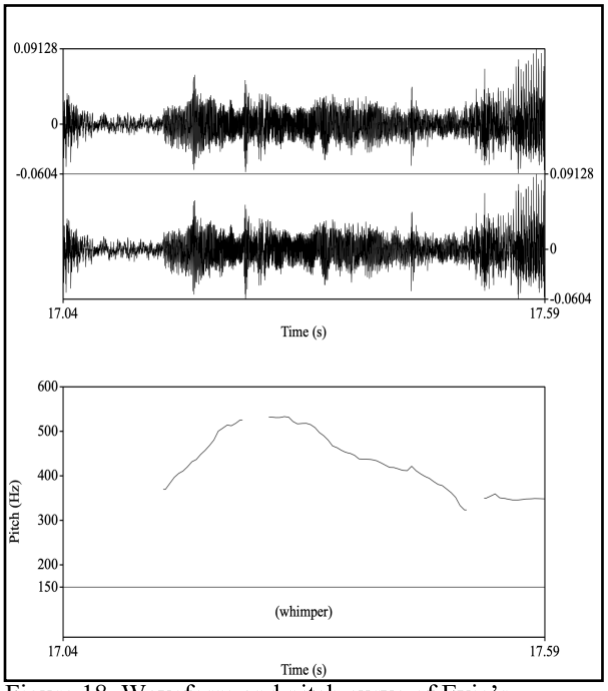

Figure 18. Waveform and pitch curve of Evie's whimper (line 5)

For example, the waveforms in Figures 16-18 illustrate that Evie's "e:::::h!" (line 1; Figure 16) and "AH:::!" (line; Figure 17) are similar in loudness, while her whimper (line 5; Figure 18) is clearly much softer by comparison. Additionally, the pitch curves in Figures 16-18 illustrate that the pitch in Evie's "AH:::!" is more sustained compared to the other sounds she makes. When the first cry fails to reclaim the truck, Evie does not modify her approach by using her words; instead, she remains committed to using nonverbal communication when interacting with Kevin, displaying a sensitivity to the communication ability of her peer. Given that a basic socialization in the classroom is to use spoken language when communicating, the children may understand the need to follow this 'rule' with only certain peers and in certain situations.

4.5 DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate ways in which D/HH children can be socialization models for each other, which entailed taking into account their communication asymmetries. The findings contribute to the Social Model of Childhood Disability (Connors & Stalker 2007) by lending a qualitative investigation of how D/HH children exert agency in their socialization processes and display various skills and competencies across their diverse communicative experiences, thus allowing for different abilities and methods for peer teaching and learning. The broader implications of the findings are multifold. First, the data reveal fundamental ingredients of socialization for all individuals, not just D/HH children — namely, adapting to the local norms of your environment, creating and negotiating different interaction-participation opportunities, and recipient design.

Specifically, Extracts 3-5 show how the D/HH students can socialize their peers into the local language and social norms of their oral classroom. This suggests that one way in which students with disabilities can demonstrate agency in their socialization experiences is through an awareness of and adaptation to the culturally specific norms of their environment. Extract 6-7 show how the role of socializing expert and novice is not contingent on the children's hearing and speech abilities. Rather, the communication asymmetries across the group of children provided opportunities for demonstrating their unique skills and resources in creating and negotiating participation opportunities with others. This allowed *all* children to take up the role of socializing expert in peer interaction.

Extract 8 entails yet another fundamental ingredient of socialization, recipient design. Specifically, the data show that the children are acutely aware of to whom they are speaking and the communication abilities of their peer recipients. Much like how bilingual children can alternate languages in interaction with others toward some interpersonal or interactional goal

(Filipi 2015), in the present study, the children displayed a sensitivity to the *communication modality* of their peer interactants, withholding spoken language in favor of nonverbal means of communication.

These findings urge a reconsideration of the predominant medical framing of disability, which views students with special education needs through a deficit-based lens that places much emphasis on what they cannot do or what they are lacking. In this view, typically-developing students are assumed to have higher competence levels and, thus, are positioned as models and socializing experts in their peer interactions. Yet, we should not assume lower competence levels of students with special education needs, such as D/HH students, purely on the presence of a disability. Indeed, the D/HH children of this dissertation displayed various forms of social and interactional competence through their understandings of what is expected of them and others in any given situation (Goffman 1959).

5

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate through a CA perspective how young D/HH children are socialized into oral communication. Analyses of social interactions in one special education, oral preschool classroom uncovered three distinct interactional phenomena that functioned as meaningful socializing mechanisms, summarized below.

5.1 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FINDINGS

Chapter 2 revealed participants' orientations to preferences for students' vocalization and maximization in the oral classroom. Additionally, analyses found that teachers routinely used OIR, specifically acceptability repair, on students' utterances to enforce these preferences. However, these preferences subvert certain preferences that normatively govern ordinary conversation, namely principles associated with minimization and responding. Thus, Chapter 2 demonstrated how repair machinery can be mobilized to accomplish particular goals, as well as how preference principles taken from an ordinary to an institutional setting can acquire new interactional meaning under the conditions of a specific social context. Acceptability repair, in functioning to promote students' language acquisition and their dispositions to readily use the language they are acquiring, is one mechanism for socializing D/HH children into oral communication.

Chapter 3 illustrated how teachers frequently relied on gesture when issuing directives to students in the oral preschool classroom. Specifically, teachers routinely pointed to their mouth, pointed to their ear, or cupped their ear during their subsequent directives, when their prior

directives were not immediately met with students' complying actions. Student non-compliance entailed displays of outright resistance to directives, or it manifested as displays of trouble in understanding or performing the desired action (e.g., speech difficulties). In either situation, a teacher oriented to some problem on the student's behalf and deployed the gesture during a pursuit towards resolving the issue. In doing so, the teachers used gesture as a resource for clarifying or upgrading their initial directives, thus helping to establish a shared understanding of what constitutes acceptable compliance with a proposed course of action. These findings, however, revealed a paradox in which teachers rely on their gestures as embodied resources for facilitating instructional interaction, yet they discourage students' use of non-vocal forms of communication in favor of their speech (see Chapter 2; see Montiegel 2021).

Aside from teachers' socialization practices, Chapter 4 demonstrated how D/HH children socialized each other into oral communication through their peer interactions. Analyses revealed that the children not only engaged in peer socialization processes similar to what we find in mainstream school settings, but they also socialized each other into behaviors that conformed to the local norms of their oral classroom environment. Within these peer socialization processes, the communicative asymmetries (i.e., the variation in spoken language and listening development) across the group of children provided opportunities for demonstrating their unique skills and resources in creating and negotiating participation opportunities with others. This allowed *all* children to take up the role of socializing expert in peer interaction. Additionally, Chapter 4 showed how the children oriented to recipient design (Sacks et al. 1974) and modulated their communication based on the hearing and speech status of their peer recipient in interaction. This orientation to recipient design sometimes involved withholding spoken

language in favor of nonverbal means of communication, which notably subverts a basic socialization norm in the oral classroom, using your words (see Chapters 2-3).

5.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

5.2.1 Conversation Analysis and the Language Socialization of D/HH Children

The findings of Chapters 2-4 contribute important insight to the fields of CA and Language Socialization. One advantage of Chapter 2 is that it presents one of the few social contexts where preference principles and progressivity run contrary to deep-seated and pervasive norms in ordinary conversation. This has implications for theoretical development in the domains of minimization and conversational implicatures (Levinson 1987), as well as preference organization (Pomerantz & Heritage 2013). Specifically, Chapter 2 presents an environment in which speech production is oriented to over inference-making in that teacher-initiated repair of students' utterances are disguised as repairing interpretation difficulties precisely because of students' minimal speech; thus, we are urged to consider a communication system that maximizes talk in order to maximize inference. In this way, the findings elucidate how both preference principles and cooperativeness in conversation can be oriented to differently for members of distinct populations in particular contexts.

Chapter 2 also contributes to the growing body of CA research on OIR. Specifically, the findings complement what we know of problems with saying something 'wrong' or inappropriate (Svennevig 2008) by showing how acceptability, in the most basic sense, can manifest in the manner of which talk is produced. In my data, students' non-vocal or minimally-produced responses were treated as repairable objects.

The findings of Chapter 3 contribute to research on directive trajectories and, particularly, on sequences involving multiple directives and the practices used to "pursue compliance and

suppress other [action] alternatives" (Craven & Potter 2010: 436; see also Aronsson & Cekaite 2011; Goodwin & Cekaite 2013). In my data, teachers' gestures in subsequent directives function as practices for indexing and renewing initial directives and highlighting a student's apparent failure in displaying acceptable compliance immediately in response. In these ways, the gestures are done both prospectively and retrospectively (Kent & Kendrick 2016), directing students' actions while at the same time holding them "accountable for their current actions or inaction" (p. 272). Rather than enhancing their subsequent directives with vocal features such as increased volume or intonation, the teachers display an awareness of gestures as effective resources for procuring students' compliance.

Chapter 3 also contributes to the literature on embodied directives (Cekaite 2010; Cekaite 2015; Goodwin 2006; Goodwin & Cekaite 2018), where the coordination of verbal utterances and bodily engagement provide a window onto the moment-by-moment nature of socializing children into preferred ways of speaking, thinking, and behaving. Specifically, I have shown that pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear are key features in the construction of teachers' directives to students in an oral preschool classroom. By highlighting the mouth and ears, these embodied resources can, "instruct how to 'feel/perceive' language by displaying […] a sensory access to language and its units that is based both on hearing and seeing" (Merlino 2021: p. 4), and thus may be a particularly useful practice in the socialization of D/HH children into oral communication, including the ways in which the children interpret and respond to directives.

The main advantage of Chapter 4 is its focus on children's peer interactions. Peer interactions in the oral classroom revealed fundamental ingredients of socialization for all individuals, not just D/HH children — namely, adapting to the local norms of an environment,

creating and negotiating different interaction-participation opportunities, and recipient design. Orientations to recipient design, or the ways in which speakers attend to others in moment-to-moment interaction, particularly underscores the utility of CA for understanding D/HH children's socialization into oral communication.

The theory of Language Socialization assumes that an asymmetry of knowledge and power is common to all socializing encounters (Ochs & Schieffelin 2014). Chapter 4 illustrated how communication asymmetries can shape peer socialization. Specifically, the D/HH children of the oral classroom can utilize their unique communicative abilities to actively participate in peer interaction and socialization processes in various ways, and it is precisely their communicative differences that reveal these particular skills and resources for participation opportunities.

5.2.2 Sociology of Childhood

Taken together, Chapters 2-4 contribute to our understanding of children's socialization by examining *how* children co-construct and participate *in intelligible interaction* and thus cooperatively achieve social order. For example, the D/HH children in my data demonstrate agency in their socialization through various interactional processes, such as attending to the conversational preferences and culturally specific norms of their classroom, enforcing rules, negotiating interaction opportunities, and modulating their communication. These processes elucidate how children actively shape the meaning and organization of their interactions (Ochs 1991; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), interactions of which the larger activities and situated practices of the oral classroom are constituted. In other words, the oral classroom as a social setting, one situated within the larger institution of oral education, is brought 'into being' or 'rendered mutually intelligible' (Rawls 2008), in part through the children's mutual understandings and

coordinated actions with their teachers and peers. These assumptions are fundamental to CA and can make unique contributions to sociological understandings of children and socialization.

Additionally, this dissertation offers insight into peer socialization involving children with disabilities, specifically D/HH children, which remains underexplored in the sociology of childhood (Burke 2012; Burke & Claughton 2019; Connors & Stalker 2007). If we acknowledge that all children can display various forms of competence and capabilities in their interactions, and if the role of socializing expert is ever-shifting as research suggests (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs 1991), then we can better understand how students with disabilities, including D/HH children, effectively participate as socializing agents.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

The findings from Chapters 2-4 seem to indicate that socialization in the early childhood special education setting of an oral classroom largely entails overpreparing (versus underpreparing) students with spoken language. This, however, presents several contradictions between oral classroom pedagogy and its intended goals for students' effective interactions in the larger hearing society. That is, certain interactional practices and preferences that are "culturally shared" in the oral classroom may paradoxically be conducive to its specialized setting (Pomerantz & Heritage 2013), though the setting is essentially designed to prepare students for social interactions in mainstream society.

For instance, Chapter 2 demonstrated preferences for students' vocalization and maximization, which subverts norms associated with minimization and responding in ordinary conversation. Perhaps teachers' frequent use of acceptability repair in the data is due to a feature similar of hearing repairs. While the latter can be used to preempt problems of understanding or acceptability in the ongoing interaction (Svennevig 2008), in the oral classroom, acceptability

repair might socialize D/HH children to anticipate, and thus preempt, potential trouble in their future interactions outside of the classroom. That is, perhaps acceptability repair conditions the children to readily produce the clearest, overbuilt versions of their utterances in an effort to reduce the possibilities of miscommunication. Although these unique preferences might be providing the children excessive language use, it seems reasonable to think that, as the children get older and engage more with hearing people, it will be easier for them to shed the interactional norms learned in their oral classroom and adjust to the norms of ordinary conversation precisely because they were overequipped (versus underequipped) with oral language. Indeed, extant studies (Ciocci & Baran 1998; Most 2002, 2003) provide potential evidence that D/HH children will outgrow the orientation to elaborate in response to repair-initiation, and/or they will not overelaborate in ordinary conversational contexts, such as in the home. This, however, warrants further investigation.

Chapter 3 revealed a paradox in which teachers of the oral classroom strongly orient to students using their words instead of non-vocal forms of communication (see Chapter 2; see Montiegel 2021), yet they rely on gestures — specifically, pointing to the mouth, pointing to the ear, and cupping the ear — as embodied practices for facilitating instructional interaction. This might be confusing for students as they are socialized to suppress or shed their use of non-vocal resources in favor of spoken language. That is, the teachers' gestures are clearly communicatively rich and effective in terms of pursuing compliance. It seems counterproductive to have students abstain from using these similar communicative assets in their classroom interactions. This suggests reconsidering the extent to which non-vocal practices are discouraged in spoken-language only instruction, especially if the class is meant to help students eventually

transition into mainstream society, where gesture is so integral to social interaction in everyday life.

Chapter 4 found that, despite the oral classroom's emphasis on spoken language, the role of socializing expert in peer interaction was not limited to those children with the most advanced speech skills, and that all D/HH children actively socialize each other. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrated how students may use spoken language or nonverbal forms of communication depending on the communication modality of their peer interactants (i.e., recipient design), which subverts a basic socialization norm in the oral classroom of this project, to 'use your words' as much as possible.

The findings presented in this dissertation also suggest that an increased attention to D/HH children's use of spoken language in the classroom risks overlooking some of their more 'hidden' and complex types of competencies. Indeed, Chapters 2-4 illustrated a range of children's pragmatic skills, including their abilities in resolving communication breakdowns, perceiving and adapting to the local norms (both explicit and implicit) of their classroom environment, understanding and distinguishing gestural cues in conversation, and modulating their communication between different interactional recipients and in different circumstances. Although existing studies have investigated D/HH children's pragmatic abilities, most of them are experimental in nature and take verbal language as a benchmark for assessment and/or compare D/HH children's pragmatic abilities with those of hearing children (Lederberg & Everhart 2000; Most et al. 2010; Paatsch & Toe 2014). In contrast, this dissertation is one of the few to elucidate D/HH children's social communication skills from a qualitative, interactional perspective. Such insights can be useful for educators, school administrators, and special

education policy makers to better serve D/HH children's needs. In particular, CA can be valuable for current assessments and evaluations of D/HH children's progress in educational settings.

Additionally, the findings can help inform perspectives on special education compared to mainstream schooling. I have shown that the special education setting of a D/HH oral preschool classroom offers unique interactional and socialization opportunities for D/HH children. It is conceivable to think that these same opportunities are not equally available in mainstream preschool classrooms with hearing children, perhaps because the use of oral communication is taken for granted and not necessarily the paramount learning objective. Indeed, evidence from past studies on limited linguistic interaction and pragmatic language learning in mainstream classrooms settings seem to support this (Cawthon 2001; Most et al. 2010),

Importantly, while I have emphasized the children's interactional strengths in the oral classroom, there were also frequent occurrences of their communicative challenges that led to adversities such as limited participation or peer exclusion. These incidents most often involved Kevin, the only student in the classroom who primarily communicates with sign language. As Hall and colleagues (2019) pointed out, some D/HH children struggle with oral communication and possibly may never fully master spoken language, whereas their development in a strong foundation of sign language bypasses this risk of language accessibility and better supports them in reaching their full potential. It is clear that oral-only instruction is restrictive in some respects, but the goal of this dissertation was not to assess the appropriateness of placement in the oral classroom. Instead, my goal was to demonstrate socialization into oral communication as a reciprocal, collaborative, and multimodal process, as well as to lend insight on the affordances of special education settings on children's socialization.

5.4 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Data for this dissertation was collected from a single classroom, which limits generalizability. However, analyses show how certain interactional practices and processes can be conducive to the goal of socializing D/HH students into spoken language use. Because the classroom follows a broader oral educational approach, there is little reason to believe that it is entirely disparate from the activities and standards that make up other D/HH oral classrooms in special education settings, but this requires further exploration. Moreover, this chapter does not investigate the students' socialization into oral communication outside of the classroom. Family is the primary, and perhaps most crucial, site of children's socialization, thus future CA research can benefit from collecting data in D/HH children's natural home environments.

Future research can also be fruitful in taking a comparative approach to socialization practices and processes across different preschool classroom environments. What does D/HH children's socialization into language look like in a signing classroom? In a total communication classroom? There is much to learn from young D/HH children and the ways in which they navigate their social world with a variety of interlocutors. I hope this dissertation inspires further interactional study on D/HH children's socialization experiences.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. & Adler, P. (1986). Introduction. *Sociological Studies of Child Development, 1*, 3–10.

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1998). *Peer power: Preadolescent culture and identity*. Rutgers University Press.

Alquraini, T., & Gut, D. (2012). Critical components of successful inclusion of students with severe disabilities: Literature review. *International Journal of Special Education, 27*(1), 42-59.

Ambrose, S. E., Walker, E. A., Unflat-Berry, L. M., Oleson, J. J., & Moeller, M. P. (2015). Quantity and quality of caregivers' linguistic input to 18-month and 3-year-old children who are hard of hearing. *Ear and Hearing, 36*(1), 48-59.

Anglin-Jaffe, H. (2013). Signs of resistance: Peer learning of sign languages within 'oral' schools for the deaf. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 32*(3), 261-271.

Anisfeld, M. (2014). *Language development from birth to three*. Psychology Press.

Antaki, C. & Kent, A. (2012) Telling people what to do (and, sometimes, why): Contingency, entitlement and explanation in staff requests to adults with intellectual impairments. *Journal of Pragmatics 44*(6-7), 876–889.

Antia, S. D. (1982). Social interaction of partially mainstreamed hearing-impaired children. *American Annals of the Deaf, 127*(1), 18-25.

Antia, S. D., & Dittillo, D. A. (1998). A comparison of the peer social behavior of children who are deaf/hard of hearing and hearing. *Journal of Children's Communication Development, 19*(2), 1-10.

Antia, S. D., & Kreimeyer, K. H. (1987). The effect of social skill training on the peer interaction of preschool hearing-impaired children. *Journal of the Division for Early Childhood, 11*(3), 206-216.

Antia, S.D, & Kreimeyer, K.H. (1988). Maintenance of positive peer interaction in preschool hearing-impaired children. *The Volta Review, 90*(7), 325–337.

Antia, S. D., & Kreimeyer, K. H. (1992). Social competence intervention for young children with hearing impairments. In S. Odom, S. McConnell, & M. Smye (Eds.), *Social Competence* (pp. 135-164). Guilford.

Antia, S. D., & Kreimeyer, K. H. (1996). Social interaction and acceptance of deaf or hard-of-hearing children and their peers: A comparison of social-skills and familiarity-based interventions. *Volta Review, 98*(4), 157-180.

Antia, S. D., & Kreimeyer, K. H. (1997). The generalization and maintenance of the peer social behaviors of young children who are deaf or hard of hearing. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 28*(1), 59-69.

Antia, S. D., & Kreimeyer, K. H. (2015). *Social competence of deaf and hard-of-hearing children*. Oxford.

Antia, S. D., Kreimeyer, K. H., & Eldredge, N. (1993). Promoting social interaction between young children with hearing impairments and their peers. *Exceptional Children, 60*(3), 262-275.

Antia, S. D., Kreimeyer, K. H., Metz, K. K., & Spolsky, S. (2011). Peer Interactions of Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Children. In M. Marschark & P.E. Spencer (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Deaf studies, language, and education, Volume 1* (pp. 173-187). Oxford.

Archbold, S., & Mayer, C. (2012). Deaf education: The impact of cochlear implantation? *Deafness & Education International, 14*(1), 2-15.

Aronsson, K., & Cekaite, A. (2011). Activity contracts and directives in everyday family politics. *Discourse & Society, 22*(2), 137-154.

Atar, C., Walsh, S., & Seedhouse, P. (2020). Teachers' nonverbal behavior in repair initiation: Leaning forward and cupping the hand behind the ear. In Y. Dogan (Ed.), *Academic studies in foreign language education* (pp. 1-20). Livre de Lyon.

Balaman, U. (2018). Embodied Resources in a Repetition Activity in a Preschool L2 Classroom. *Novitas-ROYAL (Research on Youth and Language), 12*(1), 27-51.

Bat-Chava, Y., & Deignan, E. (2001). Peer relationships of children with cochlear implants. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 6*(3), 186-199.

Bat-Chava, Y., Martin, D., & Kosciw, J. G. (2005). Longitudinal improvements in communication and socialization of deaf children with cochlear implants and hearing aids: Evidence from parental reports. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 46*(12), 1287-1296.

Bateman, A. (2015). *Conversation analysis and early childhood education: The co-production of knowledge and relationships*. Routledge.

Bateman, A., & Church, A. (Eds.). (2016). *Children's knowledge-in-interaction: Studies in conversation analysis.* Springer.

Bateman, A., Danby, S., & Howard, J. (2013). Everyday preschool talk about Christchurch earthquakes. *Australian Journal of Communication, 40*(1), 103-122.

Batten, G., Oakes, P. M., & Alexander, T. (2014). Factors associated with social interactions between deaf children and their hearing peers: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 19*(3), 285-302.

Beach, W.A. (1993). Transitional regularities for casual "Okay" usages. *Journal of Pragmatics, 19*, 325-352.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* Anchor.

Bergeron, F., Berland, A., Demers, D., & Gobeil, S. (2020). Contemporary speech and oral language care for deaf and hard-of-hearing children using hearing devices. *Journal of Clinical Medicine, 9*(2), 378.

Bernstein, B. (1981). Codes, modalities, and the process of cultural reproduction: A model. *Language in Society, 10*, 327-363.

Björk-Willén, P. (2008). Routine trouble: How preschool children participate in multilingual instruction. *Applied Linguistics, 29*(4), 555-577.

Björk-Willén, P. (2018). Learning to apologize: Moral socialization as an interactional practice in preschool. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 2*(2), 177-194.

Bobzien, J., Richels, C., Raver, S. A., Hester, P., Browning, E., & Morin, L. (2013). An observational study of social communication skills in eight preschoolers with and without hearing loss during cooperative play. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 41*(5), 339-346.

Bobzien, J. L., Richels, C., Schwartz, K., Raver, S. A., Hester, P., & Morin, L. (2015). Using repeated reading and explicit instruction to teach vocabulary to preschoolers with hearing loss. *Infants & Young Children, 28*(3), 262–280.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage.

Boyd, R. C., Knutson, J. F., & Dahlstrom, A. J. (2000). Social interaction of pediatric cochlear implant recipients with age-matched peers. *Annals of Otology, Rhinology & Laryngology, 109*(12), 105-109.

Bowen, S. K. (2016). Early intervention: A multicultural perspective on d/Deaf and hard of hearing multilingual learners. *American Annals of the Deaf, 161*(1), 33-42.

Bowen, S. K., & Ferrell, K. A. (2003). Assessment in low-incidence disabilities: The day-to-day realities. *Rural Special Education Quarterly, 22*(4), 10-19.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1993). “You gotta know how to tell a story”: Telling, tales, and tellers in American and Israeli narrative events at dinner. *Language in Society, 22*(3), 361-402.

Blum-Kulka, S., & Snow, C.E. (2004). Introduction: The potential of peer talk. *Discourse Studies, 6*(3), 291-306.

Brennan-Jones, C. G., White, J., Rush, R. W., & Law, J. (2014). Auditory-verbal therapy for promoting spoken language development in children with permanent hearing impairments. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*, (3). CD010100.

Brown P. M. Bortoli A. Remine M. D. Othman B. (2008). Social engagement, attention and competence of preschoolers with hearing loss. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs, 8*(1), 19–26.

Brown, P. M., Remine, M. D., Prescott, S. J., & Rickards, F. W. (2000). Social interactions of preschoolers with and without impaired hearing in integrated kindergarten. *Journal of Early Intervention, 23*(3), 200-211.

Browne, A. (2009). *Developing language and literacy 3-8*. Sage.

Burdelski, M. (2010). Socializing politeness routines: Action, other-orientation, and embodiment in a Japanese preschool. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(6), 1606-1621.

Burdelski, M. (2013). “I’m sorry, flower”: Socializing apology, relationships, and empathy in Japan. *Pragmatics and Society, 4*(1), 54-81.

Burdelski, M. (2015). Reported speech as cultural gloss and directive: Socializing norms of speaking and acting in Japanese caregiver–child triadic interaction. *Text & Talk, 35*(5), 575-595.

Burdelski, M. (2019). Emotion and affect in language socialization. In S.E. Pritzker, J. Fenigsen, & J.M. Wilce (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language and emotion* (pp. 28-46). Routledge.

Burdelski, M. (2020). ‘Say can I borrow it’: Teachers and children managing peer conflict in a Japanese preschool. *Linguistics and Education, 59*, 100728.

Burdelski, M. (2021). Classroom socialisation: Repair and correction in Japanese as a heritage language. *Classroom Discourse, 12*(3), 255-279.

Burdelski, M., & Evaldsson, A. C. (2019). Young children’s multimodal and collaborative tellings in family and preschool interaction. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 3*(1-2), 1-5.

Burke, J. (2012). ‘Some kids climb up; some kids climb down’: Culturally constructed play-worlds of children with impairments. *Disability & Society, 27*(7), 965-981.

Burke, J. & Claughton, A. (2019). Playing with or next to? The nuanced and complex play of children with impairments. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 23*(10), 1065-1080.

Butler, C.W. (2016). *Talk and social interaction in the playground*. Routledge.

Byrne, K. (2015). *Early Hearing Detection and Intervention Conferences: Cultural and Pathological Messages*. All Graduate Plan B and other Reports, p. 51.

Cabell, S. Q., Justice, L. M., McGinty, A. S., DeCoster, J., & Forston, L. D. (2015). Teacher–child conversations in preschool classrooms: Contributions to children's vocabulary development. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 30*, 80-92.

Carlin, A. P., & Kim, Y. (2021). Longitudinal Conversation Analysis of Parent–child Interaction: Small Data and Interdisciplinary Work in Linguistics and Sociology. In *SAGE Research Methods Cases*. Retrieved from https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781529757248.

Cawthon, S. W. (2001). Teaching strategies in inclusive classrooms with deaf students. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 6*(3), 212-225.

Cekaite, A. (2010) Shepherding the child: Embodied directive sequences in parent–child interactions. *Text & Talk, 30*(1): 1–25.

Cekaite, A. (2015). The coordination of talk and touch in adults' directives to children: Touch and social control. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 48(*2), 152-175.

Cekaite, A. (2020). Triadic conflict mediation as socialization into perspective taking in Swedish preschools. *Linguistics and Education, 59*, 100753, 1-9.

Cekaite, A. & Björk-Willén, P. (2012). Peer group interactions in multilingual educational settings: Co-constructing social order and norms for language use. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 17*(2), 174-188.

Cekaite, A., Blum-Kulka, S., Grøver, V. & Teubal, E. (Eds.). (2014). *Children's peer talk: Learning from each other*. Cambridge University Press.

Cekaite, A., & Burdelski, M. (2021). Crying and crying responses: A comparative exploration of pragmatic socialization in a Swedish and Japanese preschool. *Journal of Pragmatics, 178*, 329-348.

Cekaite, A., & Evaldsson, A. C. (2019). Stance and footing in multilingual play: Rescaling practices and heritage language use in a Swedish preschool. *Journal of Pragmatics, 144*, 127-140.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2017). Summary of 2017 National CDC EHDI data. *Annual Data Early Hearing Detection and Intervention (EHDI) Program*. Retrieved

from https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/hearingloss/2017-data/documents/01-2017-HSFS-Data-Summary.pdf.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. MIT Press.

Church, A. (2009). Preference organisation and peer disputes: How young children resolve conflict. Routledge.

Church, A., Paatsch, L., & Toe, D. (2017). Some trouble with repair: Conversations between children with cochlear implants and hearing peers. *Discourse Studies, 19*(1), 49-68.

Christiansen, J. B., & Leigh, I. (2002). *Cochlear implants in children: Ethics and* choices. Gallaudet University Press.

Cicourel, A. V. (1974). *Cognitive sociology: Language and meaning in social interaction*. Free Press.

Ciocci, S. R., & Baran, J. A. (1998). The use of conversational repair strategies by children who are deaf. *American Annals of the Deaf, 143*(3), 235-245.

Cobb-Moore, C., Danby, S. & Farrell, A. (2009). Young children as rule makers. *Journal of Pragmatics, 41*(8), 1477-1492.

Connor, D. J., & Ferri, B. A. (2007). The conflict within: Resistance to inclusion and other paradoxes in special education. *Disability & Society, 22*(1), 63-77.

Connors, C., & Stalker, K. (2007). Children's experiences of disability: Pointers to a social model of childhood disability. *Disability & Society, 22*(1), 19-33.

Cook-Gumperz, J., Corsaro, W. A., & Streeck, J. (Eds.). (1986). *Children's worlds and children's language.* Mouton de Gruyter.

Cookson, P. W., & Sadovnik, A. R. (2002). Functionalist theories of education. In P. Cookson & A.R. Sadovnik (Eds.), *Education and sociology. An encyclopedia* (pp. 267-271). Taylor & Francis.

Corsaro, W.A. (1992). Interpretive reproduction in children's peer cultures. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 55*, 160-177.

Corsaro, W. A. (2003). *We're friends, right? Inside kids' culture*. Joseph Henry Press.

Corsaro, W. A. (2009). Peer culture. In J. Qvortrup, W.A. Corsaro, & M.S. Honig (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of childhood studies* (pp. 301-315). Palgrave Macmillan.

Corsaro, W.A. (2018). *The sociology of childhood, Fifth edition*. Sage.

Corsaro, W. A., & Eder, D. (1990). Children's peer cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology, 16*(1), 197-220.

Corsaro, W.A. & Rizzo, T.A. (1988). Discussione and friendship: Socialization processes in the peer culture of Italian nursery school children. *American Sociological Review, 53*(6), 879-894.

Craven, A. & Potter, J. (2010). Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies, 12*(4): 419–442.

Cromdal, J. (2001). Can I be with?: Negotiating play entry in a bilingual school. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33*(4), 515-543.

Cromdal, J. (2004). Building bilingual oppositions: Code-switching in children's disputes. *Language in Society, 33*(1), 33-58.

Crowe, K., & Dammeyer, J. (2021). A review of the conversational pragmatic skills of children with cochlear implants. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 26*(2), 171-186.

Curl, T.S. & Drew, P. (2008). Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 41*(2), 129-153.

Dammeyer, J. (2012). A longitudinal study of pragmatic language development in three children with cochlear implants. *Deafness & Education International, 14*(4), 217-232.

Danby, S. & Theobald, M. (Eds.). (2012) *Disputes in everyday life: Social and moral orders of children and young people.* Emerald Publishing.

Davidson, C. (2010). Transcription matters: Transcribing talk and interaction to facilitate conversation analysis of the taken-for-granted in young children's interactions. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, *8*(2), 115-131.

Davidson, L., Osman, A., & Geers, A. E. (2021). The effects of early intervention on language growth after age 3 for children with permanent hearing loss. *Journal of Early Hearing Detection and Intervention, 6*(1), 1-11.

Davis, J. & Watson, N. (2002). Countering stereotypes of disability: Disabled children and resistance. In M. Corker & T. Shakespeare (Eds.), *Disability/Postmodernity: Embodying disability theory* (pp. 159-174). Continuum.

De Stefani, E. (2021). Embodied responses to questions-in-progress: silent nods as affirmative answers. *Discourse Processes, 58*(4), 353-371.

De Stefani, E., & Gazin, A. D. (2014). Instructional sequences in driving lessons: Mobile participants and the temporal and sequential organization of actions. *Journal of Pragmatics, 65*, 63-79.

de Vos, C. D., Torreira, F. J., & Levinson, S. C. (2016). Turn-timing in signed conversations. Coordinating stroke-to-stroke turn boundaries. In J. Holler, K.H. Kendrick, M. Casillas & S.C. Levinson (Eds.), *Turn-taking in human communicative interaction* (pp. 183-195). Frontiers in Psychology.

DeLuzio, J., & Girolametto, L. (2011). Peer interactions of preschoolers with hearing loss. *The ASHA Leader, 16*(11), 22-24.

Demir, Ö. E., Fisher, J. A., Goldin-Meadow, S., & Levine, S. C. (2014). Narrative processing in typically developing children and children with early unilateral brain injury: seeing gesture matters. *Developmental Psychology, 50*(3), 815.

Denzin, N. K. (1972). The genesis of self in early childhood. *The Sociological Quarterly, 13*(3), 291-314.

Dettman, S., Wall, E., Constantinescu, G., & Dowell, R. (2013). Communication outcomes for groups of children using cochlear implants enrolled in auditory-verbal, aural-oral, and bilingual-bicultural early intervention programs. *Otology & Neurotology, 34*(3), 451-459.

Drasgow, E. (2019). Brief History of ASL in Deaf Education. *Encyclopedia Brittanica*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/topic/American-Sign-Language.

Drew, P. (1997). 'Open' class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 28*(1), 69-101.

Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (1992). *Talk at work. Interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge University Press.

Duff, P. A., & Talmy, S. (2011). Language socialization approaches to second language acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition* (pp. 95-116). Routledge.

Duncan, J. (1999). Conversational skills of children with hearing loss and children with normal hearing in an integrated setting. *Volta Review, 101*(4), 193-212.

Duranti, A., Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (Eds.). (2014). *The handbook of language socialization*. Wiley.

Durkheim, E. (1922/1956). *Education and Sociology*. The Free Press.

Durkheim, E. (1925/1961). *Moral education: A study in the theory and application of the sociology of education*. The Free Press and Collier-Macmillan.

Easterbrooks, S. R. (2020). *Language learning in children who are deaf and hard of hearing: Theory to classroom practice*. Oxford.

Egbert, M., & Deppermann, A. (2012). *Hearing aids communication: Integrating social interaction, audiology and user centered design to improve communication with hearing loss and hearing technologies*. Verlag für Gesprächsforschung.

Ekberg, K., Hickson, L., & Grenness, C. (2017). Conversation breakdowns in the audiology clinic: the importance of mutual gaze. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders, 52*(3), 346-355.

Ekman, P., Friesen, W. V., & Hager, J. C. (2002). *Facial action coding system* [e-book]. Research Nexus.

Enfield, N. J., Kita, S., & De Ruiter, J. P. (2007). Primary and secondary pragmatic functions of pointing gestures. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39*(10), 1722-1741.

Enfield, N.J. & Levinson, S.C. (2006). *Roots of human sociality*: Culture, cognition and interaction. Routledge.

Erber, N. P. (1982). *Auditory training*. Alex Graham Bell Association for the Deaf.

Erting, C. J. (1994). *Deafness, communication, and social identity: Ethnography in a preschool for deaf children*. Linstok Press.

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1976). Is Sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society, 5*(1), 25-66.

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1988). Request retries. *Lenguas Modernas*, (15), 25-34.

Evaldsson, A. C. (2005). Staging insults and mobilizing categorizations in a multiethnic peer group. *Discourse & Society, 16*(6), 763-786.

Evans, A. D. (1988). Strange bedfellows: Deafness, language, and the sociology of knowledge. *Symbolic Interaction, 11*(2), 235-255.

Feshbach, N. D. (1967). Variations in teachers' reinforcement style and imitative behavior of children differing in personality characteristics and social background. *CSEIP Technical Report No. 2*. University of California, Los Angeles.

Filipi, A. (2015). The development of recipient design in bilingual child-parent interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 48*(1), 100-119.

Filipi, A. (2017). Exploring the recognisability of early story-telling through an interactional lens. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 1*(2), 141-163.

Fine, G.A. (1987). *With the Boys.* University of Chicago Press.

Fitzpatrick, E. M., Hamel, C., Stevens, A., Pratt, M., Moher, D., Doucet, S. P., Neuss, D., Bernstein, B., & Eunjung, N. (2016). Sign language and spoken language for children with hearing loss: A systematic review. *Pediatrics, 137*(1).

Fitzpatrick, E., Squires, B., & Kay-Raining Bird, E. (2020). What's that you say? Communication breakdowns and their repairs in children who are deaf or hard of hearing. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 25*(4), 490-504.

Floyd, S., Manrique, E., Rossi, G., & Torreira, F. (2016). Timing of visual bodily behavior in repair sequences: Evidence from three languages. *Discourse Processes, 53*(3), 175-204.

Floyd, S., Rossi, G. & Enfield, NJ. (Eds.). (2020). *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*. Language Science Press.

Forrester, M. A. (2013). Mutual adaptation in parent-child interaction: Learning how to produce questions and answers. *Interaction Studies, 14*(2), 190-211.

Fox, S. (2008). That miracle of familiar organizational things': Social and moral order in the MBA classroom. *Organization Studies, 29*(5), 733-761.

Fox, B.A., & Thompson, S.A. (2010). Responses to wh-questions in English conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(2), 133-156.

Gaitán, L. (2014). Socialization and childhood in sociological theorizing. In A. Ben-Ariehm, F. Casas, I. Frønes, & J.E. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of child well-being: Theories, methods and policies in global perspective* (pp. 759-793). Springer.

Gallaudet University (2014). *Regional and national summary report of data from the 2013-14 annual survey of deaf and hard of hearing children and youth*. Office of Research Support and International Affairs, Washington, DC.

Ganek, H., & Cardy, J. O. (2021). Exploring speech and language intervention for preschoolers who are deaf and hard of hearing: A scoping review. *Journal of Early Hearing Detection and Intervention, 6*(2), 10.

Gardner, R. (2013). Conversation analysis in the classroom. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 593-611). Wiley-Blackwell.

Gardner, R. (2019). Classroom interaction research: the state of the art. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 52*(3), 212-226.

Gardner, H., & Forrester, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Analysing interactions in childhood: Insights from conversation analysis*. John Wiley & Sons.

Gardner, R., & Wagner, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Second language conversations*. A&C Black.

Garfinkel, H. (1964). Studies of the routine grounds of everyday activities. *Social Problems, 11*(3), 225-250.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Prentice-Hall.

Garfinkel, H. & Sacks, H. (1970). On formal structures of practical action. In J. C. McKinney & E. A. Tiryakian (Eds.), *Theoretical sociology: Perspectives and developments* (pp. 338-366). Appleton Century-Crofts.

Garrett, P.B. & Baquedano-López, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*(1), 339-361.

Girard-Groeber, S. (2015). The management of turn transition in signed interaction through the lens of overlaps. In J. Holler, K.H. Kendrick, M. Casillas & S.C. Levinson (Eds.), *Turn-taking in human communicative interaction* (pp. 196-214). Frontiers in Psychology.

Girard-Groeber, S. (2018). *Participation by hard-of-hearing students in integration classrooms: Facets of interactional competence, Vol. 4.* Frank & Timme.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. First Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. Basic Books.

Goffman, E. (1978). Response cries. *Language, 54*(4), 787-815.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address. *American Sociological Review 48*(1): 1-17.

Goico, S. A. (2019). The impact of "inclusive" education on the language of deaf youth in Iquitos, Peru. *Sign Language Studies, 19*(3), 19-40. 348-374.

Goico, S.A. & Montiegel, K. (*in press*). Educators' Perceptions of Supporting Parents of Children who are Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing. *Journal of Early Intervention*.

Goldin-Meadow, S. (2007). Pointing sets the stage for learning language—and creating language. *Child Development, 78*(3), 741-745.

Goldin-Meadow, S. (2011). Learning through gesture. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science, 2*(6), 595-607.

Goldin-Meadow, S., & Alibali, M. W. (2013). Gesture's role in speaking, learning, and creating language. *Annual Review of Psychology, 64*, 257-283.

Goodley, D. (2001). 'Learning difficulties', the social model of disability and impairment: Challenging epistemologies. *Disability & Society, 16*(2), 207-231.

Goodman, N. (1985). Socialization: I. A sociological overview. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction, 1*, 73-94.

Goodwin, M.H. (2006). Participation, affect, and trajectory in family directive/response sequences. *Text & Talk*, 26(4-5), 513-541.

Goodwin, M. H., & Cekaite, A. (2013). Calibration in directive/response sequences in family interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 46*(1), 122-138.

Goodwin, M. H., & Cekaite, A. (2018). *Embodied family choreography: Practices of control, care, and mundane creativity*. Routledge.

Goodwin, M. H., & Kyratzis, A. (2007). Children socializing children: Practices for negotiating the social order among peers. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 40*(4), 279-289.

Goodwin, M. H., & Kyratzis, A. (2014). Peer language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B.B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 365-390). John Wiley & Sons.

Gordon, S. (2006). Making sense of the inclusion debate under IDEA. *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal, 2006*(1), 189-226.

Graham, N., Nye, C., Mandy, A., Clarke, C., & Morriss-Roberts, C. (2018). The meaning of play for children and young people with physical disabilities: A systematic thematic synthesis. *Child: Care, Health and Development, 44*(2), 173-182.

Grice, H.P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In J. Cole & J.L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts* (pp. 41-58). Academic Press.

Griswold, O. (2007). Achieving authority: Discursive practices in Russian girls' pretend play. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 40*(4), 291-319.

Groeber, S., & Pekarek Doehler, S. (2012). Hearing-impaired adolescents in a regular classroom: on the embodied accomplishment of participation and understanding. In M. Egbert & A. Deppermann (Eds.), *Hearing aids communication: Integrating human interaction, technology and audiology to improve hearing technology use* (pp. 76-89). Verlag für Gesprächsforschung.

Groeber, S., & Pochon-Berger, E. (2014). Turns and turn-taking in sign language interaction: A study of turn-final holds. *Journal of Pragmatics, 65*, 121-136.

Guhin, J., McCrory Calarco, J., & Miller-Idriss, C. (2021). Whatever Happened to Socialization? *Annual Review of Sociology, 47*, 109-129.

Gullberg, M. (2006). Some reasons for studying gesture and second language acquisition (Hommage à Adam Kendon), *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 44*(2), 103-124.

Hall, J. K. (2004). Language learning as an interactional achievement. *Modern Language Journal, 88*(4), 607– 612.

Hall, J. K., & Looney, S. D. (Eds.). (2019). *The embodied work of teaching*. Multilingual Matters.

Hall, M. L., Hall, W. C., & Caselli, N. K. (2019). Deaf children need language, not (just) speech. *First Language, 39*(4), 367-395.

Handel, G., Cahill, S., & Elkin, F. (2007). *Children and society: The sociology of children and childhood socialization*. Roxbury Publishing.

Hauser, E. (2009). Turn-taking and primary speakership during a student discussion. In H.T. Nguyen & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Talk-in-interaction: Multilingual perspectives* (pp. 215-244). National Foreign Language Resource Center-University of Hawaii.

He, A. W. (2000). The grammatical and interactional organization of teacher's directives: Implications for socialization of Chinese American children. *Linguistics and Education, 11*(2), 119-140.

Heath , C. (1984). Talk and recipiency: Sequential organization in speech and body movement. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 247-265). Cambridge University Press.

Hehir, T., Grindal, T., Freeman, B., Lamoreau, R., Borquaye, Y., & Burke, S. (2016). *A summary of the evidence on inclusive education*. Abt Associates.

Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G.B. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 57-76). Wiley-Blackwell.

Hepburn, A., & Potter, J. (2011). Threats: Power, family mealtimes, and social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(1), 99-120.

Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Polity Press.

Heritage, J. (2009). Conversation analysis as social theory. In B.S. Turner (Ed.), *The new Blackwell companion to social theory* (pp. 300-320). Blackwell.

Heritage, J., & Greatbatch, D. L. (1991). On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interviews. In D. Boden & D. H. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Talk and social structure* (pp. 93-137). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hill, J. C. (2012). *Language attitudes in the American Deaf community*. Gallaudet University Press.

Hirata, Y., & Kelly, S. D. (2010). Effects of lips and hands on auditory learning of second-language speech sounds. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research, 53*, 298–310.

Holcomb, L., Horejes, T. P., Ocuto, O., & Santini, J. (2019). Sociological perspectives on Deaf identities. In I.W. Leigh & C.A. O'Brien (Eds.), *Deaf identities: Exploring new Frontiers*, (pp. 27-52). Oxford.

Holm Kvist, M. (2018). Children's crying in play conflicts: A locus for moral and emotional socialization. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 2*(2), 153-176.

Horejes, T.P. & Yerker, J.A. (2016). Sociology of Deaf people. In G. Gertz & P. Boudreault (Eds.), *The SAGE Deaf Studies encyclopedia* (pp. 911-916). Sage.

Howard, K. (2014). *Language socialization*. In Oxford Bibliographies.

Howard, K.M. (2017). Language socialization language ideologies, and language shift among school-aged children. In P.A. Duff & S. Springer (Eds.), *Language socialization, Encyclopedia of language and education*. Springer International Publishing.

Hudson, N. (2011). *Teacher gesture in a post-secondary English as a second language classroom: A sociocultural approach* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nevada, Las Vegas).

Humphries, T. (2013). Schooling in American Sign Language: A paradigm shift from a deficit model to a bilingual model in deaf education. *Berkeley Review of Education, 4*(1), 7-33.

Humphries, T., Kushalnagar, P., Mathur, G., Napoli, D. J., Padden, C., Rathmann, C., & Smith, S. (2016). Language choices for deaf infants: Advice for parents regarding sign languages. *Clinical Pediatrics, 55*(6), 513-517.

Hutchby, I. (2019). Conversation analysis. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, A. Cernat, J.W. Sakshaug, & R.A. Williams (Eds.), *SAGE research methods foundations*. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526421036789623.

Hutchby, I. & Moran-Ellis, J. (1998). *Children and social competence: Arenas of action.* The Falmer Press.

Huth, T. (2011). Conversation analysis and language classroom discourse. *Language and Linguistics Compass, 5*(5), 297-309.

Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act, U.S.C. § 1400 (2004).

James, A., Jenks, C. & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing Childhood*. Polity Press.

James, A., & Prout, A. (1997). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Falmer Press.

Jarvis, J. (2002). Exclusion by inclusion? Issues for deaf pupils and their mainstream teachers. *Education 3-13, 30*(2), 47-51.

Jayyusi, L. (1991). Values and moral judgement: Communicative praxis as moral order. In G. Button (Ed.), *Ethnomethodology and the human sciences* (pp. 227-251). Cambridge University Press.

Jenks, C. (1983). The sociology of childhood: Essential readings. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 31*(2), 165-166.

Jenks, C. (2005). *Childhood: Critical concepts in sociology*. Routledge.

Jenks, C. (2009). Constructing childhood sociologically. In M.J. Kehily (Ed.), *An introduction to childhood studies* (pp. 93-111). Open University Press.

Jokinen, M. (2018). Inclusive education—A sustainable approach? *American Annals of the Deaf, 163*(1), 70-77.

Kääntä, L. (2012). Teachers' embodied allocations in instructional interaction. *Classroom Discourse, 3*(2), 166-186.

Kaipa, R., & Danser, M. L. (2016). Efficacy of auditory-verbal therapy in children with hearing impairment: A systematic review from 1993 to 2015. *International Journal of Pediatric Otorhinolaryngology, 86*, 124-134.

Kasper, G. (2006). Beyond repair: Conversation analysis as an approach to SLA. *AILA Review, 19*(1), 83-99.

Kasper, G. (2009). Locating cognition in second language interaction and learning: Inside the skull or in public view? *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 47*, 11-36

Kasper, G., & Wagner, J. (2011). A conversation-analytic approach to second language acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition*, (pp. 117-142). Routledge.

Kauffman, J. M., Hallahan, D. P., Pullen, P. C., & Badar, J. (2018). *Special education: What it is and why we need it.* Routledge.

Keating, E., & Mirus, G. (2003). Examining interactions across language modalities: Deaf children and hearing peers at school. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 34*(2), 115-135.

Keel, S. (2016). *Socialization: Parent-child interaction in everyday* life. Routledge.

Keevallik, L. (2010). Minimal answers to yes/no questions in the service of sequence organization. *Discourse Studies, 12*(3), 283-309.

Kelly, S. D., Manning, S. M., & Rodak, S. (2008). Gesture gives a hand to language and learning: Perspectives from cognitive neuroscience, developmental psychology and education. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *2*(4), 569-588.

Keltner, D., Capps, L., Kring, A.M., Young, R.C., & Heerey, E.A. (2001). Just teasing: A conceptual analysis and empirical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 127*(2), 229-248.

Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge University Press.

Kendrick, K. H., & Drew, P. (2016). Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(1), 1-19.

Kent, A. (2012). Compliance, resistance and incipient compliance when responding to directives. *Discourse Studies*, *14*(6), 711-730.

Kent, A., & Kendrick, K. H. (2016). Imperative directives: Orientations to accountability. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(3), 272-288.

Kern, F. (2018). Mastering the body: Correcting bodily conduct in adult–child interaction. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 2*(2), 213-234.

Kidwell, M. (2005). Gaze as social control: How very young children differentiate "the look" from a "mere look" by their adult caregivers. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 38*(4), 417-449.

Kidwell, M. (2013). Conversation analysis and children. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 509-532). Wiley-Blackwell.

Kim, Y., & Crepaldi, Y. T. (2021). Co-constructed storytelling as a site for socialization in parent–child interaction: A case from a Malay-English bilingual family in Singapore. *Journal of Pragmatics, 172*, 167-180.

Kita, S. (Ed.). (2003). *Pointing: Where language, culture, and cognition meet*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kitzinger, C. (2013). Repair. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 229-256). Wiley-Blackwell.

Kluwin, T. N., Stinson, M. S., & Colarossi, G. M. (2002). Social processes and outcomes of in-school contact between deaf and hearing peers. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 7*(3), 200-213.

Knoors, H., & Hermans, D. (2010). Effective instruction for deaf and hard-of-hearing students: Teaching strategies, school settings, and student characteristics. In M. Marschark & P.E. Spencer (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Deaf Studies, language, and education, Vol. 2* (pp. 57-71). Oxford.

Knoors, H., & Marschark, M. (2014). *Teaching deaf learners: Psychological and developmental foundations*. Oxford.

Knoors, H., & Marschark, M. (Eds.). (2019). *Evidence-based practices in Deaf education*. Oxford.

Koole, T., & Elbers, E. (2014). Responsiveness in teacher explanations: A conversation analytical perspective on scaffolding. *Linguistics and Education, 26*, 57-69.

Koshik, I. (2002). Designedly incomplete utterances: a pedagogical practice for eliciting knowledge displays in error correction sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 35*(3), 277-309.

Kroskrity, P.V. (2004). Language ideologies. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 496-517). Blackwell.

Kuczynski, L., & Parkin, C. M. (2007). Agency and bidirectionality in socialization: Interactions, transactions, and relational dialectics. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 259–283). The Guilford Press.

Kulick, D. & Schieffelin, B.B. (2004). Language socialization. In A. Duranti (Ed.), A *companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 349-368). Blackwell.

Kyratzis, A. (2004). Talk and interaction among children and the co-construction of peer groups and peer culture. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 33*, 625-649.

Ladd P. (2003). *Understanding deaf culture*. Multilingual Matters.

Ladd, P. (2005). Deafhood: A concept stressing possibilities, not deficits. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 33*(Suppl 66), 12-17.

Lane, H. (1995). Constructions of deafness. *Disability & Society, 10*(2), 171-190.

Lang, H.G. (2011). Perspectives on the history of Deaf education. In M. Marschark & P.E. Spencer (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Deaf studies, language, and education*, Vol. 1 (pp. 7-17). Oxford.

Lauzon, V. F., & Berger, E. (2015). The multimodal organization of speaker selection in classroom interaction. *Linguistics and Education, 31*, 14-29.

Lazaraton, A. (2004). Gesture and speech in the vocabulary explanations of one ESL teacher: A microanalytic inquiry. *Language Learning, 54*(1), 79-117.

Lederberg, A. R., & Everhart, V. S. (2000). Conversations between deaf children and their hearing mothers: Pragmatic and dialogic characteristics. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 5*(4), 303-322.

Lederberg, A. R., Ryan, H. B., & Robbins, B. L. (1986). Peer interaction in young deaf children: The effect of partner hearing status and familiarity. *Developmental Psychology, 22*(5), 691.

Lederberg, A. R., Rosenblatt, V., Vandell, D. L., & Chapin, S. L. (1987). Temporary and long-term friendships in hearing and deaf preschoolers. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 33*(4) 515-533.

Lederberg, A. R., Schick, B., & Spencer, P. E. (2013). Language and literacy development of deaf and hard-of-hearing children: Successes and challenges. *Developmental Psychology, 49*(1), 15.

Lee, S.H. & Tanaka, H. (2016). Affiliation and alignment in responding actions. *Journal of Pragmatics, 100*, 1-7.

Leigh, G., & Marschark, M. (2016). Recognizing diversity in deaf education: From Paris to Athens with a diversion to Milan. In M. Marschark, V. Lampropoulou, & E. K. Skordilis (Eds.), *Diversity in Deaf education* (pp. 1-20). Oxford.

Leigh, I. W., & Andrews, J. F. (2016). *Deaf people and society: Psychological, sociological and educational perspectives.* Routledge.

Leigh, I. W., Andrews, J. F., Harris, R. L., & Ávila, T. G. (2020). *Deaf culture: Exploring deaf communities in the United States*. Plural Publishing.

Lerner, G.H. (1996). Finding "face" in the preference structures of talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 59*(4), 303-321.

Levinson, S.C. (1987). Minimization and conversational inference. In J. Verschueren & M. Bertuccelli (Eds.), *The Pragmatic Perspective* (pp. 61-129). John Benjamins.

Levinson, S.C. (2000). *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature*. MIT Press.

Lloyd, J., Lieven, E., & Arnold, P. (2001). Oral conversations between hearing-impaired children and their normally hearing peers and teachers. *First Language, 21*(61), 83-107.

Lloyd, J., Lieven, E., & Arnold, P. (2005). The oral referential communication skills of hearing-impaired children. *Deafness & Education International, 7*(1), 22-42.

Luckner, J. L., & Movahedazarhouligh, S. (2019). Social–emotional interventions with children and youth who are deaf or hard of hearing: A research synthesis. *The Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 24*(1), 1-10.

Luft, P. (2017). What is different about deaf education? The effects of child and family factors on educational services. *The Journal of Special Education, 51*(1), 27-37.

Macbeth, D. (2004). The relevance of repair for classroom correction. *Language in Society, 33(*5), 703-736.

MacWhinney, B. (2017). First language acquisition. In M. Aronoff & J. Rees-Miller (Eds.), *The handbook of linguistics* (pp. 397-413). John Wiley & Sons.

Mahon, M. (2009). Interactions between a deaf child for whom English is an additional language and his specialist teacher in the first year at school: Combining words and gestures. *Clinical Linguistics & Phonetics, 23*(8), 611-629.

Majlesi, A. R. (2015). Matching gestures–Teachers' repetitions of students' gestures in second language learning classrooms. *Journal of Pragmatics, 76*, 30-45.

Manrique, E. (2016). Other-initiated repair in Argentine Sign Language. *Open Linguistics, 2*(1), 1-34.

Manrique, E., & Enfield, N. J. (2015). Suspending the next turn as a form of repair initiation: evidence from Argentine Sign Language. In J. Holler, K.H. Kendrick, M. Casillas & S.C. Levinson (Eds.), *Turn-taking in human communicative interaction* (pp. 215-235). Frontiers in Psychology.

Maroni, B., & Arcidiacono, F. (2010). Conversational repair in Italian families. A cultural practice of socialization. *Studies in Communication Sciences, 10*(1), 181-206.

Martin, D., & Bat-Chava, Y. (2003). Negotiating deaf–hearing friendships: Coping strategies of deaf boys and girls in mainstream schools. *Child: Care, Health and Development, 29*(6), 511-521.

Martin, D., Bat-Chava, Y., Lalwani, A., & Waltzman, S. B. (2010). Peer relationships of deaf children with cochlear implants: Predictors of peer entry and peer interaction success. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 16*(1), 108-120.

Marschark, M., & Knoors, H. (2012). Educating deaf children: Language, cognition, and learning. *Deafness & Education International, 14*(3), 136-160.

Marschark, M., & Spencer, P. E. (Eds.). (2010). *The Oxford handbook of Deaf studies, language, and education, Vol. 2.* Oxford.

Marschark, M., & Spencer, P. E. (Eds.). (2011). *The Oxford handbook of Deaf studies, language, and education, Vol. 1*. Oxford.

Matsumoto, Y., & Dobs, A. M. (2017). Pedagogical gestures as interactional resources for teaching and learning tense and aspect in the ESL grammar classroom. *Language Learning, 67*(1), 7-42.

Matthews, S. H. (2007). A window on the 'new' sociology of childhood. *Sociology Compass, 1*(1), 322-334.

Mauldin, L. (2016). *Made to hear: Cochlear implants and raising deaf children*. University of Minnesota Press.

Mauldin, L., & Fannon, T. (2016). The sociology of deafness: A literature review of the disciplinary history. Sociology looking at disability: What did we know and when did we know it. *Research in Social Science and Disability, 9,* 193-225

Mayall, B. (1994). *Children's childhoods: Observed and experienced*. The Falmer Press.

Maynard, D. W. (2013). Everyone and no one to turn to: Intellectual roots and contexts for conversation analysis. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 11-31). Wiley-Blackwell.

Maynard, D.W. & Clayman, S.E. (1991). The diversity of ethnomethodology. *Annual Review of Sociology, 17*(1), 385-418.

McCafferty, S. G., & Stam, G. (Eds.). (2008). *Gesture: Second language acquisition and classroom research*. Routledge.

McCleary, L., & de Arantes Leite, T. (2013). Turn-taking in Brazilian Sign Language: Evidence from overlap. *Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders, 4*(1), 123.

McHoul, A.W. (1978). The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society, 7*(2), 183-213.

McHoul, A.W. (1990). The organization of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society, 19*(3), 349-377.

McNeill, D. (1992). *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought.* University of Chicago Press.

McNeill, D., Cassell, J., & Levy, E. T. (1993). Abstract deixis. *Semiotica, 95*(1-2), 5-19.

Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons*. Harvard University Press.

Merlino, S. (2021). Making sounds visible in speech-language therapy for aphasia. *Social Interaction: Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality, 4*(3).

Messenheimer-Young T. & Kretschmer R. (1994). "Can I Play?" A hearing-impaired preschooler's requests to access maintained social interaction. *Volta Review*, *96*(1), 5–18.

Mitchell, R. E., & Karchmer, M. (2004). Chasing the mythical ten percent: Parental hearing status of deaf and hard of hearing students in the United States. *Sign Language Studies, 4*(2), 138-163.

Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies, 9*(2), 194-225.

Mondada, L. (2009). Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space. *Journal of Pragmatics, 41*(10), 1977-1997.

Mondada, L. (2014). Instructions in the operating room: How the surgeon directs their assistant's hands. *Discourse Studies, 16(*2), 131-161.

Mondada, L. (2019). Contemporary issues in conversation analysis: Embodiment and materiality, multimodality and multisensoriality in social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 145*, 47-62.

Mondada, L. & Doehler, S. (2005). Second language acquisition as situated practice: Task accomplishment in the French second language classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 61*(4), 461-490.

Montiegel, K. (2021). 'Use your words': Vocalization and moral order in an oral preschool classroom for deaf or hard-of-hearing children. *Language in Society*, 1-21.

Moores, D. F. (2001). *Educating the deaf: Psychology, principles, and practices*. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mortensen, K. (2016). The body as a resource for other-initiation of repair: Cupping the hand behind the ear. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(1), 34-57.

Most, T. (2002). The use of repair strategies by children with and without hearing impairment. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, *33*(2), 112-123.

Most, T. (2003). The use of repair strategies: Bilingual deaf children using sign language and spoken language. *American Annals of the Deaf, 148*(4), 308-314.

Most, T., Shina-August, E., & Meilijson, S. (2010). Pragmatic abilities of children with hearing loss using cochlear implants or hearing aids compared to hearing children. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 15*(4), 422-437.

National Institute on Deafness & Other Communication Disorders. (2017). *Speech and language developmental milestones*. Retrieved from https://www.nidcd.nih.gov/health/speech-and-language.

Navarra, J., & Soto-Faraco, S. (2007). Hearing lips in a second language: Visual articulatory information enables the perception of second language sounds. *Psychological Research, 71*(1), 4-12.

Netten, A. P., Rieffe, C., Theunissen, S. C., Soede, W., Dirks, E., Korver, A. M., Konings, S., Oudesluys-Murphy, A.M., Dekker, F.W., & Frijnsaf, J.H.M. (2015). Early identification: Language skills and social functioning in deaf and hard of hearing preschool children. *International Journal of Pediatric Otorhinolaryngology, 79*(12), 2221-2226.

Nind, M., Flewitt, R., & Payler, J. (2010). The social experience of early childhood for children with learning disabilities: inclusion, competence and agency. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 31*(6), 653-670.

Norwich, B. (2007). *Dilemmas of difference, inclusion and disability: International perspectives and future directions*. Routledge.

Nunes, T., Pretzlik, U., & Olsson, J. (2001). Deaf children's social relationships in mainstream schools. *Deafness & Education International, 3*(3), 123-136.

O'Connell, N. P., & Deegan, J. (2014). 'Behind the teacher's back': An ethnographic study of deaf people's schooling experiences in the Republic of Ireland. *Irish Educational Studies, 33*(3), 229-247.

Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (2014). The theory of language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 1-22). Wiley.

Over, H. (2020). The social function of imitation in development. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology, 2*, 93-109.

Paatsch, L. E., & Toe, D. M. (2014). A comparison of pragmatic abilities of children who are deaf or hard of hearing and their hearing peers. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 19*(1), 1-19.

Paatsch, L., & Toe, D. (2016). The fine art of conversation: The pragmatic skills of school-aged children with hearing loss. In M Marschark & P.E. Spencer (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of Deaf studies in language: Research, policy and practice* (pp. 94-113). Oxford.

Paatsch, L., Toe, D., & Church, A. (2017). Hearing loss and cochlear implantation. In L. Cummings (Ed.), *Research in clinical pragmatics. Perspectives in pragmatics, philosophy & psychology*, vol 11 (pp. 411-439). Springer, Cham.

Page, T.A., Harrison, M., Moeller, M.P., Oleson, J., Arenas, R.M., & Spratford, M. (2018). Service provision for children who are hard of hearing at preschool and elementary school ages. *Language, Speech and Hearing Services in Schools, 49*(4), 965-981.

Pajo, K. (2013). The occurrence of 'what', 'where', 'what house' and other repair initiations in the home environment of hearing-impaired individuals. *International journal of language & communication disorders, 48*(1), 66-77.

Pajo, K., & Klippi, A. (2013). Hearing-impaired recipients' non-vocal action sets as a resource for collaboration in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 55*, 162-179.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*. Free Press.

Piaget, J. (1964). Cognitive development in children: Piaget. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 2*(3), 176-186.

Pomerantz, A., & Heritage, J. (2012). Preference. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 210-228). Wiley-Blackwell

Pontecorvo, C., Fasulo, A., & Sterponi, L. (2001). Mutual apprentices: The making of parenthood and childhood in family dinner conversations. *Human Development, 44*(6), 340-361.

Powers, S. (2002). From concepts to practice in deaf education: A United Kingdom perspective on inclusion. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 7*(3), 230-243.

Pray, J.L., Jordan, I.K. (2010). The Deaf community and culture at a crossroads: issues and challenges. *Journal of Social Work in Disability & Rehabilitation, 9* (2-3), 168-193.

Quittner, A. L., Cejas, I., Barker, D., & Hoffman, M. (2014). Effects of cochlear implants on young, deaf children's development: Longitudinal analysis of behavioral regulation, attention and parenting in a national sample. In S.H. Kirwin (Ed.), *Cochlear implants: Technological advances, psychological/social impacts and long-term effectiveness* (pp. 17-28). Nova.

Radford, J., Bosanquet, P., Webster, R., & Blatchford, P. (2015). Scaffolding learning for independence: Clarifying teacher and teaching assistant roles for children with special educational needs. *Learning and Instruction, 36*, 1-10.

Radford, J. & Mahon, M. (2010). Multi-modal participation in storybook sharing. In M. Forrester (Ed.), *Analysing interactions in childhood: Insights from conversation analysis* (pp. 209-227). Wiley.

Raver, S. A., Bobzien, J., Hester, P., Ann Maydosz, A., Michalek, A. M. P., & Richels, C. (2013). Using a child-specific social story to improve communication and social skills in two preschoolers with cochlear implants: An exploratory classroom case study. *Deafness & Education International, 15,* 117–125.

Raver, S. A., Bobzien, J., Richels, C., Hester, P., & Anthony, N. (2014). Using dyad-specific social stories to increase communicative and social skills of preschoolers with hearing loss in self-contained and inclusive settings. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 18,* 18–35.

Raymond, G. & Lerner, G.H. (2014). A body and its involvements. Adjusting action for dual involvements. In P. Haddington, T. Keisanen, L Mondada, & M. Nevile (Eds.), *Multiactivity in social interaction: Beyond multitasking* (pp. 227-245). John Benjamins.

Rawls, A.W. (1987). The interaction order sui generis: Goffman's contribution to social theory. *Sociological Theory, 5*(2): 136-149.

Rawls, A. W. (2008). Harold Garfinkel, ethnomethodology and workplace studies. *Organization Studies, 29*(5), 701-732.

Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review, 68*(6), 939-967.

Reilly, C. B., & Reilly, N. (2005). *The rising of lotus flowers: Self-education by deaf children in Thai boarding schools*. Gallaudet University Press.

Riley, Kathleen C. (2014). Language socialization and language ideologies. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs & B.B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 493-514). Wiley.

Robinson, J. D. (2013). Overall structural organization. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 257-280). Wiley-Blackwell.

Rogers, S.J. (2000). Interventions that facilitate socialization in children with autism. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders, 30*(5), 399-409.

Rossi, G. (2014). When do people not use language to make requests? In P. Drew & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Requesting in social interaction* (pp. 303-334). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Rossi, G. (2015). *The request system in Italian interaction* (Doctoral dissertation, Nijmegen, Max Planck Institute).

Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on methodology. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social actions: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 21-27). Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H. (1987). On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In G. Button & J.R.E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and social organization* (pp. 54-69). Multilingual Matters.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation*. Blackwell.

Sacks, H., & Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 15-21). Irvington.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language, 50*, 696-735.

Sahlström, J. F. (2002). The interactional organization of hand raising in classroom interaction. *The Journal of Classroom Interaction, 37*(2), 47-57.

Samra-Fredericks, D. (2010). Ethnomethodology and the moral accountability of interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(8): 2147-2157.

Sass-Lehrer, M. (2012). Early intervention for children birth to 3: Families, communities, and communication. In L. A. Schmeltz (Ed.), *A resource guide for early hearing detection and intervention, 10-1–10-16.* Retrieved from https://www.infanthearing.org/ehdi-ebook/2016_ebook/17%20Chapter17EarlyIntervention2016.pdf.

Saxton, M. (2017). *Child language: Acquisition and development*. Sage.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist, 70*(6), 1075-1095.

Schegloff, E. A. (1988). Presequences and indirection: Applying speech act theory to ordinary conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 12*(1), 55-62.

Schegloff, E. A. (1989). Harvey Sacks—Lectures 1964–1965: An introduction/memoir. *Human Studies, 12*, 185-209.

Schegloff ,E. A. (1991). Conversation analysis and socially shared cognition. In L. Resnick, J. Levine. & S. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 150–171). American Psychological Association.

Schegloff, E.A. (1993). Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26*(1), 99-128.

Schegloff, E.A. (1996). Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(1), 161-216.

Schegloff, E.A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language, 53*(2), 361-382.

Schegloff, E. A., & Lerner, G. H. (2009). Beginning to respond: *Well*-prefaced responses to *wh*-questions. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 42*(2), 91-115.

Schieffelin, B.B. & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology 15*(1): 163-191.

Schieffelin, B.B., Woolard, K.A. & P.V. Kroskrity (Eds.). (1998). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford.

Scott, J.F. (1971). *Internalization of norms: A sociological theory of moral commitment*. Prentice-Hall.

Searle, J.R. (1979). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge University Press.

Seedhouse, P. (2004). *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A conversation analysis perspective*. Blackwell.

Senghas, A. (1995). *Children's contribution to the birth of Nicaraguan Sign Language*. (Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA).

Senghas, A., & Coppola, M. (2001). Children creating language: How Nicaraguan Sign Language acquired a spatial grammar. *Psychological Science, 12*(4), 323-328.

Seo, M. S., & Koshik, I. (2010). A conversation analytic study of gestures that engender repair in ESL conversational tutoring. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(8), 2219-2239.

Skelt, L. (2007). Damage control: Closing problematic sequences in hearing-impaired interaction. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, 30*(3), 34-1.

Skelt, L. (2010). "Are You Looking at Me?" The influence of gaze on frequent conversation partners' management of interaction with adults with acquired hearing impairment. *Seminars in Hearing, Special Issue on Conversation and Adult Acquired Hearing Impairment, 31*(2) 116-126.

Sibon-Macarro, T., Abou-Rjaily, K., Stoddard, S., Sandigo, A., Peterson, P., & Ross, V. (2014). Rural perspectives of models, services, and resources for students with hearing impairments. *Rural Special Education Quarterly, 33*(4), 24-32.

Sidnell, J., & Stivers, T. (Eds.). (2013). *The handbook of conversation analysis* (Vol. 121). John Wiley & Sons.

Sikveland, R. O., & Ogden, R. (2012). Holding gestures across turns: Moments to generate shared understanding. *Gesture, 12*(2), 166-199.

Sinclair, J. & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards an analysis of discourse*. Oxford.

Singer, M. A., & Goldin-Meadow, S. (2005). Children learn when their teacher's gestures and speech differ. *Psychological Science, 16*(2), 85-89.

Singleton, N. C., & Saks, J. (2015). Co-speech gesture input as a support for language learning in children with and without early language delay. *Perspectives on Language Learning and Education, 22*(2), 61-71.

Smotrova, T. (2017). Making pronunciation visible: Gesture in teaching pronunciation. *Tesol Quarterly, 51*(1), 59-89.

Soman, U., & Nevins, M. E. (2018). Guiding principles and essential practices of listening and spoken language intervention in the school-age years. *Topics in Language Disorders, 38(*3), 202-224.

Sorjonen, M. L., Raevaara, L., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (Eds.). (2017). *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Spencer, P. E., & Marschark, M. (2010). *Evidence-based practice in educating deaf and hard-of-hearing students*. Oxford.

Sterponi, L. (2009). Accountability in family discourse: Socialization into norms and standards and negotiation of responsibility in Italian dinner conversations. *Childhood, 16*(4), 441-459.

Stevanovic, M. (2020). Student compliance and action priority: On the directive use of Finnish second-person declaratives and interrogatives during violin instruction. In E.M. Betz, C. Taleghani-Nikazm, & P.S. Golato (Eds.), M*obilizing others: Grammar and lexis within larger activitie*s (pp. 115–145). Benjamins.

Stevanovic, M., & Peräkylä, A. (2012). Deontic authority in interaction: The right to announce, propose, and decide. *Research on Language & Social Interaction, 45*(3), 297-321.

Stinson, M. S., & Foster, S. (1999). Socialization of deaf children and youths in school. In P.E. Spencer, C.J. Erting, & M. Marschark (Eds.), *The deaf child in the family and at school: Essays in honor of Kathryn P. Meadow-Orlans.* Taylor & Francis.

Stinson, M. S., & Lang, H. G. (1994). Full inclusion: a path for integration or isolation? *American Annals of the Deaf, 139*(2), 156-159.

Stivers, T. (2005). Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 38*(2), 131-158.

Stivers, T. & Robinson, J.D. (2006). A preference for progressivity in interaction. *Language in Society, 35*(3), 367-392.

Streeck, J., Goodwin, C., & LeBaron, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Embodied interaction: Language and body in the material world.* Cambridge University Press.

Svennevig, J. (2008). Trying the easiest solution first in other-initiation of repair. *Journal of Pragmatics, 40*(2), 333-348.

Szarkowski, A., Young, A., Matthews, D., & Meinzen-Derr, J. (2020). Pragmatics development in deaf and hard of hearing children: a call to action. *Pediatrics, 146*(Suppl3), S310-S315.

Taleghani-Nikazm, C. (2015). On multimodality and coordinated participation in second language interaction. In D.A. Koike & C. S. Blyth (Eds.), *Dialogue in multilingual and multimodal communities* (pp. 79-106). John Benjamins.

Taylor, M. (2016). Improving education for deaf and hard of hearing students in California. *Legislative Analyst's Office*. Retrieved from www.lao.ca.gov.

Theobald, M. (2019). Scaffolding storytelling and participation with a bilingual child in a culturally and linguistically diverse preschool in Australia. *Research on Children and Social Interaction, 3*(1-2), 224-247.

Thomas, E. S., & Zwolan, T. A. (2019). Communication mode and speech and language outcomes of Young Cochlear implant Recipients: A Comparison of Auditory-Verbal, Oral communication, and Total communication. *Otology & Neurotology, 40*(10), e975-e983.

Thorne, B. (1987). Re-visioning women and social change: Where are the children? *Gender & Society, 1*(1), 85-109.

Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school*. Rutgers University Press.

Toe, D., Beattie, R., & Barr, M. (2007). The development of pragmatic skills in children who are severely and profoundly deaf. *Deafness & Education International, 9*(2), 101-117.

Toe, D., Mood, D., Most, T., Walker, E., & Tucci, S. (2020). The assessment of pragmatic skills in young deaf and hard of hearing children. *Pediatrics, 146*(Supplement 3), S284-S291.

Toe, D. M., & Paatsch, L. E. (2010). The communication skills used by deaf children and their hearing peers in a question-and-answer game context. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 15*(3), 228-241.

Toe, D. M., & Paatsch, L. E. (2013). The conversational skills of school-aged children with cochlear implants. *Cochlear Implants International, 14*(2), 67-79.

Toerien, M., & Kitzinger, C. (2007). Emotional labour in action: Navigating multiple involvements in the beauty salon. *Sociology, 41*(4), 645-662.

Tomasello, M. (1992). The social bases of language acquisition. *Social Development, 1*(1), 67-87.

Tomlinson, S. (2017). *A sociology of special and inclusive education: Exploring the manufacture of inability.* Taylor & Francis.

Tye-Murray, N. (2003). Conversational fluency of children who use cochlear implants. *Ear and Hearing, 24(*1), 82-89.

U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) database. (2021). Retrieved from: https://www2.ed.gov/programs/osepidea/618-data/state-level-data-files/index.html#bcc.

Valenzeno, L., Alibali, M. W., & Klatzky, R. (2003). Teachers' gestures facilitate students' learning: A lesson in symmetry. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 28*(2), 187-204.

Vandell, D. L., & George, L. B. (1981). Social interaction in hearing and deaf preschoolers: Successes and failures in initiations. *Child Development, 52*(2), 627-635.

Vygotsky, L. (1962). *Thought and language.* MIT Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher mental processes*. Harvard University Press.

Wang, H. L. (2009). Should all students with special educational needs (SEN) be included in mainstream education provision? A critical analysis. *International Education Studies, 2*(4), 154-161.

Watson, R. (2009). Constitutive practices and Garfinkel's notion of trust: Revisited. *Journal of Classical Sociology, 9*(4): 475-499.

Wauters, L. N., & Knoors, H. (2007). Social integration of deaf children in inclusive settings. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 13*, 21–36

Weeks, P.A. (1985). Error-correction techniques and sequences in instructional settings: toward a comparative framework. *Human Studies, 8*(3), 195-233.

Weisel, A., Most, T., & Efron, C. (2005). Initiations of social interactions by young hearing impaired preschoolers. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 10*(2), 161-170.

Whorrall, J., & Cabell, S. Q. (2016). Supporting children's oral language development in the preschool classroom. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 44*(4), 335-341.

Wilkinson, R. (2013). Conversation analytic investigations of dysarthria and hearing impairment: The impact of motor and sensory impairments on social interaction. *Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders, 4*(1), 1-26.

Wilkinson, R., Rae, J. P., & Rasmussen, G. (Eds.). (2020). *Atypical interaction*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Williams, C. L. (1993). Learning to write: Social interaction among preschool auditory/oral & total communication children. *Sign Language Studies, 80*(1), 267-284.

Winton, P. & Buysse, V. (Eds.). (2005). *Early developments, vol. 9*. Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Wolters, N., Knoors, H., Cillessen, A. H., & Verhoeven, L. (2012). Impact of peer and teacher relations on deaf early adolescents' well-being: Comparisons before and after a major school transition. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 17*(4), 463-482.

Wood, D., Bruner, J. S., & Ross, G. (1976). The role of tutoring in problem solving. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 17*(2), 89-100.

Wootton, A. J. (1981). The management of grantings and rejections by parents in request sequences. *Semiotica, 37*(1/2), 59-89.

Wootton, A. J. (1984). Some aspects of children's use of 'please' in request sequences. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *Interpretive sociolinguistics* (pp. 147–163). Verlag.

Wootton, A. J. (2007). A puzzle about please: Repair, increments, and related matters in the speech of a young child. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 40*(2-3), 171-198.

Xie, Y. H., Potměšil, M., & Peters, B. (2014). Children who are deaf or hard of hearing in inclusive educational settings: A literature review on interactions with peers. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 19*(4), 423-437.

Yoshinaga-Itano, C., Sedey, A. L., Wiggin, M., & Mason, C. A. (2018). Language outcomes improved through early hearing detection and earlier cochlear implantation. *Otology & Neurotology, 39*(10), 1256-1263.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The following transcription conventions are based on and slightly adapted from Jefferson's (2004) glossary of transcript symbols.

1 Temporal and sequential relationships

[A left bracket indicates the onset of overlapping speech
] A right bracket indicates the point at which overlapping utterances end = An equals sign indicates latched speech (no break or gap between talk) (0.5) Silences are indicated as pauses in tenths of a second
(.) A period in parentheses indicates a hearable micropause (less than two tenths of a second)

2 Aspects of speech delivery

. A period indicates a falling intonation contour
, A comma indicates continuing intonation
? A question mark indicates rising intonation contour
_ An underscore indicates a level intonation contour
: Colons indicate lengthening of preceding sound (the more colons, the longer the lengthening)
ye- A hyphen indicates an abrupt cutoff sound (phonetically, a glottal stop) yes Underlining indicates stress or emphasis, by increased amplitude or pitch YES Upper case letters indicates noticeably louder speech
°yes° The degree sign indicates noticeably quiet or soft speech
^ A caret indicates a sharp rise in pitch
>yes< Indicates talk that is noticeably faster than surrounding talk
<yes> Indicate talk that is noticeably slower than surrounding talk
hh The letter "h" indicates audible aspirations (the more hs the longer the breath)
.hh A period preceding the letter "h" indicates audible inhalations (the more hs the longer the breath)
y(h)es h within parentheses within a word indicates "laugh-like" sound £yes£ A pound sign indicates smile voice

3 Other notational devices

(guess) Words within single parentheses indicate likely hearing of that word
((coughs)) Information in double parentheses indicate the transcriber's descriptions of events rather than representations of them
( ) Empty parentheses indicate hearable yet indecipherable talk