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by

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Teaching the Body:

**Modeling institutional norms for embodied participation through dance and
song in a preschool classroom**

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Report

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Abstract

Teaching the Body: Modeling institutional norms for embodied participation through dance and song in a preschool classroom

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The present study took place in a five-year-old classroom in a Spanish-immersion preschool. On a daily basis, children were expected to participate in co-operative activities such as singing or dancing, which provided opportunities both for students to keep their bodies stimulated, while also gaining a level of attunement to the group objective. I thus began to ponder how the children's bodies were socialized into "appropriate" and "inappropriate" forms of movement and discipline, as well as fostering a sense of teamwork within the class. All of these phenomena will be explored qualitatively through an Interaction methodology with the goal of improving knowledge on the ways the bodies of young children are regimented towards societal norms through participation in co-operative creative genres.

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Introduction

Young people from the ages of five to eighteen spend most of their time in school. This time frame is further extended for students who attend preschool or daycare in the years before mandated, formal schooling. As a result, schools and other educational spaces play a crucial role in the socialization of children before they enter the adult world (Wortham, 2008; Rosa & Burdick, 2016). Through school, children are socialized into particular ways of speaking, thinking, and doing. As many of us likely remember from our own experiences in school, one of the main ways that children are socialized in education settings are through their bodies. Children are required to stand in straight lines, to sit “crisscross applesauce,” and to raise their hands before speaking. While it can be argued that these forms of socialization place an undue level of regimentation on children’s bodies, they also serve to create a sense of group belonging and mutual co-operation towards the smooth operation of often hectic classrooms (Cazden, 2001).

The present study took place in a Spanish-immersion preschool which I am calling El Centro de Aprendizaje, in one specific classroom called El Salón 12. On a daily basis, children were expected to participate in co-operative activities such as singing or dancing, which provided opportunities both for students to keep their bodies stimulated, while also gaining a level of attunement to the group objective. I thus began to ponder how the children’s bodies were socialized into “appropriate” and “inappropriate” forms of movement and discipline, as well as fostering a sense of teamwork within the class.

Through my ethnography, I discovered some of the complex ways in which the classroom’s lead teacher used the concept of teamwork to create norms for participation within group activities. She often used her own gestures and bodily positioning to model the movement that the students were expected to partake in. In response to the teacher’s norm setting, the children of Salón 12

utilized their bodies for expression, co-operation, and reinforcement of the established bodily norms. This paper will examine two segments of class time – Circle Time and Dance Rehearsal – where a distinction was created between right and wrong uses of the body. When a lack of synchrony was observed by the teacher during the sing-along portion of circle time, Ms. A carried out a correction of the class as a whole, and one particular non-co-operating student. Similar strategies were utilized by the teacher while she taught the students steps that would be used for their Graduation Recital at the end of the summer. Through her modeling of “correct” and “incorrect” ways of producing both songs and dance steps, as well as her relegation of students who were not displaying appropriate bodily movements, Ms. A established synchrony as the requirement for participation in the class “team” and the completion of the relevant activity.

All of these phenomena will be explored qualitatively through an Interaction methodology with the goal of improving knowledge on the ways the bodies of young children are regimented towards societal norms through participation in co-operative creative genres.

Norms in the Preschool Classroom

I approached my field work with an overall interest in the ways that students utilized Spanish and English to develop identities and language ideologies, but as occurs in many ethnographies, the observed social and linguistic practices ended up shifting my focus to different interactional types that occurred frequently in the classroom. As in any other classroom, many of the interactions that occurred in Salón 12, elected and not, were organized around a set of rules and norms for behavior. These rules ranged from something as small as the exact way the students were supposed to sit on the rug — “crisscross applesauce with their hands in their lap, and an air bubble in their mouths” so they weren’t talking — to the larger Spanish-only norm. While I knew that these norms which governed classroom life enforcement existed, I began to realize how crucial of a role they played within the classroom sphere.

The establishment of norms in any classroom serves multiple purposes: norms make it easier for teachers to maintain a level of order which in turn allows them to more easily accomplish activities and learning goals; and norms help children become attuned to the success and participation required to be a part of a group or community. In her book *Classroom Discourses: The Language of Teaching and Learning*, Cazden (2001) says:

If students can be socialized into a set of activity structures that become familiar and predictable, yet flexibly open for improvisations at the moment and for evolution over time, management problems and transition times can be minimized; then, both teacher and students can give their attention less to choreographing the activity and more to the academic content. (p. 101)

Pre-primary school settings like preschools don’t place as much of an emphasis on formal academic assessment as is true of elementary-level education and beyond. However, there is still a growing pressure in preschools to ensure that children are set up to be successful participants in the educational system beginning in Kindergarten. On various occasions during my observation, I

heard the classroom teachers explicitly mention the children's upcoming transition to Kindergarten – which would happen about a month from the start of my ethnography – as well as the differences and similarities that they were likely to find in their new schools. In terms of academic progress, the teachers were tasked with making sure that the kids were making progress on their reading, writing, and basic number skills before starting elementary school. In addition to these academic milestones, teachers placed an emphasis on co-operation in group activities as a skill that was necessary for students to acquire before leaving the preschool setting.

There were countless activities where normative co-operation and participation were put into place in Salón 12, but the most emblematic opportunities took place when the entire class was engaged in the same activity, which took place during Circle Time – when all students were seated in a circle on the perimeter of a large area rug – and Dance Rehearsal time. While the classroom schedule and routine – including Circle Time – was established from the beginning the school year in August, Dance Rehearsals were a relatively new activity that took place exclusively during the summer months when students began learning a dance to a song that would be presented at the school's end of year Graduation Recital, celebrating the student's "graduation" from El Centro before going off to Kindergarten. From a philosophical and psychological perspective, an emphasis on classroom norms for participation was extremely valuable in children's process of developing a sense of morality and in-group belonging. Keane (2015) explains that "cooperation requires that one be able to orient one's own goals with the other's goals" which in turn "marks one's orientation to a community at large" (p. 71). During Circle Time and Dance Rehearsals, it was understood and enacted that co-operation of each individual child was required to successfully complete the activity, thus requiring that students turn their orientation away from their individual expression and towards the unified enactment of the present song or dance.

Although the norms for classroom participation were primarily established by teachers, students often took part in the practice of third-party norm enforcement (Flores-Pérez, 2019) where Salón 12 kids would reinforce the established norms and serve as policing entities for their peers' infractions. An episode of NPR's *This American Life* (Kestenbaum, 2019) was produced around the topic of "fairness," with the opening segment specifically discussing tattling in the classroom of one of the producers' children. During an interview with this preschool's lead teacher, the producer, David Kestenbaum, asked "How much of their day is about justice?" To this, the teacher answered, "They live by rules". Further work in the fields of social and developmental psychology has shown that children, like primates, develop this sense of fairness and norm enforcement from a very young age. Schmidt et. Al (2012) indicated that three-year-olds already have a notion that norms should be enforced after a rule violation occurs. Other literature (e.g. Bak et. Al, 1996; Schmidt et. Al, 2012; Vaish et. Al, 2011) has indicated that through norm enforcements, children socialize, and are socialized into, specific family, community, or moral norms. School sites, through their emphasis on norms, thus become important sites for the socialization of children. Two of the primary dimensions for socialization that emerged as salient in Salón 12 were linguistic and bodily socialization.

Studies of acquisition are useful in exploring the physiological and psychological ways that children learn to use language. Setting itself apart from studies of language acquisition, however, the field of language socialization aims to explore the ways that language is not only acquired by children, but the ways in which the acquired language informs their perceptions of and participation in the communities around them (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Linguistic socialization was especially crucial in this particular classroom site because of the fact that it, along with the entire school, instructed students through a Spanish-immersion model. Throughout the school at

large, teachers carried out their instruction entirely in Spanish, but students were generally allowed to speak in whatever language they chose, usually either Spanish or English. In Salón 12, on the other hand, the teachers created a norm that required that students speak exclusively in Spanish during their time at school. This linguistic norm socialized students into locally appropriate ways of speaking.

As I found in El Salón 12 (Flores-Pérez, 2019), school sites can provide a plethora of data toward the exploration of socially and culturally situated language use. My work has built on a long tradition of scholarship in the field of Linguistic Anthropology exploring the role that schools play in the development and socialization of language use. Examining the long history of Linguistic Anthropology of Education, Wortham (2008) notes that:

“Linguistic anthropology has made significant contributions to our understanding of educational processes because almost all education is mediated by language use. When educators and students speak and write, they signal things not only about the subject matter they are learning but also about their affiliations with social groups both inside and outside the speech event.” (pp.3)

In her seminal work focusing on a high school in Michigan, Eckert (2000) examined the ways in which students utilized various linguistic forms to construct the two primary identities of “jock” and “burnout,” which were each mapped onto middle- and working-class allegiances, respectively. Mendoza-Denton (2007) studied the various linguistic, bodily, and aesthetic signs that Latina gang girls utilized to build solidarity amongst each other and difference from their peers both inside and outside of school. Alim (2004) describes how black youth in a middle school employed nimble forms of style-shifting based on the social position of their interlocutor, effectively navigating racial and socioeconomic tensions in gentrifying neighborhoods.

As the prevalence of multilingual education programs in the United States has grown, recent work in the field of Linguistic Anthropology has begun to turn focus to educational spaces like El Centro de Aprendizaje, where language is both a means and matter of instruction. Of particular concern for study is the role that educational spaces play in socializing students into particular language ideologies, as schools are crucial in “establishing associations between ‘educated’ and ‘uneducated,’ ‘sophisticated’ and ‘unsophisticated,’ ‘official’ and ‘vernacular’ language use” (Wortham, 2008). Over a three-year study of the relationship between language ideologies and biliteracy development in a dual-language school, González (2005) argues that when examining language socialization and ideologies in schools, the child’s perspective must be moved further to the center in order to fully grasp how “language completes us as unfinished subjects.” Flores (2013) argues that the current state of United States bilingual education has utilized a nation-state/colonial governmentality, which has instilled language ideologies that devalue the linguistic practices of minoritized students in their own educational programs. He advocates for the adoption of a “dynamically lingual” model of education which can help the field move away from the privileging of “idealized notions of language.” In his study of bilingual Chicana and Latina middle schoolers in East Los Angeles, Martínez (2013) found that through their frequent practices of code-switching, students articulated and embodied both dominant language ideologies that framed Spanish as undesirable, and counter-hegemonic ideologies that valued their multilingual practice. Although the majority of research in the socialization of particular language ideologies has been focused in elementary schools and beyond, cannot be overlooked as valuable sites for an exploration of how students are socialized into language use and ideology from a younger age, especially as more children are sent to preschool so that their parents can reenter the workforce. As I found in *Salón 12*, the language practices put into place by

teachers, and enacted by students played an important role of the socialization of students into a particular language ideology that privileged one language as “appropriate” and another as “inappropriate” as well as further reifying that languages should be kept separate in use.

On top of the linguistic socialization that students received, they were also socialized into particular ways of using their bodies. Bodily interaction has been primarily explored in the field of Embodied Interaction, which grew significantly after the introduction of technology which allowed for the production of higher quality video recordings and analysis software. Building on long histories of research in phenomenology, conversation analysis, semiotics, and gesture, work in the field of Embodied Interaction has centered “events in which multiple parties are carrying out endogenous courses of action in concert with each other within face-to-face human interaction” (Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron, 2011). These events have been explored multimodally, arguing that in face-to-face interaction it is not only impossible, but useless to attempt a separation of verbal and non-verbal behavior, as action is usually built co-operatively through the use of various different semiotic resources. Many scholars in the field have begun to apply an Embodied Interactive approach towards the analysis of interactions involving children. Lerner, Zimmerman and Kidwell (2011) found that a sixteen-month-old child in a childcare setting was acutely aware of classroom routines and despite being non-verbal, was able to use her social knowledge in an attempt to become a part of an interaction that she was not originally a participant in. Focusing on childcare worker behavior, Mehus (2011) found that caretakers utilized a skill that the author terms “anticipatory contextualization” to slightly shift children’s potentially disruptive behavior toward a more appropriate purpose in the context of the ongoing activity. In two elementary school settings, Harvey (2022) found that students in each school site were socialized into forms of bodily interaction that were aligned with disparate class structures, further illuminating that students are

subjected to bodily socialization in schools from a very young age. Moving out of the school setting, Tulbert and Goodwin (2011) looked at how parents “buil[t] frameworks that allow[ed] for the close coordination of action” in order to carry out the daily activity of getting their children to brush their teeth. The parents principal strategy relied on aligning their bodies with their children’s so that they could in turn align their actions towards the successful completion of the task. By physically positioning themselves in front of distractions and instead deliberately arranging themselves in face-to-face formation with their interlocutors, parents in the study were able to establish joint attention and engage in the successful completion of the teeth brushing routine.

In adults, joint attention has been observed during a round-table medical discussion (Kendon, forthcoming), a teaching moment at a field site between a senior archeologist and a graduate student (Goodwin, 1994), as well as a negotiation between the owner of an automotive shop and a customer (Streeck, 2017), just to name a few. Through our utilization of various modes, including bodily and verbal, to build action in co-operation with one another (Goodwin, 2018), humans constantly display an attunement toward those around us. Intersubjectivity, or the “ever-present emphatic sensitivity to others” (Duranti & La Mattina, 2022), specifically in moments of interaction, was initially conceptualized in the field of Conversation Analysis as an explanation for the various unspoken methods of order that interlocutors were observed to follow in conversation with one another (Edwards, 2020). However, as is emphasized by Edwards, the need that humans have to achieve mutual understanding can backfire as it places us in a position of having to guess at the goals of others that may not be shared. Regardless, work in the fields of Conversation Analysis, Embodied Interaction, Linguistic Anthropology, Developmental Psychology, and increasingly Sociolinguistics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016), have demonstrated that

humans in interaction will more often than not display some level of attention to their interlocutors in order to establish a mutual orientation.

Although it has been shown that children from a very young age display a deep understanding of intersubjectivity, and how it is that they can use their verbal and non-verbal behavior in participation (Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011; Bruner, 1985), much of this attunement to others is socialized. De León (2023) explored various ways that Mayan infants are socialized into modes of interactional attention. She specifically found that in the Zinacantan community, parents held the ideology “of child socialization that children learn to speak without stimulation,” thus often placing infants in the role of an overhearer as opposed to a participant. The ideology held by Mayan parents lies in stark contrast to those found in post-industrial communities where children are more deliberately socialized and framed as priorities in interaction, providing evidence that the socialization of attention varies cross-culturally. In the United States context where children begin formal and informal schooling from a young age, much of the socialization of attention that children receive is through school. However, a large majority of early literature in joint attention among children has adopted a developmental psychology lens for exploration of parent-child interaction outside of schools. Still, an increasing number of researchers have begun to turn to schools, and particularly daycares or preschools for the exploration of bodily behaviors. Focusing on preschool settings in Sweden, Strid and Cekaite (2022) demonstrated that when attempting to get the attention of their peers, children often marked initial turns with displays of heightened emotion and “noteworthiness”. These interactions frequently centered objects in socio-material environment of the classroom that were easily accessible to all, and thus required coordination of both verbal and bodily configuration.

During my observation in Salón 12, I quickly noted the important role that joint attention played in the verbal and non-verbal interactions that students engaged in within the classroom. Periods of activity when all of the students and teachers were engaged in the same activity, like Circle Time and Dance Rehearsal, required a particularly high level of joint attention in order to achieve aesthetic success and overall completion of the task. The added fact that these two activities involved poetic expression of not only the voice (Jakobson, 2010), but also the body, imposed additional routines of modeling by teachers (Sunakawa, 2018; Keevalik, 2015). During these singing and dancing interactions, an emphasis was also placed on synchrony, with the classroom's lead teacher frequently relying both verbally and bodily on the concept of teamwork. At various points, the teacher utilized her own body to model desired production, reprimanded non-conforming students, and even halted the entire production of the activities in order to (re)establish synchrony. One particular third-party student displayed her attunement toward the requirement for synchrony by completing her own enforcement of bodily norms for dancing in another student. Because of its frequent focus on socialization of synchrony, many have argued that schools place an undo emphasis on the regimentation of children, and serve more as reproductive sites for social inequality (Eckert, 2000; Foucault, 1995; Collins, 2009). Contrarily, various research in developmental psychology and human behavior have demonstrated that interactional synchrony facilitated social, emotional, and cognitive growth among both children (Harrist & Waugh, 2001) and adults (Tarr, Launay & Dunbar, 2016; Wheatley et Al., 2012). This author believes that schools can both be deeply entrenched sites for the reproduction of inequality, and invaluable for their role in the often positive outcomes of school such as community, knowledge, and support. This paper will not argue toward or against the regimentation of children's bodies in schools. It will instead aim to explore the ways that bodily synchrony was

enacted in a five-year-old Spanish-immersion classroom, with the hopes of expanding knowledge on how students in school settings are socialized into particular norms for “appropriate” and “inappropriate” forms of engagement within group activities. Additionally, this paper will be the first of its kind to explore embodied enactments of synchrony in a preschool setting.

Methods

The data utilized for this project was collected during the summer of 2018 at a Spanish-immersion preschool in Austin, Texas, which I am here calling El Centro de Aprendizaje. The preschool has been in operation since 2000 and at the time of data collection had an enrollment of just over 200 students, ranging in age from three-months to five-years in the preschool program, as well as an afterschool program that served students in Kindergarten through third grade at neighboring schools. Of those 200 students, the data was gathered through an ethnographic study of one classroom in the school, which I will be calling Salón 12. Salón 12 was the oldest classroom in the preschool program and it housed students who would be graduating from El Centro and starting Kindergarten at the end of the summer.

At the time of my ethnography in Salón 12, there were 23 students attending the class – 13 girls and 10 boys. There were also two female teachers in the classroom (Ms. A, the lead teacher, as well as Ms. B, the assistant teacher). Since El Centro is a Spanish-immersion school, all staff members, including both of the teachers in Salón 12 were native Spanish speakers and conducted their classroom instruction in predominantly Spanish. Of the students in the class, 12 had at least one Latinx/Chicanx parent, and 17 had at least one white parent, with 11 students coming from multiracial families.

For my small-scale ethnography, I spent three hours a day for around a month observing the students in Salón 12. Prior to my observation in the classroom, full written consent was obtained from the students' parents, specifying that their children's participation in the study was completely optional and would not harm their students in any way or affect their enrollment standing in the school. Additionally, I took care to position myself as an observer to the students,

ensuring as much as possible that they would not view me as an authority figure which may have affected their interactions when I was nearby.

To capture the speech interactions in the classroom, I used a small Zoom recorder which I carried with me and placed in sight of the kids, so as not to create any recording deception. I also attempted to maximize the amount of data that I was gathering by deliberately sitting at different tables during structured activities like snack time, and rotating my time between different groups of students during less structured time like free play and recess. I captured a total of 42 hours of audio data. In addition to the audio recorder, I placed a video camera in a fixed location in the classroom. The camera was initially included as a method for capturing additional linguistic and classroom data outside of what was captured from the audio recordings. With this goal in mind, the camera's orientation was shifted periodically throughout the day to focus on a new area in the classroom in which I was not present (with the exception of whole-group activities). A total of 42 hours of video data were also captured. While initial projects utilizing the data from Salón 12 focused on the audio data (Flores-Pérez, 2019), this project will begin the exploration of the video data as a means to look at both the verbal and embodied norms for co-operation exhibited in the classroom. This project will specifically focus two five-minute segments of the video data. The first segment was captured while the children were participating in "Circle Time" on the classroom's large area rug, an activity which took place twice daily in the classroom routine. The second segment was captured while the children were participating in their "Dance Rehearsal" on the classroom's large area rug, an activity which took place twice daily for about a month leading up to the school-wide graduation recital that would take place before the students went on to their respective elementary schools.

The video segment will be analyzed using a combination of Conversation Analysis and Embodied Interaction methodologies. The use of these methodologies will allow us to explore the ways that a mutual attunement to co-operation and teamwork was established by both the classroom's lead teacher and the students. Namely, within this seemingly small segment, both the teacher and students established, reinforced, and often creatively showed their knowledge of the rules by subverting the institutional expectations towards group participation and synchrony.

Circle Time

El Centro de Aprendizaje followed an August to August school year, meaning that all students in the school transitioned to a new class at the same time and stayed in that classroom with the same peers and teachers for a full calendar year. My observation in Salón 12 took place during the month of July. As such, a vast majority of the routines and rituals that occurred in the classroom on a daily basis had been established for just about a year. This fact became very evident as early as my first hour of observation when the teacher, using just one or two words made it clear to the students that they would be transitioning from one activity to the next. In this case, they were moving from Free Play – when students could choose at what center and with which peers they wanted to play – to Circle Time – when the entire class was seated on a large area rug engaging in the same activity. Although different types of activities (e.g. singing, reading a book, learning letters and numbers) could take place during Circle Time, because of the fact that it involved and required participation from all of Salón 12’s students, this particular timeframe served as a crucial site for the observation of interaction and co-operation.

On this first day, Circle Time was begun with a class-wide conversation about the fact that they would be learning their dance for the upcoming graduation recital later in the day, followed by a conversation about fruits and vegetables pre-empted by students guessing what fruit they would have for snack, and finally, concluding with the singing of interactive songs. Analysis in this paper will focus on the final section of Circle Time during which four songs were selected by students to be sung by the entire class. It is important to make note at this point that due to the large amount of students in the class and the camera’s position on a tripod, it was not possible to capture all students within the video frame. As such, transcription is focused on students who are visible within the frame, as well as students whose individual voices could be identified, and were

important for the ongoing activity. In the provided transcript, any utterances that were spoken by various and/or unidentified speakers will be labeled as “Various.”

Transcript 1: Estámos listos para cantar?

- 001 Ms. A okay estámos listos para cantar?
okay are we ready to sing?
- 002 Vario sí:
yes
- 003 Ms. A sí?:
yes?
- 004 quieren que yo escoja o ustedes quieren escoger?
do you all want me to pick or do you want to pick?
- 005 Vario yo ((Fig. 1))
me
- 006 Ms. A ah okay
- 007 yo sabía que iban a querer todos escoger
I knew that everyone would want to pick
- 008 Jack no puedes ver
you ((second sing.)) can't see
- 009 Ms. A no está Catalina
Catalina isn't here
- 010 Vario ah: no vino hoy wah:
ah: ((she)) didn't come today wah:
- 011 ah: (2.0) [no vieno
ah: (2.0) [((she)) didn't come (sic.)
- 012 Rogel [esta [(no vino) a la escuela
[this one [(didn't come) to school
- 013 Ms. A [tampoco (ella)
[(her) either

014 no vinieron verdad
 they didn't come right

015 Danik no estan (muchos)
 (many) aren't here

The classroom's lead teacher, Ms. A commenced the singing segment by asking the class, "Okay estamos listos para cantar?" (Okay are we ready to sing?; Line 1). To this prompt, the majority of students in the class responded excitedly, "Sí" (Yes; Line 2). Following Ms. A's confirmation of the students' sentiment that they are ready (Line 3), she asks them, "Do you all want me to pick or do you want to pick?" (Line 4). To this question, various students respond "Yo" (Me; Line 5; Fig. 1) and simultaneously raise their hand. In just these first five lines of interaction, it is evident how much of the classroom is structured around routine and norms. Without prompting the students respond appropriately to the teacher's questions, whether it be in the form of a primarily verbal response (Line 3), or a response including a unified bodily movement (Line 5). Although it was not explicitly said in this interactive space, the students already display an understanding that in order to gain permission to speak or be selected for an action, they must raise their hands. Following the children's assertion that they would like the opportunity to choose what songs are sung, Ms. A turns to grab her name pumpkin (Fig. 1). Within the small wicker pumpkin are popsicle sticks with each child's name written on them. Despite the fact that many children wanted to be explicitly selected by raising their hands, the choice of student, and therefore song, will be left up to chance depending on which child's name is pulled out of the pumpkin. While the outcome of the pumpkin selecting instead of the teacher does not seem to be the outcome that the children wanted, none protest, displaying an understanding of the teacher's authority. This lack of disagreement provides further evidence that the students are so steeped in routine that they are aware that the pumpkin will do its job fairly, and it does. The first two names that are pulled out

of the pumpkin by Ms. A are in fact students who were not in attendance at school that day.



Figure 1: Yo

Transcript 2: Ana – Buenas Tardes

016 Vario Ana

017 Ms. A Ana [que canción gustarías cantar
Ana [what song would you like to sing

018 Ana [buenas: ta:rde:s:?=
[good afternoon=

019 Ms. A =buenas tardes? [estamos listos?
=good afternoon? [are we ready?

020 Vario [sí:
[yes

021 Ana [sí:
[yes

022 Ms. A [buenas tardes ((Fig. 2)) mis amigos como están
[good afternoon my friends how are you

- 023 Vario [buenas tardes ((Fig. 2)) mis amigos como están muy bie:n
[good afternoon my friends how are you very good
- 024 Ms. A [buenas tardes mis amigos como están
[good afternoon my friends how are you
- 025 Vario [buenas tardes mis amigos como están [muy bie:n
[good afternoon my friends how are you [very good
- 026 Jack [muy ma:l
[very bad
- 027 Ms. A [con un
[with a
- 028 Vario [con un [ja ja ja ja ja [y un [((Fig. 4)) ji ji ji ji
[with a [ha ha ha ha ha [and a [he he he he he
- 029 Jack [ja ja ja ja ja
[ha ha ha ha ha
- 030 Ms. A [y un
[and a
- 031 Jack [((Fig. 3)) wala wala wa
- 032 Ms. A [buenas tardes mis amigos como están
[good afternoon my friends how are you
- 033 Vario [buenas tardes mis amigos como están ((Fig. 4)) [mu::y bie::::n=
[good afternoon my friends how are you [VERY GOOD=
- 034 Jack ((Fig. 4)) [muy ma::l=
[VERY BAD=
- 035 =yo dijo muy malo hhhehe
=I said very bad hhhehe
- 036 Ms. A no parece como que está muy malo porque tu tienes una gran sonrisa en tu cara y
037 si estuviera un día muy malo (0.2) tu estuvieras ((makes angry face))
it doesn't seem like you're very bad because you have a big smile on your face and
if it was a bad day (0.2) you would be ((makes angry face))
- 038 Vario ((mimic angry face)) mm:::: grr:::

On her third try, Ms. A selects Ana's popsicle stick. She, however, is not the one who verbalizes her selection. It is instead the students who say Ana's name aloud after they are able to read the popsicle stick (Line 16), which Ms. A has deliberately held up facing outward. Ms. A begins to prompt Ana by asking her which song she would like to sing (Line 17), but Ana begins vocalizing her song selection at almost the same time as Ms. A begins her utterance. The fact that Ana provides her "answer" before the question has even begun indicates that she was familiar with the routine aspect of name selection necessitating that she pick a song, and did not necessarily require the confirmation from her teacher that now was her opportunity to do so. She also, however, displays a keen attunement to verbal interaction rituals by elongating her utterance so that the tail end of the word "tardes" (afternoon) is audible past Ms. A's question, to which she is actively providing the answer, thus allowing her utterance to emerge without competition. Ana selects a song titled "Buenas Tardes" (Good Afternoon), which primarily consists of the chorus "buenas tardes mis amigos como están" (good afternoon my friends how are you) (Lines 22-25). Although everyone in the class sings this beginning, the students in the class are also expected to produce a "response" to the question, by saying "muy bien" (very good), a component which the teacher does not sing along to, leaving the answering component to the kids (Lines 22-25). An equally important component of the song are hand movements, including rhythmically patting hands on thighs (synchronized with "buenas tardes mis amigos como están"; Fig. 2), opening both hands from closed fists near the face (synchronized with "muy bien"; Fig. 4), and bringing both hands to the mouth (synchronized with "ji ji ji ji ji"; Fig. 3). While the singing of "Buenas Tardes" is highly ritualized both verbally and bodily, Jack, who is highly visible due to his position directly in front of the teacher, uses the song as an opportunity to improvise in a humorous way. On the second and third repetitions of the chorus (Lines 25-26 and 33-34), Jack inserts "muy mal" (very

bad) instead of the expected “muy bien” (very good). In addition, while the rest of the class is singing “ji ji ji ji ji” (a representation of laughing), Jack inserts a nonsensical phrase – “wala wala wa.” It is important to note that although Jack’s utterances in Lines 26, 31 and 34 were not verbally synchronous with the song’s expected production, they maintained the appropriate rhythms of the song and would perhaps not have been noticeable as deviant had he not sung them intentionally



Figure 2: Buenas tardes



Figure 3: Ji ji ji ji/Wala wala wa



Figure 4: Muy bien/muy mal

loudly. During this song, Jack was also one of the only visible students to mimic Ms. A's bodily movements to accompany his humorous asynchrony (Fig. 3 and 4). In case anyone missed the fact

tres
[and a one and a two and a one
two and three

- 045 Ms. A [cinco pezecitos ((Fig. 6)) se fueron a nadar
[five little fishies went to swim
- 046 Vario ((out of sync) [cinco pezecitos ((Fig. 6)) se fueron a nadar [el más peque-
[five little fishies went to swim [the smalles-
- 047 Ms. A [((Fig. 7)) a ver a ver a ver a
ver a ver a ver a ver a ver ^
((Fig. 8))
[let's see ((x8))
- 048 se que andan un poco emocionados porque hay una cámara ((Fig. 9)) aquí:::::
I know that you're all a little excited because there's a camera here
- 049 ((Fig. 10)) pe::ro (0.2) nosotros sabemos cantar esto muy bonito juntos
but (0.2) we know how to sing this very pretty together
- 050 como se escucha mejor cantar? cuando ((Fig. 11)) todos lo hacen solitos a su
051 propia manera ((Fig. 12)) o ((Fig. 13)) cuando lo hacemos como un ((Fig. 14))
equipo
*how does it sound better to sing? when you all do it alone in your
own way or when we do it as a team*
- 052 Vario equipo
team
- 053 Jack manera
[own] way
- 054 equipo=
team=
- 055 Ms. A =Jack voy a pedir que por favor cantes con nosotros o si no voy a pedir que por
056 favor vallas a la silla y ya no cantes con nosotros okay
*=Jack I'm going to ask that you please sing with us or if not I will ask that you
please go to the chair and not sing with us anymore okay*
- 057 okay gracias (0.1) estamos listos?=
okay thank you (0.1) are we ready? =
- 058 Vario =sí
=yes

up and thus has met the requirements for participation in the song, she sets the stage with “a one



Figure 5: De todos

and a two and a one two and three” a phrase which is concurrently uttered by the students before starting to sing.

The song is begun on lines 45 and 46, but is quickly cut short by Ms. A due to the fact that the initial start of the song was produced verbally and bodily out of sync, with some students purposefully singing different words, others holding a different number of fingers instead of five, and one student playing with her necklace (Fig. 6). Ms. A abruptly stops singing, briefly observes the chaos, and produces the phrase “a ver” (let’s see) eight times in quick succession (Line 47). At the same time, she produces a bodily movement that can be described as deflation. She moves her hands to her hips and with each repetition of “a ver” hangs her head and shoulders further down into a slumped position (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8). The downward movement with her body along with the falling intonation of her utterance allows Ms. A to represent a certain level of disappointment to her students in the fact that they were not producing the song in a manner that she considered

appropriate for the genre of group activity. She attributes this lack of synchrony to an increased



Figure 6: Cinco pececitos (first try)



Figure 7: (first) A ver

level of excitement because of the presence of my camera on this first day of recording (Line 48). Along with the word “cámara” Ms. A produces a gesture with her left hand in which all of her fingers are extended but touching at the tips. The locus where the fingers are touching is facing the



Figure 8: (Last) a ver

direction of the camera on its tripod (Fig. 9). Although it is not a traditional pointing gesture, this hand position along with the word “camera” subtly orient all of the children towards the camera, causing the whole class to not so subtly turn to face the camera during the entirety of Ms. A’s next turn (Fig. 10).

After asserting that she knows they can produce the song in a more aesthetic – pretty – manner (Line 49), the teacher directs a semi-rhetorical question towards the students, asking “como se escucha mejor cantar? cuando todos lo hacen solitos a su propia manera o cuando lo hacemos como un equipo?” (how does it sound better to sing? when you all do it alone in your own way or when we do it as a team?). This question is accompanied by two very animated gesture

sequences that assist in getting her point across about the expected synchronicity. Beginning with



Figure 9: Cámara aquí



Figure 10: Pero



Figure 11: Todos



Figure 12: Lo hacen solos a su propia manera

the word “todos” (you all), Ms. A brings her hands out of her lap to a position slightly extended at 45-degree angles in front of her, with palms facing downward and fingers spread (Fig. 11). With

the rest of the phrase “lo hacen solitos a su propia manera” ([you all] do it alone in your own way), she alternates five times extending one arm further beside her, while the other is bent and brought closer to her chest, portraying a sort of circular mixing movement (Fig. 11 and 12). While she is displaying the first, undesired option, Ms. A changes her face to a slight grimace, and places a rising intonation on the word “manera”. Following the word “o” and completing with the second “cuando” (when), Ms. A turns her palms from a downward facing position to an upward facing position (Fig. 13). They are held there during the phrase “lo hacemos como un” (we do it as a), and are finally brought together in a swift clapping motion in front of her chest, ending with interlaced fingers, during the word “equipo” (team; Fig. 14). During the team-option, Ms. A



Figure 13: *O cuando lo hacemos como un*

removes the slight grimace from her face that accompanied the individual choice and returns to a neutral facial expression. The intonation utilized is also neutral with no notable rises or falls. Through her question, Ms. A provides the students a verbal and embodied representation of the

two alternatives – a big, chaotic, upsetting mess of individuals, or a calm and unified team. By



Figure 14: Equipo

placing the desired option as second in the question, the teacher also subtly makes it easier for the students to just repeat the final word of her question, even if they hadn't paid enough attention to the rest of her embodiment that signaled the desired option. Her strategy is successful as the vast majority of the kids select and name the option that their teacher was clearly hoping they'd choose, teamwork (Line 52). Jack, however, continues his dissonance and initially half-laughing says "manera" ([own] way; Line 53). but quickly changes his response to "equipo" (team; Line 54) after Ms. A shoots him a disapproving look. Her disapproving look is quickly followed up by a request and warning that Jack "cantes con nosotros" (sing with us) or else he will be sent to sit at a table on his own and no longer participate in the singing activity (Lines 55 and 56). As she did in lines 49 and 51, Ms. A once again positions singing as a team activity that requires an appropriate frame of participation and co-operation in order to be completed. In this moment, Jack is positioned as temporarily outside of the team, both by his own choosing "manera," and by the

teacher using “nosotros” (us) to refer to everyone except for him. For the time, this threat of relegation from the team is heeded and Jack is once again invited to the “we” when Ms. A prompts the class to restart “Cinco pezecitos” once again (Fig. 15). This time around the song is completed



Figure 15: *Cinco pezecitos (again)*

successfully with each of the five verses removing one fish, until the last one is sang as “un pezecito...” (the song was completed in lines not included for analysis in this paper). Following the singing of “Cinco pezecitos,” Ms. A once again begins silently ruffling through the pumpkin in search of the student who will select the next song. After the first name she pulls out is identified by the teacher as another classmate who is absent, she pulls out another stick.

Transcript 4: Rogelio - Estrellita

109 Vario Roge:::lio:::

110 Rogel estrellita
[twinkle twinkle] little star

- 111 Ms. A estrellita okay listos?
[twinkle twinkle] little star okay ready?
- 112 Vario =sí::=
 =yes=
- 113 Ms. A =esta requiere las dos manos (0.3) para- para cantar esta listos?
 =this one requires both hands (0.3) to- to sing are we ready?
- 114 Ms. A [a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres
[and a one and a two and a one two and three
- 115 Vario [a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres
[and a one and a two and a one two and three
- 116 Ms. A [estrellita donde estás ((Fig. 16))
[little star where are you
- 117 Vario [estrellita donde estás ((Fig. 16))
little star where are you
- 118 Jack [[((in a silly grumbly voice)) estrellita donde estás ((Fig. 16))
 [[((in a silly grumbly voice)) little star where are you
- 119 Ms. A [quiero verte tintiriar=
[I want to see you twinkle=
- 120 Vario [quiero verte tintiriar=
[I want to see you twinkle=
- 121 Jack [[((still in silly voice)) quiero verte tintiriar=
 [[((still in silly voice))I want to see you twinkle=
- 122 Ms. A =pasa ((Fig. 17)) a su lugar por favor
 =go to your place please
- 123 [no te puedo encontrar
[I can't find you
- 124 Vario [no te puedo encontrar
[I can't find you
- 125 Ms. A [en el espacio (sideral)
[in the distant starry space
- 126 Vario [en el espacio (sideral)

[in the distant starry space

- 127 Ms. A [estrellita donde estás?
 [little star where are you?
- 128 Vario [estrellita donde estás?
 [little star where are you?
- 129 Ms. A [quiero verte tintiriar
 [I want to see you twinkle
- 130 Vario [quiero verte tintiriar
 [I want to see you twinkle
- 131 Ms. A ay que bonito se escuchó mis amigos
 oh that sounded so pretty my friends

The third non-absent name selected from the pumpkin is Rogelio, who without hesitation selects “Estrellita,” the Spanish version of “Twinkle, twinkle little star.” As she did with “Cinco pezecitos,” Ms. A places emphasis on the required hand movements that are required for the song. She specifies that “esta requirere las dos manos... para cantar” (this one requires both hands to sing; Line 113). Noticing that all of the students have taken note of her guidelines for participation and have held both hands up, the song begins (Lines 116-118). Once again, Jack shows his disdain for maintaining unity with the rest of the group. While he does join in the singing of the first line – “estrellita donde estás” (little star where are you) – Jack changes his voice and delivers the line in a deeper, louder, and more nasal tone (Line 118). With his changed singing voice Jack does a slightly larger version of the hand movements presented by everyone else, accompanied by a noticeable leaning back of his head (Fig. 16). The same embodied behavior occurs during the second line of the song (Lines 119-121). In the breath following her completion of the second line, Ms. A lowers her right hand to the shoulder of Jack who is directly in front of her, while maintaining the left hand raised in the required position for singing, and asks Jack to go to his chair

at its table (Line 122; Fig. 17). The teacher's utterance is completed at a sped up rate, presumably



Figure 16: Estrellita donde estas



Figure 17: Pasa a su lugar

so as not to delay her or anyone else's singing of the song, but despite this, there is a noticeable pause in the rest of the class's completion of the song while the teacher is able to complete her corrective utterance to begin the next line (Line 123). After various displays of his lack of unity in the group, Ms. A has deemed that Jack is not meeting the co-operation norms that are required to be a part of the team. The song continues and completes without Jack's participation (Lines 123-130). Ms. A subsequently compliments the rest of the group, placing an emphasis on the aesthetic of how "bonito" (pretty) it sounded (Line 131).

Transcript 5: Vicky – Dino-dinosaurio

- 132 Ms. A y última canción
 and last song
- 133 quie::::n será? quien será? quien será? quien será?
 who will it be? (x4)
- 134 Vario wahh:::: Vi:::cky:::
- 135 Ms. A Vicky que canción vamos a cantar?
 Vicky what song are we going to sing?
- 136 Vicky u::::m dino dinosaurio
 um dino dinosaur
- 137 Ms. A o:::kay esa cuanta- (0.2) cuantas manos requiere esa?
 okay that one how- (0.2) how many hands does that one require?
- 138 Vario ((disagreement)) uno dos dos uno
 ((disagreement)) one two two one
- 139 dos no [ra:::wr ra:::wr ga:::h
 two no [rawr rawr gah
- 140 Ms. A [depende (0.1) quieres hacer un dino pequeño ((Fig. 18)) haces una
 [it depends (0.1) ((if)) you want to make a small dinosaur you do one
- 141 quieres hacer un dino más grandote ((Fig. 19)) [haces dos
 [if] you want to make a bigger dinosaur [you do two

- 142 Vario [raaa:::wr gra:::nde
[raaa:::wr big
- 143 Ms. A quieres hacer un dino gigante ((Fig. 20)) usas los brazos
[if] you want to do a giant dinosaur use your arms
- 144 Vario [ra:wr ra:wr ((clap clap))
- 145 Ms. A [okay (0.3) tu vas a escoger cuál quieres hacer
[okay (0.3) you are going to choose which one you want to do
- 146 estamos listos
are we ready
- 147 li:::stos?
ready?
- 148 Vario sí
yes
- 149 Ms. A okay [a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres
okay [and a one and a two and a one two and three
- 150 Vario [a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres
[and a one and a two and a one two and three
- 151 Ms. A [dino dino dinosaurio tiene mucha hambre y te va a comer ((Fig. 21)) yum yum
yum yum yum yum yum
[dino dino dinosaur is very hungry and he's going to eat you yum (x7)
- 152 Vario [dino dino dinosaurio tiene mucha hambre y te va a comer ((Fig. 21)) ((some say
nam some just scream))
- 153 yum yum yum yum yum yum yum
*[dino dino dinosaur is very hungry and he's going to eat you ((some say nam
some just scream)) yum (x7)*
- 154 Ms. A muy bien a mi me gusta esa canción
very good I like that song
- 155 es divertida y cortita (0.2) okay
it's fun and short (0.2) okay

The student who was selected to pick the final song of the afternoon is Vicky. She chooses “Dino-dinosaurio” (Line 136) a short song about a hungry dinosaur. Using the same framing of “required” hand movement, Ms. A flips the statement that she posed to the students before singing “Estrellita” (Line 113) and now asks them to answer with how many hands are required to sing “Dino-Dinosaurio” (Line 137). The kids start calling out either “uno” or “dos” with much disagreement in rapid succession (Lines 138-139). Unlike the previous two songs, however, the teacher establishes this final song as one that is open to a certain level of individuality among the students. She explains that depending on the size of dinosaur that the children want to make – small, bigger, or giant – they will use a different number of hands – one, two, or the entire arms, respectively (Lines 140-143). As Ms. A is providing the options for participation, she is synchronously modeling the hand placement that corresponds (Fig 18-20). Notably, a majority of



Figure 18: Dino pequeño



Figure 19: Dino más grandote



Figure 20: Dino gigante



Figure 21: *Dino te va a comer*

the students in each frame can be seen mimic the same movement of the option that their teacher is currently presenting, before each individual deciding which movement they will embody. On Line 145, when Ms. A explicitly tells the class that they are tasked with choosing which version of the dinosaur they will embody, more variance can be observed as each child positions their hands in the appropriate manner. The song commences with the same pattern of Ms. A asking the students if they are ready (Line 146), and expecting the verbal response of “sí” as was seen previously in Lines 1, 19, 57, and 111. This time, however, with many of the children preoccupied with their dinosaur embodiment, she does not immediately receive a unified reply and elongates the word “listos,” while quickly darting her eyes around the circle of students in order to better get their attention so that the song can start in unison (Line 147). After another, “a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres” (and a one and a two and a one two three), the song is finally sung, and completed successfully according to the teacher’s parameters despite the fact that there was a noticeable lack of synchrony in both the students’ arm movements and the lyrics that they produce (Lines 149-

153; Fig. 21). As opposed to the three other songs where any deviance from the group behavior was corrected, a lack of synchrony is established as within the parameters for appropriate participation in “Dino-dinosaurio”. In her previous compliments of the successful completion of songs, or establishment for the aesthetic of how the song should sound, Ms. A referenced beauty (Lines 48 and 121). After the completion of this last song, the teacher says, “muy bien a mi me gusta esa canción... es divertida y cortita” (very good I like that song... it’s fun and short; Lines 154-155). Fun-ness is positioned as complimentary to individuality and improvisation, where appropriate, while pretty-ness is positioned as complimentary to synchrony and unison.

Transcript 6 – Sentados así

- 156 Ms. A okay (0.2) ya se acabó nuestras canciones (0.3) vamos ir a lavar las manos
 157 estamos listos?
 okay (0.2) our songs are already finished (0.3) we're going to wash our hands are we ready?
- 158 Vario sí Finn
 yes Finn
- 159 Ms. A Finn acuerda que solamenta mandamos a amigos que están sentados ((Fig. 22))
 así
 Finn remember to only send friends who are sitting like this
- 160 gracias ((Fig. 23))
 thank you
- 161 Finn E::mma a la pala
 Emma to the shovel
- 162 Vicky ((Fig. 24)) a la escoba
 Vicky to the broom
- 163 Rogel no corras Vicky
 don't run Vicky
- 164 Finn Dav- ahaha

Once the songs are completed Ms. A outlines the next phase in the daily routine, which is for the students to go wash their hands so that they can sit down to eat their afternoon snack. As many other parts of Salón 12's routine, this process of hand washing is highly ritualized. A designated student is selected on a rotating basis every day to be the "sender." By delegating the responsibility to a student, the teacher is placing the onus on a peer to remember and evenly apply the rules of the classroom that have been thus far established. This "approved" peer enforcement lies in contrast to the self-appointed practice of norm enforcement or tattle-telling that the students often take part in (Flores-Pérez, 2019). On this day, it is Finn who has been established as the sender since the morning, a fact which all of the other students are well aware of without prompting from the teacher (Line 158). Ms. A does, however, provide a brief reminder to Finn that he should only be sending friends to wash their hands who "están sentados así" (are sitting like this; Line 159). In her utterance, "así" is not directly modeled by the teacher's body because of her unique position as being seated on a chair. She instead relies on a laminated poster with the heading "¿Tu estás listo para aprender?" (Are you ready to learn?) that depicts a body of a child seated cross-legged, with their hands on their lap, mouth closed, and eyes forward (Fig. 22) which she holds up in front of her chest facing the students¹. Following her utterance, and during her next line (160), Ms. A places the poster on the floor next to her propped up by a box so that it can serve as a visible reminder to the class (Fig. 23). At the same time, various students in the frame can be seen

¹ At other points in my observation, Ms. A would ask the students to "show her" that they were ready for whatever activity was to follow. If they were on the area rug, the embodied display of "readiness" that was expected was always the same as the child displayed in the image. If the students were sitting at their tables, or waiting in a line, there were slight adjustments to the arm and leg positions. However, all of these "ready" positions were characterized by overall stillness and silence, thus displaying joint attention to the next activity or set of instructions.

adjusting to the appropriate bodily position so that they can be called on early to wash their hands



Figure 22: Sentados así



Figure 23: Gracias



Figure 24: *Vicky a la escoba*

and begin eating their snack. Finn meanwhile begins selecting his peers who he deems are enacting the embodied norm set by their teacher (Lines 161-164; Fig. 24).

Dance Rehearsal Time

Routines and rituals – like Circle Time – that had been established in the classroom for many months before my ethnography were very useful in observing the pre-established norms that permeated the space of Salón 12 the ways in which the students complied (or didn't) with those norms, and the ways that Ms. A reinforced those norms on a continuous basis. However, during my observation, the students and teachers in Salón 12 began incorporating a new component to their routine that they'd never done before – learning a dance that they would present in just a few short weeks during the school-wide Graduation Recital. The recital would be attended by hundreds of family members and would celebrate the students – composed primarily of students from Salón 12 – who would be “graduating” from El Centro de Aprendizaje and transitioning to Kindergarten at the end of the summer. My first day of observation in the class coincidentally aligned with the first day during which the students began to hear and learn steps to the reggae-cumbia song that they would be performing to. From that point forward, Dance Rehearsal would take place twice daily in the classroom routine. In addition to Circle Time, Dance Rehearsal time was one of the only times during the day when the children were expected to be displaying joint attention to the same activity. This, combined with the aesthetic requirements of unity that are required of dancing make Salón 12's rehearsal times a perfect activity during which to explore how the Ms. A, the lead teacher, as well as the students enacted co-operation, learning, and embodied expression from the ground up in a routine that was being co-constructed in real time. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Ms. A utilized a majority of the same strategies for embodied teaching and correction that she employed during the previously explored Circle Time segment. In this segment, a peer enforcer also played a crucial role towards the co-enactment of “appropriate” bodily norms.

Transcript 7: Está como los niños

- 01 Ms. A Listos (Fig. 26) quiero ver una línea (Fig.27) no un guzanito
Ready I want to see a line not a worm
- 02 Para que lado vamos [a empezar apunta con tu dedo
To what side are we going [to start point with your finger
- 03 Jessi (Fig. 28) [Rosa
- 03.5 ((Jessie repeatedly brings her hands off and back on to her waist)) (Figs. 29 & 30)
- 04 Ms. A Para que lado vamos a empeza:::r
To what side are we going to start
- 05 Vario [Este lado este
[This side this [one]
- 06 Ms. A [Apunta con tu de::do:: (Fig. 31)
[Point with your finger
- 07 Hacia [allá muy bien
That way very good
- 08 Jessi [Rosa tu está [como los niños (y las] niñas van así)
[Rosa you are (third sing.) [like the boys (and the] girls go like this)
- 09 Ms. A [Donde van tus manos para enseñarme que están listos
para empezar]
*[Where do your hands go to show me that you are ready to
start]*
- 10 David No no no (Fig. 32) los niños [(tienen que ser) esto o esto
No no no the boys [(have to do) this or that
- 11 Ms. A [A ver voy a revisar a unos amigos porque hay unos
amigos que no están listos
*Let's see I'm going to check some friends because there
are some friends who are not ready*
- 12 Puedes poner (Fig. 33) las manos atrás
You can put your hands behind
- 13 o en frente
or in front

On their second afternoon of rehearsal (their third rehearsal overall), Ms. A positioned the class into three parallel straight lines on the carpet area. The two lines on the outside were each composed of four girls, and the line in the middle contained all of the boys who were present in school that day, a total of eight. During the previous two dance rehearsals the day before and that morning, Ms. A taught the students that female dancers should place their hands on their waist, elbows bent outwards from the body, and male dancers should place both hands behind their back or in front of their stomach, one clasping the other. Both postures were modeled after the dancing postures for Mexican Ballet Folklórico, of which Ms. A was a seasoned dancer. As they stood in lines waiting to begin dancing, the majority of Salón 12's students held their hands in the established "appropriate" position based on their gender (Figs. 25 and 26). Just before beginning their first step, Ms. A tells the class "Listos quiero ver una línea no un guzanito," contrasting the



Figure 25: Before Line 1, Rosa visible in back



Figure 26: During Line 1, Jessie notices

ideal straight line with a worm – squiggly and winding – which she reportedly does not want to see (Line 1). While the teacher is establishing her desired aesthetic for the line formations, Jessie (on the left in blue) turns her head to look at the other two lines to her left and notices something that catches her attention enough for her to double-take, further turning her torso towards the other lines, and then finally turning her entire body to face whatever has caught her attention (Figs. 26-28). At the same time that Jessie is going through her embodied process of noticing, Ms. A asks the students to show her by pointing with their finger to which direction (left or right) they will begin their first side-to-side step. Overlapping with the teacher’s utterance, and coinciding with

the final 90-degree turn of her body (Fig. 27), Jessie finally makes known who it is that has caught



Figure 27: Jessie turns torso

her attention, her peer Rosa (at the back of the far line, with brown hair and pink shirt, circled in Fig. 25), calling her name in an attempt to get her attention. Rosa is completely obscured in the

frame so it is hard to know whether she responded in any non-verbal way to Jessie's summons,



Figure 28: Jessie turns entire body

however, it is clear that whatever Jessie was attempting to get her attention about was not accomplished, and thus joint attention was not established.

Approximately a second after her verbal call-out, and with her body still turned towards Rosa, Jessie repeatedly takes her hands off of her waist, maintaining her arms in the same bent position, now further out from the body (Fig. 29), and places them back on her waist (Fig. 30). This entire embodied signal to Rosa, who can briefly be seen in the frame as holding her hands behind her back in the “male” position, is completed three times. Through her exaggerated, attention-directing gesture, Jessie is attempting to demonstrate to her classmate that she should have her hands on her waist instead of behind her back. This non-verbal appeal does not accomplish its desired goal, as Rosa is instead engaged in joint attention on the request that Ms. A has placed for the students to point to the starting direction for movement. Noticing that not all of

the students, including Jessie, have completed their pointing gesture (Figs. 29 & 30), the teacher



Figure 29: Jessie hands off hips



Figure 30: Jessie hands on hips

repeats her request, this time deepening and loudening her voice while also elongating the /a/ in “empezar” (Line 4) as well as the /e/ and /o/ in “dedo” (Line 6). All of the kids heed the Ms. A’s second summons for action and various also accompany their point with a verbal indication “este lado” (this side; Fig. 31). Even while pointing, Jessie continues to direct her gaze and attention to her peer’s perceived “inappropriate” bodily behavior, and she now directly tells her “Rosa tu estás



Figure 31: *Apunta con tu dedo*

como los niños (y las niñas van así),” equating Rosa’s bodily position with that which is appropriate for the boys, but not the girls (Line 8). With the word “así” (like this), Jessie returns her hands to her hips in demonstration of what she feels Rosa should be modeling. At the same time, Ms. A is also asking the students to show her where their hands should go to demonstrate their “readiness” to dance (Line 9). Because Rosa is still obscured in the frame, it is not clear whether after this third appeal from Jessie has finally had its desired effect.

Following Ms. A’s leading question, the students place their hands at their understood ready position. David, at the front of the boys’ line, notices that Tucker behind him has placed his

hands on his waist. Similar to Jessie, he decides to model the appropriate bodily position for his friend, by telling him that the boys have to place their hands like “this” or “that” (Line 10). His torso and hands are not entirely visible in the frame, but he presumably models the behind the back or in front of torso options for male hand placement (Fig. 32). His correction of Tucker overlaps



Figure 32: *No no no los niños*

with Ms. A stating that she will go around to check on certain “friends” because they are not ready (Line 11). Similar to the poster referenced in Transcript 6, readiness is established as a particular bodily position that requires joint attention and stillness. Walking around the rug, she places her hand on the heads of various students, beginning with Tucker (the other students are not visible on camera) and reiterates the same counsel that David has just provided, “puedes poner las manos atrás” (you can put your hands behind), “o en frente” (or in front) (Lines 12 and 13; Fig. 33). Tucker opts to go for the in front option, unlike the majority of the other visible boys.

The teacher signals her completion of the corrections to students who she felt were not ready with a “muy bien” (Line 14). Notably, though, she has not corrected Rosa who can briefly



Figure 33: *Las manos atras o en frente*

be seen with her hands still behind her back and not on her waist, despite Jessie’s many attempted norm enforcements. However, unlike many of the other “unready” students, Rosa was generally still and displaying attention to the teacher’s various requests. It is likely that Ms. A was orienting her concept of “readiness” once again as stillness and attentiveness, rather than the specified hand position that Jessie seemed to focus on. Still, since neither verbal or non-verbal signals towards Rosa resulted in a change of bodily position, Jessie now decides to appeal directly to Ms. A with a tattle of the perceived inappropriate behavior, pointing and telling her “Rosa está como los niños” once again equating Rosa’s bodily position to the incorrect one for her presenting gender (Line 15). Without even letting Jessie finish her utterance, Ms. A asserts that she does not find Rosa’s bodily position problematic like Jessie does. She states that if she is “comfortable” she

can stay as she is, specifying that what she does not want is for the students arms to be “like this”



Figure 34: Se puede quedar



Figure 35: Los brazos

(Lines 17 and 18). At the very edge of the frame, Ms. A demonstrates the “like this” by flailing her arms outward to her sides (Figs. 35 & 36) modeling the looseness and lack of control that is now established as the “inappropriate” bodily norm for dancing, rather than the perceived gendered norm that both Jessie and David have been orienting towards. While Jessie and other students are watching their teacher’s demonstration of the loose arms, many other students have turned to face



Figure 36: *Así*

Rosa following the accusation out of her position as deviant (Fig. 34). Again, it is not possible to see what Rosa’s body is enacting at this moment. Off camera, Ms. A provides the rationale that the reason she does not want flailing arms is because the students may hit someone (presumably unintentionally) since they are dancing in such close proximity to one another (Lines 20 and 21). Bodily regimentation in this instance is justified through the lens of safety and cooperation.

Due to the long time that it’s taken for the dancing to formally begin, many students have lost focus and begun to chatter and jump around or shift their bodies around. Ms. A notices and tells them “yo los quiero calmados” (I want you all calm) (Line 22). Her initial appeal for calmness

does not stop the chatter and movement. She then turns to the frequent strategy of appealing to readiness – which is consistently equated to stillness – by asking if “we” (first plur.) are ready (Line 23). Most of the students begin to return to their ready body position and cease whatever speaking has been taking place, but there are presumably a few friends who the teacher does not consider ready because she again produces the word “listos,” elongating both the /i/ and the /o/ to further get their attention (Line 24). She also names one specific student, Jack, who is deemed to not fit the criteria for readiness that the teacher is expecting (Line 24). The class responds to this more exaggerated appeal by both placing their bodies in ready position and excitedly responding “Sí” to tell the teacher that they are ready to begin dancing (Line 25). The teacher accepts their state of readiness and prompts them to begin demonstrating the first step that they have already been taught (Line 26). Their demonstration is completed smoothly, with the teacher praising their “good work” and “very pretty” dancing aesthetic.

Discussion and Conclusion

While parents play an undeniably important role in the socialization of their children into the societal norms of the communities around them, and increasing amount of time in children's lives is spent in formal and informal school settings. El Centro de Aprendizaje, like other preschools occupies a less formal role than the evaluation and grades that are required of children beginning with Kindergarten, while still prioritizing the learning of basic academic skills, daily routines, and school norms. During my observation in Salón 12, there was ample evidence for the prioritization of ritual, routine, and joint attention as a means for the establishment of appropriate norms for co-operation. The majority of these norms had been previously established in the eleven months that the children spent in Salón 12 before my ethnography, however, as many studies have begun to show, socialization is an ongoing process with no clear endpoint throughout our lifetimes. The kids of Salón 12 were involved in a constant process of socialization in different domains from both their teachers and their peers during their time at school, but I have turned to whole-group activities, namely Circle Time and Dance Rehearsal as a prime sites for the exploration of how all parties in the classroom enacted this process. In both segments, we see the extremely important role that both the classroom's lead teacher, and peers play in the process of creating and reinforcing bodily norms.

During Circle Time, Ms. A, the classroom's lead teacher relies on a combination of pre-established routines for interaction, as well as active norm enforcement to socialize students into "appropriate" frameworks for participation in the singing of songs. Her use of the name pumpkin, as well as frequently repeated phrases like "están/estamos listos?" (are you/are we ready?) and "a la una a las dos a la una dos y tres" (and a one and a two and a one two and three), produces a process of entextualization by calling back to all of the hundreds if not thousands of times that

these same semiotic resources have been utilized in the classroom. The songs themselves also provide crucial sites for orienting the children towards the importance of routine and participation. While it is unknown exactly how many songs the class had within their repertoire for selection, it is clear that all of the students had a firm knowledge of the possible songs that they could select from without any prompting from either the teacher or their peers. Both Danika and Vicky uttered a brief “um” before their song selections, indicating a moment of thought, but neither hesitated for more than a second in their selection process (Lines 40 and 136).

The production of the four songs in itself created ample opportunity for both linguistic and embodied expression as well as co-operation and joint attention. As with most singing activities, there was an expectation that students would produce their song in synchrony with their teacher and each other. This process occurred for the most part successfully during the singing of “Buenas tardes,” but failed in a noticeable way during the singing of “Cinco pezecitos.” Despite the fact that Jack produced a small level of deviance from the group in the first song, the fact that he stayed on rhythm, as well as the fact that all of the other students were co-operating allowed for the song to be completed. The first start of “Cinco pezecitos,” however, displayed a prime example for a lack of vocal and bodily synchrony that was so widespread that the teacher deemed it inappropriate. In her pause of the song, Ms. A used a highly expressive bodily movements to display her disappointment towards the failed co-operation from her students. Continuing her large shows of gesture, the lead teacher created a contrast between the chaos of when “todos lo hacen solitos a su propia manera” (when you all do it alone in your own way) compared with the unity and calmness of “cuando lo hacemos como un equipo” (when we do it as a team). The lead teacher’s big embodied gestures also undoubtedly functioned to gain her students’ attention when it was clear that they were not enacting the levels of joint attention that she deemed as necessary to maintain

synchrony. It should also be emphasized that in the first portion of the sentence, Ms. A uses the second person tense for “hacen solitos” positioning herself as outside of the realm of those who were not co-operating. Comparatively, when speaking of the class as a team, she uses the first person, placing herself firmly as a participant in the enacted classroom interaction.

Jack, however, deliberately places himself outside of the team by jokingly responding that it sounds better when everyone sings in their own way, as opposed to as a team, the way that his teacher was implying. Once Ms. A decides that the students are ready to once again embody teamwork through their hand and vocal enactments, “Cinco pezecitos” is restarted and sung to its completion successfully. An emphasis on synchrony and co-operation during “Estrellita” when Jack is once and for all ejected from the team after his production of vocal non-co-operation by elevating and changing the cadence of his voice, along with a marked production of the hand movements in a way that was not consistent with Ms. A. The rest of the team works together without him to finish the song at hand.

Yet despite the previously established focus that the teacher placed on teamwork and co-operation, she makes it clear that there is an appropriate time and place for student choice and individuality during “Dino-dinosaurio.” With emblematic verbal utterances accompanied by a modeling of corresponding available hand movements, Ms. A gives each student the opportunity to select the way that they will individually carry out the song, resulting in a finished product that is chaotic, but described as “divertido” (fun). I can’t help but notice that this fun and less co-operative song marks a pretty clear conclusion to an activity that otherwise was utilized for its requirement of synchrony, but it will forever be impossible to know whether that was taken into consideration by five-year-old Vicky when she selected it, or if this level of individuality is always acceptable during “Dino-dinosaurio.” Swiftly re-centering embodied norms for classroom co-

operation, however, Ms. A uses not her body, but a physical prop in the form of a poster child to remind students how their bodies should be positioned to be considered “ready for learning.” This “ready” body position is marked by a clear requirement for stillness, containedness, and silence – all norms that are consistently emphasized in school, and future work settings (Eckert, 2000) – and features that are aptly displayed by the two-dimensional child on the poster.

In contrast to Circle Time, Dance Rehearsal Time provide a clear look at the ways that socialization and embodied participation frameworks were established from the ground up during a newly introduced activity that the students had not participated in previously. During the Dance Rehearsal, Ms. A frequently used the strategy of repetition to engage her students when they were not co-operating or enacting the bodily movements that she wanted to see out of them. Notably, her second repetition of the same phrase was often done in a slightly louder, and more exaggerated manner with elongated vowels in an attempt to gain the students’ attention when her first attempt was unsuccessful (Lines 4, 6, and 24). She also often returned to the previously established on the concept of readiness to get her students to demonstrate the embodied positions that they were expected to be in (Lines 1, 9, 11, 23 and 24). However, readiness in the dance setting required a different bodily position than the readiness that was required when sitting on the rug. In the dance setting readiness was co-socialized with certain embodiment like standing in a straight line, placing your hands on your hips, behind your back, or in front of you, standing relatively still, and not talking. Even before the students began dancing, demonstrating these behavior was necessary for modeling the appropriate behaviors that they would engage in while dancing, both during rehearsal, and during the performed recital in a few weeks. Ms. A also utilized her own body as a model for how the students to mimic the position that they should be holding their bodies in (Line

17 and 18), as well as a tool for the correction of students who were not meeting the embodied criteria for participation in the dance activity (Line 12).

The classroom's students were also key players in the establishment and socialization of the bodily norms for dancing. Jessie, specifically, seemed to orient very deliberately towards the norms that had been established by the teacher, and took part in the process of peer norm enforcement to try to socialize her friend Rosa into the "appropriate" bodily norms as she understood them. She utilized a combination of verbal and non-verbal enforcements, beginning with the simple calling of Rosa's name (Line 3), followed by a repeated attention-bringing move of bringing her hands off and onto her waist (Line 3.5), then appealing to Rosa directly about the fact that she was positioned "like the boys" and not in the position that girls should embody (Line 8). When none of these methods for norm enforcement worked, Jessie directly tattled the perceived transgression to Ms. A. Through various of Jessie's frequent peer enforcements (Flores-Pérez, 2019), she seemed to prioritize the equal application and following of established classroom norms. In this case, it is possible that she was orienting her enforcement towards the embodied unification that the teacher was attempting to achieve. It is also likely, however, that she was orienting to the perceived unfairness of the fact that Ms. A was asking everyone to display a "ready" stance and deliberately correcting "un-ready" peers, while Rosa's "inappropriate" embodiment skated by without any correction. David employed a similar multimodal strategy of correction of Tucker, who was also perceived to be in an embodied stance that was not in line with the established norm. Ms. A, however, capitalized on Jessie's final enforcement as an opportunity to reestablish the norm in a different manner than how the children seem to have understood it. Erasing the previous gendered aspect of the norm, the teacher centered control and safety as the

feature that she was most concerned with in the students' arms position, thereby preventing any accidental injury of others.

Throughout the month that I observed Salón 12, I noticed the various ways in which this particular classroom was unique. It was a classroom that instructed students from various backgrounds into the use of one institutional language from a very young age. It was even unique in its own school as a result of the Spanish-only norm that the class's teachers took upon themselves to put into place. However, it was also very similar to classrooms across the world. Its students were very attuned to norms and fairness (Bak et. Al, 1996; Schmidt et. Al, 2012; Vaish et. Al, 2011). Students were subjected to socialization of their voices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011), and their bodies (de León, 2023). Teachers relied on the establishment of routines, norms, and synchrony to help them educate their students (Cazden, 2001). Yet despite the fact that the types of interactions that occurred in Salón 12 were emblematic of those that occur in classrooms everywhere, an Embodied Interaction lens has never been adopted to explore the situated socialization of children towards ideologies of synchrony, joint attention, and intersubjectivity in a preschool-aged classroom.

In the educational sense, the lead teacher of Salón 12 can be considered quite an effective educator. As outlined by Cazden (2001), the establishment of routines in classrooms is thought of as crucial to maximizing time spent focused on academic content as opposed to "choreographing" the activity, in a metaphorical sense. Throughout both of the explored activities, Ms. A relied on the repetition of common phrases and the resulting entextualization to call the students back to their expected behavior. Specifically, the desired outcome was more often than not a display of readiness in which the students bodies should be positioned in a still and controlled manner. Although she never deliberately told her students that they weren't or should be paying attention,

by requiring a mostly still bodily position, Ms. A was much more easily able to establish joint attention with her students toward the activity that they were expected to complete at the moment.

It cannot be ignored that both of the segments selected for analysis involved the traditionally creative arts of singing and dancing. Though the socialization of students in school appropriate behavior occurred on a constant basis, these two activities placed a specific focus on the use of the body and voice. While the voice wasn't as prevalent in the completion of the Dance Rehearsal, the body was highlighted as a necessary component for the completion of certain songs during Circle Time. From an instructional point of view, the inclusion of voice and body meant that students were kept engaged and busy, therefore unable to lose focus or engage in "undesirable" behavior like messing with friends. Regulating the children's bodies also undoubtedly provided them with a better attunement to their bodies and their capacity for creation and movement, skills that are crucial in development. From a socialization point of view, these activities provided prime sites for the enactment of synchrony and teamwork, the latter a goal that Ms. A very often verbalized. Students were required to display an attunement not only to their bodies, but the bodies of others, thus further developing their sense of intersubjectivity (Duranti & La Mattina, 2022). Not only during the actual singing of songs and dancing, the students of Salón 12 keenly displayed their knowledge of interaction rituals by appropriately timing their verbal and bodily displays in line with the principles of order often explored in Conversational Analysis.

Although synchrony and regimentation in schools are often thought of as negative aspects of the educational system, their role in the establishment of co-operation, and thus orientation to their interactional communities (Keane, 2015), cannot be denied. As demonstrated through the analysis of Circle Time and Dance Rehearsal time, the students of Salón 12 were constantly socialized – and took part in the socialization of their bodies – into particular classroom norms. Of

particular importance are the emblematic ways that the classroom's lead teacher enacted and reinforced the socialized norms for both participation and transgression. During the two examined activities, one familiar and one new, frameworks for "appropriate" and "inappropriate" participation were (re)established. An emphasis was placed on teamwork, unity, and aesthetics that were made visible through class-wide singing and hand movements, as well as dance steps. Centering points of departure from the establishes norms for co-operation, Ms. A established the appropriate ways that students were expected to participate in her classroom. In turn, these boundaries were constantly negotiated and demarcated through a collaborative process that involved the entire class. This analysis will hopefully open the doors for further research into the ways that young children are socialized into and through educational spaces.

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