

Hearing Aids Communication

Integrating Social Interaction, Audiology and
User Centered Design to Improve Communication
with Hearing Loss and Hearing Technologies

Edited by Maria Egbert and Arnulf Deppermann

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Hearing impaired adolescents in a regular classroom: On the embodied accomplishment of participation and understanding

Simone Groeber and Simona Pekarek Doehler

In schools for adolescents with co-enrollement, students with hearing impairment are instructed together with normal hearing students. To help the students with hearing disability, a teaching assistant is employed. This chapter explores the interactional organization of such a classroom during a phase where one of the hearing impaired students solicits the assistant's help. The analysis reveals how the student handles two conflicting constraints. On the one hand, he needs to mobilize the assistant's attention to solve his understanding problem, on the other hand this action needs to be launched in such a way that the ongoing plenary teaching activity can continue simultaneously. Given the difficulties in achieving intersubjectivity under these conditions, the authors recommend that teaching assistants employed to help with integration of hearing impaired students should have sign language competence.

I. Introduction

Co-enrollment of hearing impaired students in a regular classroom is a widely adopted educational measure designed to favor the (language) socialization of these students within the hearing majority of the local community. This co-enrollment and the organization of classroom interaction that it involves put specific constraints on the hearing impaired students' possibilities and means for participating, and ultimately for learning. In this chapter, we explore the interactional organization of such a classroom where a teaching assistant is employed to support the students with hearing impairment.

Researchers interested in the socially situated nature of learning emphasize that it is through active participation in social interactions that participants (including language learners) can become increasingly competent members of a given community (Lave/Wenger 1991; Firth/Wagner 2007). Interactants put to work a set of resources (lexicon, grammar, gesture, gaze, material artifacts, etc.) for organizing social interaction so as to achieve mutual understanding and the coordination of joint actions. But how are these resources deployed in an educational setting where the establishment of mutual understanding is a particularly delicate issue that can impinge on participants' opportunities for both participating and learning?

In order to exemplify a recurrent problem and to address a possible solution, we present an analysis of a problematic situation in a classroom in German-speaking Switzerland in which three hearing impaired adolescents are co-enrolled. One key feature of the interactional organization is that it involves not only students and a teacher, but also a teaching assistant whose purpose it is to mediate interaction and understanding between the hearing teacher and students on the one hand and the hearing impaired students on the other hand. The regular arrangement is that the assistant uses time with the hearing impaired students during pauses of the regular classroom activities; however, when a student cannot follow due to hearing/understanding problems, immediate action may be necessary to resolve the trouble so that the student can re-engage in the classroom agenda.

Joint school participation of students with and without hearing loss fosters socialization.

Language competency and integration are largely achieved in social interaction.

Research question:

- How do participants deal with trouble in intersubjectivity?

Exemplary analysis of a recurrent problematic situation

- yields insights into what is problematic
- provides a basis for solving the problem

Teaching assistant helps students with hearing impairment during pauses and in acute problem situations.

For the hearing impaired students, participation in classroom activities involves, for instance, the need to monitor simultaneously the teacher's and the teaching assistant's doings, to catch the assistant's attention while he or she is orienting toward the teacher or another student, and to negotiate understanding with the assistant in a way that does not disrupt the public space of teacher-whole-class interaction. Focusing on the participation of one hearing impaired student (Jacob), we show how the student deals with these issues by means of a range of verbal and non-verbal resources that are finely synchronized with other participants' conduct.

We are also interested in how the overtly displayed problem in understanding on the part of the hearing impaired student occasions the talking into being of the category 'hearing impaired', and thereby becomes part of how participants in the interaction install 'hearing/not-hearing person' as a relevant membership categorization device (Sacks 1972a/b; Schegloff 2007) for this particular setting. Understanding is in some sense an ever-latent problematic issue in interactions involving hearing impaired participants (Lind et al. 2004; Skelt 2006). In principle, problems in understanding may be oriented to either as problems in grasping some conceptual content, or as auditory problems. In the analysis we show what kind of action may make such categorizations relevant by the assistant. In doing so, we discuss how difficult it may be, for participants and also for the researcher, to localize the very nature of the problem in understanding (Fehler 2002).

2. Interactional challenges for hearing impaired participants

Research on interactions involving deaf or hearing impaired participants has shown that hearing impaired persons, but also their hearing communication partners, 'let pass' a lot of non-understanding by avoiding the initiation of repair (Skelt 2006; see also Pajo, ch.8, this volume). The avoidance of repair initiation is not unique to interactions involving hearing impaired participants. It has also been reported for ordinary conversation, and has been explained in terms of participants' orientation to maintaining the progressivity of talk (Schegloff 1979; Heritage 2007). However, while contributing to maximize the progressivity of talk, 'let it pass' may leave problems of mutual understanding unresolved, and may hence interfere with the need to maintain intersubjectivity (cf. Deppermann 2010: 367).

Several studies have shown that signaling and overcoming problems in understanding represents a particular challenge for hearing impaired persons (e.g., Caissie/Wilson 1995; Jeanes et al. 2000; Ibertsson et al. 2008). These persons may struggle with clearly indicating what exactly they do not understand in a given stretch of talk, and therefore have difficulties to efficiently ask for help (e.g., Audeoud/Lienhard 2006, based on semi-structured interviews). Also, repair sequences in interactions involving hearing impaired participants tend to be long (e.g., Pajo, ch.8, this volume) and often remain unresolved (Lind et al. 2004).

These and other issues have been documented in several studies on repair in interactions involving hearing impaired participants. While most of the existing work focuses on repair-initiation on the part of the hearing impaired, Lind et al. (2004) and Skelt (2006), both working within the framework of Conversation Analysis, provide a more encompassing picture by exploring repair of talk-in-interaction by both parties, hearing and hearing impaired. Lind et al. (2004) call attention to the fact that problems encountered by a hearing impaired participant are not necessarily auditory (mishearings): They can also be due to pragmatic or linguistic problems, just as can be the case for hearing persons. This may be of particular importance when studying prelingually deaf children/adolescents, as they are also late

To follow the classroom activities, students with hearing impairment handle a complex participation framework with the main plenary teaching activity and the subordinate solicitation of the teaching assistant's help.

In a problematic situation, the categorization as 'hearing/not-hearing' becomes relevant. A differentiation is necessary between

- auditory hearing
- understanding the talk
- grasping the conceptual content of the teaching

'Letting pass' to avoid dealing with trouble in hearing/understanding is even more problematic in classrooms than in ordinary conversation.

Not every instance of trouble in hearing/understanding is necessarily due to hearing loss.

first language learners¹, and therefore may struggle more intensely with linguistic and pragmatic difficulties than their hearing workmates. Skelt (2006) further mentions that the quantity of repair cannot be univocally related to the hearing impairment in itself, but depends on several other factors such as familiarity among the communicative partners and their interactional goals.

The abovementioned points boil down to the fact that problems of understanding often cannot be defined clearly (neither by participants nor by the researcher) and have to be negotiated in the course of interaction. A problem of understanding may be a matter of hearing (i.e. auditory), a matter of grasping the meaning (i.e. 'meaning making') or it may be due to partial hearing.

3. Data and methodology

The data presented in this chapter stem from a corpus of 33 hours of classroom interactions, video-recorded in German-speaking Switzerland, that involve a small number of hearing impaired students along with a majority of hearing students. We focus on a co-enrollment German class in the first year of secondary school involving three hearing impaired students. The students are on average 12 years old. In addition to the hearing students, the following people participate in the classroom:

- Mr. Roth is the main teacher of the regular classroom. He is normal hearing and has no training in sign language. He is a native speaker of Swiss German and teaches in Standard German (which is the regular language of classroom interaction in German-speaking Switzerland).
- Silvia Micheli is an assistant teacher. Her institutional task is to help the hearing impaired students to follow the regular classroom lessons. She is of German origin, is normal hearing and has a rudimentary knowledge of Swiss German Sign Language (*Deutschscheizerische Gebärdensprache*, "DSGS").
- Jacob, Nora and Nikolas are hearing impaired students co-enrolled in this regular class. They are bilingual in the sense of using spoken (Swiss) German as well as Swiss German Sign Language on a regular basis. Our analysis focuses on Jacob, a 13 year-old Swiss German boy. Jacob was diagnosed as prelingually deaf at age 2. He first used hearing aids, until he received cochlear implant at age 10.²

The problematic situation is an example of a recurrent problem observed in 33 hours of classroom interaction.

Teacher: Mr. Roth

- no competency in sign language

Assistant teacher: Silvia Micheli

- rudimentary knowledge of sign language

Jacob, focal student with hearing loss:

- competent user of sign language; uses cochlear implant

¹ Persons born deaf or having had hearing loss before the natural acquisition of a spoken language are called prelingually deaf. Many prelingually deaf children are diagnosed late (after age 2), which implies that their first language acquisition is delayed. In addition, as 90% of deaf children have hearing parents, sign language is only rarely accessible as an early first language. Consequently, most deaf children are late first language learners.

² A cochlear implant is an electronic device that is designed to restore hearing in severely and profoundly deaf persons. In contrast to conventional hearing aids, part of the device (receiver) is surgically implanted into the bone (cf. Mourtou/Meis, ch.2, this volume).

The classroom was video-taped from two angles simultaneously. The following picture shows the classroom from two perspectives.



Figure 2: Hearing impaired adolescents in a co-enrolled classroom. (Corpus SG, JNV_IN_100603)

The analysis explores a stretch of interaction of 1:28 minute length. It illustrates characteristic features of this setting as they occur in the rest of our data during teacher-fronted classroom interaction. We have divided the focal segment of interaction into three excerpts that we discuss in chronological order, i.e., as they unfold in real time during the course of the interaction.

4. The local enactment of the co-enrollment classroom order: On the embodied accomplishment of participation and understanding

We now explore how participants' dealing with a comprehension problem on the part of a hearing impaired student is deployed contingently, on a moment-to-moment basis, in a way that responds to, and at the same time accomplishes, the specific constraints of the co-enrollment classroom. In the segment of interaction, a problem of understanding arises for Jacob as the teacher is providing instructions to the classroom as a whole. We first outline the specific participation frameworks at stake (4.1), and then show that the interactional management of the problem of understanding between the teaching assistant and the hearing impaired student rests on a close synchronization of verbal and non-verbal resources among the participants (4.2). The actions employed towards re-establishing mutual understanding involve negotiating what kind of understanding ('hearing', 'grasping') is at stake for the student. We document how this negotiation occasions the talking-into-being of the membership category 'non-hearing', and we discuss the consequences of such interactions to the possible ongoing participation of the students (4.3).

4.1. A dual participation framework with conflicting constraints

The presence of an assistant teacher in the co-enrollment classroom implies that in addition to interacting with the main teacher or with the other students, the hearing-impaired students are recurrently involved in interactions with the assistant teacher. When during the plenary classroom activities a hearing-impaired student and the assistant split off and establish a second simultaneous interactional strand and thus transition into two parallel interactional strands or "schisming" (Egbert 1993; 1997), this results in complex participation frameworks where shifts from one strand to another are negotiated and accomplished.

The main participation framework is the plenary where the teacher addresses the class as a whole. Examples of such activities are explaining a task or conducting an exercise. Subsequent to plenary activities, the teach-

- Camera 1 (picture on left) shows students with hearing impairment and assistant teacher sitting in front of the students's desks
- Camera 2 (picture on right) is directed at the main teacher

The problem occurs when the teacher provides work instructions.

Analysis:

- specifics of the participation framework
- student's and teaching assistant's use of verbal and non-verbal resources to manage an understanding problem
- talking-into-being of the category 'non-hearing' as relevant

Dual participation framework ("schisming")

Main strand (plenary):

- Teacher addresses class as a whole

ing assistant spends time with the hearing impaired students to re-explain, if necessary, the information given in the plenary.

However, a recurrent organizational feature of the co-enrollment classroom are occurrences where not subsequently, but rather parallel to the plenary activities, the more 'private' space between one or more of the hearing impaired students or with the assistant is opened. This occurs when students initiate an interaction with the assistant to comment on something, to ask questions or more generally to call for help, thereby relating to what is going on in plenary or not. This is facilitated by the assistant sitting near (in front of or beside) the hearing impaired students (cf. figure 2 above). The case to be analyzed consists of such a parallel involvement, induced by one of the hearing impaired students in order to solicit help from the assistant.

Shifting between these two participation frameworks rests on a close parallel monitoring of both frameworks on the part of the hearing impaired students as well as of the assistant teacher; this is done by means of minute mutual synchronization of talk, gaze and body movements. In this way, participants seem to check for 'engagement displays' (Goodwin 1981) as a basis for organizing their conduct in relation to one another.

Interestingly, a newly configured participation framework does not suppress the preceding one; rather, each of the aforementioned frameworks remains available for re-actualization at any moment in time. For example, after a shift from student-assistant interaction to student-main-teacher interaction, the hearing impaired students and the assistant continue to finely monitor each other's actions so as to re-establish their interaction if needed. While doing so, they make use of their peripheral vision: As evidenced most clearly through the orientation of their gaze and synchronization of body movements, the hearing impaired students simultaneously monitor the assistant's and the main teacher's conduct, and likewise, the assistant simultaneously monitors the conduct of the main teacher and of 'her' students. This simultaneous orientation to two (incipient) participation frameworks is a pervasive feature of the co-enrollment classroom order. Navigating between these frameworks puts specific interactional demands on the hearing impaired students, as opposed to their hearing peers, but is at the same time instrumental for their successful participation in the co-enrollment classroom.

4.2 The hearing impaired student's contingent use of resources for displaying 'I do not understand'

When trouble in hearing or understanding emerges, it is a delicate matter for a hearing impaired student to target the assistant to solicit help because this may disrupt the plenary activity. The analysis we are about to present shows how Jacob handles the conflicting constraints of summoning the assistant's attention to deal with trouble in intersubjectivity on the one hand, and attending to the sequential contiguity of the plenary on the other hand.

4.2.1 The hearing impaired student's first attempt to summon the assistant's attention (failure)

The segment to be analyzed begins with the main teacher, Mr. Roth, addressing the class as a whole. He is assigning a spelling exercise where the students are asked to underline 20 words which they are not certain how to spell (lines 001-009 below). The teacher's instruction is the source of Jacob's problem in understanding. In order to signal this to the assistant, Jacob faces the task of first attracting the assistant's attention, then signaling his lack of understanding, and then making recognizable what exactly the problem of

Subordinate strand in parallel to main strand:

- hearing impaired student and teaching assistant interact when problems emerge

When both strands are active, the participants monitor both.

Navigating between both strands requires specific interactional work.

When trouble in understanding occurs:

- student with hearing loss needs to handle two conflicting constraints: the progressivity of the main strand and establishing the subordinate strand with the teaching assistant.

Jacob's trouble source lies in the teacher's instruction.

understanding consists of. Although he does not succeed in mobilizing the assistant's attention, he nonetheless initiates repair.

#1 Teacher explains assignment

001 Rot: es heisst bei der aufgabe man muss zwanzig
in the assignment it is said one needs to
 002 wörter unterstreichen bei (die:) (.)
underline twenty words (which)
 003 bei denen man schwierigkeiten haben könnte.
with which one could have difficulties.
 004 .hh müsst ihr euch folgendes vorstellen.
you have to imagine the following
 005 .hh euer nachbar oder eure nachbarin
your neighbor (masc.) or neighbor (fem.)
 006 diktiert euch diesen text (2.8) und
dictates this text to you and
 007 bei welchem wort seid ihr hundertprozentig
with which word are you a hundred percent
 008 sicher dass ihr keinen schreibfehler
sure that you (pl.) don't make a spelling
 009 macht
error

Lines 1-9:
 Teacher's instructions

After line 009, the teacher (marked with a circle in the screen shot below) halts his talk while displaying nonverbal orientation through eye gaze direction to the deaf students and to the assistant Micheli. Micheli (rectangle) raises her eye brows, and Jacob (triangle) gazes at Roth.

010 Rot: ((gazes to Micheli/Jacob))
 011 Mic: ((raises eyebrows))

Teacher signals heightened attention.



Figure 3: Screenshot of constellation during trouble-source turn

By means of his gaze (figure 3) and halting his speech, Roth possibly tags to Micheli and the hearing impaired students that his talk has provided key information. Also note the teacher's multiple accentuations (see the underlined syllables lines 002, 004, 007, 008). Micheli's eyebrow raise (figure 3) displays her heightened attention.

The teacher then turns his gaze back to the class and continues explaining the assignment. Shortly after his turn beginning (line 012 below), Jacob attempts to solicit Micheli's attention by turning his gaze to her. She is not reciprocating his gaze. With his eyes opened widely, Jacob then leans towards Micheli and rapidly signs WAS ('what', line 015 below).

- 012 Rot: *gazes at the class
*dieses wort
this word
- 013 Jac: ((Gazes at Micheli who gazes at teacher))
- 014 Rot: [sch- übermalt ihr oder schreibt ihr nicht auf.
[you do not underline or you do not write down
[
[*bends to Micheli, then back and shifts gazs to
teacher
- 015 Jac: [*WAS ((signing))
[What?

Jacob's signing of the repair initiation "WAS" ('what?') is shown below.

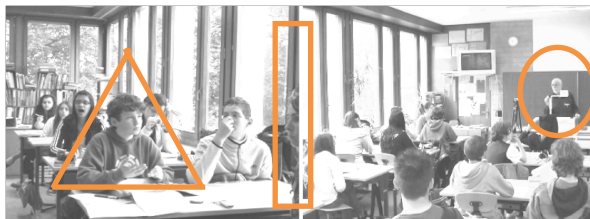


Figure 4: Jacob's gaze at assistant and signed repair initiation

To display his trouble, Jacob uses resources resembling open-class repair initiators (Drew 1997). Open-class initiators like 'what?' or 'huh?' do not specify the kind of trouble or the exact source of trouble in the preceding talk (Schegloff et al. 1977, replicated for German by Egbert 2008, for German *was*, cf. Selting 1987a/b/c; 1988; 1992; Egbert et al. 2009), yet it has been shown for English open-class repair initiators that they signal sequential problems possibly stretching further back than the immediately prior turn-constructural unit (Drew 1997). Studies on communication with hearing loss have also noted that the participant with hearing impairment has a tendency to use "non-specific requests for clarification" (e.g., Caissie/Wilson 1995; Jeanes et al. 2000). The sequential placement of Jacob's display after what is presented by the teacher, and oriented to by Micheli as a peak statement in his explanation, suggests that Jacob's trouble is related to the teacher's preceding explanation of the assignment. However, it is unclear at this point what kind of problem Jacob encounters: Is it an auditory problem or a problem in 'grasping' the teacher-provided instructions?

Clearly, Jacob is attempting to move into Micheli's visual field (cf. Goodwin 1986). The combination of Jacob's shift in eye gaze, body movements and signed repair initiation are resources to solicit Micheli's attention and to establish a new participation framework (for related arguments, see Goodwin 1986; 2003; 2007; Egbert 1993; 1997).

Jacob does not succeed to mobilize Micheli's attention. While the assistant remains oriented towards the teacher, Jacob momentarily abandons his summons for help. He leans back in his chair, gazes at the main teacher and then into the air. Jacob's bodily actions of summoning and retracting are displays of his understanding of Michaelis's attention to the teacher and failure to respond to him. As Goodwin observes on coordination among interactants:

Each party's body thus displays an analysis of what the other is doing and by that very display constrains what the other can or should be doing if he is to organize his body in terms of similar analysis. (1981: 96)

While teacher continues,

- Jacob solicits the attention of the teaching assistant,
- Micheli does not react, then
- Jacob initiates repair.

Jacob employs multimodal resources:

- sequential placement in relation to teacher's actions
- moving into teaching assistant's visual field
- eye gaze shift
- signed open-class repair initiator

Jacob does not succeed in mobilizing the teaching assistant's attention.

Two important points emerge from these observations. First, Jacob's choice of non-vocal resources to solicit attention and signal his trouble minimizes disruption of the plenary teaching. This suggests that he is orienting to the normative order of classrooms with normal hearing participants, where interrupting a plenary activity may be sanctioned (McHoul 1978). This situation at hand presents a conflict for the hearing impaired student: His use of non-vocal resources warrants the maintenance of the classroom order, but at the same time makes it particularly challenging to attract the assistant's attention and to signal his trouble; such non-vocal resources inevitably presuppose the prior establishment of mutual eye gaze to be recognized. In the quoted excerpt, Jacob's attempt to engage with the assistant fails possibly due to its sequential placement at a moment when her reciprocity was not assured; in the further course of actions, Jacob launches a second attempt to solicit Micheli's help, this time deploying a different sequential organization of his course of action - with success. This exemplifies the delicacy for the hearing impaired student to navigate between different participation frameworks both in terms of the resources deployed, and in terms of the mutual synchronization of verbal and non-verbal conduct.

Jacob's actions fail because he orients to the progressivity of the main classroom activity, thus minimizing disruption.

4.2.2 The hearing impaired student's second attempt to attract the assistant's attention (success)

Immediately after his failed attempt, Jacob tries again to mobilize the assistant's attention. This time, before initiating repair, he first secures her attention. Jacob's embodied actions (gaze, head shake, sign language, hand movement), which finally succeed in soliciting her eye gaze, are marked in red above the line of talk by the teacher in the transcript below.

Jacob's second attempt to resolve his trouble orients more strongly to establishing a parallel strand with the teaching assistant.

#2 Jacob solicits assistant's attention

016 Rot: alle wörter bei denen die gefahr besteht
all words with which there is the danger

*Jacob glancing at Micheli from here onwards
*(1.1)

017

018 Rot: dass ihr beim diktat das wort falsch könnt,
that at a dictation you write the word wrong,

019 () schreiben könntet,
() could write it wrong,

020 (2.3)

021 Rot: das müsst ihr übermalen.
that you have to underline.

022 und ich denke da kommt ihr rasch auf
and I think you will quickly reach

*Micheli looking down, nodding

023 Rot: *zwanzig wörter
twenty words

*Micheli looking down, nodding

024 Rot: *seid ihr schnell bei zwanzig wörtern hä?
you will soon reach twenty words right?

Jacob employs more multimodal resources and sequences them differently:

- eye-gaze shift and sustained gaze at Micheli

In addition to his continued eye gaze directed at the assistant, the next actions Jacob employs are head shaking (line 025 below), a signed *NICHT* ('not')

and a wave movement with his right hand, which is commonly used among signers to solicit attention (line 028). For reasons of readability in the ensuing transcript excerpts, we have omitted the teacher's simultaneously ongoing plenary talk where he continues to explain the assignment.

025 Jac: *Micheli looking down
*((shaking head while gazing at Micheli))
026 (.)
028 Jac: NICHT (WAVE) ((right hand))
not



Figure 5: Jacob: *NICHT* ('not'), no mutual gaze (line 028)

As Jacob's adds the wave with his right hand, the assistant turns her gaze to him (line 29 below). Simultaneously, Jacob procudes a wave with his left hand and employs his right hand to touch his head, possibly his ear. He then signals his problem by signing *NICHT VERSTEHEN* ('not understand', line 30 below), in parallel to a voiceless articulation (mouthing³) of part of the word fragment *ve(r)sta* ('understood', line 30 below).

029 Jac: *Jacob touching right side of his head
*(WAVE) ((left hand))
not
030 Jac: *versta ((voiceless mouthing))
*NICHT VERSTANDEN ((right hand))
not understand



Figure 6: Hearing impaired student initiates repair through signing and voiceless mouthing (line 030)

Jacob here resorts to a serial cumulation of embodied means (gaze, head shake, wave, sign language, hand movement) in order to attract Micheli's attention and to display a problem in understanding. The sequential organization of this endeavor clearly differs from what we have seen in excerpt #1. This time, Jacob's signaling of the problem in understanding sequentially follows the establishment of mutual orientation between him and Micheli. Consequently, Jacob here succeeds in displaying a problem of understanding in a way that is oriented to by Micheli: Micheli responds by suggesting

³ In sign language talk, participants make regular use of mouthings, which are articulations of words or parts of words without voice. For an overview of functions of mouthings in sign languages, see Boyes Braem/Sutton-Spence (2001).

- head shake
- signed 'not' and hand wave

- hand movement

Jacob's wave solicits teaching assistant's attention. He now launches

- a repair initiation through voiceless mouthing and signing

that Jacob consult (or recall) the paper that the teacher has displayed on the overhead projector (line 033 below).

031 Mic: jac
 032 (...)

 *pointing to overhead projector
 033 Mic: *°es ist ein ()blatt (vorne°) ()

 there is a sheet over there
 034 Jac: ((head shake))

By means of a head shake (line 034 above), Jacob explicitly refuses the assistant's suggestion for him to achieve clarification. Although Jacob's so laborious efforts were successful in getting the assistant's attention to signal his trouble, the assistant's response is not sufficient to resolve the trouble, in fact, her suggestion is the source of further trouble, as the next analytical step yields.

4.3. The talking-into-being of the categories 'hearing' vs. 'non-hearing'

In the ensuing attempt to resolve the trouble, a further aspect of the interaction is analyzed because it attributes the trouble to Jacob being hearing impaired. In this respect, it is important to note that the sign language sign for *VERSTEHEN* ('understand'), as quoted in excerpt #2, does not refer to auditory understanding but means 'grasping'. By contrast, the verbalization of 'verstehen' (done without voice by Jacob, ex. #2) lends itself to two interpretations: 'hear' or 'grasp' (see section 2 above). However, Jacob's subsequent touching of the side of his head (where the transmitter of his implant is located) may create some ambiguity as to the nature of his trouble in understanding. Micheli's first interpretation of Jacob's problem seems to be of the 'grasping' kind: As we have just seen, she refers Jacob to the information on the overhead projector, a suggestion that is not ratified by Jacob as resolving his trouble. Her second interpretation, in contrast, is cast in terms of a problem of hearing. Up to this point in the interaction, Jacob's display of non-understanding, as documented in the preceding excerpts, did not give any cue as to what exactly the nature of the problem is. Excerpt #3 starts with Jacob's and Micheli's gaze shifting between each other and the main teacher (line 038), while their interaction is shortly suspended. At line 039, Micheli offers a second reaction to Jacob's display of difficulties in understanding: She whispers *hörst du nicht* ('don't you hear', line 039), which she backs up by pointing to her ear and signing *NEIN* ('no').

#3 Micheli and Jacob alternating between mutual gaze and gaze to the teacher; teacher talk not displayed

*pointing to her ear and then signing "no"
 039 Mic: *°hörst du nicht?°

 don't you hear?
 *Micheli nods
 040 Jac: *do:::(ch)- ((voiceless))

 sure I do!
 041 Jac: hab(e) (habe) nich(t) verstand(en) ((voiceless))

 I did not understand
 042 Jac: NICHT VERSTEHEN ((sign language))

 not understand

To help Jacob, the teaching assistant refers Jacob to a piece of paper.

Jacob rejects teaching assistant's suggestion; trouble not resolved.

Trouble in 'hearing' or 'understanding/grasping'?

Jacob's embodied repair initiations differ:

- sign language 'understand' means 'grasping' (problem is not auditory)
- voicing 'understand' can mean 'hearing' or 'grasping'

Teaching assistant's reaction in excerpt #2 above orients to Jacob having a problem in 'grasping'.

In excerpt #3 below, the teaching assistant orients to Jacob having a problem in 'hearing'.

Negotiating the nature of Jacob's trouble

- teaching assistant uses present tense form for 'hear'.
- Jacob signals he 'hears' but 'did not understand'.



Figure 7: Manual signs for the utterance ‘I did not understand’ (line 41)



Figure 8: Jacob signs *NICHT* (‘not’) (line 42)

043 Mic: ((nods and gazes to teacher))

*gazes to Jacob

044 Mic: *okay ((voiceless))

In contrast to other occurrences where teachers and teaching assistants ask *hast du nicht(s) gehört* (‘didn’t you hear’), the present tense form of the verb here suggests that Micheli makes reference to Jacob’s general ability to perceive sounds. This question is relevant insofar as hearing impaired students regularly have problems in perceiving sounds, e.g. due to empty batteries of their hearing aids/implants. At this moment, then, we see how negotiating the nature of a trouble in understanding occasions the talking-into-being, by the assistant, of the category ‘non-hearing’ attributed to Jacob.

Jacob, however, vehemently refuses the relevance of that category for this precise moment of interaction. His reaction comes in immediately and strongly (line 040): He articulates without voice *do::(ch)*, – a marker of disagreement that can be read in this context as corresponding to English ‘sure I do’. The expressive character of Jacob’s mouth movement (prolonged and accentuated) and facial expression, as shown in figure 7/#6, contribute to augment his disagreeing stance. His resistance to the interpretation offered by Micheli is further enhanced by his recasting of his initial statement of non-understanding: *hab(e) (habe) nich(t) verstand(en)*- (‘I did not understand’ line 040), again done by mouthing, accompanied by *NICHT VERSTEHEN* (‘not understand’) in sign language (in capitals). Recall that the manual sign *VERSTEHEN* (‘understand’) of Swiss German sign language univocally refers to understanding as ‘grasping’, and cannot be read as ‘hearing’. Jacob’s use of sign language, along with (voiceless) oral language, can be read here as an attempt at clarifying what the problem is. Here again, Jacob uses embodied expressive means to highlight the saliency and determination of his *I did not understand* (i.e., ‘get it’): The manual signs are accentuated, as shown in figure 8 above. Micheli, on her part, starts to align with Jacob from line 043 on, where she nods and then makes her alignment explicit by means of *okay* (line 044). In the further course of the interaction, Micheli will explain to

Jacob uses a combination of embodied action to vehemently signal that his trouble is not in hearing but in understanding.

In negotiating the nature of the trouble, the teaching assistant talks into being the category of ‘non-hearing’ and attributes it to Jacob.

The sign *VERSTEHEN* (‘understand’) of Swiss German sign language means ‘understanding’ as ‘grasping’, and cannot be read as ‘hearing’.

Jacob what to do; as it turns out, Jacob did not understand what exactly the assignment provided by the teacher called for.

Taken together, excerpts #1 and #2 show that during teacher-fronted interactions, the mutual monitoring and synchronization of gaze and body movements between the hearing impaired student and the assistant is key to installing a participant framework within which issues of understanding can be dealt with. The excerpts further evidence how delicate navigating between the two strands 'teacher-classroom' and 'assistant-student' may be for the student, both in terms of the resources deployed to do so and in terms of the identification of sequentially appropriate moments for action. This is so because, as part of their orientation to the normative order of the regular classroom, the hearing impaired student and his assistant rely on silent non-vocal means so as to minimize the disruption of the teacher-fronted classroom interaction. In this situation, gaze orientation on the part of the recipient toward the current speaker is a *conditio sine qua non* for the recognizability by the recipient and of the current speaker's action. Excerpt #3 shows how the breaking away into a subgroup is done with orientation to the hearing disability, potentially already by the hearing impaired student (touching his head at ear level), and overtly by the assistant, whose candidate understanding of the student's trouble focusses on hearing problems.

5. Discussion: Participation and understanding in the co-enrollment classroom

In the preceding analysis we have shown that the co-enrollment classroom requires hearing impaired students to continually navigate between two main foci of attention: the public space of the teacher-classroom interaction and the more intimate space of student-assistant interaction. This navigation provides the basis for the hearing impaired students' negotiating and securing understanding with the help of the assistant teacher.

Because understanding may often be problematic for the hearing impaired students, the assistant's support is needed frequently. The very institutional role of the assistant is to provide such support. Regularly, his or her help is offered spontaneously *after* plenary talk by the main teacher. However, students may need to initiate repair during the plenary. Drummond/Hopper (1991), in an analysis of repair in telephone conversations, show that the later repair is initiated, the more difficult it is for participants to univocally localize the trouble source. For the hearing impaired student, to wait for the end of the plenary may therefore diminish his or her chance of obtaining successful repair or clarification, or of following the plenary teaching/learning activities.

The practical solution that the hearing impaired students deploy in the face of this issue is to subtly navigate within what we have called an ever-latent dual participation framework - ever-latent in the sense that the hearing impaired students' participation in either the teacher-fronted or the student-assistant participation framework may in principle be implemented whenever participants choose to do so, as part of the normative order of the co-enrollment classroom, as displayed by the seating arrangement. However, in this context, the establishment of reciprocity is often a tricky issue. In particular, shifting from the public space of teacher-classroom interaction toward the more intimate space of individual student-assistant-teacher interaction presupposes mutual attention among those participants that are to be part of the new framework to be installed, and hence calls for the parties concerned to deploy parallel monitoring of the different actors in both frameworks. For the hearing impaired student this asks that he or she orients, at least to some degree, toward both the main teacher and the assis-

In sum, it requires special interactional work and handling of contradictory constraints for a student with hearing impairment to get help from the teaching assistant.

The major facets of the problem:

- The help of the teaching assistant is needed frequently.
- This entails that hearing impaired students need to frequently disattend the main teaching activity.
- The later repair is initiated, the more difficult it is to localize the trouble source. Therefore, immediate action is required.
- Mobilizing the teaching assistant's attention is no easy task and delays repair initiation.

tant teacher. Furthermore, for the assistant teacher, it implies that he or she orients toward both the main teacher and the hearing impaired students.

However, because reciprocity on the part of the assistant teacher needs to be secured *before* a problem can be usefully signaled, the hearing impaired student's call for help is often delayed as regards the trouble source. Also, during teacher talk, this is done tacitly, most typically through gaze, and body movement, and occasionally the use of sign language. Delays and 'tacit' indexing of problems in understanding may contribute to explaining the uncertainty often observed in our data as to what exactly the problem is. This issue is enhanced in those cases where the assistant has only rudimentary (or no) mastery of sign language, as is the exemplary case presented here. In this sense, the precise interactional setting under analysis presents a dilemma for the hearing impaired student who encounters a problem of understanding during teacher-fronted classroom interaction: The need to minimize disruption of the teacher-classroom interaction calls for the use of non-vocal (and often non-verbal) resources, but the restriction to 'tacit' resources limits the possibilities at hand for establishing reciprocity and signaling the precise nature of the problem at hand.

We have seen Jacob, the hearing impaired student we focused on in this paper, deploy a range of resources to secure reciprocity on the part of the assistant as a basis for actively initiating a new participation framework - and we have indicated that this deployment is done in a way that is acutely tuned to the local circumstances of actions. For one thing, Jacob's use of non-vocal resources (gaze, body, head, sign language) can be interpreted as indexing his orientation to the normative order of the co-enrollment classroom, where the hearing impaired students' and the assistant teacher's interacting with each other is part of their institutionally designed roles, but where their interaction is at the same time typically accomplished in a way so as not to disrupt the teacher-fronted classroom interaction. For another thing, we have seen that the hearing impaired students' very participation in this co-enrollment classroom rests on and calls for the deployment of a subtle interactional competence - a set of methods for organizing social interaction (Hall/Pekarek Doehler 2011) - , based on their use of multiple resources and the minute synchronization of these with other participants' conduct. In this light, we observe that the hearing impaired students behave as highly competent members of the co-enrollment classroom - highly competent because they manage to juggle, for all practical purposes, with multiple resources for action in order to actively co-organize the classroom interaction in a way so as to mediate their own participation and understanding, based on calling for the assistant's occasional support, while simultaneously following the main teacher's talk.

6. Conclusion and implications for application

In this paper we have set out to identify some of the specific interactional constraints that the co-enrollment classroom puts on the hearing impaired students. Hearing impaired students orient to the classroom norms in that they display their engagement with the plenary by means of gaze and body orientation toward the teacher, and recurrently face the challenging endeavor of efficiently signaling a problem in understanding to the assistant teacher without disrupting the classroom order. One task for them is to establish the assistant's reciprocity and thereby operate a shift in participation frameworks from the public space of the plenary to the more intimate space of student-assistant interaction: The students in our data struggle with this issue but often manage it successfully. A second difficulty for them is to display in a recognizable way the precise source of the trouble they are encountering: this issue is more tricky, and often remains unresolved during teacher's

The dilemma:

- When hearing impaired students orient to the classroom norm of not disrupting the plenary, they reduce their chances of mobilizing the teaching assistant's attention to solicit help when trouble in hearing/understanding emerges.

plenary talk. Finally, overtly displayed problems in understanding on the part of the hearing impaired student may be an interpersonally delicate issue: They may occasion the talking-into-being of the category 'hearing impaired', and thereby become part of how participants in the interaction install and/or refuse 'hearing/not-hearing person' as a relevant membership categorization device (Sacks 1972a/b; Schegloff 2007) for the particular setting under analysis.

The analysis presented in this paper has practical implications on how we can assess and possibly optimize the conditions under which hearing impaired students can participate and (possibly) learn in regular classroom settings. The excerpts quoted in this paper clearly show that the co-enrollment classroom presents a rich interactional environment for the hearing impaired student, asking him or her to put to work, for all practical purposes, verbal resources (spoken language and sign language) along with other embodied resources so as to secure understanding and participation. This play on different resources for interaction may in itself represent a key element for the hearing impaired student's socialization as a *bilingual person* - a person who uses both spoken language and sign language (along with other embodied tools for action) and is able to navigate between these two semiotic systems.

The excerpts, as examples illustrating a larger corpus, suggest that the presence of an assistant teacher in the co-enrollment classroom is a valid institutional measure for facilitating the hearing impaired student's understanding by mediating their possibilities for participating in the classroom activities. However, this facilitating role is not a given one. Rather, it is actively co-constructed in the course of the very interaction between hearing impaired student and assistant teacher. A key issue here is the hearing impaired student's possibility to index in a recognizable way what exactly he or she needs help with. In the light of the empirical observations presented in this paper, the intervention of assistant teachers who have a *good mastery of sign language* may be an important step toward optimizing the conditions for the hearing impaired students' participation in the co-enrollment classroom. This is not only because the access to a shared language of mediation may enhance the efficacy in resolving problems in understanding, but also because it allows for 'tacit' negotiations of understanding that do not disrupt the normative order of the classroom during teacher-fronted interactions. In this sense, we hope that the observations presented in this paper will be completed by detailed analysis of co-enrollment classroom interactions involving assistants that are competent in sign language, as well as classroom settings where hearing impaired students are accompanied by an official interpreter in sign language.

- How can the situation in the co-enrolled classroom be improved to reduce the extra burden on the students with hearing impairment?

Towards improving the situation in co-enrolled classrooms:

- Ensure that the teaching assistant is competent in sign language.
- Develop participation structures which make it easy for the students with hearing impairment to get help.
- Develop ways for the hearing impaired students to be able to signal what their specific source of trouble is and the kind of help they need.
- Appreciate that the students with hearing impairment are socialized as bilinguals in a setting where the majority of students uses only one language.
- Conduct more user-centered studies such as multimodal Conversation Analysis to gain a differentiated understanding of the problem.

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Transcription Notations

Transcription follows the system developed by Gail Jefferson (1984). Only conventions actually used in the transcripts are explained here.

The transcript lines start with the line number to the left, followed by the speaker code and the transcribed talk. Talk is transcribed according to an approximation of how it is uttered, not according to standard orthography, e.g..

004 Kay: a:a-and a couple of other families.

For transcripts with talk in languages other than English, the first line contains the original talk, the second line a gloss, if necessary with linguistic abbreviations in CAPS of what cannot be translated, and the third line printed in blue provides a more idiomatic translation. When irrelevant to the analysis, the gloss is left out.

011 Pir: Sa-i-t(s)-ko selvä-n,
Get-PST-2SG-Q clear-GEN
You got that

The following notations are used:

This is a [word] [Oh ye]ah	Left-hand brackets mark the onset of simultaneous talk by the second speaker. Right-hand brackets mark where simultaneous talk stops.
(0.5)	Length of a silence in tenths of seconds
(.)	A silence less than 0.2 seconds
(xxx)	Inaudible (number of syllables)
↑ ↓	The syllable following the upward arrow is relatively high-pitched (several arrows mark very high pitch); the syllable following the downward arrow is relatively low-pitched
<u>words</u>	The underlined syllable or sound is stressed.
wo::rd	Colons indicate stretching of sounds (sonorants).
wo-	A hyphen marks that the speaker 'cuts off' his/her speech.
.hhh	A period followed by 'h' indicates a hearable inbreath (the more 'h's the longer the inbreath).
hhh.	The letter 'h' followed by a period indicates a hearable outbreath (the more 'h's the longer the outbreath).
wo(hh)rd (hh)uh	The letter 'h' in parentheses marks the plosive sound in laughter (sometimes in words).
=	The equals sign marks latching: the next unit follows without time lag.
((voiceless))	Double parentheses contains comment on speech production.
°word°	The degree symbol marks soft voice.
WORD	Capital letters mark loud voice.

Additional notations are explained where they are used in the respective chapter.