

Exclusion and inclusion in peer groups

The construction of exclusionary acts by hearing and deaf youth

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We consider practices of exclusion and ridicule in peer groups in two distinct cultural contexts and with participants with distinct sensory access to the world. First, we consider exclusionary acts in a multiethnic girls' peer group spanning fourth- to sixth-graders in a progressive Southern California school in the United States. We then consider interactions in a peer group consisting of deaf and hearing peers in a fourth-grade classroom in Iquitos, Peru. Our work uses ethnographic fieldwork, including videotaping, to make available the moment-by-moment interactive processes through which exclusion and ridicule are accomplished. This research also constitutes one of very few comparative studies of exclusionary practices, making comparisons across cultural contexts with respect to sensorial access to the world.

Keywords: embodied interaction, multimodality, teasing, bullying, deaf

Introduction

In this article, we consider practices of exclusion and ridicule in peer groups in two distinct cultural contexts and with participants with distinct sensory access to the world. First, we consider exclusionary acts in a multiethnic girls' peer group spanning fourth- to sixth-graders (9–11-year-olds) in a progressive school in a major city in the Southern area of the state of California in the United States. We then consider interactions in a peer group consisting of deaf and hearing peers in a fourth-grade classroom (9–13-year-olds) in Iquitos, Peru – a city of approximately 500,000 people in the Peruvian Amazon. In comparing across both deaf and hearing participants, we draw attention to similarities and differences in multimodal practices for constructing exclusionary acts.

Anthropologists as early as Malinowski have noted that the peer group constitutes an important institution for learning language and culture. As Malinowski (1939) writes, 'In many communities, we find that the child passes through a period of almost complete detachment from home, running around, playing about, and engaging in early activities with his playmates and contemporaries. In such activities, strict teaching in tribal law is enforced more directly and poignantly than in the parental home' (p. 951). This socializing role of peer groups speaks to the need to study children ethnographically in endogenous settings.

We approach our work with children concerned with people's lived experiences, asking: What does it mean to inhabit the world of a group of peers? And how is exclusion achieved in peer interaction? In addressing these questions, we begin from the framework that 'a primordial site for the organization of human action, cognition, language, and social organization consists of a situation within which multiple participants are building in concert with each other the actions that define and shape their lifeworld' (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004, p. 223). Thus, we use video recordings of naturally occurring interactions from our distinct ethnographic contexts to look at how practices of exclusion and ridicule are constructed in moments of situated interaction among peers working co-operatively with one another. In looking at such moments across our distinct cultural contexts and population groups, we find important comparisons in how participants utilize bodily organization, multiparty participation frameworks, multimodal semiotic resources, and the sequential and simultaneous organization of turns to constitute exclusionary acts.

Background literature

The exclusion practices we examine involve a particular form of speech activity: disputes. Rather than constituting something to be avoided, disputes have been found to be a constitutive aspect of children's everyday social lives (M. H. Goodwin, 1990; Church & Moore, 2022; Corsaro & Rizzo, 1990; Danby & Theobald, 2012; Eder, 1995; Maynard, 1985; Shantz, 1987). Disputes are used to define group boundaries and establish social hierarchies (M. H. Goodwin 1990, 2006). Our work provides two contributions to research on processes of exclusion and ridicule. First, we use ethnographic fieldwork, including videotaping, to make available the moment-by-moment interactive processes through which exclusion and ridicule are accomplished. Morality is constructed in and through social interaction; and, accordingly, the analysis of morality must focus on the intricacies of everyday discourse (Bergmann, 1998, p. 286; Evaldsson & Karlsson, 2022). The identity of a child as marginal to a group is constructed in linguistic and nonverbal displays that organize the complex architecture of exclusionary acts, activities, and stances (García Sánchez, 2014; M. H. Goodwin, 2006). Second, this research constitutes one of very few comparative studies of exclusionary practices (Haugh, 2017). Our research makes comparisons across cultural contexts with respect to sensorial access to the world, including both hearing and deaf participants.

One important difference between the contexts we study is the repetitive nature of the exclusionary practice. Before analysing these practices, it is important to note that the forms of exclusion that will be observed in the Iquitos context are better described as teasing, while the data from the US context can be described as bullying. Eisenberg (1986) notes that a central feature of teasing is that 'the teaser did not intend the tease to be understood as true' (p. 182). Nevertheless, as Schieffelin (1986, pp. 166-167) notes, 'teasing creates tension, as one is never completely sure which way an interaction might swing, owing to the unstable nature of the teasing frames.' While it may be claimed that teasing is playful or done in jest, it can easily slide into being characterized as aggressive, and therefore may also be construed by participants as a covert form of bullying or harassment (Haugh, 2017).

Bullying stands in contrast to teasing, with respect to the repetitive nature of practices of exclusion and ridicule, which involve an imbalance

of power between the victim and the bully (Olweus, 1993). Bullying has been found to be a pervasive problem in childhood. It occurs throughout the world and at a high frequency (Sanders, 2004). And although the prevalence of bullying has led to a significant amount of research on the topic, few studies provide an account of the interactional practices through which bullying occurs (but see Evaldsson & Svahn, 2012). Recent systematic reviews have noted the predominance of quantitative research that is unable to capture the interactive complexity of bullying (e.g. Maunder & Crafter, 2018). Even the qualitative research that has been conducted has primarily used interviews and focus groups (Patton et al., 2017).

Methods

Our work as researchers is grounded in ethnographic fieldwork and the use of video and audio recordings to document the local practices through which children construct their social worlds. Ethnography, through methods such as participant observation and interviews, situates the everyday interactions of child peer groups in the larger school and cultural context. We then use recordings of children's everyday interactions to create a record that can be analysed in detail at a later time. We both rely on the microanalysis of video recordings to access the organization of space and the multimodal resources that are utilized in acts of peer exclusion and ridicule.

California, United States fieldwork

Goodwin's ethnographic fieldwork focused on a girls' peer group within a private school with roots in the progressive movement in Southern California. Prior to initiating fieldwork approval was received from the University of California, Los Angeles IRB. Goodwin received permission from parents, teachers, students, and school officials to film children in their everyday lives on the playground. After two months of participant observation among various groups of students without a video recorder, Goodwin decided to focus on a particular group of girls who invited the ethnographer and her assistant to record their interactions. Goodwin collected over 80 hours of video recordings between 1997 and 1999 of this particular peer group of girls between 10 and 12 years old. While there was fluidity to the peer group, it included primarily seven girls from mixed ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Three girls were Asian Americans from upper-middle class homes, two were European American – one from

an upper-middle class and one from a working-class household, and two were African American – one from an upper-middle class and one from a working-class household. Practices of exclusion primarily targeted Angela, an African American student from a working-class background. Goodwin focused her recordings on the students' lunch time and recess in order to document the children's practices without adult supervision. In addition, her work focused on a girls' peer group in an effort to challenge stereotypical descriptions of female behaviour. The examples selected to be analysed in this chapter represent a cross section of the variety of practices the girls make use of to articulate for each other how members are positioned in their local social order. Goodwin makes transcripts of interactions using the system developed by Gail Jefferson for transcription (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, pp. 731–733). Frame grabs illustrate how bodies are positioned relative to one another, as embodiment is an important feature of displaying stance.

Iquitos, Peru fieldwork

Goico conducted linguistic ethnographic fieldwork (Goico, 2020; Hou & Kusters, 2020; Kusters & Hou, 2020) from 2013–2015 in Iquitos, Peru, documenting the social lives of ten deaf youth, who did not have sustained access to the linguistic resources of a named language (e.g. Spanish, Peruvian Sign Language) (Goico, 2019b). She first arrived in Iquitos in 2010 under the auspices of a Fulbright grant and conducted preliminary fieldwork on deaf education. She returned to Iquitos in 2013 to conduct the Social Lives of Deaf Youth Project as her dissertation research. Prior to the start of the research, ethics approval was provided by the University of California, San Diego IRB. Prior to data collection, she spent 6 months meeting families and familiarizing them with the researcher and the research process. Consent and assent forms were collected from school principals, classroom teachers, and deaf and hearing students and their families. Data collection included participant observation in the homes and schools of the deaf youth, video recordings of everyday interactions, semi-structured interviews, and the documentation of fieldnotes.

Focal students selected for the study were deaf youth from hearing families, were enrolled in mainstream classrooms, and had no compounding disabilities. The children's deafness was not identified until over a year of age. Even after identification, there were no opportunities to access hearing assistive technology to increase access to the linguistic resources of spoken

Spanish, nor did the children receive sustained exposure to Lengua de Señas Peruana (Peruvian Sign Language) linguistic resources. As a result, they communicated using semiotic resources that they had developed over the course of their own lifetime. All the children attended general education schools, following the policy of *educación inclusiva* (inclusive education) (Goico, 2019a). There was typically only one deaf student in an entire school, and deaf students received no resources to access the language of the classroom. The classroom from which the interactional analysis comes is a fourth-grade classroom, that as an exception to the rule had three deaf students. The peer group at the focus of analysis was fluid in nature, including two deaf boys – Luis and Jeremy – who were 12 and 13 years old and six hearing girls who were 9–10 years old. Approximately 80 hours of video recording were conducted in the classroom in 2014.

One day of recording per month in which all the deaf boys were present was selected for coding. Video recordings were coded in the program ELAN, an annotation tool for audio and video recordings, by first marking the moments in which the deaf students were engaged in interaction, and then labelling the ongoing activity, the individuals involved, and the nature of the interactional project (ELAN, 2018). This coding was then used to build collections and explore ethnographic themes across the data. In the presentation of the Iquitos data below, one extended interaction is included to represent typical processes of exclusion and inclusion that were present in the classroom. The extended interaction had numerous examples of exclusion and ridicule, making it possible to include just the one extract.

Analysis of US and Iquitos interactions

In the sections below we analyse first the US and then the Iquitos interactions. For each field site, we organize the section around several shared processes of exclusion and ridicule – denying participation, treating as a non-person, negative assessments, and ritual insults. Within each of these processes of exclusion and ridicule, we find important comparisons in how participants utilize bodily organization, multiparty participation frameworks, multimodal semiotic resources, and the sequential and simultaneous organization of turns to constitute exclusionary acts.

Acts of exclusion and ridicule in a US context

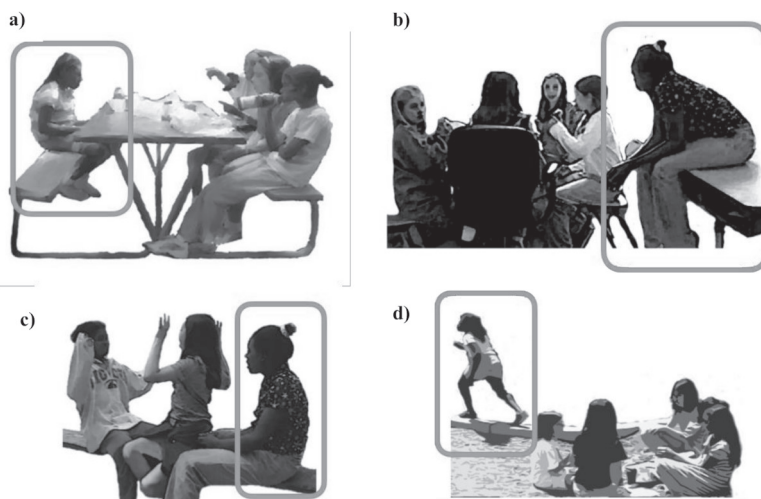


Figure 1 Images from four different interactional contexts depicting how Angela was physically kept on the outskirts of the group.

As mentioned above, the peer group at the centre of this discussion is a girls' group with approximately seven participants who are from various ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Within the group, one student, Angela, was consistently the target of exclusionary acts. In looking at the organization of social space at lunchtime and on the playground, Angela was frequently kept at a distance from others in the group (Figure 1). Figure 1a comes from a lunchtime in which Angela was seated across the table from the other girls. In the image in 1a, Angela is being asked to go even further away; with a pointing finger she is told to 'go to *that* table', indexing a table several feet from where the girls are currently seated. Depicted in Figure 2b, on another day, when they were eating inside the classroom, Angela looked on while seated a table away from the rest of the group. Figure 1c depicts a moment when three girls including Angela had been excluded. Yet, Angela is kept on the periphery of the group, sitting behind the two other girls' close facing formation. While the two girls clap hands, Angela tries to lift her hands over the body of the girl she is seated behind to participate. Finally, in Figure 1d, Angela can be seen leaving the group after being told to go away. The interaction that led to the image depicted in Figure 1d is reproduced below in Extract 1.

Denying participation

Extract 1 provides an example of an exclusionary act of denying participation that targeted Angela. During recess, as the girls were in their own ecological huddle discussing an impending fight, Angela approached them. In the extract, the girls capitalized on their ability to manipulate the participation framework and laminate multimodal resources to accomplish the exclusionary work of denying participation to Angela.

Extract 1

As girls are discussing an impending confrontation during lunch, Angela approaches them.

Ruth: **Much** (,) worse (,) fight.
 Janis: What did she **say**.
 (Aretha): °(She said I was a crazy woman.)

Ruth: Hi Angela! Bye Angela! ((holds up palm))
Lisa: Shoo shoo shoo::! ((dismissive hand gesture))

Ruth: ((stares at Angela during 1.5 second pause))
 Janis: What did she **say**.
 Ruth: **Hi**. ((slaps leg, returns gaze to group))
 Aretha: [Nothing.
 Janis: [What?
 Aretha: **Why** do you (move away).
 Melissa: **She** was angry at me **first**.
 Ruth: She was?
 Angela: ((runs away))

In Extract 1, there was a quick shifting of facing formations that delineate included and excluded members of the group. The five girls in the group were facing toward one another in an ecological huddle as they talked. As Angela approached, they turned towards her and produced multiple exclusionary remarks. When the group faced Angela, they used a greeting and farewell in quick succession. Goffman (1971) has discussed greetings and farewells – actions that bound social encounters – as ‘supportive interchanges’. Here they are anything but supportive. As Angela approached, Ruth stated, ‘Hi Angela! Bye Angela!’ as she lifted up her palm in a performative greeting gesture. Lisa provided a move equally as dismissive with her ‘shoo shoo shoo::!’ – an action that would be used to get rid of a pesky pest, whether person or animal. The girls followed these remarks by quickly shifting back toward one another and shutting off the participation framework. Angela was left staring at the girls as

they looked toward each other. As depicted in Figure 1d, after a moment, Angela ran away from the group.

As seen in this example, the successive opening and closing of the participation framework was crucial to physically demarcating Angela as excluded from the included group members. In addition, the statements of exclusion, ('*Hi Angela! Bye Angela!*' and '*shoo shoo shoo::!*') are enhanced by their multimodal construction. Both statements laminate the spoken words with corresponding hand gestures and prosodic emphasis.

Treating as a non-person

Extract 2 provides another example of exclusion and ridicule that took place as the girls were seated at the lunch table. They had just finished lunch and were selecting their recess activity. In this extract, Angela is denied participation and treated as a non-person. This is accomplished through aligning statements that use linguistic resources to deny Angela's presence.

Extract 2

((Girls are sitting at lunch table))

- Lisa: I'm gonna go get the jump ropes.
 Janis: °You're last. ((said to Angela))
 Angela: I'm **first**.
 Lisa: **No.=**
 Janis: **NO::**

Lisa:	You're	not here .
Aretha:		YOU'RE NOT EVEN HE:RE!

Angela: °Go:d.

In the interaction, Lisa announced to the group that she would go get the jump ropes. Janis followed this announcement by telling Angela (in a soft voice) °You're last'. Angela quickly challenged this statement, arguing 'I'm *first*.' This move was followed quickly by two denials, and then two statements that described her as 'not even here.' By denying Angela's presence, the group treated Angela as a non-person, 'that is, as someone for whom no consideration need be taken' (Goffman, 1953, p. 222). Her only protest move was a softly uttered (whispered) °Go:d'.

As seen in the initial statements to Angela, the group tries to deny participation to Angela by putting her last and denying her assertion of

being first. This denying of participation escalates, however, with the statement that Angela is not present. The girls' statements draw attention to the power of symbolic resources to simultaneously address Angela while denying her presence. Moreover, the girls clearly delineate included and excluded members by aligning their responses with one another against Angela's statement.

Negative assessments

In addition to excluding Angela through denying participation and treating her as a non-person, negative assessments of Angela's behaviour provided a way of casting her as deviant. Angela's resistance to traditional norms were frequently sanctioned. In Extract 3, while in the midst of having lunch, the girls began to comment on the way Angela was eating chocolate pudding without a utensil. The positioning of the girls' bodies, the use of multimodal resources, and their use of the sequential and simultaneous nature of interaction to pile on negative assessments are crucial to carrying out the negative assessments depicted in Extract 3.

Extract 3

- Lisa: If you're gonna have to **eat** that
could you go like- go to **that** table? ((pointing))
- Angela: ((turns around eating))
- Aretha: Janis? ((lifts up Janis's plastic bag))
- Lisa: Not to be **mean**
but we don't want to see chocolate with carrots.
- Janis: Now **plea::se?** ((holds up wrist))
- Aretha: Oh that's **disgusti::ng!**
- Aretha: **She** has chocolate pudding again
- Angela: ((begins to eat with her tongue))
- Aretha: **EW:::.....**((all turning face away in disgust))
- Janis: **EW:::.....!**
- Janis: Oh.
- Aretha: **ANGE::LA!**
- Janis: Oh my **god**.
- Aretha: You just- sp-
- Lisa: Can I-
- Aretha: **AH:::.....**
- Lisa: **I-I need** to go to the **bathroom**.



Figure 2 All the girls turn away from Angela in disgust.

It can be seen in Figure 2, that even prior to negatively assessing Angela's eating habits, the girls had organized their bodies in space to exclude Angela. The three girls, Aretha, Janis, and Lisa, sat together on one side of the table and Angela sat alone on the other side of the table. Extract 3 picks up when the group asked Angela to leave and eat at another table. As the girls continue, the multimodal lamination of resources becomes essential to depicting their disgust. They treated the way in which Angela ate chocolate pudding as despicable, both through the way in which they glossed her deportment as 'disgusting' and positioned themselves rapidly away from her (see Figure 2). They conveyed this sentiment using their facial expressions (closing eyes), prosody, embodied stances (hands up in alarm), and movements distancing themselves from Angela. Their non-vocal movements (turning away) (Figure 2), as well as their explicit assessment adjective ('disgusting') and response cries, which were produced loudly at a very high pitch with elongated vowels ('EW:::'), in a form of emphatic speech (Selting, 1994), conveyed disgust. All three of the girls accomplished this in quick succession, piling on their stance of disgust in overlap with one another's turns.

Ritual insult

Extract 4 provides a final example of an act of exclusion; this time negative assessments were achieved through a ritual insult. This extract emphasizes the sequential nature of interaction by using the previous utterances of others to enhance processes of exclusion and ridicule.

Extract 4

- Angela: When *you* grow up, *you* gonna to be working at *Pick* and *Save*.
- Linda: [ah heh-heh!]
- (4) Girls: ah hah hah hah [HAH HAH HAH HAH HAH!]
- Sarah: [So? Are you going to be *working*?]
- Emi: [*You're* not even *going* to be *working*!]
- Linda: [eh heh-heh!]
- Sarah: I *know*!
- Angela: So? You gonna [be-]
- Linda: [You can't find a job *anywhere*.]
- Melissa: [Angela *you'll* be- you're gonna be doin-]
- Emi: Hih-hih heh!
- Linda: eh-heh!
- Melissa: *You'll* be cleaning out [the *gutters*.]
- Emi: [Everywhere will- eh heh heh!]
- Girls: eh heh hih hih hih!
- Angela: Well that's *better* than [working at *Pick N Save*.]
- Emi: [Everywhere will *reject* you.]
- Kathy: Chimeny Woman.
- Melissa: *h As *if* the gu(hh)tters are going to accept her ((*smile voice*)).

Ritual insults provide a way in which readings of the social status of persons are mobilized in interaction to differentiate people in the group. The recipient of an initial ritual insult – an insult about an attribute of the target known not to be literally true – must utilize the scene described in the prior speaker's talk to produce a second description which turns the initial insult on its head and is even more outrageous (Labov 1972; Theobald & Reynolds 2015). In this way, ritual insults capitalize on the sequential nature of interaction to build on the prior turn. Here, Angela stated, 'When *you* grow up, *you* gonna be working at *Pick* and *Save*.' However, following the ritual insult initiated by Angela, the responses quickly shifted out of the ritual insult genre and into personal insults. Angela was described as not being able to find a job other than cleaning out the gutters, because 'everywhere will reject' her. Angela's playful insult to Sarah that she will be working at *Pick* and *Save* was followed by a series of moves that are anything but playful. Rather than providing reciprocal action in the frame of play, Sarah and Emi state they are uncertain if Angela will ever even find a job. The other girls display their alignment by piling on laughter and insults, including 'You'll be clearing the *gutters*'; 'Everywhere will *reject* you' and 'As *if* the gu(hh)tters are going to accept her.' Across these examples, through the use of their bodies and voices, girls align with one another to display their negative assessment and utter contempt for the working class black girl Angela. Through their actions of asking her

to leave, dismissing her from their presence, and physically distancing themselves from her, they construct Angela as someone of little worth.

Acts of exclusion and ridicule in a Peruvian context

As mentioned above, the peer group discussed in this analysis is from a fourth-grade general education classroom that had three deaf students. The group at the focus of this analysis consisted of two deaf boys – Luis (13 years old) and Jeremy (12 years old) – and six hearing girls between 9 and 10 years old. The deaf students were older than their hearing peers because they entered school late. As with many students with disabilities in Iquitos, their parents did not send them to school until they were recruited by teachers from the special education school. The deaf boys in the classroom experienced sensory and communicative asymmetries in their interactions with their hearing classmates (Adami & Swanwick, 2019; Kusters, 2017). The boys received no support services to access the language of the classroom (e.g. interpreters) and had not acquired the linguistic resources of either spoken Spanish or Peruvian Sign Language. To communicate, they relied on a range of communicative resources that developed within the context of the classroom.

Despite the asymmetries within the group, Luis and Jeremy were part of a friendship group that was considered by the teacher to have some of the strongest students in the classroom. The teacher praised Luis and his girl friends for being ‘classroom leaders’ due to their ability to take charge of other students. Within the group, Luis, Carmen, and Ana, had the highest levels of authority. Luis, in particular, frequently took on the role of the classroom authority and could often be found criticizing other students. He was quick to point out when someone engaged in what he deemed as atypical behaviour or performed poorly on a classroom assignment. Students often accepted Luis’s criticisms with minimal disagreement.

Within the classroom, friendship groups were maintained through seating arrangements. At the start of each school day, students were able to choose their seats at tables that typically had five to seven students. Thus, students were generally able to sit with their friends. However, the teacher, Mr Inga, maintained some control over seating, moving a few students around each morning. Along with organizing friendship groups, these tables also became the site of competitive school activities. Mr Inga would give out a group assignment for each table to complete on a large piece of paper. The tables



Figure 3 *The seating arrangement on the day of the interaction with the students' names labelled.*

competed for who could complete their assignment first and who could get more correct answers, and therefore a higher grade. This competitive feature of the tables turned them into a central location for exclusionary practices, as will be seen in the interactional example presented below.

The interactional extract is presented as a transcript that is meant to be read in a comic strip fashion. The transcripts include screenshots taken from the video recordings that make visible the semiotic resources employed in the interaction. Time stamps are displayed above each figure. A textual transcript is aligned below the figures with sign glosses in capital letters, descriptions of additional bodily information in parentheses, vocal utterances in italics, and figure reference numbers indicating when the image occurred in the textual transcript. A forward slash (/) represents that articulators are used simultaneously. Interpretive translations are provided in bold. When possible, I selected a still image from the start of the sign or gesture stroke (Kita, van Gijn & van der Hulst, 1998). I calculated timing between turns according to the stroke-to-stroke timing method described in Casillas, De Vos, Crasborn and Levinson (2015).

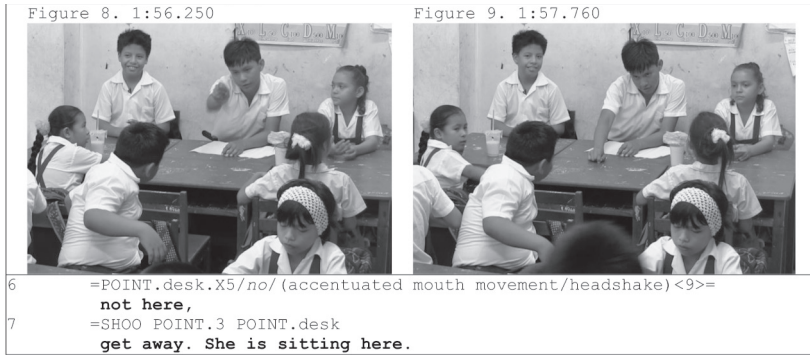
Denying participation

The interactional extract consists of one extended segment of interaction containing multiple acts of exclusion and ridicule taken from the end of the 2014 school year. On the day of the filming, Luis, Jeremy, Ana,

Maya and Lupe were sitting together but there was one open seat at the table (Figure 3). It was raining that morning and about half the class was missing, leaving some open seats. The tables had been assigned to do a group project, and large sheets of paper had just been handed out to each table. One of the students at the adjacent table, William, turned in his seat to grab something from his backpack. In doing so, he locked eyes with Luis. As in the US analysis, processes of exclusion and ridicule include denying participation, treating a participant as a non-person, negative assessment, and ritual insult. Crucial to the constitution of these exclusionary acts are the bodily organization of participants, multiparty participation frameworks, multimodal semiotic resources, and sequential and simultaneous organization of turns.

Extract 5.1

<p>Figure 4. 1:52.350</p> 	<p>Figure 5. 1:52.713</p> 
<p>1 Wil (turned in his seat looking for something in his backpack)</p> <p>2 (gazes Luis)<4></p>	<p>1 Wil (turned in his seat looking for something in his backpack)</p> <p>2 (gazes Luis)<4></p>
<p>Figure 6. 1:54.120</p> 	<p>Figure 7. 1:54.390</p> 
<p>3 Lui (gazes William)<5></p> <p>4 (1.0)</p> <p>5 Lui STOP<6> SHOO.X3<7>/ (headshake) (headshake) POINT.2/ (headshake)<8>= Stop, get away, you are there</p>	<p>3 Lui (gazes William)<5></p> <p>4 (1.0)</p> <p>5 Lui STOP<6> SHOO.X3<7>/ (headshake) (headshake) POINT.2/ (headshake)<8>= Stop, get away, you are there</p>



The first exclusionary act that Luis produced was denying William access to the table. As seen in the images, this was accomplished through the opening of a participation framework between Luis and William. Luis was looking toward the front of the room and began shifting his gaze to look across from him toward the empty seat (Figure 4). At the same time, William looked up from his backpack and towards Luis (Figure 4). After a moment of looking at one another, Luis reached his open palm out and on top of the empty desk (Figure 6), and then made a flicking motion with his hand to shoo William away (Figure 7). He continued by pointing to William's seat (Figure 8), pointing to the desk (Figure 9), and producing another shooing hand motion. In this way, Luis stated, 'Stop, get away, you are there, not here, get away (lines 5–7).' Luis laminated his gestures with multimodal resources, shaking his head and mouthing words without making a sound.

Important to demarcating included and excluded individuals were the actions of those at the table who simultaneously aligned themselves with Luis's exclusion of William. The first student was Jeremy, who watched Luis's utterance (Figures 6–7) and laughed along (Figures 8–9). The second student was Maya. Her response is displayed in Extract 5.2 and occurred during Luis's denial of access depicted in Extract 5.1.

Extract 5.2

<p>Figure 10. 1:56.360</p>  <p>5 Lui ...POINT.2/ (headshake) <8> you are there,</p> <p>5a May L (gazes Luis) <10></p> <p>6 Lui POINT.desk.X5/no/ (accentuated mouth movement/headshake) <9> not here,</p> <p>6a May L (gazes William) <11>=</p>	<p>Figure 11. 1:57.580</p> 
<p>Figure 12. 1:57.840</p>  <p>6b May = (gazes William's hand) <12></p> <p>7 Lui</p> <p>7a May</p>	<p>Figure 13. 1:58.490</p>  <p>SHOO POINT.3 POINT.desk get away, she is here.</p> <p>L (slaps hand on back of chair) <13> Not here</p>

In line 5, Luis's outstretched point toward William caught Maya's attention, and she turned to watch what Luis was saying (line 5a, Figure 10). After watching Luis for approximately one minute as he pointed to the desk while shaking his head and making exaggerated mouth movements, Maya turned to gaze at William (line 6a, Figure 11). She then looked down at William's hand reaching into his backpack (line 6b, Figure 12) and slapped her hand down over the back of the empty chair (line 6b, Figure 13), also denying him access to the seat. Luis did not acknowledge these simultaneous actions, but they accomplished the work of supporting Luis and his authority to exclude others.

Ritual insult

It is likely that Luis would have ended with only this first exclusionary act, but William responded back to Luis by talking back to him. This response and Luis's subsequent actions are depicted in Extract 5.3. Although the

content of their actions does not exactly match to that of a ritual insult, it is similar in the way in which the sequential nature of turns is used to take the content of the prior speaker's talk to produce a second description which turns the initial insult on its head and makes it even more outrageous.

Extract 5.3

Figure 14. 2:01.910	Figure 15. 2:03.080	
		
8 Wil (talking while turning to put notebooks on desk)<14>		
9 Lui (gazes Ana/exaggerated mouth movements/angry exp)<15>		
Figure 16. 2:03.830	Figure 17. 2:04.870	Figure 18. 2:05.590
		
10 Lui (continues exaggerated mouth movements/gazes William)<16>		
11 Wil [big open mouth movements/mock exp]<17>		
12 Lui FAT.FACE		
Your face is fat.		
13 Wil [(gazes down)<18>		

Due to how loud it was in the classroom, I could not make out what William said to Luis, but his mouth moving was visible on the video as he lifted his notebooks out of his bag and placed them on his desk (line 8, Figure 14). Due to Luis's hearing levels and the amount of noise in the classroom it is unlikely that Luis heard what William said. Therefore, Luis would have also been using the visual information of William's moving lips and facial expression to register that William had taken a turn. Luis responded by using William's action of talking and moved his mouth as if talking (no audible sound was produced) while adding to it an angered expression made by scrunching his eyebrows (lines 9–10, Figures 15–17). In doing this, Luis reused an element of William's immediately prior turn with minor variations to alter the meaning of the prior utterance. In response,

William then used elements of Luis's turn in constructing his own. William moved his own mouth as if talking, but with exaggerated mocking mouth movements (Figure 17). This back-and-forth exchange capitalized on the sequential structure of interactional turns. Directly following this mocking talking back, Luis launched into a negative assessment of William (the start of Luis's sign for FAT.FACE is depicted in Figure 18).

Treating as a non-person

Before looking at Luis's negative assessment, there was another exclusionary act that was occurring in the background to Luis and William's interactions. Luis was treating Jeremy as a non-person (Goffman, 1953) through his body positioning. As the exchange was going on with William, Jeremy tried to get Luis's attention. Jeremy spent a total of four seconds trying to get Luis's attention, upgrading his attention getting devices as time passed. First Jeremy tapped Luis's shoulder (Figure 14), then he shook Luis's shoulder (Figures 15–16), and finally he pulled on Luis's chin (Figures 17–18). Yet, Luis refused to give Jeremy his eye gaze. In this way, Luis treated Jeremy as someone who was not present through maintaining his body position and eye gaze away from Jeremy. This continued across the segment of interaction, with Jeremy following along and providing aligning reactions, but Luis never acknowledging Jeremy.

Negative assessments and denying participation

Returning to Luis and William, Extract 5.4 displays Luis's negative assessment of William. This negative assessment was carried out through the artful lamination of multimodal resources, including the use of objects in Luis's environment. The negative assessment also sparked the involvement of Ana, and together, Luis and Ana manipulated the participation framework to turn William into an excluded onlooker.

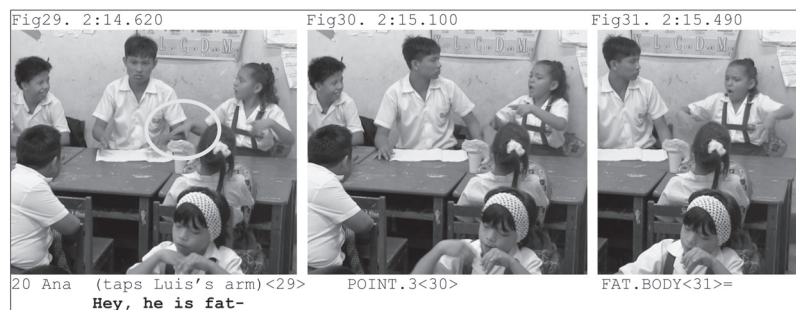
Extract 5.4

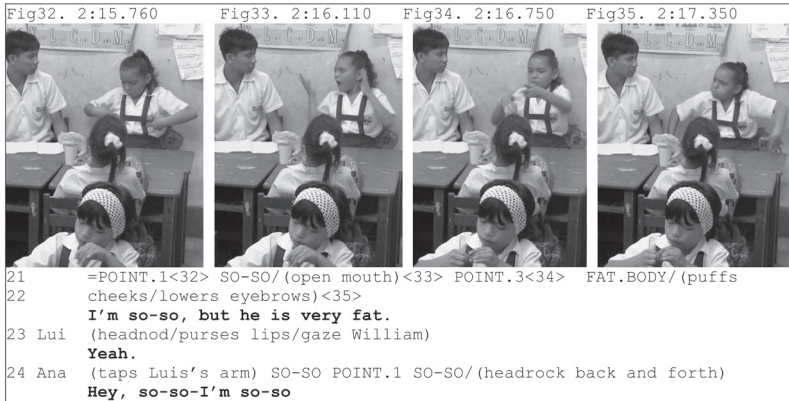
<p>Figure 19. 2:06.180</p>	<p>Figure 20. 2:07.280</p>	
<p>14 Lui FAT.FACE/(puffs cheeks)<19> FAT.FACE/(tongue out)<20>= Your face is fat- your face is fat,</p>		
<p>15 Wil [(gaze Luis)]</p>		
<p>Figure 21. 2:08.470</p>	<p>Figure 22. 2:09.210</p>	<p>Figure 23. 2:09.940</p>
<p>16 Lui =FAT.BODY/(puffs cheeks/widens eyes)<21> (headnod/widens eyes)<22> Your body is fat, that's right.</p>		
<p>17 Lui (straightens paper in front of him)<23> MOUND<24>= Your plate is filled with food</p>		
<p>Figure 24. 2:10.539</p>	<p>Figure 25. 2:11.120.</p>	<p>Figure 26. 2:11.380</p>
<p>18 =(grabs food on desk)<25> EAT.X3<26> (grabbing food with two hands)= and you grab it and eat and eat</p>		
<p>Figure 27. 2:12.910</p>	<p>Figure 28. 2:14.160</p>	
<p>19 =EAT.2hands.X2/(puffed cheeks/chewing)<26> SO.MUCH<27>= and eat, so much.</p>		

The negative assessment illustrates Luis's skilled ability to layer bodily resources within his utterances (Goodwin, 2018). Luis started by saying, 'your face is fat' which was produced by combining the motion of his hands moving away from his cheeks while he widened his eyes and puffed his cheeks (line 14, Figure 19). Luis was paying close attention to William's eye gaze, however. When Luis first signed FAT.FACE, William was looking down. As soon as William looked up again, Luis repeated the sign (line 14, Figure 20). Luis, then continued with a similar face while moving his hands away from the body (line 16, Figure 21), modifying the sign FAT to say, 'your body is fat'. Luis ended with a confirming head nod (line 16, Figure 22). Luis displayed the intensity of his negative assessment by making his signs large, his hands moving so far out that they crossed into the desk space of the two students sitting next to him. Then, to depict William's eating habits, Luis utilized the objects around him. He shifted the paper in front of him to become a plate and used his hands to trace the mound of food on the 'plate' (lines 17–19; Figures 23–24). Luis then reached out to the food on Ana's desk, imitating that he was grabbing it, before signing EAT repeatedly (line 18, Figures 25–26). In ending his utterance, Luis added intensity to his signing, this time using two hands to grab food and eat (lines 18–19, Figure 27).

During this negative assessment Luis's signing caught Ana's attention. Ana began looking at Luis in Figure 27. Then once Luis finished his utterance, signing SO.MUCH (line 19, Figure 28), Ana called for Luis's attention by tapping him on the arm (line 19, Figure 29). Ana's utterance shifted the participation framework so that William turned into an excluded onlooker, as Ana and Luis continued to negatively assess William. Ana's response is displayed in Extract 5.5.

Extract 5.5



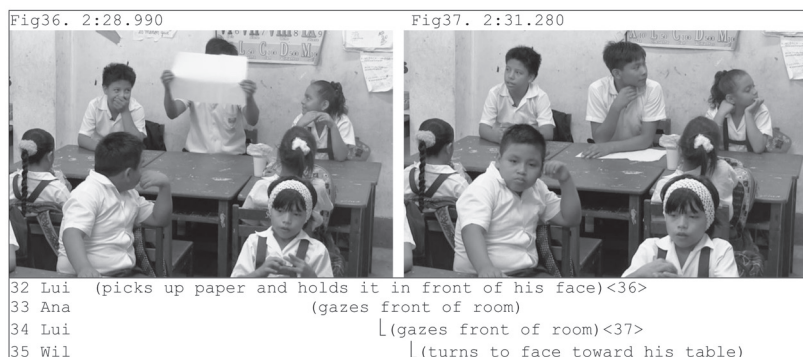


Ana aligned with Luis by comparing William to herself. Ana pointed out that she was more-or-less overweight, but William was very overweight. In aligning with Luis's position, Ana also displayed her own signing skill. Ana was a hearing student in the classroom, yet she was able to string together multiple signs to create the contrast between herself and William. In addition, it is possible to see how signing practices are shared within the classroom. Ana began by pointing to William and then using the same sign as Luis to indicate William's weight (line 20, Figures 30–31), signing with the same hand motion and puffed cheeks (Figures 31, 35). Ana then pointed to herself and signed SO-SO (line 21, Figures 32–33), before repeating the point to William and signing FAT.BODY again (line 21, Figures 34–35).

In joining the conversation, Ana re-organized the participation framework. Instead of the conversation being a back-and-forth exchange between Luis and William, it turned into a conversation between Luis and Ana with William as merely an onlooker made to watch others negatively assess him. This construction of the participation framework continued for another 7 lines before the interaction came to an end with a final exclusionary act.

A final exclusionary act

Finally, Luis closed off the participation framework with William with a final exclusionary act, depicted in Extract 5.6. Here the use of objects and bodily orientation are taken up to deny William participation.

Extract 5.6

Luis lifted up the paper to cut off his gaze with William (line 32, Figure 36), effectively ending the visual connection that is needed to engage in a signed conversation. Then, as Luis lowered the paper, both he and Ana simultaneously turned their heads to the front of the room. As Luis turned his head away, William also turned to his own table (Figure 37).

An ecology of exclusion

Although Luis had significant status and authority in his classroom, in the context of a discussion on inclusion and exclusion, we would be remiss in not discussing the larger ecology of exclusion in which deaf youth are being educated in Iquitos. In these supposedly ‘inclusive’ classrooms, deaf youth are placed in general education classrooms with no support services to access the classroom language. Functionally illiterate, most deaf students cannot write their own names independently or do basic math. Thus, these students are spending their time in classrooms where they are unable to learn academic knowledge, resulting in acquiring minimal resources to secure a job in Iquitos after they leave school. To combat this ecology of exclusion, in March 2016, Goico worked with the parents’ association, *Asociación Iquitos Unidos en Señas*, to establish the first public deaf education program in Iquitos (Goico et al., 2021). The program has 30 students, the majority of whom did not have sustained access to linguistic resources before entering the school. The school hires deaf teachers from Colombia to teach in the classrooms and pairs them with deaf adults who use Peruvian Sign Language. The school is now in its seventh year.

Discussion: a comparison of elementary school peer groups

In our research, we find deaf and hearing youth engaging in complex multiparty and multimodal work through displays of strong confrontation and opposition to create vivid forms of co-operative action in the co-construction of exclusion. Across our video recorded data, we find remarkable similarities in the construction of exclusionary acts. While engaging in similar practices of denying participation, treating as a non-person, and engaging in ritual insult and negative assessments, we find important similarities across our two sites in how processes of exclusion and ridicule are constituted. In this paper, we have drawn attention to the use of bodily organization, multiparty participation frameworks, multimodal semiotic resources, and the sequential and simultaneous organization of turns.

Bodily organization

First, we found across both sites that the bodily organization of the social space made visually available included and excluded participants. In the US case, Angela was often kept at a distance from the group, whether that was sitting across the table, at a separate table, or positioned on the outskirts of the group. In Iquitos, a similar demarcation of insiders and outsiders was created by the organization of the classroom into competitive tables. Beyond the organization of the social space, bodies are also an important resource in facing formations, especially in the manipulation of participation frameworks.

Participation frameworks

We found that both the deaf and hearing students effectively manipulated rapidly shifting facing formations and participation frameworks to produce acts of exclusion and ridicule. This was seen among the Southern California girls when they were organized in a circle and quickly turned the participation framework toward Angela to deny her participation, and then turned back to one another to physically exclude her with their bodies (Figure 38a). In the Iquitos case, Luis was especially adept at manipulating the participation framework as a resource in constituting acts of exclusion and ridicule. Due to the interaction involving signing deaf individuals, visual attention is crucial for communication. Luis effectively used this property of manual communication to organize included and



Figure 38 Quickly shifting participation frameworks.

excluded members. Luis used the opening of a participation framework with William to launch an exclusionary act (Figure 38b) and was also the one to shut down the participation framework when he decided it was finished – holding up a paper to cut off eye gaze and looking away from William. Luis also capitalized on the manipulation of the participation framework by turning William into an onlooker, subjected to watching others negatively assess him. Finally, Luis kept his body and gaze turned away from Jeremy, thus treating him as a non-person.

Sequential organization of turns

The sequential organization of interaction into turns was also an important resource in accomplishing acts of exclusion and ridicule. This can be seen most clearly in the reliance on format tying (M. H. Goodwin, 1990), the re-use with transformation of a previous utterance to provide a counter. An example of this can be seen in the ritual insult among the Southern California girls (Figure 39).

In the Iquitos case, after William spoke back to Luis, Luis then imitated speaking back to William with an angry face. Then William imitated speaking back to Luis with a mocking face. Each subsequent turn re-used with transformation the previous turn. The practice of format tying has been previously described in relation to using prior *speech* elements of a previous utterance to produce a return action. However, in the Iquitos

When you grow up, [you] [gonna to be working] at Pick and Pay.
 So? Are [you] [going to be working?]
 [You]’re [not even] [going to be working!]

Figure 39 *Format tying within a ritual insult.*

case, it is a multimodal element – the movement of the mouth – that is reproduced with modifications.

Re-use of previous utterances also included repeating and expanding on utterances to provide alignment. We find Du Bois’s (2007) discussion of the stance triangle useful for thinking about how alignment is created through stance acts taken up against a target subject (Figure 40). By providing similar stances toward a target subject, participants align themselves together. ‘Alignment is crucial because whether or not the negative identities ascribed to...children do indeed take hold depends, to a large extent, on whether other interlocutors ratify with their participation, the speaker’s attempt to construct...children’s identities in this fashion’ (García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 137).

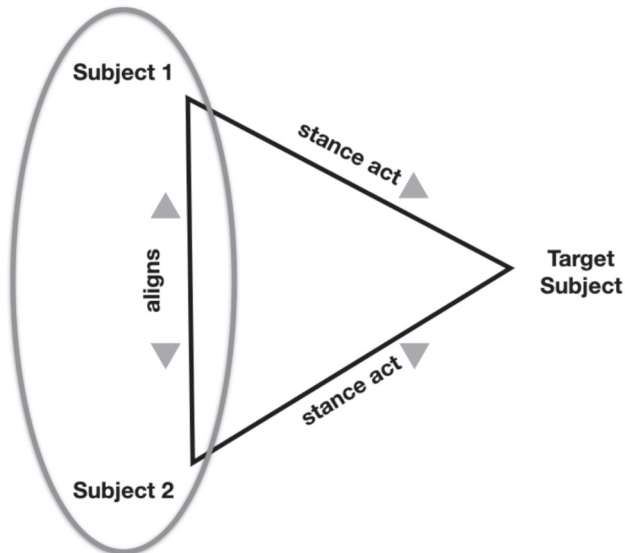


Figure 40 *Du Bois’s stance triangle displays how alignment is created through similar stance acts toward a target individual.*

Source: simplified from Du Bois (2007, p. 163)

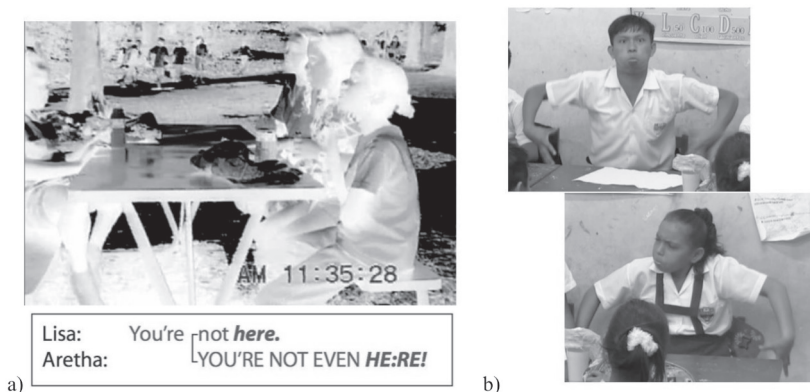


Figure 41 *The reuse of elements of previous utterances to provide alignment and support.*

Among the Southern California peer group, the girls would use elements of the others' previous statements to provide return moves. This reuse emphasized what had been said in a prior move but transformed it. An example of this occurred when Lisa and Aretha treated Angela as a non-person (Figure 41a). In addition, Luis and Ana used similar expressions of the sign BODY.FAT to describe William, while discussing his weight in front of him (Figure 41b).

Simultaneous organization of turns

Alignment occurred not only sequentially, but also simultaneously as turns were concurrently produced. As seen in Figure 41a, among the Southern California girls aligning statements would often occur in overlap with one another. This created the effect of piling on insults. In addition, the girls would laugh along in overlap, providing another form of simultaneous alignment. In Iquitos, alignment also occurred simultaneously. Throughout the interaction, Jeremy was laughing along with Luis's acts of exclusion and ridicule. In addition, Maya joined in the moment of denying participation by covering the back of the open seat with her hand.

Multimodal lamination of resources

Also occurring simultaneously was the lamination of multimodal semiotic resources. As C. Goodwin has argued, 'central to the power of human action is its ability to combine opportunistically quite different kinds of semiotic materials into action packages where they mutually elaborate

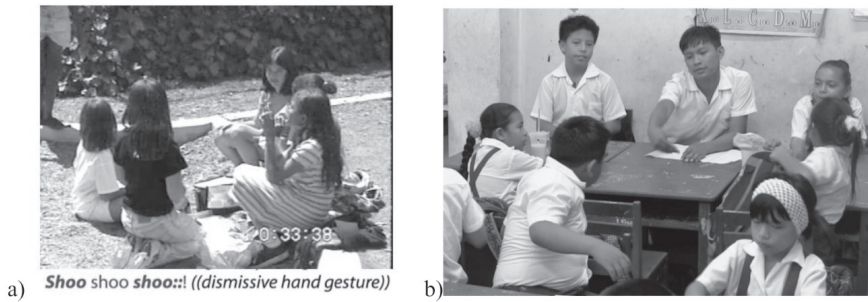


Figure 42 A similar handshape is used to shoo the student away in a form of denying access.

each other' (C. Goodwin, 2018, p. 13). In both of our data sets, there was the use of a quite similar hand gesture to tell a peer to go away (Figure 42). The comparison highlights the distinct affordances of an aural/oral language and a visual/manual language, each with a distinct set of resources that are laminated on top of each other. In the Southern California girls' group, '*shoo shoo shoo::!*' was produced using the flicking dismissive gesture in combination with a vocal production, that included a distinctive lexical choice overlaid with an emphatic intonational contour. Luis used the dismissive hand motion combined with an annoyed facial expression and a headshake.

Even though the distinct modalities provide different affordances, there is evidence of the students using their language-appropriate set of resources for the same goal, such as intensifying negative assessments. In both cases, the expansion of a different combination of resources is used to make more salient negative assessments. In the case of the Southern California girls, this was achieved through the elongation of vowels and voice amplitude, such as when they said '*Ew:::~::~:*' to Angela in response to how she was eating pudding. In addition, they turned their bodies quickly away from Angela and put hands to face to cover their eyes. Luis was able to intensify his negative assessment of William as 'fat' by broadly extending his arms into the space of his table mates and puffing up his cheeks while assuming a 'middle distance' look into space.

An important difference

Despite remarkable similarities in the exclusionary practices across our data, we found an important difference in the permanency and thus the severity of marginal status in these groups. In the Iquitos example,

William was positioned as an overhearer of the insults about himself. In the girls group however, Angela was not only, in Goffman's (1979) terms the 'figure' whose actions were depicted. She was forced to become the animator of a negative depiction about herself, as Sarah prompted her to publicly confess 'I'm a tagalong (°girl)' (Extract 6). Subsequently she was evaluated as one would reward a dog who did a good trick with 'good girl.' As discussed previously, the repetitive aggressive nature of the practices of exclusion and ridicule in the Southern California case, as exemplified by the example in Extract 6, constitute an important difference between the Southern California and Iquitos cases.

Extract 6.

- Sarah: ^LYou're like a **tag**. You **tag** along.
 Basically [Angela tags along.
 Angela [So-
 Sarah: That's it.= right?
 Angela: So like-**Yeah**.
 Sarah: [Right Angela? Admit it. eh heh heh!
 Angela: Yeah like. [Whatever.
 Sarah: [**Admit** it Angela- Admit it!
 Angela: [**Okay!**

Sarah: **Say** it. "**You** (.) are (.) I am a: "
 (0.4)

Angela: I'M A **TAG**-ALONG! (°girl).
 (0.6)

Sarah: **Good** girl! heh heh!

Conclusion

This comparison has highlighted the similarities in the types and construction of exclusionary acts across our two settings. These similarities are particularly noteworthy if we consider the striking linguistic differences between the two peer groups. Video recordings of the naturally occurring interactions of Luis and other deaf youth in Iquitos, highlight their skilled communicative competence. Luis's ability to use a combination of communicative resources to accomplish social aims, provides an important site to investigate the interactional substrate that underpins human sociality, that Enfield and Levinson (2006) have argued to be ontogenetically and phylogenetically prior to language.

From this analysis, we have demonstrated how children have their own practices apart from adults and are resourceful in producing the local social order. Only a concerted effort of community, teachers and family is going to provide ways of improving these exclusionary practices that permeate all children's social interactions. Taking into account the subtle and not so subtle ways that those who are marginalized are put in that position on a moment-by-moment basis needs to be foregrounded to create a more equitable culture.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank all the children in the US and Peru who allowed us a close view on their everyday lives. Our work would not have been possible without their support. We are grateful for the comments provided by our anonymous reviewer and participants at the events where earlier versions of this paper were presented – the UCLA Center for Language, Interaction and Culture Symposium on 'Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion in Interaction', the UCSB Language, Interaction, and Social Organization group, and the 17th International Pragmatics Conference.

Sara Goico's work is based on research supported by a National Science Foundation SBE Postdoctoral Fellowship (award no. 1911653), a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (award no. 1357221), a Center for Academic Research and Training in Anthropogeny Fellowship, and a University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship. Marjorie Harness Goodwin's work was supported by a grant from the Academic Senate Office, Council on Research, UCLA.

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Sara Alida Goico's research focuses on the communication of deaf children who have minimal access to signed or spoken languages, utilizing a linguistic ethnographic approach that combines participant observation and video recordings of everyday interaction. She is committed to bringing academic research into conversation with social justice-oriented work to improve language and educational access for deaf children. She facilitated the formation of a parents' association and deaf school in Peru. She now works as a parent–infant teacher of the deaf and hard of hearing in the Los Angeles Unified School District birth to three program, along with holding an assistant project scientist position at UCLA's Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture.

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