The Issue of 'Impairment':
An analysis of diverging discourses used to represent d/Deaf people in the United States of America

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I declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to study the discourse that surrounds two common reference terms, ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’, for the North American d/Deaf community and determine how this group is being represented through that discourse. The field of Deaf Studies has long discussed the two opposing viewpoints on d/Deaf people: the humanistic/cultural view and the medical/pathological view (Lane, 1995; 1999; Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996), each of which provide an understanding of a d/Deaf person’s status and social positioning as either a member of a cultural and linguistic minority or of a disabled population. While this provides us insight into the sociological understandings of d/Deaf people, which have been highly contested on both sides, there has been little to no focus on the linguistic realization of these opposing viewpoints. In this thesis, I investigate contemporary American discourse between the years 1990—2015, including a range of genres, within which the reference terms ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’ are found. In total, I explored the discourse from over 3000 texts, consisting of media, legal, educational, and other genres. The results of my study demonstrate the ways in which the ideologies behind each of the perspectives manifest in discourse, providing evidence to support the view that a choice in reference term (‘d/Deaf’ vs. ‘hearing-impaired’) primes a particular discourse that serves the agenda of the ideology within which it is grounded. Overall, this thesis applies the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the context of Deaf studies, exemplifying the ways in which certain discourses perpetuate the unequal power dynamics that exist between d/Deaf and hearing individuals. Through a combination of corpus analyses, including concordances and collocations, and text analyses following the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985; 1994a; Halliday & Mattheissen, 2014), including transitivity (Halliday, 1994a; Thompson, 2004,), social actor representation (van Leeuwen, 1996) and Appraisal (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005), this study explains the intricacies of how the social representation of d/Deaf people is linked with those reference terms and the discourse that surrounds them. It reveals that ‘hearing-impaired’ carries with it the connotation of pathology and is as such a representation of someone who is defective, incapable, and weak, while ‘d/Deaf’ has the ability to represent a person as able, competent, and proud. These findings call into question our use of identifying terms and what kind of implications our selections can have on the perception of that individual and the social group of which they are a member.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Context of Study

The aim of the study presented here is to combine analytical approaches from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to investigate the discourse used to describe and talk about d/Deaf people in the United States (the US). Of particular interest to this study is the representation of d/Deaf people in discourse and the presence or absence of diverging discourses corresponding to two popular reference terms: 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf', and variations of those terms (i.e. 'hearing-impairment' and 'd/Deafness'). The analysis shown in this study will hopefully demonstrate the value of combining a variety of analytical tools while exhibiting a clear picture of the discursive representation of d/Deaf people in the US.

This chapter will provide the necessary information to set the stage for the proposed research study by first identifying the problem to be investigated. I will then address the relevance of this research, provide justification for why this research should be conducted, highlight the significance I hope it achieves, and provide justification and rationale for the choice of reference terms at the center of the study. This will be followed by a discussion on the personal significance of this research topic and my individual experience with the problem, which has spurred the interest in pursuing this research. Lastly, I will introduce the research questions to be answered throughout the following chapters before presenting an outline of said chapters and the overall structure of this thesis.

1.1.1. Problem being investigated.

The purpose of this research study is to uncover the discourse/s used in contemporary American English to construct the social representation of d/Deaf people, known commonly by two reference terms: 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf'. Although a more recent choice of reference, 'hearing-impaired', I argue, is situated in an ideology that has been present in the US for hundreds of years. The ideology I refer to places d/Deaf people within the overarching classification of disability, a classification within which individuals are often considered defective and in need of some measure of medical intervention. d/Deaf people, however, often prefer to be viewed as a cultural and linguistic minority (Lane, 1995, 1999, 2005; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996) and so tend to shun the term 'hearing-impaired' since 'impaired' implies a feeling of negativity, abnormality and invalidation (Hughes, 1999). Based on this information, the use of this term for purposes of representation has the potential to evoke the negative attitudes present in the ideology described above, one in which d/Deaf people are

stripped of agency, are the subjects of medical treatment and whose language and culture is unvalued. This research endeavors to discover if such an ideology is inextricably linked to the reference term ‘hearing-impaired’ and if the discourse surrounding the use of this term is different from the discourse surrounding the use of the term ‘d/Deaf’.

1.2. Justification for Study and Relevance

The research project presented here investigates a social issue omnipresent in our current society. It is a critical analysis of how d/Deaf people are discursively constructed by their hearing counterparts, what discourses are drawn on in representing them, and what ties, if any, these discourses have to specific reference terms. As will be explained further in chapter 3, discursive identity construction has very real implications on the ideologies that are adopted in our everyday social practices and as a result can have a devastating impact on those individuals who end up on the broadside of social critique and discrimination. This fact makes the social issue at the heart of this research quite worthy of study and action as it has in its hands the progression or denigration of an entire social group. As d/Deaf people in the US are beginning to become more empowered and recognized for their cultural and linguistic uniqueness, it is important to expose the ways in which this sense of empowerment is being cut down. In short, this research looks into how discourse facilitates the still oppressed status of the d/Deaf population and as an extension how that facilitation might be impeded, making the subject of this study a relevant one.

1.2.1. Significance of research.

The discourse analyses presented in this thesis will show that the term ‘hearing-impaired’ conjures up negative connotations, which often remain inconspicuous, as ‘hearing-impaired’ is commonly known as a term of political correctness (Galvin, 2003). It is well-known that in the highly encouraged ‘Equity and Inclusion’ approach so popular in the US in the contemporary era, that individuals that may be classified as ‘disabled’ have been left out of the equation (Olkin, 2002) as the focus on race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, nationality have taken center stage in corporate and public policies. Creating a ‘welcoming’ environment marked by generally accessible spaces is not made a priority, perhaps due to budgetary concerns, honest disregard, or worse, blatant neglect, which furthers an already deeply ingrained sense of condolence and avoidance in the face of disability.

With the perceived ideological and practical ties to people with a disability, d/Deaf people, too, confront the daily struggles realized in the ironic ‘exclusion’ of inclusive policies. By challenging ideas that society takes for granted this study brings to light a perception

different from the familiar, one that ignores conventions of political correctness as well as any socially accepted ideologies and shows the discourse and representation of d/Deaf people as they are constructed in texts. Although attempts have been made to showcase issues related to the representation of d/Deaf people in language and labeling and efforts to correct them (referenced in Lane, 1992; Kannapell, 1994; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996; Obasi, 2008; Leigh, 2009; and O'Brien & Placier, 2015), much of the efforts have been unsuccessful in influencing the discursive representation of d/Deaf people, though they have succeeded in bringing more attention to the presence of Deaf identity and culture. I propose that using a more systematic approach to discourse analysis and broadening the targeted audience may more effectively arouse change. With a vigorous movement towards increased acceptance, civil rights, and social change in the US, it is my belief that the current landscape is ripe for a revolution that can impact all marginalized groups, more so than it may have been in previous years, resulting in widespread adoption of new and improved discourse practices. The Deaf community can capitalize on that landscape by reasserting their discourse and labeling preferences. My hope is the findings of this study can assist in that assertion and spawn further research on the discursive representation of d/Deaf people and/or of other marginalized groups, as well as open up a discussion on how said representation impacts the members of those social groups. Ultimately, I seek a practical significance where the findings presented in this thesis trigger some degree of social change, no matter how small, and bring attention and resolution to a long-standing problem.

1.2.2. Rationale for chosen reference terms.

Before continuing on with the thesis, it is important to first explain the choice of the two terms that are at the heart of this research: 'd/Deaf' and 'hearing-impaired.' To start, I should clarify that the d/Deaf population in the US is known by a multitude of different reference terms, including but not limited to: deaf, Deaf, Oral Deaf, hard-of-hearing (very or a little), ex-Oral, and hearing-impaired to name a few (Maxwell & Kraemer, 1990; Padden & Humphries, 2006). Many of these labels have significance within Deaf culture but are not terms that are readily used within texts written about d/Deaf individuals; because of this, the research presented in this paper will only focus on two of the more common terms used in the greater society when referring to d/Deaf individuals and each of those will be defined here.

It has likely been noted that this paper has used the term 'd/Deaf' as its main reference for the population in question. The term 'd/Deaf' is used as an all-encompassing term for the d/Deaf population in the US since it incorporates both the reference terms 'deaf' and 'Deaf' in

one. These two terms are known in the Deaf-World (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996; Lane, 2005) as 'little-d deaf' and 'big-D Deaf', respectively. 'Little-d deaf' (hereinafter 'deaf') is the reference term indicative of individuals who are deaf in the sense that they cannot hear, but who do not necessarily subscribe to Deaf culture or do not identify with the Deaf-World. To communicate, individuals who are 'deaf' may use sign language, speech, or a combination of the two. Conversely, 'big-D Deaf' (hereinafter 'Deaf') is the reference term used to identify a member of the Deaf community. This community is rooted in Deaf culture, which has its own values, practices, language, etc. and views themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority. The reference term that encompasses both of these labels, 'd/Deaf', is important in this paper since it is not to be assumed that every d/Deaf person referred to through the data and analysis found in this research identifies as a member of the Deaf community. This fact makes it necessary to use the more inclusive term 'd/Deaf' so as not to inadvertently exclude any individuals. That said, conducting an analysis in a manner that does not consider each term individually may be viewed as problematic since it could mean overlooking some potentially relevant findings. Nevertheless, I chose not to do this since the intricacies of these reference terms are known only to the Deaf community and those familiar with it. In analyzing texts written by hearing authors, it is possible that they could use 'deaf' or 'Deaf' in a way that contradicts or simply does not align with the Deaf community's understanding of the term, therefore having the potential of incorrectly influencing the findings. Still, as will be seen in Chapter 5, I do address the capitalization of 'Deaf' in the results since capitalizing the term is far more likely to be intentional (i.e. referring to a culturally Deaf person) than writing it in lowercase (i.e. to intentionally reference a deaf person who does not identify with the Deaf culture). For purposes of this research (i.e. discovering how the dominant hearing culture of the US represents d/Deaf people in language), conflating the two terms seemed the most reasonable approach.

Additionally, it should be noted that since the outset of this thesis there has been some scholarship (see Murray, 2017) to suggest that the use of the popular distinction of 'big D' and 'little d' deaf is quite precarious since it opens the Deaf community up to unnecessary and misleading 'stratification' (Bahan, 1994), establishing boundaries between who is part of Deaf culture, and therefore more acceptably part of the Deaf community, and who is not. It also unfairly and crudely considers its members in a binary manner, not representative of the deaf lived experience, which varies widely. Anecdotally, I am familiar with some intragroup tension as well, where some members are considered 'not Deaf enough' for various reasons, including the use of a cochlear implant, the use of their voice, their choice to marry a hearing person, etc. Setting up a dichotomy such as the 'big D' and 'little d' deaf identities may perpetuate these

tensions and the ‘stratification’ of the community, which could only serve to undermine the goal to move beyond the medical/pathological perspective (to be explained in further detail in Chapter 2), as well as the crude binary distinction aforementioned. For this reason, it seems Deaf Studies scholars are moving towards the use of ‘deaf’ as the reference term to represent the full collective. Moving forward in my research, I will consider this in my choice of reference term, but as much of this thesis was already complete before such a debate was introduced into scholarship I will maintain my use of ‘d/Deaf’ for this particular piece of work, with the knowledge that more contemporary terms are being discussed in the scholarship.

Considering the information about the use of ‘d/Deaf’ in this thesis, I feel it is also important to mention that a new label has emerged in the US Deaf community within the last year or two: ‘deaf*’. The asterisk used in this reference term is meant to emulate the same ideas that are symbolized in its usage within the LGBTQIA community with the label ‘trans*’, the purpose of which is to encompass all identities found on the gender identity spectrum. Following the same intention, ‘deaf*’ is meant to be representative of all identities found on the deaf identity spectrum. However, as a new reference term, my knowledge of the term’s evolution, meaning and usage is only anecdotal, which is why I have chosen to continue the use of ‘d/Deaf’ for this thesis.

‘Hearing-impaired’ is included as the polarizing reference term to ‘d/Deaf’, where there is often believed to be a divergence not only in the perspective implied on the d/Deaf population, but for the purposes of this research study, a divergence in discourse surrounding these reference terms. ‘Hearing-impaired’ is a term often preferred by medical professionals since a d/Deaf individual “with a loss of a bodily function has an impairment; the impairment gives rise to a disability, a severe restriction in a normal human activity, namely, communication; and the disability handicaps the [individual], preventing him or her from fulfilling various social roles” (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996, p. 34). This association results in a view that opposes that which we saw with the term ‘d/Deaf,’ and, as I will argue in this paper, potentially results in a completely different discourse and with it, a distinct perception of this population.

For this research study, I will choose to use the term ‘d/Deaf’ when referring to the population in general. ‘Hearing-impaired’ will be re-introduced throughout the sections but mainly in those areas discussing previous literature on the discourse of disability and impairment and, of course, during the discussion of data and analysis.

1.3. Personal Motivation and Significance of Research Topic

Before I begin the thesis, I feel it is appropriate to disclose my own personal motivations and experience that have driven the evolution and completion of this research. As an American Sign Language interpreter for the past 13+ years, and a student of the language for four years prior to the start of my career, I have been graced with allied membership in the Deaf community and through that membership have not only grown to love the community, but have gained a solemn respect for its members. A decade and a half of socialization in this community and being privy to some of the most vulnerable moments in its members' lives has a way of delivering certain vicarious stress as well as a profound understanding of the experiences and feelings of those faced with the problems addressed in this research. Bearing witness to the degree of marginalization, oppression, neglect, discrimination, patronizing behavior, disregard, fear, and other mistreatment experienced by this community almost daily in my work has at times filled me some of those same feelings experienced by the community members themselves: anger, resentment, anxiety, anguish, and even apathy.

At this point in history, more than 30 years since the Deaf President Now! protests (see section 2.2 for more details) after which an awareness of Deaf culture began to spread, the acts of oppression, though sometimes still striking and capacious, are mostly small and incremental. While the days of mercury treatments and leeching are far behind us, acts that are less outlandish still have severe implications on the wellness of this social group. The 'little' things are often overlooked since public policies (such as the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990) theoretically squash any opportunities for formal discrimination. However, even now, nearly 30 years after the passage of the ADA, d/Deaf people are routinely passed over for jobs for which they are more than qualified; told they have to pay for or bring their own interpreter to medical appointments (when the ADA clearly states otherwise); handcuffed by departmental budgetary allowance, which is wrongly covering the cost of employment accommodations such as interpreters; and denied appropriate educational accommodations. These examples only detail a few of the acts that are legally prohibited and still occur, not accounting for the dozens of other acts of oppression and neglect that are not defined or subjected to legal policy.

I outline this information here, as experiences I have witnessed in my role as an interpreter, for the purpose of disclosing the personal significance of this research and its implications. I also include this as an acknowledgement of personal bias, a bias for which I have done my best to control in terms of data collection and analysis efforts. As with most Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies, it is natural for a researcher working in this

framework to approach their work with some bias, which is why there is such a call for reflexivity in practicing a critical approach (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). Notwithstanding, I believe that what will be discussed in the chapters of this thesis will present a rigorous and thoughtful research study that accomplishes the demands of scrupulous CDA practice. My hope is that what is learned here incites some change, or at least an enriched understanding of this valuable community amongst the larger society.

1.4. Research Questions

My research endeavors to identify the diverging discourses used in representing the d/Deaf population in the US and to uncover the extent to which the reference term 'hearing-impaired' is found within a hegemonic discourse ('hegemony' as defined by Gramsci, 1971; Gramsci & Rosengarten, 1994). Through a hegemonic discourse, a discourse producer either consciously or unconsciously draws on a certain ideology that reifies the powerful position of the dominant social group, of which they are normally a part, which typically ends up setting this group apart as 'the Other' by marking them as different in some way (Kiesling, 2006). The research will have as its focus the following questions:

1. How is the representation of the d/Deaf population in the US realized by discourse producers when using the reference term 'hearing-impaired' versus 'd/Deaf'?
2. In the event diverging discourses are identified, what do these discourses look like (i.e. are d/Deaf people displayed as actors, goals or beneficiaries of actions, possessing or lacking agency, presented with a high or low degree of normality/capacity/etc., presented with a negative or positive discourse prosody, etc.)?
3. Do either of these discourses contain hegemonic strategies that serve to marginalize said population and if so, of what do they consist?
4. What sort of implications can be drawn from this, given the continued use of the reference term 'hearing-impaired' and the discourse that surrounds it?

These research questions will mainly be addressed in the analysis chapters, though the final one will be more thoroughly discussed in the final chapter after a synthesis of the findings. The next and last section of this introductory chapter will describe the structure of the thesis and chapter organization.

1.5. Structure of Thesis and Chapter Outline

The chapters that comprise this thesis combine to produce an extensive study on the contemporary American discourse that identifies and talks about d/Deaf people. It contains a total of ten chapters: one introductory chapter, two chapters of literature review and theoretical framing, one chapter of methodological discussion, five chapters of analysis, and one chapter of concluding remarks and discussion. A brief explanation of the content of each chapter, beginning with chapter 2, will be included in the remainder of this section.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed account of the Deaf Studies and Disability Studies literature, as it pertains to the topic and research questions of this thesis. It begins with an historical perspective of the d/Deaf population in the US leading into discussions of present social perspectives of d/Deaf people, the cochlear implant controversy, the social relationship between d/Deafness and disability, the social construct of normalcy and critical disability studies.

Chapter 3 frames the theoretical perspectives guiding the research study. This includes defining relevant concepts, such as discourse and critique; a description of CDA and its approaches and methods, such as the sociocognitive approach, the dialectical-relational approach, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and corpus linguistic approaches; as well as discussion about the theories that drive the understanding of perceptions of social identity.

Chapter 4 will outline the methodology of the research study, including a revisit to the aims of this study and go on to describe the data and data collection strategies, as well as detail the specific analyses that will be used. The first main section of this chapter that addresses specific analyses will discuss corpus linguistics and its concordance and collocational analyses, followed by the next section, which will elaborate on the in-depth text analyses that will be used: transitivity, social actor representation and Appraisal.

The next two chapters, 5 and 6, present the procedural actions of the concordance and collocational analyses and detail the findings of said analyses by way of thematic organization (concordance analysis) and variation between corpora (collocational analysis). The findings are discussed in terms of divergence of discourses and the influence on social representation.

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 begin by briefly revisiting each of their respective approaches to data analysis: transitivity, social actor representation, and Appraisal, respectively. Chapter 7 also includes additional information about the selected individual texts for analysis (six from each corpus). Each chapter then describes the findings of their respective analyses, comparing

the findings of each set of texts with the other (the ‘d/Deaf’ texts vs. the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts).

The final chapter of the thesis starts by recounting the research questions introduced in this chapter, then goes on to synthesize the findings from the five analyses and how the results of the overall study satisfy those research questions. The chapter also discusses limitations of the study, suggestions for further research, and implications of the findings as well as action steps towards correcting the social wrong detailed throughout the thesis. Final concluding remarks will close the thesis.

Chapter 2: d/Deaf and Disability Studies

2.1. Introduction

This study aims to provide a more thorough and grounded explanation of the discourses that surround d/Deaf people in America, specifically in the US. In order to be successful in that endeavor, extensive background information about the intended population (i.e. d/Deaf people) as well as any social groups to which they may be perceived as belonging (i.e. disabled population) is required. This chapter will satisfy that need by providing a brief history of d/Deaf people in the US, discussing the various perspectives on d/Deaf people that exist in this society as well as the ways they wish to be perceived, discussing the cochlear implant controversy and its effect on these perspectives of d/Deaf people, as well as presenting an introduction to disability studies, the idea of constructing normalcy, critical disability studies and d/Deaf people's place in this field. It should be noted that the literature reviewed and presented in this chapter is mainly authored by scholars from the US, as the study is focused on d/Deaf people in the US and on American English; however, by not including much literature from international sources, it is possible for the information presented here to be perceived as incomplete. Without including many international sources, I realize this literature review runs the risk of oversimplification of the issues these populations face and have faced worldwide, and presents a singular view that omits perspectives from scholars of other countries. Notwithstanding, since the history and experience of d/Deaf and disabled people is different all over the world due to each individual country's implementation of laws, policies, services, education, etc., this should be sufficient in establishing an understanding of the US history and experience, which will firmly ground the analyses and their findings.

2.2. History of d/Deaf People in the United States

Historically d/Deaf individuals have occupied the position of social inferiority apparent in labels such as 'deaf and dumb' or 'deaf-mute,' which were popular during the late 1800s and early 1900s (Gannon, 1981; Ladd, 1988). Even worse than social oppression were the effects of Social Darwinism on the d/Deaf community and the eventual spread of related ideology leading to the perspective so prevalent in today's time: the necessity of caring for and helping d/Deaf people. Early on, it was common for 'deaf-mutes' or 'deaf and dumb' individuals, and anyone with impairment of any kind, to be segregated from society. For d/Deaf Americans segregation meant institutionalization and sterilization (Gannon, 1981; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996), where we saw Social Darwinism evolve into a form of eugenics; a type of

'political hygiene' that was considered justified and expected (Hughes, 2002). The resulting ideology focused on helping d/Deaf people was problematic because there are many individuals that do not want or need to be cared for. However, through not accepting help or care these individuals were seen as essentially rooting themselves even further in their social inferiority and separating themselves from rightful empowerment (Ladd, 1988).

Schools for the d/Deaf were established in the early 19th century. Before there was formal education for d/Deaf people they often grew up in isolation (Gannon, 1981; Rosen, 2008). Not long after the development of these schools there was a shift in focus from educating d/Deaf children to "restor[ing] the Deaf to society" (Lane, 1984; cited in Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996) with the famous Oral movement born out of the 1880 Congress of Milan. Thus began oralism, an educational ideology that sought to end the use of sign language and forced deaf children to master English and speech to integrate into the larger hearing society (Baynton, 1996), which resulted in legislation preventing the use of sign language in schools (Gannon, 1981; Baynton, 1996; Burch, 2004). The importance of teaching academic content to d/Deaf children was eclipsed by the newfound desire to 'normalize' d/Deaf individuals and hence courses dealing with academic content were replaced by courses focused on lipreading and speech (Burch, 2004). This diminished not only perception of the need for a proper education equivalent to their hearing counterparts but also the value of d/Deaf educators, who were either fired or resigned to teaching only in vocational departments (Burch, 2004).

A school that commits to 'normalizing' d/Deaf children, teaching them to use their voice, can be quite appealing to hearing parents who simply want to communicate with their children. This is what the oralists capitalized on and is the reason such an educational paradigm was so popular. But despite its popularity, oralism was not always successful and the heavy emphasis on learning to speak overshadowed the need for d/Deaf kids to learn more generally, not to mention it removed the natural language of d/Deaf people from the curriculum entirely. Fortunately, oral legislation did not last and eventually schools for the d/Deaf began implementing American Sign Language as the language of instruction. While the oral movement can now be considered over, remnants of this movement are still visible today. In fact, there are several oral schools that still exist in the US: Clarke School for Hearing and Speech, Ohio Valley Voices, Memphis Oral School for the Deaf, and Central Institute for the Deaf, to name a few. These schools hold onto those oral principles so valued in the early 20th century, promoting cochlear implant surgeries, development of auditory stimuli response, and speech; all this while other schools for the d/Deaf work towards a preservation of American Sign Language and d/Deaf culture.

Although there has been more awareness of Deaf culture and American Sign Language in recent years, sparked by the Deaf President Now! protests at Gallaudet University in 1988 aptly described by Christiansen & Barnartt (2003) as the "explosive culmination to years of relatively quiet struggle by an oppressed minority" (p. xiv), the ideology buried in the heart of the oral movement that began in the late 19th century still threatens the American Deaf community today. It is this movement that started the push for 'normality', the 'restoration' of d/Deaf people, and the ultimate aim to eradicate this 'deficiency' that is d/Deafness. The use of a disabled classification helps to convince others that such goals are not only necessary, but noble. Perhaps some of the more overtly derogatory reference terms, such as 'deaf-mute' and 'deaf and dumb,' have vanished, but identity construction of the d/Deaf still has the ability to carry with it a negative undertone. After all, simply using the word 'disabled' has a significant effect on a people who generally refuse to regard themselves as such (Jones & Pullen, 1989; Lane, 1992; Lane, 1995).

2.3. Social Perspectives on d/Deafness and d/Deaf People

Traditionally there have existed two main perspectives on d/Deaf people in society: that representing the medical or pathological view of d/Deafness and that representing the cultural view of d/Deafness (Lane, 1995). These dualist constructions promote two opposing understandings of 'normal' (to be explored further in section 2.6), the former opting for a more mainstream version of normal where communication is conducted in an oral/aural way and therefore d/Deaf people are seen to have a medical impairment which limits their ability to participate in normal communication and as such normal life, and the latter which focuses on a different definition of 'normal', one that considers the use of sign language and visual communication, including that of eye contact, facial expressions, and body movements, to be the hinge on which 'normality' is grounded (Leigh, 2010; Bauman, 2008; Padden & Humphries, 1988, 2005; Ladd, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996).

The medical view is centered around intervention and 'rehabilitation', which will help restore d/Deaf people to society as we know it, i.e. seeing d/Deafness as an impairment (Jones, 2002). In the medical view of d/Deafness, this impairment can be mitigated through the use of various technologies (e.g. hearing aids, cochlear implants, assistive listening devices, etc.), and promoting the use of such technologies is considered an acceptable approach to helping d/Deaf people. Deservedly steeped in negative connotations, the term 'rehabilitation' in this context refers to any corrective efforts made to the d/Deaf person to help them integrate more seamlessly into a 'normal' hearing society, such as those mitigation efforts mentioned above

aimed at making someone appear less d/Deaf through the use of various technologies, which is an important piece for the medical view's agenda. That term will be used throughout the thesis as an all-encompassing term to represent the medical view's notion of pushing for normality (more discussion on 'normality' in section 2.6). On the other hand, the cultural view recognizes d/Deaf people, specifically those who identify with the Deaf community, as a cultural and linguistic minority, i.e. d/Deafness as a culture (Jones, 2002). d/Deaf people are seen as members of a "rich cultural heritage" (Jones, 2002, p. 51) and not as victims of pathology, therefore technological means of 'rehabilitation' are not only unnecessary but are unwanted (Jones, 2002; Butler, Skelton & Valentine, 2001; Lane, 1997, 1992; Dolnick, 1993; Wilcox, 1989; Padden & Humphries, 1988).

Bruggeman (1999) and Rosen (2003) prefer to split these two constructions into three: deafness as disability, as pathology, and as culture, where deafness as disability and pathology come from the medical view. As will be explained more later, disability, despite some misunderstanding in its meaning, refers to "the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers" (Oliver, 1996), which is much different than the idea of 'impairment', or pathology, which is less about participation in society and more about a physical condition resulting in functional limitation (Oliver, 1996a). For this reason, it is understandable why Bruggeman (1999) and Rosen (2003) would separate these into two different constructions. However, both constructions influence one another, vying for the same end of intervention and 'rehabilitation'. The ideologies on which they are both founded jointly maintain that d/Deafness, as a condition, entails not only a physical but a social deficiency preventing such an individual from communicating, where it appears as though the only avenue for communication is an oral/aural one, and therefore treatment is necessary to restore this individual to meet societal norms. The two constructions, therefore, work in tandem as the jargons representing these constructions, argued by Rosen (2003),

> suggest that their notion of a body essential for social functioning is a body with hearing ability to communicate, without defects or limitations. The institutions act to restore corporeal body with defective hearing for communication purposes into a social body with no defective hearing that they deemed as crucial for societal well-being (p. 925).

Despite intense critique from opposing perspectives, it is reasonable to say that all come with good intentions regardless of whether or not they deliver ends that are acceptable to one another. The pathological and disability constructions of d/Deaf people are clear in expressing

concerns about the difficulties members of this social group face in a society from which they are so often excluded (Rosen, 2008). Those from the cultural view would argue that such concerns are felt in vain if there is no attempt to include members of the very community they seek to impact. While the medical view has more recently been colored by feelings of sympathy and seemingly benevolent motives, a look at historical constructions aligned with this perspective show not a change in construction or the ideology that sustains it, but perhaps one that is simply more heavily shrouded in civility.

Since the deafness as disability and deafness as pathology constructions are so closely tied and represent the same ideologies as they relate to the purposes of this research, I will assess the discourses identified in this study as related to either of two social perspectives of d/Deafness, that of medical/pathological or cultural. Additionally, I will use the term disability as a reflection of these ideologies/social perspectives, and not as a representation of my own perspective of disability, in order to build the narrative of discourses as they relate to each of them, but will make a conscious effort to elaborate on the use of the term where appropriate.

2.4. Cochlear Implant Controversy

The cochlear implant controversy is worthy of discussion in this research because of the impact it has had on the d/Deaf community, the cochlear implant's encouragement of the pathological view of d/Deafness discussed in the previous section, and the frequency with which it is associated to the reference terms in question, as will be seen in the analysis chapters. The development of the cochlear implant has widely been praised as one of the great medical achievements of our time, intended to serve as a cure for certain degrees of d/Deafness (Sparrow, 2010; Levy, 2002). Cochlear implants are different than hearing aids, which are simply an external assistive listening device, because a portion of the device is surgically inserted into the middle ear where it stimulates nerve endings allowing the recipient to perceive sounds in their environment with the help of the external sound processor which is magnetically attached from the outside of the skull to the internal hardware (Sparrow, 2010; Zeng et al., 2008; Copeland & Pillsbury, 2004). Despite its medical acclaim, members of the Deaf community have been less thrilled with the advent of the cochlear implant, some rejecting its use with hostility and resentment (Levy, 2002) and viewing this incessant search for a cure as the "desire of a majority culture to impose its language and values on the Deaf rather than modify its institutions to take account of the perspectives and needs of members of another culture" (Sparrow, 2005, p. 135-136).

While the invention of a cure for what the community perceives to be the marker of

their identity as part of a minority culture is reason enough for d/Deaf people to have, at the very least, some misgivings about the cochlear implant, the true impetus for such abhorrence is the use of this device on young prelingually d/Deaf infants and children (Sparrow, 2010; Barringer, 1993; Lane & Bahan, 1998; Silver, 1992). Medical professionals often urge implantation as early as possible (as early as six months of age) in order to maximize the benefits of the device so the child has time to acclimate to it at a very young age, preventing any delays in language acquisition (Copeland and Pillsbury, 2004; Balkany et al., 2001; Balkany, Hodges & Goodman, 1996). Those who subscribe to the cultural perspective of d/Deafness see the practice of implanting children as an attack on Deaf culture, as this practice encourages d/Deaf children to be raised like hearing children, as users of a spoken language who have no knowledge of sign language nor of the culture in which that language is grounded (Sparrow, 2005). Members of the Deaf community, therefore, see the mass implantation of d/Deaf children, more than 50,000 as of 2008 (Leigh et al., 2009), as evidence of the inevitable shrinking of their community and endangerment of their language and culture.

After making a point emphasizing the threat of cultural disintegration, Sparrow (2010) effectively outlines an additional tripartite basis for the controversy of cochlear implants, using the 'Babel fish' from the famous *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* series as a representative for the implant, an invention that, when inserted into the ear, translates brain waves into sound waves that allow travelers to decipher alien language all over the galaxy:

> existing implants are nowhere near as effective as the imaginary 'Babel fish' at facilitating cross-cultural communication; deafness is arguably an organic dysfunction of the human organism regardless of whether it is also a condition or marker of cultural identity; the next generation of potential members of the Deaf culture are born to parents who are members of another culture. These (greatly) complexify the issue (p. 457)

He goes on to establish the argument that the introduction of the cochlear implant, regardless of any altruistic intents, will inevitably lead to the destruction of the Deaf culture, or total ethnocide and ultimately demonstrates a "profound lack of respect for it" (p. 457). Levy (2002) makes a similar point about opponents of cochlear implants who would claim that the use of medical intervention essentially communicates to d/Deaf people that they are not of equal worth to hearing people (p. 141), that the desire for a cure sends a message that "we want no more people of 'your kind'" (p. 142). Continuing on, Sparrow (2010) paints a quite troubling image:

> there is something disturbing about the nature of the intervention – the physical

> alteration of the capabilities of the capacities of the bodies of children through the insertion of the 'Babel fish' – being used to promote integration into the majority culture and the role of scientists and doctors in advocating and facilitating it. A medical technology is here being used to advance a cultural agenda – a scenario that brings to mind some of the worst abuses of medical authority in the past. (p. 457)

Elaborating on his additional tripartite basis, it is well known that cochlear implants are not one hundred percent effective for all recipients and for those who do have success, it comes at great cost of years of therapy and efforts towards 'rehabilitation' (Mellon et al., 2015). Levels of success vary widely among recipients, without clear evidence to suggest why such discrepancies exist (Mellon, et al., 2015; Black, Hickson & Black, 2012; Zeng et al., 2008; Kubo, Iwaki, & Sasaki, 2008; O'Donoghue, Nikolopoulos, and Archbold, 2000; Taitelbaum-Swead et al., 2005). In essence, cochlear implantation is a gamble, and a high-stakes one at that. There is no guarantee that those individuals who receive implants will fully assimilate into the majority culture, and traditionally are left out of the minority culture they would have come to know without implantation (Sparrow, 2010) as parents tend to discourage their children from learning sign language for the fear that they may not continue their efforts towards learning to use the implant and spoken language (Edwards, 2005).

The next part of the controversy concerns the "organic dysfunction of the human organism." Some argue that the limitations experienced by d/Deaf children are not only a result of their minority culture status, but come from functional limitations of hearing that necessitate some form of intervention for them to achieve 'normal species functioning' (Sparrow, 2010; Balkany, Hodges & Goodman, 1996). This connects to the idea of 'normalcy' (expanded on in section 2.6) and where that notion comes from, as another could argue that hearing loss induces disadvantages only in a social context and not in any physical sense of illness, experiencing no notable detrimental impacts of being d/Deaf on their overall well-being (Cooper, 2007; Edwards, 2005; Levy, 2002; Lane & Bahan, 1998). The point remains that even with cochlear implants, a child is still d/Deaf. The cochlear implants do not cure d/Deafness, despite any marketing that may suggest otherwise. Even if cochlear implants are able to partially restore a d/Deaf person to socially acceptable levels of 'normality', social limitations will never completely disappear and difficulties of social learning and fitting in are equally real for d/Deaf children with implants as they are for d/Deaf children without implants (Punch & Hyde, 2011). In this way, it is evident that the bulk of disadvantages felt by d/Deaf people are of social origin, and will continue to be even with a cochlear implant intended to resolve such issues.

The third part of the controversy concerns the origin of cultural identity. Opponents of cochlear implants contend that the implantation of d/Deaf children is a direct threat to the continued existence of their culture; but for those who are born into a hearing family, is it not fair to say that their culture is the culture of their parents (Balkany, Hodges & Goodman, 1996)? This complicates the issue since it is completely reasonable for parents to want to instill their cultural values into their children; but the question is whether or not it is also reasonable to deprive the child, and the culture to which they would have associated, of another potentially enriching, cultural identification through the instillation of said cultural values. Levy (2002) suggests that if one argues that cochlear implants should be banned from use, allowing d/Deaf children to be a part of the Deaf community, "they are in fact arguing that the value of preserving Deaf culture ought to take precedence over the wishes of parents, including their reasonable and natural wish to share a first language with their children" (p. 146). However, the counter argument to that recognizes that there is such a thing as Deaf culture and as a culture, it is intrinsically valuable (Levy, 2002). Since more than 95% of d/Deaf children are born to hearing parents (Mellon et al., 2015), if cochlear implants became so prevalent that none of these children identified with d/Deaf culture, it would certainly cease to exist. This fact, as Lane & Bahan (1998) effectively contend, means "a minority is justified in decrying an ineffective social policy that, if effective, would threaten its existence" (p. 305).

2.5. Disability, Society and d/Deafness

It is common for d/Deaf people to be considered part of the disabled society. This connection began very early on in North American society when d/Deafness was thought to be an illness of some kind, able to be transmitted from a person to their child, something for which a cure should be sought, and a condition for which separate institutions were established (Gannon, 1981). At this point, d/Deafness was already seen as a misfortune and a burden on the families who experienced it, as were disabilities and other illnesses or ailments of the time. But the affiliation between d/Deafness and disability was only more explicitly noted when d/Deaf individuals were included within US legislation calling for equal rights among the disabled and non-disabled populations, such as with the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1990, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

While the argument here is that d/Deaf people are members of a minority culture, they also carry with them a minor difference that separates them from other minority cultures in the

US: a disabling attribute that makes them vulnerable to a model of deficiency. Benderly (1980, p. 25) summarizes this opinion:

> Hearing, quite simply, ties the individual listener or speaker into the web of human communication. A mishap to one or two tiny bones, therefore, or a malfunction in a microscopic fiber, or a malformation of an infinitesimal membrane can spell calamity not only for the organism as a processor of auditory signals but also for the person as a social and cultural being… The person who cannot hear is a permanent foreigner in the country of speech.

As with other disabilities, d/Deafness became more medicalized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Albrecht, et al., 2001). A search for a cure began long before the advent of the cochlear implant, initially motivated by wealthy and powerful families who felt plagued by the birth of a deaf child and who wanted their child to maintain the same social standing as they did (Ladd, 2003). This simple 'mishap', as Benderly puts it, led to some of the most heinous attempts at medical intervention including electric shocks to the ear, leeching, piercing of eardrums, probing, pouring of various chemical solutions into the ear, and even fracturing the skull by using a hammer to strike d/Deaf children just behind the ear (Ladd, 2003; Lane, 1984). These same type of horrific treatments were simultaneously offered to individuals troubled with, what was considered at the time, other 'illnesses', who were subjected to lobotomies, bloodletting, electric shocks, and various concoctions of opium, mercury and the like used to treat a wide array of conditions (Kang & Pederson, 2017). This heightened medicalized view in conjunction with the rise of modern medicine bonded d/Deafness to the classification of disability and/or severe illness, despite an already flourishing language and culture. As one medical professional of the time put it, "The Deaf believe that they are our equals in all respects. We should be generous and not destroy that illusion. But whatever they believe, deafness is an infirmity, and we should repair it *whether the person who has it is disturbed by it or not*" (cited in Lane, 1984, p. 134). The ideology behind this quote likely set the stage for the persistent connection between d/Deafness and disability, and the pursuit of a cure that cannot be quelled.

It is for these reasons that the discourse used when referring to d/Deafness and the discourse used when referring to disability are often one and the same. The inextricable link to disability discourse leaves d/Deaf people with quite a dilemma since succumbing to social implications of being disabled in today's society can perhaps mean prejudice and judgment (Peters, 2000) but at least doing so results in accommodations. What remains to be seen is whether doing so also results in the perpetual consent to being marked disabled and therefore a forfeiture of a unique Deaf identity. Despite the attempt to clump all disabled individuals into

one unifying body, it has been noted by many researchers and scholars (see Ladd, 1988; Foster, 1989; Lane, 1994; McAlister, 1994; Lane, 2005; Rosen, 2008; Lane, Pillard & Hedberg, 2011; Ladd & Lane, 2013; and others) that there is the presence of a distinctive Deaf culture which mirrors that of a minority culture. The issue many d/Deaf people face, however, is whether or not they can be one without the other (i.e. culturally Deaf) and still overcome social barriers to achieve full participation in their environment and in society.

This helps to describe the paradox many d/Deaf people feel about being d/Deaf, but not disabled. It also helps to clarify the importance of understanding what diverging discourses are present in the representation of d/Deaf people and how possessing this knowledge will help in recognizing the implications for this group of individuals.

2.6. Constructing Normalcy

In order to truly understand the position of disability, it is important to first understand society's predilection for normality (Davis, 2006; 2013; 2016). This overwhelming desire to 'normalize' the body has been discussed at great length by many disability scholars (Hughes, 1999; Hughes, 2000; Beauchamp-Pryor, 2011; Davis, 2013, 2016, to name a few) and yet they all argue that the problem of 'abnormality' lies not with the individual who is labeled as such, but with the "way that normalcy is constructed to create the 'problem' of the disabled person" (Davis, 2016, p. 2). This push for normalcy erects barriers for a disabled population since the goal is to homogenize rather than to celebrate difference (Hughes, 1999), and Oliver (1996b) would argue that the barriers should truly be a problem for society since it is their responsibility to compensate for, minimize, or remove these barriers and not the responsibility of the disabled person to overcome them.

Disability is considered to be a "misfortune" in our society, an "unfortunate tragedy that happens to a few individuals and we almost always hope that such a tragedy will not happen to us" (Titchkosky & Michalko, 2009, p. 2). No one ever wishes to become disabled and this understanding of it as something that happens to only a 'few individuals' holds the premise for 'abnormality'. The idea of a person experiencing a 'tragedy' of illness, injury or disease, which led to their disabled state sets the tone for restoration since the perception is that there is an obligation to get this individual back to 'normal' as quickly as possible. Having a norm, as Davis (2016) contends, "implies that the majority of the population must or should somehow be a part of the norm" and those that do not, are considered outliers (to use a statistical analogy), which risks those individuals being cut off from consideration since society may be more comfortable with only those that fall within the confines of normality. With this mindset,

it is perhaps understandable why medical, psychological and educational professionals are "committed to 'normalcy' as the only life worth living and thus they are committed to defining disability as a condition that requires adjustment in order to sustain normalcy as the singularly good way of being-in-the-world" (Titchkosky & Michalko, 2009, p. 4).

This idea of a social 'norm' came after the concept of the 'ideal', which in contrast to societies that live by a concept of normality would expect people living in that society to have a non-ideal status (Davis, 2016). Normality grew to be a popular concept to apply to people in the mid-1800s, after French statistician, Adolphe Quetelet, took principles of statistics and astronomy and applied them to the human body, constructing the idea of the 'average man' (Davis, 2016). The average man, therefore, is that who falls into the normal distribution of those living in that society and "deviations more or less great from the mean have constituted ugliness in body" (Quetelet cited in Porter, 1986, p. 103). Based on this theory to which most societies fully subscribed whether knowingly or unknowingly, individuals with disabilities were (and still are) considered deviants. If the idea was the achievement of a societal norm, without outliers, it is not hard to understand how eugenicist ideals were born. After all, if the construct of the average man is based on theories of statistics (a field in which most eugenicists worked (Davis, 2016)), in which a standard normal distribution will often include cut-off values to exclude the extremes to get at statistical significance, eugenicists would argue that it makes sense to rid society of the same extremes to achieve a normal distribution of humanity. The difference was that eugenicists hand-picked certain desired traits that would be considered by rank order (Davis, 2016), instead of the traditional bell curve that would exclude both traits that were too 'high' and too 'low', essentially changing the notion of extremes to just one extreme, the 'lower' extreme. Those individuals who fell below the average possessed "undesirable" traits, and since society was convinced that norms and ranks existed in human physiology, it was not unreasonable in many people's minds to want to shift the traits of humanity to those that reflected the norm or higher ranking traits (Davis, 2016), thus propelling the eugenics campaign.

Although the eugenics movement has lost steam in modern years, the notions of normality that guided it persist. Hughes (2012) argues that even in modernity, the "sociogenesis of disability is…twofold: it can be 'anthropoemic' or 'anthropophagic'" (p. 18), where the former encompasses all the principles of eugenics and the desire to eliminate the presence of the disability and as such the people who find themselves possessing this "imperfection." This can be seen in modern day gene editing and potential applications of the newfound CRISPR gene in pre-implantation embryos. The latter, anthropophagic, deals with the side of medicine

that may not seek to eliminate the existence of disability, but does seek to cure and/or 'rehabilitate' individuals who have a disability. Hughes (2012) contends that "[both] strategies – to kill or to cure – transmit the same core cultural message: disabled people represent 'what not to be' and are, therefore, ontologically invalid or 'uncivilised'" (p. 18).

It is these very same strategies that d/Deaf people have to contend with every day. Genetics research has been attempting to find and eliminate the genes that cause deafness for several years but as recently as 2019, researchers at Harvard have discovered an approach using the CRISPR-Cas9 gene-editing system that has allowed them to recognize and remove the mutation causing hereditary deafness in mice (György et al., 2019). It is understandable how this combined with the push for cochlear implants (described in section 2.4) and the continued closings of residential schools for the d/Deaf would make d/Deaf people uneasy about the preservation of their language and culture. Despite a strong desire to celebrate their difference, d/Deaf people are perpetually confronted with society's inclination for the 'average man' and the 'abnormalities' that preclude them from satisfying it.

2.7. Critical Disability Studies

To expand on the description offered in section 2.3, it is important to first define 'disability' before moving on to discuss the models, theories or perspectives of disability studies as noted by various disability scholars. The word 'disability' has seemed to creep into our everyday vernacular with a very literal interpretation, using it as a label for a person who is 'lacking some ability' due to some kind of physical or mental condition. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 in fact describes it in that way as well, as an ailment or condition preventing a person from participating in "major life activities." However, the UPIAS (The Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation) defines disability as "the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream of social activities" (as cited in Oliver, 1996a, p. 22). Going by this definition, it is much like the concept of race: socially constructed and used as an exclusionary tactic. This definition is similar across other organizations as well, for example DPI (Disabled People International), who defines disability as "the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers" (Zola, 1982).

Definitions of impairment describe a functional limitation and not a social one, and could be argued as non-constitutive of disability (Oliver, 1996b). However, I am in agreement

with Hughes & Paterson (1997) who rebut that the notion of disability cannot be disembodied nor can impairment be "reduced to its dysfunctional anatomo-physiological correlates" (p. 329). They further contend that impairment is "more than a medical issue" but is an "experience" (p. 329), which requires consideration of the sociology of impairment, and not just the physiology. According to this view, it appears that the position of disability begins first with a description of the body as impaired or abnormal in some functional capacity, which places one within the confines of the 'disabled' population. These two experiences are one and the same; "disabled people experience impairment, as well as disability,… as part of a complex interpenetration of oppression and affliction" (Hughes & Paterson, 1997, p. 334-335). More explicitly, "impairment is a primary deviance and disability refers to the secondary processes in which it is amplified by negative social reactions" (Hughes, 1999, p. 158).

Similarly to what was described with the d/Deaf population (see section 2.2), the disabled population finds themselves caught between two differing perspectives regarding their identity: one steeped in medical discourse and the other as part of a socio-cultural understanding where difference is valued (Shakespeare, 1996; Grue, 2015). Disabled people, when viewed from the medical understanding, are not seen as one large group of individuals with a set of shared social experiences but rather are further subcategorized into groups of people with specific impairments (Shakespeare, 1996). This action appears to undermine the very things that encourage a socio-cultural understanding of disability, such as solidarity and connectedness. The problem, as pointed out first by Zola (1982), is how to put forth a 'rallying cry' for disability pride. Although often classified in the same vein as other social movements (e.g. women's rights, civil rights, rights for LGBTQ populations, etc.), re-appropriation of those words associated with disability would not prove to be as successful since the differences that are the focus of valuation are overwhelmingly negative and do not lend themselves to slogans that reclaim the difference that has marginalized them into a symbol of power (Grue, 2015). Grue (2015) cites Zola (1982) in this argument:

> With the rise of black power, a derogatory label became a rallying cry: 'Black is beautiful!'. And when female liberation saw their strength in numbers, they shouted: 'Sisterhood is powerful!' But what about those with chronic illness or disability. Could we yell: 'Long live cancer!' 'Up with multiple sclerosis!' 'I'm glad I had polio?' 'Don't you wish you were blind?'. Thus the traditional reversing of the stigmata will not so easily provide a basis for a common positive identity.

Grue goes on to say that despite those in the disability movement who have tried to use such rallying cries, the problem lies in the depth of diversity of disability in that no rallying cry begging for a positive disability identity can encompass every individual. In fact, Peters (1996, p. 231) argues that the whole notion of celebrating difference as it relates to disability is problematic saying, "difference is always perceived in relation to some implicit norm. It perpetuates the illusion that individuals are measured from some universal standard of objective authority."

Even the word 'Crip', which has been revived in disability studies as part of 'Crip theory', is loaded with controversy as a re-appropriated term in the disabled community. Originally envisioned by McRuer (2006) as a way of reclaiming an historically hurtful term as a way of challenging dominant ideologies and existing power structures, as with the queer narrative, the usage of 'Crip' in the disability movement has been met with its own intra-group challenges. Johnson and McRuer (2014) assert that Crip theory is intended to invite conversation and theoretical work in the subject of disability studies to expand the discourse of disability, but is it not intended to speak on behalf of the entire disabled community. However, Bone (2017) contends that this view of disability limits the varied experiences of disabled individuals, misrepresenting those experiences and in turn fracturing the disabled community. She explains that the "limited scope of the Crip experience directly mirrors the failure inherent in the name crip theory: visible deformity is placed in a position of power while less visible disabilities remain muted and ignored. Crip theory's framework creates a hierarchy within disability simply by coopting a term that is strictly external – cripplingly so" (p. 1302). Sherry's (2013) arguments furthers this critique, claiming the term 'crip' is reserved for privileged people, serving a specific agenda that is not representative of the needs of the whole of the disabled community as it fails to embrace the many hues of disability experience.

The idea of disability has historically been used as justification for continued discrimination against marginalized communities of 'inferior' status. Baynton (2016) argues that the history of inequality in the US is indeed based on the presence of disability. Women, African-Americans, and immigrants have experienced appalling levels of oppression always justified by their state of inferiority, which was based on the belief that they all possessed certain disabilities preventing them from the ability to effectively engage in society according to expected norms (Baynton, 2016). The problem for disability scholars, and those who identify with the disabled population, is that these groups have fought back against these notions of them as inferior, abnormal, or 'disabled', in which case they are further perpetuating the understanding that having such disabilities is unacceptable.

Considering these points about the history of disability studies and societal perspectives of disability, scholars working in critical disability studies share an understanding about disability and disabled people: "they are undervalued and discriminated against and this cannot be changed simply through liberal or neo-liberal legislation and policy" (Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009, p. 65). In this way, it is easy to see parallels between d/Deafness and disability. d/Deaf people have a similar understanding about the value placed on their language and culture, or lack thereof, and aspire to find solutions for change as do disabled people. Although this is something with which all minority cultures struggle, Davis (2002) would argue that people in this group are "*the* ultimate intersectional subject, the universal image, the important modality through which we can understand exclusion and resistance" (Goodley, 2013, p. 634). Critical disability studies is therefore vital not just for eliminating social barriers, but for a better understanding of minority experience overall since, as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, even those from other minority cultures cannot and will not identify in the same arena as those with disabilities. Disability is so often ignored in the discussion of civil rights movement and political pursuits, and Olkin (2002, p. 136) asserts that in order for it to be fully addressed "disability will have to board the diversity train. The question is whether the door will be held open for us." This layered discriminatory experience validates disability as "*the* space from which to think through a host of political, theoretical and practical issues that are relevant to all" (Goodley, 2013, p. 632).

2.8. Summary

The information provided in this chapter has presented the two dominant perspectives on d/Deaf people in the US, how these tie to perspectives on disabled people, and how they have resulted in two dominant discourses that place d/Deaf people both as those belonging to a unique culture, and those who are believed to suffer from an impairment and should be offered 'rehabilitation' to be able to integrate into the larger hearing society. The controversy over how best to approach the language acquisition, cultural identity and educational needs of d/Deaf people is a fire that continues to burn in current times, though it began over a hundred years ago. Through reclaiming some of the lost sense of identity that was seemingly taken away from them by the oralist movement and recent attempts to cure their ascribed impairment, d/Deaf people have begun to raise awareness of the cultural and linguistic value their community offers to the world. Discourses used in the dominant society could very well have an impact on the community's ability to maintain and grow that awareness, which is just one reason this topic is worthy of study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Perspective and Pertinent Terminology

3.1. Introduction

The research questions addressed in this thesis require an exploration of the discursive mechanisms employed in texts that result in real implications for the acceptance and empowerment of d/Deaf people in the US. Studies of critical discourse analysis (CDA) aim to uncover the multi-layered, and often latent, meanings in text and reveal how those meanings have an effect in a larger social context. Studies found within the framework of CDA tend to be 'problem-oriented' and are 'characterized by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3), retroductable following Wodak's definition which describes the ideal analysis to be one that is transparent and approachable by any reader who may come across it. Since CDA studies are multidisciplinary and possess a great diversity of methods, after outlining the definition of discourse and notion of critique, the sections in this chapter will further discuss CDA including its origins and applications, the methods of CDA used for analysis in this thesis, as well as perceptions of social identity as they relate to discourse.

3.2. Discourse

Discourse is a complex term to define as it possesses a plethora of different, if not completely unrelated, meanings within the field of linguistics. Although it can be used simply to refer to a stretch of spoken or written language, or communication that occurs within a specific context (e.g. academic discourse or legal discourse) (Bloor & Bloor, 2007), the purposes of this research require a much more refined definition. In the context of a critical examination of language, such as that presented here, it is necessary to include a sociological aspect that expands the understanding of the role of discourse beyond the traditional confines of general communication and opens it up to being what van Dijk (2009, p. 67) would say is a 'multidimensional social phenomenon.'

As Fairclough (2015, p. 7) explains, discourse seen in this way is a 'relational view of language,' where it is a part of the social fabric within which we live, naturally relating to other things in this reality, all of which come together in order to help us make meaning of the world. Discourse is therefore a "*socially constructed way of knowing some aspect of reality*" (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 144, original emphasis), a knowledge we call upon when we need to make sense of things. Discourse is also defined in terms of social practice since these practices are ways of socially interacting with others, and discourse is one of the mechanisms by which this

interaction is done. Discourse as a social practice has both a reflexive and a dialectical element. The interaction by its very nature is a product of discourse but can also be discursively represented and this representation can thus shape the discourse that is used in social interaction (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In research such as this where the purpose is to uncover divergent discourses, it is vital to understand that everyone experiences reality in a different way, meaning the discourse used to represent that reality will vary. This is supported by Burr's (1995, p. 48) notion of discourse, defined as:

> a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events… surrounding any one object, event, person, etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing it to the world.

It is the discourse producer's reality that shapes the representation and construction of social situations, a reality that has been and is continually shaped by their own social experience. The dialectical nature of discourse makes it a practice of constant meaning negotiation. This property makes discourse a very powerful currency in the social process, as it can have a major influence not only over one's understanding of social phenomena but also over one's formation of individual values and beliefs, arguments which have been made by Fairclough (2015).

3.3. Notion of 'Critique'

In coming to an understanding of critical discourse analysis it is useful to know its orientation to critical theory and social critique. The notion of critique has been around for thousands of years, linguistically originating in the Grecian times of Plato as a practice of judgment, but our current understanding of critique comes from the writings of Immanuel Kant, beginning with the *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 and followed by several other writings (e.g. *Critique of Practical Reason* (1785) and *Critique of Judgment* (1790), to name a few), not least of all his 1784 publication "What is Enlightenment?". As Butler (2009) illustrates, Kant argued for critique as a means of identifying and calling attention to illegitimate claims of authority. Beyond this use of critique in a speculative manner, calling into question claims of knowledge based on a priori principles or then present understandings of various fields of scholarship, Butler (2009) further points out that Kant also intended critique to be "described as a kind of revolution, what he calls a revolution at the level of procedure, a progressive path for science, a way of enforcing rightful claims, of protecting the public against harmful doctrines…and a

way of resisting popularity and yet serving the public" (p. 777). Foucault (1981) further elucidated the Kantian notion of critique:

> critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest… Criticism is a matter of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such… the work of deep transformation can only be carried out in a free atmosphere, one constantly agitated by a permanent criticism. (in Kritzman (Ed.), 2013, p. 154-155)

The foundation of social critique is quite fitting as an underpinning of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as CDA considers discourse a social practice, constantly influencing and being influenced by society. Although the practice of CDA involves a critical analysis of language, it inherently critiques the inner workings of society and seeks to correct those issues that feed into an unequal societal structure that has yet to be challenged. Wodak and Reisigl (2001) contend that CDA adheres to the concept of social critique and abides by the framework of critical theory, embracing three aspects adapted from said theory: discourse immanent critique, sociodiagnostic critique, and prospective critique (p. 32-35). These three aspects of critique mirror the Kantian notions described above, as will be evident in the following descriptions.

The discourse immanent critique is meant to discover illegitimate claims within text or discourse, manifest through contradictory claims, inconsistencies, or dilemmas, and discovered by means of discourse-analytical tools (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). Still related to discursive events, in any medium, and recognition, the sociodiagnostic critique goes a step beyond the discourse immanent critique, attempting to not only discover these illegitimacies but also reveal their manipulative and problematic character, the extent to which the discursive practices have pervaded society, and any responsibility the discourse producers have in disguising their manipulative nature (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). Wodak and Reisigl (2001) make an important point here about the need for reflexivity on the part of the analyst engaging in CDA, so as not to produce an analysis with less than optimal rigor or which takes away from the recipients their autonomy, self-awareness, and innate ability to recognize problematic discourse in their own right. They go on to say:

> Both of these problems can be minimised by circumspection and the greatest possible accuracy on our part as critical analysts. That means that we have to look at the data carefully, to apply our analytical tools prudently and to

> reconstruct the context of the discursive events meticulously, in order to provide transparent and intersubjectively comprehensible interpretations and analyses. (p. 33)

It is within this second aspect of critique that analysts make explicit the connection between the textual and social spheres, looking at and describing discursive practices as social practices and declaring them as forms of marginalization, firmly positioning their arguments as political ones. The third and final aspect of critique, prospective critique, is one of action. This aspect of critique goes beyond recognition and 'unmasking', marked by work towards transformation of the problematic social practices the analyst will have uncovered. An analyst at this stage of critique is a contributor to social reform, committed to improving and rectifying the inequalities and dysfunctionalities of the present social system (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001). In the Kantian sense, the prospective critique is the revolution, the social transformation that is only possible through intractable and perpetual critique.

3.4. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), referred to by more and more scholars in recent years as critical discourse studies (CDS), is defined by van Dijk (2009a) as a study that encompasses not just a critical approach to discourse analysis but 'critical theory as well as critical applications.' CDA/CDS looks beyond an analysis of text and traditional notions of discourse to incorporate social phenomena and non-verbal discourse events, such as with semiotic, multimodal, and visual forms (van Dijk, 2009a). It is interested in the way discourse reifies existing power relations, perpetuating social hierarchies that lead to continual social dominance and marginalization (Wodak & Meyer, 2015; van Dijk, 2009a). As mentioned in section 3.1. above, it is problem-oriented and is a transdisciplinary field of study that may begin with analyzing semiotic data but whose ambition is to implement critique in a much wider social context, seeking to improve upon flawed aspects of society as they are identified through rigorous analysis. In many ways, those who practice CDA/CDS can be viewed as social activists as they push to right the wrongs, of which there are many, in social relations. Fairclough (2010) clarifies CDA work as work that satisfies three defining characteristics:

> 1. It is not just analysis of discourse (or more concretely texts), it is part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process. 2. It is not just general commentary on discourse, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts. 3. It is not just descriptive, it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive

aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them. (p. 10-11)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) or critical discourse studies (CDS) has its origins in Critical Linguistics (CL), which emerged with writings such as *Language and Control* (Fowler et al., 1979) and *Language and Ideology* (Kress & Hodge, 1979). These scholars began to connect the elements of critical social theory with the functional nature of language, concluding that ideology is certainly embedded in our everyday construction of language and that there is a way to uncover that through systematic analysis. Critical linguistics insisted "that all representation is mediated, moulded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium (language in this case) used for representation; it challenges common sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance" (Fowler, 1996, p. 4). Though much has changed and evolved since CL has matured into the field now known as CDA/CDS, the same basic principles of guidance have persisted: that ideology is encoded in language, that the ideological constructions have a footing in related social practices, that language users are socialized to these ideological constructions (meaning they are reproducible), and that the goal of analysis is 'reformative' in that it seeks to eradicate the false, biased and distorted social consciousness through which the ideology permeates (Kress, 1985; Fowler, 1996).

Not long after the publications of 1979 (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979), the field of CDA emerged in 1991 through the meeting of the 'powerhouse' of original CDA scholars, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen, and Gunther Kress (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; 2015). The discussions occurring at this meeting planted the seeds that grew into the many theories and methodologies that have come to be the focus of CDA scholarship, which have much advanced the original ideas of the CL scholars as well as the initial approaches used in the discipline. What began as a rich discussion of theories, methods, and differences in approach evolved into an internationally renowned linguistic discipline influencing new linguistic scholars and generating impactful research that bring to light many of the social injustices that have existed for so long.

As mentioned above, CDA aims its critique not just at discursive practice, but at the social practices that have forged and worked in tandem with it. This essentially calls for two levels of analysis: one addressing the linguistic piece, identifying discursive events that serve to perpetuate ideologies that espouse dominance or inequality, the second addressing the political and social climate that sanctions the use of discourse as an instrument of manipulation and reproduction of such ideological constructions. What is central to the practice and theory of CDA is analyzing the complex relationship between these macro- (social issues of

dominance and inequality) and micro-notions (their linguistic realizations) (van Dijk, 1993; Hart & Cap, 2014). It is known and expected that critical discourse analysts take a strong sociopolitical stance when engaging in their research, van Dijk (1993) offering a most profound summary of what that looks like: "Their hope…is change through critical understanding. Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality. Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice…the criteria of their work is solidarity with those who need it most" (p. 252). These are the principles that the work of CDA scholars is predicated on.

3.4.1. Sociocognitive approach.

Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach (2008; 2009a; 2014a; 2014b; 2015) is important to discuss in this research study because the diverging discourses of d/Deaf people are shaped by how people think about d/Deaf people. Those thoughts, born out of historical contexts discussed in the previous chapter, are integral to the linguistic choices people make to communicate about this social group. Van Dijk (2009a) proposes a 'discourse—cognition—society' triangle, which recognizes the function of cognitive phenomena in the relationship between discourse and societal structures. A sociocognitive approach is concerned with the "mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups" (van Dijk, 2009a, p. 64). Although CDS scholars often address the dialectal relationship between discourse and society (to be discussed further in section 3.4.2), van Dijk (2014b) argues that this relationship is only possible when cognition facilitates it. He theorizes that social structures must first be interpreted and represented cognitively, resulting in both mental and context models (van Dijk, 2009a), before one is able to draw from those mental representations to produce discourse constitutive of that social situation (van Dijk, 2014b).

Mental models are formed over time, representing the 'embodied' experiences of social situations an individual has lived, and are multimodal in nature, including multisensorial connections (i.e. auditory, visual) to those events along with the knowledge gained from said experience and personal opinions or emotions about it (van Dijk, 2014b). These models, built through social situations and the discourse exposed to during such events, create meanings that are stored and then drawn on during future social situations and discourse production. Mental models are used in conjunction with socially shared knowledge when engaging in discursive events (van Dijk, 2014b), and are important in making sense of thoughts or feelings towards, and resulting discourse used when talking about particular social groups. Koller (2014)

maintains that "collective identities are understood as socio-cognitive representations of the group self, including its attributes, relational behavior, goals and values, which are constituted and negotiated by the interactions within a discourse community" (p. 148). I would further this statement by saying that collective identities include both those that are ascribed to a social group, of which one is not a member, and those that are avowed, or owned by the actual group being represented (social representation to be discussed further in section 3.6.3). Once these sociocognitive representations are formed, they are reinforced through discourse (Koller, 2014).

The dialectical relationship spoken of in critical discourse studies, then, exists between all three points of the triangle, with discourse, cognition, and society having profound influences on one another, and none of which can be considered completely 'discrete', which Fairclough (2010) defines as "not fully separate in the sense that one excludes the other" (p. 4). Language use, as van Dijk (2014a) contends, is simultaneously a "linguistic, cognitive, socio-cultural and political act" and "discourse can only have social and political conditions and consequences if we recognize that discourse is produced by language users as social participants who not only speak and act, but also think, know and feel" (p. 144).

3.4.2. Dialectical-relational approach.

Fairclough (in Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1993; 2009; and 2010) describes his dialectical-relational approach to CDA as both a theoretical and methodological one. Viewing discourse as semiosis, including language but also extra-linguistic factors such as visual images and body language, Fairclough (2009) discusses discourse as "an element of the social process which is *dialectically* related to others" (p. 163). Describing something as dialectically related to something else means to say that they cannot be completely separated from one another, but rather implies a symbiotic or interdependent relationship between the two, where each contributes to and is constituted by an understanding of the other. Fairclough (2010, citing Harvey, 1996) more succinctly states that "each 'internalises' the others without being reducible to them" (p. 231). Analysis conducted in the spirit of the dialectical-relational approach is transdisciplinary and looks beyond the discourse into the relations between discourse and other elements of the social process in order to identify, address, and ultimately overcome the 'social wrongs' of our day (Fairclough, 2010).

The dialectical-relational approach is founded on all the understandings of critical discourse analysis, which is consistent with the fact that Norman Fairclough, as one of the scholars who established the field of CDA, is its developer. An analysis adopting this approach

would go through four stages: "Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect. Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong. Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong. Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 235). Stage 1 largely begins with a social critique, organizing information that describes and validates the social wrong in question, and then identifying a 'semiotic point of entry' (Fairclough, 2009; 2010) for this social wrong. The semiotic point of entry, in many cases a text or collection of texts, is considered in terms of the macro-strategies that push forward the identified social wrong through the semiotic realization that has come to comprise the text in question.

The main component of stage 2 involves the analysis of the text/s, but in doing so the dialectical-relational approach first insists on an analysis of the dialectical relations between semiosis and the social fabric in which it sits, such as social practices, texts or events since, as emphasized in his approach, each of these elements are fundamental in the forming, disseminating and legitimizing of those to which they are dialectically linked (Fairclough, 2010). The act of analyzing these dialectical relations will reveal obstacles to addressing the social wrong identified in stage 1. Understanding the macro-strategies and selecting examples of texts, visual images, websites, etc. that exemplify them allows the analyst to determine the focus for analysis, whether it be argumentation, legitimation, manipulation, ideology, or identity, and carry it out as part of stage 2. The next two stages take what was learned from the dialectical and semiotic analyses to consider how the social wrong fits into society and whether the overall social order is benefitting from said social wrong (stage 3), and if not what counter-strategies exist, can be operationalized effectively and have acceptable semiotic responses in the larger social context (stage 4). Because this approach focuses on social elements outside of semiosis in addition to realizations of it, it is an approach to CDA that is particularly well-suited for transdisciplinary research, "bringing to [the researchers] an enhancement of their capacity to address often neglected semiotic dimensions of their research objects, as well as taking from them perspectives and research logics which can contribute to the further development of the dialectical-relational approach itself" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 251).

3.5. Methods of CDA

Several theories, such as those described in the previous two sections, serve as underpinnings of CDA studies. In developing or subscribing to certain theories of CDA, one generally follows aligning discourse theories, social theories, and linguistic theories that influence the approach used to analyze specific instances of discourse. It is this operationalization of the larger theories

of CDA that allow analysts to uncover meaning in discourse that cannot be derived from a simple reading of the content. Wodak & Meyer (2009) explain the complexity of this operationalization, pointing out that the "primary issue here is how the various approaches of CDA are able to 'translate' their theoretical claims into instruments and methods of analysis. In particular, the emphasis is on *mediation* between 'grand theories' as applied to larger society, and concrete instances of social interaction which result in texts" (p. 23). Even with the complexity, many methods have been created and adopted with much success in the field of CDA studies. The previous two sections were meant to highlight some of the theories that have influenced the development of the study presented in this thesis, and more will be discussed in the following sections as well. While several approaches of CDA exist, I chose to elaborate on just the two that were used for analysis in this study. That said, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), presented in the next section, can be considered a more overarching approach with several methods of analyzing discourse stemming from it, three of which are included in this thesis and are described in the following sections. Details of specific methodologies as they pertain to this thesis will be described in chapter 4.

3.5.1. Systemic Functional Linguistics and CDA.

As mentioned in the previous section, studies in CDA include various approaches to analyzing discourse in a way that will facilitate the research detailed in this thesis, some of which include tools provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985; Halliday, 1994a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). These approaches have the ability to uncover the latent strategies used in the representation of social groups, a major goal of this research. SFL has many applications, as detailed in Halliday (1994a), all of which share one foundational element that is to analyze and understand texts as they are produced and negotiated within social and cultural contexts (Eggins, 2004), the overall goal being "to understand the quality of texts: why a text means what it does, and why it is valued as it is" (Halliday, 1994a, p. xxix, as cited in Eggins, 2004). A 'text' here refers to any instance of linguistic expression in which people engage, be it written or spoken, with text being best understood to be "*encoded* in sentences, not composed by them" (Halliday, 1994b, p. 24). Halliday (1975) defines language as social semiotic, as is true of the CDA/CDS perspective on discourse, and it is through this social semiotic environment that people build and exchange meaning, as well as negotiate relationships (Halliday, 1994b). To engage in language use is to engage in meaning making, in which case language can be considered 'functional' as its function is to create meaning, meanings which are then influenced by the context in which they are created and exchanged.

Language use, then, is "functional, semantic, contextual and semiotic" (Eggins, 2004, p. 3) in the SFL tradition, and analysts within this tradition investigate linguistic interactions to discover how people use and structure language to create various types of meaning.

SFL "is distinctive… in that it seeks to develop both a theory about language as a social process *and* [serves as] an analytical methodology which permits the detailed and systematic description of language patterns" (Eggins, 2004, p. 21). An analysis of language in the SFL tradition assigns meaning to the structure and ordering of clauses, going beyond the content of the sentence to include contextual information and implicit meaning revealed through the linguistic choices of the interactants (Thompson, 2014). Thompson further stresses the importance of 'choice' in understanding function: "If we want to examine what a piece of language is intended to do (i.e. its function), we cannot avoid thinking in terms of choice. Clearly, speakers do not go round producing de-contextualized grammatically correct sentences: they have reasons for saying something and for saying it in the way they do" (p. 9). Following this understanding, we do not engage in language without intention, which means that text deconstruction performed within this paradigm, if done with the goal of critical analysis, has the potential to reveal strategies in discourse that are used to preserve existing social realities and preclude any changes to those realities.

Several scholars have employed the techniques of SFL within the spirit of CDA (Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014; Reyes, 2011; van Leeuwen, 2009; Martin, 2005; Polovina-Vukovic, 2004; Eggins & Slade, 1997, to name a few) and these frameworks work well in conjunction with one another due to their complementary perspectives on discourse. Martin and Wodak (2003, p. 2) contend that "co-operation flows from CDA's concern with discourse in the service of power and strategies for addressing inequality and Halliday's conception of linguistics as an ideologically committed form of social action." In this respect, these approaches "analyse language as shaped by the social functions it has come to serve" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27) and are mainly concerned with the contexts and purposes of language use (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1996) and how such things are exhibited in texts. Linguistic choices convey not only meaning in a contextual or co-textual sense but may also uncover an exertion of power through the manipulation of grammatical structure. This realization may be opaque to recipients of the text since, as Thompson (2004) emphasizes "it is so natural-seeming that we can easily overlook what is going on" (p. 87), but it can be revealed through a systematic analysis of the text. These revelations are discovered through patterns identified in three modes of meaning, ideational, interpersonal, and textual, meanings which are created and communicated simultaneously. The following three sections will define these functions, or

modes of meaning, and introduce the systematic analyses that are used to critically examine the selected texts in this thesis to identify patterns of discourse that uphold particular ideologies.

3.5.1.1. Ideational function of language.

Although the three functions of language described in this and the following two sections have independent definitions, they all work together in the meaning making process and are performed simultaneously in a text. Halliday & Webster (2014) point out that "[t]he significance of these three functions of language is not simply that they represent the varied nature of the demands that we make on language, but also that they are incorporated into its internal structure" (p. 12). They are present in each and every use of language and in all social contexts (Halliday, 1994b).

The first of these functions is the ideational function and it is the function through which people talk about the world, both the internal world and the external world (Thompson, 2014), while at the same time expressing their own experiences and as such their views on the world around them (Halliday, 1994b). From the perspective of this function, language is used to define, based on an individual's view of the world, what is going on, who or what is involved in these 'goings-on' (i.e. the 'doer' and the 'done-to') and what attributes they possess, as well as circumstances or parameters within which the 'goings-on' are situated (Thompson, 2014). Through this function, a person is expressing the reality of the world as they understand it, a reality that may or may not be shared by recipients of the text but which can be negotiated through the following two functions, interpersonal and textual.

The approaches used to examine the ideational function of language in this thesis are transitivity analysis and an analysis of social actor representation, both of which will be explained in more detail in the next chapter, which focuses on methodology. To offer a crude explanation of each here before a more in-depth description, a transitivity analysis uses functional labels applied to each element of a clause to identify the processes ('goings-on'), participants (people involved in the processes, 'doers' and 'done-tos'), and circumstances (place, time, manner, etc.) (Thompson, 2004; 2014). These elements describe the internal and external worlds of the text producer. Understanding the individual functions of each element of the clauses that make up the text helps to identify patterns in the structure that may uncover connections to certain embedded ideologies (e.g. having the same person, or group of people, appear as the 'doer/s' in every clause, suggesting dominance). Social actor representation, proposed by van Leeuwen (1996, 2008), takes a more detailed look at the participants described above, working to reveal how linguistic strategies for identifying (or in some cases, not

identifying) participants has an impact on the level of agency afforded them in the text, which, as we learned in section 3.4.1, has a resulting impact on how agency is afforded those participants cognitively and socially beyond the text.

3.5.1.2. Interpersonal function of language.

It is known from section 3.5.1 that people engage in language use to build and exchange meaning, as well as negotiate relationships, and so it is reasonable to say that perhaps the main purpose of language is to communicate to and interact with others. It is through language use that we are able to establish and maintain relationships with other people (Thompson, 2014). The interpersonal function of language allows us to do this as the "participatory function of language" (Halliday, 1994b). Role relationships are suggested and negotiated through the interpersonal function of language, whether they be in spoken or written texts, and it is through this function that the text producer "intrudes himself into the context of the situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgements and seeking to influence the attitudes and behavior of others" (Halliday, 1994b, p. 27). The speaker or writer may also want to provide information to the hearer/reader or perhaps solicit information from them in the case they believe the hearer/reader possesses information they do not (Thompson, 2004; 2014). The concept of the interpersonal function "subsumes a broad range of phenomena, such as the vocative, deixis, attitudinal lexical items, uses of conjunctive items invoking the speaker's communicative role, as well as intonational features" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 240, as cited in Davidse & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2008).

Appraisal theory, developed by Martin & White (2005), analyzes evaluation in language and is used in this thesis to investigate the interpersonal function of language in the selected texts. The system of appraisal identifies elements of language that exemplify affect (how one reacts emotionally to something), judgement (how one judges the actions or state of being of others), and appreciation (how one evaluates aesthetic qualities of something) (Martin, 1995; Martin & White, 2005; Hart, 2014). Unlike the approaches to analyzing the ideational function of language, Appraisal Theory is not limited to certain grammatical components for identifying each of these three elements, but rather argues that affect, judgement and appreciation can be expressed through various grammatical components. Furthermore, Martin & White (2005) argue that the language of evaluation does not need to contain an explicit 'inscribed' word or phrase which identifies it, but can rather be 'invoked' based on the context and existing schema of the recipient (Hart, 2014). An Appraisal analysis, therefore, provides an understanding of the text producer's attitudes and judgements as well as how they may be

put forth in language to try and influence others' attitudes and behaviors. A more detailed explanation of Appraisal Theory will be provided in the following chapter.

3.5.1.3. Textual function of language.

The ideational and interpersonal functions of language gain their meaning when combined with the textual function of language, which is concerned with the structure and organization of the text. Meaning is constructed and evolves based on how text producers put texts together, how messages interact with other messages, and how they fit within the cultural and social context in which they are formed (Thompson, 2014; Halliday & Webster, 2014; Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1994b). Texts are connected, each part contextualized through its position in the text and through references made to earlier mentioning of things (Halliday & Webster, 2014). Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) regard the textual function as "an enabling or facilitating function, since both the others – construing experience and enacting interpersonal relations – depend on being able to build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discourse flow, and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along" (p. 30-31). All three functions of language are happening simultaneously in a text and they all work in conjunction with one another to produce and communicate meaning.

3.5.2. Corpus linguistics and CDA.

Corpora can play an influential role in a CDA study (as shown in Baker & McEnery, 2005; Baker et al., 2008; KhosraviNik, 2010; Baker, 2010, to name a few). Although not a traditional method of critical discourse analysis where the focus is on text analysis perhaps from one or more documents, corpus analysis has recently become noted as one of the more useful methods of capturing the essence of what is happening in discourse and revealing how power is exerted in discourse.

Individual text analysis is often good for identifying patterns within a certain text; however, the benefit of using a corpus to find these patterns is that corpora can show the "*incremental* effect of discourse" (Baker, 2006, p. 13). Identifying one instance of a token being used in a certain way, such as might be found in a single text analysis, does little to prove the presence of an underlying hegemonic discourse at work. Seeing this same association within thousands of texts repeatedly is much better evidence to suggest a true relationship of those tokens and perhaps also a discourse strategy being employed. Hoey (2005) explains that these relationships become mentally 'primed' as they are frequently encountered within the same linguistic contexts, co-occurring with the same tokens meaning that "every word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative effects of an individual's encounters

with the word" (p. 8-13). This argument suggests that what is found about a certain token from a corpus analysis gives a very real indication of how people in the world use it, providing the corpus is large enough and reliably built.

Using a corpus also has the potential to counteract overt bias in the data collection. Discourse analysts, when working in CDA, have the goal of demystifying the way power is exerted through discourse and as such have a danger of subconsciously selecting texts that will support their suspicions. Corpus analysis adds a unique advantage in that it can help reduce this researcher bias because "the researcher has to account for large-scale patterns, rather than being able to selectively choose a few articles that illustrate a particular stance" (Baker, 2010, p. 313). This is not to suggest that text analysis is not useful. In fact, when used in conjunction with a corpus analysis the analyst is able to triangulate their research and show not only what has been uncovered about the perception of experience (ideational meanings), role relationships and attitudes (interpersonal meanings) from the in-depth text analysis but also the repeated word associations found in a wide range of texts, which can provide "much better evidence for an underlying hegemonic discourse which is made explicit through the word pairing than a single case" (Baker, 2006, p. 13). These multiple types of analyses serve to ensure the validity of the findings as well as strengthen the claims made since the data analysis and interpretations are more robust having approached the data analysis in different ways (Layder, 1993, as cited in Baker, 2006).

3.6. Perceptions of Social Identity

At its core, the research presented in this thesis is meant to question social perceptions of d/Deaf people in the US and how those perceptions discursively manifest in texts that are not produced by but that talk about d/Deaf people. The following three sections address important scholarship that links to this phenomenon of social perception and the use of discourse, discussing the interplays of discourse and ideology, discourse and identity, and the concept of social representation. To begin, a brief introduction to social identity theory should set the stage for the development of the latter three. Social identity theory, emerging in the late 1960s and early 1970s through the work of Henri Tajfel, brought to the field of psychology interest in the ideas of social perception, discrimination, social comparison and prejudice, and social categorization, to name a few (Hogg, 2006). Tajfel (1959) first touched on these concepts with an investigation into the social implications of categorization where he found individuals had a tendency to accentuate similarities among items found to be in the same category, while also accentuating differences amongst those items found to be in different categories (Hogg, 2006).

Tajfel furthered this work related to social categorization, analyzing the role it plays in social prejudice (1969) and then by demonstrating its impact on people's propensity to discriminate against those different from themselves (Tajfel et al., 1971). In later publications, he offered evidence to suggest that the tendencies found in his 1959 study extended to social relations where people accentuate similarities and differences based on in-group and out-group membership (Tajfel, 1974), (cited in Hogg, 2006), as well as demonstrated proof that this emphasis on similarities and differences is how people were able to formulate a social identity for themselves and others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, as cited in Augoustinos et al., 2006). Tajfel, like Marx, "believed that social forces configured individual action" (Hogg, 2006, p. 112).

Tajfel's theory of social identity aligns well with what has been presented so far about the dialectical relationship between discourse, cognition and society. Just as he believes that 'social forces configure individual action', the theories presented so far in this chapter take this theory of social psychology one step further, insisting that these social forces also configure individual cognition and language use, and moreover, that the subsequent cognition and language use help to configure, or perhaps re-configure, social forces. The next three sections will elaborate on how this looks in terms of discourse production and identity ascription.

3.6.1. Discourse and ideology.

It is worth revisiting the idea presented in the discussion of van Dijk's sociocognitive approach in opening this section on discourse and ideology, emphasizing the relationship between language and thought as it is this relationship that allows for the transmission, whether intentional or unintentional, of various ideologies through everyday social interactions. Kress & Hodge (1979) describe language as being immersed in society, and as "the practical consciousness of society" (p. 6), a consciousness that is inherently biased and distorted. They simplify the definition of ideology as a collection of ideas that is presented from a particular perspective, clarifying that despite the prominence of ideologies in society, there is no compass to suggest the credibility of their status or whether or not the ideas presented are reliable (Kress & Hodge, 1979). They then go on to articulate one of the most compelling arguments for how ideology relates to discourse:

> Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication. Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. In this way, hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed. Language is ideological in another, more political, sense of that word: it involves systematic distortion in the service of

> class interest. Yet the two kinds of ideology are not entirely distinct, in theory or in practice. Science is a systematization from a point of view: so is a political ideology. Political ideology is liable to project fantasy versions of reality, but science deals in hypothetical constructs whose status is not always so very different (p. 6).

It has already been stated that language use consists of a series of choices, and analysts use these choices to infer the desired function and intention behind each utterance conveyed in a text. It is also reasonable to claim, in terms of the context of this chapter, that ideologies are codified in discourse through the choices made when producing it. As language is productive, the same information can be presented in limitless ways; the choices one makes in presenting it reflect their own social reality, and with it their ideological underpinnings.

In more recent years, many other scholars have researched and discussed the way ideology manifests in discourse (van Dijk, 1989; 1998; 2009b; 2011; Menz, 1989; Wodak, 2006; Milani & Johnson, 2010; Wodak & Richardson, 2013; Hart, 2014, to name a few). Of course, discourse is not the only means through which ideology is communicated; it is also developed and reproduced through various social and semiotic practices (van Dijk, 1998). However, this thesis addresses only the discursive transmission of it through texts. As section 3.4.1 already discussed how mental representations come to influence language use and as such how ideologies make their way into our language, I will not discuss that process in more detail here. Instead I will continue on by discussing what ideologies do once they've made their way into our discourse. Van Dijk (1998) suggests that ideological discourse has several functions including, "a display of group knowledge, membership and allegiance; comparison and normalization of values and evaluation criteria; evaluating social practices; socialization; and persuasion and manipulation" (p. 230). Comparing and normalizing values and evaluation criteria is often what happens when people talk about d/Deaf people (elaborated on in the previous chapter) and Mullins (1972, as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009) also cites this as one of the central characteristics of ideologies, asserting that "they are capable of guiding individuals' evaluations" (p. 8). These evaluations have the potential of evolving into long-lasting representations of entire social groups.

It is my belief that all discourse that can be classified as ideological in nature can also be considered manipulative, whether the intent is to manipulate or not. This is because ideologies persist through reproduction, or are made to last through the continued use of social practices and/or discourse that embed them. However, this ideological discourse passes through so many individuals, who may or may not be aware of the partiality that envelops it, thinking

they are simply being informed or are informing others, as Kress and Hodge (1979) suggest through the quote above, yet without the knowledge that they are participants in the reproduction of said ideological discourse. Van Dijk (1998) explains that this is a complex and co-operative process involving those who are in the know and those who are not. Reproduction, he argues, "implies socialization, learning, inculcation or adoption by young or new members, of the socially shared representations of a group" (p. 229). This is especially problematic when the group being represented is not part of the discussion and so are unable to offer an account of a representation counter to what is presented, which is how this discourse can be considered as manipulative. The view of ideology as a means of manipulation begs an addition to our simplified definition above, which Fairclough (2003) offers: "Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation" (p. 218). Keeping Fairclough's definition in mind, perhaps the most unsettling aspect of ideological discourse is not its existence, but the fact that it is so far ingrained into our everyday cognition, social realities and discourse that our 'choice' to engage in the reproduction of it often goes unnoticed. In this way, it may be reasonable to say that the choices one makes in presenting information do not necessarily reflect their personal ideological underpinnings, but those of a dominant culture that has succeeded in socializing everyone to submit to the ideologies that serve them. This illustrates how consent to continued marginalization can be manufactured (Fairclough, 1989; 2010; 2015) by those in power.

3.6.2. Discourse and identity.

As was introduced in section 3.6, Tajfel's work (1974; and Tajfel & Turner, 1979) exposes the way in which social identities are developed through the emphasizing of similar and different traits of ingroup and outgroup members in the process of social categorization. Of course, if we consider this theory along with the framework of CDA and the theories and methods that are an extension of CDA, it becomes evident that these social categorizations that develop into social identities are built through the production of discourse, and the internalization of the social realities built and transformed through discursive events (Grad & Martín Rojo, 2008). The practice of categorization in the formation of personal identity leads to an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy (Grad & Martín Rojo, 2008), which has the potential to and has resulted in not just a cognitive adoption of difference, but very real social actions of discrimination and dominance, as referenced in much of van Dijk's work (1998, 2002, 2005) as well as in Wodak's work (2001; 2002; and Wodak & Reisigl, 2001).

Although it is more common for scholars to highlight the 'negative-other presentation' for cases of fear-mongering and demonization (Reyes, 2011; Chouliaraki, 2005; Chilton, 2004; Wodak, 2001; 2013; Martín Rojo, 1995), this thesis takes a different focus in representing the 'other' as a case of abnormality, a weaker identity, proposing that positive-self talk is used to comfort ingroup members and remind them that they are strong, healthy and able. Discursive representation of these dichotomous identities, weak vs. strong or incapable vs. capable, are linguistically accomplished in the same way demonization of the 'other' is and can be identified through van Leeuwen's (1996) sociosemantic inventory, which uncovers the representation of social actors as they are produced through discourse (to be explained in further detail in chapter 4). The legitimization of this type of identity construction does not require nearly as much linguistic molding since the ideology of 'normality' is so far embedded in our social practices and cognition that simply demonstrating someone as abnormal through supposed inability is enough for people to adopt the same 'us' and 'them' dichotomy of personal identity. This instantiation of 'self' and 'other' talk deserves more attention in CDA scholarship, as the idea of abnormality in terms of identity construction has been addressed in other fields of research (as demonstrated in the discussion from section 2.5) but very few if any publications address its discursive nature.

3.6.3. Social representation.

Building on what was first introduced in section 3.6.1, it is already understood that ideological representations of groups are socially learned and shared. As an extension to this, van Dijk (1998) contends that it is quite common for texts to be

> *about* other people, usually people who are not present in the ongoing context at all…these *social others* are thus referents of their talk. It is also in this way that the ideologies relating communicative participants to the social others, as members of outgroups, are projected into the meanings of a discourse…these social others are some kind of 'absent participants' in the context…the social others, as part of the outgroup, may be talked *about* but at the same time indirectly, socially and ideologically *addressed*. (p. 225)

Those engaging in text or talk about a social group of which they are not a member, then, have an understanding of that group, constructed through interaction with others who are also outgroup members into a discursive representation of a collective identity (Koller, 2012). The discursive representation comes from a collection of beliefs and shared knowledge, norms and values, as well as attitudes and expectations developed through their own in-group membership

(Koller, 2012), and because of this it is continuously re-constructed and negotiated through exposure to social practices that convey those very things.

The theory of social representation, as with the theory of social identity, comes from the work of a social psychologist, Moscovici (1973; 1984; 1998). This theory explains that social representations, or socio-cognitive representations, as refined by Koller (2012), develop through a social process whereby individuals construct said representation from a bank of shared knowledge (Moscovici, 1973; Flick & Foster, 2007). Flick & Foster (2007) add: "social representations, once developed and elaborated, come to constitute our reality" (p. 197). Our reality, then, is built on beliefs and attitudes manifesting as shared knowledge to form representations that can effectively ascribe a certain identity onto a social group. Augoustinos et al. (2006) maintains this position, explaining that these representations "are symbolic, affective and *ideological* representations of social groups within society which are extensively shared and which emerge and proliferate within the particular social and political milieu of a given historical moment…[they] do not simply exist…[but] are socially and discursively constructed in the course of everyday communication" (p. 95). The fact that this is done based on shared knowledge, and in many cases knowledge that was inherited secondhand rather than ascertained through experience, leaves open the possibility for misclassification and as such perpetuation of ill-perceived identities.

Societal understandings of social groups are built from the identities ascribed through social representations. If a social representation continues to survive, it is sensible to assume that it becomes more firmly ingrained into social norms, is activated more readily when referring to the social group in question, and ultimately makes it less likely to be replaced by a new representation. In the case of d/Deaf people, their identity appears to be situated by the hearing population, setting them apart in some way through a social representation of otherness and a discredited status in the world of normal, who assumes they know how best to represent the d/Deaf population (Oliver, 1990; Hughes, 1999; Beauchamp-Pryor, 2011). The question is whether or not this particular discourse of representation is intended to serve a certain agenda since it could, perhaps, be considered a discourse of hegemony, defined by Kiesling (2006) as an "(unconscious) hegemonic strategy consisted in 'marking the Other': a discursive meta-strategy which situates the speaker as a member of a dominant, or central, social group by creating an 'other,' marginalized category" (p. 264-5). A deliberate strategy to mark d/Deaf people as the other will continue to have deep-penetrating effects on their social status and acceptance in the larger society's reality.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has presented the theoretical perspectives on which the subsequent methodology and analyses were established. In the true spirit of a CDA study, the following research has been built on the understanding and identification of social inequality, and the resulting marginalization that has accompanied it. The social wrong has been evidenced (discussed in detail in chapter 2) and recognized as particularly problematic in seeking resolution, with obstacles stemming from deeply ingrained social ideologies of incapacity and difference to nationally sanctioned and encouraged policies that further deposit connections between d/Deaf people and an 'othered' status. The analysis that has been undertaken in this thesis resolves to expose discursive realizations of this social wrong in an attempt to attract attention to seemingly innocuous discourse practiced everyday that, if modified, has the potential to impact the social and cognitive understandings of this social group. The recent chapter has laid out how it is possible for these ideologies, representations and resulting cases of dominance and discrimination to be formed; my hope is that an extensive analysis of discourse surrounding this group can also reveal how it is possible to be reversed.

Chapter 4: Methodological Approach and Data Collection

4.1. Aims of Research Study Revisited

As stated in preceding chapters, this study aims to uncover how discourse producers represent d/Deaf people in America, specifically the US, through a thorough investigation of contemporary American English, years 1990-2015. The investigation uses two analytical tools from corpus linguistics (CL) (concordance and collocate analyses), as well as three methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (transitivity, social actor representation and appraisal analyses). Combining the methods of CL and CDA is a newer approach to linguistic research, though recent studies that have done so (e.g. Mautner, 2005; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Baker et al., 2008; KhosraviNik, 2010; Baker, 2010; and others) have shown the combination to be quite fruitful. Combining CL and CDA methods will achieve a more well-rounded understanding of the data. The various methods used will serve as checks and balances of one another. Since each analysis method examines the discourse in a unique way they will all yield different results, which will reveal the inner workings of all layers of the texts and in turn will provide a more holistic view of the discursive representation of d/Deaf people in contemporary North America.

In reviewing the literature related to Deaf studies and disability discourse, a sphere of discourse within which reference to d/Deafness is often found, it is easy for me to hypothesize the existence of a discourse that is somewhat hostile and non-inclusive. Despite a modern shift in policy that focuses on equal access and accommodations, the literature shows that the social paradigm that views this population as abnormal and incapacitated stands strong. Such a paradigm has implications for the negotiation of power relations and the equitable distribution of agency.

Halliday's (1985; 1994a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) systemic functional linguistics is relevant to this study, particularly an analysis of the ideational and interpersonal functions of language as they represent ideas about the world and interactions between members of society, respectively, through which these power relations are manifested. Transitivity, van Leeuwen's (1996; 2008) analysis of social actor representation and Martin & White's (2005) system of appraisal are significant in order to complete a systematic analysis of these two metafunctions (all of which are described in detail in section 4.4.). A look through the lenses of these theories will explore how the discourse assigns power and agency to social actors, how

it negotiates these social positions and ultimately how it represents d/Deaf people in the US with respect to other social actors.

Furthering the hypothesis of a hostile and non-inclusive discourse, the literature suggests the Deaf community's disdain for a disabled classification, wishing to be seen as Deaf, not dumb; cultured, not impaired. The link from impaired to disabled, as described in chapter two, made me wonder about the discourse of 'hearing-impaired' and its relationship to or departure from the discourse of 'd/Deaf'. Anecdotally, through working within this community for over a decade, I have learned of the aversion to being labeled as 'hearing-impaired'. The application of these methods of analysis to two sets of data separated by reference term will reveal not only how d/Deaf people are discursively represented, but the discrepancies between the discourse surrounding 'd/Deaf' and the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired'. The combination of analyses will display power relations and how they are negotiated through language in specific individual texts, as well as trends present over thousands of texts through an in-depth qualitative corpus analysis.

4.2. Building the Corpora – Data Description and Collection Strategies

In order to study the discourse used to represent d/Deaf people in the US, I had to ensure the language being analyzed used the reference terms being researched to address the population. As general corpora of American English (e.g. COCA) lack a high occurrence rate of the terms 'd/Deaf' and 'hearing-impaired' in general (a search of the COCA revealed only ~3000 uses of 'd/Deaf', at least 50% of which were idiomatic expressions of the term, and ~160 uses of hearing-impaired, respectively), it was necessary to create specialized corpora in order to address the questions in this research study. This required me to hand select each individual text to be included in the corpora without allowing my bias to dictate the inclusion or rejection of a text. This proved to be more of a challenge with the term 'd/Deaf' since this term can often be used in idiomatic expressions such as "the company was deaf to its employees' concerns about rising healthcare premiums." Although the idiomatic usage of this term is worthy of study, an investigation of these usages is outside of the scope of this particular study. As such, idiomatic expressions of 'd/Deaf', or instances where the term was used in a tagline to suggest accommodations were available for this audience (e.g. [d/Deaf] or [hearing-impaired] "individuals should call [###] for accommodated services") were filtered out in an effort to make the data as purely as possible that which uses these two reference terms as a way to talk about the population in question.

The following sections will discuss in detail the strategies used to collect the texts used in these specialized corpora, the text genres used to guide data collection and the rationale for selecting said genres, the data ultimately used in the analysis, and the limitations to the data set collected.

4.2.1. Data collection strategies.

Targeted data for this research study is from several different genres and sub-genres of contemporary American English (ca. 1990—2015), which has been pooled into two main categories: 'd/Deaf' texts and 'hearing-impaired' texts. The category of 'd/Deaf' texts consists of texts from the appropriate genres that contain the use of the term 'd/Deaf' when referencing a member, or members, of the population in question. These texts were found by using 'd/Deaf', or a variation of this term, as a search term during the data collection phase. Similarly, those texts found in the category of 'hearing-impaired' include texts from each genre that use the term 'hearing-impaired', or a variation of this term, when referring to a person, or persons, who is/are a part of the d/Deaf population. Despite these different categories and different approaches to searching, it is possible that texts in either category may contain both terms. However, the texts were discovered through an association with the main search term and so have been placed in their respective category based on that.

The bulk of the texts in both categories come from the genre of media and are mainly newspaper texts found through the Nexis database, which was accessed through the Lancaster University library. When searching for 'd/Deaf' texts through Nexis, two search terms were used: 'deaf' OR 'deafness'. When searching for 'hearing-impaired' texts, 'hearing-impaired' OR 'hearing-impairment' were used as the search terms. These were searched a year at a time through selecting the custom date option and entering 1 January – 31 December for each year, 1990—2015. The search was limited to US Newspapers and Wires, and I excluded wires from the search results to avoid getting too many redundant articles.

Searches for 'd/Deaf' texts always yielded over 1500 articles per year, and beginning in 1997 through 2015 over 3000 articles were discovered per year so the results were reduced to 1000 by the Nexis database to make the data more digestible (see spreadsheet in electronic file, Appendix U, for specifics about number of results per year). Those articles were pooled from 92 different news sources (national, regional, local, and college news sources) and organized newest to oldest. Searches for the 'hearing-impaired' texts yielded anywhere from nearly 300 up to 2000 for any given year and were pooled from 80 different newspapers. I selected five articles from each month of the year, totaling to 60 articles per year and 1,560

overall for each data set. To select the articles, I simply chose them in the order they appeared in the search results, assuming they used the term as described above to reference members of the population in question, and advanced to the next month after five had been satisfied from the previous month.

Since Nexis provides the researcher with the context in which the search term is found and the number of hits it has in that particular article, it was easy to read the line of context and skip those articles that did not fit the description without having to read the article and allow my subconscious bias to accept or reject it based on content. This approach was not always successful since sometimes the context was missing, or what seemed appropriate was often only a caption for a photo in the article and not part of the actual article text. I also chose not to include articles containing the same content, or repetitive articles that were published in the same newspaper month after month so as to get as much diversity as possible. There were also times when I would skip over articles to collect the one listed after because it had a substantial amount more hits. My rationale for this was that it would be more likely for an article containing ten hits of the search term to be directly focused on d/Deaf people than it would be for an article containing only one hit, leaving me with data better suited to pursue the endeavors of this research. This does not mean I never collected articles containing only one hit, in fact this happened many times, these were only skipped over if one of the articles in the immediate vicinity contained many more hits.

All other text collection was also done by digital means. Legal documents (a genre also shared by both data sets) were mainly found on law library websites as well as government websites, such as the Deaf Law website, the Americans with Disabilities Act website, the Americans for Effective Law Enforcement website and others. Many of these sites allowed me to search case law or other legal documents via search term making it a fairly straightforward process to access the documents needed for this data set. Since there were not an abundance of texts to which I was allowed access and that used the reference terms, I did not discriminate against which texts I chose to include as I did with the media texts.

Educational texts, also a genre represented in both data sets, were collected through various search strategies. Some were found through specific professional journals, some through government or organization websites, and others through an Internet search engine. Lancaster University's library website was used to search professional journals where 'education' and 'teaching' were used as search terms to find appropriate journals. After ensuring the journal was a publication from the US, I accessed each individually and performed a second search within that specific journal for either 'd/Deaf' or 'hearing-impaired' depending

on the data set for which I was collecting. Collection for the other sub-genres was less systematic since there exists no formal database from which one can search for texts that discuss educational policies for d/Deaf children or guidance for teachers working with d/Deaf children. As such, I used an Internet search engine to search for these items and selected texts found on school websites or those websites/organizations associated with the educational profession. For a complete list of collected texts including the source, the method of search, search terms used, title, and respective genres, please see Appendices T and U (electronic files).

There is one discrepancy in the text genres between the two corpora, which exists because deaf-directed documents do not use the term 'hearing-impaired', and it is more common for professional-directed documents (i.e. documents written by 'professionals', such as speech pathologists, audiologists, etc.) to incorporate the term 'hearing-impaired' than 'd/Deaf'. Splitting these to their respective data sets seemed appropriate and a good way to balance the size of each. Similar to collecting texts for the educational genre, collection of deaf-directed and professional-directed texts required a number of different search methods. Since deaf-directed texts are to be those texts that are composed with a d/Deaf audience in mind, I went directly to a few websites where I thought I might find these types of texts (e.g. Street Leverage, National Association of the Deaf, Gallaudet University, and others). From there I collected texts from different sections of the websites, many from the 'about' section or the section about the mission of the organization, if there was such a section. Outside of the organization websites, I also did an Internet search engine query to find the other texts for this genre. All texts included in the corpora can be found in the same appendices referenced above.

A similar process was followed for the collection of professional-directed texts. Roughly half of the texts from this genre are journal articles, which were located through the Lancaster University library website from searching the terms 'audiology', 'hearing', 'otolaryngology', and 'speech.' Once I found appropriate journals published in the US, I searched within each individual journal for the term 'hearing-impaired', where I uncovered the articles included in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. The remaining texts for this genre were found through various other websites, all discovered through a search for 'audiology hearing impairment' in Google. This search turned up websites such as the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, Cochlear, Ltd. and The Gift of Hearing Foundation, to name a few, where the other half of the professional-directed texts were procured.

The genres described above, and the distribution of texts amongst these genres, were chosen in an effort to achieve a sample of texts that is as representative as possible of this language variety, described by McEnery & Wilson (2001, p. 30) as a corpus "which provides

us with as accurate a picture as possible of the tendencies of that variety, including their proportions."

4.2.2. Description of data.

As mentioned in the previous section, the texts targeted for this dataset come from contemporary American English, defined for this research study as those texts published between the years 1990-2015. The span is indicative of the language surrounding the d/Deaf population in the US the year of and those following the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 (passed on 26 July 1990). There are few other landmark occasions where the rights and status of d/Deaf people in the US were so evident as after the passage of the ADA, which makes this a suitable timeframe within which to study discourse of d/Deafness and hearing-impairment. While the purpose of this study is not diachronic in nature, it is data driven and as such has the opportunity to reveal general discourse around d/Deaf people during this 26-year window. The focus, however, is the discursive representation of the d/Deaf population as demonstrated through the language of this entire span of time.

Each corpus was made up of close to 1.4 million words (1,437,637 words for the 'hearing-impaired corpus and 1,383,156 words for the 'd/Deaf corpus), or nearly 3 million words in total (for breakdown of word counts see Appendices C and D). As such, results of the analysis will be discussed in raw frequency as normalized frequency is only necessary when comparing two corpora of 'markedly different sizes' (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 52-53). The length of each text collected varied. Media texts generally remained at 1,000 words or less, though there were a few outliers that went higher than 1,000 words. Legal documents were generally longer, some reaching 7,000 words in length. Educational, professional-directed and deaf-directed documents consisted of a wide range of text lengths depending on the actual text. Journal articles tended to be longer (~5,000 words) whereas website, recruitment, advertising, etc. information was usually around 500 words or less. Overall, the media texts made up the bulk of the word count in both sets of texts (~1.1 million out of ~1.4 million in both data sets—see Appendices C and D), which is appropriate since the general public in the US is more likely to be exposed to media texts than texts from the other genres. Since the spread of word count is likely to be balanced out by the number of texts in each genre, I decided to leave all of the documents at their full length rather than selecting chunks of my sample texts, which is sometimes done when building corpora (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006).

Each individual text is detailed in the spreadsheets in Appendices T and U (electronic files submitted with thesis). For the media texts found through Nexis, the spreadsheets provide

the name of the news article; the genre and subgenre (which is consistent amongst all of the media texts); the name of the source, location where it was published, the section of the paper and page where it can be found, and the date of publication; the Nexis search details including the year searched and the specific position within the results (e.g. result 200 of 570); the search terms used; the year of publication; and finally the number of words in the text. In the case of all other texts, the spreadsheets provide the name of the individual text, the genre and subgenre of the text, the specific web address where it can be located, the method of search, the website within which the search occurred, the year of publication and the number of words. As this information is much too vast to provide in a narrative description within the text, I provide it in the appendices so as to be as transparent as possible about the data collection strategy and the actual texts being used in this research.

Only a select few texts were used for the in-depth text analyses, but all were pulled from the data already collected and included with the corpora. In an effort to provide a thorough discussion of these texts but without overwhelming the study with too much text analysis in addition to the detailed qualitative corpus analysis, I only selected six texts from each corpus on which to perform a transitivity, social actor representation and Appraisal analysis. The texts were selected after the completion of the corpus analyses, with the intention of exemplifying the patterns found therein with very precise and specific language from individual texts. As these texts were chosen to emphasize the diverging discourses found in the corpus analyses, selection was made based on title of text (something corresponding or alluding to the discourse patterns already discovered) and were spread out amongst the 1990-2015 years so as to represent the full 26 year span, as opposed to a focused group of texts from only a couple of years. The 12 texts used for in-depth text analyses are included, in their entirety, in appendices E-P, and a table detailing their title, year of publication, location of publication and length can be found in chapter 7.

4.2.3. Limitations.

Despite best efforts to develop a methodology that considers everything and offers comprehensive analysis of the discursive representation of d/Deaf people, it is impossible to conduct research without making some compromises resulting in limitations to the study. Each methodological approach listed has its own limitations. The three text analysis methods offer rich descriptions and specific examples of discursive representation, but do so with a very limited number of texts that cannot be representative of all contemporary American discourse 1990-2015. Of course, whatever is found in the in-depth analyses of these texts is done so

through the lens of the researcher and while s/he may be able to control for internal biases through text selection, etc. it is difficult to turn those biases off completely while conducting a text analysis. This is particularly relevant with the Appraisal analysis as often judgment statements are invoked rather than inscribed, and a different researcher with a separate set of schemas may not find the same invoked statements in the texts. Still what this analysis method offers to the study outweighs the potential for biased argument.

Corpus analysis, while quite useful in finding answers about discursive representation, "will not give researchers a list of discourses around a subject…[but rather]…will point to patterns in language (both frequent and rare) which must then be interpreted in order to *suggest* the existence of discourses" (emphasis added, Baker, 2006, p. 178). It can only show what the researcher finds within these patterns and only as they exist within the data found within the corpus/corpora being studied. Overgeneralizing can happen quite easily especially when dealing with the amount of text present in a large corpus as the volume makes it easy to choose convenient patterns, those that support the hypotheses of the researcher and ignore other patterns that perhaps oppose that view, when faced with hundreds of lines of concordances. On a related note, looking through hundreds of lines of concordances may also lead to a description of language taken out of context since a researcher may not always go back to reference the full text when presented with a concordance line showing the search term in its immediate context (Baker, 2006).

Outside of the limitations of corpus analysis, the construction of the corpora built for this particular study has some limitations. Although the amount of data is sufficient for a research study of this size, the genres included in the data set do not provide an exhaustive look at all language surrounding the d/Deaf population in the US from 1990-2015. One such limitation to the data set is that it includes no spoken data. Most Americans are likely exposed to spoken language much more than any written texts and not including this type of data puts the results at a slight disadvantage. The results of the study can really only provide insights about written contemporary discourse as it pertains to d/Deaf people rather than contemporary discourse on a broader scale. Additionally, despite good rationale for choice in text genres, the inclusion of deaf-directed and professional-directed texts may inherently come with an agenda. The inclusion of these genres is important since they represent the core ideas of a d/Deaf person as seen by two different viewpoints (which were, in part, the impetus for this study). It is impossible to discuss the social position of d/Deaf people in the US without discussing the dichotomy of the pathological and humanistic views (Lane, 1995). These views are represented in the professional-directed and the deaf-directed texts, respectively. The percentage of the

corpora dedicated to these text genres is kept small so as not to cause a circular argument, and while their inclusion is important I am aware that it should be noted as a limitation to the dataset due to the underlying agenda that comes with them.

4.3. Corpus Linguistics Approach and Tools Used

A corpus linguistics (CL) approach can be applied to many branches of linguistics ranging from second language acquisition studies to forensic linguistics studies to studies of language change, all of which can benefit from the tools offered by this approach. Corpus linguistic software can provide what is necessary for a quantitative and/or qualitative analysis of the dataset, making it a very versatile approach to use in linguistic analysis. The following sections will detail the corpus linguistics approach used in this research. It will begin by discussing how corpora can be used in discourse analysis and what a corpus linguistics approach can offer to a study rooted in a CDA framework. The next sections will describe the corpus analysis tools to be used, namely concordances and collocates.

4.3.1. Corpus-based discourse analysis and advantages.

CL has been used for many different purposes and has gained much more attention and popularity as a method through which to approach CDA in the last 10-20 years. Introducing corpus software into discourse analysis began to be discussed in the mid 1990's (Hardt-Mautner, 1995) and its potential has been probed by many scholars since that time (Krishnamurthy, 1996; Hunston, 2002; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Orpin, 2005; Hunston, 2010; Mautner, 2007; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008), all of them dealing with different topics and using various analysis methods to conduct their study. Despite its growing popularity, a corpus methodology is still not considered to be one of the core CDA approaches (Mautner, 2015), although the various studies in which it has been used demonstrate its value.

Mautner (2015) identifies five main contributions CL makes to CDA studies: CL holds some of the same principles as CDA, believing in the systematic and functional nature of language (Gray & Biber, 2011) and its tie to the social; CL offers the ability for critical discourse analysts to conduct their research with a much larger dataset; CL can offer different perspectives on the dataset than what could be achieved in a small-scale text analysis and allows for methodological triangulation (McEnery & Hardie, 2012); the large volume of texts in a corpus-based study reduces researcher bias; and CL can offer insights from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (p. 155-156). It is important to recognize such contributions when discussing the advantages of using CL as the central method of a CDA study.

Despite the contributions noted by Mautner (2015) there are still some concerns about the use of a corpus methodology in a CDA study. One of the main goals of CDA research is to uncover the often latent ideologies within language, and in describing what the findings of the corpus analysis suggest, as far as discourse is concerned, the researcher runs the risk of blurring the ideology of a sole discourse producer with that of an entire society (Hunston, 2002). Another concern is that the analysis of many texts in a large corpus results in a researcher perhaps losing a connection with the text in favor of generalized understanding of discourses present (Martin, 2000). Widdowson (2000) also argues that results of corpus-based analysis produce a reality that is 'contrary to intuition' therefore revealing a reality not experienced in first person awareness and as such not representative of what people know or think they know. Not to mention, a corpus-based analysis explores only the text and none of the extralinguistic factors that may provide more understanding of what influenced the production of that text.

Still, a corpus analysis has the ability to expose trends in language use that have yet to be uncovered; provide specific examples of trends that have already been uncovered; and legitimate or debunk a researcher's intuition about a certain aspect of language in use with empirical data to support that position (Partington, 2003). The researcher can use what is learned through this analysis to extrapolate particular discourses suggested by such trends. Regardless of the fact that discovering discourses is purely based on a human element, Mautner (2007) contends "corpus linguistic techniques can…be harnessed profitably for uncovering relationships between language and the social" (p. 54). The important thing to remember, and this is mentioned elsewhere, is that the corpus does not give the researcher these relationships, rather the researcher must work through data in order to interpret the presence of said relationships.

It is common for the sample size of discourse analysis studies to be rather small as the interest in these studies is the way language is used, which can be uncovered with a relatively small number of texts if one is doing an in-depth line-by-line analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Elliott, 1996). The larger the sample size, the more unmanageable a discourse analytical approach becomes, though it could also be argued that the larger the sample size, the more confident a researcher will be about the trends they have uncovered in the language. Baker (2004) explains, "Corpus-based analysis allows researchers to identify more or less objectively widespread patterns of naturally occurring language and rare instances, both of which may be overlooked in a small-scale analysis" (p. 346). A corpus approach facilitates a large sample size and simultaneously facilitates a qualitative inquiry of the data. Through corpus analysis, the researcher still has the ability to do an in-depth line-by-line analysis but on utterances in

the data set that have been filtered to include only those identified as part of a pattern in the corpus. This kind of targeted discourse analysis leads to more robust discussion of the types of discourse present in the dataset.

Investigating a large collection of texts systematically also combats criticism that the results of CDA studies are as they are due to a biased selection of texts (Widdowson, 1995; Stubbs, 1997). While researchers are inclined to succumb to subconscious biases that are often difficult to acknowledge, a corpus approach is argued to significantly broaden the empirical base of the research and reduce this researcher bias (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 2009). Even though it would be impossible to remove this bias in its entirety, Baker (2006) explains that a corpus approach to discourse analysis can take us one step closer to objectivity since "we at least are able to place a number of restrictions on our cognitive biases" (p. 12). After all, pulling findings from trends appearing in over a thousand texts certainly allows the data speak for itself as opposed to the researcher speaking for it.

4.3.2. Analysis methods in Corpus Linguistics.

It is common to associate corpus linguistics analysis as a form of quantitative analysis since much of the analysis begins with frequency counts. However, more important in using corpus linguistics as a method of critical discourse analysis is an in-depth qualitative analysis that takes a closer look at patterns discovered through quantitative data. The following two sections will detail the two procedures used in this research to analyze text materials: concordances and collocates.

4.3.2.1. Concordances.

A concordance displays every occurrence of a specified search term within its direct context. Looking at the context surrounding each occurrence, the researcher can make note of things that require a more detailed examination and then organize the data in a way that allows for such an examination. The concordance can be organized alphabetically, letting the researcher be able to plainly see the patterns that exist and affording him/her the opportunity to take a very detailed look at those patterns, occurrence by occurrence, to get a better sense of the discourse that surrounds that term. Organizing the occurrences alphabetically can be done through sorting options, and the researcher can choose to sort the concordance one or more places to the left or right. By sorting the concordance multiple times, multiple ways, the researcher can spot a number of patterns that merit further investigation. This allows him/her to conduct a more exhaustive qualitative analysis of the discourse within which the search term is found. An example can be seen in figure 4.1, which displays a screenshot of the concordance lines for the

search '*for the hearing-impaired*'. By sorting the results to highlight the word directly to the left of the cluster '*for the hearing-impaired*', the researcher can spot a few patterns such as the term *device* and *equipment*. Once noticing these patterns identified through various sorting options, the researcher knows where to conduct a more detailed examination within the corpus. Results for this particular cluster are discussed in section 5.1.1.

In addition to applying different sorting techniques, a researcher conducting a concordance analysis may also conduct a follow up search of a pattern found in the concordance lines. This technique was used often in my analysis so I could limit the concordance lines to just the search term and whatever pattern was identified, and complete a further concordance analysis on just this grouping of concordance lines, adjusting the sorting and discovering additional trends. Although not used in my analysis, a concordance analysis may also investigate the dispersion plot, indicating how the word is distributed broadly across the corpus and in each individual text, or a list of frequently occurring clusters (the length of which can be adjusted, e.g. three-word clusters, four-word clusters, etc.). A full detailed procedure of my concordance analysis will be explained along with the results yielded from said procedure in chapter 5.

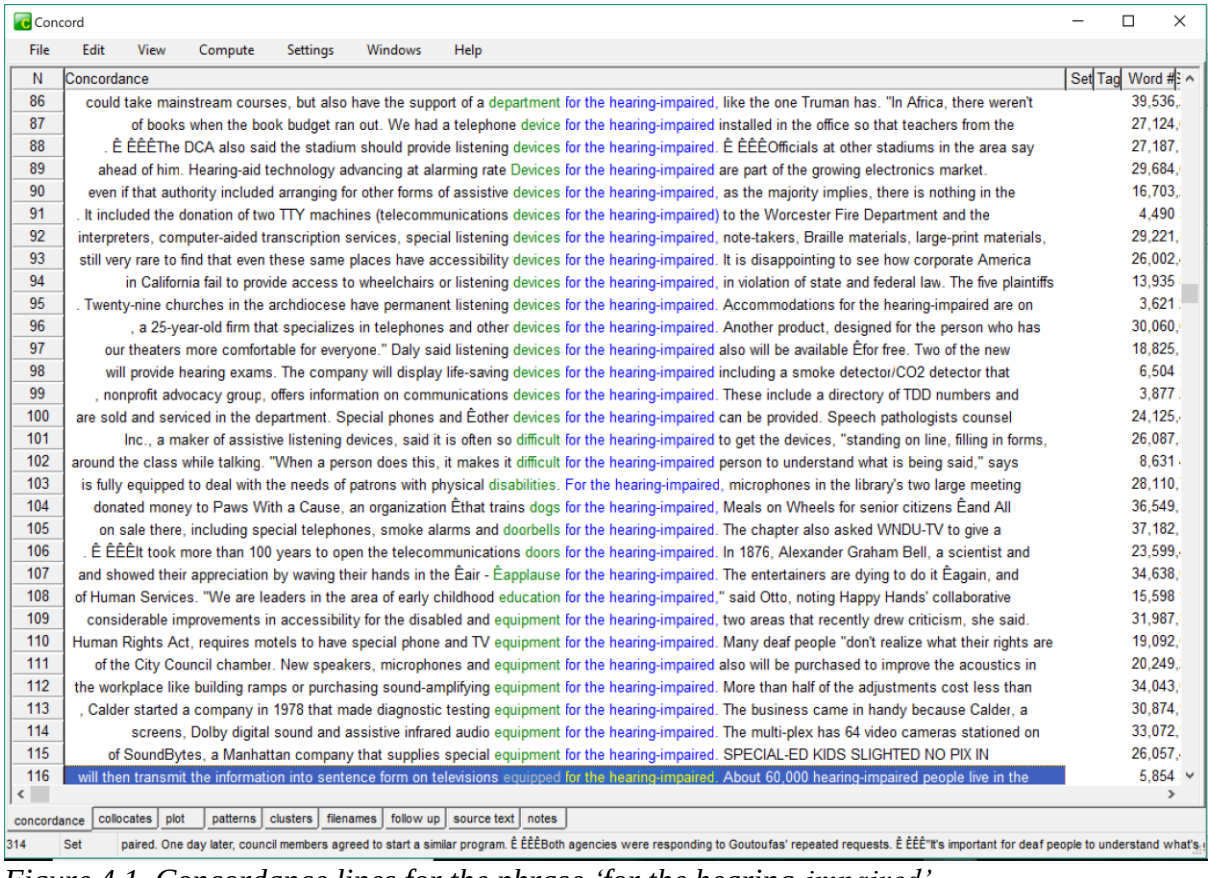


Figure 4.1. Concordance lines for the phrase 'for the hearing-impaired'

4.3.2.2. Collocates.

Sorting through concordances is a very useful method of uncovering patterns in language; however, sometimes it requires a lot of work to discover a relationship between two single words. A search for collocates can reveal some of these relationships as it lists words frequently co-occurring with the search term. Co-occurrences are considered collocates "when a word regularly appears near another word, and the relationship is statistically significant in some way" (Baker, 2006, p. 95-96). Collocations, the frequent co-occurrence of certain words, can direct a researcher's attention to associations that exist across a vast array of texts, providing hints about embedded discourses and ideologies that may be behind that word relationship. These associations would often go unnoticed with an in-depth analysis of just one or a few texts (Baker, 2006).

Similarly to concordances, collocates can be searched with different 'sort' or 'span' options, running a query for words found co-occurring with the search term within a certain amount of places to the left or right. The researcher can set these spans to be from the same number of places on the left as on the right (e.g. searching within 5 places to the left and 5 places to the right) or not (e.g. searching within 4 places to the left and 0 space to the right). Running queries with different spans will likely yield different results.

Collocations can be calculated through several different statistical formulas and which formula the researcher uses will depend on their specific research study. These statistical tests were developed to help avoid too much dependency on simply the frequency of co-occurrences, which can be misleading. These statistical tests "take into account the frequency of words in a corpus and their relative number of occurrences both next to and away from each other" (Baker, 2006, p. 101). Each researcher will choose a different test, or 'association measure' (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006), that is most fitting for their research needs. In the case of this research, I explored the results from six different association measures before selecting the two that were best suited for my research needs (detailed in chapter 6). Each test uses a unique algorithm from which they calculate the most frequent co-occurring terms: some tests focus more on frequency, which may favor more grammatical terms, such as with the t-score calculation which is measured by subtracting the expected frequency from the observed frequency and dividing by the standard deviation and considers corpus size (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006); others consider the expected probability and the observed probability of co-occurrence using the difference between the two to assign collocational strength, with less attention focused on the corpus size, and so tend to return more lexical terms that may be lower in frequency, such as with Mutual Information (MI) (Baker, 2006); and other tests that use an algorithm that

balances both, such as with MI3, which gives more weight to frequent events than MI by cubing the frequency of the word pair and returns a mix of both grammatical and lexical terms (Oakes, 1998). Again, the chosen association measure is traditionally based on the types of terms the researcher is interested in. As I was interested in both grammatical and lexical terms, I chose to use MI3 as one of my guiding collocational measures. Additional details of the exact parameters used during my collocate analysis will be described in chapter 6, which outlines the collocate analysis and its associated findings.

4.4. Text Analysis Methods

In addition to the corpus analysis detailed in the previous sections, I have also performed a series of in-depth text analyses on selected texts from the data set. Twelve full texts centering on d/Deaf people were selected to undergo these analyses (six from each corpus). These texts were selected based on their alignment with the findings of the corpus analysis in order to more effectively highlight specific instances of discourses found in the linguistic patterns of the corpus and demonstrate the functional elements at work in the language, as explained above. Each text was subjected to the three analyses: transitivity, social actor representation, and Appraisal. The text analyses provide very specific examples of linguistic techniques used in identity construction that support the overall findings of the corpus analyses and also the other analysis methods. Additionally, the five analyses (concordance, collocate, transitivity, social actor representation and Appraisal) together will likely balance one another, perhaps compensating for each other's weaknesses, and working towards an analysis that is as unbiased and enlightening as possible. As Martin (1999) impresses: 'specific instances of meaning do matter' and he urges that we find a balanced approach where "system can be brought into focus without losing contact with text, and text can be explored in detail without losing contact with the system" (p. 52). The combination of all of these analysis methods is an effort to achieve this balanced approach.

These three methods of discourse analysis were chosen in order to achieve a detailed account of the social group in question, including their discursive roles in the texts; the actions in which they are engaged, either as a doer, a recipient, or a beneficiary; the degree of agency they are presented with; the discursive roles of other groups relevant to the d/Deaf people's social representation; attitudes discursively constructed about this group of individuals; and their social relationship with other groups of people, particularly hearing people, and how that relationship is negotiated through discourse. Each of these methods will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

4.4.1. Transitivity.

A transitivity analysis inspects the ideational function of language as it is discussed in Halliday's SFL (Halliday, 1985; Halliday, 1994a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The ideational function looks at how language is used to represent the world. Through this function we can understand the relationship between words in clauses, despite their order. Thompson (2004) expands on this perspective of language:

> language comprises a set of resources for referring to entities in the world and the ways in which those entities act on or relate to each other. At the simplest level, language reflects our view of the world consisting of 'goings-on' (verbs) involving things (nouns) which may have attributes (adjectives) and which go on against background details of place, time, manner, etc. (adverbials). (p. 86-87)

In a transitivity analysis these elements are known by certain functional labels, so the content of clauses includes the processes ('goings on') that involve participants (things) in circumstances (place, time, manner, etc.). Different processes account for various types of doing: material processes are those that involve some kind of physical action; mental processes are those that occur within the "internal world of the mind" (Thompson, 2004, p. 92), e.g. thinking, analyzing, wanting, worrying, etc.; relational processes indicate a relationship between the two 'participants' in the clause; verbal processes are actions of 'saying' in one way or another; behavioral processes fit in between mental and material processes as they indicate physiological actions of the body such as laughing, watching, listening, etc.; and lastly, existential processes simply suggest the existence of something and are normally easy to spot as the subject is 'there'.

Participants also take on specific roles depending on what process they find themselves in and on which end of the 'goings on' they find themselves. For example, in a material process, the participant who is the 'doer' is known as the *actor*, and the participant to whom the process is directed is the *goal*. Sometimes confused as the goal is the *range*, which is more of an extension of the process rather than a participant to whom the process is targeted, e.g. shoot a basket (basket = range) vs. shoot a basketball (basketball = goal). While both participants have been described in terms of living beings, that does not have to be the case in all material processes; the actor and the goal can also be inanimate objects or abstract entities. Another participant that can find himself/herself/itself in material processes is a *beneficiary*, who is either the target to whom something is given or for whom something is done. Material processes can also be either *creative*, when the result of the process is the creation of the goal,

or *transformative*, when the process does something to the goal; or material processes can be characterized as either *intentional*, self-explanatory, or *involuntary*, when the process is such that the actor appears to have had something happen to them rather than them carrying out a process with some intentionality.

There are four kinds of mental processes including *emotion*, *cognition*, *perception*, and *desideration* ('wanting'). A *senser* experiences a *phenomenon* through one of these mental processes and the phenomena can take many forms: a person, an inanimate object, an abstraction, a fact, an event, a place, etc. Relational processes can also be split into *attributing* relational processes, which establish a relationship between a *carrier* and an *attribute* (e.g. Josephine is smart, where 'Josephine' is the carrier of the attribute 'smart'), and *identifying* relational processes, through which a *token* (specific entity) is defined in terms of its *value* (general entity), e.g. Math is her first class of the day, where 'math' is the token and 'her first class…" is the value. Verbal processes are performed by *sayers* either to a *receiver* or at a *target* and what the 'say' is known as the *verbiage*. Behavioral processes involve *behavers* and their *range* or *behavior*, and existential processes simply have an *existent*. All of these elements of transitivity provide unique information about the 'goings on' of selected texts.

Circumstances are adverbial and prepositional phrases found within the clauses that give information regarding the *extent*, *location*, *manner*, *cause*, *accompaniment*, *matter*, and *role* of the process and participants in the clauses. Circumstances are considered to be another type of participant (Eggins, 2004).

Transitivity patterns are useful in evaluating a discourse producer's perceptions of the 'goings on' in the world, and they "represent the encoding of experiential meanings: meaning about the world, about experience, about how we perceive and experience what is going on" (Eggins, 2004, p. 249). Of course, Thompson (2004) reminds us that in looking at transitivity patterns "we are focusing primarily on the propositional '**content**' of a message rather than the purpose for which the speaker has uttered it (although it is not in practice possible to make a complete distinction: there are many alternative ways in which speakers can choose to represent the world, and their actual choice is dependent to a large extent on their purpose)" (p. 86). Even though the intention of this type of analysis is not to uncover underlying biases/judgments, it is an analysis of experiential meaning and representation and so the theory of social representation (Moscovici, 1973; 1984; 1998) applies. This theory explains that representations come about through a social process whereby individuals construct said representation from a bank of shared knowledge (Moscovici, 1973; Flick & Foster, 2007). With this in mind it is appropriate to re-emphasize that which was learned in chapter 3: "social representations, once

developed and elaborated, come to constitute our reality" (Flick & Foster, p. 197). This can provide good insight on how d/Deaf people are perceived by others.

4.4.2. Social Actor Representation.

Social actor representation (see van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008), like transitivity, investigates the ideational function of language and the 'goings on' of the world, except the focal points in this area of analysis are the 'doer' and the 'done-to' (Thompson, 2004) rather than what is done, as these participants signify agency or a lack thereof. Van Leeuwen (1996; 2008) notes agency, as a sociological concept, is of marked importance in CDA; however, the linguistic realization of agency is not always as straightforward as the sociological realization of it. As such, a discourse analyst cannot rely too heavily on specific linguistic operations and categories to easily explain agency from a sociological perspective, since doing so will leave many relevant instances overlooked. The goal is to understand the 'social actor' rather than the 'nominal group' (van Leeuwen, 1996), which requires a closer look at sociological categories as they appear in language.

In representing social practices through text, analysts will come across many different social actors, some overtly mentioned in the text and others simply implied or absent, a tactic known in van Leeuwen's social actor representation model as *exclusion*. van Leeuwen (1996) explains "[r]epresentations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be 'innocent', details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in close to the propaganda strategy of creating fear, and of setting up…enemies of 'our' interests" (p. 38). It is also possible for there to be 'radical exclusion', which leaves no trace of the social actor or their activities whatsoever, but it is more often the case that the activity is included and the social actor excluded. An exclusion of a social actor may mean that they are simply not mentioned in the text at all, known as *suppression*, or they may be mentioned somewhere in the text but not in the specific clause within which their activities are discussed, in which case they are *backgrounded*. This linguistic technique can be used to make social actors and representation rather opaque, disassociating them from actions that may normally be contested.

Texts may also show social actors with different *role allocations*. In this case, the role the social actor is actually playing in the social practice being discussed does not necessarily have to be the role they are allocated in the text. Looking closely at role allocations means determining who is represented as an 'actor' and who is represented as a 'goal' or 'beneficiary',

or rather determining which social actors are activated or passivized. Actors can be passivated if the author wants to background their role in an activity; therefore, activation and passivation can be employed strategically to highlight the actions of certain actors while downplaying the actions of other actors. Passivation can be seen to possess a similar end as exclusion: to disassociate social actors from particular actions.

Also important in understanding the representation of social actors is the discourse producer's choice of *generic* or *specific* reference, where the social actor is identified as a group or as an individual (van Leeuwen, 1996). Similar to the use of exclusion, actors may be genericized as a means of stripping the agency from those individuals as well as creating a kind of social distance: "symbolically removed from the readers' world of immediate experience, treated as distant 'others' rather than as people 'we' have to deal with in our everyday lives" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 48). Social actors can also be represented in groups by means of *association*, even though the group is never explicitly labeled in the text. The social actors can be referred to generally or specifically, but are often put together with other social actors to represent some other group. Association is found in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, for example, within which hearing-impaired individuals are associated with people with disabilities (e.g. those who are blind, who have autism, who are wheelchair users, etc.) to represent a class of people who require intervention or other types of assistance (see section 5.4.1). In this case, they are both genericized and associated as a larger group of 'disabled individuals' regardless of whether this label makes an appearance in the text.

There are a few other aspects of a social actor representation analysis, including *indetermination and differentiation*, where social actors are represented either anonymously or in a specified manner (such as referring to a person as 'someone' vs. identifying them specifically either with their name or traits defining them as a group or an individual). By anonymizing an individual, the discourse producer is effectively commenting on their insignificance as a unique identity, whereas those who maintain a specified identity in the text may be seen as playing an important role in society and will certainly possess more significance than those represented with indetermination. *Nomination* and *categorization*, to a further extent of differentiation, is when social actors are represented uniquely by name or are grouped with other individuals who share an identity or function with them (e.g. Mary vs. the accountant). This can expand on the degree of significance or insignificance placed on certain social actors since, of course, differentiation of any kind when compared to indetermination expresses a higher level of importance, but there are types of differentiation that may place the same insignificance as indetermination does on specific social actors especially when juxtaposed

with another type (e.g. quoting someone by name vs. quoting an unspecified accountant).

Even further subsets of differentiation include *functionalization and identification*, hyponyms of categorization, defining a social actor either in terms of what they do, some activity they perform (e.g. seamstress, board member, flautist, congressman, masseur, or spokesperson), or in terms of what they are, respectively, the latter of which can be further subcategorized into *classification, relational identification,* and *physical identification.* Classification groups social actors together the same way they would be grouped by society (i.e. age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, etc.), whereas relational identification defines social actors by means of personal relationship, such as a friend, relative, or other. As the label implies, physical identification uses physical characteristics to pinpoint specific social actors, manifest either as nouns (e.g. 'ginger'), adjectives (e.g. 'short'), or prepositional phrases (e.g. woman 'with the funky glasses'). Inclusion of such descriptors tell us more about the discourse producer's opinion of the social actors in the text.

The previous aspects of analysis have included differing degrees of *personalization,* where social actors are represented as human beings in one way or another. Social actors can also be included in texts through *impersonalization,* with either *abstraction* or *objectivation.* Abstraction happens when discourse producers assign a certain quality to social actors and represent them by referencing this quality rather than the people themselves. An example of this would be representing individuals with disabilities as 'expenses' rather than as people, i.e. "since the passage of the ADA, businesses are overwhelmed with unanticipated expenses," where they are represented as being expensive due to the need to provide accommodations for them, which simultaneously represents them as a hardship of some kind. Objectivation comes in four different varieties and occurs when places or things closely associated with the social actor or their activities/role are used as the representation for that social actor. *Spatialization* specifically refers to a place that is closely associated with the social actor, for instance referring to the President of the United States as 'The White House', similar to the use of metonymy. *Utterance autonomization* refers to social actors in terms of their utterances, such as in 'the interviews suggested…' or 'the report showed…'. *Instrumentalization* is when social actors are included in the text by reference to an instrument, or instruments, carrying out their activities (e.g. 'the bullet grazed his arm'). Finally, *somatization* indirectly represents a social actor by referencing a part of their body, known as *semi-objectivation* since the person whose body part is being referenced is still included in the text, but not as the direct participant. An example of this would be, 'John's knee trembled'. Impersonalization is important to discourse analysis since it creates a space for plausible deniability seeing as agency is never overtly

placed with specific beings, but only through abstract references to those beings.

The final aspect of social actor representation analysis is manifest when social actors are seen to be acting in more than one social practice at the same time and is known as *overdetermination*. Overdetermination, like impersonalization, can be divided into four subcategories: *inversion, symbolization, connotation* and *distillation*. Inversion occurs when the two social practices in which the social actor is engaged happen to be in contrast to one another. A good example of this is the character Little John, from Robin Hood, since he is quite a large man but is called 'Little', which is in direct contrast to his stature. Symbolization is when nonfictional social actors are represented, or symbolized, by fictional characters. van Leeuwen (1996) uses the example of a fictional 'hero', such as the lone gunfighter in a Western, who represents heroes in real life who may fight their own obstacles, for instance a scientist. The idea of a 'Cinderella Story' seems an appropriate fit for the concept of symbolization. Connotation is described by van Leeuwen as "when a unique determination (a nomination or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization" (1996, p. 63). The association attached to a social actor through connotation is somewhat unconscious and built from a sort of cultural knowledge or schema, rather than the actual traits of the social actor. Perhaps a good example would be a little blonde girl with pigtails, which brings with it the cultural association (in Western culture) of fairytale characters and all of the qualities that are therein realized: innocent, sweet, young, etc. Lastly, van Leeuwen defines distillation as "a form of overdetermination which connects social actors to several social practices by abstracting the same feature from the social actors involved in these several practices" (p. 64). He uses the example of using the term 'therapist' and apply it to many different roles, many of which do not by their very nature include the duties of a therapist but nonetheless end up taking on this role in some ways (e.g. a teacher, minister, bartender, hairdresser, etc.).

The preceding discussion demonstrates the varied ways in which social actors are represented through discourse, according to van Leeuwen's (1996; 2008) work. Figure 4.2 provides a system network of these various designations and how an analyst might arrive at them. van Leeuwen also stresses that the designations included here need not be so rigidly applied, and it is possible and sometimes even purposeful for them to be crossed in order to achieve a specific effect or to perhaps obfuscate the discourse producer's true opinion of a given social actor's identity. In describing the system network, he explains: "it involves a number of distinct lexicogrammatical and discourse-level linguistic systems, transitivity, reference, the nominal group, rhetorical figures, and so on, because all these systems are involved in the realisation of representations of social actors" (p. 67). It is for this reason that

an analysis of social actor representation is needed in addition to a transitivity analysis in order to ascertain a better understanding of how the social group in question is represented in discourse.

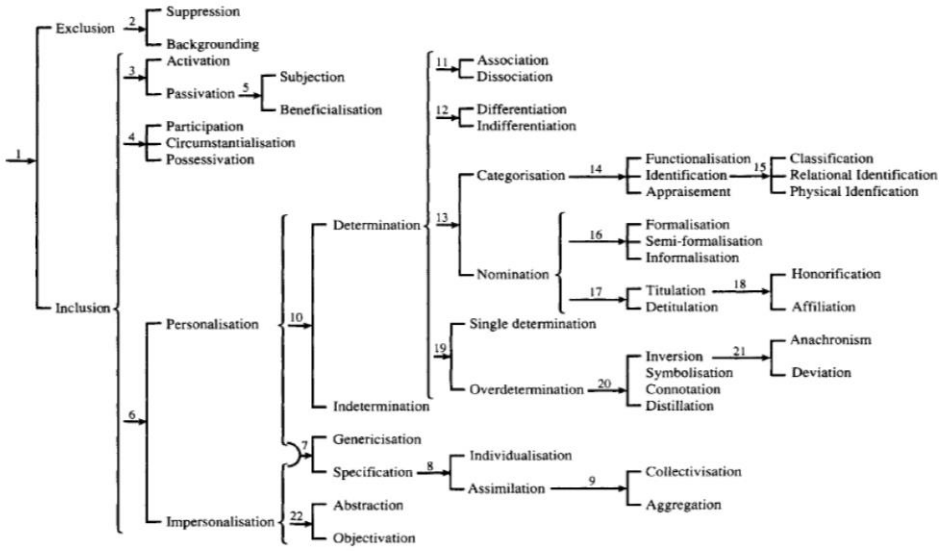


Figure 4.2. van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors in Discourse: system network (1996)

4.4.3. Appraisal.

Unlike transitivity and social actor representation, Appraisal explores the interpersonal mode of meaning, a means by which writers construct the identity both of themselves and others as well as linguistically negotiating relationships between these parties (Martin & White, 2005; Fuoli, 2012; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Appraisal is a system of evaluation used to assess and judge entities and phenomena in the world as either good or bad. As an interpersonal system, appraisal is used by text producers to convey their own feelings and attitudes as a strategy to elicit those very same attitudes from their readership (Halliday, 2007; Hart, 2014). The text producers are not just telling the readership about these specific entities and phenomena, but are commenting on them (Hart, 2014), playing a role in influencing other people's attitudes and resulting in the expression and spreading of ideological positions. Elements of an interpersonal system are not easily found by analyzing a certain grammatical category, but rather can be present in 'the full range of grammatical categories' and found in any part of the clause or 'strung throughout it' (Hart, 2014, p. 44).

Appraisal is organized into three domains: attitude, engagement and graduation. Each of these domains contain their own subsystem, which consist of subcategories, yielding a more refined and detailed analysis of the larger domains. Moving from left to right, with the larger

domains on the far left, the appraisal system guides the analysis from general to specific (Fuoli, 2012). A detailed breakdown of the attitude domain is provided in figure 4.3 below, and will be revisited in chapter 9 during the Appraisal analysis. However, an overview of each branch of the attitude domain will be presented in the following paragraphs.

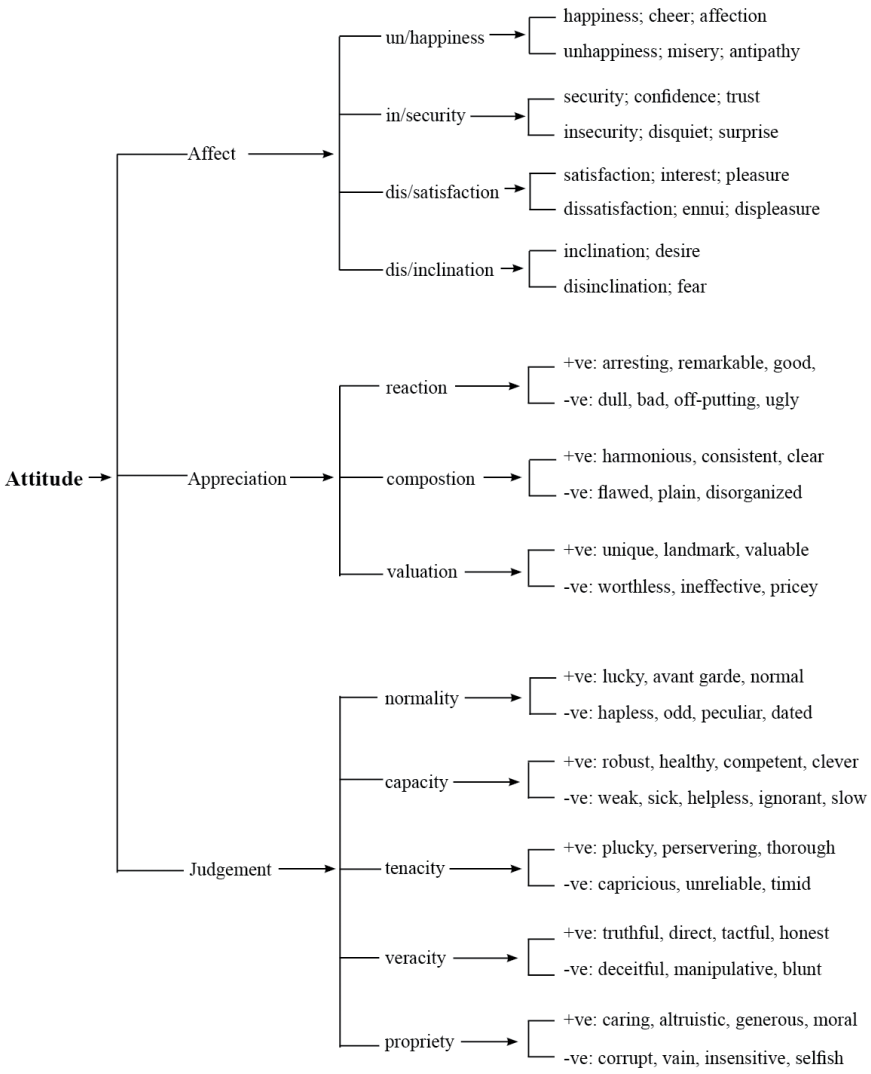


Figure 4.3. Attitude domain visualization, adapted from Martin & White (2005)

Affect is split into four subcategories, each representative of specific human emotions that often manifest in various ways through language. These emotions are mapped out by Martin and White (2005) as a way of providing a lexical representation of said emotions and semantic topology for the subcategories they propose (p. 46-52). With the proposed semantic topology, Martin and White (2005) consider popular and cultural understanding of positive and negative feelings; how feelings are manifested, either through a mental or behavioral process; whether the feelings are directed at something/someone, or reacting to some kind of trigger; the gradation or intensity of said feelings; and whether or not the feelings are reactive of

prospective stimuli, rather than existential ones.

The four subcategories of affect each contain two representations, comprising the positive and negative ends of the emotion conveyed. These include happiness and unhappiness, security and insecurity, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, as well as inclination and disinclination. From these subcategories, one can deduce a number of lexical realizations for each prong including those that indicate a behavioral response (e.g. *whimpering* and *crying* as behavioral expressions of unhappiness) as well as a general disposition that is representative of these emotions (e.g. *confident* and *trusting* as dispositional traits of security).

The second prong of the attitude domain is appreciation, which addresses lexical realizations of one's evaluation of 'things', "especially things we make and performances we give, but also including natural phenomena – what such things are worth (how we value them)" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56). Appreciation can be divided into three subcategories: reaction, which as the name suggests is comprised of lexical realizations of how we react to things, whether or not they captivate us or bring us pleasure; composition, which consists of evaluative language about the construction of the 'things' themselves, rather than how they made us feel, and touch on notions of balance and complexity; and valuation, basically an overall assessment of the 'thing' that comments on whether or not it is worthy of our time and attention.

As with the subcategories of affect, those of appreciation are also divided into positive and negative realizations of each element of appreciation, represented through language that is indicative of that type of appreciation. For instance, a researcher might recognize something as a case of negative reaction if it is described as *boring* or *unremarkable*, or as a case of positive valuation if it is described as *exceptional* or *profound*. By their very nature, the three subcategories of appreciation correspond to three distinct mental processes, those of emotion (reaction), perception (composition), and cognition (valuation) (Martin & White 2005, p. 57). This suggests there will be some inevitable overlap between the three prongs of the attitude domain when assigning elements of the text to each. Reaction can very well be a manifestation of the emotions/feelings labeled by the affect prong, as could composition depending on the reference, and undoubtedly lexical representations of composition and valuation will also contain a degree of judgement, which will become more clear after the next few paragraphs.

Judgment is a subcategory of the domain of attitude, which is a means to reference "attitudinal evaluation in which human behavior is negatively or positively assessed by reference to some set of social norms" (White, 2001: 1). Judgment is divided into two broad tiers, known as social esteem and social sanction (see figure 4.4 for judgment and subcategories). Judgments that fall within the tier of social esteem evaluate the esteem of the

person being judged, either high or low, as it will be perceived by society (White, 2001). Subcategories of social esteem are realized as three aspects: normality, which comments on how normal or special one is, assessed with words like *normal, celebrated, hapless, odd,* etc.; capacity, which comments on one's competence or how capable s/he is, assessed with words like *accomplished, clever, helpless, ignorant*, etc.; and tenacity, which comments on one's resoluteness, assessed with words like *loyal, persevering, timid, reckless,* etc. Evaluations of social esteem collectively assess one's behavior, defined by White (2001) as 'the actions, deeds, sayings, beliefs, motivations, etc.', as something to be admired or criticized (Martin & White, 2005).

Judgments that fall within the tier of social sanction evaluate the morality, legality, and/or politeness of the person being judged as defined within traditional rules of behavior and social standards (White, 2001). In the appraisal model, social sanction is realized through two sub categories: veracity, which comments on how truthful someone is and is assessed with words like *honest, tactful, manipulative, blunt,* etc.; and propriety, which comments on how ethical one is or to what degree s/he should be commended or reproached, assessed with words like *altruistic, kind, corrupt, arrogant,* etc. Through evaluations of veracity and propriety, we assess one's behavior as something to be praised or condemned (Martin & White, 2005).

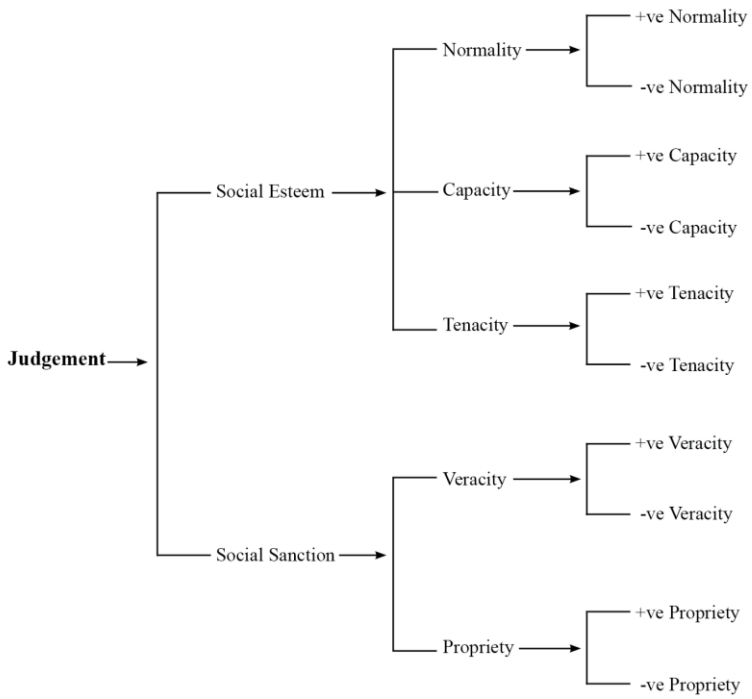


Figure 4.4. Appraisal – Judgement and subcategories visualization

Appraisal theory allows for judgments to be either inscribed or invoked. Inscribed judgments are those evaluations that expressly convey attitudes through the use of words that

undisputedly carry a positive or negative value, such as the aforementioned examples provided in italics (White, 2001; Martin & White, 2005; Fuoli, 2012). White (2001: 4) describes invoked judgments as those statements that appear to present facts or 'unevaluated descriptions of some event or state of affairs' but that have 'the capacity…to evoke judgmental responses' in the appropriate social/cultural context. Since invoked judgments are often difficult to identify in an objective manner due to being based on so many co-textual factors, it is important to mention an appraisal analysis carries with it a certain degree of complexity and subjectivity. However, as the discourse used to talk about people classified as disabled is largely politically charged, inscribed judgments are less frequent, making invoked judgments a crucial component to completing this analysis.

4.5. Summary

The information included in this chapter presents solid description of and reasoning for data collection strategies and the resulting dataset used in this thesis, as well as foundational knowledge of the analyses used, providing a better frame with which to appreciate the findings. Although there are many analyses to read through, it is my belief that the findings from each complement the others, together forming a comprehensive and honest overview of the discourse(s) that surround d/Deaf people in the US. The remaining chapters of this thesis will be reporting on those findings. Chapter 5 focuses on the results and interpretation of the concordance analysis; chapter 6 on the results of the collocate analysis; chapter 7, the transitivity analysis; chapter 8, the social actor representation analysis; and chapter 9, the Appraisal analysis. Each chapter will re-affirm the approach used and detail the steps of the analysis. Chapter 10 will then discuss the compilation of findings from the five analyses and address the limitations and implications of the study as well as opportunities for further study.

Chapter 5: Corpus Analysis – Concordance lines of ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’ corpora

This chapter contains the corpus analysis conducted as outlined in the preceding chapter. The discussion below will detail the findings of both quantitative and qualitative study of concordance lines from both the ‘d/Deaf’ and the ‘hearing-impaired’ corpora. To keep comparisons of the findings of each corpus in the foreground, since the focus of the research study is to see how the discourses differ between the use of the term ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’, the main headings of each section following this introduction will be identified by theme and proceed with a description of how these themes manifest in each corpus. After the concordance findings are presented, the next chapters of this thesis will discuss the findings of the remaining corpus analyses and those of the in-depth text analyses.

5.1. Theme 1: ‘…for the hearing-impaired’ and ‘…for the d/Deaf’

5.1.1. ‘… for the hearing-impaired’.

Starting with the ‘hearing-impaired’ corpus, the concordance analysis began with the search term ‘hearing-impaired’, which returned 2777 concordance hits. I chose to analyze this term separately from other, similar forms such as ‘hearing-impairment’ or ‘HI’, a common abbreviation used in writing, because the difference in word class would likely have returned different hits and may have made it more difficult to recognize patterns. In order to effectively identify patterns in such a high number of concordance hits, I performed a sort of the results: ‘hearing-impaired’ was the main sort, my second sort was one space to the left, and my third sort was two spaces to the left. The most frequently occurring cluster noticed in this sort was the phrase *for the hearing-impaired*, which made up 314 of the 2777 concordance hits, or 11% of all the concordance lines. Checking the ‘clusters’ tab within the Concord window confirmed this as the most frequent cluster by far, with the next most frequently occurring clusters as ‘*deaf and hearing-impaired*’ with 80 occurrences and ‘*who is hearing-impaired*’ with 68.

To be able to focus on just the 314 occurrences of *for the hearing-impaired*, I produced a separate concordance search of *for the hearing-impaired* and then sorted one space to the left of this cluster. Looking through these patterns and making note of any that occurred more than five times, this search revealed that ‘hearing-impaired’ individuals are often the recipients of accommodations of some kind. The most frequently occurring accommodations include *technology/*technologies (including things like watches, alarms, an amplifier, an e-book, “gadgets,” headsets, implants, phone/s, software, etc.), *systems*, *service/s*, *schools*, *programs*,

interpreters, *equipment*, *devices*, and *captions/captioning* (for a sampling of the original concordance lines—pre-second sort, see table 5.1.1.3, with these accommodations bolded in the table). *School/*s is included here as an accommodation because there are several schools, often targeted at children who are pre-kindergarten age and younger, whose main focus is not education, but rather on the 'rehabilitation' of d/Deaf children and teaching them how to speak. These frequently occurring terms of accommodation make up 133 out of the 314 concordance lines, or 42% (113 concordance lines, or 40%, if *school/s* is not included as an accommodation). In this case, the term accommodation is being used in its broadest sense and includes both accommodations which alter the environment in an effort to provide a higher degree of access (e.g. interpreters, vibrating alarm clocks, captions, etc.) and accommodations which alter the d/Deaf person (e.g. amplifying devices, implants, speech therapy, etc.). There were three other terms that also frequently co-occurred with this cluster that were not related to accommodations: *teacher/s, advocate/s,* and *camp.* These results are only for occurrences when the words found in table 5.1.1.1 are found to be directly preceding the cluster *for the hearing-impaired* but does not account for other co-occurrences where they may find themselves in a different position in reference to the node word, *hearing-impaired.*

Word preceding cluster '*for the hearing-impaired*'	**Number of occurrences**	**Word preceding cluster '*for the hearing-impaired*'**	**Number of occurrences**
advocate/s	12	*school/s*	20
camp	14	*service/s*	23
captions/captioning	8	*system/s*	7
device/s	14	*teacher/s*	6
equipment	7	*technology*	5
interpreters/interpreting	14	[technologies] – range of words referring to other specific technologies, as listed in text above	18
program/s	17		

Table 5.1.1.1. Frequency of words preceding cluster 'for the hearing-impaired'

Counting up all terms preceding *for the hearing-impaired* that referred to some type of 'rehabilitation' or accommodations and not just those that were frequently occurring totaled 168 out of 314 concordance lines (53.5%) and comprised 60 different terms (see table 5.1.1.2). These counts included a split of *school/s* and addition of those references to rehabilitative programs for hearing-impaired students, the split referring to schools whose main focus was on 'rehabilitation' of hearing and speech vs. traditional schools. This translates to 6% of the entire corpus, or slightly more often than 1 in 20 concordance lines where there is a discussion of accommodations or rehabilitative measures *for the hearing-impaired*. That means that a little less than half of the time things are done/given/offered, etc. *for the hearing-impaired* they are not accommodations (see table 5.1.1.2 for a list of other terms preceding *for the hearing-impaired*). Non-accommodations related terms that precede this cluster are much more varied,

comprised of 76 different terms, resulting in less overall themes since so few of them have frequent recurrences (mainly those listed above: *teacher/s*, *advocate/advocacy*, and *camp*). Additionally, eight of these 146 occurrences (including the *school/s* split and addition of those programs not rehabilitative in nature) had no terms preceding them since *for the hearing-impaired* was the start of the sentence in that concordance line. The 146 concordance lines otherwise included terms with positive discourse prosody as well as terms with negative discourse prosody, discourse prosody referring to a pattern found between a word or phrase and other related words that suggest a particular discourse reflective of a certain attitude (Baker, 2006), in this case a positive or negative attitude. Some of the terms representing a positive discourse prosody include *advocate*, *independence*, *opportunities*, *great victory* and *support*. Terms representing a negative discourse prosody include *challenge/ing* (also *challenging tasks*), *difficult* (also *difficult subjects*), *frustration*, *hindrance*, *hazardous* and *problems*.

	Accomm./rehab. terms preceding	Non-accomm./rehab. terms preceding	School/s (cat. varies)
#	**160**	**134**	**20**
terms	*Telephone access, accommodations (x3), rehabilitation agency, educational aids, fire alarms (x2), amplifier, assistance (x2), services (x26), technology (x6), special help, e-books, call boxes, wake-up call (bed shaker), captioning (x8), closed-captioning center, resource center, preschool class/room, classes (x2), classrooms, telephone conduit, compliance considerations, equipment (x8), equipped (x3), subtitles, gadgets, headphones, headsets, help, home, cochlear implants, improve hearing, interpret* (x14), headphone plug-in jack, audio jacks, keyboards, special telephone lines, movies (captioned) (x2), phone (x3), preschool, products, program (x17), room (school), headphone sets, auditory signals, computer software, amplifies sound, specialist (x2), system* (x7), easy-to-use tool, interpreted tours, telephone use, vibrating alarm watches, dogs*	*Advocate/advocacy (x13), ambassador, and (x3), telecommunication barrier, camp (x14), care (x2), challenge, challenging, champion, college (x2), communicates, international competition, conference, oratorical contest, Georgia Council, county, database, independence day, Marquee Day, department, difficult (x2), applause, education, Gallaudet program exclusively, frustration, fundraiser, softball game, World Games, dating service, federal grant, advocacy group (x2), practical guide, hazardous (x2), global health, Hyland Hills, supreme hindrance, Hoops, important, improvement, independence, liberal arts institution, speech intelligibility, sign language, lawyers, international meets, raise money, sing and move, provide narration, need* (x2), bank's number, opportunities, options (x2), Hanover Park, performances, play, leadership positions, problems (x3), pilot project, reimbursement rates, runs, sections, series, shows, signer, difficult subjects, support, challenging tasks (x2), teacher (x6), National Conference on Television, Texas, changing things, translate* (x3), university (x3), charged up, use, useful, great victory*	*Gallaudet University (x2), hockey school (x3)*, deaf residential schools (source of deaf pride) (x7), hearing-impaired programs (rehabilitation focused) (x8)
%	**51%**	**42.6%**	**6.4%**
% after splitting school/s	168/314 – **53.5%**	146/314 – **46.5%**	N/A

Table 5.1.1.2. All terms preceding cluster 'for the hearing-impaired'

A look at the sample of concordance lines in table 5.1.1.3 will provide some perspective on how often these accommodations are mentioned in reference to 'hearing-impaired' people through the use of the cluster phrase *for the hearing-impaired* (terms referencing these accommodations are bolded). Out of these accommodations for the 'hearing-impaired', 34 of them referred to amplifying or listening devices, or 11% of the 314 references to *for the hearing-impaired*. Although this isn't a high percentage of the overall corpus, it may perhaps point to something reminiscent of a pathological discourse where 'hearing-impaired' individuals are meant to seek intervention to make themselves more 'normal' or more similar to their hearing peers. This could be argued simply on the amount of concordance lines devoted to discussing accommodations for 'hearing-impaired' individuals but is emphasized even more with the frequency of listening devices. To test this further, I conducted a follow up search from the original 2777 concordance hits of *hearing-impaired* for the words *device*, equipment, systems* and *technology*, with a span of L5, R5, to see how they occur with 'hearing-impaired' since, based on my existing knowledge of how listening devices are referred to as a periphery member of the community, these are the types of words that would most likely represent different listening devices.

382	company that supplies **special equipment** *for the*	hearing-impaired	Special-Ed kids slighted no pix in
383	With a Cause, an organization that trains dogs *for the*	hearing-impaired,	Meals on Wheels for senior citizens and
384	flash lights and TV sets must have **closed captions** *for the*	hearing-impaired,	and menus must be available in Braille for
385	**assistive listening device**, which amplifies sound *for the*	hearing-impaired.	This affects nearly every bank branch in
386	Theater Club when he was told that and **interpreter** *for the*	hearing-impaired	would be at the front of the stage. The
387	years in a public school **special education program** *for the*	hearing-impaired	on Long Island. "He didn't have the words
388	ramps or purchasing **sound-amplifying equipment** *for the*	hearing-impaired.	More than half of the adjustments cost
389	what is now known as the Mike Bush Fantasy Camp *for the*	hearing-impaired.	The camp has helped more than a
390	groups and educating her about the latest "**gadgets**" *for the*	hearing-impaired,	she said. "I can talk with other people
391	was available, a Crystal River advocacy group *for the*	hearing-impaired	set out to find the money to allow Scott to
392	TDD DATELINES: USA, Inc., a dating service geared *for the*	hearing-impaired.	The company takes its name from the
393	gesticulates while providing supposed translations *for the*	hearing-impaired	to whatever expert is being interviewed to
394	owner of a company that sells **innovative technology** *for the*	hearing-impaired.	And though his accomplishments take on
395	communicate over the telephone. "**Services** offered *for the*	hearing-impaired	Question: Is there any way that persons
396	- such as a **telephone handset with an amplifier** *for the*	hearing-impaired,	an automatic page turner for the

Table 5.1.1.3. Sample of 'for the hearing-impaired' concordance lines

The follow up search for *device** had 38 occurrences. 20 of those referenced a device that had to do with amplifying sound in a number of ways for the 'hearing-impaired' person to better function in their 'hearing' surroundings (table 5.1.1.4 provides a few examples of these occurrences in their full context). 13 of the occurrences referenced TTY/TDD

(teletypewriter/telecommunications device for the deaf) devices, or something similar, which are/were used by 'hearing-impaired' individuals when they wanted to make telephone calls. The remaining occurrences had no particular theme, but referenced several different types of devices, captioning being one, but the rest of which did not pertain specifically to the 'hearing-impaired' population (e.g. smoke detectors, '*other devices*'—unspecified, etc.). 53% of *device* references were those that are meant to correct the hearing of hearing-impaired individuals, which is another indicator of the presence of a more pathological mindset behind at least one of the discourses using the term 'hearing-impaired'.

1	The audiologist also serves aged people by promoting awareness of hearing-impairment, available audiological services, and available remediation **devices** and programs to the ***hearing-impaired*** individuals, their spouses and children, and to other caretakers who constitute their support system.
5	You probably have seen a fellow classmate walking down the hall and thought to yourself, "What is that they are wearing on their ear?" It is most likely a hearing aid, a **device** that helps ***hearing-impaired*** people hear better.
7	The study, scheduled to begin next year, will also help determine what types of hearing losses are improved by the Clio, as well as how patients with different levels of hearing loss respond to the **device**. There are 30 million ***hearing-impaired*** Americans, but only 5 million of them use hearing aids, according to Bionica.
12	**Device** brings sound to ***hearing-impaired***. As soon as the small, rectangular device was snapped in place behind her left ear, Diane Georges could hear a difference. A big difference.
18	Symphonix says the soundbridge will save the ***hearing-impaired*** money over time. The **device** and surgical procedure are expected to cost about $10,000 per ear.
24	Under the consent decree, the Chicago-based Bar/Bri, which each year prepares about 20,000 law school graduates for bar examinations in 25 jurisdictions, agreed to provide a wide range of special services to the disabled within 60 days. They include interpreters, computer-aided transcription services, special listening **devices** for the ***hearing-impaired***, note-takers, Braille materials, audio tapes and other aids.
25	The suit contends UA theaters in California fail to provide access to wheelchairs or listening **devices** for the ***hearing-impaired***, in violation of state and federal law.
28	First used on an experimental basis in ***hearing-impaired*** adults in 1983, the **devices** are named after the cochlea, the snail-shaped inner ear. After clinical trials proved their safety to the FDA, cochlear implants were tested in a limited number of children in 1987.
35	Thus, it appears that when a statute requires, or perhaps even authorizes, the provision of a particular form of assistive **device** to a ***hearing-impaired*** individual, Botta has the authority to make the necessary arrangements therefor, as an administrative matter.
36	That hearing took place in courtroom 269, the courtroom designated for ***hearing-impaired*** individuals because of its small size, superior acoustics, and special equipment, including an assistive-listening **device**, for ***hearing-impaired*** individuals.
38	Make sure ***hearing-impaired*** students wear amplification **devices**, such as frequency modulated (FM) unit that will connect to a microphone for you to wear. The FM **device** allows your voice to be heard directly by the student, according to the UFT website.

Table 5.1.1.4. Sample of 'device' near 'hearing-impaired' when referencing amplifiers—full context

A follow up search of *equipment*, with the same span, yielded 22 occurrences. The results of this search were more varied than what was found with the follow up search of *device**. Types of *equipment* referenced included *Wi-Fi sound equipment* (2), *audio-visual equipment* (2), *TV/phone equipment* (7), *diagnostic testing equipment* (1), *sound-amplifying equipment* (1), *simultaneous transcription equipment* (1), and eight references that were unspecified. Outside of the reference to *sound-amplifying equipment*, there was no strong correlation to suggest that the type of equipment most commonly noted in reference to 'hearing-impaired' people was corrective. Most of the equipment mentioned in these concordance lines are items used in accommodations for 'hearing-impaired' individuals. While they are focused on sound, they are not developed or provided to 'hearing-impaired' people as a rehabilitative measure but rather as an effort to create an accessible environment.

*System**, yielding 38 occurrences with 'hearing-impaired' after a follow up search, also had an array of results, ranging from listening devices to alarms. Because *systems* have unique identifying labels, such as a product name, I have categorized the results to provide a clearer depiction of the trends found through this search. The three categories with the highest number of occurrences were listening devices (10), phone or telecommunications systems (9), and amplification systems (5). The remaining system types included systems intended for use as accommodation measures, as was seen with *equipment*, such as alarm systems, hearing induction loops, and sound systems, while the others were not created specifically with the 'hearing-impaired' population in mind, e.g. jail systems and school systems. As with the *device** follow up search, the majority of concordance lines with *system** and *hearing-impaired* related to amplifying sound in one way or another, and as an extension, referenced systems that were only useful to those individuals who were in possession of a device whose intention is to correct their hearing, e.g. hearing induction loops, which can only be used in conjunction with hearing aids. Even though both listening devices and amplification systems have similar objectives, I separated them here since they had slightly different functionalities in the text, differences that are pertinent in determining whether they can be considered 'corrective' measures or simply another end of other corrective measures. In this case, listening devices are those *systems* that are direct sound-amplifying mechanisms, something the 'hearing-impaired' person would wear to aid their residual hearing. Amplification systems are those *systems* that work in conjunction with these direct sound-amplifying mechanisms, such as an FM system (personal frequency modulation system).

The last follow up search for *technology* presented results similar to those found with equipment, where they were mostly unspecified (9 out of 20 occurrences), yet referred to technology designed for 'hearing-impaired' people, or referenced realtime technology (transcription, closed-captioning) (6 out of 20 occurrences). Listening devices made up three of the concordances, amplification had one and telecommunications also had one. The four follow up searches provided evidence of two different discourses, the first of a pathological mindset that focuses on 'rehabilitation' and the second of access that focuses more on equity and inclusion.

I also conducted a more thorough search of the other three words frequently preceding the cluster *for the hearing-impaired*: *teacher/s*, *advocate/s* and *camp*, which did not carry the same connotations as the other words that suggested accommodation measures. The references to *camp* were all discussing baseball and basketball camps established for 'hearing-impaired' youths. These concordance lines were all about formal, organized sports camps and talked

about the camp itself, its volunteers, and the unique opportunity it provides for 'hearing-impaired' youth. The six occurrences of *teacher/s for the hearing-impaired* generally included interview comments from those individuals named as such and were not necessarily always about their current teaching of 'hearing-impaired' students (three out of six). Those *teachers* who were mentioned in the context of their job were mainly presented as teachers who were meant to help integrate 'hearing-impaired' kids into a mainstream class environment. The results from *advocate/s* were much more interesting. With a word that elicits such a sense of virtue I expected to find language more representative of a positive discourse prosody around the term 'hearing-impaired', and these concordance lines did, in fact, reflect that association; however, 66% (8 out of 12 occurrences) of these references to *advocate/s for the hearing-impaired* also contained the reference term *d/Deaf* in the direct context. This is an interesting result since it would signal that when the reference term 'd/Deaf' is used alongside 'hearing-impaired', the text is more likely to be characterized by positive discourse prosody, which could suggest that the positive discourse prosody is actually more effectively tied to 'd/Deaf' rather than 'hearing-impaired'. Outside of this finding, the concordance lines of *advocate/s for the hearing-impaired* mainly presented *advocate* as a noun instead of a verb (11 out of 12) and referenced the need for more awareness and accommodations for this population.

5.1.2. '… for the d/Deaf'.

This concordance analysis of the 'd/Deaf' corpus began with the search term '*deaf*', which returned 16,844 concordance hits. To begin, I simply searched '*deaf*' without considering other forms or attending to capitalization (this will be looked at later) so as to have consistency with the search and analysis procedure of the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. As with the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, I sorted the concordance lines selecting the search term '*deaf'* as the main sort, L1 or one space to the left of the node word as the second sort, and L2 or two spaces to the left as the third sort. In order to compare the results of one corpus to another, I first looked at the cluster '*for the deaf*'. As with the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, the cluster made up a large percentage of the 'd/Deaf' corpus, consisting of 2,055 occurrences or 12% of the concordance lines, which is surprisingly close to the distribution of '*for the hearing-impaired'* in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus (11%). This means that nearly one out of every 8 concordance lines in the 'd/Deaf' corpus contain the phrase '*for the deaf*'.

Similar to my process in the previous concordance analysis, I conducted a second search with just the phrase '*for the deaf*' to enable further searches and a better ability to identify patterns in the discourse. I first sorted the results of this search with the full phrase as

the main sort and the second and third sorts at L1 and L2, respectively. Some of the most frequently occurring words preceding '*for the deaf*' were the same as those preceding '*for the hearing-impaired*': *advocate/advocacy, device*, program*, school*, service*, teacher** and *technology/technologies*. Other preceding terms frequently occurring include *academy, access*, and, association*, caption*, center*, church*, class*, college*, commission*, communication, council, design*, education, World Games, group*, housing, institute*/institution*, interpret*, language, office, opportunity/opportunities, sign*, telecommunications, theater/theatre, translate** and *university/universities.* To maintain consistency in searches, I included preceding terms occurring five times or more as frequently occurring (see table 5.1.2.1 for a complete listing of frequently occurring preceding terms).

Word preceding cluster '*for the d/Deaf*'	Number of occurrences	Word preceding cluster '*for the d/Deaf*'	Number of occurrences
academy	14	*housing*	5
*access**	6	*institute*/institution**	122
advocate/advocacy	44	*interpret**	81
and	5	*language**	5
*association**	40	*office*	8
*caption**	6	*opportunity/opportunities*	5
*center**	66	*program**	37
*church**	15	*school**	966
*class**	5	*service**	73
*college**	27	*sign**	6
commission	12	*teacher**	11
communication	5	*technology/technologies*	5
council	6	*telecommunications*	6
*design**	5	*theater/theatre**	8
*device**	39	*translate**	5
education	11	*university/universities*	37
*group**	7	*World Games*	12

Table 5.1.2.1. Frequency of words preceding cluster 'for the deaf'

To better understand the differences between the two corpora, I took a closer look at a few of the frequent terms common to both corpora. The occurrences of *advocacy/advocate** looked fairly similar between each corpus in that they were mainly speaking of advocating for awareness/rights as they pertain to the deaf and disabled populations (12 out of 12 in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus and 43 out of 44 in the 'd/Deaf corpus). However, there are nearly four times the amount of occurrences of the term *advocate/advocacy* in the d/Deaf corpus (not to mention 8 out of 12 of the occurrences in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus used the term 'd/Deaf'). Considering that these corpora are of equivalent size, the difference in number of occurrences is significant. Even though one of the 44 occurrences mentioned advocating for

listening devices, many of the other concordance lines were pushing for quite the opposite, with *advocates for the deaf* arguing things such as: *implants are wrong because they can lead to the end of American Sign Language and the destruction of deaf culture* (line 40); *the primary language of deaf people is visual, not verbal, and schools using their preferred method, called American Sign Language, educate students better than other schools do* (line 48); *deafness [is] not a disease* (line 59); and *it is brutal to open a child's skull and wind wires through the inner ear, or cochlea, just to rob that child of a birthright of silence* (line 63). Additionally, there is a prevalence of the terms '*community*' and '*sign language*' in the direct context of the cluster '*for the deaf*' (mostly following the phrase), occurring 88 times and 48 times respectively, which were all but absent in the previous corpus ('*community'* occurring only one time within the direct context of '*for the hearing-impaired*', and '*sign language*' occurring seven times).

*Device**, which was mainly used alongside the phrase '*for the hearing-impaired*' in the previous corpus to reference amplifying devices or some other type of rehabilitative equipment, occurred more frequently with '*for the deaf*' (14 to 39 occurrences, respectively); notwithstanding, 37 out the 39 occurrences referred to a Telecommunications Device for the Deaf (or TDD)—an electronic device connected to a telephone line that supports text communication—a technology commonly used by d/Deaf people to make phone calls prior to the invention of video phones (VPs). The remaining two concordance lines are split in their focus, one a discussion of people protesting the lack of services for d/Deaf people (sign language interpreters and telephone devices) at the Atlanta Olympic Games, the second a listing of living accommodations in an apartment building (flashing fire and smoke alarms, flashing buzzer, video intercom system, etc.). This suggests a very different discourse from what was found in the previous corpus as there is no mention of amplification/rehabilitative devices in any of the 39 concordance lines.

In total, there were a similar number of references to technologies within the 2,055 concordance lines of '*for the deaf*' (26—whereas the 'hearing-impaired' corpus had 20) but the types of technologies were varied. This corpus included discussion of *amenities, cellphone/telephone*, alarm-clock light, implants, answering machine, relay system,* and *videophones*, among others, some of which are cultural items (specifically the *alarm-clock light, relay system, and videophones*). Even though the occurrences of technology/technologies in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus did not necessarily carry negative connotation, such as frequent reference to amplification/corrective technologies, they did not make any cultural ties to technology such as what is displayed in this corpus.

1950	Vint Cerf, MCI vice president of Data Services, announced this unique service in a speech today entitled, "Enabling **Technologies** for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing *Community*," at *Gallaudet University's* October 25th Homecoming Conference, "*Deaf Expo*: Looking Toward 2000."
1951	Barbin, 35, researches **technologies** for the deaf at *Gallaudet University*, a Washington-based school for the deaf and hard of hearing, but he didn't have an e-mail pager just because he's a techie.
1952	Five presenters discussed various aspects of *deaf culture*, including *deaf stories and jokes*, *deaf history* and **technology** for the deaf.
1953	Weverka, a field representative for the Nebraska Commission for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, is on the telephone, using the latest in communication **technology** for the deaf—*video relay service*.
1954	Two years of studying *sign language* satisfies the university's foreign-language requirement, but students and teachers say the interest stems from other factors: a desire to communicate with the large *deaf community* in Rochester, home to the *National Institute of* ***Technology*** *for the Deaf*; careers in health or social services, or simply a new challenge.

Table 5.1.2.2. Occurrences of 'technology/technologies for the deaf'—full context

Interestingly, the five occurrences of the term *technology/technologies* made direct reference to Deaf culture or items specifically tied to it (see table 5.1.2.2 for concordance lines in full context). Italicized terms in the table 5.1.2.2 examples include the more obvious cultural references like *community, culture* and *sign language* as well as other items that are valued highly by the Deaf community, including: *Gallaudet University*, which has been called the Mecca of the Deaf community (Pray & Jordan, 2010); *National Technical Institute for the Deaf*, another college specifically for d/Deaf and hard of hearing people; *deaf stories and jokes*; *deaf history*; *video relay service*, a service that provides live interpreters for phone calls between d/Deaf and hearing individuals, valued for replacing text relay with a mechanism for d/Deaf people to conduct phone calls in their first language, ASL, as opposed to written English; and *Deaf Expo*, an annual conference that addresses the current needs and issues of the Deaf community. Although these are only five lines of the corpus, considering the high concentration of cultural trigger words, or those words that indicate items of cultural significance in the Deaf community, present and the other findings to this point, there is already a clear indication of a discourse that is very different than the medicalized discourse that was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus.

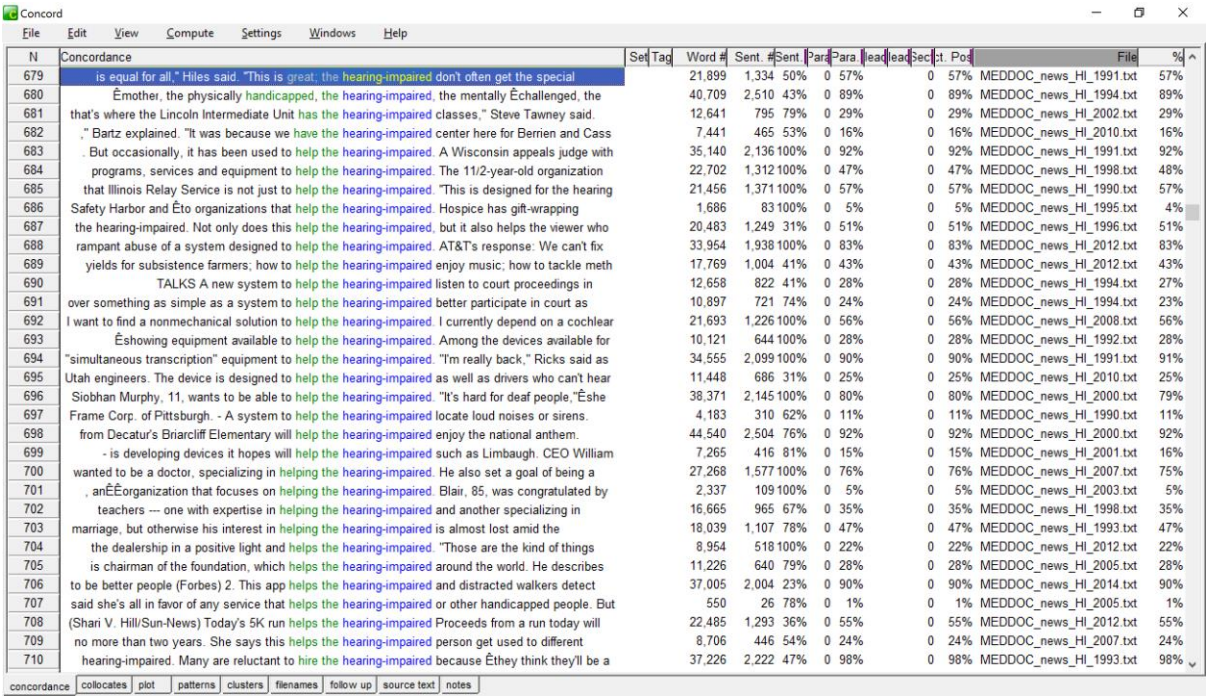
Looking beyond those frequent words common to both corpora and instead focusing on just this corpus, words such as *access, communication, language, opportunity/opportunities,* and *sign* support the idea of a discourse more in line with the ideology that sees d/Deaf people as a cultural minority. Further, *college** and *university/universities* had a combined 63 occurrences, 60 of which referred to Gallaudet University, described above as the Deaf Mecca, one which referred to NTID, another premier college for Deaf people, and only two that referred to another college/university for the d/Deaf. Due to this, it would be reasonable to place at least these 61 occurrences as those that also support the presence of discourse of d/Deafness as cultural minority. One last cultural reference found amongst these terms

preceding the phrase '*for the deaf*' was the term *school**, which occurred 966 times. While *school** was also a frequently occurring term with '*for the hearing-impaired*', it has a much different meaning in this corpus because 'Schools for the Deaf' are highly valued as a cultural marker for the Deaf community (Gannon, 1981; Lane, Hoffmeister and Bahan, 1996) as they advocate for and implement an educational approach that uses ASL as the language of instruction. All of these findings for the cluster '*for the deaf*' illustrate the existence of a more culturally centered discourse as opposed to one that promotes 'rehabilitation' and enculturation of d/Deaf people into the hearing community.

5.2. Theme 2: Help* and the d/Deaf Population

5.2.1. 'Help' and the 'hearing-impaired'.

Repeating my initial main sort, where '*hearing-impaired*' was my node word, and the second and third sort positions were L1 and L2, respectively, another theme became apparent: a strong co-occurrence of the word *help* with 'hearing-impaired', seen in figure 5.1 below. The main sort window showed 26 occurrences of '*help* the hearing-impaired'.* Because this initial search revealed a common co-occurrence I wanted to investigate further how 'help' is used with 'hearing-impaired'. I ran a follow up search of the lemmatized *help** with a span of L5, R5, which would show occurrences of *help** within range of five words to the left of 'hearing-impaired' to five words to the right of 'hearing-impaired'. This follow up returned 137 occurrences, or about 5% of the corpus, which means that 'hearing-impaired' co-occurred with the word 'help' in 1 out of every 20 concordance lines in this corpus. A deeper look at the concordance lines invited more consideration of how this term was being used in conjunction with 'hearing-impaired', namely I was interested in how often 'hearing-impaired' people were the recipients of help (the goal or beneficiary of the material process of helping), who was helping them, and what kind of help they were being offered.



N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent. #	Sent.	Para	Para.	lead	lead	Sect	t. Pos	File	%
679	is equal for all," Hiles said. "This is great; the hearing-impaired don't often get the special			21,899	1,334	50%	0	57%			0	57%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1991.txt	57%
680	Êmother, the physically handicapped, the hearing-impaired, the mentally Êchallenged, the			40,709	2,510	43%	0	89%			0	89%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1994.txt	89%
681	that's where the Lincoln Intermediate Unit has the hearing-impaired classes," Steve Tawney said.			12,641	795	79%	0	29%			0	29%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2002.txt	29%
682	," Bartz explained. "It was because we have the hearing-impaired center here for Berrien and Cass			7,441	465	53%	0	16%			0	16%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2010.txt	16%
683	. But occasionally, it has been used to help the hearing-impaired. A Wisconsin appeals judge with			35,140	2,136	100%	0	92%			0	92%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1991.txt	92%
684	programs, services and equipment to help the hearing-impaired. The 11/2-year-old organization			22,702	1,312	100%	0	47%			0	47%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1998.txt	48%
685	that Illinois Relay Service is not just to help the hearing-impaired. "This is designed for the hearing			21,456	1,371	100%	0	57%			0	57%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1990.txt	57%
686	Safety Harbor and Êto organizations that help the hearing-impaired. Hospice has gift-wrapping			1,686	83	100%	0	5%			0	5%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1995.txt	4%
687	the hearing-impaired. Not only does this help the hearing-impaired, but it also helps the viewer who			20,483	1,249	31%	0	51%			0	51%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1996.txt	51%
688	rampant abuse of a system designed to help the hearing-impaired. AT&T's response: We can't fix			33,954	1,938	100%	0	83%			0	83%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2012.txt	83%
689	yields for subsistence farmers; how to help the hearing-impaired enjoy music; how to tackle meth			17,769	1,004	41%	0	43%			0	43%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2012.txt	43%
690	TALKS A new system to help the hearing-impaired listen to court proceedings in			12,658	822	41%	0	28%			0	28%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1994.txt	27%
691	over something as simple as a system to help the hearing-impaired better participate in court as			10,897	721	74%	0	24%			0	24%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1994.txt	23%
692	I want to find a nonmechanical solution to help the hearing-impaired. I currently depend on a cochlear			21,693	1,226	100%	0	56%			0	56%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2008.txt	56%
693	Êshowing equipment available to help the hearing-impaired. Among the devices available for			10,121	644	100%	0	28%			0	28%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1992.txt	28%
694	"simultaneous transcription" equipment to help the hearing-impaired. "I'm really back," Ricks said as			34,555	2,099	100%	0	90%			0	90%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1991.txt	91%
695	Utah engineers. The device is designed to help the hearing-impaired as well as drivers who can't hear			11,448	686	31%	0	25%			0	25%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2010.txt	25%
696	Siobhan Murphy, 11, wants to be able to help the hearing-impaired. "It's hard for deaf people,"Êshe			38,371	2,145	100%	0	80%			0	80%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2000.txt	79%
697	Frame Corp. of Pittsburgh. - A system to help the hearing-impaired locate loud noises or sirens.			4,183	310	62%	0	11%			0	11%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1990.txt	11%
698	from Decatur's Briarcliff Elementary will help the hearing-impaired enjoy the national anthem.			44,540	2,504	76%	0	92%			0	92%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2000.txt	92%
699	- is developing devices it hopes will help the hearing-impaired such as Limbaugh. CEO William			7,265	416	81%	0	15%			0	15%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2001.txt	16%
700	wanted to be a doctor, specializing in helping the hearing-impaired. He also set a goal of being a			27,268	1,577	100%	0	76%			0	76%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2007.txt	75%
701	, anÊÊorganization that focuses on helping the hearing-impaired. Blair, 85, was congratulated by			2,337	109	100%	0	5%			0	5%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2003.txt	5%
702	teachers --- one with expertise in helping the hearing-impaired and another specializing in			16,665	965	67%	0	35%			0	35%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1998.txt	35%
703	marriage, but otherwise his interest in helping the hearing-impaired is almost lost amid the			18,039	1,107	78%	0	47%			0	47%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1993.txt	47%
704	the dealership in a positive light and helps the hearing-impaired. "Those are the kind of things			8,954	518	100%	0	22%			0	22%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2012.txt	22%
705	is chairman of the foundation, which helps the hearing-impaired around the world. He describes			11,226	640	79%	0	28%			0	28%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2005.txt	28%
706	to be better people (Forbes) 2. This app helps the hearing-impaired and distracted walkers detect			37,005	2,004	23%	0	90%			0	90%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2014.txt	90%
707	said she's all in favor of any service that helps the hearing-impaired or other handicapped people. But			550	26	78%	0	1%			0	1%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2005.txt	1%
708	(Shari V. Hill/Sun-News) Today's 5K run helps the hearing-impaired Proceeds from a run today will			22,485	1,293	36%	0	55%			0	55%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2012.txt	55%
709	no more than two years. She says this helps the hearing-impaired person get used to different			8,706	446	54%	0	24%			0	24%	MEDDOC_news_HI_2007.txt	24%
710	hearing-impaired. Many are reluctant to hire the hearing-impaired because Êthey think they'll be a			37,226	2,222	47%	0	98%			0	98%	MEDDOC_news_HI_1993.txt	98%

Figure 5.1. Initial findings of 'help' in main sort of 'hearing-impaired', L1, L2

Out of the 137 occurrences of 'help' with 'hearing-impaired', 'hearing-impaired' people were the goal or beneficiary of the material process of 'helping' 115 times (84%). Many different actors served as the *helpers* in these occurrences, including: *educators, programs, volunteers, organizations, technology, audiologists, events* (fundraisers), *closed captioning, hearing devices, sound systems, professors/researchers, doctors, therapy technology, interpreters,* and others who were unspecified. Only in four cases were the 'hearing-impaired' recipients being helped by other 'hearing-impaired' or d/Deaf individuals. In 60 of these 115 occurrences (52%) the type of *help* was unspecified, for example, "*There are many programs that help hearing-impaired kids.*" In this example, there is no indication in the direct context that informs us as to how the 'hearing-impaired' kids are being helped by the programs. It is possible that there is some explanation for why *help* may be used without circumstances to accompany how the programs are helping the 'hearing-impaired' kids, but that explanation was not made clear in these examples. When the type of *help** was specified, it included helping 'hearing-impaired' people with the following: *education*, ***learning to speak***, *access*, ***hearing***, *detect danger, get needed services,* ***enjoy music***, *actively participate in classroom,* ***improve communication***, *learn baseball,* ***mainstream***, *find employment,* ***develop language skills***, ***achieve normal language skills***, ***learn to hear and speak***, ***listen***, ***lip-read***, ***visualize sounds***, and ***cope in a hearing world*** among others. Out of those 19 recurring themes mentioned above, 12 of them (in bold) refer to some type of interventive action or strategy with the intent of making these 'hearing-impaired' individuals more hearing.

Upon looking further into these 115 occurrences, I found that in 82 of the 115 occurrences where ‘hearing-impaired’ people were the goals or beneficiaries of *help**, they were on the receiving end of an interventive action, such as helping their hearing be restored or helping them learn to speak, etc. (Table 5.2.1.1 shows 20 of these 82 occurrences). This means that, in this corpus, 61% of the time *help** is used with ‘hearing-impaired’, it carries this connotation. In the remaining 33 occurrences, ‘hearing-impaired’ people were on the receiving end of various other types of assistance including *help* hearing-impaired: students find a job, employees in the workplace, inmates get necessary services, people access services, people connect with their faith, clients find employment, get used to different interpreters,* and other similar types of assistance. Discovering these statistics encouraged me to look back at the instances in which ‘hearing-impaired’ people might be presented as the actors of these material processes, or the *helpers*. Conducting another search through the whole 137 occurrences of the follow up search of ‘hearing-impaired’ and *help** (L5, R5) revealed that in only three concordance lines were ‘hearing-impaired’ people presented as such, or 2% of the time, making this perhaps the more striking result. The nature of the *help* offered by the ‘hearing-impaired’ people had no common theme, one referencing the use of sign language and another referencing cochlear implants (Table 5.2.1.2 shows these three concordance lines in their full contexts).

3	There are many programs that ***help*** hearing-impaired kids. One, called Vocal Rehab, is a program funded by the government to help kids get hearing aids at no cost.
9	"It will enable us to ***help*** hearing-impaired individuals who are struggling significantly even with the best of hearing instruments and who previously didn't qualify for a cochlear implant," Over said.
32	Pittsburgh's DePaul School is celebrating a century of ***helping*** hearing-impaired children "to actively participate in the hearing world."
34	I want to find a nonmechanical solution to ***help*** the hearing-impaired. I currently depend on a cochlear implant, which is a technological achievement in itself but I want to do better.
35	The tutor, nicknamed Baldi, already has ***helped*** autistic and hearing-impaired children learn to talk.
48	But while educators have praised the implant's ability to ***help*** to "mainstream" hearing-impaired kids into hearing classrooms, some in the deaf community see the devices as overrated.
54	They visit Chaffee Elementary to ***help*** the speech and hearing-impaired children and use the money they raise from the annual golf tournament to send to various speech and hearing-impaired organizations.
56	Campbell "Cami" Elizabeth Garland volunteers at her former school to ***help*** hearing-impaired children to learn to speak full sentences.
59	The Children's Hearing Help Fund is one component of a comprehensive Sertoma program, which ***helps*** hearing-impaired people of all ages and from all walks of life."
66	The nonprofit center at 1447 Peachtree St. is dedicated to ***helping*** hearing-impaired children develop language skills that will enable them to participate in regular academic programs.
70	But cued speech has its own passionate advocates – and they want more parents to know that it's an option that could ***help*** their hearing-impaired children.
87	"There is a huge need for what it is we do," said Chellie Lisenby, executive director of the Bolesta Center, which ***helps*** hearing-impaired children learn to hear and speak.
89	Wanted: Two special education teachers --- one with expertise in ***helping*** the hearing-impaired and another specializing in children with mild physical disabilities, learning disabilities or behavior disorders.
90	Teri Burdette tries to ***help*** her hearing-impaired students visualize sounds as much as the other students can hear it.
97	Listen Foundation, Inc. will receive $10,000 to help offer to low-income children its auditory-verbal therapy techniques, which ***help*** hearing-impaired children learn to listen and speak.
103	From there, it was on to ***helping*** hearing-impaired children cope in a hearing world, placing foster children and getting inner-city youths interested in golf.
106	In addition to ***helping*** hearing-impaired children learn to speak, the HOLA program is also open to those with speech impairments due to other causes, such as stuttering, cleft palate, oral motor-skill problems, or delayed oral skills.
109	"Her contribution is felt far beyond Wake County because of what she's done to ***help*** children who are hearing-impaired," he said.
116	The group devotes most of its attention to the Sheriff's Youth Ranch but hopes to expand its horizons to ***help*** people who are hearing-impaired.
136	To ***help*** your hearing-impaired students lip-read, make sure to face them when you talk, talk slowly and clearly, and do not yell.

Table 5.2.1.1. Use of help in L5, R5 span with 'hearing-impaired'—full context*

4	"The ones that benefit from it the most are people that have an interest in the deaf and really want to try to communicate but don't know how," Thompson said. "Even if you just finger spell a little, they (the hearing-impaired) want to try to ***help*** you."
16	Canyon, the Labrador, works at the nearby John Powers Center for the deaf as a hearing-ear dog for teacher Karla Giese. Giese also brought some of her hearing-impaired students to ***help*** with Tuesday's presentation.
118	Hearing-impaired boy ***helps*** others cope with life – KIRKWOOD, Mo. – David Cluff's parents had a choice 12 years ago: spend $50,000 to save their son's hearing, or watch their son withdraw.

Table 5.2.1.2. 'Hearing-impaired' as helpers—full context

As can be seen in Table 5.2.1.1, the connection of *help** and 'hearing-impaired' appears to support the same kind of discourse found associated with the above phrase *for the hearing-impaired*. Many of the 82 instances, several of which are found in the sample shown in Table 5.2.1.1, refer to the restoration of hearing or at least the 'rehabilitation' of 'hearing-impaired' people to their hearing environment. Lines 9, 32, 34, 48, 54, 59, 66, 70, 97, and 106 specifically address devices such as cochlear implants (lines 9, 34, 48, 66), emphasize getting 'hearing-impaired' people to learn to speak (lines 54, 56, 97, 106), or directly talk about participation in the hearing world (line 32).

Although not focused on one of these topics, the other lines follow the same vein of thinking. Line 90 discusses *helping* 'hearing-impaired' students *visualize sounds as much as*

the other students can hear it, placing emphasis on the auditory. Line 136 wants to *help your 'hearing-impaired' students lip-read*, which again includes focus on the development of hearing and speaking. Line 70 mentions advocacy for *cued speech*, a manual communication method that mimics the sounds of the English language. Line 66 emphasizes *helping hearing-impaired children develop language skills that will enable them to participate in regular academic programs*, which doesn't directly talk about speaking English but implies it in the mention of participation in *regular academic programs* that through the use of the term 'regular' refers to those 'hearing-impaired' students being fully mainstreamed. Line 89 interestingly addresses the need for teachers who have expertise in *helping the hearing-impaired* and those *specializing in children with mild physical disabilities, learning disabilities and behavioral disabilities*. This not only associates 'hearing-impaired' people with those with disabilities but calls into question why teachers *specialize* in the one case and have *expertise in helping* in the other and also why members of this group are labeled *the hearing-impaired* instead of *children with a hearing-impairment*, which is how the language is approached in the latter part of the sentence. Line 103 talks about *helping hearing-impaired children cope in a hearing world*, the word *cope* bringing a somewhat negative connotation to the experience of being 'hearing-impaired'. Lines 3, 59, 109, and 116 are a little more neutral in their usage since these lines simply talk about helping 'hearing-impaired' people but do not specify how they are helping them.

Overall, this finding suggests that 'hearing-impaired' individuals are often in need of *help* and that hearing people are often the ones providing this much needed *help*. Moreover, 'hearing-impaired' people are not presented as offering *help* of any kind (other than those three times mentioned above), which conveys a lack of agency. This is consistent with the previous theme in which actions were being done *for the hearing-impaired* in an effort to make them more a part of the hearing world.

5.2.2. 'Help' and the 'd/Deaf'.

Starting back with the initial search of *d/Deaf*, I performed a follow up search of *help** as it occurs within five spaces to the left of the node word and five spaces to the right of the node word (L5, R5) in order to compare the discourse found here with that found in the co-occurrence of *help** and *hearing-impaired.* This follow up search found 291 occurrences of *help** and *d/Deaf*, or 2% of the total 16,844 concordance lines. This is compared to 5% of the total concordance lines in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, one in 50 concordance lines as opposed to one in 20 concordance lines. Since the most relevant results found in the previous

corpus concerned the high prevalence of the 'hearing-impaired' person being positioned as the goal or beneficiary of the material process of *help*, I performed a similar analysis of the relationship between *help** and *d/Deaf*. d/Deaf people were positioned as goals or beneficiaries in 145 out of 291 occurrences, or in 50% of the concordance lines. This is already a significant indication of a different discourse as '*hearing-impaired*' individuals were positioned as goals or beneficiaries in 84% of the concordance lines. Moreover, in 21% of the 145 concordance lines where d/Deaf people are being helped, they are being helped by other d/Deaf people (31 total concordance lines). Overall, there were 68 concordance lines where d/Deaf people were positioned as helpers in the whole of the 291 occurrences, or 23% of the time. Figure 5.2 shows an unsorted selection of concordance lines from the follow up search of *deaf* and *help** (span L5, R5).

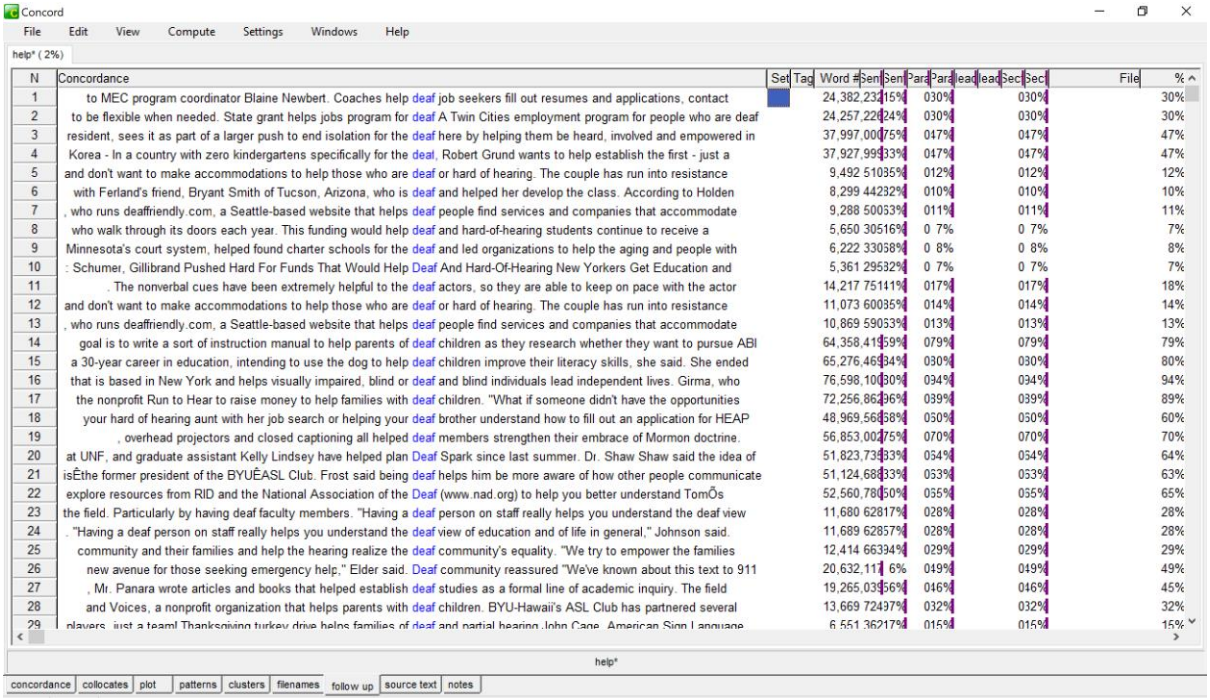


Figure 5.2. Unsorted selection of follow up 'help' from main search 'deaf'*

The numbers above are already quite telling in terms of a divide in discourses amongst the co-occurrence of *help** and either *deaf* or *hearing-impaired*. Not only is there less prevalence of co-occurrence with *help** in the d/Deaf corpus (2% vs. 5% of the hearing-impaired corpus), but the extent to which *deaf* people are being represented as the 'helped' party is drastically different to the proportion of *hearing-impaired* people represented as 'helped' (50% vs. 84%). A closer look at each individual occurrence of d/Deaf people as the 'helped' in this corpus reveals that they are rarely receiving intervention or 'rehabilitative' help. Instead of helping d/Deaf people speak or hear, which was quite common in the previous corpus, d/Deaf people are being helped with *job applications, accommodations, feel[ing]*

empowered, lead[ing] independent lives, participat[ing] in census, pursu[ing] a career, becom[ing] part of the community, enrich[ing] learning experiences, attain[ing] their investment goals, and the like. There was some emphasis on helping with communication, 12 out of 145 concordance lines, which was also true of the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, as well as some occurrence of traditionally pathological discourse indicators: *help d/Deaf* to *hear* (4), *talk on the phone* (1), *listen and speak* (1), *understand spoken language* (1), *attend regular schools* (1), *assimilate into society* (1), *get cochlear implants* (1), and *distinguish between sounds* (1). That said, it was common for the communication d/Deaf people were being *helped* with to be conducted in sign language, not spoken language. The number of concordance lines that focused specifically on *helping* d/Deaf people with something relating to hearing or speaking was 18 out of 145, or 12% (compared to the 61% in the hearing-impaired corpus).

It has already been established that d/Deaf people were positioned as the *helpers* of other d/Deaf people for a significant number of the 145 concordance lines (31, or 21%), but a more detailed search of the concordance lines provided more information of the profile of individuals who were described as *helpers* of the d/Deaf. The list of *helpers* was comprised of *coaches, educators, agencies* (mainly d/Deaf service centers), *interpreters, VRS, programs, shows, nonprofit organizations, schools, funding, devices, nonverbal cues*, and others. There were also *devices*/*technologies* positioned as *helpers*, many of which were hearing devices such as cochlear implants, but others that did not focus on developing hearing abilities such as braille devices used by Deaf-Blind people and even a smart glove that had the ability to read signs being produced by a d/Deaf person wearing it and translate them into written English on a handheld device. Hearing people appeared as *helpers* in 28 of the 145 concordance lines; however, 17 of these 28 hearing *helpers* were individuals who were immersed in d/Deaf culture and language and who did not hold the 'hearing' agenda that is often presented as *help* to the d/Deaf population (i.e. encouraging intervention, hearing technology, assimilation, etc.). These 17 occurrences can be found in table 5.2.2.1.

30	*Helping* the **deaf** community. Madison Shaewitz, senior, Liberty High, Brentwood: "She works as translator, tutor and advocate (off campus), and she spends much of her summer and break time out in the community offering her assistance," said teacher Gina Capelli.
48	At Gallaudet, she *helped* low-functioning **deaf** adults learn to purchase items in stores and ride city buses.
49	She also worked as an itinerant teacher *helping* **deaf** and hard-of-hearing students across Orange County.
52	As ASL spreads, volunteers with varying levels of ASL travel abroad to *help* the **Deaf** (the capital D signifies Deaf culture, not simply a medical condition).
55	As part of the master plan, one of the first structures that will be built will be a facility for the school's interpreters, who *help* **deaf** student and faculty interact with outsiders.
74	Students with sign language skills *help* **deaf** – Seven Curtis Baptist School seniors have spent a week ministering to deaf students in Jamaica.
76	Ms. Riner traveled the state and beyond, *helping* the **deaf** communicate across a gamut of situations.
79	She wanted to combine her two loves: acting and *helping* **deaf** children. Goldstein grew up near Central Institute for the Deaf in St. Louis and played with the students, who at that time lived on campus.
128	"Naureen's dream was to help foster awareness and understanding of deaf-related issues in the U.S. as well as *helping* the **deaf** community in Pakistan," said Collazo, 30.
137	Teachers can better communicate with their deaf students by signing and police and health care workers can *help* **deaf** people in distress by knowing the basics, Eshleman said.
156	Some students become medical interpreters, *helping* **deaf** people communicate with doctors and other medical professionals during physical exams, dental work or prior to surgery.
183	Sharon Armstrong of Crystal River, coordinator of the deaf ministry at Faith Baptist who has been involved in signing for 29 years, said, "It is my heart's desire to *help* the **deaf**. I just love the deaf people. I started doing this because there was a desperate need for people to present God's word to the deaf."
193	"She happens to admire the **deaf** and wants to *help*," says Margaret Schrock, a 71-year-old deaf Lakeland woman. "Many of us feel free to talk with her as she is one of our family."
195	Over the years she has *helped* her **deaf** students wherever the need arose – from poolside to sideline. Several years ago she found she knew a whole lot more about sign language than football, but nevertheless became the ears for three young players.
205	Nicole said she is taking sign-language instruction to *help* young **deaf** children.
207	This is not a message that will encourage hearing people to *help* **deaf** people survive in a hearing world by learning sign, etc. In fact, such a message makes it harder for deaf people to deal with the ignorance and insensitivity of hearing people, because any hearing person reading the article gets the idea that deaf people choose to be deaf and choose not to exist in the hearing world.
229	"He's been *helping* a lot of **deaf** people," said Rhonda Fadler, who teaches sign language at New Mexico Junior College and is herself hearing impaired. "He's really involved in the deaf community. He makes things better for them."

Table 5.2.2.1. Hearing 'helpers' of d/Deaf—full context

Another interesting finding in the search for *help* and *deaf* were the many occurrences of *help** in the L2 (sometimes L3) position where the node word was d/Deaf. In these cases, the material process of the clause was not *help* but the various other verbs found preceding *deaf*. Most of the terms also have a positive discourse prosody perhaps indicating an attempt for the discourse to avoid the stigma of d/Deaf people needing *help*, and rather focusing on a different action that is less socially loaded. These short combinations include *help* ***assure*** *deaf, help* ***prepare*** *deaf, help* ***orient*** *deaf, help* ***guide*** *deaf, help* ***ensure*** *deaf, help [to]* ***empower*** *deaf* (2), *help* ***link*** *deaf, helps* ***identify*** *deaf, help* ***integrate*** *deaf, help* ***include*** *deaf, helped* ***inspire*** *deaf, helped to* ***spawn*** *deaf* [entrepreneurs], and *help* ***interview*** *deaf*. See table 5.2.2.2 for the full context of these instances. The positioning of the word '*help**' in these occurrences takes the emphasis off of '*helping*' d/Deaf people as a direct intervention; however, in looking at the examples it also becomes clear that in most of these instances, the word '*help*' could have been

dropped altogether without significantly changing the meaning, which may indicate that the discourse surrounding d/Deaf has not yet completely lost its tie to a tone of intervention.

50	The Vancouver-based advocacy organization, which *helps **guide** deaf* and hard-of-hearing people from all over the country while they are training in vocational schools, is preparing to take an RV on the road for its second national tour, starting in March.
51	Along with *helping **ensure** deaf* people from across the country can thrive in college and onto careers, the organization also does community outreach including hosting American Sign Language classes, and recently, a holiday open house party where Santa chatted with kids and their families using sign.
56	"We will be able to continue delivering on our mission, *helping to **empower** deaf* and hard of hearing children, adults and families through comprehensive and individualized educational, social and support services (through this grant)," Robert Carter, executive director of the Vermont Center for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, stated in a release.
70	The bar has hosted events with Gallaudet alumni association and has hired sign-language-proficient staff specifically to *help **communicate** with deaf* customers.
89	The Early Hearing Detection and Intervention (EHDI) program *helps **identify** deaf* children at the earliest age possible. However, EHDI is not functioning the way it is supposed to because it is centered around fixing the child's hearing and not on the child's education or language development.
111	The college, which was founded four decades ago, has interpreters, note takers, and other services for *deaf students*, and it *helps **integrate** them* into classes offered at Rochester Institute of Technology's other eight colleges.
131	Sheridan Lutheran Church perfects 'silent' auction; Fund-raiser used sign language to *help **include** deaf* members.
152	The handsome, confident young man *helped **inspire** deaf* students to think beyond Guam. He was a role model.
162	Designed to provide qualified sign-language interpreters – to *help **link** deaf* people and hearing environments – it has led to a critical shortage of interpreters.
174	Although advances in audio may now threaten the newfound access, technology so far has bridged communication between the deaf and the hearing and *helped to **spawn** deaf* entrepreneurs across the country.
204	Andrews Center was chosen by the Northeast Technical Assistance Center (NETAC) as the core institution in Pennsylvania to implement a national project to *help **assure** students who are deaf* and hard of hearing of post-secondary education opportunities.
252	"My work is to *help **empower** deaf*-blind people. I don't complain for them, I teach them how to complain for themselves," said Mark Landreneau, a case manager at the center.
260	For example, an interpreter needs to be hired to *help **interview** deaf* candidates and also to assist at staff meetings and similar group events.
280	Question 24 asked how teaching self-determination skills might *help **prepare** students who are deaf* or hard of hearing in school.
287	Advanced copies of lecture notes, technical terms, hand-outs, speeches, audio recordings, song lyrics, websites, PowerPoint slides, and other materials will *help **orient** the Deaf* student and allow the interpreter to better prepare to translate the class content.

Table 5.2.2.2. 'Help' as L2/L3 position with 'deaf' as node word—full context*

5.3. Theme 3: Juveniles vs. Adults

5.3.1. Emphasis on 'hearing-impaired' juveniles.

Looking back at the sample lines in table 5.2.1.1, another pattern became evident in the 2777 concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired': an extensive correlation with children. 16 out of the 20 sample lines from that table alone reference 'hearing-impaired' children through one term or another (students, kids, or children). After reviewing all 2777 concordance lines with the main sort at 'hearing-impaired' and the second sort in the R1 position, it became obvious that the reference to juveniles was a strong pattern throughout the entire corpus and not only within

the context of *helping* 'hearing-impaired' people. Counting all 'juvenile' terms in the R1 position, including *infant*, kid*, girl*, baby, babies, boy*, preschooler*, prekindergartner*, pupil*, student*, youngster*,* and *youth,* I found that there were 655 occurrences of 'hearing-impaired' juveniles, which means that almost a quarter (23.6%) of all concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired' talk about juveniles. This statistic does not include any references to phrases such as *children who are hearing-impaired* or other similar forms, which may indicate an even stronger correlation. I then compared this with occurrences of 'hearing-impaired' adults, including terms *adult*, individual*, man, men, people, person*, woman,* and *women*. Since *individual*, people,* and *person** could reference either juveniles or adults, I first added up the occurrences of the strictly adult terms, which totaled 36. Adding in *individual*, people,* and *person** (all of which referenced adults after analyzing the concordance lines) brought the total number of occurrences to 299, which is less than half the amount of occurrences of 'hearing-impaired' juveniles.

Juveniles		**Neutral**		**Adults**	
Search terms	**Total hits**	**Search terms**	**Total hits**	**Search terms**	**Total hits**
h.i. baby/babies	6	*h.i. individual**	45	*h.i. adult**	10
*h.i. boy**	6	*h.i. people*	148	*h.i. man/men*	12
*h.i. child**	264	*h.i. person**	70	*h.i. woman/women*	14
*h.i. girl**	8				
*h.i. infant**	7				
*h.i. kid**	34				
*h.i. newborn**	1				
*h.i. prekindergartner**	2				
*h.i. preschooler**	9				
*h.i. pupil**	13				
*h.i. student**	292				
h.i. youth/youngster**	13				
Total	**655**	**Total**	**263**	**Total**	**36**

Table 5.3.1.1. Concordance hits of 'hearing-impaired' juvenile vs. adults

This large discrepancy between references to 'hearing-impaired' juveniles and 'hearing-impaired' adults, as well as the high number of occurrences of references to juveniles in general, implies something of consequence to understanding the characteristics of the discourse of 'hearing-impaired'. Looking through every concordance line in each of these searches, I found that in 219 out of the 655 occurrences of 'hearing-impaired' juveniles, there was reference to intervention relating to hearing, speech, etc. This shows not only that 33% of the references to juveniles includes some discussion of intervention, but also that 8% of the entire 'hearing-impaired' corpus, or 1 in every 13 concordance lines, is about a 'hearing-impaired' juvenile receiving some kind of intervention. When not discussing intervention strategies, these concordance lines spoke of *teachers, studies, camps, scholarships,* people *working with, Christmas parties, parents of,* etc. in relation to 'hearing-impaired' juveniles, but

there was no other main theme with so many occurrences. This same theme was still present with 'hearing-impaired' adults but to a lesser extent, accounting for 19% (57 out of 299) of all occurrences. It is possible that the pattern associating 'hearing-impaired' juveniles and intervention strategies is common in this corpus because of the presence of a discourse that pushes early hearing intervention for d/Deaf children to get ahead of the 'problem' as opposed to attempting to 'rehabilitate' older individuals. There is not enough evidence here to confirm that beyond a doubt, but there is enough to at least suggest it.

5.3.2. 'd/Deaf' corpus: Juveniles vs. adults.

My impression based on the analyses conducted to this point was that the d/Deaf corpus did not share this emphasis on juveniles. However, this question was worth investigating further in order to compare the results of the 'hearing-impaired' corpus to what is found in the 'd/Deaf' corpus. I engaged in an analysis similar to that of the one previously described to learn the extent of reference to d/Deaf juveniles vs. reference to d/Deaf adults, except in this case I did direct searches of d/Deaf with each juvenile or adult term rather than looking at the main search with a 'd/Deaf' main sort and second sort in the R1 position. In searching the terms found in table 5.3.2.1, I found that there were 1780 occurrences of references to 'd/Deaf' juveniles, which equates to 10.5% of the entire d/Deaf corpus. This compares to 23.6% of the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, demonstrating that there is a much larger emphasis on juveniles in the discourses surrounding 'hearing-impaired' than there is in the discourses surrounding 'd/Deaf'. Like the 'hearing-impaired' search, this does not include references to juveniles that may be positioned in the L3 position (e.g. children who are d/Deaf), which may add up to a larger percentage of the corpus. Not only did the reference to d/Deaf juveniles add up to a much smaller percentage of the d/Deaf corpus, but the references to d/Deaf adults, including the terms *adult*, women, woman, men, man, individual*, people,* and *person,* totaled 2036 (12% of the corpus), an amount that is higher than that of the d/Deaf juvenile occurrences. These findings would suggest that there is no emphasis on d/Deaf juveniles over d/Deaf adults, results very unlike those of the 'hearing-impaired' corpus.

Juveniles		Neutral		Adults	
Search terms	**Total hits**	**Search terms**	**Total hits**	**Search terms**	**Total hits**
deaf baby/babies	24	*deaf individual**	110	*deaf adult**	101
*deaf boy**	20	*deaf people*	1,321	*deaf man/men*	81
*deaf child**	846	*deaf person**	348	*deaf woman/women*	75
*deaf girl**	30				
*deaf infant**	21				
*deaf kid**	93				
*deaf newborn**	1				
*deaf prekindergartner**	0				
*deaf preschooler**	0				
*deaf pupil**	7				
*deaf student**	713				
deaf youth/youngster**	25				
Total	**1,780**	**Total**	**1,779**	**Total**	**257**

Table 5.3.2.1. Concordance hits of 'deaf' juveniles vs. adults

Similar to the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, three terms had significantly more hits than the rest: *student**, *child**, and *people*. While these were the most prevalent terms in both corpora, the adult reference term *people* was in much higher quantity when compared to the juvenile reference terms *student** and *child** in the 'd/Deaf' corpus, whereas the opposite was true in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus (1321 occurrences of *deaf people* compared to 713 and 846 occurrences of *deaf student** and *deaf child**, respectively; 148 occurrences of *hearing-impaired people* compared to 292 and 264 occurrences of *hearing-impaired student** and *hearing-impaired child**, respectively).

There was also a disparity in the amount of references to intervention amongst the two corpora. Discussion of intervention was much less prevalent in the 'd/Deaf' corpus in relation to the juvenile/adult terms. Out of the 1780 d/Deaf juvenile references, only 108 discussed intervention (or 6%). This is compared to 33% in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. Even fewer occurrences were found in the d/Deaf adult references: 38 out of 2036 concordance lines, or 2%. There were, however, several references to intervention (68 occurrences) when being addressed as part of an ongoing debate in the Deaf community where it was mentioned alongside ASL and Deaf cultural references (examples can be found in table 5.3.2.2). Since those references weren't advocating for intervention but were rather arguing the point that amplification devices and intervention were not the appropriate choice for a d/Deaf person, they were not included in the counts above. Although if included, there would still be a significant difference between the corpora, with d/Deaf juvenile references to intervention at 8% (138 out of 1780) and d/Deaf adult references to intervention at 4% (74 out of 2036), as opposed to 33% and 19%, respectively, in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. Based on the findings here, it would appear that when intervention is discussed for the d/Deaf population in general, no matter which reference term is used, it is more likely to be applied to juveniles and

considering both corpora, it is more likely to come up in a text that refers to this population as 'hearing-impaired'.

84	In an author's note, Bell acknowledges that some deaf people embrace their deafness while others want to "fix" hearing loss. "They might think of their deafness as a difference, and they might, either secretly or openly, think of it as a disability, too."
327	There will be deaf people who sign, deaf people who lip-read and now those who are born deaf but use a cochlear implant to hear, Fernandes said. "Americans support the right for parents to decide for their children," Fernandes said of children getting the implant. She explained that the procedure will remove the deaf child who can now hear, entirely from the deaf community.
375	The protesting students at Gallaudet want to perpetuate the clannishness and resistance to change that have characterized Deaf culture. They denigrate those deaf people who prefer to communicate by speaking and reading lips in order to better interact and integrate with hearing people, and who get cochlear implants to mitigate the impact of their deafness.
432	Internet listservs that date to 2000 are full of passionate posts from deaf people and parents of deaf children adamantly opposed to the devices sometimes referred to as a "bionic ear."
487	Bauman says there have long been contentious debates over whether deaf people should use sign or spoken language, attend special schools or be mainstreamed with hearing children and more recently, have cochlear implant surgery to improve hearing.
653	Peter Artinian, in the last frames of Sound and Fury, voices his fear of that kind of technology. "I'm afraid that cochlear implants are going to create a bunch or robots," he says. "Deaf people will become extinct. And my heart will be broken."
656	They say they have their own language, their own culture, and they're not eager to be assimilated into the hearing world. And some feel threatened by the advent of cochlear implants, electronic devices that can help profoundly deaf people hear. It's a subject of great controversy in the deaf community, tackled head-on in Sound and Fury.
803	Marie Arana-Ward's story ["As Technology Advances, A Bitter Debate Divides the Deaf," front page, May 11] leaves the reader with the impression that all deaf people can benefit from the cochlear implant. This is not the case. I have nerve deafness from birth, for which the implant has no value.
877	They don't blame Whitestone because she was not raised in the deaf culture. She grew up in the oralist tradition, which holds that deaf people should be taught to speak so they can interact in the hearing world. That philosophy is opposed by the deaf culture, which advocates that the deaf be taught American Sign Language as their primary language.
918	They contend the implants rarely work. Beyond that, they say, deaf people don't need a cure for deafness. Over the years, the deaf have developed a rich cultural heritage through their unique form of communication, American Sign Language, the culture advocates say.

Table 5.3.2.2. 'Interventions' discussed as part of cultural debate mentioned in the context of 'deaf people'

In reviewing the concordance lines to find mentions of intervention, I noticed a different trend that was not present in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. It was much more common to see references to ASL or aspects of Deaf culture in the juvenile/adult concordance lines in the 'd/Deaf' corpus. 252 of the 1780 d/Deaf juvenile references discussed ASL and/or aspects of Deaf culture (14%), which is nearly 2.5 times more than the amount of references to intervention in the same concordance lines. 291 of the 2036 d/Deaf adult references (over 7.5 times more than the amount of references to intervention), also 14%, discussed ASL and/or aspects of Deaf culture. In the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, only 47 of the 655 hearing-impaired juvenile references discussed ASL or aspects of Deaf culture (7%), and only 19 of the 299 (6%) hearing-impaired adult references. This provides more evidence in support of the idea that the reference term 'd/Deaf' has a competing discourse to that of intervention/'rehabilitation', one

that is not found to surround the reference term ‘hearing-impaired’ and that considers d/Deaf people as part of a cultural and linguistic minority.

5.4. Theme 4: Association with Traits of Disadvantaged Populations

5.4.1. ‘Hearing-impaired’ and the disadvantaged members of society.

Having found quite a few fruitful leads from the initial sort to the left of *‘hearing-impaired’*, it was appropriate to investigate further patterns with a new sort arrangement. When the sort was changed to the right of the search term *‘hearing-impaired’* (main sort at center, second sort at R1 and third sort at R2), the results returned another interesting pattern with the combination *‘hearing-impaired and…’*. This pattern revealed 36 occurrences that associated hearing-impaired individuals with other disabilities or other traits of disadvantaged members of society, as those with disabilities are often perceived to be, including *autistic, developmentally delayed, diabetic, difficulty interacting, lives on disability* (government subsidy offered to individuals who are disabled or unable to work), *mute, relied on a stenographer, suffering diseases, unable to speak,* etc. These references, in addition to the other 27 not listed here but shown in table 5.4.1.1., all are imbued with the same pathological ideology shown in those concordance lines discussing assistive listening devices for the hearing-impaired. Further, there were another 18 instances where ‘hearing-impaired’ people were associated with other disabilities or other traits of disadvantaged members of society in the context preceding ‘hearing-impaired’, of which the following are examples: *visually [impaired]; special needs students and kids who had handicaps; autistic; disability; prisoners, the homeless, addicts; physical and mental disabilities; severely retarded;* and *mentally challenged.* This totals 54 occurrences out of the total 134 occurrences of the search ‘*hearing-impaired and…*’, or 40%, that refer to ‘hearing-impaired’ people alongside other markers of social disadvantage or marginalization.

9	*...hearing-impaired and*	**autistic** students.
12	*...hearing-impaired and*	**blind**, music is making its way into her life,
14	*...hearing-impaired and*	**children with other disabilities**.
17	*...hearing-impaired and*	**deaf/blind** people in need of assistance at
32	*...hearing-impaired and*	**developmentally delayed**.
33	*...hearing-impaired and*	**diabetic**, and suffers from **kidney disease**,
35	*...hearing-impaired and*	**does not speak**. "So you know the grin is
36	*...hearing-impaired and*	**dyslexic** children attracted to Atlanta
40	*...hearing-impaired and*	had been **arrested** in 1987 for disorderly
47	*...hearing-impaired and*	has **difficulty communicating**, the theft was
48	*...hearing-impaired and*	has **Down syndrome**, has plenty of big,
49	*...hearing-impaired and*	has **intellectual disabilities**. To avoid
50	*...hearing-impaired and*	has other **physical problems**, became
51	*...hearing-impaired and*	has **serious cognitive delays**. He stands
53	*...hearing-impaired and*	has **cerebral palsy**, but she says that's
54	*...hearing-impaired and*	having **difficulty interacting** with other
57	*...hearing-impaired and*	**health impaired**, he's heard a lot of, 'You
68	*...hearing-impaired and*	**lives on disability**. A former mechanic, he
70	*...hearing-impaired and*	**mentally disabled**- sheriff's deputies turned
71	*...hearing-impaired and*	**mentally impaired** people. Under the Sea
73	*...hearing-impaired and*	**mute** individuals to come to this country
74	*...hearing-impaired and*	**nearly blind**, you would never know. With
82	*...hearing-impaired and*	others with **disabilities**." HEARING
83	*...hearing-impaired and*	people with **AIDS**; it sponsors sports
84	*...hearing-impaired and*	persons suffering **diseases** such as
88	*...hearing-impaired and*	recovering from **cancer**. "He didn't even do
89	*...hearing-impaired and*	**relied** on a stenographer funded by the
90	*...hearing-impaired and*	**rely** on hearing aids cannot listen to
96	*...hearing-impaired and*	**speech-impaired** children from across
97	*...hearing-impaired and*	**speech-impaired** independence and
98	*...hearing-impaired and*	**suicidal**." The report states Perosi was
101	*...hearing-impaired and*	the **2,000 who had suffered severe spinal**
105	*...hearing-impaired and*	the **visually impaired**. Most of these
112	*...hearing-impaired and*	those with **AIDS**. There are classes in
115	*...hearing-impaired and*	**unable to speak**, Melissa was a patient in
116	*...hearing-impaired and*	**vision-impaired** individuals to use blank

Table 5.4.1.1. 'Hearing-impaired and…' disadvantaged people concordance lines

The results of the '*hearing-impaired and…'* search suggested a flipped search might reveal whether or not this association pervaded through a larger percentage of the corpus. In carrying out a search on the phrase *'and hearing-impaired'* with the second and third sorts at L1 and L2, respectively, I learned that a similar pattern was present in these 164 concordance lines. 64 of the 164 concordance lines (39%) referenced other disabilities or traits of disadvantaged status along with 'hearing-impaired'. Some examples of these references include *autistic, blind, wheelchair-bound, partially crippled, emotionally disturbed, handicapped, mildly retarded, speech-impaired,* and many others. Perhaps an even more interesting finding from this search was that 'd/Deaf' was the preceding term in 79 out of the

total 164 occurrences of '*and hearing-impaired*'; however, only 6 of those 79 concordance lines made references to terms signaling disabilities or a disadvantaged status, such as those seen above (*special class sites, disabled* (x2), *teaching…students to speak*, *those unable to walk, and normal hearing*), and only 3 out of 6 were direct references to other disabilities. In fact, there were many references reflective of a positive discourse prosody along with '*deaf and hearing-impaired',* such as *civil rights, accommodate, sign language, access, equal access, advocacy groups,* and others. These findings are like the result found with *advocate* in section 5.1.1 above, where the positive discourse prosody appeared to be more effectively tied to 'd/Deaf' than to 'hearing-impaired' since there was no obvious pattern of positive references when 'hearing-impaired' was used without 'd/Deaf'.

5.4.2. 'd/Deaf' and its associations with traits of the disadvantaged.

Despite the discrepancies between the discourses of 'd/Deaf' and 'hearing-impaired' in the previous themes, this search revealed a somewhat similar representation of d/Deaf people associated with other disadvantaged members of society. A right aligned sort (d/Deaf as main sort, second and third sorts at R1 and R2, respectively) and a close look at the cluster *deaf and…* showed 47 occurrences that associated this population with other socially disadvantaged statuses such as *autistic, cannot speak, developmentally challenged, disabled, functionally illiterate, has cerebral palsy, homeless, uses a wheelchair,* etc. These and the remainder of the 47 occurrences can be found in table 5.4.2.1. The 47 traits listed in the table does not include the 155 occurrences of d/Deaf and blind, which I chose not to include because the Deaf-blind community is a specific sub-culture of Deaf culture. A reference to someone being *deaf and blind* does not necessarily carry the same connotation as referring to someone as *deaf and developmentally disabled* or any of the other traits listed in the table. This count also does not include the 1023 occurrences of *deaf and hard of hearing* or the 92 occurrences of *deaf and hearing-impaired* as these are not an additional trait but rather, in these contexts, are expressing the range of d/Deaf identities and hearing losses. The phrase *deaf and hard of hearing* is a common way of referencing the whole of the population, especially when discussing access and accommodations.

627	...*deaf and*	also has **Alzheimer's**, she said. To distract him, she
628	...*deaf and*	also has **Alzheimer's**, an incurable, progressive disease
646	...*deaf and*	**autistic**, has thrived through his second stint in
818	...*deaf and*	**cannot speak**. That flailing – Cerame's son's attempt to
869	...*deaf and*	**developmentally challenged** man who thought he had had a
870	...*deaf and*	**developmentally challenged** individuals with independent-living
871	...*deaf and*	**developmentally disabled** people like animals," he said. Torge
872	...*deaf and*	**developmentally disabled** equal access to public services, a
877	...*deaf and*	**disabled** students. Five of them are in the city St. Francis in
878	...*deaf and*	**disabled**. Many Deaf people consider themselves a linguistic
879	...*deaf and*	**disabled** community and succeeded in persuading Glacier
880	...*deaf and*	**disabled** in New York State that share $111 million annually in
883	...*deaf and*	**does not speak**, she could not communicate with him. "He was
933	...*deaf and*	**functionally illiterate** woman, brought this action alleging that the
934	...*deaf and*	**functionally illiterate** woman, was allegedly assaulted by a
942	...*deaf and*	**gradually losing her eyesight**, Lambert has navigated with a red
944	...*deaf and*	had **cerebral palsy**, was found Thursday night after a student
950	...*deaf and*	**handicapped communities** are too small to get the
977	...*deaf and*	hard of hearing **victims of domestic violence and sexual assault**
1975	...*deaf and*	has been diagnosed with **autism**, knew the sign for just one
1984	...*deaf and*	has **cerebral palsy**. He said Ackerman once bumped into him
1995	...*deaf and*	have **other disabilities**; and the Missouri School for the Deaf in
2254	...*deaf and*	and **homeless**, admitted he was mistaken as part of a legal
2315	...*deaf and*	**legally blind**. "A big part of my success," she said, "has come
2316	...*deaf and*	**legally blind**, came in a **wheelchair** pushed by her parents,
2317	...*deaf and*	**legally blind**, put the palm of his hand onto a small black box
2325	...*deaf and*	**mentally ill** – a relationship now in a "holding pattern," she said.
2326	...*deaf and*	**mentally disabled** man who had been mistakenly held in jail for
2327	...*deaf and*	**mentally ill** – and more than 1,100 others like them who are not
2328	...*deaf and*	**mentally retarded** have a higher mortality rate. In some
2372	...*deaf and*	other **disabled** users. The irony is that ARPANET, the first
2381	...*deaf and*	others with **special needs** in Florida. A request for proposals will
2383	...*deaf and*	**otherwise disabled** students in regular classes, in some cases
2391	...*deaf and*	**physically impaired (cerebral palsy)**. Classroom Observations
2407	...*deaf and*	**seriously mentally ill**. She lives in a set of apartments operated
2435	...*deaf and*	some also have **other handicaps**, said Faulkner, who went on
2443	...*deaf and*	**speech-impaired** and is based in Kansas City. SPORTS
2444	...*deaf and*	**speech-impaired** people who are denied access to everyday
2445	...*deaf and*	**speech-impaired**," said cops didn't tell her why she had been
2446	...*deaf and*	**speech-impaired** woman of Mexican origin who is now a U.S.
2447	...*deaf and*	**speech-impaired** guests can make outside calls or contact the
2561	...*deaf and*	those with **vision impairments** are also negatively affected by
2574	...*deaf and*	**totally blind**," Beckham said. Her son never went blind, but his
2578	...*deaf and*	**unable to speak** and having lost an arm because of a wringer
2579	...*deaf and*	**unable to speak** without the aid of an interpreter, he drove past
2595	...*deaf and*	**uses a wheelchair**, both as a result of a childhood illness. She
2597	...*deaf and*	**visually handicapped** children. LB889, proposed by Sen. Roger
2612	...*deaf and*	**went blind** by 8, said the spiritual conventions are a blessing.

Table 5.4.2.1. 'deaf and…' disadvantaged people concordance lines

If I included the combined 28 occurrences of *deaf and dumb* and *deaf and mute*, that would total to 75 associations with traits of disadvantaged status, which would equate to 0.4% of the 16844 total concordance lines of 'd/Deaf' or 4% of 1896 occurrences of '*deaf and…*'. While this shows there is at least a small trend of associating d/Deaf people with other disadvantaged members of society in the discourse of '*deaf*', it is a much less prominent trend than in the discourse of '*hearing-impaired*', where the total 36 associations found with

'*hearing-impaired and*' equates 1.3% of the 2777 total concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired' and 27% of the 134 occurrences of '*hearing-impaired and…*'. Additionally, there were only three references to other disabilities or traits of disadvantaged status in the context preceding '*hearing-impaired and*' including *inmates, mobility handicap,* and *wheelchair users*. Even with these three additional occurrences, associations with disadvantage, either preceding or following '*d/Deaf and*', still totaled only 4%, compared to the 40% found in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus.

This theme was even less common in the preceding context of '*and deaf*'. In this case, there were only five references to other disabilities or traits of disadvantaged status out of the 289 total concordance lines, or 1.7%, compared to 39% of the corresponding concordance lines in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus. These five terms included *brain damaged, disabilities, communication disorders, disability* and *victims*. These findings reiterate the previous themes' findings where the pathological discourse that focuses so much on intervention and rehabilitative measures for deaf people is much more evident in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus than in the 'd/Deaf corpus'. However, this is not to say that there is a complete absence of such a discourse surrounding the term 'd/Deaf', but it is certainly not the dominant discourse.

5.5. Theme 5: Capitalization of 'Deaf'

While conducting the detailed concordance analysis that uncovered the previous four themes, a fifth theme revealed itself: the frequent occurrence of the capitalized form of 'Deaf', which is indicative of Deaf culture (Gannon, 1981; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996). I performed a separate search for the occurrence of *Deaf*, with case sensitivity, in the d/Deaf corpus and found 4267 total occurrences (25% of the corpus). Since there was no systematic way of accounting for those instances of '*Deaf*' that began a sentence, were part of a title, or were part of a proper noun (e.g. organization name), I went through each of these lines and separated the usages on my own. After tallying those instances and subtracting that number from the total occurrences, there were still 2590 occurrences of the capitalized form '*Deaf*' (15% of the corpus). Of the 4267 total occurrences, 458 were from the beginnings of sentences, 1095 were proper nouns or the formal names of organizations, program, etc., and 124 were part of titles (e.g. book titles, article titles, titles of movies or videos, etc.). I should also note here that although schools for the Deaf would be considered a proper noun, since it is the formal name of the school (e.g. American School for the Deaf or New York School for the Deaf), I did not subtract these instances out as I did with other proper nouns. This is because schools for the Deaf are a considered a representation of Deaf culture and are highly valued as icons for the

Deaf community. For this reason, I felt it was appropriate to consider them alongside the other usages of *Deaf* that were clear references to a cultural and linguistic identity. That said, there are a few schools that do not share this same cultural and linguistic identity (such as the Clarke School for the Deaf) as they are schools of the oralist tradition and focus more on intervention and rehabilitative methods. However, there are only a handful of these types of Schools for the Deaf, so I kept them all together for the purposes of this search. The same could also be said of some of the organizations that were mentioned in the concordance lines (e.g. National Association of the Deaf, a civil rights organization of the deaf in the US) but rather than separate out all of the differing organizations, I lumped them together as instances of *Deaf* as a proper noun and so not representative as a cultural reference. Doing so means I would have less of a chance of overlooking something and mis-counting, or of allowing my bias to shape how I was calculating the data.

Although not something I originally considered searching in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus, mainly because the pattern did not make itself evident and there weren't many references to Deaf culture, I went back to take a look at the occurrences of capitalization of *Deaf* in case there were some relevant findings. A search for *Deaf*, with case sensitivity, in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus resulted in 620 hits. Out those 620 hits, 200 were cultural references, which equates to 7% of the entire corpus or less than half the percentage calculated for the 'd/Deaf' corpus. Interestingly, 187 of those cultural references were mentions of schools for the Deaf. Having counted them as cultural references in the 'd/Deaf' corpus, I felt inclined to keep them categorized the same here; however, I do think it's somewhat telling that there were only 13 occurrences of *Deaf* where there was an explicit connection to the cultural reference. Without taking a closer look at the individual occurrences of schools for the Deaf in both corpora, it is impossible to know whether the intentionality behind its usage is different in each context. Either way, it is clear that there is an increased focus on the capitalized form of *Deaf* in the 'd/Deaf' corpus, which suggests that this form is more heavily associated with a discourse that pathologizes less; does not target juveniles more than adults, and specifically not as a mark for rehabilitation measures; relates more to sign language and culture; focuses more on technology as an accommodation that makes the environment accessible rather than on technology that seeks to alter the d/Deaf person; and provides more agency to d/Deaf people (a discourse within which the term 'hearing-impaired' is much less likely to appear).

5.6. Summary

Based on the findings noted in sections 5.1 through 5.5, the concordance analysis of the

'hearing-impaired' corpus suggests a predilection for a pathological discourse. This is made clear from the association with other disabilities and attributes of social disadvantage, the push for rehabilitative/corrective/assistive measures threaded through the texts, the consistent social position of the 'hearing-impaired' person as a beneficiary of help and assistance, and the emphasis on 'hearing-impaired' youth and the actions undertaken to mediate or eliminate their hearing loss. The most notable patterns throughout the corpus supported these themes and the findings extend the literature cited in section 2.4, where limitations in hearing are seen as requiring assistance from medical professionals to achieve a more normal hearing status (Copeland & Pillsbury, 2004; Balkany et al., 2001; and Balkany, Hodges & Goodman, 1996), with the analysis demonstrating some ways that ideology has made its way into our everyday discourse. While some of these themes still existed in the 'd/Deaf' corpus, it was also apparent that a divergent discourse was present, one that supports a view of d/Deaf people as a cultural and linguistic minority, which has been claimed by numerous Deaf Studies scholars (e.g. Ladd, 1988; Lane, 1992; Lane, 1994; McAlister, 1994; Lane, 2005; Rosen, 2008; Lane, Pillard & Hedberg, 2011; Ladd & Lane, 2013; and others), where there is an emphasis on American Sign Language, Deaf culture, community and accessibility as opposed to 'rehabilitation'. Not only are these traits underscored in the thousands of concordance lines reviewed, there is blatant disdain for the perspective that equates d/Deafness with pathology, reflected in the literature discussed in Chapter 2 and reinforced through the findings of this analysis. The analyses in the following chapters will provide further insight into the discourses found in this concordance analysis as well as a more robust understanding of the social representation of d/Deaf people built through these discourses.

Chapter 6: Corpus Analysis – Collocates of ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’ in Respective Corpora

This chapter contains an analysis of collocate lists in both the ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’ corpora. The discussion herein will discuss collocations using two different association measures within WordSmith Tools: MI3 and Z-score. Since each association measure has its own strengths and its own faults, comparing the collocate lists will provide different perspectives from which to view the data and interpret patterns without relying on one that may unintentionally downgrade or overinflate results based on their raw frequencies. Additionally, collocational analysis will be conducted for four terms including ‘deaf’, ‘hearing-impaired’, ‘deafness’, and ‘hearing-impairment’. ‘d/Deafness’ and ‘hearing-impairment’ were not searched in the previous chapter on concordance analysis mainly due to length constraints and because the main focus of that qualitative inquiry was meant to be on reference terms. The terms ‘d/Deafness’ and ‘hearing-impairment’ are generally used in description, and often the description of a condition, but may still be used as a means of labeling (i.e. ‘person-first’ language, as with the phrase ‘a person with a hearing-impairment’). As I was unable to provide a full, qualitative account of these terms through the concordance analysis, I wanted to include them in the collocational analysis so as to have an understanding of the discourse surrounding them. It is possible a collocational analysis may offer some insight on how ‘person-first’ language manifests in the d/Deaf population through an investigation of these terms in addition to the main two, ‘d/Deaf’ and ‘hearing-impaired’. This chapter will be organized following the progression of analysis, with each word pair (d/Deaf and hearing-impaired, d/Deafness and hearing-impairment) being compared throughout. Since the corpora are the same size, the association measures used should be comparable.

6.1. Collocates of ‘hearing-impaired’ and ‘d/Deaf’

To begin the collocational analysis, I ran all association measures (as described in chapter 4) available in WordSmith Tools within the default span of five spaces to the left and five spaces to the right of the search term for the main word pair, ‘hearing-impaired’ and ‘d/Deaf’ (see tables 6.1.1 and 6.1.2). The initial results tables of what each of these association measures calculated as the strongest collocates of ‘hearing-impaired’ and ‘d/Deaf’ using their respective algorithms, gave an indication of which was most appropriate for the type of analysis this thesis aims to complete. As the research aims are to discover the discourse that surrounds the terms ‘hearing-impaired’ and ‘deaf’ (and perhaps related terms), lexical words, rather than

grammatical ones, are likely going to offer more insight into the discourse present. That said, after looking at the results of all six association measures and considering the results of the concordance analysis, some grammatical words may perhaps be useful in understanding the discourse as well. For this reason, I choose to use the collocates derived from the MI3 and Z-score association measures. Unlike the MI (Mutual Information) score which accounts for more rare events, the MI3 algorithm provides a good balance of lexical and grammatical items (Baker, 2006). To revisit from chapter 4, the MI3 score uses the MI score, which calculates the difference between the expected and observed frequencies to determine collocational strength, but cubes the frequency of the word pair in order to place a heavier weight on frequency when assigning the collocational strength resulting in the return of more grammatical terms (Oakes, 1998). According to McEnery, Xiao & Tono (2006) "the z test compares the observed frequency with the frequency expected if only chance is affecting the distribution" (p. 57). This algorithm tends to favor lexical items that may have a rather low frequency and indicates the degree of collocability which correlates with the score itself (a higher score means a higher degree of collocability) (Baker, 2006; McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006). The z-score places emphasis on lexical items but with some consideration for frequency, which means it doesn't include as many rare co-occurrences as Mutual Information (MI) would.

	Mutual Information	**MI3**	**Z-score**	**Log-likelihood**	**T-score**	**Dice coefficient**
1	hearing-impaired (2,821)	hearing-impaired (2,821)	hearing-impaired (2,821)	hearing-impaired (2,821)	hearing-impaired (2,821)	hearing-impaired (2,821)
2	college-educated (12)	the (1,574)	for (790)	the (1,574)	the (1,574)	students (302)
3	comb-carrying (9)	for (790)	students (302)	for (790)	for (790)	children (270)
4	depression-generation (13)	to (766)	who (361)	to (766)	to (766)	who (361)
5	heterosexual (9)	and (746)	children (270)	and (746)	and (746)	for (790)
6	European-American (11)	a (668)	severely (33)	a (668)	a (668)	people (217)
7	fantasy (15)	who (361)	depression-generation (13)	who (361)	of (499)	deaf (210)
8	severely (33)	students (302)	college-educated (12)	students (302)	who (361)	are (275)
9	autistic (12)	children (270)	people (217)	children (270)	is (346)	is (346)
10	inmates (9)	of (499)	deaf (210)	is (346)	in (387)	the (1,574)
11	geared (5)	is (346)	comb-carrying (9)	of (499)	students (302)	and (746)
12	viewers (12)	people (217)	European-American (11)	are (275)	children (270)	help (78)
13	preschoolers (11)	deaf (210)	heterosexual (9)	people (217)	are (275)	to (766)
14	retarded (10)	are (275)	fantasy (15)	deaf (210)	with (287)	a (668)
15	visually (27)	in (387)	the (1,574)	in (387)	people (217)	with (287)
16	male (13)	with (287)	are (275)	with (287)	deaf (210)	program (76)
17	developmentally (5)	that (221)	visually (27)	that (221)	that (221)	person (61)
18	patrons (9)	or (162)	autistic (12)	or (162)	or (162)	has (129)
19	advocate (12)	severely (33)	residents (36)	has (129)	as (153)	school (122)
20	mentally (15)	as (153)	camp (46)	as (153)	has (129)	or (162)
21	Hillsborough (9)	has (129)	person (61)	school (122)	school (122)	being (55)
22	pupil (6)	school (122)	communicate (41)	help (78)	at (133)	camp (46)
23	fans (13)	help (78)	viewers (12)	program (76)	said (132)	kids (51)
24	residents (36)	person (61)	blind (35)	person (61)	was (119)	student (57)
25	youngsters (12)	at (133)	individuals (44)	at (133)	from (104)	as (153)
26	square (6)	program (76)	is (346)	severely (33)	have (105)	in (387)

Table 6.1.1. Collocates of 'hearing-impaired' (span L5, R5) using different association measures, listed in order of collocational strength and including number of occurrences with the search term.

	Mutual Information	MI3	Z-score	Log-likelihood	T-score	Dice coefficient
1	first (253)	deaf (17,418)	first (253)	deaf (17,418)	deaf (17,418)	deaf (17,418)
2	benefit (22)	the (10,108)	deaf (17,418)	the (10,108)	the (10,108)	for (4,085)
3	field (39)	for (4,085)	field (39)	for (4,085)	and (5,187)	the (10,108)
4	officials (22)	and (5,187)	hard (1,126)	and (5,187)	of (4,960)	of (4,960)
5	fit (11)	of (4,960)	benefit (22)	of (4,960)	for (4,085)	and (5,187)
6	proficient (6)	people (1,896)	hard-of-hearing (658)	people (1,896)	to (3,749)	people (1,896)
7	specific (6)	to (3,749)	community (999)	to (3,749)	a (3,515)	hearing (1,944)
8	defined (5)	a (3,515)	people (1,896)	hearing (1,944)	in (2,898)	who (1,903)
9	benefits (9)	hearing (1,944)	culture (570)	a (3,515)	hearing (1,944)	are (1,707)
10	offices (7)	who (1,903)	officials (22)	who (1,903)	people (1,896)	a (3,515)
11	callier (5)	in (2,898)	hearing (1,944)	in (2,898)	who (1,903)	in (2,898)
12	of-hearing (18)	hard (1,126)	for (4,085)	hard (1,126)	are (1,707)	to (3,749)
13	deaf (17,418)	are (1,707)	children (1,173)	are (1,707)	is (1,806)	students (1,432)
14	hispano (6)	students (1,432)	who (1,903)	students (1,432)	students (1,432)	hard (1,126)
15	hh (23)	community (999)	profoundly (179)	community (999)	school (1,315)	children (1,173)
16	educates (7)	children (1,173)	students (1,432)	children (1,173)	children (1,173)	school (1,315)
17	congenitally (6)	is (1,806)	born (311)	school (1,315)	that (1,411)	is (1,806)
18	redbirds (7)	school (1,315)	fit (11)	is (1,806)	hard (1,126)	community (999)
19	profoundly (179)	hard-of-hearing (658)	blind (329)	hard-of-hearing (658)	or (1,177)	or (1,177)
20	hard-of (30)	or (1,177)	school (1,315)	or (1,177)	with (1,283)	that (1,411)
21	hard-of-hearing (658)	culture (570)	are (1,707)	culture (570)	community (999)	with (1,283)
22	registry (31)	that (1,411)	person (367)	that (1,411)	as (833)	hard-of-hearing (658)
23	wrestlefest (5)	with (1,283)	ministry (85)	with (1,283)	hard-of-hearing (658)	as (833)
24	clearly (5)	as (833)	national (282)	first (253)	at (832)	culture (570)
25	partially (34)	have (735)	benefits (9)	education (491)	have (735)	have (735)
26	Scranton (9)	first (253)	specific (6)	have (735)	was (775)	at (832)

Table 6.1.2. Collocates of 'deaf' (span L5, R5) using different association measures, listed in order of collocational strength and including number of occurrences with the search term.

I chose to include the top 26, the top 25 collocates not including the search term itself, which appeared in all of the results. In the case of 'hearing-impaired', it would have been just as easy to disregard the occurrence of the search term since it was always listed as the top collocate and only included 14 occurrences in positions other than center (2,807 occurred as center). 'd/Deaf', however, did not always occur as the top collocate and included 866 occurrences in positions other than center (16,552 occurred as center). This being quite a large number of 'deaf' co-occurring with 'deaf', it seemed worth investigating the phenomenon more closely.

Although I ran calculations of the selected association measures with different spans (-5 to +5, -3 to +3, and -1 to +1, as seen in tables 6.1.3 and 6.1.4), I decided to keep with the default span of -5 to +5, or L5, R5 since this is the span I continually used during the concordance analyses when running follow-up searches and it seemed appropriate to maintain similarity amongst analyses. This is also claimed to be the best compromise in terms of collocational span as it is large enough to show semantic relationships, but small enough to catch fixed expressions and relationships bound by very close word proximity (Church et al., 1989; Church & Hanks, 1990). Some of the collocates found reflect the findings of the concordance analysis of the previous chapter. For example, the results of both the MI3 and z-score calculations for 'hearing-impaired' include the word *for* such as what was found in the cluster *for the hearing-impaired*. The results also include *children* and *students* as collocates with a higher collocational strength than *people* and *person*, both of which are also present with a lower strength, indicating the heavier emphasis on juveniles than adults. Lastly, the results include the word *help*, again reinforcing the pattern discovered through the concordance analysis. The results for the MI3 and z-score calculations for 'd/Deaf' also confirmed some of the findings from the concordance analysis: adult terms seemingly more frequently co-occurring with d/Deaf than juvenile terms (*people* being a word with much higher collocational strength than *children* or *student*), and the presence of the word *for*, as in the cluster *for the d/Deaf*, in the top 25 collocates.

	MI3			Z-score		
	-5 to +5	-3 to +3	-1 to +1	-5 to +5	-3 to +3	-1 to +1
1	hearing-impaired	hearing-impaired	hearing-impaired	hearing-impaired	hearing-impaired	hearing-impaired
2	the	the	the	for	students	college-educated
3	for	for	children	students	children	first
4	to	students	students	who	for	children
5	and	children	and	children	depression-generation	students
6	a	and	people	severely	college-educated	severely
7	who	who	for	depression-generation	severely	the
8	students	deaf	is	college-educated	comb-carrying	people
9	children	to	severely	people	European-American	preschoolers
10	of	people	a	deaf	deaf	viewers
11	is	a	or	comb-carrying	who	pupils
12	people	are	are	European-American	people	individuals
13	deaf	is	first	heterosexual	heterosexual	and
14	are	of	college-educated	fantasy	autistic	person
15	in	with	person	the	residents	citrus
16	with	in	individuals	are	visually	customers
17	that	or	kids	visually	person	for
18	or	severely	student	autistic	blind	kids
19	severely	person	child	residents	inmates	residents
20	as	That	residents	camp	individuals	fans
21	has	has	persons	person	viewers	persons
22	school	depression-generation	pupils	communicate	are	youngsters
23	help	residents	customers	viewers	communicate	or
24	person	individuals	viewers	blind	male	is
25	at	college-educated	preschoolers	individuals	camp	patrons
26	program	kids	with	is	persons	student

Table 6.1.3. Collocates of 'hearing-impaired', MI3 and z-score, various spans

	MI3			Z-score		
	-5 to +5	-3 to +3	-1 to +1	-5 to +5	-3 to +3	-1 to +1
1	deaf	deaf	deaf	first	deaf	deaf
2	the	the	the	deaf	first	first
3	for	for	people	field	hard	community
4	and	and	and	hard	hard-of-hearing	people
5	of	of	community	benefit	field	culture
6	people	people	culture	hard-of-hearing	people	profoundly
7	to	hard	children	community	community	children
8	a	who	or	people	for	the
9	hearing	community	are	culture	culture	born
10	who	hard-of-hearing	students	officials	children	or
11	in	children	for	hearing	who	person
12	hard	are	a	for	benefit	and
13	are	students	profoundly	children	profoundly	are
14	students	to	person	who	students	students
15	community	school	of	profoundly	born	ministry
16	children	in	born	students	blind	studies
17	is	a	is	born	school	education
18	school	or	first	fit	are	adults
19	hard-of-hearing	culture	education	blind	person	hh
20	or	is	in	school	officials	culturally
21	culture	blind	studies	are	ministry	awareness
22	that	with	adults	person	or	man
23	with	born	being	ministry	association	for
24	as	that	many	national	education	actors
25	have	hearing	child	benefits	of	partially
26	first	person	ministry	specific	institute	republicans

Table 6.1.4. Collocates of 'deaf', MI3 and z-score, various spans

After deciding to use the MI3 and z-score as the chosen association measures, and using a span of five spaces to the left and five spaces to the right, I also separated the grammatical collocates from the lexical collocates in order to give a clearer picture of the collocational status of these two search terms (see table 6.1.5). Grammatical collocates include words that act as prepositions, articles, determiners, pronouns, and conjunctions whereas lexical collocates include words that act as nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives. According to Berry-Rogghe (1973), z-scores of at least 2.576 are considered statistically significant at the one percent level; however, since that would include more than 76 words for the hearing-impaired corpus alone, table 6.5 only includes those words that are statistically significant at the four percent level, or from z-scores of 10.304 and above. Taking the same number of collocates from the MI3 results (22 collocates for the hearing-impaired corpus and 54 collocates for the d/Deaf corpus) includes MI3 scores of 16.248 and above (hearing-impaired corpus) and 20.084 and above (d/Deaf corpus). The collocates in table 6.5 are listed in order of collocational strength, from largest to smallest.

hearing-impaired	MI3
	lexical items: students, children, is, people, deaf, are, severely, has, school, help, person, grammatical items: the, for, to, and, a, who, of, in, with, that, or, as, at, from, an
	Z-score
	lexical items: students, severely, depression-generation, college-educated, children, comb-carrying, European-American, heterosexual, fantasy, deaf, people, autistic, visually, residents, camp, viewers, communicate, person, inmates grammatical items: for, who
deaf	MI3
	lexical items: people, hearing, hard, are, students, community, children, is, school, hard-of-hearing, culture, have, first, blind, education, born, was, person, has, said, not, be, profoundly, parents, national, many, center, world, services, schools, language, were grammatical items: the, for, and, of, to, a, who, in, or, that, with, as, at, by, from, on, their, about, an, she, they
	Z-score
	lexical items: first, field, hard, benefit, hard-of-hearing, community, people, culture, officials, hearing, children, profoundly, students, born, fit, blind, school, are, person, ministry, national, benefits, specific, proficient, education, association, adults, awareness, institute, individuals, studies, defined, offices, actors, hard-of, partially, registry, culturally, advocates, hh, parents, serving, center, schools, of-hearing, world, Pennsylvania, dumb, persons grammatical items: for, who, or, of

Table 6.1.5. Collocates for 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' separated by association measure and grammatical and lexical items

It is clear from the results depicted in table 6.5 that 'd/Deaf' has many more collocates that carry the necessary collocational strength to be considered statistically significant than 'hearing-impaired' does. This is possibly due to the higher frequency of the term 'd/Deaf' than that of 'hearing-impaired' (16,552 occurrences as opposed to 2,807, or almost six times the frequency), which was briefly mentioned above. There does not appear to be a particular reason why 'd/Deaf' has a higher frequency than 'hearing-impaired'; however, it is interesting that *deaf* often co-occurs with itself (866 times *deaf* appears before or after the search term of 'd/Deaf'). Although this amount of clustering does not account for the higher frequency, it may indicate something about the discourse of d/Deaf as opposed to that of hearing-impaired, which only co-occurred with itself 14 times. This will be further explored in the subsequent sections outlining the findings of the analysis.

6.2. Collocational Analysis for 'hearing-impaired'

Many of the lexical collocates of 'hearing-impaired' are things that have been discussed in the concordance analysis, such as *students, children, people, help,* and *person.* Also, several of the collocates found with the z-score calculation only occur within a single text in the corpus (out of 1,707 texts in the entire corpus) leading me to believe their statistical significance has been overinflated and as such they do not have any analysis here (collocates include *depression-*

generation, college-educated, comb-carrying, European-American, and *heterosexual*). These collocates all appear in a repetitive structure in one particular text where an individual is building his identity by indicating an additional identifying marker with each subsequent sentence, which is the reason for their high collocational strength. However, their repetitive use by one individual to build that one individual's identity does not translate to any additional understanding about the portrayal of this entire group of people or the discourse that surrounds them, therefore in this case a full analysis of these collocates has not been included.

Severely, which has a high collocational strength in both calculations, is presumably addressing the degree of hearing loss for a particular hearing-impaired individual in the text, a presumption that is supported through an examination of the concordance lines (see table 6.2.1). However, it could also be argued that *severely* carries with it a rather negative semantic prosody, and such a negative semantic prosody has the potential to influence one's interpretation of an individual's abilities when being described as *severely* anything. To test this, I searched *severely* in the same corpus to see what it has listed as its top collocates, which revealed terms such as *disturbed, emotionally, profoundly, disabled* and *impaired*. Looking at those terms together, and considering that they are also statistically significant at the four percent level, it appears this search confirms a more negative semantic prosody. Concordance lines of *severely* further confirm a negative semantic prosody where people are described as *severely wounded, severely beaten, severely bleeding, severely allergic, severely degraded, severely retarded,* and the like.

1	happy, hearing human being emerged **severely**	hearing-impaired	. Water in the ear. How bad is it?
2	impressive feat considering he was born **severely**	hearing-impaired	23 years ago. But the former
3	request for comment on this article. Ian is **severely**	hearing-impaired	, and Callaspo has paid for his
4	who will provide on-the-job training for the **severely**	hearing-impaired	. Other costs related to the
5	for her younger brother, Mark. He is also **severely**	hearing-impaired	, although not as **severely**
6	father and his Polish mother were both **severely**	hearing-impaired	. Friends of his parents, who
7	the top freestylers in the state. Tanzio is **severely**	hearing-impaired	, and the hard comes much
8	for the toddler to see. Kenner had been **severely**	hearing-impaired	since the age of 6, when an
9	retardation when she was, instead, **severely**	hearing-impaired	. It ended, finally, at age 43
10	Burkitt's lymphoma. And Logan, 12, is **severely**	hearing-impaired	. But when Nancy mentions her
11	she grew up because her sister became **severely**	hearing-impaired	at 4 years old. But she said her
12	I'm intrigued by it." Doughty's father is **severely**	hearing-impaired	and also wears two hearing aids,
13	brother, a computer software designer, is also	hearing-impaired	, but more **severely**. After that
14	took his eyesight. He has also been **severely**	hearing-impaired	since birth, which he triumphs
15	(myself included) who are deaf or **severely**	hearing-impaired	. I hope that the innovators of the

Table 6.2.1. Sample of concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired' and collocate 'severely'

The collocates *fantasy* and *camp* can be bundled as they are both referring to a Fantasy Baseball Camp for hearing-impaired children. All of the occurrences of *fantasy* are used in this context, and *camp* is found describing various different camps for hearing-impaired children, most camps being sports related (*Mike Glenn Basketball Camp, hockey camp, basketball camp,*

Mike Bush Fantasy Camp, Fantasy Baseball Camp, etc.). The fact that these camps are specific to hearing-impaired children raises the question of why there are special camps or why they cannot attend other baseball or basketball camps that are open to everyone. But generally, this does not indicate a particular negative semantic prosody; instead it stimulates further thought about what an isolated camp offers for these kids. Based on the results from the concordance and collocate analysis so far, an isolated camp of this kind would be appropriate for '*deaf*' kids since the term *deaf* appears to relate to culture and community and so bringing together d/Deaf kids with a common language and culture, and for the purpose of providing a sense of community to these kids, would make sense. For kids described as hearing-impaired, however, there has been a focus on restoring hearing and integrating with the hearing world, a goal which would be undermined by a sports camp that actually pulls these kids away from their hearing counterparts.

Residents was an interesting find since that word may sometimes conjure thoughts of senior citizens found to be living in assisted living homes, and the concordance analysis clearly demonstrated a predilection for the term 'hearing-impaired' to be more heavily associated with a juvenile population. Upon closer analysis, the collocate *residents* was not associated with this meaning at all, but rather residents of counties, cities or communities. The occurrences of *residents* with *hearing-impaired* seem to be evenly distributed between positive and negative discourse associations. Some of the co-occurrences suggest a more positive relationship such as a discussion of a new 911 system that allows hearing-impaired residents to text when there is an emergency; implantation of new technology that allows hearing-impaired individuals to contact a librarian directly for information on past due books or new releases, etc.; fundraising events hosted to support local hearing-impaired residents; firefighters offering visual smoke alarms for free to hearing-impaired residents in the community; and local Commissions meetings beginning to provide captions for their hearing-impaired residents. There were several other instances that did not have as positive an association and were often referencing civil rights struggles, such as getting access to captions at local movie theaters, convincing landlords to provide visual smoke alarms, and a lack of access to relay calls and thus depending on local volunteers to make calls for them; or they further support the results of the concordance analysis that shows a push for rehabilitative measures through hearing screenings and treatment referrals for hearing-impaired residents or lip-reading classes offered to the region's hearing-impaired residents.

The collocate *visually* is exclusively used in contexts that tie *hearing-impaired* and visually impaired individuals together. Supporting the discussion in the previous chapter

(section 5.4.1), these co-occurrences of *visually* and *hearing-impaired* also co-occur with several other disabilities, more deeply embedding the association of being *hearing-impaired* with being disabled and a push for 'rehabilitation'. Through this collocate, *visually*, and another collocate, *autistic*, *hearing-impaired* people are associated with others who have a *mental disability*, *people in wheelchairs, the mentally retarded, the physically impaired, emotionally disturbed, people with AIDS, individuals living with Down syndrome*, people who *experience epilepsy*, and many others (see table 6.2.2 for full list of concordance lines). This association, which is arguably degrading the identity of *hearing-impaired* people and suggesting they be segregated into special programs or forced to partake in tests, could be considered one more example of a negative discourse prosody with *hearing-impaired*. *Inmates*, as another collocate of *hearing-impaired*, shares this negative semantic prosody as the term *inmates* evokes images of criminals, whether violent or non-violent, and delinquency. Perhaps surprisingly, the instances of *inmates* and *hearing-impaired* in this corpus all focus on defending civil rights injustices in correctional facilities. In these concordance lines, *hearing-impaired inmates* are fighting discrimination in the form of a lack of access where they are being denied sign language interpreters, auxiliary aids, visually accessible alarms or notification systems, and telecommunications devices. In these cases, the *hearing-impaired inmates* are not being presented in a way that would uphold the generally held negative association the term *inmates* has, and so perhaps this collocate cannot be considered one that is associated with a negative discourse prosody.

1	mentally retarded, the physically impaired, the	hearing-impaired	and the **visually** impaired. Most of
3	"These signs are to assist **visually** impaired and	hearing-impaired	individuals who will be visiting Kno
4	therapists – working with the **visually** and	hearing-impaired	and children with other disabilities.
5	monetary contributions for the **visually** and	hearing-impaired	. Money collected will assist the
6	classes for people who are physically, **visually** or	hearing-impaired	. The reigning Ms. Wheelchair
7	cerebral palsy, autism as well as the **visually** and	hearing-impaired	, though Reggio said she doesn't like
8	or drink, have a mental disability, be **visually** or	hearing-impaired	or experience epilepsy, behavioral
9	those in wheelchairs, or those who are **visually** or	hearing-impaired	." After the meeting, Stockley Center
10	and language disordered, **visually** impaired,	hearing-impaired	, multi-handicapped, **autistic**,
11	eight students, several of whom are **visually** and	hearing-impaired	, press buttons on a computer that
12	, profound, **autistic**, **visually** impaired and	hearing-impaired	students. The student range in age
13	run the gamut from severely multiply disabled to	hearing-impaired	, **visually** impaired, **autistic** and on
14	relating to learning disabilities and **visually**/	hearing-impaired	. Prizes will be given out to people
15	Bayou Elementary, where **visually** impaired and	hearing-impaired	pupils are included in the curriculum
16	Tests were done with people in wheelchairs,	hearing-impaired	people, people with AIDS, **visually**
17	but has held on to more than 97 percent of its	hearing-impaired	, **visually** impaired, mentally retard
18	that were **visually** impaired, people that were	hearing-impaired	and prominent political people. It
19	When Bolds learned she might have **visually** and	hearing-impaired	students in her classes, she was
20	in Braille through a program for the **visually** and	hearing-impaired	recently started by Wachovia bank
21	would note that you're **visually** impaired or	hearing-impaired	," he said. "Then it could change the
22	for the **visually** impaired, wheelchair users, the	hearing-impaired	and for people on dialysis. The first
23	ADA-compliant, and people who are **visually** or	hearing-impaired	, or use wheelchairs, walkers or
24	mental disabilities," including the **visually** and	hearing-impaired	and persons suffering diseases such
25	and their families. People who are **visually** or	hearing-impaired	. And children who have been abused
26	Helen Keller, who was **visually**, vocally and	hearing-impaired	, once said. "I am only one; but I am
27	can be arranged for people who are **visually**- and	hearing-impaired	. Audio guides and wheelchairs also
28	The school's special programs for **autistic** and for	hearing-impaired	children are well-run. Many parents
29	-confidence. Centra's students are blind, **autistic**	hearing-impaired	, developmentally disabled and
30	developmentally delayed kids Whether a child is	hearing-impaired	, **autistic**, has Asperger syndrome or
31	the children are emotionally or learning disabled,	hearing-impaired	or **autistic**. Some require wheelchairs
32	her about her daughter's work with **autistic** and	hearing-impaired	children and Welsh's efforts to lift
33	whether the facility would meet its needs for	hearing-impaired	and **autistic** students. The move
34	nicknamed Baldi, already has helped **autistic** and	hearing-impaired	children learn to talk. Kurniawan's
35	Mrs. Price. Her 17-year-old son is **autistic** and	hearing-impaired	and does not speak. "So you know
36	when I may have a child that may be **autistic** and	hearing-impaired	," said Dolores Griffin, a workshop

Table 6.2.2. Concordance lines of hearing-impaired collocates 'visually' and 'autistic'

The last of the lexical collocates of *hearing-impaired* cannot be categorized with any other particular semantic groups and do not provide any indications to any particular representation of *hearing-impaired* individuals on their own. *School*, which has a z-score of 1.394 and an MI3 score of 17.368, co-occurs with *hearing-impaired* 119 times. Unlike what was seen in the concordance analysis for the cluster *for the deaf* where *school for the deaf* made a very frequent appearance due to the formal names of residential schools for the deaf, there does not appear to be a specific pattern for *school* as a collocate for *hearing-impaired.* The relationship between *school* and *hearing-impaired* is more diverse in its usage addressing both high *school* and elementary *school*; *hearing-impaired* programs in *school* districts; some kids as the only *hearing-impaired* kid in their *school*; entrance requirements (levels of hearing loss) for kids to be accepted in a certain *hearing-impaired school* or program within a *school*; a hockey *school* for the *hearing-impaired*; interpreters for *hearing-impaired* students; research going on at a *school* of medicine about how *hearing-impaired* children develop speech and language skills; a *hearing-impaired* man who works as a *school* janitor; and many other

references equally as varied. The concordance lines of the collocate *viewers* all refer to *hearing-impaired viewers* who benefit from interpreters in a theatrical setting or from closed-captioning for television programs. Neither of these two collocates give any specific information about a discourse prosody, nor about a particular type of discourse present.

Communicate may be one of the most interesting collocates, as one of the largest debates driving this investigation into diverging discourses centers around the type of communication a d/Deaf person chooses to use. With a z-score of 11.011 and an MI3 score of 16.286 it is clear that this collocate is of particular statistical significance. Of the 41 concordance lines where *communicate* occurs alongside *hearing-impaired*, there is a relatively even split in the references to a signed language (19 occurrences) and dependence on speech, aural, and written communication (20 occurrences). The other occurrences were not specified but rather described as people wanting to *communicate* with the *hearing-impaired*, which could encompass any method. These results were somewhat surprising considering the large emphasis on speech, aural and written communication found through the previous analysis; however, a more detailed examination of those concordance lines showed that the references were rarely to American Sign Language (just two occurrences). American Sign Language (ASL) is widely accepted as the language of the American Deaf community (i.e. the community residing in the US). It has status and is highly valued in the Deaf community as a language separate from English, with its own unique linguistic structure. Since the inception and rise of Oralism (see chapter 2), there have been several attempts to anglicize ASL, a practice to which the Deaf community has objected, creating alternate sign systems that do not maintain the phonological, morphological, syntactical, semantic or pragmatic integrity of ASL. Arguments for this practice claim that an anglicized sign language makes it easier for a d/Deaf child to learn English and thus integrate into the hearing world more effectively, while arguments against contend that implementing such a sign system would eventually eradicate ASL and with it, a huge part of Deaf culture. This debate invokes the idea of 'linguicide' (Kachru, 1986) and linguistic imperialism, which scholars like Phillipson (1992, 2006, 2008) and Modiano (2001), as well as many others, argue has the potential to negatively impact the cultural integrity of second language users of English (in the case of World Englishes) and ultimately the survival of their language. This debate is important to note here since the collocate - *communicate* references not communication through ASL, but through *sign*, *signing*, and even *hand gestures*. Further, when searching for the positioning of ASL as a collocate of *hearing-impaired*, I found that the MI3 calculation puts collocates *speech* (13.562), *speak* (12.002), *talk* (11.992), *oral* (10.628), and *English* (10.393) all before *ASL*. *Sign* as a collocate was just behind

speech with a score of 13.278. Under the z-score calculation, the results of *ASL* and *sign* were flipped (2.245 and 0.173, respectively), but both were still below collocates *oral* (2.642), *speak* (2.353), and *talk* (2.324), and *sign* was well below the other collocates of *speech* (1.274) and *English* (0.933). In fact, *ASL* had only 6 co-occurrences with *hearing-impaired* overall. So while signing as a mode of communication may be mentioned mostly equal to speaking in reference to *hearing-impaired*, ASL as a language is underrepresented.

Deaf as a collocate of *hearing-impaired* is mainly (156 out of 207 co-occurrences) found in one of the following clusters: *the deaf and hearing-impaired*, *deaf or hearing-impaired*, *hearing-impaired or deaf*, or *hearing-impaired and deaf*. While this may appear to separate *deaf* from *hearing-impaired* as two different things, not just two different terms for the same group of people, none of the concordance lines implied that. The usage of these combinations seemed to instead be referencing all members of the groups through multiple representative terms, despite them being listed right next to one another. This is supported by the fact that the other lines (except for two, which used *deaf* in an idiomatic way, e.g. *America turns a deaf ear to the hearing-impaired community*) more clearly represent the same group of people by interchanging the terms (see table 6.2.3 for a few examples of this). Also, there are four specific instances where the discourse producer acknowledges two different labels, and opts for *hearing-impaired* over *deaf* (see table 6.2.4 for those four concordance lines). These findings are interesting since they appear to, at least partially, recognize the debate around the use of representative terms, but yet advocate for the selection opposite to that of the Deaf community.

8	system's struggle to effectively teach **deaf** children:	hearing-impaired	students "level off" in their reading
11	school at Gallaudet, a college in Washington for the	hearing-impaired	, and a career teaching **deaf** students
13	Careers for **deaf** wide open.	Hearing-impaired	high school students got a chance to
25	Nawn. "They always get to interact with other	hearing-impaired	children, but **deaf** adults are
34	Alaska Relay, a telecommunication service for the	hearing-impaired	, allows a **deaf** person to talk to a
76	interpreters can help explain transactions to the	hearing-impaired	and help **deaf** employees participate
97	a teletype device for the **deaf**, or TDD, allows the	hearing-impaired	to communicate printed phone
118	Churches offer **deaf** a welcome sign;	hearing-impaired	find interpreters at many services
126	of giving to **deaf** community; Basketball camp lets	hearing-impaired	enjoy the game. Basketball players
140	I think, supportive of the **deaf** child, I put down	hearing-impaired	peer contact. The idea that, while

Table 6.2.3. Concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired' collocate 'deaf' when not found in common combinations linking the two terms with 'and', 'or'

113	Since 1987, the school has provided **deaf** (sorry,	hearing-impaired	) students with transcripts of
122	still very common, some people prefer the phrase "	hearing-impaired	" instead of "**deaf**." Also these
163	who lived on the farm north of us was **deaf** ("	hearing-impaired	" we say now) and used a
198	"elderly," which carries the stigma of ageism, and "	hearing-impaired	" is better than "**deaf**." No one

Table 6.2.4. Concordance lines of 'hearing-impaired' collocate 'deaf' demonstrating reference term debate

6.3. Collocational Analysis for 'deaf'

Deaf, like *hearing-impaired*, had many collocates that supported the findings from the concordance analysis in the previous chapter. *People* had a higher collocational strength than *children* or *students*, which suggests there is no special emphasis on a juvenile population in the discourses found to surround *deaf*. The collocate *for* in the cluster *for the deaf* had a high collocational strength, just as was found in the *hearing-impaired* corpus, as did *school* and *schools*, which commonly made up the phrase *school/s for the deaf* as part of formal educational institutions. *Help* was not a top collocate through either collocational measure, perhaps demonstrating some difference between the discourses of *hearing-impaired* (where *help* was a top collocate) and *deaf.* Lastly, *advocates* and *services*, which were not found as main themes of the concordance analysis, but were sub-themes found within the discussion of *for the deaf*.

6.3.1. Collocates of 'd/Deaf': references to hearing status and organizations

As there were quite a few more collocates of *deaf* than *hearing-impaired*, they have been categorized in this section. *Hard-of-hearing* and its counterparts (*hard*, *hearing*, *hard-of*, *hh*, and *of-hearing*) made up several of the top collocate positions, which is not terribly surprising considering the texts often refer to '*deaf and hard-of-hearing'* people. The only times this collocate (*hard-of-hearing*) was not found in this or a related cluster (e.g. *deaf or hard-of-hearing*, *hard-of-hearing or deaf*, *hard-of-hearing and deaf*) was when it was listed along with *deaf* and other identifying labels used within the Deaf community (e.g. *late-deafened*, *hearing*, *children of deaf adults*, *deaf-blind*, etc.). This was not the case with the collocate *hearing*, which had 1944 co-occurrences with *deaf*, an MI3 score of 26.579, and a z-score of 44.162. Since the term *hearing* is its own reference term, I expected it would not just occur as a portion of the *hard of hearing* cluster. Many of the 1944 occurrences used it in this capacity, and the others mainly used it as a reference term for those individuals who are not *deaf*. *Hearing* was also used in the context of a court *hearing* (three occurrences), *hearing loss* (44 occurrences), *hearing aids* (19 occurrences), and was used 27 times to identify the lack of *hearing* as a problem. Overall, this collocate appears to have a neutral discourse prosody since it only refers to *hearing* as something that needs to be restored 27 out of 1944 times and the majority of occurrences are reference terms. *Hard*, which I also identified as part of the cluster *hard of hearing*, had 1126 co-occurrences with *deaf*, an MI3 score of 26.078, and a z-score of 64.556. There were only 13 occurrences in which the collocate was not used in the cluster *hard of hearing* and those occurrences had mixed contexts (see table 6.3.1.1 for concordance lines).

There were a few occurrences of *hard* with *deaf* that had a negative discourse prosody but the total cases of collocation did not support a fully negative discourse prosody because the vast majority of those cases were part of a reference term, *hard of hearing*, rather than used as the referential meaning of *hard*.

1	part of life involving communication very **hard** for the	deaf	and hard of hearing. Martha's Vineyard
275	is less a challenge. "It kind of would be **hard** to be a	deaf	girl in a hearing troop," she said. "I've
483	classrooms and not signing. It was **hard** to interact with	deaf	children and not sign. As far as
522	Retiring Government Employee Worked **Hard**; Being	Deaf	Made Him Work Harder Ask Robert
526	for Christ is difficult for many reasons. One is the	deaf	have a **hard** time understanding the
783	is the hardest challenge—it's **hard** to receive what	deaf	people are saying and there is also
846	photographs and graphics, for building a computer. '	Deaf	people have a **hard** time getting a job,'
848	the experience of being deaf, even if she could. "Being	deaf	is **hard** to describe because I don't
850	pet peeves was that people found it so **hard** to believe	deaf	people can drive cars. "Those are things
854	presentations. Pupils should know "how **hard** it is to be	deaf	and how lucky they are to have their
861	Heather Whitestone, "inspired me to speak out for the	deaf	, work **hard**, face my obstacles and to
874	contractor, said one reason it's **hard** for a qualified	Deaf	employee to compete for the same job
1099	them to succeed. As an interpreter and CODA (Child of	Deaf	Adults), it can be **hard** to witness the

Table 6.3.1.1. Concordance lines of collocate 'hard' with 'deaf" in contexts other than 'hard of hearing'

Based on the terms and what I know of the Deaf community, I assumed the collocates *national, center, association, institute,* and *registry* all appear to be referencing organization titles. This is mainly true for *national,* which was found in organization names such as *National Association of the Deaf, National Technical Institute for the Deaf,* the two most common, and other organizations or events centered on the Deaf community, such as the *National Theatre of the Deaf, National Deaf Interscholastic Athletic Association, National Deaf Awareness Week, National Deaf Education Project, National Deaf Dance Theater*, as well as many others. Other occurrences of the collocate *national* referred to *national* sports championships or *national* movements for *deaf* rights. As many of these organizations and events are cultural icons for the Deaf community in the US, I would place this collocate along with the category of collocates that represent that cultural component of the discourse surrounding *deaf* (including collocates *culture, community, language, culturally* and *world*). *Center* was the same in that it was mainly used in the title of various *Deaf Service Centers* across the country. These *centers* provide advocacy services for the local Deaf community, necessary equipment (e.g. visual fire alarms, alarm clocks, etc.) and often interpreting services. *Association* shared the same results as *national* as the bulk of the occurrences were either in the title *National Association of the Deaf* or its affiliate chapters, as did *institute,* which was mainly found in *National Technical Institute for the Deaf. Institute,* however, was part of another high frequency title, *Central Institute for the Deaf*. This is a residential school for the deaf in St. Louis, Missouri, but unlike other residential schools for the deaf, this school uses a medical model in its approach to deaf education and focuses more on amplification and speech, an oral method, rather than the use

of ASL. This suggests that the pathological/medicalized discourse surrounding the term *hearing-impaired* is also present around the term *deaf*, even if the other collocates, especially in this category, suggest a discourse supporting the perspective of cultural and linguistic minority. The last collocate in this category, *registry*, was found to exclusively refer to the *Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf*, with the exception of one occurrence. The *Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf*, RID, is the name of the national organizing body of professional ASL interpreters in the US.

Collocates *profoundly* and *partially*, as one might expect, are used to describe degrees of deafness. 176 of the 179 cases of collocation of *profoundly* satisfy this expectation, and two of the other three also refer to it in this sense but to a second occurrence of *deaf* within the search span. The last case of collocation talked of technologies that are *profoundly* changing *deaf* culture. As with '*severely*', a collocate of *hearing-impaired*, *profoundly* could be argued to carry with it a negative semantic prosody. A search for *profoundly* in the same corpus revealed that *profoundly* occurs 182 times in the corpus, with 179 of those co-occurring with *deaf*. Collocates of *profoundly* considered statistically significant at the four percent level (z-score calculation) include *first, severely, deaf, born, diagnosed,* and *birth*. These collocates do not appear to uphold a negative semantic prosody but rather seem to imply a discussion of hearing test results for newborn babies. However, none of the cases support this assumption. The collocates of *born, diagnosed,* and *birth* are used in describing an individual's background such as with a mother who has been *profoundly deaf* since *birth,* a woman who was *born profoundly deaf,* or a daughter who was *diagnosed* as *profoundly deaf* at age 2. Out of the 39 cases of *severely, born, profoundly,* and *birth* 15 of them referenced medical intervention of some kind, whether that be cochlear implants or hearing aids. 19 cases referenced the use of sign language or ASL. This demonstrates the presence of two types of discourse associated with the term *deaf* and does not position the collocate *profoundly* as having either a positive or negative discourse prosody. The appearance of *first* as a collocate for *profoundly* is interesting since it is also a collocate for *deaf*. This collocate will be revisited below. *Partially* is also used almost exclusively as a pairing with the term *deaf* in this corpus and is also used to describe a degree of deafness. This collocate co-occurs with *deaf* 34 of its total 41 cases in the entire corpus. Its only statistically significant collocate is *deaf* which would indicate that it has no inherent semantic prosody, whether positive or negative, at least for how it is used in the texts of this corpus.

6.3.2. Collocates of 'd/Deaf': culturally relevant terms

Several culture related terms also appeared as collocates with *deaf*, which was not seen in the collocational analysis of *hearing-impaired*, identified as: *community, culture, language, culturally, world,* and *awareness*. *Community* had a z-score of 53.772 and an MI3 score of 25.495 and its cases of collocation totaled to 999. Those cases primarily consisted of references to the *deaf community* (919 cases), which is a label used to describe deaf people who identify themselves as culturally *deaf* and often, though perhaps not always, are users of ASL. The other cases of *community* are varied but do not point to any particular discourse prosody. Several of the 80 cases refer to different local *community* centers for the *deaf*, or *community* services for the *deaf*, some discuss *community* college, and others are one-time cases that reference the Nabeth *Community* Theater, a *community* mental health program for *deaf* adults, or a retirement *community*. 568 out of the 570 cases of collocation for the collocate *culture* refer to *deaf culture*, with the only two outliers being a reference to American *culture* and the majority *culture*, likely meaning the hearing *culture*. The collocate *culturally* describes the same identity shown through the previous two collocates, and both sets of cases of *culture* and *culturally* explicitly show a discourse that supports deaf people as a cultural and linguistic minority, not surprisingly (see table 6.3.2.1, which shows a sample of these concordance lines of collocates *culture* and *culturally*). *Awareness* presents a similar theme through 92 of its 104 cases of collocation, which urge a raising of *awareness* about *Deaf* culture and ASL through general means and through *Deaf Awareness Week/Day*, recognized annually as a week in September where events are organized nationwide to raise *awareness*, and hopefully with it more understanding and acceptance, of the *Deaf* community. The remaining 12 cases were a mixture of statements not directly related to *Deaf* culture, such as '*public awareness that deaf and hard of hearing people are accessible by phone'*; '*a deaf client's awareness that he may later encounter an interpreter'*; '*spreading awareness that deaf people are oppressed'*; and *'wants to raise awareness for the deaf children in Palestine to give them better opportunities'*.

24	suggest that Deaf people have stronger ties with the	Deaf	**culture** than they do with their families
25	deaf. About seven years ago, Moore helped develop the	Deaf	**Culture** Club, an informal group
26	Go Sorry) She cares about language, literature and the	deaf	**culture** she grew up with. "I think there
27	students, has set out to make Georgetown inclusive of	Deaf	**culture**. Last spring Lazarus co-founded
28	difference from other ethnic groups: For many	Deaf	children, socialization into Deaf **culture**
29	project realistic portrayals of deaf people immersed in	deaf	**culture**," said Bobbie Beth Scoggins,
30	as well," Kjelland said. "If you further understand	deaf	**culture** you will be a better interpreter."
31	in my communication." There was talk of vanishing	deaf	**culture** at Gallaudet five years ago, when
32	of whether the hearing will accept the existence of	Deaf	**culture**, but of whether Deaf culture will
33	for Access and Accommodative Services. ASL and the	deaf	**culture** started to gain recognition in the
34	maintain a high self-esteem. In the case of Deaf **culture**,	Deaf	people seek to separate themselves
1	to issues of accessibility and inclusivity, **culturally**	Deaf	students and students with hearing loss
2	oppression of sign language, considered by many in the	deaf	community to be **culturally** significant.
3	Of that number, approximately 5,000 are "**culturally**	deaf	" – that is, they rely on American Sign
4	Like the members of many ethnic groups, **culturally**	Deaf	people prefer to socialize with and to
5	who want the campus to be a haven for the **culturally**	Deaf	are giving it an increasingly pervasive
6	650,000 of whom consider themselves "**culturally**	deaf	." An additional 22-million consider
7	whole," said Lazarus, who identifies as both **culturally**	Deaf	and disabled. Many Deaf people consider
8	overwhelming reason to reject the view of **culturally**	Deaf	people as members of a disability group
9	the percentage who identify themselves as **culturally**	deaf	(the group likely to use sign language) is
10	do. Hence, the newborn Deaf child is **culturally**	Deaf	(hence my use of capital-D Deaf) and a

Table 6.3.2.1. 'Culture' and 'culturally' as collocates of deaf

The collocate *world* was included in this category of culture related terms because of the concept of the *Deaf world*, which is another cultural way to signify the *Deaf* community. In this corpus, *world* was used in this context as a collocate of *deaf* 117 times out of the 271 total cases of collocation. The other co-occurrences included a mix of different uses for world, none of which suggested a specific discourse prosody, some part of organizational or event titles such as *World Federation of the Deaf, World Games for the Deaf,* and *World Deaf Basketball Championship* (the former two indicative of Deaf culture). Some others referred to the *hearing world*, a common label used by d/Deaf people, or other things that were not necessarily representative of Deaf culture (e.g. *social-media world, actors in the world, churches in the world, want the world to know,* etc.).

The collocate *language* is another indicator of a discourse of *deaf* values within this corpus. This is more noteworthy considering the parallel collocate for the *hearing-impaired* corpus was *communicate*, which does not hold the same linguistic validity as *language* does since a *language* entails a formal system that has been codified in some way. *Language* had a total of 434 cases of collocation and was statistically significant with an MI3 score of 20.215, but with a z-score of only -9.460. To contrast what was found in the *hearing-impaired* corpus, I wanted to see how many of these 434 cases of collocation referenced American Sign Language (or ASL), and how many of them referenced a cultural language through phrases such as *language of the deaf, deaf language, language of deaf culture,* and the like. Out of the 434 cases of collocation, there were 104 co-occurrences of *deaf* and *American Sign Language* or *ASL*, and there were 89 co-occurrences of *deaf* and one of the above phrases of cultural

language reference. 156 of the 434 cases of collocation used *sign language* in many different forms, from talking about people learning *sign language* to another country's *sign language* (e.g. *Spanish Sign Language*) to *sign language interpreters*. The remaining cases of collocation were a separate, unrelated reference to *language*, such as *language rights*, *language policy*, *language difference*, a child's *first language*, and *language opportunities*, to name a few. In this corpus, *ASL* co-occurs with *deaf* 125 times, as opposed to the 6 co-occurrences in the *hearing-impaired* corpus (co-occurrences with *hearing-impaired*), and it has 1314 total occurrences in the corpus (only 125 total occurrences in the *hearing-impaired* corpus). *American Sign Language* co-occurs with *deaf* 91 times and has 959 total occurrences in the *deaf* corpus, but it only co-occurs with *hearing-impaired* in the corresponding corpus 8 times, with a total of only 195 total occurrences. These findings more clearly elucidate the different discourses surrounding the communication modes and language encouraged for an individual based on the reference term used to identify them.

Found on both the z-score and MI3 list, the collocate *first* was the strongest of the z-score list of collocates for *deaf*. About 60% (158 of 263) of the cases of collocation for *first* were found in a statement about a leading *deaf* person or *deaf* entity to do or achieve something in various contexts (see table 6.12 for a sample of these cases of collocation). This would seem to purport a positive discourse prosody since the emphasis on mentioning these leading individuals or entities is to highlight capacity. The other 40% (105) of the cases of collocation did not follow one specific theme, but rather had several, one including a discussion of the identity of *deaf* people where they prefer to be identified as *deaf first* and other attributes of their identity second (e.g. *"When I asked people, do you think of yourself as deaf first or a woman first, they all said deaf first",* or *"Deaf people define themselves as deaf first"*). *Defined* as another collocate of *deaf* would appear to refer to something similar in terms of identity. With only six cases of collocation, this collocate could still provide support to this theme since all six cases discuss *deaf* identity even if they do not use the collocate in the predicted context. Other themes with the collocate *first* included individuals describing their *first* exposure to *deaf* culture and ASL; non-deaf-specific 'firsts' like a *first job, first day, first visit*, etc.; and *first* of its kind technology or service used by *deaf* people, such as *first doorbells, first baby monitors, first voice-messaging application*, and *first housing complex*. Based on these findings, it is appropriate to consider *first* as a collocate that constitutes a positive discourse prosody as the large majority of 'firsts' being described in these cases of collocation are favorable conditions.

The collocates *field, education*, and *studies* are somewhat related. In its 39 cases of collocation, *field* is mainly used along with the other two collocates mentioned here as part of

the clusters *field of deaf education* and *field of deaf studies*, or related phrases (19 and 3 cases, respectively). *Field* is also used in reference to *deaf* athletes—a *baseball field* at a school for the deaf, a deaf soccer player who *excels on the field*, or an *even playing field* for deaf basketball players who get their own team—to various other fields of study (e.g. *medical field, mental health field, newspapering field, field of alcohol and other drug abuse, field of acting*), and to other one-time occurrences such as *field of vision*, *field trip*, *field questions*, and *field assignments.* Deaf education is an interesting topic as there are two opposing perspectives of deaf education, not unlike the two perspectives on d/Deaf people that have been discussed throughout this entire thesis, one that represents the pathological view (supporting 'rehabilitation' and speech development) and another that represents the cultural view (using ASL as a language of instruction and incorporating Deaf cultural values). A deeper investigation of the specific cases of collocation for *field* (those 19 occurrences that include *deaf education*) and *education* revealed that most of the mentions of *deaf education* do not advocate for one perspective over another (11 of 19 cases of collocation for *field*, and 244 of 491 cases of collocation for *education*). These instances of *deaf education* addressed things other than an approach to *deaf education*, including *deaf education* degree programs, *deaf education* state task forces, *Commission on Education of the Deaf*, and the general *education* provided to *deaf* children as mandated by law. When the perspectives were mentioned, the cultural perspective was much more frequently discussed than the medical perspective (6 vs. 0 for the collocate *field*, 165 vs. 32 for the collocate *education*). There was also some discussion of the opposing perspectives either through an explanation of the history of *deaf education* or in presenting the background of both arguments in an academic journal or in a report on the differing approaches. It is clear from this that *deaf education* is a very important topic in the discourse surrounding 'd/Deaf', and that a discussion of *deaf education* from the cultural perspective is favored. This same perspective is favored with the collocate *studies*. It was found that 104 of the 120 cases of collocation used the phrase *deaf studies*, a discipline that by its very nature supports a cultural perspective since it is the study of Deaf culture, language and community. Even a few of the other 16 cases of collocation incorporate the same type of discourse: *offering studies in deaf culture and literature* (line 39); *across these studies, evidence suggests that deaf children use signs in decoding written words* (line 55); *deaf communication studies* (line 60); *studies examining Deaf children… looked at the relationship between ASL and English literacy skill* (high ASL skill scored significantly higher on test of English reading and writing) (line 46); and *Introduction to Deaf Literature course, which studies the contributions of deaf writers* (line 112). Based on the findings discussed here, it can

be concluded that the collocates *field, education* and *studies* all support a discourse that respects and celebrates d/Deaf people as a part of a cultural and linguistic minority.

Unlike the terms found to be part of the association that is constructed with disadvantaged groups in the hearing-impaired collocates (*visually* and *autistic*), *blind* did not share the same association as a collocate of *deaf.* Individuals who are Deaf-blind are considered part of a sub-culture within the Deaf community, so it was not surprising to see that the majority of the cases of collocation did not use the term along with deaf as a classification of disability (49 out of 329 cases) but as an identifying marker of a group (253 out of 329 cases). The latter usage was not always described in terms of culture so it cannot be considered to fully support the discourse of a deaf identity as a cultural and linguistic minority. However, since there was some discussion of Deaf culture and community, and only a minority percentage (15%) of cases that referred to deafness as a disability I can conclude that it does not support the view of deafness as a pathology. *Not* as a collocate further promotes this conclusion since distancing *deaf* from this view was a theme of the co-occurrences (see table 6.3.2.2 for list of these co-occurrences in full context). Through these cases of collocation *deaf* people are described as *not disabled, not mentally disabled, not handicapped, not stupid, not odd,* and others. The other theme discovered in the cases of collocation for *not* reference an ongoing intracommunity issue about some individuals being *not deaf enough*. This descriptor is reserved for individuals who are deaf but are identified as not fitting with the image of a fully culturally immersed deaf person for various reasons including, mainly, the use of oral communication methods (perhaps not currently, but have in their past), not taking pride in a Deaf identity, or being a second language user of ASL. This theme reflects the presence of some intragroup oppression that has not been seen in the analysis up to this point.

1	help convince hearing people that **not** only is being	deaf	**not** a catastrophe, but "deaf people get along perfectly
16	the conflict, Daniels says. "(Her) opinion is, We're	deaf	; we're **not** disabled.' …My argument is that we should
44	money. The home serves at least 60 other	deaf	residents who are **not** mentally disabled. D.C. Told to
51	hard-of-hearing grandma, Feldman said. "She's	deaf	, but she's **not** stupid," he said. The audience laughed,
54	said. "It's part of our duty to make it happen." She's	Deaf	**Not** Dumb A deaf FBI agent who can read bad guys'
58	and deaf culture and to accept their children as	deaf	, **not** handicapped," said Moers. The group is
127	a deaf parent adopt her." The fact that someone is	deaf	does **not** limit their ability to so anything; instead they
155	surrounding the community. "**Not** everyone who is	Deaf	also identifies as having a disability," Hansen-Day said.
249	to $30,000. "It's time for the public to respect us as	deaf	People, **not** as handicapped people," said Cliff Mores,
267	toward these people." In other words, she may be	deaf	, but she's **not** stupid. Vt. Center for the Deaf gets 2
272	inmates" accused of sex crimes. But Wilson was	deaf	, **not** mentally impaired. The charges were dropped in
286	abroad to help the Deaf (the capital D signifies	Deaf	culture, **not** simply a medical condition). A
397	language has a lot to do with that, he said. "The	deaf	community does **not** consider themselves disabled," he
417	the Deaf-World as a disability group are advanced:	Deaf	people themselves do **not** believe they have a disability;
424	fell in love with [ASL]." Professor says being	deaf	is **not** a handicap While people who speak multiple
448	she said. "Buck saw him play and realized being	deaf	did **not** mean a person cannot do something. And Buck
450	care of. Their language is a way of life. "Being	deaf	is **not** a death sentence," she said. "For me, deafness
453	of two mirrors. Stauffer also said that the quality of	deaf	people's speech is **not** tied to their intelligence, another
479	don't feel sorry for him. "I want to prove that being	deaf	is **not** a disability," Kelly said in an e-mail interview. "I
547	she said. "I enjoy helping others realize that	deaf	people are **not** odd; they're normal functioning

Table 6.3.2.2. Concordance lines of 'deaf' as it collocates with 'not' showing a discourse prosody that distances this group from a disadvantaged status

The appearance of collocates *born* and *parents* would seem to be related as it is commonly mentioned that *deaf* people are predominantly *born* to hearing *parents*, since this is true for roughly 95% of *deaf* people. However, this assumption was not upheld in a detailed examination of the cases of collocation. The collocate *born* did not produce any results that would signify particular themes in discourse. There were no identifiable patterns except for the cluster *born deaf*, but this cluster found itself in a multitude of contexts that either were not easily tied to one another or if they were, did not have enough occurrences to designate a theme in the discourse prosody of *deaf* as it collocates with *born*. Conversely, *parents* as a collocate of *deaf* produced rather interesting results. There were more than three times the amount of references to *deaf parents* (214 cases) to hearing *parents* (69 cases), and there were even more cases of *parents* with unidentified hearing status (86 cases) than cases of hearing *parents*. Perhaps more intriguing is that within the 69 cases of collocation for hearing *parents*, 77% (53 out of the 69 cases) advocated for the use of sign language, introduction to Deaf culture, and/or advice from deaf adults before deciding a communication method or educational approach for their deaf children. Medical interventions such as cochlear implants, speech therapy, etc. were only advocated for 23% (16 out of the 69 cases) of the time. The high frequency of *deaf parents* in the total 369 concordance lines also meant even less reference to medical interventions overall, citing examples of hearing children who grew up signing in a *deaf* household and being part of two cultures, and *deaf* children of *deaf parents* and how language development is the same for those children as it is for hearing children of hearing *parents.* Through these occurrences, the discourse surrounding *deaf* continues to recognize the position of cultural

minority even if there is still a presence of medicalized discourse. The inclusion of the former far outweighs the inclusion of the latter.

Another collocate of *deaf* that will be considered here is *actors*. An initial inspection of the concordance lines did not appear to reveal anything significant about the discourse; but I was able to find two main patterns in these cases of collocation. One theme making up roughly half of all cases (54 out of 103) was that of *deaf* and hearing *actors* working together on productions. While many of these were those directed and produced by Deaf theatre companies such as Deaf West Theatre, National Theatre of the Deaf, and others, there were also more 'mainstream' productions within which *deaf actors* were cast to work alongside hearing *actors*. In those 'mainstream' productions, it was stated that working with *deaf actors* helped further develop the skills of the hearing *actors*. The second and more relevant pattern for discussion in this research was a press to hire *deaf actors* for *deaf* roles. This pattern made up 25 of the total 103 cases of collocation and included both praise for hiring *deaf actors* for *deaf* roles and scrutiny for not doing so (see table 6.3.2.3). In my own experience interacting and working with this community, it has always been a point of contention when *deaf actors* are not placed in *deaf* roles since there are plenty of qualified and talented *deaf actors* who want to portray the character authentically by incorporating their own lived experience. This pattern brings to light another facet of the discourse surrounding *deaf* as not only recognizing the community as a cultural minority but also assertion of pride for that culture and community and for their shared lived experiences.

26	'Calendar Girl' goes against the strong trend toward hiring	deaf	/hard-of-hearing **actors**." Owner's impairment no
33	Deaf Activists to Protest Exclusion From New Film The	deaf	**actors** who auditioned for the eye-catching if
35	deaf actors are overlooked, that hearing people dismiss	deaf	**actors** or don't know they're capable. Recently,
61	the title character. "There aren't many opportunities for	deaf	**actors** out there," says actor Teresa Sanderson,
64	a deaf character in a movie, the role should be given to	deaf	**actors** and actresses because of their authentic
67	deaf (but who, in the stage version, also speaks). Some	deaf	**actors** complained that auditions for that work
68	producers have made great strides in finding good	deaf	**actors** when they wanted them. "By any measure
69	market like for you? There's not many roles out there for	deaf	**actors**, but it is improving, especially with the
75	Paul K. Longmore, and only 128 of those parts went to	deaf	or hard-of-hearing **actors**. Protests over casting
79	typical scenario in the entertainment industry: "If there is a	deaf	role, all the deaf **actors** in the world would try out
84	Why is it that in 2015 there are hearing **actors** still playing	deaf	roles? The hashtag is how we want to recognize
86	she shifted into teaching. Decades passed, more work for	deaf	**actors** did not come, but still she dreamed of
97	be deaf, but the role is a nonspeaking role." Only one	deaf	actor and 16 hearing **actors** were called back for
101	subtitles, and director Myroslav Slaboshpytskiy hired	deaf	**actors** for every principal role. The film was the
102	everything is about him. Shot in Rochester, using excellent	deaf	**actors** in the nonhearing roles, this saggy debut

Table 6.3.2.3. Concordance lines of 'deaf' as it collocates with 'actors'

Lastly, revisiting from the beginning of this chapter where we saw that *deaf* frequently co-occurred with itself, it is apparent that this relationship, totaling 866 cases of collocation, is also indicative of discourse that supports a cultural view. The concordance lines reveal that the phenomenon of *deaf* stacked upon itself most often portrays elements and values of Deaf culture (see figure 6.1), such as phrases that talk of *deaf culture, deaf heritage, and deaf history*;

Deaf of Deaf (referring to members of the Deaf community who have Deaf parents); *deaf culture, including deaf stories and jokes, deaf history and technology for the deaf*; and *deaf education, deaf language and deaf culture*. The several concordance lines that reference the identity '*Deaf of Deaf*' is particularly relevant to this cultural view as it contends with its opposing pathological view, which would view this 'd/Deaf succession' as something that may need to be corrected, as we learned in chapter 2. However, in these cases of collocation, it is clear that such a succession should be celebrated as a means of carrying on the cultural values of the Deaf community.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent	Sent	Para	Para	Head	Head	Sec	Sec
1	for many years and brings visibility to the deaf culture, deaf heritage, and deaf history, Jean Andrews, deaf studies and deaf education professor, said.			14,823	74538%		036%				036%	
2	the air in front of her into a more acceptable shape. Deaf of Deaf, with Deaf sisters, she manifests, like many other activists, a pleasure in			20,459,052	24%		045%				045%	
3	of the Deaf, Ohio Association of the Deaf, Dayton Association of the Deaf and Progress for the Deaf. It was through Mr. Medlin's efforts that a			21,555,295	31%		051%				051%	
4	.com or 651-228-2172. School for the Deaf students publish work bridging deaf vs. hearing cultures Among deaf people, is it possible to hug someone			34,855,973	36%		033%				033%	
5	be rearranging the air in front of her into a more acceptable shape. Deaf of Deaf, with Deaf sisters, she manifests, like many other activists, a pleasure			20,457,052	16%		045%				045%	
6	and my grandfather went to Lexington," Jeff says. "I am Deaf of Deaf of Deaf. We're ready to take what should be ours." Jeff is 25, a member of the			19,400	99030%		043%				043%	
7	."My father and my grandfather went to Lexington," Jeff says. "I am Deaf of Deaf of Deaf. We're ready to take what should be ours." Jeff is 25, a			19,398	99075%		043%				043%	
8	to be rearranging the air in front of her into a more acceptable shape. Deaf of Deaf, with Deaf sisters, she manifests, like many other activists, a			20,455,052	8%		045%				045%	
9	me." Five presenters discussed various aspects of deaf culture, including deaf stories and jokes, deaf history and technology for the deaf. Students			35,283,063	52%		030%				030%	
10	cut to the heart of a national debate over deaf education, deaf language and deaf culture. One stamp depicts the expression, "I Love You," which is			10,989	64936%		031%				031%	
11	Sign Language, cut to the heart of a national debate over deaf education, deaf language and deaf culture. One stamp depicts the expression, "I Love			10,986	64935%		031%				031%	
12	, 1987; Lane, 1995). We should not be surprised that Deaf people want Deaf spouses, welcome Deaf children, and prefer to be together with other			39,365,961	21%		036%				036%	
13	was worshiping in its own way. "Our goal is to be a deaf church for the deaf, run by the deaf," said Jeremiah Ziehr, the fellowship's 30-year-old			22,504,355	52%		058%				058%	
14	American Sign Language, cut to the heart of a national debate over deaf education, deaf language and deaf culture. One stamp depicts the			10,984	64978%		031%				031%	
15	word "deaf" - starting with the title and moving on to deaf in the afternoon; deaf and the maiden; deaf row; deaf, where is thy sting?; and so on. Overall,			12,431	75973%		032%				032%	
16	a member of the National Association of the Deaf, Ohio Association of the Deaf, Dayton Association of the Deaf and Progress for the Deaf. It was			21,550,295	33%		051%				051%	
17	are a tiny minority, less than 10 percent of the nation's Deaf; most deaf people are what the Deaf call "grass roots." The week after the			23,394,242	59%		051%				051%	
18	with the title and moving on to deaf in the afternoon; deaf and the maiden; deaf row; deaf, where is thy sting?; and so on. Overall, "Deaf Sentence" is			12,435	75934%		032%				032%	
19	asset. And Deaf parents of deaf children tend to raise the leaders of the Deaf community, as "Deaf of Deaf" are often the first to learn language, the			12,281	67333%		027%				027%	
20	this kind of discrimination and raising awareness of Deaf history and Deaf culture within the Deaf community. Although the denial of rights to			12,203	66931%		027%				027%	
21	deaf children tend to raise the leaders of the Deaf community, as "Deaf of Deaf" are often the first to learn language, the most adept at ASL and			12,286	67343%		027%				027%	
22	parents of deaf children tend to raise the leaders of the Deaf community, as "Deaf of Deaf" are often the first to learn language, the most adept at ASL			12,284	67339%		027%				027%	
23	wholly, such that how I view the Deaf Black community, the Deaf Mexican community, the Deaf disabled community, the Deafblind			10,047	54759%		022%				022%	
24	do. I'm not an interpreter mysell. I'm not a CDI. I am Deaf, my parents are Deaf, and I have four Deaf children. I'm engaged in the community, and I			7,038	31557%		015%				015%	
25	, the bottom line is we must do what's best for deaf students; our present deaf students and deaf students of the future,' Stern said.			14,759	88355%		034%				034%	
26	of marriage, Debora Jamison was working at a deaf center, socializing with deaf friends and attending a deaf church. Now she operates a home			15,808	94175%		038%				038%	
27	and Jade Films. She is also active in two deaf community organizations, Deaf Women United and Black Deaf Advocates. Ms. Bryan was born in			31,539,887	35%		037%				037%	
28	, the decline of residential schooling for the deaf, and the demise of deaf clubs (where deaf people in large cities gathered regularly to socialize),			23,915	93254%		046%				046%	
29	Deaf. In the crucial preschool years, teachers of Deaf children should be Deaf or Children of Deaf Adults (CODAs) themselves to ensure the future			25,682,015	45%		049%				049%	
30	. "My father and my grandfather went to Lexington," Jeff says. "I am Deaf of Deaf of Deaf. We're ready to take what should be ours." Jeff is 25, a			19,396	99050%		043%				043%	
31	, faculty and alumni who consider themselves deaf (including some born deaf to deaf families) would not be considered deaf by the absolutists. Deaf			40,797,396	59%		038%				038%	

concordance | collocates | plot | patterns | clusters | filenames | follow up | source text | notes

Figure 6.1. Sample of concordance lines of 'deaf' as a collocate of 'deaf'

Some of the collocates found in table 6.5 are not discussed in detail here because there are only few occurrences that do not reveal anything about the discourse surrounding the term 'd/Deaf' since no patterns were evident, even if the z-scores indicated statistical significance. These words include collocates *officials* (22 cases), *fit* (11 cases), *specific* (6 cases), *proficient* (6 cases), *offices* (7 cases), *benefit* (22 cases) and *benefits* (9 cases). Other collocates may not have had a particularly low frequency, but revealed nothing unique about the discourse, with no leanings towards a positive or negative discourse prosody, nor leanings toward a particular perspective on d/Deaf people: *Pennsylvania* (all references to the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf), *serving*, *ministry*, *said*, *have*, *has*, and *many*. One last collocate, *dumb*, also did not have a high frequency (39 total cases of collocation) but a brief analysis of the findings is warranted based on the history and semantic leaning of the word. While this term would naturally evoke a negative semantic prosody, an analysis of the 39 cases of collocation instead showed this

word to occur as part of the phrase *"deaf and dumb,"* written in quotations to refer to and address the old and now unacceptable reference term for deaf people, or as part of an explicit explanation that deaf people should not be assumed to be dumb. These cases suggest that the expected discourse prosody of the collocate, *dumb*, is in fact the opposite of the actual discourse prosody that is conveyed in the language of the text.

6.4. Summary

The findings presented in this chapter extend those discovered through the concordance analysis. The concordance lines of *visually* and *autistic* as they collocate with *hearing-impaired* maintain the association of disadvantaged social status, while *severely* applies a negative discourse prosody on all those who are considered to be *severely hearing-impaired*. Additionally, results from the exploration of the cases of collocation for *communicate* demonstrated a devaluing of ASL despite its mention of sign language as an option for communication with *hearing-impaired* individuals. This finding in particular illustrates that the oral movement discussed in section 2.2 is not only alive and well in the continued existence of oral schools, but is also perpetuated in linguistic associations that serve to decry the worth of a bona fide signed language such as ASL. Collocates of *deaf* more often supported a discourse that values the cultural values of the *deaf* community, particularly *culture, culturally, language, community, world* and *awareness.* Other collocates (*national, registry, association, institute, center*), although perhaps not an expected finding, furthered this discourse as the majority of the concordance lines for these collocates referenced organizations that support the Deaf community and its values through their missions. Even collocates *parents* and *actors* had a presence of this same discourse, and *not*, while varied in its results and so demonstrative of more than one type of discourse, included a discourse that took deliberate measures to distance *deaf* individuals from the perspective that places them in a disadvantaged social position. The following chapter will comprise the first of three in-depth text analyses that will further exemplify the themes presented in this and the previous chapter through specific examples of the diverging discourses identified through corpus analysis in the twelve selected individual texts.

Chapter 7: Text analyses – Transitivity Analysis of Selected 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' Texts

The corpus analysis found in the last two chapters provided sufficient evidence to support the existence of diverging discourses among texts discussing the d/Deaf population as 'hearing-impaired' and those discussing the d/Deaf population as 'deaf'. The following three chapters, this one included, will begin detailing this discourse with an in-depth look at the language found using three different analytic approaches: transitivity, social actor representation and appraisal.

With the corpus analysis validating the presence of the separate discourses, the goal of these text analyses is not to provide further justification of the existence of these discourses but rather to detail how the discourse is used within the texts. Therefore, I have selected six texts from each corpus that are a good representation of the discourses discovered through the corpus analysis. The selected texts span the years found in the whole of the dataset (1990-2015), offering a balanced sample of individual texts (see list of selected texts in table 7.1). All texts were selected from the media genre since these texts were consistent among both corpora, were a reasonable length for in-depth analysis, and are more likely to portray a variety of viewpoints coming from publishers all over the country with different backgrounds and experiences with d/Deaf people.

Title of selected text	Year published	Length (words)
Hearing-impaired texts		
"Hearing for the first time; Cochlear implants help profoundly deaf children"	1991	1057
"A school for the deaf that's founded on speech"	1992	1226
"Sound of progress from bilingual centers to computer technology, the treatment for kids' hearing loss continues to evolve"	1996	981
"Hearing loss hits teen-agers and baby boomers more often; A younger crowd now seeks relief from the loudness of our 'turned-on, switched-on' society"	1999	1251
"Hearing loss is common, but often untreated"	2006	1136
"Cochlear implants let the hearing impaired listen to music"	2013	699
d/Deaf texts		
"Sounds of silence; Deaf culture: A separate world worth saving"	1994	947
"New York to teach deaf in sign language, then English"	1998	1251
"A children's adventure in a Deaf World"	2000	484
"Realizing potential; Two seniors find their place at NMSD"	2004	743
"A sign of changing times; Mattanawcook Academy students learn sign language, promote awareness"	2009	700
"Deaf social: Learning about a culture, not a handicap"	2014	585

Table 7.1. Selected texts for in-depth analysis from 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' corpora

7.1. Transitivity Analysis of the 'hearing-impaired' Texts

The six texts selected in the 'hearing-impaired' corpus provide specific evidence of the discourse previously identified through the corpus analysis, initially manifest in the titles of the selected texts, which focus on hearing, speech, cochlear implants, and treatment of hearing loss. These themes continue throughout the texts, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion of the processes and participants. As described in chapter 4 (section 4.4.1), the processes identified in this transitivity analysis inform us of the 'goings on' in each clause of the text, whether that refers to active doing (material processes), saying or reporting (verbal processes), physiological actions (behavioral processes), the 'goings on' that occur in the mind (mental processes), a state of being or having as in relation to something else (relational processes), or a general state of existing (existential processes) (Thompson 2004, 2014; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The participants are those involved in each of these 'goings on' and inform us not just that they are part of the process, but what role they play in that process (i.e. an actor ('doer') versus a goal or beneficiary ('done to') in a material process) (see table 7.1.1 for a concise breakdown of processes and participants for transitivity analysis).

Process type	Core meaning	Participants involved
Material	'doing', 'happening'	**Actor** ('*doer*')
creative	'creating'	**Goal** ('*done to*') – often inanimate
transformative	'transforming'	**Beneficiary** – benefits from the performance of process
intentional	'causing'	
involuntary	'reacting'	**Scope** – further specification
Mental	'sensing'	**Senser** – undergoes the process
perception	'perceiving'	**Phenomenon** – participant the process is directed at
cognition	'thinking'	
emotion	'feeling'	
desideration	'wanting'	
Relational	'being', 'having'	**Carrier** – possessor of Attribute
attributive	'having', 'attributing'	**Attribute** – quality of Carrier
identifying	'being', 'identifying'	**Token** – the 'identified'
		Value – the 'identifier'
Verbal	'saying'	**Sayer** – one performing the 'saying' (only necessary participant)
		Target – participant the process is directed at
		Verbiage – what is being said
		Receiver – participant the 'saying' is addressed to
Behavioral	'behaving'	**Behaver** – performs behavior (sole participant)
Existential	'existing'	**Existent** – state described as existing (sole participant)

Table 7.1.1. Breakdown of processes and participants found in transitivity analysis (participants highlighted in blue are acting participants) (adapted from Thompson, 2004)

Table 7.1.2 shows the breakdown of processes throughout the six 'hearing-impaired' texts, material processes as the most frequently occurring and behavioral processes as the least frequently occurring (see Appendix Q for a detailed example of how each individual text was coded for analysis). This breakdown of the processes of transitivity simply tells us that the texts

most often discuss physical actions (material processes) and relationships between two participants or concepts (relational processes). Mental processes, which describe an action in the 'internal world' (Thompson, 2004), are also quite frequent in their occurrence, particularly those related to perception since that is the process assigned to the phenomenon of hearing, as will be explained in more detail as a discussion of the participants unfolds.

Process type	*Count*	*Total*	*Process type*	*Count*	*Total*
Material			**Mental**		
Creative	107		Perception	56	
Transformative	63	**277**	Cognition	30	**101**
Intentional	55		Emotion	13	
Involuntary	52		Desideration	2	
Relational			**Verbal**	76	**76**
Identifying	110	**177**	**Existential**	11	**11**
Attributive	67		**Behavioral**	2	**2**

Table 7.1.2. Processes of transitivity breakdown for six 'hearing-impaired' texts

7.1.1. Acting participants in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

A breakdown of the acting participants in each of these processes (found in table 7.1.3) reveals more about the representation of various social actors, most importantly d/Deaf people, as they are constructed by the text producers. In an effort to display this information in a more digestible form, I have combined individual participants into collective groups (e.g. named audiologists, named otolaryngologists, and named speech pathologists combined to become the participant 'hearing/speech professionals'). I've included in the table who the participants are, what roles they are in, and how many times they were referenced in the texts, both in each role and overall. Since not every participant relates to the research agenda of this paper, I have only included those participants that either appear in multiple texts and/or whose role has some bearing on the discursive construction of d/Deaf people. The relational processes will be addressed at the end of this section since the participants involved in these processes are not acting on anything, per se, but their presence in the text still has significance in illustrating the discursive representation of d/Deaf people.

Participant	*Actor/Behaver/Senser/Sayer*	*# of references*	*Total # of references*
'Hearing-impaired' (d/Deaf) people	Actor	18	**77**
	Senser	45	
	Sayer	13	
	Behaver	1	
Hearing people	Actor	37	**59**
	Senser	16	
	Sayer	6	
'Hearing-impaired' (d/Deaf) kids' parents	Actor	24	**43**
	Senser	10	
	Sayer	9	
Having to do with the ear (process of hearing, elements of ear, etc.)	Actor	27	**32**
	Senser	6	
Hearing/Speech Organizations	Actor	10	**20**
	Senser	2	
	Sayer	8	
Experts	Actor	5	**20**
	Sayer	15	
Research/ers and/or studies	Actor	11	**20**
	Sayer	9	
Hearing/speech professionals	Actor	5	**18**
	Senser	4	
	Sayer	9	
School Representatives	Actor	12	**18**
	Senser	3	
	Sayer	3	
Cochlear implants	Actor	14	**17**
	Senser	3	
Technology	Actor	14	**14**
Amplification devices	Actor	13	**13**
Hearing problems/damage/difficulties	Actor	6	**6**
Surgeons	Actor	2	**4**
	Sayer	2	

Table 7.1.3. Acting participants in processes: 'Hearing-impaired' texts

Perhaps surprisingly, 'hearing-impaired' or d/Deaf people are the most frequently occurring acting participant over the six texts. By acting participant I am referring to the participant who is directly engaging in the process, rather than the participant on the receiving end of a process or a participant on the periphery. An acting participant is one who is the 'doer' (or the 'experiencer' in terms of mental processes), the one who is doing the action or saying the verbiage. What is most notable about 'hearing-impaired' people's position as a frequent acting participant is that 58% of the time (45 of 77 occurrences) they are found in the 'Senser' position of mental processes (mainly perception and cognition), the majority of which refer to the phenomenon of hearing, indicating many of the clauses in which they find themselves in a position of agency (as the acting participant) the clause is simply addressing their ability (or inability) to hear something or use their voice effectively. Some examples of this across the six texts include:

- *the implants are enabling some children who have never been able to hear, even with hearing aids, to detect words and sounds*
    - process in focus: *to detect words and sounds*;
    - participant in focus: *children who have never been able to hear*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, perception)
- *Even then,* [with the implants] *children generally still don't hear normally*
    - process in focus: *don't hear normally*
    - participant in focus: *children*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, perception)
- *No sign language is taught; students concentrate fully on learning speech*
    - process in focus: *concentrate fully on learning speech*
    - participant in focus: *children*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, cognition)
- *It's difficult enough for children with hearing problems to hear, understand and duplicate speech patterns*
    - process in focus: *hear, understand and duplicate speech patterns*
    - participant in focus: *children with hearing problems*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, perception)
- *31.5 million Americans who suffer from hearing loss*
    - process in focus: *suffer from hearing loss*
    - participant in focus: *31.5 million Americans*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, emotion)
- *these children* (who had received implants) *could recognize 5 percent of words by sound alone*
    - process in focus: *recognize 5 percent of words by sound alone*
    - participant in focus: *children*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, perception)

Even when not addressing the d/Deaf person's ability to hear or speak, the other instances in which d/Deaf people find themselves as Sensers of some phenomenon do not present them in a very favorable light, discussing that the *average hearing-impaired 18-year-old reads at a third- or fourth-grade level* or that the use of sign language *may deter [them] from learning the English necessary to function well in school*. When they are presented as doing something well, at least in terms of the phenomena of hearing and speaking, it is always

explained as the result of some other tool that has allowed them to be successful, whether that be cochlear implants, hearing aids, education focused on speech, or another related method. This is shown through the first two examples above but also in every discussion of cochlear implants in the texts where the use of one meant that these d/Deaf children could *'now understand at least some words', 'distinctly hear the teacher's voice and discern it from background noise',* or *'differentiate between words that sound the same'*. Based on this information, it is reasonable to claim that these 45 processes in which d/Deaf people are acting participants do not demonstrate the degree of agency that generally comes with such assignment.

The remaining 32 processes with 'hearing-impaired' individuals as acting participants (Actor, Sayer and Behaver) follow a similar theme. Five of these processes are from the first two paragraphs of one of the texts in which the author constructs dialogue on behalf of his 'hearing-impaired' aunt, which negates the agency that might come with holding the position of Sayer or Actor. In addition, 'hearing-impaired' Actors are described in relation to their use of a cochlear implant or their ability to speak in much the same way they were presented as Sensers. 'Hearing-impaired' Actors are said to *make impressive gains with the implants;* they are *able to join a regular classroom* after receiving an implant; they *are able to conquer their speech problems* when focusing only on English speech; it is *easier for [them] to live independently as adults* if they learn to speak; and *at age 17, graduates* [of Clarke (an oral school)] *are usually ready to be "mainstreamed" into a high school of their choice, usually at the ninth-or tenth-grade level*. In the only two behavioral processes, 'hearing-impaired' children who had received an implant are said to have *demonstrated better speech and perception skills* and *showed improvement in understanding words without lip-reading or sign language.* As with the mental processes explained above, none of these behavioral or material processes instill confidence in the 'hearing-impaired' people's ability to do things for them self or others, unless of course they have a cochlear implant or can speak well.

There are a few mentions of sign language and a solicitation of a d/Deaf person's opinion on its use in Deaf education; however, the information suggested in these processes is immediately overwhelmed by opposing views and discounted as false. After detailing the 'no sign' policy of Clarke School for the Deaf, a Deaf professor of linguistics at Gallaudet University is asked about the use of sign language in Deaf education. The professor explains that *teaching speech…works for only a handful of children,* that *signing doesn't require any intervention…except getting them in contact with people who use it,* that it *can be acquired by age 5,* and that the use of speaking while signing (the total communication method) *hampers a*

deaf child's ability to learn language. The parents of children attending Clarke respond by saying that *teaching children to depend on sign language means shutting the door on any life outside a small deaf community, it's a hearing world,* and *no one would really understand him* [if he used sign language]. This followed by another comment from a parent about her son ordering chocolate ice cream *all by himself* and having the person behind the counter understand him. Because the d/Deaf person's comments are sandwiched between and outnumbered by others' comments that support a completely different viewpoint, his contributions to the debate are minimized. As a Sayer in the text, he should receive a certain degree of agency that comes from being an acting participant, but with the significance of his comments minimized by the other comments, his agency therefore is also minimized. Moreover, the fact that most of these comments are made by parents of d/Deaf children, who have no expert status on the education or language acquisition of d/Deaf children, has a way of denigrating the expert status of the Deaf linguist who should have some authority on the matter.

'Hearing-impaired' people might be the largest single group of acting participants across the texts, but if the other groups of acting participants that represent hearing people are combined, hearing people outnumber d/Deaf people as acting participants by 125 (202 total acting participants). In these 202 occurrences, hearing people, whether they be the parents of d/Deaf children, experts, hearing/speech professionals, etc. appear as Sensers of mental processes only 35 times (17%, as opposed to 58% for the 'hearing-impaired' individuals). Additionally, when presented as Sensers, their ability to perceive (i.e. *hear*) something is not being measured or compared to their 'hearing-impaired' counterparts, except for once when the president of Clarke School for the Deaf (which uses an oralism approach) discusses the grueling curriculum for 'hearing-impaired' children, who have to learn to speak while also learning to read, and how it is easier for hearing children since they *have years of listening and speaking before they learn to read*. The type of mental processes hearing people are involved in are much more evenly distributed, and because of that their views, thoughts, emotions and desires are represented well. Readers learn of hearing people's *shock* when learning they have a d/Deaf child; their *view* on hearing loss prevention and education; their *beliefs* about a 'hearing world' and what will be easier for their 'hearing-impaired' children; their feelings of consternation (e.g. *[it] really kind of floored me*) upon visiting a school for their 'hearing-impaired' child and learning that *there wasn't talking going on*; that they *felt so strongly about teaching [their] daughter to speak*; and that what they *really wanted* was for their child *to have the choice to speak*. What the hearing people are experiencing is not the most striking element

of this data; what is most striking is that d/Deaf people's views, thoughts, emotions, and desires are not discussed at all.

Hearing people are much more often portrayed as Actors and Sayers, inherently positioning them with more agency and more authority than their 'hearing-impaired' counterparts. When Sayers, hearing people report on what 'hearing-impaired' people might want (e.g. *it's very admirable that researchers are working to improve cochlear implants to allow anyone with hearing damage to be able to experience music; it was a lot of work and we're starting over again, but it was worth it; even profoundly deaf children do not have to rely solely on sign language in order to communicate*); on their successes or challenges with hearing (with an implant) and speech (e.g. *they are able to hear quite well; the child can distinctly hear the teacher's voice and discern it from background noise; some of these children can get really good 'real' hearing)*; and the successes of the cochlear implant (e.g. *the implants significantly increased speech and hearing; children who received the implants…all demonstrated better speech perception skills; the device is a giant step forward*) (30 out of 61 occurrences). This is quite interesting because in all of these cases, hearing people are speaking on behalf of the 'hearing-impaired' people and their experiences but those 'hearing-impaired' individuals are not asked to give an account of their own experience, including what they want in terms of communication methods, education, their feelings about the cochlear implant and how it works for them, or anything else, much like what was pointed out in the previous paragraph about hearing participants' mental processes. The only exception to this is when the linguist from Gallaudet offers some comments about the speech vs. sign debate, discussed above, which were minimized by the text's overwhelming focus on speech.

Hearing people, including those from all participant groups listed in table 7.1.1, are involved in a variety of 'doings' in the material processes in which they are Actors; however, a significant amount of their 'doings' are centered on the ear, speech, and the general 'rehabilitation' of their 'hearing-impaired' counterparts. In terms of cochlear implants, hearing people are *conducting studies* on them, *surgically implanting* them into 'hearing-impaired' people (mainly children), *giving* them, *adjusting* them, and *working to improve* them. *Helping* 'hearing-impaired' individuals in some way, whether it be *helping hearing-impaired children learn to speak* or *helping* [hearing-impaired people] *select the most appropriate hearing aid*, is mentioned in all but one text. The text wherein *help* does not appear as a material process in which hearing people are engaged is the same text focused entirely on cochlear implants, which are said to be *helping some profoundly deaf children hear and speak.* The 'helping' of 'hearing-impaired' people appears to be limited to helping them hear better, more effectively use the

hearing they still have, or speak better. Other material processes hearing people are engaged in promote a similar goal. It is quite common for them to be portrayed as taking charge in some way, which often aligns with leading the trajectory of the 'hearing-impaired' person's life. They are *teach[ing] children how to read and speak using only lip-reading, choos[ing] the difficult path of speech* for their children, *conduct[ing] therapy sessions, conserve[ing] hearing, publish[ing] studies* on hearing loss, *identify[ing] differences in hearing, complet[ing] surveys on the impact of hearing loss, urging* people to get their hearing checked, *allow[ing]* anyone with a hearing loss to *experience music, moving* to an area with school that teaches speech, *characteriz[ing] hearing loss,* etc. This is much different than what was found in processes where 'hearing-impaired' people were positioned as the acting participants, and there is also notable discrepancy in the counts, which add up to 'hearing-impaired' individuals as Actors in material processes 18 times out of the six texts, and hearing individuals as Actors in material processes 106 times out of the six texts.

One other important finding about the acting participants in these six 'hearing-impaired' texts is the volume of occurrences where cochlear implants, technological devices related to hearing, and amplification devices are placed in an acting role. Out of the 44 total occurrences of these devices as acting participant, 41 position them as Actors, which is more than twice the amount of times 'hearing-impaired' individuals are positioned as Actors. This fact not only emphasizes the presence of a rehabilitative mindset in the discourse since the technology and devices are meant to help simulate 'normal' hearing, but underscores a lack of agency for the 'hearing-impaired' individuals in the text as it is something more readily given to these devices. As expected, these devices are often acting for the 'hearing-impaired' person's benefit, shown through the following examples found within the texts:

- *cochlear implants…are now helping profoundly deaf children hear and speak*
    - material process in focus: *helping*
    - Actor in focus: *cochlear implants*
    - Beneficiary in focus: profoundly deaf children
- *The implants are enabling some children who have never been able to hear, even with hearing aids, to detect words and sounds*
    - material process in focus: *enabling*
    - Actor in focus: *the implants*
    - Beneficiary in focus: *some children who have never been able to hear*
- *new types of hearing devices able to bring a child into the listening world*

    - material process in focus: *bring…into the listening world*
    - Actor in focus: *new types of hearing devices*
    - Beneficiary in focus: *a child* (with hearing loss)
- *an aid can greatly improve quality of life*
    - material process in focus: *improve*
    - Actor in focus: *aid* (as in hearing aid)
    - Beneficiary in focus: [people with severe hearing loss] (backgrounded in this clause but mentioned in the previous sentence)
- *cochlear implants let the hearing-impaired listen to music*
    - material process in focus: *let*
    - Actor in focus: *cochlear implants*
    - Beneficiary in focus: *the hearing-impaired*
- *cochlear implants…aim to provide profoundly deaf and hard of hearing patients with a method of auditory functionality*
    - material process in focus: *aim to provide*
    - Actor in focus: *cochlear implants*
    - Beneficiary in focus: *profoundly deaf and hard of hearing patients*

When not acting on 'hearing-impaired' individuals, their position as Actor is used as a means to describe how they work. In addition to devices and technology being positioned as Actors far more frequently than 'hearing-impaired' people, it is interesting to note that they, in some ways, also presume to know what these individuals might want. It seems an individual decision whether something like a cochlear implant can truly *improve the quality of life*, or whether or not 'hearing-impaired' people want to *listen to music*. Certainly there are d/Deaf people who would agree with these statements, but not all would (as will be demonstrated in the next section), though it is probably safe to assume that the majority of hearing people would believe these statements. From all of the findings on acting participants, it becomes evident that these texts are written about d/Deaf people, but for hearing people's consumption, offering direction, perhaps, on what to do when you have a 'hearing-impaired' person in your life.

7.1.2. Participants acted upon in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

An analysis of who is being acted on in the six 'hearing-impaired' texts reveals a similar pattern that places 'hearing-impaired' people in a subordinate position, lacking agency. Table 7.1.4 shows the participants most commonly acted upon, those that span across multiple texts and, similarly to what was shown in table 7.1.3, includes those participants who have some bearing

on the discursive construction of d/Deaf people. I should also note that the number of references to 'hearing-impaired' participants includes any occurrences where the participant is 'hearing-impaired' regardless of whether or not that word is used to describe them in the passage; if it is understood that the individual is 'hearing-impaired' based on textual reference or antecedent, they are included in the count.

Goal/Beneficiary	***# of references***
'Hearing-impaired' (d/Deaf) people	**51**
Speech/hearing (having to do with either)	**33**
Ear (having to do with the ear)	**15**
Cochlear implants	**11**
Devices	**10**
School	**9**
Technology	**8**
Sound	**5**
Hearing professionals	**4**
Sign language	**3**
Treatment	**2**

Table 7.1.4. Participants acted on in material processes: 'Hearing-impaired' texts

Overwhelmingly, 'hearing-impaired' people are those participants most frequently found in the position of Goal or Beneficiary. In terms of material processes, 'hearing-impaired' individuals are 2.83 times more likely to be positioned as a Goal/Beneficiary than they are as an Actor (51 occurrences vs. 18 occurrences). In those clauses 'hearing-impaired' people are found to be Goal/Beneficiary, 46 out of 51 processes are those that directly relate to their hearing or speaking abilities. Out of the five processes that do not directly relate, three indirectly relate (e.g. *searching for the right school for their son*, the right school being one that focuses on speech education). The Actors in each of these material processes are, perhaps predictably, mostly hearing people. Although only 24 of the 51 are named Actors that are hearing people, 13 Actors are backgrounded in the text but can also be categorized as hearing people. These backgrounded Actors are not named in the clause but are known to the reader as the Actor due to them being mentioned earlier in the paragraph, or because it is understood by the nature of the process (e.g. *cochlear implants…have been implanted in more than 3,000 deaf adults*, understood as surgeons being the Actors who are implanting the devices). The remaining 14 have technology or amplification devices as their Actors. As expected from the analysis thus far and the corpus analysis of the previous chapters, *help* is one of the two most recurring processes (six occurrences) and *implanted*/*received implants* is the most recurring (seven occurrences), but there is a wide range of processes shown in the examples of table 7.1.5. These findings further demonstrate the discursive representation of d/Deaf people when referred to as 'hearing-impaired' who are most often in the position of 'done-to' than 'doer'.

Cochlear implants…are now helping some profoundly deaf children hear and speak.		
Actor: *cochlear implants*	**Process:** *helping*	**Beneficiary:** *some profoundly deaf children*
the FDA approved their use in profoundly deaf youngsters who are 2 and older		
Actor: *the FDA*	**Process:** *approved use*	**Beneficiary:** *profoundly deaf youngsters*
Clarke is one of three schools in the country that teaches deaf children to read and speak		
Actor: *Clarke*	**Process:** *teaches*	**Beneficiary:** *deaf children*
teachers wear amplifiers that broadcast their voice over a radio frequency to children wearing hearing aids		
Actor: *amplifiers*	**Process:** *broadcast*	**Beneficiary:** *children wearing hearing aids*
the new technology requires intensive follow-up work with the children		
Actor: *new technology* [implant]	**Process:** *requires*	**Beneficiary:** *children* [wearing implant]
the child is outfitted with a tiny remote radio receiver		
Actor: backgrounded [presumably an Audiologist]	**Process:** *outfitted*	**Goal:** *the child* [with a hearing loss]
a CD-ROM called Foundations in Speech Perception (FSP), which teaches listening skills to children with hearing loss.		
Actor: *FSP*	**Process:** *teaches*	**Beneficiary:** *children with hearing loss*
family members have been urging her for years to get a hearing aid		
Actor: *family members*	**Process:** *urging*	**Beneficiary:** *her* [elderly aunt]
It's very admirable that researchers are working to improve cochlear implants to allow anyone with hearing damage to be able to experience music.		
Actor: *researchers*	**Process:** *allow to be able to*	**Beneficiary:** *anyone with hearing damage*
new learning devices many of them computer-driven use technology to reach hearing-impaired children		
Actor: *new learning devices*	**Process:** *use*	**Beneficiary:** *hearing-impaired children*

Table 7.1.5. Example material processes with 'hearing-impaired' people as Goal/Beneficiary

7.1.3. Relational processes in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Relational processes are different than the processes that have been discussed thus far as they are not describing an action or a happening, but rather are describing relationships between items or concepts, which a transitivity analysis notes as participants. Although the information found through an analysis of relational processes likely will not reveal anything about social actors and agency as has been shown in the previous analyses of material, mental, verbal and behavioral processes, relational processes will indicate what the discourse producer deems important since these are the things that will be assigned Values and Attributes. Thompson (2004) claims "a Value or Token analysis will often guide us towards the broader concerns and values of the writer" (p. 98). An analysis of relational processes, then, will offer an additional representation of the discourse found in the texts using 'hearing-impaired'.

Shown in table 7.1.2, there are 177 relational processes in the six texts chosen for transitivity analysis, and 70% (124 processes) encourage the same themes shown in previous analyses findings: a focus on the hearing and speech capabilities of 'hearing-impaired' people, the use of technology or special programs to make them more functionally hearing, and a

general focus on hearing and speech. Only three of the relational processes that include 'hearing-impaired' people as a participant talk about something other than their hearing or speech, and all of them indirectly link back to their hearing loss:

- (since receiving an implant 4 years ago and learning to speak) *he has been able to join a regular classroom and is doing well in his second-grade class*
    - Token in focus: *he* (8-year-old 'hearing-impaired' boy)
    - Value in focus: *doing well in his second-grade class*
- (after transitioning to Clarke, oral school for d/Deaf kids) *Lindsey was happy and making progress*
    - Token in focus: *Lindsey* ('hearing-impaired' girl attending Clarke)
    - Value in focus: *happy and making progress*
- (speaking of his elderly aunt) *her mind remains razor sharp…her hearing is so poor that most people soon give up trying to engage her in conversation*
    - Token in focus: *her mind* (elderly aunt with severe hearing loss)
    - Value in focus: *razor sharp*

40 out of the 177 relational processes (23%) also refer to 'hearing-impaired' individuals, but the value statements refer specifically to those individuals' hearing or speech capabilities. 41 of the 177 relational processes refer to technology and devices intended to amplify hearing or help to improve speech abilities for 'hearing-impaired' individuals. 31 of the 177 relational processes refer to the physiological phenomenon of hearing or speech in general, without any relation to a specific person's ability to use either, and 12 others refer to programs meant to focus on improving hearing or speech of 'hearing-impaired' people (see table 7.1.6 for examples). The remaining 53 relational processes found in these texts include a range of Value statements, but at least half describe the title or status of the person/program being discussed (e.g. *Bruce Gantz, a University of Iowa surgeon who has a National Institutes of Health grant to study the best age to implant the devices in children* or *her husband, a cable television executive who stayed behind in Locust Valley, L.I., until landing a job in Boston recently*). The others were a mix of clauses, e.g. those referencing the private school Clarke, (*tuition is steep, scholarships are available, the Clarke curriculum is grueling, the school is divided into…*), voluntary notices on noisy machinery (*which were a "miserable failure"*), or description of professionals in the field (*Audiologists are certified clinicians trained to analyze a hearing problem*).

children generally still don't hear normally, and their speech lacks some clarity.	
Carrier: *their speech*	**Attribute:** *lacks some clarity*
to look at these kids functioning [with an implant] *is pretty dramatic*	
Token: *these kids functioning*	**Value:** *pretty dramatic*
learning to speak is almost a Herculean task, much harder than learning to sign	
Token: *learning to speak*	**Value:** *almost a Herculean task; much harder than learning to sign*
A third, who has a less serious hearing-impairment, attends public school in Northampton.	
Carrier: *a third* [child]	**Attribute:** *less serious hearing-impairment*
Among the most disheartening discoveries parents can make is that their child has a hearing problem.	
Token: *their child has a hearing problem*	**Value:** *among the most disheartening discoveries*
the onset of hearing loss is slow and insidious	
Token: *the onset of hearing loss*	**Value:** *slow and insidious*
the subject is freighted with fears about growing old	
Token: *the subject* (hearing loss)	**Value:** *freighted with fears about growing old*
Detection of a hearing problem is the first step [towards finding a solution (title of the section)]	
Token: *Detection of a hearing problem*	**Value:** *the first step*
Many cases of chronic and temporary deafness involve patients suffering from damage to the tympanic membrane or the cochlea.	
Token: *Many cases of chronic and temporary deafness*	**Value:** *patients suffering from damage to the tympanic membrane or the cochlea*
It is very admirable that researchers are working to improve cochlear implants to allow anyone with hearing damage to be able to experience music.	
Token: *that researchers are working to improve cochlear implants to allow anyone with hearing damage to be able to experience music*	**Value:** *very admirable*

Table 7.1.6. Example relational processes highlighting the discourse theme encouraging rehabilitation of hearing/'hearing-impaired' people

The findings discussed here further represent a discourse found within texts using the term 'hearing-impaired' that emphasize 'rehabilitation'. As relational processes indicate what the discourse producer deems important, it is evident from the repeated mention of hearing and speech capabilities, technology and devices intended to improve those capabilities, and a general discussion of how hearing works that this is something that is valued in this discourse. The fact that there is almost no mention of 'hearing-impaired' people without a connection to their hearing or speech capabilities suggests that not only is an alternative form of communication not valued, but there is not even a need to discuss it. There is one mention of an alternative approach to educating d/Deaf children (i.e. through the use of sign language) in one of the texts, but there are never any Value statements assigned to it, nor is there a discussion of its potential successes. Based on what was uncovered in this analysis, it would appear as though there is only one option available when encountering hearing loss: fix it.

7.2. Transitivity Analysis of the 'd/Deaf' Texts

As with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the titles of the 'd/Deaf' texts reveal a lot about what a reader can expect to uncover about the discourse. In all of the text titles, there is a word or phrase that links back to a discourse supportive of a cultural view of d/Deaf people (e.g. *Deaf culture, sign language, Deaf World, NMSD* (school for the deaf), *sign language*, and *culture*), counter to what was seen in the titles of the 'hearing-impaired' texts. The following analysis will provide further examples of this discourse as well as a discussion of where and how it diverges from the discourse found in the 'hearing-impaired' texts' transitivity analysis.

Table 7.2.1 shows a breakdown of processes in the six 'd/Deaf' texts, where the two most common types of processes are material and relational as was true of the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Mental processes are again the third most frequently occurring; however, unlike the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the mental processes in the 'd/Deaf' texts are not overwhelmingly those of perception. In fact, perception is the least frequent type of mental process, with a total of only 6 occurrences and making up only 9% of the total mental processes (as opposed to 55% in the mental processes found in the 'hearing-impaired' texts). Since, as it was shown in the previous analysis, processes of perception in texts about d/Deaf people tend to focus on the physiological process of hearing, this could illustrate a specific example of a discourse that does not place emphasis a d/Deaf person's ability/inability to hear. This will be explained in further detail as a discussion of the participants starts to unfold in the following paragraph.

Process type	*Count*	*Total*	*Process type*	*Count*	*Total*
Material			**Mental**		
Creative	141		Perception	6	
Transformative	34	**226**	Cognition	33	**69**
Intentional	28		Emotion	20	
Involuntary	23		Desideration	10	
Relational			**Verbal**	49	**49**
Identifying	138	**160**	**Existential**	6	**6**
Attributive	22		**Behavioral**	0	**0**

Table 7.2.1. Processes of transitivity breakdown for six 'd/Deaf' texts

7.2.1. Acting participants in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

It is clear from the participant breakdown shown in table 7.2.1.1 that the acting participants, and roles played by those participants, present in the 'd/Deaf' texts' discourse are in contrast to the acting participants in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Using the same process, I included any participants who were frequently occurring and/or had a definite bearing on the discursive representation of d/Deaf people, the roles they were assigned, how many references were made to them in those roles, and how many total references were made to that participant in general,

regardless of role. In this list of acting participants I have separated out hearing people that are mentioned into different groups: Hearing people, Students learning ASL/Deaf Culture, and Deaf Community allies. These distinctions are important because those listed as Deaf Community allies are consciously promoting Deaf cultural values in the texts, whereas those listed as Hearing people are either neutral players or argue against Deaf cultural values. Students learning ASL/Deaf Culture are referenced as such in the texts and they occupy a space somewhere in between the two groups mentioned above as they cannot be technically considered allies since they are only learning about the language and culture but have not moved into a role of ally-ship. However, they also cannot be considered totally neutral or in opposition to Deaf cultural values since they have more awareness and are supportive of the language and culture of d/Deaf people. A few examples of these different groups will demonstrate the difference in their position and provide evidence as to why it was sensible to separate them.

Participant	*Actor/Senser/Sayer*	*# of references*	*Total # of references*
d/Deaf people	Actor	77	**134**
	Senser	34	
	Sayer	23	
Hearing people	Actor	13	**28**
	Senser	5	
	Sayer	10	
Students learning ASL/Deaf Culture	Actor	12	**27**
	Senser	7	
	Sayer	8	
Deaf Community allies (those promoting awareness and use of ASL)	Actor	17	**26**
	Senser	3	
	Sayer	6	
'you' (talking to the readers)	Actor	9	**17**
	Senser	7	
	Sayer	1	
Schools for the Deaf	Actor	11	**11**
Educators for the Deaf	Actor	6	**7**
	Senser	1	
Sign language/ASL	Actor	7	**7**
Amplification devices/CI/Tech/Speech programs	Actor	2	**2**

Table 7.2.1.1. Acting participants in processes: 'd/Deaf' texts

Deaf Community allies are presented throughout the texts as individuals that promote awareness of Deaf culture in various ways:

- *Leah Hager Cohen presents readers with an intimate look at this new politics of deafness – the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny*
    - process in focus: *presents*
    - Deaf Community ally participant: *Leah Hager Cohen*

    - goal demonstrating ally-ship: *intimate look at this new politics of deafness – the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny*
- *New York state does not require teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing to know sign language, an issue Mr. Sanders plans to address*
    - process in focus: *plans to address*
    - Deaf Community ally participant: *Mr. Sanders* (Manhattan Democrat who is chairman of the Assembly's Education Committee)
    - goal demonstrating ally-ship: [*issue* of] *New York state does not require teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing to know sign language*
- *"We wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world," said Angela Santomero*
    - process is focus: *said*
    - Deaf Community ally participant: *Angela Santomero* (chief writer and a creator of Blue's Clues)
    - verbiage demonstrating ally-ship: *"We wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world"*

The processes described in these examples emphasize values akin to a discourse that positions d/Deaf people as a cultural and linguistic minority, advocating for more personal agency for d/Deaf Community members, the use of sign language in the education of d/Deaf children, and more general awareness of sign language. Those participants grouped as 'hearing people' either display an opposing view or are not engaged in any processes that support one view or another. A few examples of processes in which those individuals are acting participants are as follows:

- *"The idea that you can learn sign language as your first language and it'll solve problems of education and socialization is utter nonsense," said Arthur Boothroyd*
    - process in focus: *said*
    - hearing participant: *Arthur Boothroyd* (Distinguished Professor of speech and learning science at the City University of New York's Graduate Center)
    - verbiage demonstrating opposition: *"The idea that you can learning sign language as your first language and it'll solve problems of education and socialization is utter nonsense"*

- *Ms. Levin said that the ongoing use of sign language, with the interactive quality of "Blues Clues"…made it different from other children's programs featuring people with physical challenges*
    - process in focus: *said*
    - hearing participant: *Ms. Levin* (spokeswoman for Blue's Clues)
    - verbiage demonstrating neutrality: *the ongoing use of sign language…made it different from other children's programs featuring people with physical challenges*
- *"I thought it was great," said Julia Delano of Lincoln* ('it' being the ASL students signing the national anthem at the football game)
    - process in focus: *said*
    - hearing participant: *Julia Delano*
    - verbiage showing neutrality: *"I thought it was great"*

Similar to the 'hearing-impaired' texts, d/Deaf people are the most frequent acting participant appearing in the 'd/Deaf' texts; however, they far outweigh the other groups of acting participants, which was not true of the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Unlike the 'hearing-impaired' texts, where the d/Deaf people were mainly put in Senser roles (58% of all processes in which d/Deaf people were acting participants), in which the central focus of their place as acting participant related to their ability to hear or speak, d/Deaf people are positioned more often as Actors in the d/Deaf texts (77 of 134 or 57% of the processes in which d/Deaf people are an acting participant). d/Deaf people in this set of texts are still positioned as Sensers (34 times), but rarely are they engaged in a process of perception, which was quite common in the previous set of texts. In fact, there are only six processes of perception out of 69 (9%) total mental processes in the d/Deaf texts, a stark contrast from the processes of perception in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, which made up 55% of the mental processes. This alone suggests that there is less discussion of people's hearing in the discourse presented in the 'd/Deaf' texts. These counts also show that d/Deaf people are positioned more often as Sayers in the 'd/Deaf' texts than they are in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. The difference in number of processes is not that great (13 in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, 23 in the 'd/Deaf' texts), but if the percentage of d/Deaf Sayers across each set of texts is calculated from the total number of verbal processes in each set of texts, the difference is more telling (17% of Sayers in 'hearing-impaired' texts are d/Deaf, 47% of Sayers in 'd/Deaf' texts are d/Deaf).

The d/Deaf Sensers in the d/Deaf texts present a very different discourse than was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' texts as most of the mental processes they are experiencing have nothing to do with their hearing, but rather discuss their own thoughts, emotions, desires, etc. from their perspective, rather than the perspective of the hearing people surrounding them, as was common in 'hearing-impaired' texts. Instead of the discourse producers focusing on their teachers' or parents' comments about the d/Deaf people's feelings and successes, the d/Deaf participants in these texts are representing themselves. It is likely that the self-representation is part of the reason there is not much talk about their hearing. Below are a few examples of how d/Deaf Sensers are presented in the 'd/Deaf' texts:

- *Sofia…finally resolves that she will live out her dream of going to Gallaudet*
    - process in focus: *resolves*
    - participant in focus: *Sofia* (young d/Deaf girl)
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, cognition)
- *They've realized their potential, and found out who they are*
    - process in focus: *realized*
    - participant in focus: *they* (two Deaf students are NMSD)
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, cognition)
- *After the first year, I could see it was naturally inside of me*
    - process in focus: *see*
    - participant in focus: *I* (Mark Ramirez, Deaf student at NMSD)
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, perception)
- *Deaf people…feel that being called "hearing-impaired" smacks of condescension and the unequal treatment given to those who are disabled*
    - process in focus: *feel*
    - participant in focus: *Deaf people*
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, emotion)
- *This is a culture, not a handicap – and they're proud of it*
    - process in focus: *proud*
    - participant in focus: *they* (Deaf people)
    - participant role: Senser (process: mental, emotion)
- *James struggles against the odds of both deafness and poverty*
    - process in focus: *struggles against*
    - participant in focus: *James* (young Deaf boy)

- participant role: Senser (process: mental, emotion)

As with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, there are some mental processes where hearing people are presenting the thoughts, emotions and desires of d/Deaf people either in comments made by an opponent of teaching d/Deaf children in ASL as opposed to in English (e.g. *"the idea that you* [d/Deaf person] *can learn sign language as your first language and it'll solve problems of education and socialization is utter nonsense"*) or in comments made by students of ASL and Deaf culture who are reporting on what they have learned about the community (e.g. *"They're deaf, they know that they're deaf, and they like to be treated equally"*). Based on that it can be said that in some ways the 'd/Deaf' texts still have some elements of a discourse that does not afford d/Deaf people full agency. However, because d/Deaf people participate in all of these texts as a representative of themselves, it is also evident that the discourse found in the 'd/Deaf' texts also makes space for d/Deaf people to have agency and does not position them as people who constantly depend on hearing people to think, feel, or do for them. It should also be noted here that the texts collected for this research were chosen based on hearing authorship since I am more interested in seeing how identity is ascribed to d/Deaf people by hearing people based on the reference term used, so having some hearing people speak for them is partially due to that.

The d/Deaf Actors in the 'd/Deaf' texts are engaged in very different processes than the 'hearing-impaired' Actors from the previous set of texts. Instead of being described in relation to their ability to do things with implants or clear speech, d/Deaf Actors here are presented as being engaged in a variety of processes, only a couple of which have anything to do with their hearing or speech. The two material processes with d/Deaf Actors that related to hearing or speech (*wear hearing aids* and *rely on lip reading and other visual cues*) are included in an explanation of what is wrong with oralism as an educational method for d/Deaf children. The other 75 processes with d/Deaf Actors range from those that portray fairly mundane everyday acts, such as *idly swings her long braid*, to those indicative of social struggle (e.g. *took over their campus in angry protest* [when another hearing person was chosen as the president of Gallaudet University]), and everything in between (e.g. *involved in all the organizations* [at school], *play sports*, etc.). This range of material processes further represents a discourse supportive of a cultural and linguistic minority since d/Deaf people are not always included in the texts as proponents of their own social struggle but are also included as people, just like everyone else, engaged in the same kind of processes hearing people are engaged in, arguably giving them even more agency than simply pitting them in opposition to hearing people who

have a differing view of appropriate communication and educational methods. Examples of more material processes with d/Deaf Actors can be found in table 7.2.1.2.

this new politics of deafness – the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny		
Actor: *deaf activists*	**Process:** *control*	**Goal:** *their own destiny*
When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone lingers.		
Actor: *everyone* [deaf kids]	**Process:** *lingers*	**Goal:** N/A
They abandon themselves to the freedom of having intense fun their way.		
Actor: *they* [deaf students]	**Process:** *abandon…to*	**Goal:** *the freedom of having intense fun*
Now, many deaf students get a watered-down version of general education curriculum with modifications		
Actor: *many deaf students*	**Process:** *get*	**Goal:** *a watered-down version of general education curriculum with modifications*
they helped their school reach a plateau it hasn't met since 1996 – a 6-man state playoffs berth		
Actor: *they* [deaf students]	**Process:** *helped*	**Goal:** *reach a plateau it hasn't met since 1996*
Once he transferred to NMSD, he developed more self-confidence and threw himself into many of the school's activities and programs.		
Actor: *he* [deaf student, Ramirez]	**Process:** *transferred*	**Goal:** *NMSD*
Actor: *he*	**Process:** *developed*	**Goal:** *more self-confidence*
Actor: [*he*]	**Process:** *threw…into*	**Goal:** *many of the school's activities and programs*
They are two players who will play a big role in continuing the success the Roadrunners have had on the gridiron		
Actor: *two players* [deaf]	**Process:** *play a big role in continuing*	**Goal:** *the success the Roadrunners have had on the gridiron*
This year, Pierce is teaching three ASL classes at MA [Mattanawcook Academy]		
Actor: *Pierce* [deaf]	**Process:** *teaching*	**Goal:** *three ASL classes*
all they really do that's different from anybody else is speak with their hands		
Actor: *they*	**Process:** *do is…speak*	**Goal:** *with their hands*
Carly "will do something like make the sign for elephant, and we show an elephant," she said.		
Actor: *Carly* [deaf girl]	**Process:** *make*	**Goal:** *the sign for elephant*

Table 7.2.1.2. Example material processes with d/Deaf people as Actors

As Sayers, d/Deaf people are the acting participant in nearly half of all verbal processes in the 'd/Deaf' texts, a striking contrast to their role as Sayer in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. In these verbal processes, d/Deaf people are speaking to their position on Deaf education, their shared experiences as d/Deaf people, how they have developed a better sense of self, as well as other comments about their own feelings and desires. The verbiage of each of these verbal processes in which d/Deaf people are Sayers further emphasizes a divergence from the discourse in the 'hearing-impaired' texts in which the d/Deaf people's verbiage was either constructed dialogue invented by a hearing person, a description of a d/Deaf person speaking something (usually promoting their developing speech skills), or presenting an opposing view on Deaf education that is subsequently repudiated by the hearing people and medical professionals in the texts. Not only are d/Deaf people more often represented as Sayers in the 'd/Deaf' texts, assigning them more agency in the discourse, but how they are introduced as Sayers and what they are talking about confirms a very different discourse. Some d/Deaf Sayers

in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts even directly address the agenda pushed by discourse found in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts:

- *“They’ve tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people,” said Joel Goldfarb*
    - process in focus: *said*
    - d/Deaf participant in focus: *Joel Goldfarb*
    - verbiage in focus: *“They’ve tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people”*
- *“Deaf children tended historically to be viewed as defective beings who needed to be fixed without regard to deaf children’s preferred language, which is American Sign Language,” said Russell Rosen*
    - process in focus: *said*
    - d/Deaf participant in focus: *Russell Rosen*
    - verbiage in focus: *“Deaf children tended historically to be viewed as defective beings who needed to be fixed without regard to deaf children’s preferred language, which is American Sign Language”*
- *Pierce, who is deaf, said…that one of the goals of the class is to have her students, all of whom can hear, become more “understanding and accommodating to deaf people”*
    - process in focus: *said*
    - d/Deaf participant in focus: *Pierce* (ASL teacher)
    - verbiage in focus: *one of the goals of the class is to have her students…become more “understanding and accommodating to deaf people”*

Hearing people and amplification devices/technology/speech programs, etc. are in the position of acting participants only 30 times. I did not include in this count of hearing people those hearing individuals who are classified as Deaf community allies or students learning ASL/Deaf culture who, as explained above at the beginning of section 7.2.1, promote cultural awareness of d/Deaf people throughout the texts. If these groups were added together, the total number of hearing acting participants would be 81, which is still 53 less than the d/Deaf acting participants. In those 30 processes with hearing people and amplification devices/technology/speech programs as the acting participants, nine of the processes present the acting participant as doing/saying/sensing something reminiscent of what would be found in the discourse discovered within the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts. However, in all of these nine

processes, what is being expressed is included in reference to what is inappropriate, something that has been done without the best interest of d/Deaf people in mind, and the processes are sandwiched between other actions, sayings, etc. that present an opposing viewpoint. Hearing people are included in these nine processes as those who *had chosen candidates who weren't deaf to be [Gallaudet's] president*, *rejected another deaf candidate*, *insisted their students use oral speech*, *contend[ed] that it* (American Sign Language) *fails to prepare deaf people adequately for a hearing world*, or who have tried to *force deaf and hearing-impaired people to communicate in the same manner as they do.* In the remaining 21 processes, hearing people are taking various other roles, not all of which have to do with the communication or education debates. Hearing people, presented as Sayers, Actors and Sensers, are saying: *It's an exciting opportunity for a community that needed a chance to acquire the same academic skills provided at any of our other schools* (about beginning a requirement to teach d/Deaf students in ASL), *We never had that in class when I was here* (about ASL classes at a former high school), and *We wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world* (about a Blue's Clues episode featuring sign language). They are also doing things like *visit[ing] a school for deaf children*, *learn[ing] American Sign Language at the Lexington Center School for the Deaf*, and *wonder[ing] which of the two worlds is missing out* (Deaf world or hearing world).

7.2.2. Participants acted upon in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

Perhaps what is most interesting in the above findings about acting participants who are hearing is that d/Deaf people are rarely, if ever, found to be the beneficiary/goal/recipient of these processes, which is very different than what is found in the same set of processes in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. d/Deaf people are still the most common Goal/Beneficiary of material processes in the d/Deaf texts overall (see table 7.2.2.1 for listing of most common Goals/Beneficiaries), but the Actor is not always hearing. Often in these 33 processes, d/Deaf people are the Goal of a d/Deaf person's action, are part of a process that involves hearing Actors (or Actors invented by hearing people, e.g. oral education) but in a manner that denounces that relationship in some way, or are part of a process that is completely benign in terms of encouraging a specific perspective, for example:

- *Oral education, they claim, doesn't allow deaf children to reach their potential*
    - process in focus: *doesn't allow*
    - Goal/Beneficiary in focus: *deaf children*
    - acting participant in focus: *oral education*

    - *emphasis: oral education is a poor choice for deaf children
- *They make sure that no one is left out. They softly tug each other's arms when they want to talk.*
    - processes in focus: *make sure*; *[softly* (circumstance)*] tug*
    - Goals/Beneficiaries in focus: *no one*; *each other's arms* [deaf students]
    - acting participants in focus: *they*; *they*
    - *emphasis: deaf kids acting for each other's benefit
- *They've tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people*
    - process in focus: *tried to make*
    - Goal/Beneficiary in focus: *us* [deaf people]
    - acting participant in focus: *They* [hearing people]
    - *emphasis: deaf people speaking out against hearing people's actions towards them
- *Ramirez is the vocal leader of the team, the one NMSD head coach Robert Huizan relays plays to and who can talk for his teammates because he is hard-of-hearing.*
    - process in focus: *relays plays to*
    - Goal/Beneficiary in focus: *Ramirez* [deaf player]
    - acting participant in focus: *Robert Huizan* [deaf football coach]
    - *emphasis: d/Deaf acting on d/Deaf
- *I tutor other students*
    - process in focus: *tutor*
    - Goal/Beneficiary in focus: *other students* [deaf students]
    - acting participant in focus: *I* [deaf student]
    - *emphasis: d/Deaf student acting on other d/Deaf students
- *They visit a school for deaf children and become part of an animated storybook where they meet Carly, a young girl who is deaf.*
    - process in focus: *meet*
    - Goal/Beneficiary in focus: *Carly [a young girl who is deaf]*
    - acting participant in focus: *They* [Mr. Burns and Blue from Blues Clues]
    - *emphasis: not indicative of one perspective or another

These findings suggest that d/Deaf people are not ascribed the same status as they are in the 'hearing-impaired' texts where they were often the Beneficiary of actions done by hearing people and those processes were mostly focused on helping the 'hearing-impaired' people

become more integrated members of the hearing world through improved speech capabilities, oral education, technology to amplify hearing, and other technological applications which aimed to enhance their ability to communicate with hearing individuals through spoken language. In the 'd/Deaf' texts this type of relationship between d/Deaf and hearing people is not represented through the material processes in the texts, but is sometimes acknowledged through various processes and subsequently corrected and/or condemned by d/Deaf Actors or Deaf community allies.

Goal/Beneficiary	*# of references*
d/Deaf people	**33**
Schools/Education	**21**
ASL/Sign language (related to signing)	**14**
People learning ASL	**9**
Readers/'you'	**7**
Hearing people	**6**
Teachers of d/Deaf	**3**
Deaf community	**2**
Deaf culture	**1**

Table 7.2.2.1. Participants acted on in material processes: 'd/Deaf' texts

7.2.3. Relational processes in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

There were 160 relational processes in the 'd/Deaf' texts, and only one of these discussed a d/Deaf person's hearing or speech capabilities, quite in contrast to the relational processes of the 'hearing-impaired' texts. 85 of the 160 processes demonstrated the same themes that have been represented in previous stages of the analysis: Value statements about Deaf culture, ASL/sign language, a Deaf person's value, schools for the deaf (cultural schools for the deaf, not those that implement an oral method), issues the Deaf community faces, and d/Deaf people represented as everyday people without any connection to the debates between the hearing and Deaf communities or hearing and speech abilities (found in table 7.2.3.1). The remaining 74 processes were a mixture of Value statements, 30 of which were titles/description of people being introduced or offering comments throughout the articles (e.g. *Joel Goldfarb, president of the JHS 47 alumni association* and *Adele Agin, the executive director of vocational and mental health centers at Lexington*), and the last 44 did not fully represent the themes mentioned above but were mainly one-time Value statements many of which had a peripheral connection to those themes without a direct relation. These include those about the school in New York that decided to begin teaching in ASL (e.g. *the school, now called Junior High School 47 but extending from pre-kindergarten to 10th grade, with a planned expansion to 12th*; *It is at 225 East 23rd Street, at Second Avenue in Gramercy Park*; *Public School 47 is in the vanguard of a movement*); those about the ASL classes being taught in high schools (e.g. *It is*

part of the curriculum and meets every other day; *one of the goals of the class is to have her students…become more "understanding and accommodating to deaf people"*; *This experience was an incredible insight to another part of the diversity of our American culture*); and others (e.g. *The most important thing to remember when experiencing a new culture in general is that people are proud of their culture and are usually eager to share*, said when talking about attending a Deaf community event as a student of ASL).

The takeover at Gallaudet is a dramatic example of the political activism that has taken hold in the deaf community in recent year.	
Token: *The takeover at Gallaudet*	**Value:** *a dramatic example of the political activism that has taken hold in the deaf community in recent years*
Part of the destiny deaf activists seek to control is whether deaf culture – the ways of life that have been handed down – will survive.	
Token: *Part of the destiny deaf activists seek to control*	**Value:** *whether deaf culture will survive*
Token: *deaf culture*	**Value:** *the ways of life that have been handed down*
the primary language of deaf people is visual, not verbal	
Token: *the primary language of deaf people*	**Value:** *visual, not verbal*
He has been the team's best player for the past three years, and may be the best athlete at the school.	
Token: *He* [Robert Salas, deaf student]	**Value:** *the team's best player*
Token: *He* [Robert Salas, deaf student]	**Value:** *the best athlete at the school*
English and ASL are separate languages	
Token: *English and ASL*	**Value:** *separate languages*
A few basics about Deaf etiquette: use your hands and facial expressions as much as possible so that any member of the Deaf community can follow the conversation.	
Token: *A few basics about Deaf etiquette*	**Value:** *use your hands and facial expressions as much as possible*
It's a natural language for children because children are so visually stimulated.	
Token: *It* [ASL]	**Value:** *a natural language for children*
"The message to deaf children is 'you're valuable; you are part of this society'"	
Token: *The message to deaf children*	**Value:** *'you're valuable; you are part of this society'"*
Token: *you* [deaf children]	**Value:** *valuable*
Token: *you* [deaf children]	**Value:** *part of this society*
It is through their stories that readers get a sense of what deaf culture is: a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity.	
Token: *deaf culture*	**Value:** *a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity*
Deaf Culture: A Separate World Worth Saving	
Token: *Deaf Culture*	**Value:** *A Separate World Worth Saving*

Table 7.2.3.1. Example relational processes highlighting the discourse themes encouraging a cultural/linguistic view of d/Deaf people

These relational processes exemplify the themes found in the corpus analysis and demonstrated so far in this transitivity analysis. As the previous section mentioned, relational processes are meant to represent what the discourse producers value as important. Even though

there is a wide range of relational processes in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts, one thing the findings do make evident is that there is no value placed on hearing or speech capabilities nor on the technology advancements aimed at improving said capabilities for d/Deaf people. Overall, the Value statements found in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts reveal that the discourse surrounding this reference term focuses on the importance of the person rather than the ear. The discourse includes discussion of a Deaf community, Deaf culture, American Sign Language, a d/Deaf person’s avowed identity as they describe it, and the everyday relationships, feelings, and actions of d/Deaf people. In these processes, oral education is not represented as a superior or as the sole option for d/Deaf children, and the only discussion of d/Deaf people being ‘rehabilitated’ is negated as something that was forced on them and not desired or beneficial. These findings coupled with the others addressed in this section clearly portray a discourse quite contrasting to what was portrayed in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts.

7.3. Summary

This transitivity analysis of the ‘hearing-impaired’ and ‘d/Deaf’ texts has provided specific examples of the discourses discovered through both corpus analyses. As with the corpus findings, a transitivity analysis of the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts showed a discourse with a proclivity for emphasis on hearing, speech, and technology. Additionally, ‘hearing-impaired’ individuals were mostly included in processes as bystanders, as the recipients of actions (mainly those of hearing people) and only the Sensers of hearing abilities as they are perceived by hearing people. In many ways, the discourse was about ‘hearing-impaired’ people but not inclusive of them, reverting to others discussing their actions, thoughts and emotions on their behalf. This is somewhat expected if we reflect on a quote referenced in section 2.5 that addresses the ‘illusion’ that d/Deaf people hold onto regarding their equal status with hearing people and the role of modern medicine to ‘repair’ deafness “*whether the person who has it is disturbed by it or not”* (as cited in Lane, 1984, p. 134). This clearly excludes the d/Deaf person from the equation, in the same way the discourse surrounding ‘hearing-impaired’ is found to in this analysis. The findings of the transitivity analysis for the ‘d/Deaf’ texts effectively illustrate the corpus findings as well, indicating a discourse that acknowledges and supports the cultural and linguistic view of deafness. d/Deaf people are portrayed with a great deal of agency as they take on the role of Actors, Sensers and Sayers and whose actions, thoughts and emotions are expressed in the discourse from their own point of view and not through a hearing proxy. The next chapter will further expand on the degree of agency portrayed in the discourse of the texts through an analysis of social actor representation.

Chapter 8: Text Analyses – Social Actor Representation Analysis of Selected 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' Texts

In its focus on transitivity analysis, chapter 7 provided a close look at social actors and their roles as they are presented through linguistic categories as well as the social practices, or processes, in which they are engaged. A transitivity analysis is useful in gaining a better understanding of the social actors that are presented grammatically within the text, but it is not as useful in identifying social actors that may be absent in a specific grammatical construction but still hold the position of social actor in that clause without being explicitly mentioned, nor is it useful in identifying the various ways social actors are presented in the text, which can have an impact on how that actor is understood by readers. An analysis of Social Actor Representation (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008) provides these distinctions and can uncover a more thorough understanding of the social actors in the texts through an examination of an array of linguistic phenomena. The analysis found in this chapter will cover only some of the designations of van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation (SAR), as these are the most salient designations for this data set, including exclusions, nominations, how individuals are nominated (vs. categorizations, and to a further extent indeterminations), objectivations, and genericizations vs. specifications. I will briefly re-introduce each designation at the beginning of its corresponding section.

8.1. Re-Introduction to Social Actor Representation

An SAR analysis focuses specifically on the portrayal of the actors in discourse and not on the actions in which they are engaged. This analysis is unique as a linguistic analysis as it does not follow an Actor in a grammatical sense, and in fact, often does not consider grammatical placement at all, making it quite different from a transitivity analysis although both are interested in the ideational function of language and in social actors. Instead, using a taxonomy of classifications for the representation of social actors in a text, SAR aims to expose the 'actor' in a sociological sense (i.e. not just what they are explicitly described as doing in the grammatical construction, but the actions they are doing even if that action is described through an impersonal linguistic realization), yielding a better understanding of social positioning, significance, and agency as they are built discursively throughout the texts. Van Leeuwen's SAR taxonomic breakdown consists of 22 different classification schemes (shown in figure 8.1, and also shown previously in section 4.4.2, figure 4.1), though I will only focus on half. The analysis of the chosen classification schemes was conducted by going through all 12 texts

(six 'hearing-impaired' texts and six 'd/Deaf' texts) clause by clause and identifying each of the social actors by their SAR classification. After coding the texts in this way, I looked at the groups of texts holistically, identifying patterns if they existed, and emphasizing examples that highlight the discourse discovered through the corpus analyses.

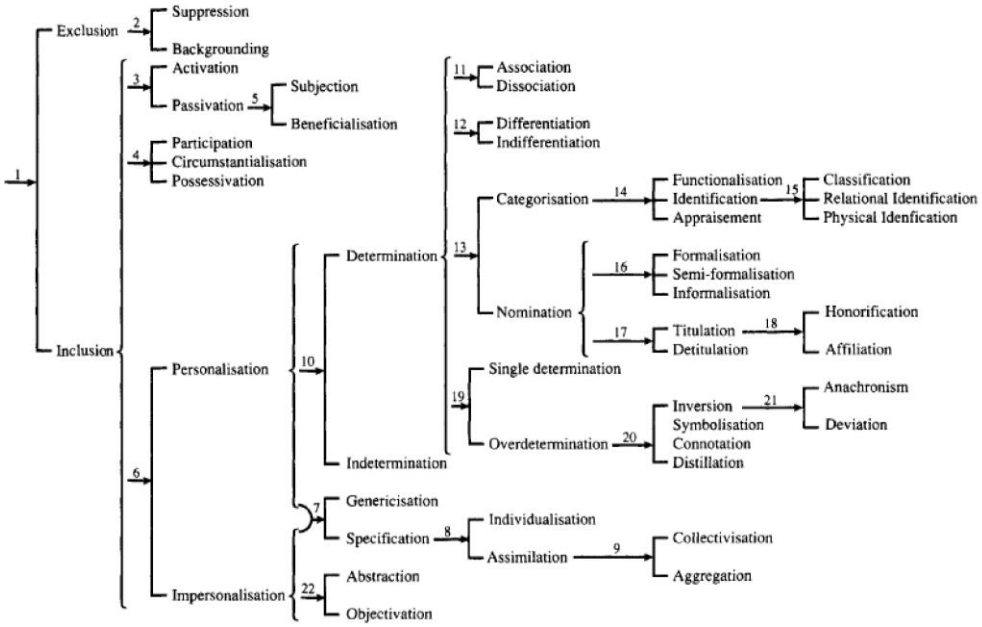


Figure 8.1. van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors in Discourse: system network (1996)

8.2. SAR Analysis: Exclusions

The first of the designations included in my analysis (all of which are described in more detail in Chapter 4) is that of *inclusion* vs. *exclusion*. Social Actors are *included* in the texts in various ways, which make up the remaining classification network; however, *exclusion* of a social actor can happen in two different ways and has certain implications about the social actors who are being excluded. When *exclusion* occurs, it can either be in the form of *suppression* or *backgrounding*. *Suppression* is when the social actor is not present in the text at all, though a process of deduction can sometimes easily identify this social actor, and *backgrounding* is when the social actor is mentioned in the text, though not in relation to the specific actions in which they are engaged in that specific clause (van Leeuwen, 1996). *Exclusion* can be innocuous, where the social actor is easily assumed by the reader due to prior knowledge or previous elements of the text, in cases where the excluded actor is not relevant to the topic, or even due to writing style in some cases (van Leeuwen, 1996). In many cases, however, *exclusions* are an intentional decision either to suppress specific social actors in the text and therefore in a sociological sense as well, effectively denying them status or agency in the

discussion, or to mask social actors that would perhaps be perceived as performing activities that are unpopular in order to preserve the story in the form the discourse producer wants it to be seen. In this analysis, both innocuous and intentional types of *exclusions* exist.

8.2.1. Exclusions in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Across the six 'hearing-impaired' texts analyzed for social actors, I identified 66 instances in which it could be argued that social actors were excluded (see table 8.2.1.1 for a count of exclusions in both sets of texts and examples of who is being excluded). While some of these exclusions appear to be innocuous, there is a common denominator that is shared by frequently excluded social actors: those creating, engineering, implanting, fitting, and testing hearing and amplifying devices for d/Deaf people. *Surgeons* doing the implanting are only included in a clause specifying that action once and in this example they are not presented as implanting a person, but the person is identified through a reference to the *inner ear*, where the device is implanted (*Surgeons implant the wire in the inner ear next to the auditory nerve*). This is a case where the social actor engaged in the action is included, but the other social actor who is on the receiving end of that action is identified through objectivation. When coupled with the overwhelming amount of times the social actor engaged in these types of actions is excluded throughout the texts, this example is just a different way of masking the social actor and presenting their actions as something that appears to be more acceptable by simply implanting a part of some unidentified body rather than a named individual.

Set of texts	*Count of exclusions*	*Examples of excluded social actors*
'hearing-impaired' texts	66	"implanters" (surgeons) (x10), teacher (x5), audiologist, inventor of cochlear implant, researchers (x3), designer of new devices, tester of children's hearing, society, someone looking for hearing aid, person checking hearing, person augmenting speech therapy, buyer, etc.
'd/Deaf' texts	34	saver of Deaf culture (x2), mainstreamers, user of ASL to teach, viewer of deaf people as defective, someone trying to teach deaf people like hearing people, people who call deaf people 'hearing-impaired', someone learning Deaf culture, educator, person starting charter school, etc.

Table 8.2.1.1. Exclusions in 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' texts

In the other examples, the surgeons/engineers of implants/etc. are completely backgrounded or in some cases suppressed entirely, their identity in the backgrounded cases only being disclosed when they are showcased as an expert on the efficacy of the amplifying devices:

- *Cochlear implants, artificial hearing devices <u>that have been implanted</u> in more than 3,000 deaf adults since 1983…*
    - Who has implanted?

- *These devices have been implanted in nearly 1,000 children worldwide*
    - Who has implanted?
- *Six months after the device was implanted, testing showed that these youngsters were able to understand 15 percent of spoken words*
    - Who has implanted? Into whom?
- *First used on an experimental basis in hearing-impaired adults in 1983, the devices are named after the cochlea, the snail-shaped inner ear.*
    - Who is using the implants experimentally? i.e. Who is implanting them?
- *After clinical trials proved their safety to the FDA, cochlear implants were tested in a limited number of children in 1987*
    - Who is testing the implants?
- *That's why there is a growing interest in giving the implants early*
    - Who is giving the implants (or rather implanting them)? Who is being implanted?
- *she received a cochlear implant last summer, in which an electronic device is surgically inserted into the ear to replicate sound signals*
    - Who gave the implant? Who is surgically inserting the electronic device?
- *Cochlear implants, first employed in the 1950s, aim to provide profoundly deaf and hard of hearing patients with a method of auditory functionality*
    - Who employed?

These are just eight of the 23 examples of other exclusions containing the same class of social actor. The surgeons, or the engineers/creators/testers/researchers/etc. of cochlear implants, are being masked in these examples, distancing themselves from what, if explained fully in the text, could be considered a very unpleasant, perhaps even grotesque, procedure. The focus is on the success of the implant, which is also overinflated (discussed in chapter 2 and chapter 7), turning the attention towards the device itself and away from the givers and the receivers of the devices. If worded differently, one could see how examples four, five, and seven might imply a much less acceptable action:

- 'Surgeons first experimented on deaf adults in 1983 by implanting the devices'
- 'After clinical trials proved their safety to the FDA, doctors then tested the cochlear implants' effectiveness by implanting a limited number of children'
- 'Last summer, doctors surgically implanted an electronic device known as a cochlear implant into her ear to replicate sound signals'

Presenting the same information but through inclusion of the social actor and activation, rather than passivation, paints a very different picture of what is actually happening and has the potential to pit them as a villain instead of a hero. Of course, offering the information in this form would contradict the values on which the discourse is produced, which is why the use of exclusion becomes an important factor in building a narrative that supports a specific model, in this case the 'd/Deaf as disability' model. One other example of exclusion in these texts that supports this narrative is after a discussion of why parents are choosing an oral school for their d/Deaf child, it is explained that *they are doing so despite a movement to recognize American Sign Language as the primary method of deaf education*. In this case, the text excludes those experts and the Deaf community who argue against the principles on which the Clarke school is founded, referring instead to a generalized *movement*, and through the exclusions of these social actors avoids drawing attention to those individuals or their ideas on deaf education.

The other instances where social actors are excluded in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, those that don't include doctors and engineers of amplifying devices such as cochlear implants, are mostly innocuous. A handful of these excluded social actors are teachers (six) that are likely backgrounded due to writing style where mentioning the teachers would be redundant (e.g. *Teaching speech to deaf children "works for only a handful of children"*). Others are one time occurrences that include statements such as *the television suddenly needs to be turned higher*; or a discussion about hearing loss mostly being sustained from loud noises from items like headsets and surround-sound stereos and then *add the barrage to moviegoers' ears… leaf blowers, mowers, personal watercraft and power tools*; or occurrences where social actors in these positions are normally excluded in texts, such as *a licensed hearing aid specialist who is trained to fit and dispense hearing aids*, which excludes the social actor who did the training. Rarely in a case like the latter is the social actor who did the training included in the clause unless the discourse producer is highlighting a specific individual or educational institution.

The last type of exclusion worth mentioning for the 'hearing-impaired' texts is that of d/Deaf children who are on the receiving end of implants and speech therapy. While d/Deaf children are usually included in clauses that reference the implantation itself, though the clause is typically in a passive construction, they are conveniently excluded from clauses that discuss the work required of them after the implantation is complete. Receiving a cochlear implant requires lifelong care, beginning with activation appointments, then mapping every 3-6 months (at least for the first couple of years), audiology visits, auditory rehabilitation, speech therapy, device evaluations, speech perception testing, more frequent appointments with the child's pediatrician, speech/language evaluations, etc. It is not a simple process where the work is over

once one's surgical recovery is complete. The texts mention the therapy and work that is required after surgery though in an abbreviated and generic sense, or just when a d/Deaf child is being taught to use speech as their main form of communication, but the children are not included as the individuals who need to do this work:

- *it requires surgery and an extensive commitment to rehabilitation afterward*
    - The d/Deaf children are the ones who have to undergo surgery and then provide this *extensive commitment to rehabilitation*
- *"*Some of these children can get really good 'real' hearing*,"... Such results come only after <u>months of training</u>*
    - The d/Deaf children will be the ones who have to undergo months of training
- *Because the new technology <u>requires intensive follow up work</u> with the children to <u>teach them</u> to interpret the sounds*
    - This example included children as part of the work; however, the phrase is structured as such that it appears as though the social actor being excluded (the one doing this intensive follow up work with the child and teaching them) is taking on the brunt of the work, suppressing or making light of all that is required from the child, which is why this example is included.
- *And because speech therapy <u>must be augmented</u> with home-based programs*
    - The d/Deaf children will be the ones forced to augment their speech therapy

In these examples, the exclusions employed minimize the effort required of d/Deaf children to make this dream of them becoming more like a hearing person a reality. Nowhere do the texts emphasize the commitment and endless hours of therapy and training required of the child that would not serve its narrative, as this process of 'rehabilitating' a d/Deaf child could suddenly seem unappealing. Instead, they keep the focus on the success stories of implants and children who have 'perfected' speech, never detailing all of the elements required to get there, including a more accurate picture of what implant surgery actually looks like and an explanation of the 'rehabilitation' efforts necessary, on the part of the child, to make the implant a "success."

8.2.2. Exclusions in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

In the six 'd/Deaf' texts analyzed for social actors, I identified only 34 instances in which it could be argued that social actors were excluded, little more than half of the number of exclusions in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Across these instances of exclusion, there does not

appear to be any clear pattern, the overwhelming majority of the excluded social actors appearing only one time. In that way, the number of social actors that could be argued to have been excluded in the 'd/Deaf' texts is similar to the 'hearing-impaired', but the total number of instances is halved.

Interestingly, there are a few instances in the 'd/Deaf' texts where the social actor being excluded is, presumably, a hearing person engaging in an action that would be perceived as unpopular based on the discourse discovered so far in the 'd/Deaf' texts. However, excluding these social actors would seem to serve the interests of an opposite viewpoint, which makes them an interesting case. Based on the types of statements, I have concluded that these individuals are excluded because one single actor cannot be identified and so a more generic 'they' could be used to replace the absent social actor. In this way, it could be argued that the excluded social actors are not just being excluded, but anonymized in an effort to make their identity appear irrelevant (van Leeuwen, 1996), and instead focusing the attention on the individuals being affected by these acts (usually d/Deaf people):

- *The issue underlying both of these conflicts is that, historically, deaf people have been excluded from the discussions that decide their fate.*
    - Who is excluding?
    - Focus: d/Deaf people should be included in the discussions that decide their fate
- *Deaf children tended historically to be viewed as defective beings who needed fixed without regard to deaf children's preferred language, which is* [ASL].
    - Who is viewing Deaf children as defective beings?
    - Focus: Deaf children's preferred language of ASL should be considered in decisions concerning their education
- *By 1907, all 139 such schools* [schools for the deaf] *had forbidden its* [ASL] *use in an effort to make the deaf more like hearing people.*
    - Whose effort was it to make deaf children more like hearing people?
    - Focus: ASL should be used in the education of deaf children
- *Instead, they* [deaf children] *were taught to read lips or to speak.*
    - Who was teaching deaf children to read lips and speak?
    - Focus: deaf children should not be taught to read lips and speak
- *they were also thrown into classes with hearing students without the necessary assistance to make it worthwhile*

    - Who threw them [deaf students] into classes with hearing students without the necessary assistance?
    - Focus: The deaf students should be provided assistance in hearing classrooms, or (based on the content of this specific text), they should be in a deaf school in an all-deaf classroom
- *Deaf people…feel that being called "hearing-impaired" smacks of condescension and the unequal treatment given those who are disabled*
    - Who is calling them 'hearing-impaired'? Who is giving unequal treatment?
    - Focus: Don't call Deaf people 'hearing-impaired' and treat them equally
- *The recent practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens the existence of these special schools*
    - Who is engaging in the practice of "mainstreaming"?
    - Focus: deaf children should not be mainstreamed, but rather should be enrolled in a school for the deaf ('*special school'*)

As van Leeuwen (1996) explained in his discussion, exclusions can be intentional, used as a means of denying a particular person or group agency. While the 'd/Deaf' texts did not have any specified persons or groups who were recurrently excluded, such as with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, a pattern of these exclusions emerged in a different way. It seems the pattern here is that exclusions were used as a means of reclaiming some sense of power or agency in decisions concerning the Deaf community, where rather than explicitly stating who was engaging in these undesirable actions against d/Deaf people, those individuals were excluded, making d/Deaf people the only social actor included and therefore the focus of the discourse.

8.3. SAR Analysis: Nominations vs. Categorizations, Genericizations vs. Specifications

When a social actor is identified by name it is an occurrence of *nomination*, in terms of SAR classification. *Nominations* can come in three forms: *informalization*, where an individual is nominated using only their first name or some other type of informal reference (e.g. a nickname or similar); *semi-formalization*, where an individual is nominated using their first and last name; and *formalization*, where a last name is used to identify the individual, with or without the addition of a title. Another aspect of *nomination* is *titulation*, which can manifest in two different ways including *honorification*, when there is an addition of a formal title or rank along with the *nomination*, or *affiliation*, when there is the addition of a term identifying a personal

relationship along with the *nomination*. The counterpart to the classification of *nomination* is *categorization*, which also comes in different forms. Individuals, or groups of individuals can be categorized in terms of *functionalization*, described by the function they are performing (e.g. teacher/s), *appraisement*, categorized using some evaluative term that indicates one's appraisal of the individual/s (e.g. defective beings), or *identification*, further sub-categorized into *classification*, *relational identification*, and *physical identification*. *Classification* occurs when an individual or group of individuals is categorized in the text based on a typical marker of societal classification, such as age, race, gender, socioeconomic status, etc. (e.g. children). *Relational identification* identifies individuals by means of their relationship with an already named social actor (e.g. her husband), and *physical identification* by their physical characteristics (e.g. blonde girl). *Nomination* is worthy of investigation in a critical discourse analysis study as it indicates the individuals that serve a key role in that discourse, those to whom the reader should give his/her attention, whereas individuals who are *categorized* often serve a less important role or those that should not be the focal point (van Leeuwen, 1996). Furthermore, how a social actor is nominated provides insight concerning their status as it is being presented by the discourse producer. Those who are formally nominated with honorifics would demand more attention than those who are informally nominated, who would demand more attention than those who are categorized in some way.

Somewhat related to *nomination* and *categorization*, although separated in the classification network, *specification* and *genericization* classify social actors presented in the text as those who are individualized and those who are generically grouped into classes. The practice of *genericization* effectively distances those individuals assigned as such and is often a means of establishing some separation between 'us' and 'them', but without offering an equal social status. *Specification* can be realized in different ways and does not always equal *nomination*. Those identified by specific reference can be *individualized* or *assimilated*, and they can be *assimilated* through *collectivization* or *aggregation*. *Individualization* is as it sounds, where social actors are referred to as specific individuals. *Assimilation* identifies social actors as groups and these groups can be *aggregated*, or quantified in some way, or *collectivized*, in which the group is simply identified without a reference to how many individuals make up that group. These classifications are important to any CDA study as they help delineate the social positioning of certain actors as elite or respectable individuals tend to be *individualized*, and actors considered to be of no primary importance, or who are simply 'ordinary', are *assimilated* or *genericized*.

8.3.1. Nomination and categorization in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

In the six 'hearing-impaired' texts, there did not appear to be any large discrepancies concerning nomination after first tallying the total nominations for each group, including d/Deaf people (46 nominations), hearing people (65 nominations), and agencies or organizations (30 nominations) (see table 8.3.1.1). However, divergences were revealed as those totals were broken down by type of nomination (formal, semiformal, or informal), inclusion of honorification, and number of pronouns included as nomination due to previous nominated reference. I should note here that I expanded the definition of van Leeuwen's idea of titulation→honorification to include those instances in the text when a social actor is introduced by name, followed by their formal title (e.g. *John Miamoto, chairman of the department of otolaryngology-head and neck surgery at the Indiana University School of Medicine*). Van Leeuwen's (1996) discussion of honorification includes "the addition of standard titles, ranks, etc., as with 'Dr'" (p. 53), but does not elaborate on how those titles can appear in the text. Although the inclusion of a long title such as this may technically fit the description of functionalization, I believe its discursive purpose is to position this social actor as someone with a special authority on the topic at hand, in essence 'honoring' them with expert status. As there is no clear direction about how to classify organizations that are nominated, I included fully named organizations as a formal nomination, organizations identified as acronyms or abbreviated names as semiformal nomination, and those referenced without their name as informal nomination (e.g. Food and Drug Administration (formal), FDA (semiformal), the Administration (informal)).

Type of nominated individual	*Count*	*# pronoun identifications*	*Total*
Deaf			
informal	14	6	**46**
semiformal	21	17	
formal	11	5	
Hearing			
informal	3	3	**65**
semiformal	36	6	
formal	26	5	
Organizations			
informal	5	0	**30**
semiformal	13	2	
formal	12	0	

Table 8.3.1.1. Nomination breakdown for 'hearing-impaired' texts

As table 8.3.1.1 shows, hearing people are the ones who are most commonly nominated, and therefore individualized (65 instances), with d/Deaf people totaling only 19 instances fewer than hearing people. What is interesting about these results is not the total number of instances

but rather how those numbers are subdivided. In all three groups of nomination the most frequent type is semiformal, but hearing people are more likely to be formally nominated, that count more than double the formal nominations of the other two groups. They are also far less likely to be nominated informally (only three instances, and all pronoun 'I' as the author of the text referred to him/herself). These counts suggest that hearing people are more likely to be nominated and individualized, and therefore given more attention and agency in the texts, and also that when nominated they are more likely to be given higher esteem through a formal nomination than their d/Deaf counterparts.

Personal pronouns are not discussed in van Leeuwen's classification of social actors, but it would stand to reason that any personal pronouns used in a text would follow the same classification with which they were assigned when first appearing in the text as an antecedent (e.g. *Ryan…he…,* where 'he' would also be classified as an informal nomination, as with 'Ryan'). This is the practice I used while conducting the SAR analysis. Despite the similar classification, I believe separating out the number of times a nominated social actor has been referenced by personal pronoun vs. his/her name is an important distinction to make for critical discourse analysis. Even though the classification follows, the use of a personal pronoun multiple times in a row after using that person's name once does not maintain the same authority or demand the same attention from the reader as a person who is continually re-nominated by name each time he/she appears in the text, or perhaps with only one personal pronoun reference. This applies specifically to this analysis since it is clear from the table above that d/Deaf social actors are referenced by personal pronoun in 28 of the total 46 instances of nomination, whereas only 14 of the 65 instances of nominations of hearing people are personal pronoun references. If those instances were removed based on a more strict count of nominations (including only those that use a proper noun), the discrepancy between d/Deaf and hearing nominations would be much greater (only 18 d/Deaf nominations compared to 51 hearing nominations). The following two examples exemplify the disproportionality of nominations involving the use of personal pronouns:

> *For **Tim Brandau**, 8, of Rudd, Iowa, the difference has been striking. **He** relied on sign language and lip-reading to communicate before **he** received an implant four years ago. Since then, **he** has learned to speak, his lip-reading has improved and **he** can hear directions from his mother even when **he** can't see her face. **He** has been able to join a regular classroom and is doing well in his second-grade class.*

> ***Sandy Kobylarz** and her husband were living with her parents in Manville, N.J., and renovating a house when her family's worst suspicions were confirmed. Their first child, a boy then 9 months old, had been born deaf. But for **Mrs.***

> ***Kobylarz****, the shock did not fully set in until months later, when the couple began searching for the right school for their son, Ryan. While visiting a school 30 minutes from her home that purported to teach both sign language and speech,* ***she*** *noticed that the classrooms seemed abnormally quiet. "That really kind of floored me,"* ***Mrs. Kobylarz*** *said. "Even in the upper schools there wasn't talking going on, and I realized I really wanted Ryan to have the choice to speak." So* ***the Kobylarzs*** *left their New Jersey roots and moved to a small town in western Massachusetts so that their son could enroll in the Clarke School for the Deaf…*

In the first example, the text is talking about a d/Deaf child who has a cochlear implant and is enrolled in an educational program focused on speech. When first appearing in the text, he is included as a semiformal nomination, but then is referred to by a personal pronoun (*he*) for the remainder of the text's discussion of him. Moreover, when he is introduced through nomination, he is not positioned as an Actor in a grammatical sense. All of the subsequent phrases that position him as an Actor use a personal pronoun. The second example, outside of the obvious problems with the discourse (i.e. *family's worst suspicions were confirmed…first child…had been born deaf* and *I realized* ***I*** *really wanted Ryan to have the choice to speak* – emphasis added), introduces a hearing parent of a d/Deaf child in the same way, semiformal nomination. However, in a subsequent reference to the parent, the text not only avoids the use of a personal pronoun, but elevates the esteem of the social actor by using a formal nomination. The hearing parent is eventually identified by personal pronoun (*she*), this not including direct quotes in which she identifies herself by use of '*I*', but is more commonly nominated by proper noun. Even more intriguing from this example is that her d/Deaf child is initially introduced by categorization (relational identification) and not by nomination (i.e. *their first child, a boy then 9 months old, had been born deaf*). The text later identifies the son through informal nomination, but it is interesting that in the first introduction his gender and age appear to have more significance than his name.

Another interesting finding in relation to the use of personal pronouns in nomination classifications is that hearing social actors appear to be nominated by proper noun more often because they are often peppered throughout the text, so each time they are mentioned, their name has to be used again in order to remind the reader of who they are. d/Deaf social actors, on the other hand, are often introduced in one small section of the texts, discussed for a paragraph, and then never mentioned again making it easy, grammatically, to refer to them using a personal pronoun for the majority of phrases in which they are included. This appears to be another strategy that grants social actors a higher degree of agency; if the social actor appears in the text multiple times and in multiple locations, they are more likely to be

remembered by the reader, and therefore be given more significance. Whereas if a social actor appears multiple times but in only a small section of the text, one paragraph for instance, they are more forgettable and therefore less significant in the mind of the reader.

Categorization patterns in the 'hearing-impaired' texts uncover more about the representation of d/Deaf social actors, revealing that d/Deaf social actors are roughly twice as likely to be classified through categorization than hearing social actors (140 instances of categorization vs. 75 instances of categorization). Shown in table 8.3.1.2, d/Deaf social actors are not only more likely to be represented through categorization, but they are also more likely to be assimilated, aggregated, and are most often categorized by classification (106 out of 140 instances), classification being any reference to *deaf people, hearing-impaired children,* etc. When categorized by functionalization (only 10 instances of the 140) the functions they served were those of *patients, students,* and *users* (of hearing aids). The remaining instances of categorization were relational identifications such as *her daughter*, *my elderly aunt,* and the like. Relational identifications would not have included any of these descriptions that also contained a name as those would have been counted as examples under nomination—titulation (affiliation). These counts reinforce the idea that d/Deaf social actors, while they maintain a major role in these texts, are in some ways distanced from the readers by being assimilated into a group of people who have a small amount of individual representatives (only 46 instances of nomination—18 if you do not count the personal pronoun references—compared to 140 instances of categorization). By being stripped of their individuality, something highly valued in American culture (specifically US culture), mainly categorized by general classifications, and functionalized as groups of individuals that are the counterpart to dominant social roles (*patients* vs. doctors, *students* vs. teachers, *users* vs. creators), the text is presenting these social actors as less significant than their hearing peers.

Group of individuals	*Count*	*Examples of references*	*Total*
Deaf			
functionalization	10	*patients, students, users* (of hearing aids)	**140**
identification	130	*deaf children, deaf adults, children who have never been able to hear, youngsters, profoundly deaf youngsters, those with implants, hearing-impaired children, children with hearing problems, etc.*	
classification	106		
relational identification	23		
physical identification	1		
appraisement	0		
assimilation	116	see identification and functionalization examples above	
collectivization	103		
aggregation	13	*more than 3,000 deaf adults, 28 children who received implants, 61% of youngsters, 28 million Americans with a hearing loss, more than 5,000 men and women, etc.*	
Hearing			
functionalization	37	*physicians, researchers, experts, surgeons, teachers, support group for new Clarke parents, person behind the counter, therapists, critics, hearing specialists, audiologists, scientists, etc.*	**75**
identification	36	*families, her husband, their first child, parents, hearing people, non-English-speaking groups, Spanish-speaking children, those with speech impediments, Hispanic adults, etc.*	
classification	13		
relational identification	22		
physical identification	1		
appraisement	2	*stroke victim, needy families*	
assimilation	37	see identification and functionalization examples above	
collectivization	35		
aggregation	2	*two audiologists, 19 families*	

Table 8.3.1.2. Categorization breakdown for d/Deaf and hearing social actors in 'hearing-impaired' texts

In contrast, hearing people in these texts are functionalized as those dominant social roles mentioned above (e.g. *experts, researchers, physicians, teachers, scientists,* etc.), serving the needs of the d/Deaf people who are presented as requiring the help of these hearing specialists. Moreover, hearing people are placed in these roles more often than they are classified (37 functionalizations vs. 13 classifications), a much different trend than was seen with the d/Deaf social actors (10 functionalizations vs. 106 classifications). Interestingly, half of the instances of classification of hearing people include those individuals that are part of another marginalized or minority group (e.g. *non-English-speaking groups, Spanish speaking children, those with speech impairments, Hispanic adults,* etc.) furthering the point that a text implements classification when discussing groups that are seen as less important or who hold less social capital than those who are individualized and nominated. The frequency of nominations of hearing social actors in the 'hearing-impaired' texts is almost equal to the frequency of categorizations (65 instances of nomination vs. 75 instances of categorization), a stark contrast to the d/Deaf social actors (46 instances of nomination vs. 140 instances of

categorization), and when categorized hearing people still seem to maintain a higher level of significance in the text than their d/Deaf counterparts. d/Deaf social actors also have more instances of aggregation, being presented as statistics in all of those cases, whereas hearing people are only aggregated twice, only one of which could be said to be a statistic (referencing the amount of families moving to Massachusetts to attend the Clarke School).

8.3.2. Nomination and categorization in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

The six 'd/Deaf' texts have a very different trend when it comes to nominations and categorizations. The count alone reveals a large discrepancy in who is nominated in the text: d/Deaf people had 129 instances of nomination, hearing people had 62 instances of nomination, and organizations/locations/etc. had 34 instances of nomination (see full breakdown in table 8.3.2.1). Hearing people and organizations had nearly the same number of nominations in the six 'd/Deaf' texts as they did in the six 'hearing-impaired' texts (62 vs. 65, and 34 vs. 30); however, the number of nominations of d/Deaf people nearly tripled (46 instances in the 'hearing-impaired' texts compared with 129 instances in the 'd/Deaf' texts). As with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, I included the number of instances social actors were referenced by pronoun at all levels of formality for an easy comparison to the previous set of numbers.

Type of nominated individual	*Count*	*# pronoun identifications*	*Total*
Deaf			
informal	17	7	**129**
semiformal	26	9	
formal	86	38	
Hearing			
informal	16	10	**62**
semiformal	24	6	
formal	22	4	
Organizations			
informal	12	1	**34**
semiformal	10	0	
formal	12	0	

Table 8.3.2.1. Nomination breakdown for 'd/Deaf' texts

The large discrepancy of nominations between d/Deaf and hearing social actors in these texts is significant, especially when considering the breakdown from the previous set of texts. In the 'd/Deaf' texts, d/Deaf social actors are twice as likely to be nominated as hearing social actors, and even if pronoun identifications are removed from the equation the count of d/Deaf nominations still far exceeds that of hearing nominations (75 to 42). These counts demonstrate the attention and agency that is given to d/Deaf individuals in these texts with less emphasis being placed on the individuality of hearing people. Counter to what was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, d/Deaf people are not only the most frequently nominated group, but when

they are nominated it is most often through formal nomination, also granting them some degree of esteem. The breakdown in the 'd/Deaf' texts does not follow the trend of the 'hearing-impaired' texts where the majority of all nominations was semiformal, but rather includes a fairly even distribution in the hearing and organizations/locations/etc. groups, and a predilection for formal nominations with the d/Deaf group.

Unlike the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the pronoun distribution in the 'd/Deaf' texts does not specifically reveal any significant divergence in the discourse or how each group of social actor is being represented. The only group of individuals that have more pronoun nominations than nominations by proper noun are the informally nominated hearing people, and that is due to the fact that one article in particular is written in first person and the author refers to herself as '*I*' throughout the text.

Nominated social actors in the 'd/Deaf' texts are somewhat different in how they appear in the text than those from the 'hearing-impaired' texts. In these six texts, there is usually a dominant social actor (or two social actors) that is the center of each text (not in every text, but in five out of six), some hearing and some d/Deaf. The 'hearing-impaired' texts do not have one single dominant social actor but rather have multiple, none of whom are d/Deaf, and other nominated social actors who are not dominant appear for a paragraph and are never mentioned again (as was discussed above). This makes for a very different experience for the reader. The reader of the 'hearing-impaired' texts is introduced to many individual social actors but their attention is guided towards those social actors who are nominated and who are threaded through the text, and not those who may be mentioned only once, whereas the reader of the 'd/Deaf' texts is also introduced to many social actors, several of whom are d/Deaf, but is often following the story of a central character and their relationships with the other social actors in the texts. One example would be in text four, in which the article is focused on two d/Deaf high school students and their educational experiences. The article is mainly about them but even when other social actors are included, all of whom are d/Deaf as well, they continue to be part of the discourse, not discussed and then dropped after a paragraph. Additionally, the reverse of what happened in the 'hearing-impaired' texts is true in article five, where the central character is a d/Deaf ASL teacher, who is nominated throughout the text, and her hearing students are the minor characters who are nominated and also referred back to in more than one location of the text. In that way the texts appear to be more inclusive overall while also positioning d/Deaf social actors as having social capital and significance.

As with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, d/Deaf social actors in the 'd/Deaf' texts are also twice as likely to be categorized as their hearing counterparts (161 instances vs. 80 instances),

the major difference is how they are categorized (see breakdown in table 8.3.2.2). While they are still categorized by classification frequently (68 of the 161 occurrences, 42%) it is not to the degree they were classified in the 'hearing-impaired' texts (106 of the 140 occurrences, 76%). Additionally, the deaf social actors in the 'd/Deaf' texts are functionalized even more frequently than they are classified (72 occurrences), whereas they were only functionalized 10 times in the previous set of texts. This is important to note since functionalization implies some kind of action, so they are not just being talked about as a grouping of individuals but are included as having special roles within the texts. The roles they are associated with in the texts through functionalization are not just as the complement of a dominant role (as was seen with the 'hearing-impaired' texts, e.g. *patient* compared with doctor), but rather those dominant roles are often held by d/Deaf people (e.g. *deaf principal, executive director of vocational and mental health, head coach, actress, associate director of development,* etc.). When discussed through classification, d/Deaf social actors are identified with the '*deaf*' reference term and/or are associated with sign language, as with *people signing*, but they are never presented as having a problem of any kind or as someone who is missing something as was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' texts in which they are referenced as *children who have never been able to hear* and *children with hearing problems.* Throughout these texts d/Deaf social actors are grouped by one standard reference term, the one Deaf community members prefer to use to identify themselves, which may suggest a more cheerful twist on the idea of classification as it could be in reference to the collectivist nature of the culture where talking about themselves as a collective group portrays unity amongst community members.

While the high frequency of categorization of d/Deaf social actors could indicate some similarities in discourses between the two sets of texts, the manner of categorization along with the high frequency of nomination combats the idea that d/Deaf social actors are presented as less significant than hearing social actors. While hearing social actors have far fewer categorizations, just as in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the composition of categorization looks very different. Hearing social actors are functionalized more often than classified, as was true in the previous set of texts, but their functions are quite distinct from what was seen before. They are still presented in some dominant roles (e.g. *teacher, spokeswoman, School Chancellor*, etc.) but they also take on some of the roles that are counter to those dominant roles, which are held by d/Deaf people (e.g. *ASL students*, counterpart to their d/Deaf teacher). The hearing social actors are also set up as the marked social actor, where the d/Deaf social actor appears to be the unmarked one, as with *opponents* and *traditional educators* in a discussion of ASL being the best method of education for d/Deaf children. This is significant

because typically the hearing agenda, which would be considered the mainstream, unmarked agenda in society since it is the dominant group, is the one that is socially accepted and presented as such in discourse but in this case, it is the view/agenda of the Deaf community that is put forward as the unmarked, accepted approach. This theme of marked hearing social actors is continued with how they are classified in the texts (e.g. *hearing people, hearing children, the hearing, hearing society*), which occurs only once in the 'hearing-impaired' texts and is used by the one d/Deaf individual giving their opinion on educational approaches for d/Deaf children. This indicates d/Deaf social actors have a higher social capital in the d/Deaf texts since they are not constantly positioned as the individuals in society who are marked against their hearing counterparts who are generally unmarked (i.e. using the term *kids* in a text as an unmarked form would generally refer to hearing kids so there is no need to mark them as 'hearing'). In the 'd/Deaf' texts both d/Deaf and hearing social actors are marked, suggesting a degree of equality in social status.

Group of individuals	*Count*	*Examples of references*	*Total*
Deaf			
functionalization	72	*deaf candidate, deaf activists, Lexington students, deaf principal, alumni, executive director of vocational and mental health centers, senior class vice-president, associate director of development, deaf students, starting quarterback, teacher, all-star basketball team, head coach, actress*	**161**
identification	83	*deaf children, her father, deaf people, deaf kids, African-American boy, the deaf, young girl who is deaf, someone who is deaf, those for whom signing is not just a second language, people signing, her grandparents*	
classification	68		
relational identification	11		
physical identification	4		
appraisement	6	*poor imitations of hearing people, defective beings, team's best player, best athlete, leader, one of the smartest kids in school*	
assimilation	109	see identification and functionalization examples above	
collectivization	102		
aggregation	7	*two Lexington students, 277 students, half-million to one million deaf people, two seniors, 4,000 to 5,000 children in New York City who are hard of hearing or deaf*	
Hearing			
functionalization	49	*opponents, traditional educators, staff, teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing, hearing teachers, show's chief writer and one of its creators, spokeswoman for the show, ASL student, hearing students, interpreter, School Chancellor, etc.*	**80**
identification	29	*hearing society, the hearing, parents, hearing people, children, viewers, kids, hearing children, people with physical challenges, his son, those who are disabled, sisters, an adopted brother, etc.*	
classification	19		
relational identification	7		
physical identification	3		
appraisement	2	*beginner, advanced ASL students*	
assimilation	57	see identification and functionalization examples above	
collectivization	56		
aggregation	1	*39 members of Carrie Pierce's American Sign Language classes*	

Table 8.3.2.2. Categorization breakdown for d/Deaf and hearing social actors in 'd/Deaf' texts

8.4. SAR Analysis: Indeterminations

Indeterminations fall outside of the *categorization* and *nomination* designations as this type of classification does not specifically identify the social actor either by name or any other characteristic, but rather uses a nondescript determiner such as 'someone', 'anyone', 'people', or similar reference terms. An *indetermination* can be incorporated as a means of anonymizing the social actor, implying a certain degree of irrelevance to their identity, but can also represent someone who is granted "a kind of impersonal authority, a sense of unseen, yet powerfully felt coercive force" (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 52). This is realized in one of the d/Deaf texts where a Deaf person is quoted as saying *they've tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people,*

they being the indetermination and representing hearing people who advocate for auditory 'rehabilitation' and speech therapy. In this case, the hearing people have held the authority in the education of d/Deaf children and referring to that group of individuals using *they* is this individual's way of distancing himself from this group of people who he wants no affiliation or relationship with.

8.4.1. Indetermination in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

There are 22 instances of indetermination in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, most of which support the narrative identified in the previous elements of SAR. The majority of these indeterminations are ultimately a reference to d/Deaf or hard-of-hearing people. In two of the six articles it was somewhat common to refer to individuals who were losing their hearing through the use of indetermination, such as with these examples:

- *…the onset of hearing loss is slow and insidious. And "people aren't concerned if it doesn't happen now"*
- *"It's amazing how many people wear them,"* (referring to hearing aids)
- *Some people do not know – or they deny – that they have a hearing problem*
- *Others are embarrassed to wear a hearing aid*
- *some people, having once had a bad experience, refuse to explore the many new options*
- *some people carry gene mutations that make them more susceptible to hearing loss*

These instances could tie back in to what van Leeuwen offered about the inclusion of indetermination in texts, that the social actors discussed in these instances (and really throughout the entire two texts) are being anonymized and therefore are perceived as having less relevance, though I could also speculate another reason: the texts are avoiding the use of any reference term that may identify these individuals as someone who is d/Deaf or has a hearing loss. By avoiding reference terms, the texts are not only treating these social actors as irrelevant but are also avoiding referencing d/Deaf people as members of an identifiable community while simultaneously portraying a notion that identifying as a person with a hearing loss is taboo or undesirable and people should not want to use that marker. This feeds right back into the cycle represented in the middle two examples, in which people deny having a hearing loss and are embarrassed by it. This is even stated overtly in one of the texts: *"There is a problem of stigma," said Melia. "There is something about hearing aids and the way*

society over the years has characterized hearing loss," which also includes an instance of indetermination (*society*).

There is another example worth including in this section from the 'hearing-impaired' texts. In these instances of indetermination a mother is discussing her choice to not teach her d/Deaf son sign language because *no one would really understand him* as there are *not as many people who know sign language*. The use of indetermination here replaces the inclusion of d/Deaf social actors since they, presumably, are the people who use sign language. By instead including the phrase that *no one would understand* her son, the text is effectively anonymizing the Deaf community, devaluing their existence (equating them to *no one*) and decrying the relevance of their community and language.

8.4.2. Indetermination in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

The 'd/Deaf' texts have slightly more than double the amount of indeterminations at 45 instances, although the trends found within these instances of indetermination are rather different than what was found in the previous set of texts. 24 of the 45 instances are a reference to readers of the texts through the indeterminant form of '*you*'. Based on the information being conveyed in the texts that frequently use this form (tips on how to communicate with the Deaf community), it is reasonable to assume *you* refers to hearing people:

- *If you happen to meet any of the 39 members of Carrie Pierce's American Sign Language classes at Mattanawcook Academy of Lincoln, you'd be wise to avoid using the term "hearing-impaired."*
- *If you meet someone who is deaf and don't know how to do sign language, tell them you don't understand and that you will try your hardest to understand*
- *If you aren't using gestures and trying to create images, you are excluding the people welcoming you into their world*

There are several other indeterminations that don't include the *you* form in the 'd/Deaf' texts, which also refer to hearing people:

- *they've tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people*
- *It was hard to communicate with people and I couldn't read lips*
- *all they do that's different from anybody else is speak with their hands*
- *They regard that (staring) as an intrusion, like people being nosy*

Perhaps decreasing the amount of references to hearing people through classification and using more indeterminations in their place encourages more attention, and therefore relevance in terms of SAR principles, on the d/Deaf people in the texts. As mentioned in the last section,

hearing people do not need to be marked for their presence to be identified in texts as they are the default population, so clearly identifying d/Deaf social actors throughout the texts while using indeterminant forms to reference hearing people as a whole could result in less power being given to hearing social actors.

It should be noted that there are also instances of indetermination when referring to d/Deaf social actors in the 'd/Deaf' texts, though there are far fewer. Three of these instances happen in one text when a student of ASL is explaining their first encounter with the Deaf community at a local event. In all of these instances the indeterminant form used is '*everyone*', as in *just like <u>everyone</u> promised, I lived to write about it*; *when <u>everyone</u> around you is signing*; and *I was able to take that as an invitation to meet, greet and learn about <u>everyone</u>*. Using the form *everyone* in reference to members of the d/Deaf community suggests a more positive perception of these social actors since it puts them in a dominant position, one where the hearing people are the minority. There are also two instances of indetermination referencing d/Deaf people that carry a more prejudicial undertone and can be compared to the trend found in the 'hearing-impaired' texts; however, these indeterminations are used by one hearing opponent of using sign language as the best educational method for d/Deaf children, and so holds the minority position on the issue as presented in the text.

8.5. SAR Analysis: Objectivations

Objectivation is a type of *impersonalization* where the social actors classified as such are referenced by a non-human, concrete noun. *Objectivations* can manifest in four different forms: *spatialization*, in which social actors are referenced as a location with which they are associated (e.g. *the school is offering…*, where *school* is used in place of the administrators at the school); *utterance autonomization*, when what is produced or written by the social actor is now representing him/her/them as an individual entity, such as with *the report/study showed*; *instrumentalization* is said to have occurred when a social actor is identified by means of the inanimate object carrying out his/her actions, and as an extension to this definition and for purposes of this research I have included in this classification those occurrences when an inanimate object is portrayed as a social actor carrying out its own intended actions, though the actions are orchestrated by the engineers of the object (e.g. *cochlear implants help profoundly deaf children*); and *somatization*, in which social actors are portrayed through actions carried out by a part of the body (e.g. *the cilia work together*). *Objectivations* are of particular importance in this study because of the high incorporation of technological devices positioned as social actors in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

8.5.1. Objectivation in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

The 'hearing-impaired' texts have a total of 142 objectivations (see table 8.5.1.1 for a full breakdown). Out of the 142 objectivations, 103 are instances of instrumentalization, many of which feature technological devices intended to amplify sound for d/Deaf individuals. This is important to note because it demonstrates how significant a role these devices have in the discourse surrounding d/Deaf people in texts that use the reference term 'hearing-impaired'. Cochlear implants, technology/technological devices for amplification, and hearing aids appear through objectivation 46 times, equal to the amount of times d/Deaf people are nominated in this same set of texts. These devices are often the focus of discussion in the articles, with the texts giving equal or more attention to addressing their functionality and usefulness than discussing the d/Deaf people they are said to be helping. Several of these instances include the cochlear implants as helpers:

- *Cochlear implants help profoundly deaf children*
- *Cochlear implants…are now helping some profoundly deaf children hear and speak*
- *The implants are enabling some children who have never been able to hear, even with hearing aids, to detect words and sounds*
- *In addition to medical advances such as cochlear implants (…), there is a variety of new types of hearing devices able to bring a child into the listening world.*

Interestingly, while hearing aids are presented as also being helpful to 'hearing-impaired' people, they are only portrayed as useful when discussing adults who have a hearing loss whereas if they are mentioned at all in the discussion of a child with a hearing loss they are instead shown as inadequate in comparison to a cochlear implant (such as in the third example above) even though qualifying for cochlear implants means meeting some fairly strict requirements which many people do not satisfy. This could be a subtle way of emphasizing the significance of restoring hearing as opposed to relieving hearing loss, both of which exemplify a medical model that supports 'rehabilitation' but the former of which does so with more intensity.

Type of objectivation	*Count*	*Examples of objects*
spatialization	0	N/A
utterance autonomization	12	*study* (x5), *testing* (x2), *clinical trials, standardized tests, date from National Health Interview survey, data from 18-44 age group, other research*
instrumentalization	103	*cochlear implants* (x17), *devices* (x13), *amplifiers, hearing aids* (various kinds, x12), *microphone, electrodes, free end of wire, new technology, Clarke curriculum, sound* (x5), *parts of cochlear implant, advancements in technology, noise* (x4), *research, signals, treatment, trauma,* etc.
somatization	27	*hair cells* (x3), *auditory nerve* (x2), *ears* (x6), *small bones and cilia* (x3), *brain* (x4), *brain's auditory center, eardrum, teacher's voice, bones in middle ear, mind,* etc.
Total	**142**	

Table 8.5.1.1. Breakdown of objectivations in 'hearing-impaired' texts

Instances of somatization are mostly descriptions of how hearing works and what each element of a person's ear and brain are doing when processing sound. These instances do not reveal much about social actors who might be distanced from actions through the use of somatization, as somatization is sometimes used, but it does provide further evidence about the important role hearing plays in texts employing the 'hearing-impaired' reference term and how its importance is manifest. As all but three instances of somatization discuss the hearing function, the relevance of having or restoring said function is evident.

Utterance autonomization has a similar purpose since all but one instance of it discuss medical studies at the heart of which are d/Deaf people. Medical studies, as implied in the name, advance the medical model which focuses on 'rehabilitation' and as expected these medical studies concentrate on technology to *bring a child into the listening world*. Out of the 12 instances of utterance autonomization half are studies about the success of cochlear implants touting that a *study of 28 children who received the implants showed that all "demonstrated better speech perception skills" than they had with hearing aids* or that *studies show that children who have been deaf since birth or lost their hearing before they learned to talk can make impressive gains with the implants*. Of the remaining six instances five are about hearing loss in general, all of which express feelings of discontent, and one about the reading level of d/Deaf adults when discussing the failings of d/Deaf education. This is not unexpected since the professionals presented throughout the text cast a dark shadow on hearing loss. But the use of utterance autonomization adds to the barrage, validating those opinions by presenting them alongside data and research: *a study published last year in the Journal of the American Medical Association showed that nearly 15 percent of children ages 6 to 19 tested *suffered** (emphasis added) *some hearing deficit in either low or high frequencies* and *hearing loss can also impair memory and cognitive function, according to a study by neuroscientists at Brandeis University*. In the first example, the use of the word *suffered* clearly encourages a negative perception of

hearing loss, as does the second example where it is explained as a cause of other undesirable circumstances (e.g. impaired memory and cognitive function).

8.5.2. Objectivation in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

The 'd/Deaf' texts have only 31 instances of objectivation, less than a quarter of the amount of objectivations in the 'hearing-impaired' texts (see table 8.5.2.1 for breakdown). Instrumentalization still dominates the type of objectivations in these texts, comprising 20 of the 31 total instances, though the types of things being instrumentalized are much different. There are no instances of any kind of technology in any of the objectivations, and rarely is there any overlap in what is being referenced through objectivation (only twice with New York and ASL). This is a stark contrast to the objectivations from the 'hearing-impaired' texts in which technology was the main theme and many overlaps existed throughout the texts. The cases of instrumentalization do not push the notion of 'rehabilitation' nor do they present an object (whether tangible or abstract) in a position of helping d/Deaf people through that process. Some examples of instrumentalization are as follows:

- *the values that emerge in Cohen's stories about life at Lexington make readers wonder which of the two worlds is missing the boat*
- *Cohen's book gives readers an understanding of that political struggle and of why some deaf people choose to carry it on*
- *Both say the atmosphere and the communication access they have at the school have helped them immensely.*
- *The episode will be the first of many allowing children to learn some signing basics*

Type of objectivation	***Count***	***Examples of objects***
spatialization	7	*New York* (x2), *New York City, schools for the deaf, first public school, state supported schools in California and Indiana, Charter schools in Minnesota and Colorado*
utterance autonomization	4	*studies, report, research, the fact* (awareness of sensitivities of deaf people is among the first things mentioned by ASL students)
instrumentalization	20	*practice of mainstreaming, ASL* (x2), *gestural symbols, Cohen's experience, values, political turmoil, political struggle, oral education, missed connections and lost opportunities, the atmosphere and the communication access they have at the school, Cohen's book, etc.*
somatization	0	
Total	**31**	

Table 8.5.2.1. Breakdown of objectivations in 'd/Deaf' texts

The cases of utterance autonomization in the 'd/Deaf' texts also point to studies, but there are far fewer cases and the studies are not medical in nature, nor do they support the idea of 'rehabilitation'. Two of the four cases refer to research concerning the education of d/Deaf

children, one refers to research on American Sign Language, and the last is not research related but addresses Deaf culture:

- *But activists cite studies that show deaf children learn better using sign language because it is visual.*
- *a 1988 report by the Council on Education of the Deaf…found that by the end of 12th grade, children deaf or hard of hearing children were reading on average at a fourth-grade level and doing math at a sixth-grade level*
- *There has been research since the 1960's supporting the idea that American Sign Language is a separate language, with its own grammar and syntax.*
- *awareness of the sensitivities of deaf people, and the fact that it was among the first things mentioned by a half-dozen of Pierce's students at the Mattanawcook Academy football game last Friday night, shows that the students are learning more than just ASL in Pierce's classes*

It should also be noted that the text leading up to the second example was a discussion around changing the method of instruction at a New York school to use ASL, rather than an oral method, the method used during the writing of the report mentioned. These examples further exemplify a different discourse than that found in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, one that supports a view of d/Deaf people as part of a culture and linguistic minority by granting authority, as van Leeuwen affirms is what happens through the use of utterance autonomization, to research and studies validating the use of ASL with d/Deaf children and encouraging awareness of Deaf culture.

Spatialization was not used in the 'hearing-impaired' texts but appears seven times in the 'd/Deaf' texts when referring to city officials, educators, and school administrators. The text declares the state, city or school as the social actor in actions surrounding the education of d/Deaf children, such as with *New York to teach Deaf in sign language* or *New York City, the nation's largest school system, is embracing an approach that has gained currency among many educators and advocates for the deaf*. Of course, this decision will have been made by several rounds of discussions with politicians, the board of education, school administrators, etc., some of whom are also mentioned in the texts, but perhaps the purpose in using spatialization is for it to be seen as a collective decision for the state of New York. The other instances of spatialization point to other schools in different locations across the nation who have implemented this method of instruction, again pointing to the school as an individual social actor though representing the work of many people, such as with *a handful of state-*

supported schools in places like California and Indiana have taken the lead in using American Sign Language as the language of instruction and *Charter schools in Minnesota and Colorado that use A.S.L. primarily have been started in the last five or six years*. While spatialization, as it is used here, does not reveal much about the social positioning of d/Deaf people within the phrases, it is important to note that all instances of spatialization discuss a place or entity making decisions based on the perspective that d/Deaf people have a unique language which should be used as the language of instruction, a perspective distant to that encouraged in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

8.6. Summary

The SAR analysis presented in this chapter maintains the same findings as the corpus analyses and the transitivity analysis in the previous chapter, producing more examples of the diverging discourses around d/Deaf people. The 'hearing-impaired' texts assert the dominance of hearing people and the ability to hear through their arrangement of social actors in which d/Deaf people are infrequently nominated, often assimilated, and placed in social roles that present them as vulnerable and in need of 'rehabilitation'. Status is given to hearing people, particularly medical professionals, and technology who will help d/Deaf people achieve hearing-like lifestyle. The 'd/Deaf' texts, on the other hand, represent d/Deaf people as having equal or greater dominance than hearing people, placing them in dominant and prestigious roles equally as frequently as hearing people, referring to them through nomination twice as often as their hearing counterparts, and stressing the existence and importance of their language. In the 'd/Deaf' texts, hearing social actors are even found in roles counter to a dominant social role (e.g. a hearing student of a deaf teacher) and are marked in the discourse as hearing rather than assuming the dominant, unmarked role. This advances one of the notions underpinning the cultural view of d/Deaf people, which adopts a different understanding of the normal structure of society, one that bases that understanding on visual communication (Leigh, 2010; Bauman, 2008; Padden & Humphries, 1988, 2005; Ladd, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996), as was presented in chapter 2. The next chapter will change focus slightly to the interpersonal function of language, through an Appraisal analysis, which will address the discourse producer's evaluation of the social actors, the actions, and the circumstances found within the discourse.

Chapter 9: Text Analyses – Appraisal Analysis of Selected 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' Texts

Chapters 7 and 8, focusing on the ideational function of language, developed an understanding of how the social world is discursively constructed. Findings from the Transitivity and Social Actor Representation analyses provided knowledge about the social actors that are found in said discourse, the social practices in which they are engaged, how they are talked about in the discourse (and when they are not talked about), and the social positioning these actors are given. This chapter will instead focus on the interpersonal function of language, through which interpersonal relationships are enacted and negotiated, and identities are ascribed to social actors through discourse (Fairclough, 1992). These discursive constructions of identity have a very real effect on the social construction of identity as consumers of discourse gain an understanding of that individual or group of individuals based on the discourse in which they are discussed. The Appraisal analysis in this chapter will be limited in its scope, only focusing on one domain: ***attitude*** (further explanation found in the following section). All three regions in the domain of ***attitude*** will be discussed, each of the three (***affect***, ***appreciation***, and ***judgement***) being re-introduced within the section discussing the findings of that particular analysis. As the other two domains, ***engagement*** and ***graduation***, are in some manner an extension of ***attitude***, ***attitude*** will provide the most robust understanding of this function of language within a reasonable amount of space so as not to overwhelm the thesis or the other analyses that have been discussed.

9.1. Re-Introduction to Appraisal

Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005) analyzes the language of evaluation, in which text producers reveal their own stances in support of or against people, entities, or phenomena in the world. Text producers' attitudes, feelings, degree of approval or disapproval, level of excitement or indignation, praise or critique, are central to the work of Appraisal as the analysis is interested not only in the producers, but also in how this language of evaluation elicits a similar response from its consumers (p. 1). The two previous text analyses addressed how people, entities and phenomena are created through discourse, and Appraisal will go one step farther by addressing how text producers comment on this discursively constructed reality and how their comments have the unique ability to influence the perceptions and attitudes of its readership, and as a result establish support for certain ideological positioning (Hart, 2014). Since elements of evaluation can be found in multiple ways within clauses or perhaps not at all, the Appraisal

analysis will not parse its investigation clause by clause, as was done in the Transitivity analysis and to some extent the SAR analysis, but will entail a line by line analysis that marks each occurrence as it emerges.

As mentioned above this analysis will focus only on the domain of ***attitude***, broken down into the three regions of ***affect***, ***appreciation*** and ***judgement***. Each of these regions have their own subfields which contain a positive and negative pole (see figure 9.1 for a breakdown of the ***attitude*** domain). In general, ***attitude*** is concerned with feelings, how people feel about others and their behaviors, abilities, and status (***judgement***); how they value or determine the worth of phenomena or state of affairs (***appreciation***); and their emotional response when reacting to these other feelings (***affect***). It is important to note that while an Appraisal analysis theoretically addresses only the overtly stated expressions of evaluation, known as inscribed statements of evaluation, it also addresses those expressions that are more indirect and do not include any specific attitudinal lexis, known as invoked statements of evaluation. Because of my personal history working with the d/Deaf community I have a more extensive knowledge of the discourse used to talk about this community, which means I may identify something as a statement of evaluation when others who are not familiar with the d/Deaf community may overlook that statement as something neutral. I recognize that this has the potential to include a degree of subjectivity into my analysis; however, I also believe it puts me in a better position to more thoroughly investigate the language of evaluation as it pertains to d/Deaf people. Martin and White (2005) clearly articulate the importance of conducting an analysis that includes invoked statements of evaluation:

> …it might seem that analyzing the evaluation invoked by ideational selections introduces an undesirable element of subjectivity into the analysis. On the other hand, avoiding invoked evaluation of this kind amounts to a suggestion that ideational meaning is selected without regard to the attitudes it engenders – a position we find untenable (p. 62).

With that in mind, I committed myself to being highly reflexive throughout this process. I have conducted what I believe to be a 'tactical reading' (Martin & White, 2005, p. 62), one that serves my purpose in illustrating linguistic phenomena that address the research questions central to this thesis rather than the purpose of social activism or other. The result is a quality analysis that considers both inscribed and invoked statements of evaluation as they relate to people, entities and phenomena that surround d/Deaf people in the US. Although invoked statements of evaluation are only discussed as an element of the region of ***judgement*** within Martin & White (2005), there seems no reason to think that this would not also be the case for

statements of ***affect*** and ***appreciation***. It is entirely reasonable to assume that these statements would appear indirectly or come through in the mood of the text without any direct lexis, or when the attitudinal lexis appears once about a phenomenon that continues to be discussed without that lexis. As such I have applied this idea of invoked evaluation to these two regions as well.

While the findings of analyses of Transitivity and SAR are in many ways hidden from traditional readers who do not have a background in the study of language and discourse, an Appraisal analysis is more accessible as an analysis of 'affect', akin to persuasive speaking, something with which the majority of readers will have at least a superficial familiarity. Attitudinal lexis, whether inscribed or invoked, has arguably the highest probability of coercing attitudinal alignment with its consumers, and therefore of advancing ideological stances. The previous two analyses have this same ability, through phenomena such as lexical priming, but without speaking to people's emotions, which is often a quite powerful tool in establishing solidarity, in this case between the text producer and its consumer. For this reason, an Appraisal analysis is an invaluable addition to the series of analyses presented in this thesis.

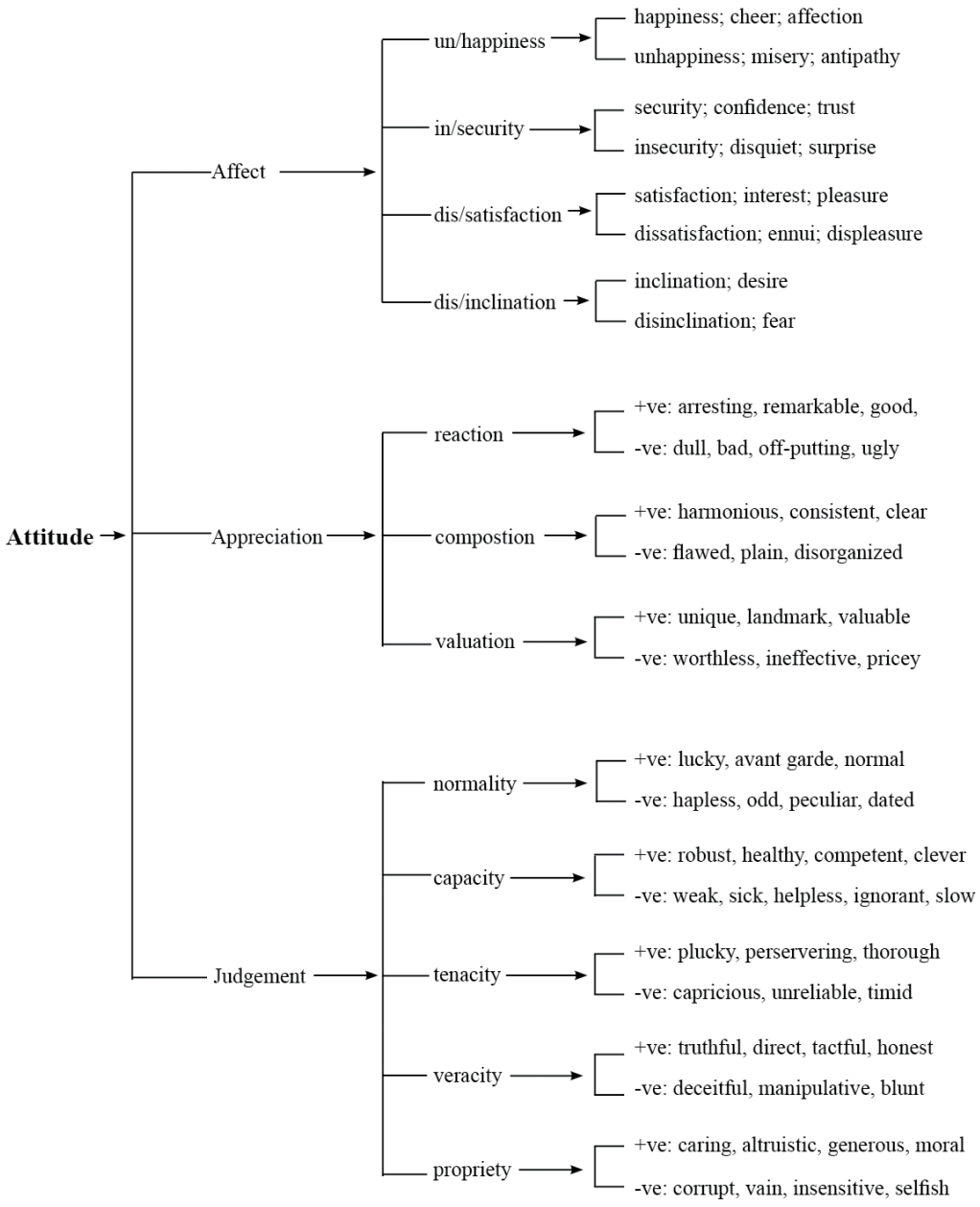


Figure 9.1. Breakdown of Attitude domain of Appraisal (adapted from Martin & White, 2005)

9.2. Appraisal Analysis: Attitude → Affect

The region of ***affect*** is concerned with emotions and feelings, both positive and negative emotive responses. These emotions can manifest in several different ways grammatically, encompassing six factors, which Martin & White (2005) define: (1) feelings that are culturally understood as good or bad (e.g. happy vs. sad) and stated plainly as what the Emoter is experiencing; (2) feelings demonstrated as an outside expression or behavior, and those experienced by the Emoter as a mental state (e.g. ‘she grinned’, and ‘she enjoyed her job’); (3) feelings experienced by the Emoter as a reaction to a particular Trigger, and those that manifest

as an ongoing mood (e.g. 'he made her happy', and 'she's happy'); (4) gradation of feelings and emotive states (e.g. 'she likes chocolate' vs. 'she loves chocolate' vs. 'she adores chocolate'); (5) feelings as they relate to anticipated realities instead of known realities (irrealis vs. realis), from which comes the subfield of dis/inclination (e.g. 'she yearned for a new job'); and (6) classification of feelings into three other subfields of dichotomized emotive states, including un/happiness (e.g. sad/happy), in/security (e.g. anxious/confident), and dis/satisfaction (e.g. annoyed/pleased) (p. 45-52).

Affect is interpreted as being inextricably linked to the other two regions of ***judgement*** and ***appreciation*** since as humans our feelings and emotions give rise to our expectations of ethics/behavior and value/worth, and create the confines of what is universally understood or imposed upon us as appropriate or not (p. 45). Martin & White (2005) refer to this as 'institutionalized feelings' (in relation to the regions of ***judgement*** and ***appreciation***) (p. 45), which are grounded in ***affect*** (see figure 9.2). Due to this underlying connection, it was common during the analysis for a statement of evaluation to be coded as representation of subfields from two or more regions simultaneously.

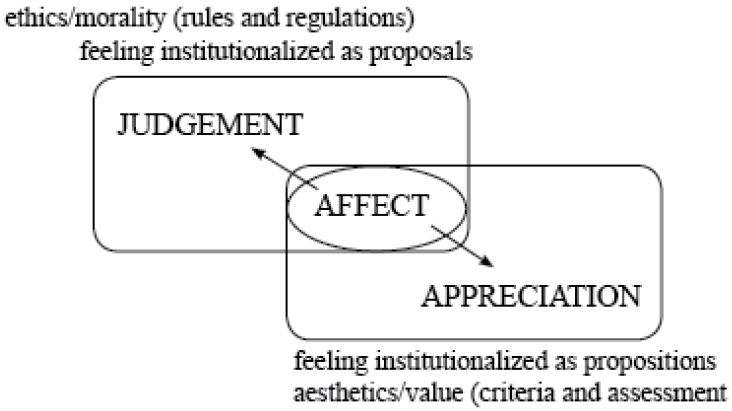


Figure 9.2. Judgement and appreciation as institutionalized affect (Martin & White, 2005, p. 45)

9.2.1. Affect in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Affect was the region of ***attitude*** with the fewest number of occurrences among the 12 texts chosen for in-depth analysis. There could be several reasons for this, but perhaps one reason is genre (media). Media outlets are known to support certain biases, but reporting texts tend to avoid particularly emotive language unless the article is an editorial or is reporting an interview and the interviewee is using a large amount of emotive expressions. Even with fewer occurrences than the other two regions of ***attitude***, there were still 126 total occurrences of ***affect*** in the 'hearing-impaired' texts and 116 total occurrences in the 'd/Deaf' texts. The

majority of the statements of ***affect*** in the 'hearing-impaired' texts (93 of 126, or 74%) are further illustration of the themes found in the corpus analyses in relation to the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' (see table 9.2.1.1 for a breakdown of ***affect*** in the 'hearing-impaired' texts).

Affect subfield	*Total # of occurrences*	*Breakdown of occurrences (addressing previously found themes)*
inclination	6	3 occurrences about d/Deaf people using speech (50%) 2 occurrences about using cochlear implants (33%) 1 occurrence about conserving hearing (17%)
disinclination	26	20 occurrences about hearing loss (77%)
happiness	3	1 occurrence about d/Deaf people using speech (33%) 1 occurrence about using cochlear implants (33%)
unhappiness	9	5 occurrences about hearing loss (56%) 1 occurrence about not using speech (11%)
security	23	8 occurrences about d/Deaf people using speech (35%) 6 occurrences about using cochlear implants (26%)
insecurity	21	16 occurrences about hearing loss (76%) 1 occurrence about using a hearing aid (5%)
satisfaction	16	14 occurrences about cochlear implants (88%) 2 occurrences about using speech (or school for deaf based on speech) (12%)
dissatisfaction	22	7 occurrences about hearing aids or cochlear implants (32%) 4 occurrences about hearing loss (18%) 1 occurrence about d/Deaf people not using speech (5%)
Total	**126**	**93** occurrences exemplify previously discovered themes about a rehabilitative approach to d/Deafness (74%)

Table 9.2.1.1. Breakdown of statements of affect in the 'hearing-impaired' texts

The first subfield to address is that of dis/inclination, or fears/desires about particular phenomena or states of affairs. There were only six statements of evaluation that expressed things considered to be desirable (inclination) and 100% of those supported what has been seen in the previous analyses, in which it was found that d/Deaf people learning to use/using speech, the use of amplification devices, and people conserving their hearing were all welcomed states of affairs. These desires were manifest across the six texts and represented through the following few examples from the discourse:

- *I really wanted Ryan to have the choice to speak*
    - Parent expressing desire to have her d/Deaf son learn to speak
- *Cindy Higginbotham felt so strongly about teaching her daughter to speak*
    - Parent expressing desire to have her d/Deaf daughter learn to speak
- *It really behooves us to conserve our hearing as much as possible or risk isolation*
    - Audiologist expressing a shared desire to retain hearing capabilities in order to avoid social isolation

Statements of disinclination, of which there were 26, most often discussed hearing loss as undesirable or even something to be feared (20 out of 26 occurrences, or 77%). Hearing loss was described in the 'hearing-impaired' texts as the result of a family's *worst suspicions*, as a

most disheartening discovery, as something that puts children *at risk for these problems* (problems being the inability to speak), as something that is *slow and insidious*, and as *damage* that is *permanent.* These comments are interwoven through texts whose primary purpose, as a whole, could be interpreted as promoting fear of hearing loss amongst its reader. This is done throughout the discourse in these texts by way of overt statements such as the examples above, in addition to latent messages of fear embedded within comments discussing the damage caused by hearing loss, the value of amplification devices, the value of speech, parents' fears of hearing loss, etc. It is evident from the examples of this subfield of ***affect*** that what is desirable is to be hearing, and being d/Deaf, or 'hearing-impaired', is therefore undesirable, and so technology has found a way to help your d/Deaf loved one become more functionally hearing.

Un/happiness had the least amount of occurrences, though also seemed to support what was found in the recently discussed subfield of dis/inclination. Two of the three occurrences of happiness came up when the text addressed the use of speech and the use of amplification devices (i.e. *this is a monumental step towards providing deaf people with a more realistic perception of sound* (invoked); *Lindsey was happy and making progress* [at Clarke, where they teach d/Deaf kids speech]). Unhappiness also had only a few occurrences (nine total), the large majority of which expressed unhappiness on the topic of hearing loss (five occurrences) or not using speech in the education of d/Deaf children (1 occurrence):

- *That really kind of floored me*
    - 'That' referring to the school for the deaf not using speech as the language of instruction
- *Among the most disheartening discoveries parents can make is that their child has a hearing problem*
    - Also included with disinclination, but clearly expressing both emotions
- *Hearing loss hits teen-agers*
    - The verb 'hits' indicates a negative prosody in which the teen-agers are suffering a devastating blow
- *31.5 million Americans who suffer from hearing loss*
    - Suffering implies a feeling of unhappiness or misery

As with the subfield of dis/inclination, the texts present hearing loss as something that does not instill happiness, nor does any communication method that does include speech or work to incorporate d/Deaf people into the hearing society.

In/security is meant to display feelings of anxiety or distrust, and on the opposite end of the spectrum, feelings of confidence or comfort. It is clear from the findings discussed in all of the analyses thus far that these are emotions that are at the center of many discussions about d/Deaf people in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. For many people who experience their own hearing loss, or who are parents of children experiencing it, it is something completely new to them. New experiences are likely to cause anxiety, and help of any kind during this experience is usually welcomed in an effort to comfort their anxieties. This is potentially one of the reasons in/security is prevalent in these texts.

As table 9.2.1.1 shows, there were 23 occurrences of security and 21 occurrences of insecurity in the texts. Of the former 23 occurrences, six expressed a feeling of security with the use of amplification devices for d/Deaf people and eight expressed a feeling of security with d/Deaf people's use of speech. Some of the other occurrences of security were invoked in the mentioning of people's titles and research after being highlighted in the text with a comment about something (often either the success of cochlear implants or speech education, e.g. *Miamoto, who is conducting one of several NIH-funded studies of implants*) as a way of demonstrating that their word can be trusted. Speech therapy is encouraged through statements about how *a child must…be able to function at least minimally within the hearing world*, which they will be able to do after completing the program discussed, giving the parents confidence in their decision. Another of the texts reports that people *using aids had better feelings about themselves, greater independence, improved mental health and better relationships with their families*, and another assures the readership, in regard to cochlear implants, that *there will surely be advancements to come* and *with current advancements in technology, it will surely happen* (it being the development of the optimal hearing device).

16 of the 21 occurrences of insecurity addressed feelings about hearing loss, several of which express insecurity at the thought of younger people experiencing hearing loss. One audiologist reports seeing individuals in their forties and early fifties coming in with hearing loss, where she would expect to see people in their seventies, commenting that *some walk out with the startling news that they've permanently lost hearing*, that *they're even bringing in their teen-age kids*, warning that there are *worrisome changes…taking place among children and teen-agers.* Others report that *there is a problem of stigma…there is something about hearing aids and the way society over the years has characterized hearing loss*. Some people express feeling *embarrassed* about the need to wear a hearing aid and a laundry list of factors that can cause hearing loss is sure to elicit feelings of anxiety among people, especially those who consider learning of hearing loss to confirm their *worst suspicions.*

Dis/satisfaction is another subfield with a large number of occurrences (22 occurrences of dissatisfaction and 16 of satisfaction). Feelings of dissatisfaction were distributed amongst several different topics including public school programs for 'hearing-impaired' children (e.g. *their oldest child…had become frustrated after two years in a public school education program for the hearing-impaired*), use of speech in the instruction of 'hearing -impaired' children (e.g. *that really kind of floored me…even in the upper schools there wasn't talking going on*), cochlear implants and other amplification devices (e.g. *with hearing aids, music is barely decipherable and is interpreted as one jumbled sound merely amplified*) and hearing loss in general (e.g. *a younger crowd now seeks relief from the loudness of our 'turned-on, switched-on' society*). Expressions of satisfaction centralized around a single topic, with 14 of the 16 being about cochlear implants and other amplification devices and the remaining two about the success of using speech in the education of d/Deaf children, such as in the following examples:

- *physicians are encouraged by the growing success of the implants*
- *six months after the device was implanted, testing showed that these youngsters were able to understand 15 percent of spoken words*
- *this device allows for selective listening…the child can distinctly hear the teacher's voice and discern it from background noise*
- *when properly fitted and adjusted, an aid can greatly improve quality of life*
- *It is amazing to imagine cochlear implants have come this far*

As with the former three subfields of ***affect***, these emotive statements not only confirm that d/Deafness is something people have very strong feelings about, but also confirms that the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' contains strong positive feelings of satisfaction for those things that work to conform d/Deaf people into the hearing society, and negative feelings of dissatisfaction for those things that do not advance this effort, making ***affect*** another way the rehabilitative approach to d/Deafness is endorsed.

9.2.2. Affect in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

The 'd/Deaf' texts contain a total of 116 statements of ***affect***, 81 of which (70%) could be considered illustrations of themes previously uncovered about discourse surrounding the reference term 'd/Deaf'. This statistic is very similar to that of the 'hearing-impaired' texts, within which 74% of the statements of ***affect*** maintained themes consistent with its corresponding discourse. A breakdown of these statements of ***affect*** is outlined in table 9.2.2.1.

Affect subfield	*Total # of occurrences*	*Breakdown of occurrences (addressing previously found themes)*
inclination	7	4 occurrences about Deafness/culture/ASL (57%) 1 occurrence about learning ASL and Deaf culture (14%)
disinclination	6	2 occurrences about attending public school for hearing (33%) 1 occurrence about a threat to Deaf culture (17%)
happiness	12	8 occurrences about Deafness/culture/ASL (67%) 1 occurrence about using ASL as language of instruction (8%)
unhappiness	2	1 occurrence about the hearing world (50%)
security	29	15 occurrences about Deafness/culture/ASL (52%) 5 occurrences about learning ASL and Deaf culture (17%)
insecurity	21	5 occurrences about a threat to Deaf culture (24%) 3 occurrences about public school for hearing (14%) 2 occurrences about hearing people deciding for Deaf people (10%) 1 occurrence about the hearing world (5%)
satisfaction	19	9 occurrences about Deafness/culture/ASL (47%) 8 occurrences about learning ASL and Deaf culture (42%) 1 occurrence about ASL as language of instruction (5%)
dissatisfaction	20	6 occurrences about public school for hearing (30%) 4 occurrences about hearing people deciding for Deaf people (20%) 2 occurrences about being called 'hearing-impaired' (10%) 2 occurrences about a threat to Deaf culture (10%)
Total	**116**	**81** occurrences exemplify previously discovered themes about Deaf people being part of a cultural and linguistic minority (70%)

Table 9.2.2.1 Breakdown of statements of affect in the 'd/Deaf' texts

Subfields of dis/inclination and un/happiness again appear to have the lowest number of occurrences, and at least 50% of the occurrences within each category uphold previously identified themes as was true with the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Statements of dis/inclination presented Deaf community/culture and American Sign Language (ASL) as desirable, and d/Deaf children attending public schools designed for hearing children and anything that may threaten the existence of Deaf culture as undesirable. For instance, a book that discusses the values and *closeness* of Deaf culture *make readers wonder which of the two worlds is missing the boat*, describes ASL as *deaf children's preferred language*, and discusses the value of ASL through a television show that *wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world*. Two seniors express their affection for the deaf school they attend in New Mexico noting that they *felt trapped in the public-school school* (disinclination) and that *the opportunities and the experiences they got from the school will stay with them for a lifetime*. These examples highlight the underlying theme that ASL and Deaf culture are precious to the Deaf community and even to those living outside of it (as with the television program that is incorporating ASL into its show), and as an extension demonstrate the beloved nature of schools for the deaf that uphold these values as well as a fear of schools that do not since *the recent practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens the existence of these special schools*.

Likewise, statements of happiness in the 'd/Deaf' texts highlight Deaf community/culture and ASL (8 of 12 total statements) and out of the two statements of

unhappiness, one is attributed to the hearing world. Happiness is expressed in the following examples:

- *when he graduates from Lexington and heads for college* (at Gallaudet), *he is finally proud of himself*
- *They abandon themselves to the freedom of having intense fun their way* (through playing games in ASL)
- *Coming to NMSD (meant) discovering who I am and bringing out the skill and potential I have*
- *You just look back and think about how much we have learned, all the things we have done, and everything they gave us* (school for the deaf)

Conversely, when d/Deaf kids attending a deaf school are confronted with leaving school on the weekends, it instills a feeling of unhappiness and insecurity (to be addressed following this discussion of un/happiness) manifest in the texts through this comment: *When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone lingers*. This further supports the idea that the Deaf community/culture is something that is highly valued amongst its members, and assimilation in the hearing world, counter to what the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' would suggest, is not.

The subfield of in/security had the highest number of occurrences, which was also true in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Perhaps there is good reason behind why in/security is the feeling most often discussed openly in debates that concern d/Deaf people as the themes found on both ends of the spectrum are naturally anxiety provoking and/or comfort inducing depending on the topic of discussion. For instance, with the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' the anxiety stems from someone discovering that they or someone they know is d/Deaf and needing to determine the best approach to living with the newfound d/Deafness, whereas within the discourse of d/Deaf the anxiety is caused by being forced to assimilate into the hearing world, become more like their hearing peers, which is a threat to ASL and Deaf culture as they know it. Security, or comfort, comes from doctors and educators offering a seemingly perfect solution of cochlear implants and speech therapy for the 'hearing-impaired' discourse, and comes from support in the Deaf community as well as the positive outlook on and proliferation of ASL for the 'd/Deaf' discourse.

Statements of insecurity total 21 in the d/Deaf texts and mainly consist of statements about the threat to Deaf culture and survival of ASL, about hearing people making decisions on behalf of d/Deaf people, the hearing world, and hearing students learning ASL. There is

concern about *whether deaf culture…will survive*, citing *oralism* as *another issue* in addition to the issue of *whether special schools for deaf children…will endure* since the *practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens the existence of these special schools, as their dwindling student populations attest*. All of these concerns culminate in a feeling of insecurity when it comes to being in the hearing world, which may be why when it's time to go *back into the hearing world, everyone lingers*. Security is most often expressed in relation to Deaf community/culture and ASL (15 occurrences) and the use of ASL as the language of instruction for d/Deaf children (2 occurrences). One young d/Deaf girl expresses her comfort in the Deaf community when she *resolves that she will live out her dream of going to Gallaudet* while a group of d/Deaf high school students show their confidence in their community while on a field trip together, *unhampered by the constraints of a hearing society that imposes its own language on them in the classroom*. The d/Deaf actors in the texts also remain steadfast in their belief that ASL is the best language for d/Deaf children by citing that *research shows that the primary language of deaf people is visual, not verbal* and that *the nation's largest school system is embracing [this] approach that has gained currency among many educators and advocates for the deaf*. In essence, d/Deaf people take comfort in and are confident in their d/Deafness, as *this is a culture, not a handicap – and they're proud of it*.

The last subfield is that of dis/satisfaction, which also had a high number of occurrences (20 occurrences of dissatisfaction and 19 occurrences of satisfaction). d/Deaf people in the texts expressed feelings of dissatisfaction with these common themes: public schools for hearing children, hearing people deciding what is best for d/Deaf community, being called hearing-impaired, and threats to their language and culture. In one of the most seminal events in which the nation first became exposed to Deaf culture, Gallaudet University's governing board chose a hearing candidate for president over two other qualified d/Deaf candidates. Students at Gallaudet displayed their dissatisfaction with this decision when they *took over their campus in angry protest and forced the board to reverse its decision*. This dissatisfaction with hearing people deciding the fate of d/Deaf people has erupted in other aspects, including forcing speech on young d/Deaf children as one example, shown in the following excerpts:

- *For more than 100 years, educators for the deaf – most of whom are hearing – have taught their classes in spoken English and have insisted that their students use oral speech.*
- *Oral education…doesn't allow deaf children to reach their potential.*

- *The issue underlying…these conflicts is that, historically, deaf people have been excluded from the discussions that decide their fate.*
- *The present system* (which uses English as the language of instruction and *watered-down version of a general education curriculum*), *to put it tersely, is a failure. Deaf kids are not getting an education.*
- *Deaf children could not understand their hearing teachers, which has produced failure after failure.*
- *they* (d/Deaf students) *also were thrown into classes with hearing students without the necessary assistance to make it worthwhile*

By contrast, emotive statements of satisfaction were used in discussions of Deaf community/culture, ASL as the language of instruction, and by hearing students learning ASL. d/Deaf people are pleased that J.H.S. 47 in New York City will be the *first public school that will grant a diploma with the same standards that [they] grant the rest of the population*. Even more satisfaction is expressed in two d/Deaf seniors' comments about their experience at the school for the deaf, saying that *coming to NMSD (meant) discovering who I am and bringing out the skill and potential I have*, that they have *found their place at NMSD*, and that *the opportunities and the experiences they got from the school will stay with them for a lifetime.* Students learning ASL and Deaf culture talk about the experience as *an incredible insight to another part of the diversity of our American culture* and encourage others to *join in expanding their knowledge of this amazing facet of our culture*, suggesting feelings of satisfaction in their studies. In one last example of satisfaction (and security), one d/Deaf gentleman emphasizes his resolve to maintain that which marks his contentment, his d/Deaf identity: *No matter how they try, we'll remain deaf.*

9.3. Appraisal Analysis: Attitude → Appreciation

Any language used to evaluate things or phenomena in the environment with which we are interacting would fall into the region of ***appreciation***. Although ***appreciation*** does not directly evaluate people, which is done through ***judgement*** statements (discussed in section 9.4), it indirectly makes judgements about people since instances of ***appreciation***, whether positive or negative, comment on things (concrete or abstract) made or created by people and performances given by people. This is important to note as the essence of this research is to uncover the representation of a group of people, and while ***appreciation*** does not by definition comment on people, attitudinal statements of this variety still have an impact on building an understanding of discursive representation of a group. ***Appreciation*** is divided into the

subfields of reaction, composition and valuation. Statements of reaction address questions of how interesting or worthy of attention something is, as well as how likable it is. Composition comments on the balance and complexity of a thing or phenomenon (e.g. elegant vs. gaudy). Valuation is more straightforward as statements of this kind address whether or not something is worthwhile or contains value.

Martin and White (2005, p. 57) discuss these three subfields as representations of mental processes: "**Reaction** is related to affection (emotive – 'it grabs me', desiderative – 'I want it'); **composition** is related to perception (our view of order); and **valuation** is related to cognition (our considered opinions)" (emphasis original). As pointed out in the previous section, there is some overlap with the region of ***affect*** in at least one of the subfields since statements of reaction are based on emotive responses. Also, as opinions are in many ways born of affect and emotion it would be reasonable to expect an influence of ***affect*** on statements of valuation. Although several statements of ***appreciation*** have also been marked ***affect***, which has already been discussed, every effort has been made to avoid duplication of examples in order to keep this analysis as rich as possible.

9.3.1. Appreciation in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Occurrences of ***appreciation*** more than doubled those of ***affect*** in the 'hearing-impaired' texts with 284 total statements of ***appreciation*** among the six texts. The majority of these ***appreciation*** statements (168, or 59%) advanced themes discovered in the corpus analyses and demonstrated in the previous section on ***affect*** statements. These themes include positive ***appreciation*** of hearing devices such as cochlear implants and hearing aids, speech, and hearing, as well as negative ***appreciation*** of hearing loss, anything that may cause hearing loss (e.g. loud noises and any thing/equipment that may produce loud noises) and sign language (see table 9.3.1 for complete breakdown). However, there were also 35 statements found in themes that would appear to counter these (italicized in the table), in which hearing devices and learning speech were found in negative ***appreciation*** statements.

Appreciation subfield	***Total # of occurrences***	***Breakdown of occurrences (themes)***
+ve reaction	39	20 occurrences about hearing devices (51%) 6 occurrences about speech/speech schools/success with speech (15%) 4 occurrences about success after cochlear implants (10%)
-ve reaction	61	23 occurrences about hearing loss (38%) 15 occurrences about loud noises/loud things (25%) 5 occurrences about ASL/ASL as a teaching method (8%) 5 occurrences about cochlea (damage to, things that cause damage) (8%)
+ve composition	23	11 occurrences about hearing devices (48%) 5 occurrences about the physiological process of hearing (22%)
-ve composition	46	*14 occurrences about hearing devices (30%)* 7 occurrences about things that damage hearing (15%) *5 occurrences about learning speech (11%)* 4 occurrences about cost of devices/programs/etc. (9%)
+ve valuation	65	32 occurrences about hearing devices (49%) 11 occurrences about speech/teaching speech/speech therapy (17%) 4 occurrences about the ability to hear (6%)
-ve valuation	50	*16 occurrences about hearing devices (32%)* 8 occurrences about sign language (16%) 8 occurrences about loud noises (16%)
Total	**284**	**168** occurrences exemplify previously discovered themes about a rehabilitative approach to d/Deafness (59%)

Table 9.3.1.1. Breakdown of statements of appreciation in the 'hearing-impaired' texts

Beginning with the first subfield of reaction, which informs of the degree to which something is worthy of attention, the total number of reaction statements is 100 (39 positive reaction statements and 61 negative reaction statements). 78 of these 100 statements exemplify previously found and discussed themes relating to the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired'. Although there are seven separate themes (as can be seen in table 9.3.1.1), they all promote the same pervasive idea that the most ideal life decision for 'hearing-impaired' people is to do everything possible to become more hearing. All of the themes present contribute to this idea: positive reactions for the use of hearing devices, positive reactions for engaging in speech therapy, negative reactions to the manifestation of hearing loss and things that may cause it, and negative reactions to an emphasis on the use of ASL.

The positive and negative reaction statements appear in different ways throughout the texts, some more overt and others that are more indirect, but together they thread a message of discontent with d/Deafness or hearing loss. For example, these positive reaction statements describe cochlear implants as *phenomenal*, as a *giant step forward*, as a device that can give a d/Deaf child *really good 'real' hearing*, or *advancement* that can *bring [them] into the listening world*, and overall a *monumental step towards providing deaf people with a more realistic perception of sound.* One interviewee in one of the texts even discusses children wearing cochlear implants, saying *to look at these kids functioning is pretty dramatic…they are able to hear quite well*, a positive reaction that in implies that the ability to function is a direct result of being able to hear. This ability to function is compounded when you add in being able to

speak, which also earned positive reaction in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. Positive reactions to speech came in the form of a reaction to a d/Deaf child's speech (e.g. *Justin ordered chocolate ice cream all by himself…the person behind the counter understood him perfectly*) or programs/schools that offer speech (e.g. *the number of parents moving from out of state* [to send their kids to Clarke, oral school for the d/Deaf] *ballooned…we've had as many as 19 families move in one year*).

Negative reaction statements were more prevalent and the majority of them had to do with hearing loss and anything that may cause damage to one's hearing or any part of the ear (43 out of 61 total statements, or 70%). Hearing loss is described through the following reaction statements:

- *Among the most disheartening discoveries parents can make is that their child has a hearing problem*
- *Some walk out with the startling news that they've permanently lost hearing*
- *…significantly more Americans are having difficulties hearing…problems among those ages 45 to 64 jumped 25 percent while the 18 to 44 age group reported a 17 percent increase*
- *this has to be viewed as a very serious health and social problem*
- *there is a problem of stigma…there is something about hearing aids and the way society over the years has characterized hearing loss*
- *hearing loss hits teen-agers and baby boomers more often*
- *hearing difficulties in older people can have [impacts], including social isolation, functional decline and depression*

With these negative comments about hearing loss, it is understandable that anything that may cause damage to one's hearing is addressed with the same negative reactions, since *it really behooves us to conserve our hearing as much as possible or risk isolation* (as stated in the ***affect*** section on inclination). Discourse producers warn of *rock concerts* that are *far more deafening than those the Woodstock generation attended*; of *the mega-volumes of everything from video arcades to boomboxes*; of *noise blaring from the teen-ager's headsets*; of *the blast from leaf blowers, mowers, personal watercraft and power tools;* and of the *cumulative assault of a cacophonous world.* All of these things, and more, *produce decibel levels that can prove downright dangerous over time,* and *loud sustained sound and extreme sudden sound can damage and ultimately destroy the delicate hair cells in the inner ear*. Additionally, learning and using ASL generates negative reaction statements, which makes sense since conserving

our hearing is presented as a top priority. ASL is discussed as a stop-gap solution on the way to rehabilitating one's hearing or an imperfect and limiting form of communication: *he relied on sign language and lip-reading to communicate before he received an implant four years ago*; [the school for the deaf] *purported to teach both sign language and speech [but] she noticed that the classrooms seemed abnormally quiet.*

Positive statements of composition (23 total occurrences) also focus largely on hearing devices (11 statements), highlighting their functionality and effectiveness. Cochlear implants are compared to our normal physiological process of hearing (e.g. *the sound is picked up by the microphone and travels to the electrodes, which then send a signal to the auditory nerve, much like hair cells would*), emphasizing their intelligent design (e.g. *the devices contain 22 electrodes, each tuned to a different pitch, much like the strings on a piano*). Hearing aids are presented as another viable option for those with hearing loss as they have *improved vastly in the past decade, in both design and selection*, are *relatively easy to handle and also support many features*, and have *new designs* [that] *help patients distinguish speech in noisy environments*. The texts also include positive composition statements about the complex and elegant process of hearing, described in seemingly infinite detail throughout two paragraphs of one of the texts.

As with negative reaction statements, negative composition statements (46 statements) are used to describe things that can cause damage to hearing, such as the *machinery din of factories*, but unlike the reaction statements, negative composition statements comment on hearing devices and the process of learning speech (14 and 5 statements, respectively), two things that would presumably only be found with positive statements based on the previous themes and examples discussed. This is interesting since thus far there have not been many instances of negativity associated with hearing devices in the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired'. However, most of the negative statements do not focus on the results of using these hearing devices but rather on the effort and time spent on achieving those results:

- *requires surgery and extensive commitment to rehabilitation afterwards* (cochlear implants)
- *results come only after months of training* (cochlear implants)
- *it took on average at least 18 months for children in his study who had been deaf from birth to start understanding some words* (cochlear implants)
- *music is barely decipherable and is interpreted as one jumbled sound merely amplified* (hearing aids)

- *smallest…most difficult to handle…has the fewest features* (hearing aids)

There are only a couple instances when the negative composition statement addresses the results of using the devices: *no hearing aid can replace normal hearing* and *our advancements in technology have not yet been able to produce results equivalent to our natural born senses.* Despite these statements that highlight some of the flawed aspects of hearing devices, they are still pushed as the most effective solution. However, these statements of negative composition at least show that the discourse includes some discussion of sacrifice required to achieve true 'rehabilitation', although to a much lesser extent.

While following a similar emphasis, the negative composition statements about learning speech instead appear to celebrate overcoming the challenges associated with it. Parents *chose the more difficult path* of learning speech so their children have a better opportunity to *live independently as adults*. The curriculum at Clarke oral school for the d/Deaf is defined as *grueling* and as such *schooling goes more slowly*, as *learning to speak is almost a Herculean task, much harder than learning to sign*. Whatever negative composition exists is overshadowed by the desire for independence, and the benefits of this struggle outweigh those of taking the easy way out (i.e. learning to sign).

Even though the texts acknowledge some of the limitations that come along with hearing devices, as shown in the negative composition statements, nearly half of the 65 positive valuation statements comment on hearing devices (32 statements), and another 11 on learning speech. Cochlear implants are described as *helping some profoundly deaf children hear and speak,* and *enabling some children who have never been able to hear, even with hearing aids, to detect words and sounds*. They are presented as a *success* since children make *impressive gains with [their] implants* and they *let the hearing-impaired listen to the music*. Moreover, cochlear implants are shown as *useful* in that they *provid[e] deaf people with a more realistic perception of sound.* Hearing aids offer a similar value as *those using aids had better feelings about themselves, greater independence, improved mental health and better relationships with their families* and hearing aids have proven *crucial to clarity in perceiving speech* confirming that *an aid can greatly improve quality of life*.

Learning speech (11 positive valuation statements) is also highly valued in the discourse of these texts as shown in statements such as: *it would ultimately be easier for their children to live independently as adults, a child must also be able to function at least minimally within the hearing world* (by being able to speak), [HOLA] (speech center) is *helping hearing-impaired children learn to speak* and is *open to those with speech impediments due to other causes*. Both of these themes play into the third, the ability to hear, which despite its lower

count is presumably the most important of all since the positive valuation of hearing is the catalyst for an overwhelming effort to become hearing by way of hearing devices and perfected speech, and is the basis for assigning value to devices like cochlear implants:

- *cochlear implants…aim to provide profoundly deaf and hard of hearing patients with a method of auditory functionality*;
- [cochlear implants] are *a monumental step towards providing deaf people with a more realistic perception of sound*
- *It is amazing to imagine cochlear implants have come this far…we truly appreciate the miracle of our bodies and the pristine mechanisms by which they consistently function*

Negative valuation statements offer another surprise, as was seen with the negative composition statements. Hearing devices were described with negative valuation in 16 of the total 50 statements, whereas sign language and loud noises or things that may damage hearing collectively totaled 16, eight per theme. These statements about hearing devices are split between those that address the high cost of such devices, the inadequacies of some devices over others, and the work required after receiving a device like a cochlear implant. While cochlear implants are reported as *costly, very expensive, requir[ing] surgery,* and needing to *be followed up with a great deal of expensive rehabilitation* that requires *extensive commitment,* they are still overall valued as a more desirable solution to hearing loss since they are better than hearing aids:

- *implants are enabling some children who have never been able to hear,* ***even with hearing aids***
- *children who received the implants…demonstrated* ***better speech perception skills than they had with hearing aids***

Even with all of the positives presented about the results of cochlear implants, there is at least one statement of negative valuation that gives a more realistic view of what can be expected: *the implants have many limitations and can't match the healthy ear*. This is an important statement that happens to contradict much of the discourse that has been discussed thus far in this analysis, especially since it places the negativity on the device, and not the user of the device as is more common (described in more detail in section 9.4). The negative valuation statements on sign language follow the same kind of pattern seen in previous analyses, where it is devalued as a lesser alternative to a d/Deaf child amplifying their hearing and learning speech since that is *much harder than learning to sign* and *depend[ing] on sign language means*

shutting the door on any life outside a small deaf community. Teaching a d/Deaf child sign language would mean *no one would really understand him*, and so would not be a worthwhile endeavor according to the discourse found in these texts.

9.3.2. Appreciation in the 'd/Deaf' texts.

The 'd/Deaf' texts had far fewer ***appreciation*** statements than the 'hearing-impaired' texts, totaling 160 (see table 9.3.2.1 for a complete breakdown), and while they were more prevalent than ***affect*** statements in the 'd/Deaf' texts they too illustrated previously uncovered themes of discourse surrounding the reference term 'd/Deaf' at a level of 70%. These include statements that highlight the positives of sign language and Deaf culture and the negatives of using an oral method of education or communication. There were also four statements found to counter these themes, as was found with the ***appreciation*** statements from the 'hearing-impaired' texts, which will be addressed below.

Appreciation subfield	***Total # of occurrences***	***Breakdown of occurrences (themes)***
+ve reaction	24	6 occurrences about ASL and sign language (25%) 4 occurrences about d/Deaf education with sign language (17%) 3 occurrences about Deaf culture (13%) 2 occurrences about d/Deaf education and public education equal (8%)
-ve reaction	27	9 occurrences about d/Deaf education without sign language (33%) 5 occurrences about inappropriate behavior for Deaf culture (19%) 5 occurrences about hearing people deciding for d/Deaf people (19%) 3 occurrences about calling d/Deaf people hearing-impaired (11%)
+ve composition	23	8 occurrences about TV programs for children (35%) 6 occurrences about ASL/sign language (26%) 3 occurrences about improvements to d/Deaf education (13%) 3 occurrences about Cohen's book about Deaf culture (13%)
-ve composition	17	5 occurrences about d/Deaf education without sign language (29%) *4 occurrences about ASL/sign language (24%)* 3 occurrences about communicating in English with hearing (17%)
+ve valuation	55	13 occurrences about Deaf culture (24%) 11 occurrences about learning ASL and Deaf culture (20%) 10 occurrences about d/Deaf education with sign language (18%) 8 occurrences about ASL/sign language (15%)
-ve valuation	14	5 occurrences about d/Deaf education without sign language (36%) *4 occurrences about ASL/sign language (29%)*
Total	**160**	**112** occurrences exemplify previously discovered themes about d/Deaf people being part of a cultural and linguistic minority (70%)

Table 9.3.2.1 Breakdown of statements of appreciation in the 'd/Deaf' texts

Sign language was the theme of 10 of the 24 statements of positive reaction, six about the language in general and the other four specifically about how the language is used in education for d/Deaf children. The other thematically relevant statements either addressed Deaf culture (three statements, e.g. *this experience* (learning ASL and interacting with the Deaf community) *was an incredible insight to another part of the diversity of our American culture)* or making d/Deaf education equal to that of public education offered to hearing students (two statements, e.g. [deaf students] *will for the first time be offered New York State's college*

preparatory curriculum and a diploma). Incorporating ASL as the language of instruction is described as a *landmark change in the education of deaf students*, touting that *research shows…that schools using their preferred method, called American Sign Language, educate students better than other schools do*.

Negative reaction statements addressed d/Deaf education that does not incorporate sign language, poor etiquette when interacting within Deaf culture, hearing people making decisions for d/Deaf people without including them, and even statements that specifically note d/Deaf peoples' objections to being called 'hearing-impaired' (e.g. *you'd be wise to avoid using the term "hearing-impaired." They really don't like it.*; *never refer to any member of the Deaf community as "hearing-impaired"*). One decision made by hearing people on behalf of d/Deaf people *launched a noisy revolt*, an event later to become known as Deaf President Now, because *the school's governing board…rejected yet another deaf candidate* [for president of Gallaudet University]. This all appears to stem from *the efforts by the hearing to force deaf and hearing-impaired people to communicate in the same manner as they do* and the *issue…that, historically, deaf people have been excluded from the discussions that decide their fate*. The statements regarding education for d/Deaf children (based on the pervasive approach that does not incorporate ASL as a language of instruction) may include some of the most striking examples of negative reaction (most of which address negative composition as well):

- *Now, many deaf students get a watered-down version of a general education curriculum with modifications*
- *…does not require teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing to know sign language, an issue Mr. Sanders plans to address*
- *Deaf children could not understand their hearing teachers, which has produced failure after failure*
- *The recent practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens the existence of these special schools* (schools for the deaf)
- *For more than 100 years, educators for the deaf—most of whom are hearing—have taught their classes in spoken English and have insisted that their students use oral speech*

These statements as well as others to be discussed in the other subfields are another demonstration of a discourse found within the d/Deaf texts that places value on sign language, d/Deaf culture, and d/Deaf educators in the education of d/Deaf children, which is contrary to values of hearing, speaking, and mainstreaming in the education of d/Deaf children as

presented in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Positive composition statements in the 'd/Deaf' texts (23 total) discuss ASL and sign language (6 statements), noting it as *a separate language, with its own grammar and syntax*. One statement also discusses its complexity by indicating that *the shape of the hands, speed and direction of the movement of face, head and body are part of the language* and even promotes it as *a natural language for children because children are so visually stimulated*. The most interesting theme of this subfield is that of television programs for children (8 statements), since that does not inherently relate to the representation of d/Deaf people. However, the television programs mentioned are those who have specifically developed programming incorporating d/Deaf children and sign language, which does support the other themes discussed thus far. Blue's Clues and Sesame Street are those programs mentioned and discussed with positive composition statements about how *A.S.L. is incorporated naturally into the show* (Blue's Clues) and how they have *long featured a deaf character who uses sign language with the Muppets* (Sesame Street).

Perhaps somewhat troubling is that ASL/sign language is also found to be a theme of the negative composition statements (four of 17 total), but analyzing these four statements more closely reveals that the negative ***appreciation*** really comes from individuals who advocate for 'rehabilitation' and learning speech and are included in these texts as a way of addressing opposing views to what is being proposed as the central message of the text. One professor of speech and learning science comments that *the idea that you can learn sign language as your first language and it'll solve problems of education and socialization is utter nonsense* and further points out that *A.S.L. is not a written language, which limits access to the world's knowledge*. This was stated in opposition to a school's decision to teach d/Deaf children primarily in sign language. Still other negative composition statements fall in line with the themes discussed so far about the present educational system for d/Deaf children and specifically about communicating in English:

- *awkward oral speech and an English grammar that feels foreign*
- *efforts by the hearing to force deaf and hearing-impaired people to communicate in the same manner as they do*
- *It was hard to communicate with people and I couldn't read lips*

Statements of positive valuation were the highest by far, totaling 55, advancing the same themes of a favorable outlook on Deaf culture and ASL/sign language. Deaf culture is described through these statements as *a separate world worth saving*; *a closeness, physical and*

emotional, born of necessity; *a culture, not a handicap*; *a culture of closeness that is worth saving*; and as having *its own rituals and beliefs*. The television programs mentioned in the discussions on composition statements also demonstrate this value as they say they *wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world*, promoting *the message to deaf children…'you're valuable; you are part of this society'*. Positive value is also attached to sign language in these texts as it is stated that *deaf children learn better using sign language because it is visual* and *research shows that the primary language of deaf people is visual, not verbal*. Not just is ASL regarded as valuable, but *communication access* in school where d/Deaf children can be around others who sign, which two d/Deaf seniors report has *helped them immensely*.

Negative valuation was much less common with a total of only 14 statements. Examples of these statements have been included in the previous subfield discussions, highlighting education of d/Deaf children that excludes sign language and ASL/sign language. This statistic in and of itself is interesting when comparing to the 'hearing-impaired' texts, which included 50 statements of negative valuation and 157 negative ***appreciation*** statements overall (127 positive ***appreciation*** statements), whereas the 'd/Deaf' texts had only 58 (102 positive ***appreciation*** statements). It would appear that, in general, the discourse found in the 'hearing-impaired' texts were more likely to be negative than positive, the reverse being true of the 'd/Deaf' texts, and were much more likely to include ***appreciation*** statements of any kind in the discourse (284 statements in the 'hearing-impaired texts vs. 160 statements in the 'd/Deaf' texts). Perhaps this gives some support to the idea that discourse found to be surrounding the reference term 'hearing-impaired' is more prone to language that discusses what is wrong (through negative ***appreciation***) than the discourse found to be surrounding 'd/Deaf'.

9.4. Appraisal Analysis: Attitude → Judgement

Judgement is the region that specifically addresses attitudes toward people, or how the discourse producer evaluates one's character. ***Judgements*** can concern either social esteem or social sanction and have a positive and negative pole to them as was true of ***appreciation***. Social esteem is made up of three subfields of normality (how special one is), capacity (how capable one is) and tenacity (how resolute one is), while social sanction contains two subfields of veracity (how honest one is) and propriety (how good or moral one is). Statements of ***judgement*** not only provide readers with the discourse producer's evaluation of some person or group but also have the capability to "indirectly activate evaluative stances and position [them] to supply their own assessments" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 2) while simultaneously

introducing guidelines to dictate desirable or undesirable character traits and appropriate or inappropriate behaviors (p. 45).

This section will be organized somewhat differently in order to pin the focus of the analysis on ***judgement*** statements as they pertain to d/Deaf people. In cases where ***judgement*** statements about other social actors are relevant it will be discussed, but the main focus will be on the evaluation of d/Deaf people mainly how often they are judged positively vs. negatively in each set of texts.

9.4.1. Judgement in the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

As previously discussed, the majority of ***judgement*** statements in the texts are invoked, meaning there is not any presence of explicit attitudinal lexis but that the ***judgement*** comes through in another way. Using an example from the normality subfield of ***judgement***, negative normality is expressed through two different statements that describe d/Deaf individuals as people who *don't hear normally* and as people who *at age 17…are usually ready to be "mainstreamed" into a high school…usually at the ninth- or tenth-grade level*. These two statements both clearly constitute negative normality ***judgement*** statements, but the first uses inscribed attitudinal lexis of being 'not normal' while the second implies this same status by depicting these d/Deaf students as behind by at least two levels in school in a more indirect way.

In the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the ***judgement*** analysis marked a total of 115 evaluations of normality, 18 positive and 97 negative, with 'hearing-impaired' individuals being the subject of 78 (68%) of those evaluations. Not only are there generally many more negative normality statements than positive ones in the texts, but those evaluations specifically addressing 'hearing-impaired' are also heavily unbalanced. Out of the 97 negative normality statements, 73 (75%) of them are about 'hearing-impaired' people, recognizing them as people with *hearing problems,* who *don't hear normally,* as people with a *very serious health and social problem,* and those in *isolation*. These are some of what I have counted as inscribed normality statements; however, there are also many invoked statements of negative normality that describe 'hearing-impaired' people in various ways such as those who *wear a hearing aid,* who at age 18 on average *read at a third- or fourth-grade level* or who have to *replay [their] voicemails several times* because they did not have an amplification device to help. I should note here that in both the 'hearing-impaired' and 'd/Deaf' texts I have included the terms *deaf, hard of hearing,* and *hearing-impaired* as statements of negative normality in any of their forms since they are the marked form, and therefore 'not normal.' In terms of the discourse of

'hearing-impaired' texts, d/Deafness is certainly discussed as an unlucky or undesirable state of being so it seems fitting to categorize it as negative normality and in an effort to not skew the results of the 'd/Deaf' texts, I maintained this categorization unless used in a manner to directly counter that argument. Table 9.4.1.1 outlines ***judgement*** in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. ***Judgement*** types will continue to be discussed in sequential order following the table layout.

Judgement type	Total # judgments	Total # about d/Deaf	% about d/Deaf
Normality			
+ve normality	18	5	28%
-ve normality	97	73	75%
combined +ve and -ve	115	78	67%
Capacity			
+ve capacity	38	17	45%
-ve capacity	81	66	81%
combined +ve and -ve	119	83	70%
Tenacity			
+ve tenacity	21	10	48%
-ve tenacity	15	13	87%
combined +ve and -ve	36	23	64%
Propriety			
+ve propriety	22	0	0%
-ve propriety	1	1	100%
combined +ve and -ve	23	1	4%
Veracity			
+ve veracity	1	1	100%
-ve veracity	0	0	N/A
combined +ve and -ve	1	1	100%
Positive judgements	100	33	33%
Negative judgements	194	153	79%

Table 9.4.1.1. Outline of judgement in 'hearing-impaired' texts

Positive normality statements were scarce (5 out of only 18, or 28%) and mainly described individuals who were in some way making the commitment to become as hearing as possible. This includes a child who is *hearing for the first time*, those who are aiming for or are able to *speak,* those who are candidates for and therefore presumably working towards getting *implants*, and 'hearing-impaired' children who are ready to be *mainstreamed*. These statements, rather than demonstrating a 'normal' side to d/Deafness, indicate the way to make d/Deafness 'normal' is to not be d/Deaf at all or in the least do whatever possible to minimize that d/Deafness.

In much the same way as normality, ***judgements*** of capacity for 'hearing-impaired' people are largely one-sided in favor of negative statements. Evaluations of capacity totaled

119, 83 (70%) of them concerning 'hearing-impaired' people. There is some overlap between the evaluations of normality and capacity, especially in terms of negative ***judgements***, as I considered some inscriptions, such as *hearing-impaired*, to be both a statement of 'abnormality' (not hearing and so not the norm) and a statement of 'incapability' (impaired literally meaning to function inadequately or poorly). It was not surprising to see the negative capacity statements far outweigh those of positive capacity given the reference term used in these texts is a denotation of the former. 66 of the 81 (81%) negative capacity ***judgements*** addressed 'hearing-impaired' people, not all of which include the word *impaired*. Some examples of the negative capacity statements include 'hearing-impaired' people as those whose *speech lacks some clarity*, who have had *poor performance* educationally, who *don't learn to speak very well*, and who experience *social isolation, functional decline and depression*.

Although overwhelmingly negative dominated, positive capacity statements about d/Deaf people (17 out of 38, or 45%) were present and were more prevalent than positive normality statements. That said, all but two of these statements comment on the capabilities of d/Deaf people after receiving intervention of some kind, whether that be hearing devices or speech therapy (e.g. *did better with implants*; *now he can speak to his grandparents* (after receiving implants); *make impressive gains with the implants*). Additionally, the other two evaluations (*her mind remains razor sharp* and *she maintains an independent life into her late 80's*) are cheapened by the statement that follows, one of negative capacity: *her hearing is so poor that most people give up trying to engage her in conversation*. This furthers the sentiment from the positive normality statements in presenting d/Deaf people in a positive way only when they have sought or achieved some type of 'rehabilitation'.

Statements of tenacity were far more infrequent, totaling only 36 statements (21 positive and 15 negative). d/Deaf people are marked by both types of tenacity, but as with normality and capacity are more likely to be judged with negative tenacity (13 of 15 statements, or 87%). While the analyses of normality and capacity show d/Deafness to be abnormal, undesirable, and resulting in a decreased ability to live life, statements of negative tenacity in the 'hearing-impaired' texts appear to be almost blaming d/Deaf people's lack of tenacity for the existence of said state. In these negative tenacity ***judgements***, d/Deaf people are displayed as negligent in their own hearing loss, saying they leave it *untreated*, that they *ignored [their] diagnosis*, that they *refuse to explore the many new options* for hearing devices, and that they *deny that they have a hearing problem*. This is as if to say if they had shown some tenacity in being 'rehabilitated', they would not be having any issues, a sentiment that is further encouraged by the positive tenacity statements, all of which represent d/Deaf people who have

opted for ‘rehabilitation’.

The last two elements of ***judgement***, propriety and veracity, do not add much to the representation of d/Deaf people since only two statements between both elements address them. However, the fact that d/Deaf people are not the subject of any of the 22 positive propriety statements is somewhat telling of what positions they can or cannot occupy. Based on the subjects of these propriety statements, who mainly consist of people or things that are offering help to ‘hearing-impaired’ people (e.g. cochlear implants, oral schools and programs, doctors or medical organizations offering rehabilitative services, etc.), the lack of discussion related to ‘hearing-impaired’ people could perhaps be a comment on their agency (or non-agency) since they are represented in the discourse as people who can barely help themselves, much less offer help to other people. This combined with the negative normality and capacity statements peppered throughout the six texts, and along with positive evaluative statements that celebrate those few individuals’ ability to overcome the odds and join the world of normalcy emphasize a discourse heavily steeped in inclination towards ‘rehabilitation’.

9.4.2. Judgement in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts.

The landscape of ***judgement*** in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts is rather different from what was discussed in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts. Perhaps most notable is the difference in the amount of ***judgement*** statements in each set of texts (294 in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts vs. 210 in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts) and specifically the large discrepancy in the number of negative ***judgement*** statements overall (194 in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts vs. only 54 in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts). Consequently, this also demonstrates that in spite of the ‘d/Deaf’ texts having less than three quarters the amount of ***judgement*** statements, it somehow has managed to have 56 more positive ***judgement*** statements (156 to the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts’ 100). This is fairly telling of the difference in discourse as that surrounding the term ‘d/Deaf’ would appear to carry a more positive undertone than that which surrounds the term ‘hearing-impaired’. Table 9.4.2.1 outlines *judgement* in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts.

Judgement type	Total # judgments	Total # about d/Deaf	% about d/Deaf
Normality			
+ve normality	49	25	51%
-ve normality	26	21	81%
combined +ve and -ve	75	46	61%
Capacity			
+ve capacity	47	39	83%
-ve capacity	14	9	64%
combined +ve and -ve	61	48	79%
Tenacity			
+ve tenacity	34	20	59%
-ve tenacity	0	0	N/A
combined +ve and -ve	34	20	59%
Propriety			
+ve propriety	24	7	29%
-ve propriety	13	0	0%
combined +ve and -ve	37	7	19%
Veracity			
+ve veracity	2	0	0%
-ve veracity	1	0	0%
combined +ve and -ve	3	0	0%
Positive judgements	156	91	58%
Negative judgements	54	30	56%

Table 9.4.2.1. Outline of judgement in the d/Deaf texts

Evaluative ***judgements*** of normality in the 'd/Deaf' texts (75 in total) include some statements very similar to what was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' texts in which they are presented as *not prepared for a hearing world*, as *struggling against the odds of both deafness and poverty* and as those who need to [*speak*] *through an interpreter*. Although the negative normality statements were overwhelmingly dominated by those addressing d/Deaf people, it is also true that some of these statements were included in the discourse as a way of pointing out their falsity. For example, the statement that describes d/Deaf people as *defective beings who needed to be fixed* was a comment about how d/Deaf people were viewed in the past, and the one about *deaf children assimilate[ing] into society* is about how oral educators of the deaf insisted d/Deaf children use oral speech rather than sign language. Even though the percentage of negative normality ***judgements*** concerning d/Deaf people is higher than it was in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, the count is much smaller (21 compared with 73) and the positive normality ***judgements*** outweigh those of the same variety in the 'hearing-impaired' texts (26 compared with 5). Instead of focusing positive normality on those d/Deaf individuals who have worked towards successful 'rehabilitation', these statements celebrate d/Deaf people as those part of their own *culture with its own rituals and beliefs* and those who are considered 'normal'

or fortunate based on their own merit despite their hearing status as *one of the smartest kids in school* with an *outgoing personality*, and as similar to other bilingual communities, *not disabled ones*, who are *proud of their culture and eager to share*.

Evaluations of capacity in the 'd/Deaf' texts are largely positive in nature (47 vs. 14 negative capacity) many of which statements comment on 'd/Deaf' individuals (39 of 47, or 83%). d/Deaf people are positively evaluated as having *a wide range of skills*, as being a *leader*, as possessing lots of *skill and potential* and as occupying high power positions such as *superintendent, executive director of vocational and mental health centers* and *student government president*. These positive evaluations of capacity protest even the positive statements in the 'hearing-impaired' texts since none of these evaluations are contingent upon joining the world of normalcy by abandoning one's d/Deafness in favor of a more hearing life.

A look at the negative capacity statements reveals at least some discourse that is akin to what was discussed in the 'hearing-impaired' texts and even includes a few examples of the use of that reference term. As such, simply employing the term 'd/Deaf' (as the means with which these texts were found) does not appear to deny the discourse that intends to construct the population as incapable, but perhaps adds another discourse that aims to demonstrate why such a discourse should be ignored, found in the positive evaluations. Many of the negative capacity ***judgments*** present the negative evaluation as something that is taken for granted as society's understanding of this population but more often than not does not appear to condone these evaluations. Instead, at times they are actually used to debunk the illusion of incapacity. For example, a comment about d/Deaf individuals who *rely on lip reading and other visual cues* is more of a challenge to the method of oralism, which *doesn't allow deaf children to reach their potential*.

d/Deaf people were regarded with more positive tenacity than in the 'hearing-impaired' texts and the tenacity for which they were recognized had to do with their resolution of maintaining their Deaf identity as opposed to relinquishing it, as was true of the positive tenacity statements in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. The positive tenacity statements in the 'd/Deaf' texts address the actions of Gallaudet students who *launched a noisy revolt* and *took over their campus* to *force the board to reverse its decision* to hire yet another hearing president of the only deaf university. Additionally, they speak of *the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny* and the resolve of d/Deaf students to enjoy themselves *unhampered by the constraints of a hearing society*. These examples all represent a *political struggle* that members of the Deaf community are adamant to *carry on*. These statements demonstrate a determination to ward off any efforts by society to 'rehabilitate' d/Deaf people, rather than embracing such

an effort as is praised through the positive tenacity statements of the 'hearing-impaired' texts.

Judgement statements of propriety have a slightly different scope in the 'd/Deaf' texts than they did in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. In this set of texts there were 37 total statements of propriety (24 positive and 13 negative) and d/Deaf people were only the subject of positive propriety ***judgements***. Although not comprising a large percentage of the total number of statements (only 7 of the 24), the comments clearly show a more empowering discourse than what was seen in the 'hearing-impaired' texts where the only subject of positive propriety was hearing people and technology offering help to d/Deaf people. Here d/Deaf people are shown with more agency as they *make sure no one is left out*, *seek to improve educational opportunities for deaf*, make *speeches on the educational issues facing deaf students*, and even *tutor other students*. Negative propriety ***judgements*** focus solely on hearing people who *tried to make us* (deaf people) *poor imitations of hearing people*, who *force deaf and hearing-impaired people to communicate in the same manner they do*, and who are perceived as the culprits of *condescension and unequal treatment*.

Statements of veracity, of which there are only three, do not add much to the argument presented above only commenting on the positive veracity of the TV program Blue's Clues in *incorporating ASL naturally into the show* and of an ASL student who remains *true to [her] American culture*. The one negative veracity ***judgement*** concerns hearing people who stare are d/Deaf people while they are signing and those d/Deaf people regarding that as *an intrusion like someone being nosy*.

9.5. Summary

The findings from the Appraisal analysis presented here demonstrate yet another facet of the discourse that surrounds d/Deaf people. The aspects of discourse uncovered through this analysis indicate the attitudes discourse producers have about d/Deaf people and show how those attitudes manifest differently in language depending on which reference term they employ. Distinct from the previous analyses, Appraisal investigates emotive language that gives readers a sense of how the discourse producer feels about certain things, phenomena, or people. To an extent, the emotive language perhaps gives them a sense of how they should be feeling, especially if the discourse producer is a source the reader considers to be worth their trust, about those very same things, phenomena, or people. What was found through this analysis further solidifies the claim that diverging discourses surrounding the two reference terms in question, 'd/Deaf' and 'hearing-impaired,' exist. Focusing solely on the number of positive and negative judgements, ignoring the various regions of ***attitude*** and subfields of

judgement, reveals one of the most striking takeaways: there are 153 negative evaluations of d/Deaf people in the 'hearing-impaired' texts, while there are only 30 negative evaluations of d/Deaf people in the 'd/Deaf' texts. Looking at positive ***judgement*** statements, the discrepancy is reversed: 91 positive evaluations in the 'd/Deaf' texts and only 33 in the 'hearing-impaired' texts. If we accept the evidence presented throughout this thesis that the term 'hearing-impaired' is generally categorized alongside disability, it is easy to tie these results back to the idea of constructing normalcy (discussed in section 2.6), and identify these findings as one more exemplar of society's penchant for normality. Viewing deafness as a 'misfortune' or 'tragedy' (Titchkosky & Michalko, 2009) is certain to elicit negative evaluations, whereas a cultural view, present in the discourse surrounding 'd/Deaf', is able to embrace and apply positive evaluations. These comparisons combined with the examples presented throughout this chapter serve as an unmistakable reminder that discourse has a very real impact on the negotiation of social relationships and can impair the social understanding of a group as easily as it can promote it.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1. Introduction

At the outset of this research, I had already formed hypotheses about how the findings of this study would look and what could legitimately be achieved through the completion of it. Of course, every researcher wishes their work to make far-reaching impacts on their field of study and perhaps even the wider scope of society, the latter of which is rarely accomplished through such limited studies, though that doesn't preclude one from maintaining high hopes for broad study significance. My general hypothesis about there being divergent discourses that define d/Deaf identity in one of two different ways, and that these discourses were part and parcel to the reference terms employed, proved true. It became quite clear through the findings of the analyses that d/Deaf people were either discursively associated with pathology, entailing a helpless and in some ways incomplete version of a person who not only needed the assistance of medical intervention but desired it; or associated with cultural pride and significance, celebrating a unique language and identity that has been preserved for hundreds of years despite adverse efforts to the contrary. That said, the reference terms did not entail an exclusive link to one specific discourse, though there is plenty of evidence to suggest where their predilections lie. In a way, these results are not all that surprising to me, but if I'm honest, I didn't expect them to be. Upon reflection, I realize my expectations of this research went beyond individual curiosity into a place of hopeful validation of a reality d/Deaf people, and those closest to the community, have been instinctively aware of all along.

Although I express a lack of surprise in the main finding of the study, I would not go as far as to say that my curiosity was not piqued, and subsequently satisfied, by the nuanced way in which that main finding was manifest in the data. Regardless of anticipated discovery of diverging discourses and ties to their respective reference terms, linguistic realizations of these discourses were far more interesting than I initially predicted them to be. Some themes followed a general formula of medicalized language (e.g. 'intragroup' association, disabilities discussed alongside other disabilities; cochlear implant advocacy; language of incapacity and normality; etc.) and so could be expected. However, the degree of difference between each set of texts (sorted by their corresponding reference terms) was unforeseen, as were the specific instances located and exemplified through the in-depth text analyses. Admittedly, I have witnessed the same kinds of linguistic realizations in my own personal experiences with the Deaf community, but it was relatively shocking to see the same realizations expressed in a

systematic and codified form rather than a verbal incidence I happened to be present for once or twice. Perhaps this is where the study could make the largest social contribution, assuming results were disseminated more widely: validating the lived experience of being a d/Deaf person in the US, an experience that until this point has mainly been shared with other members of the Deaf community, assuming those individuals aren't isolated in some way, and remained unnoticed by members of the dominant hearing culture. Even if the dominant hearing culture is aware of oppression and marginalization as each affects d/Deaf people, I would speculate that they have no understanding of the role they play in its perpetuation through ideological discourse they unknowingly adopt and imitate. Though I do not presume my small-scale study to make such a profound impact on the mechanics of social practice and discourse, having the evidence and the validation of the social wrong and its semiotic realization is a small step in recognizing counter-strategies and developing ways to implement them.

The following sections in this chapter will elucidate and unpack the perspectives and general summary provided thus far in the introductory section. I will begin by addressing the research questions outlined in the first chapter of the thesis, and describing how the analyses presented in the recent five chapters provide answers to those research questions through a synthesis of their findings. That will precede sections which outline the implications of the findings delineated in this thesis, the limitations of this study, the contributions it has made to the literature and opportunities for further research, as well as some final concluding remarks.

10.2. Research Questions: Revisited

This section will contain sub-sections devoted to answering the research questions listed in chapter 1, which will synthesize the findings as they relate to answering the corresponding research question. Research question 4, however, will be addressed in the following section of this conclusions chapter that focuses on implications of the findings of this research study.

10.2.1. Research questions 1 and 2.

As the first two research questions are closely related, it seems prudent to answer them together in this initial subsection. The first research question of the study enquires about the general discursive representation of d/Deaf people in the US based on the two reference terms that were central to the study, through the formal question:

> How is the representation of the d/Deaf population in the US realized by discourse producers when using the reference term 'hearing-impaired' versus 'd/Deaf'?

The second research question extended from this first one, asking to identify specific ways in which these discursive representations manifest in language:

> In the event diverging discourses are identified, what do these discourses look like (i.e. are d/Deaf people displayed as actors, goals or beneficiaries of actions, possessing or lacking agency, presented with a high or low degree of normality/capacity/etc., presented with a negative or positive discourse prosody, etc.)?

Starting with the term 'hearing-impaired', the findings from the analyses provide evidence that characterizes d/Deaf people as members of the disability population. Outside of a handful of references to support the contrary, this was the dominant identity constructed and illustrated through the texts in this dataset. This general classification was accomplished through various linguistic strategies, manifesting into several different thematic trends, of which I will present what I believe to be the main two.

The first trend worthy of discussion here is that of general linguistic association with disabilities, the issues that envelop that identity based on societal perspectives and implicit biases in the US, and the lack of agency that comes along with it. We saw this theme first emerge in the concordance analysis outlined in chapter 5, both in the direct associations with others that maintain a disadvantaged status in society (e.g. those who are *developmentally delayed*, have *physical or mental disabilities*, and the like) as well as in the frequent appearance of *help*, from which stemmed the narrative of helping the d/Deaf person re-integrate or 'rehabilitate' into society by providing them necessary hearing and speech support either by way of technology or special programs. Throughout the 'hearing-impaired' texts, they are presented as incapable of doing things and making decisions for themselves. This is also seen in the concordance analysis theme of *help* along with *hearing-impaired*, which revealed an undeniable pattern of d/Deaf people being helped by everyone except other d/Deaf people (only in four out of 115 cases were hearing-impaired the helpers). The disability association re-emerged in the collocational analysis with the collocate *visually*, the occurrences with which uncovered a much stronger association of d/Deaf people not just with *visually impaired* individuals, but with a plethora of other disadvantaged statuses, differing disabilities included. A lack of agency is supported in the types of roles played by hearing-impaired people in the texts, in which they are found in the dominated position of social relationships (i.e. they are *students*, not teachers; they are *patients*, not doctors; they are *children*, not parents, etc.), as well as in the overall tendency for them to appear as juveniles (shown in chapter 5), which implies a position of subservience. The text analyses further showcased the corpus findings,

demonstrating d/Deaf people as recipients of medical advancements aimed to 'rehabilitate' them into a normal hearing society, pitting them always as the goal or beneficiary of these actions in the same way those other disadvantaged populations and individuals with disabilities are positioned. They also are not often positioned as Acting participants in the processes in which they are engaged, and if they are, they are mainly represented as Sensers focusing specifically on their ability or inability to hear. Moreover, they are rarely nominated in the texts, and when they are the nominations are mostly informal, instead they are often the subject of categorization. The discussion of an 'inability to hear' brings up the last point of this theme, that of a propensity of the discourse to present hearing-impaired people with negative judgement of capacity, painting them as those who are incapable, inept, and/or helpless. Such a theme is a clear link to the pathological discourse suggested throughout this thesis and a disabled classification is an extension of that discourse.

The second main trend I will discuss in relation to the representation constructed through the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' is that of a general devaluation of d/Deaf people and any culture or language with which they may identify. This theme is peppered throughout the texts, and latent in the previous theme discussed by the very nature of what the association with disability symbolizes. In addition to manifestations present in the prior theme, I believe the most explicit way in which this devaluation is made evident is in the repeated discussion of cochlear implants and the schools, programs, or technologies that are built on the principle of hearing 'rehabilitation' and/or speech development. Although there are no direct instances in the text that clearly state, "being d/Deaf is not valued," a consistent push for implantation, or at minimum more technologically advanced hearing aids, combined with the incessant nudge towards speech therapy and speech programs for d/Deaf children firmly establishes a value for normality (in this case, hearing and speaking). This is noted in the findings of every analysis chapter, also emphasizing how pervasive a theme it is in the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' but is most pronounced in chapter 9 with the discussion of the language of appreciation in the texts. There we saw positive appreciation statements primarily attributed to hearing devices, speech, and rehabilitative technology, and negative appreciation statements primarily attributed to anything that would cause hearing loss and sign language. When these types of statements compound on themselves and are accompanied by instances from the above theme of disability association and a lack of agency, it becomes more apparent that the discursive representation of d/Deaf people when the term 'hearing-impaired' is used reflects the pathological perspective of d/Deaf people, positioning them as abnormal, hapless, and in need of 'rehabilitation'.

Findings from the ‘d/Deaf’ text analyses were not as singularly focused, but the evidence discovered did tend to favor a very different characterization of d/Deaf people than did the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts, confirming a diverging discourse to that of the discourse surrounding ‘hearing-impaired’. The dominant identity represented in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts appeared to prefer a cultural and linguistic minority who, although presented with some abnormality in terms of hearing loss, were fully capable individuals who can and do function as equal members of society. Many of the thematic trends that demonstrate this are the polarized versions of those tied to the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts, such as them being presented with agency. Even using some of the same themes from the concordance analysis, we see that the opposite of what those themes inform about ‘hearing-impaired’ people is true of d/Deaf people. Granting that *help* and *deaf* was also a strong pattern in the concordance results, it becomes clear that in these cases d/Deaf people are not the only ones being helped but they are often positioned as the helper. Unlike in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts, d/Deaf people are not favored as juveniles in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts, which may not tie directly to a high degree of agency but does at least suggest an increased representation of such between the corpora. These points tie into findings from the transitivity analysis where d/Deaf people are the dominant acting participants throughout the selected texts. The SAR analysis from chapter 8 also reveals substantially more nomination of d/Deaf people, presenting them in dominant positions such as educational field experts, actors, athletes, etc., and a substantially different type of categorization (more functional in manner) of d/Deaf people than in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts. Additionally, d/Deaf people are judged with much more capacity and tenacity in the Appraisal analysis in chapter 9. These findings are a stark contrast to the subordinate position d/Deaf people are presented with in the ‘hearing-impaired’ texts.

Perhaps the main discursive theme characterizing d/Deaf people as members of a cultural and linguistic minority in the ‘d/Deaf’ texts is the strong appearance of terms related to culture and sign language. This first emerges in the concordance chapter, identifying capitalization of the term ‘Deaf’, and the cultural cues with which that linguistic act is imbued, as a relevant pattern in the results. The collocational analysis further emphasizes cultural and linguistic significance in the texts in the sheer volume of culture related terms found to be top collocates with *deaf* (e.g. *community*, *culture* and *language*, to name a few). This was especially telling since the patterns emerged in the collocate results on their own, not through comparison with the ‘hearing-impaired’ corpus or through an unintentional over-inflation of pattern seeking in the concordance results. These same themes are reiterated in the three text analyses which display the high value placed on ASL and Deaf Culture, shown through the relational processes

that encompass them as well as positive affect and appreciation statements. Additionally, general text content, in which hearing students of ASL explain the benefit and value of learning sign language and d/Deaf students express high levels of satisfaction in being able to learn in a cultural environment using ASL, and do so with positive attitudinal language, lends more support to this theme.

10.2.2. Research question 3.

The third research question of this thesis asked about the potential link of either of the diverging discourses to a discourse of hegemony:

> Do either of these discourses contain hegemonic strategies that serve to marginalize said population and if so, of what do they consist?

In order to answer this effectively, let us briefly revisit the definition of hegemony in discourse, as offered in chapter 1, as that discourse that serves to reify the dominant social position of those in power and further separates the powerful from 'the other', marginalized groups, by marking them as different and subordinate. Related to reification of dominant social structures, in his *Letters From Prison* (Gramsci & Rosengarten, 1994), Gramsci discusses the basic social ethical principle that urges people not to take advantage of the disadvantaged, for doing so would constitute a "serious instance of moral disharmony and irresponsibility" (p. 2), a principle that is consistently violated in a society that seems to immortalize the inequity of the socially disadvantaged and is achieved with hegemonic discourses. Whether consciously or unconsciously, people choose to engage in this type of moral irresponsibility, which is "disguised as altruism and disinterested tenderness, and it is arrogant, pure egocentrism, oppression of another's human personality" (Gramsci & Rosengarten, 1994, p. 2). These acts of 'altruism' are what make co-construction of an unequal society possible and further perpetuates the hegemony that endures. As with conformism, Gramsci's concept of hegemony implies an understanding of standardization in ways of thinking, behaviors, and intellectual responses to society (Gramsci & Boothman, 1995, p. *li*) and expects all members of society to adapt. Following that understanding, hegemonic strategies could be considered those macro-strategies as Fairclough (2009; 2010) describes them in his dialectical-relational approach (see chapter 3), which are realized through semiotic acts.

The information provided in the previous sub-section is demonstration enough that the discourse surrounding 'hearing-impaired' carries these hegemonic tendencies. Hegemonic strategies of normalization, both in body and thinking, saturate the texts, emerging in the themes discussed throughout the five analysis chapters and summarized above. Disguised as

benevolent attempts at inclusivity, the discursive representation of d/Deaf people, by way of the reference term 'hearing-impaired', debilitates a population already struggling to justify their intrinsic value to the dominant culture. As Gramsci rightly affirms, engaging in practice of this strategy is arrogant and a form of oppression. Discursive strategies of hegemony manifest as repeated offers to integrate the d/Deaf people into the larger hearing society through making them, to borrow from one of the texts, *poor imitations of hearing people,* and as hearing people acting as representatives of d/Deaf people because they couldn't possibly represent themselves before being fully conformed and indoctrinated to the ways of the larger hearing society. Claiming such altruistic purpose while simultaneously oppressing an already marginalized group is a, to use Gramsci's words, "serious instance of moral disharmony and irresponsibility" (Gramsci & Rosengarten, 1994, p. 2).

10.3. Implications of the Study

Since an integral component to CDA studies is the action taken after learning of and revealing a social wrong as discovered through rigorous semiotic analysis, it is appropriate to discuss the implications of the study presented in this thesis. To do that, I will begin by re-introducing the fourth and final research question, which focuses on this topic:

> What sort of implications are possible to draw from this, given the continued use of the reference term 'hearing-impaired' and the discourse that surrounds it?

If it is accepted based on the findings of this research that the term 'hearing-impaired', at least in contemporary American discourse, is tied to a hegemonic discourse that serves to continually marginalize d/Deaf people due to the representation built through said discourse, then I believe it is reasonable to assume that a continued use of this reference term will ensure a continued social perception of d/Deaf people as incapable and unfortunate people. As we learned in chapter 3, discourse, society and cognition all internalize one another so until we are able to change, or at least plant a seed of change, in one of those pillars it is unlikely we will witness a change in the treatment or representation of d/Deaf people. Furthermore, the more often the term 'hearing-impaired' is used in everyday discourse, the more concrete the lexical priming (Hoey, 2005, revisiting from chapter 4) will become, further solidifying any current understandings of d/Deaf people's representation.

There have been attempts to change the cognition around d/Deaf representation through nationally recognized events like Deaf History Month (March to April) and Deaf Awareness Week (last week of September), more incorporation of ASL as a foreign language in high

school and university curriculums, and more exposure to the Deaf community and sign language, albeit not always in the best interest of the community (e.g. ASL interpreters at music festivals becoming a popular trend in social media). However, these attempts at change appear to exist in isolation and if someone doesn't happen to be near a thriving Deaf community it is unlikely they will have any knowledge of these things. Thus, the ideological language that pathologizes d/Deafness persists. Since it is unreasonable to expect everyone to have firsthand exposure to Deaf culture, the change has to begin elsewhere, and I propose discourse to be the most promising ground for rebirth since it is the most likely pillar of ideology to spread quickly and inflict the largest change.

Personally, I have already begun to adopt some of these efforts by working with a team of colleagues from four different universities to propose a white paper for the Association on Higher Education and Disability (AHEAD) about the language of disability used at colleges and universities nationwide. Although not limited to language of d/Deaf people, this effort encompasses the language used in a post-secondary environment in relation to students, faculty, staff, visitors, etc. with a disability, of which d/Deaf people are included. Though it is in a limited arena, I believe everything that is transforming begins small. There is certainly an active movement in the US towards more welcoming language (in certain venues of society, particular in a postsecondary environment) and equity/inclusivity, so the field is ripe for transformation. Beyond the white paper, I hope to publish this work in several venues, both scholarly and popular in an attempt to spread awareness to as wide an audience as possible. Peer-reviewed journal publications will help to solidify any field-specific contributions but producing a manuscript for a more popular, accessible venue has the greatest potential to make an impact on the discourse surrounding d/Deaf people. An accessible venue means the work is more likely to reach parents of d/Deaf kids, teachers, or policy-makers, which is where changes need to occur in order to make a big impact on the representation of d/Deaf people and the community. If successful, that publication can spawn further impact measures that may or may not involve me or my work directly, but could facilitate supplemental dissemination. Of course, it is also important for me to liaise with d/Deaf people to strategize about the right approach to circulating this work through the community. This would include not just a printed publication in a Deaf Studies journal, but a signed publication that is more accessible to the community at large. Hopefully these small steps will produce incremental change that leads to a discourse that no longer serves to 'impair' those individuals it represents simply by an uninformed and automatic choice in reference term.

10.4. Limitations of the Study

Many of the limitations of this study were introduced and discussed in chapter 4 (section 4.2.3), but I will revisit those briefly as a summary. As mentioned in the introduction section of this chapter, this is a small-scale study, including a limited number of texts from a limited number of genres in a limited time frame. Therefore, it could be considered imprudent to overgeneralize the results to the whole of contemporary American English as it is missing very large samples from other aspects of American discourse, namely spoken discourse. Still I am presenting the results in a generalized manner mainly due to the impact it can have in this somewhat limited scope, and based on my own anecdotal experience with the same discourse in spoken venues where these results are validated. Despite the limitations to the dataset, I still believe the findings here provide enough evidence to suggest the presence of a wider-reaching discourse.

In relation to the limited dataset, there is an inherent limitation in personal data collection performed by the researcher. Though I did my best to maintain a rigorous collection strategy (discussed at length in chapter 4), it is reasonable to believe there is at least some inequity in collection either due to unconscious bias, availability of texts, and text distribution. While my goal was to present as representative a sample as possible, it is impossible to control for everything.

Lastly, strict effort was made to produce a systematic analysis that was sufficiently triangulated, through multiple approaches to analysis, so as not to manufacture my own results. While I believe I was successful in that endeavor, there is always the danger of having one researcher interpret results, especially one with very personal ties to the discourse being analyzed. Every effort was made to engage in continual reflexivity while conducting these analyses and my hope is that the inclusion of a corpus analysis as the main approach to discover patterns, with in-depth text analyses used to further exemplify said patterns in individual texts, helped maintain a certain impartiality to the findings. However, there is still some danger in interpreting corpus results by the very nature of it being an interpretive effort, which relies on the researcher's discretion since the corpus results can only *suggest* the existence of discourses, not confirm their existence (Baker, 2006). Just as it is easy for CDA scholars to inadvertently choose convenient samples of texts to illustrate their beliefs, so too can they inadvertently choose convenient patterns to illustrate their beliefs about the data within the corpus results and ignore those patterns that suggest an alternative to that belief. These limitations are part and parcel to discourse analysis, especially one that is framed from a place of social critique, and so are worth disclosing.

10.5. Contributions and Opportunities for Further Study

CDA studies have focused on many marginalized communities since the time of their inception, but the inclusion of disabilities, in general, and certainly d/Deaf people specifically is a newer focus that has not been thoroughly explored. As mentioned in chapter 3, it has been common for CDA studies to investigate the 'negative-other presentation', but largely in terms of demonization in an attempt to elicit fear and general distaste for the marginalized groups in question. The research presented in this thesis opens up the discussion of 'negative-other presentation' to that focusing on an abnormal or weaker identity, setting marginalized groups apart not as threats but rather as undesirable or atypical. This opens up a new exploration for discursive representation of a 'negative-other', which despite some similarity in linguistic realization to demonization, has different goals and perhaps additional features. This could be applied to groups outside of the d/Deaf community and people with disabilities and has the potential to open up an entirely new focus in critical discourse studies, one that works to identify a different way of 'othering' and examine how the discourse looks different when positioning others as outside of the norm but not in a manner that should evoke disquiet.

In the field of Disability Studies, many scholars have discussed the social representations of the disability community, but not in the way of discursive representation. To revisit from chapter 2, disability inclusion is a relatively new frontier in the US, having tackled equity and inclusion as they relate to race, sexual orientation, nationality, sex, etc. (or so some may believe), people with disabilities are now becoming more vocal about their exclusion, both by policy and perceived. This new focus makes this research particularly culturally relevant in addition to contributing to the fields of disability studies, deaf studies, and CDA. Methodologically, the robust research plan executed in this thesis attempted a level of methodological grounding and triangulation rarely attempted in such small-scale studies, and hopefully resulted in a more comprehensive understanding and confirmation of the findings discovered therein.

As with most research endeavors, there are several opportunities for further research to extend the findings outlined here. The dataset could be extended to include more recent years of discourse, spoken discourse that references the same population, more genres and more balanced number of texts per genre, and/or discourse used outside of the US. Additionally, it would be interesting to investigate the idiomatic expressions of 'd/Deaf' and explore what those expressions may add to the representation of d/Deaf people. Another opportunity to further this research would be in investigating signed discourses to uncover the representations found

therein or compare them with written and/or spoken discourses. Although sign language corpora are not abundant, they are becoming more prevalent and so conducting a critical analysis of signed texts is becoming more feasible. Investigating representations of d/Deaf people through signed texts would not only include a Deaf perspective on their own avowed identities, as opposed to those ascribed to them, but would also offer insight on intragroup discrepancies in representation and perhaps a better understanding of current Deaf sentiment about identity in a global interconnected society. Also related to dataset, an inclusion of deaf-authored texts may be of interest, either in comparison to or along with hearing-authored texts, as this may reveal more about the discovered discourses, or perhaps more varied discourses surrounding d/Deaf people. Methodologically speaking, an exploration of modality or corpus keywords could produce relevant findings, as could a diachronic study of the language surrounding d/Deaf people. All of these extensions were considered within the planning of this research, but proved to be beyond the scope of what I could offer in this limited study.

10.6. Final Remarks

In closing, I feel confident that this study achieved what it set out to achieve. The detailed exploration of discourse surrounding d/Deaf people in the US revealed information that can be used to incite dialogue about the social representation ascribed to d/Deaf people and as a catalyst for confronting a transformation effort. This dialogue and transformation obviously cannot initially be applied on a large-scale due to its limited reach, but it provides me the grounding needed to present my own personal dialogues in a more public venue, provoking further discussion that will hopefully extend beyond the inner circles of those who work directly with d/Deaf and/or disabled people. Identifying the existence of divergent discourses and their association with hegemonic strategies is the first achievement of a much larger goal, one I hope to continue working towards after the completion of this research.

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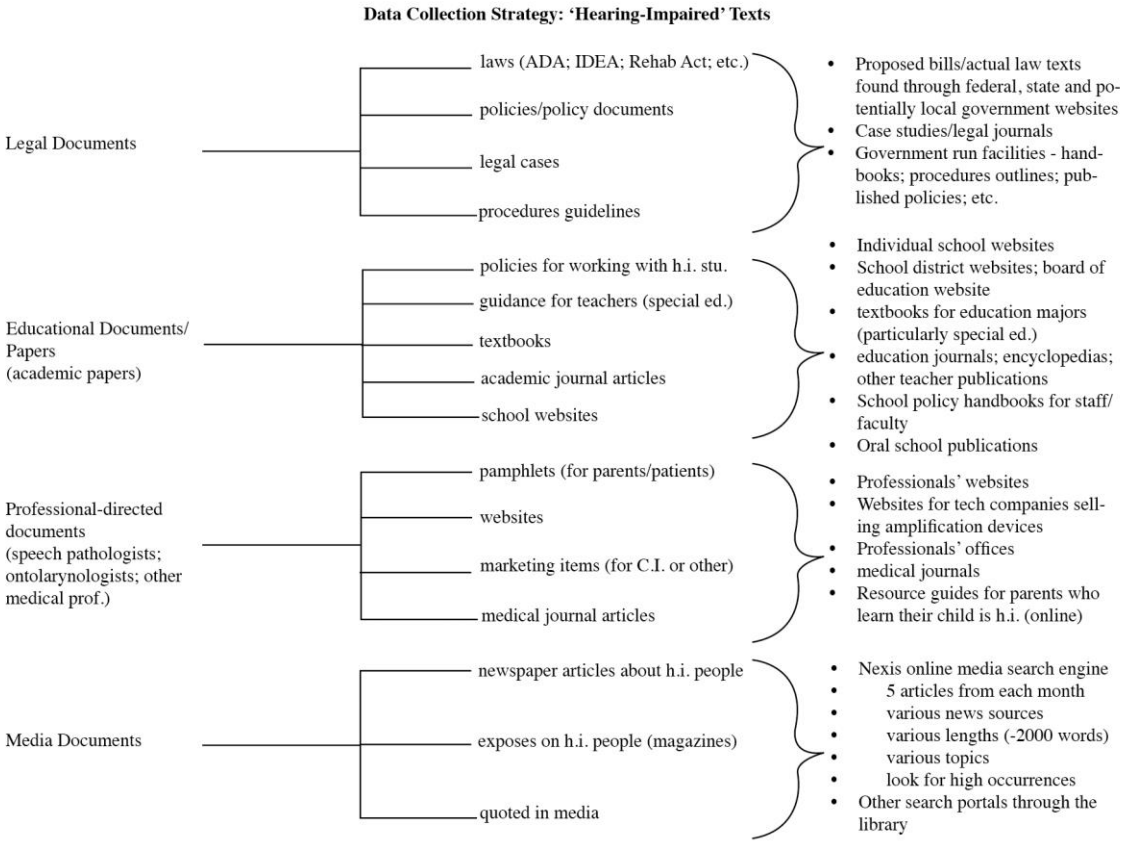
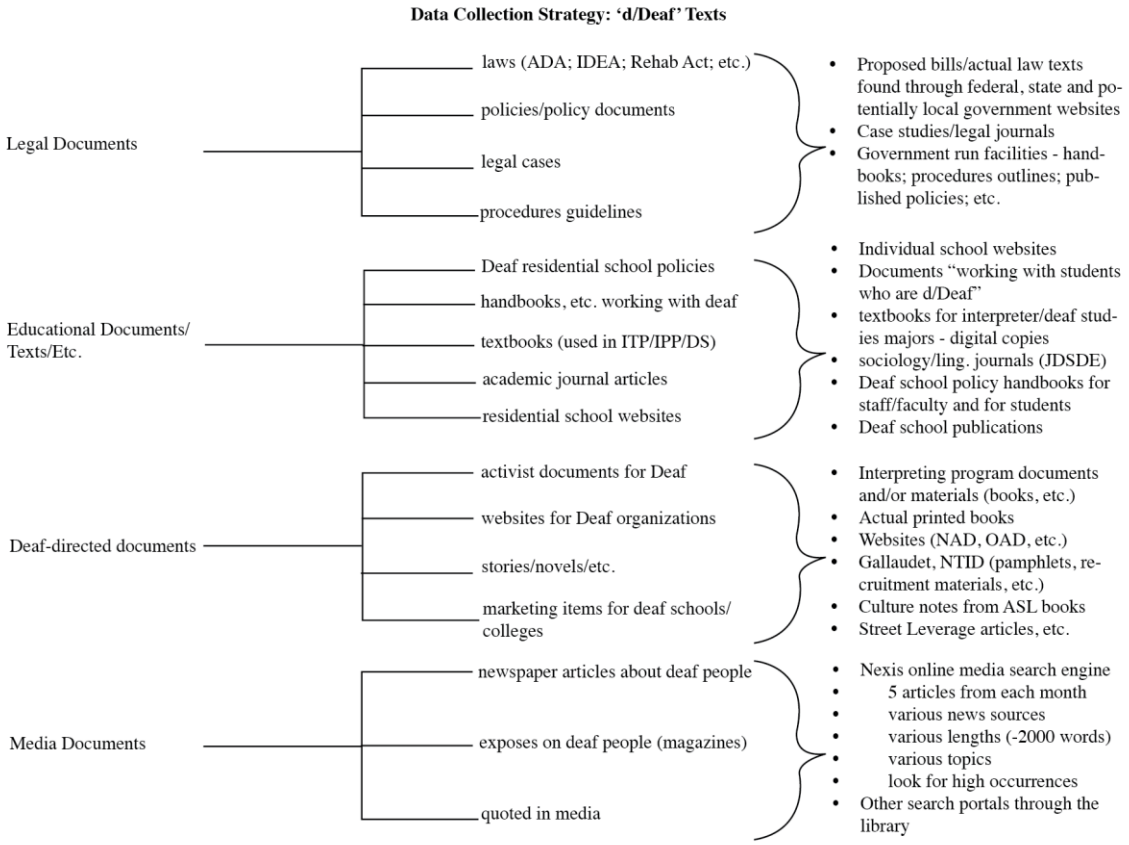
Appendix A: Data Collection Strategy for the 'hearing-impaired' Texts



Appendix B: Data Collection Strategy for the ‘d/Deaf’ Texts



Appendix C: Files and Respective Word Counts—'hearing-impaired' Texts

Corpus Files: 'hearing-impaired'				
Name of file	*Genre*	*Sub-genre*	*Year (if applicable)*	*Word Count*
EDUDOC_guid_HI	Educational documents	Guidance for teachers	N/A	21465
EDUDOC_journals_HI	Educational documents	Academic journal articles	N/A	56539
EDUDOC_policy_HI	Educational documents	School policies	N/A	93727
			Total for Educational documents:	*171,731*
PROFDOC_journals_HI	Prof-directed documents	Medical journal articles	N/A	40651
PROFDOC_websites_HI	Prof-directed documents	Professionals' websites	N/A	32555
			Total for Professional-directed documents:	*73,206*
LGLDOC_cases_HI	Legal documents	Legal cases/case law	N/A	35572
LGLDOC_govdoc_HI	Legal documents	Government documents	N/A	26104
			Total for Legal documents:	*61,676*
MEDDOC_news_HI_1990	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1990	37146
MEDDOC_news_HI_1991	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1991	38487
MEDDOC_news_HI_1992	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1992	35872
MEDDOC_news_HI_1993	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1993	38163
MEDDOC_news_HI_1994	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1994	45925
MEDDOC_news_HI_1995	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1995	36943
MEDDOC_news_HI_1996	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1996	40069
MEDDOC_news_HI_1997	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1997	46080
MEDDOC_news_HI_1998	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1998	48248
MEDDOC_news_HI_1999	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1999	41782
MEDDOC_news_HI_2000	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2000	48404
MEDDOC_news_HI_2001	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2001	47318
MEDDOC_news_HI_2002	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2002	44215
MEDDOC_news_HI_2003	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2003	46227
MEDDOC_news_HI_2004	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2004	43477
MEDDOC_news_HI_2005	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2005	40336
MEDDOC_news_HI_2006	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2006	37431
MEDDOC_news_HI_2007	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2007	36117
MEDDOC_news_HI_2008	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2008	38683
MEDDOC_news_HI_2009	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2009	37011
MEDDOC_news_HI_2010	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2010	46112
MEDDOC_news_HI_2011	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2011	35188
MEDDOC_news_HI_2012	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2012	40920
MEDDOC_news_HI_2013	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2013	42120
MEDDOC_news_HI_2014	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2014	41120
MEDDOC_news_HI_2015	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2015	80020
			Total for Media documents:	*1,113,414*
				Grand Total for 'hearing-impaired' Texts: 1,420,027 words

Appendix D: Files and Respective Word Counts—'d/Deaf' Texts

Corpus Files: 'd/Deaf'				
Name of file	*Genre*	*Sub-genre*	*Year (if applicable)*	*Word Count*
EDUDOC_guid_Deaf	Educational documents	Guidance for teachers	N/A	23436
EDUDOC_journals_Deaf	Educational documents	Academic journal articles	N/A	52371
EDUDOC_policies_Deaf	Educational documents	School policies	N/A	32139
EDUDOC_reswebsites_Deaf	Educational documents	Residential schools' websites	N/A	15491
			Total for Educational documents:	*123,437*
DDDOC_activ_Deaf	Deaf-directed documents	Activist documents	N/A	45459
DDDOC_websites_Deaf	Deaf-directed documents	Organization of/for Deaf websites	N/A	10472
			Total for Deaf-directed documents:	*55,931*
LGLDOC_cases_Deaf	Legal documents	Legal cases/case law	N/A	43620
LGLDOC_govdoc_Deaf	Legal documents	Government documents	N/A	33057
			Total for Legal documents:	*76,677*
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1990	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1990	39510
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1991	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1991	36538
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1992	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1992	35182
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1993	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1993	35428
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1994	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1994	42394
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1995	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1995	42030
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1996	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1996	36296
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1997	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1997	41662
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1998	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1998	43495
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_1999	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	1999	41792
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2000	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2000	43579
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2001	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2001	47222
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2002	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2002	43555
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2003	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2003	46593
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2004	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2004	42248
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2005	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2005	44077
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2006	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2006	45670
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2007	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2007	41691
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2008	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2008	38690
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2009	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2009	41980
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2010	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2010	39128
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2011	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2011	45647
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2012	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2012	36697
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2013	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2013	44818
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2014	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2014	42302
MEDDOC_news_Deaf_2015	Media documents	Newspapers/journals/magazines	2015	81322
			Total for Media documents:	*1,119,546*
				Grand Total for 'd/Deaf' Texts: 1,375,591 words

Appendix E: 'Hearing-impaired' Text 1 for In-Depth Analysis

Squires, S. (1991, October 8)
Hearing for the First Time;
Cochlear Implants Help Profoundly Deaf Children

Cochlear implants, artificial hearing devices that have been implanted in more than 3,000 deaf adults since 1983, are now helping some profoundly deaf children hear and speak.

Approved by the Food and Drug Administration 15 months ago for use in children ages 2 and older, these devices have been implanted in nearly 1,000 children worldwide, according to the Cochlear Corp. of Englewood, Colo., makers of the only implant approved for use in children in the United States.

The implants are enabling some children who have never been able to hear, even with hearing aids, to detect words and sounds. "It is just phenomenal," said Bruce Gantz, a University of Iowa surgeon who has a National Institutes of Health grant to study the best age to implant the devices in children.

The treatment, however, is costly and must be followed up with a great deal of expensive rehabilitation. Even then, children generally still don't hear normally, and their speech lacks some clarity.

The device "is a giant step forward," said John Miamoto, chairman of the department of otolaryngology-head and neck surgery at the Indiana University School of Medicine in Indianapolis, "but it is also very expensive and it requires surgery and an extensive commitment to rehabilitation afterward."

Nonetheless, physicians are encouraged by the growing success of the implants. In a study released earlier this year, New York University researchers reported that the implants significantly increased speech and hearing in 14 children. Another study of 28 children who received the implants showed that all "demonstrated better speech perception skills" than they had with hearing aids, researchers at the Indiana University School of Medicine in Indianapolis reported in the Journal of the American Auditory Society. Sixty-one percent of the youngsters showed improvement in understanding words without lip-reading or sign language.

"Some of these children can get really good 'real' hearing," said John Kemink, professor of otolaryngology at the University of Michigan.

Such results come only after months of training. At a meeting here last week on communication disorders sponsored by the Johns Hopkins Center for Hearing and Balance in Baltimore and the National Institute on Deafness and other Communication Disorders, Gantz said on average it took at least 18 months for children in his study who had been deaf from birth to start understanding some words. Testing showed that these children could recognize 5 percent of words by sound alone, Gantz said. Three years after the implant, average word recognition rose to 13 percent, but 60 percent of these youngsters who had been deaf since birth could now understand at least some words.

Children who lost their hearing after they had learned to speak did better with the implants, Gantz said. Six months after the device was implanted, testing showed that these youngsters were able to understand 15 percent of spoken words. A year after the implant, that number rose to 28 percent, and 18 months after the implant, it increased to 38 percent, on average.

But experts also caution that the implants have many limitations and can't match the healthy ear. "We are not giving people normal hearing," said Miamoto.

Candidates for implants must have a functioning auditory nerve, a prerequisite that eliminates about 10 percent of the hearing-impaired, according to Miamoto, who is conducting one of several NIH-funded studies of implants. At the same time, those who receive implants must have hearing loss so profound that hearing aids can't help them.

First used on an experimental basis in hearing-impaired adults in 1983, the devices are named after the cochlea, the snail-shaped inner ear. After clinical trials proved their safety to the FDA, cochlear implants were tested in a limited number of children in 1987. In June 1990, the FDA approved their use in profoundly deaf youngsters who are 2 and older.

The devices contain 22 electrodes, each tuned to a different pitch, much like the strings on a piano. They are connected by a thin wire one-tenth of an inch thick and an inch long. Surgeons implant the wire in the inner ear next to the auditory nerve. The free end of the wire is attached to a battery-operated microphone worn outside the ear.

The implant replaces defective hair cells within the cochlea. Normally, these hair cells stimulate the auditory nerve, which in turn transmits sound information to the brain. In those with implants, the sound is picked up by the microphone and travels to the electrodes, which then send a signal to the auditory nerve, much like hair cells would.

The devices are expensive. They run between $ 25,000 to $ 30,000, which includes the implant, surgery, hospitalization and at least a week's worth of adjustments by two audiologists.

Studies suggest that there is an important window of opportunity for implants. Adults who have been deaf since birth or who lost their hearing at a young age before they learned to speak don't do very well with the implants for reasons still not understood.

Without stimulation, the auditory nerve may lose its ability to transmit information to the brain, researchers said. Or it could be that, never having processed sound, the brain doesn't know what to do with the signals.

That's why there is growing interest in giving the implants early. In contrast to adults, studies show that children who have been deaf since birth or lost their hearing before they learned to talk can make impressive gains with the implants.

"To look at these kids functioning is pretty dramatic," said Ann Geers, director of clinical services at the Central Institute for the Deaf in St. Louis. "They are able to hear quite well."

But to achieve understandable speech requires years of daily training. Programs are expensive and have limited enrollment.

For Tim Brandau, 8, of Rudd, Iowa, the difference has been striking. He relied on sign language and lip-reading to communicate before he received an implant four years ago. Since then, he has learned to speak, his lip-reading has improved and he can hear directions from his mother even when he can't see her face. He has been able to join a regular classroom and is doing well in his second-grade class. "It's a big improvement," said his mother, Susie Brandau.

Appendix F: ‘Hearing-impaired’ Text 2 for In-Depth Analysis

1992, March 4

A School for the Deaf That's Founded on Speech

Sandy Kobylarz and her husband were living with her parents in Manville, N.J., and renovating a house when her family's worst suspicions were confirmed. Their first child, a boy then 9 months old, had been born deaf.

But for Mrs. Kobylarz, the shock did not fully set in until months later, when the couple began searching for the right school for their son, Ryan. While visiting a school 30 minutes from her home that purported to teach both sign language and speech, she noticed that the classrooms seemed abnormally quiet.

"That really kind of floored me," Mrs. Kobylarz said. "Even in the upper schools there wasn't talking going on, and I realized I really wanted Ryan to have the choice to speak."

No Sign Language

So the Kobylarzs left their New Jersey roots and moved to a small town in western Massachusetts so that their son could enroll in the Clarke School for the Deaf, a small private institution across the street from Smith College in Northampton. Clarke is one of three schools in the country that teaches deaf children to read and speak using only hearing aids and lip-reading. No sign language is taught; students concentrate fully on learning speech.

For deaf children, learning to speak is almost a Herculean task, much harder than learning to sign, their parents acknowledge. But parents at Clarke School say they chose that more difficult path believing that it would ultimately be easier for their children to live independently as adults. And they are doing so despite a movement to recognize American Sign Language as the primary method of deaf education.

At Clarke, teachers wear amplifiers that broadcast their voices over a radio frequency to children wearing hearing aids. Those who are completely deaf learn to lip read and interpret other vibrations. Tuition is steep: $15,000 annually for day students and $27,000 for boarders, although scholarships are available.

Founded 125 years ago by Gardiner Greene Hubbard, father-in-law to Alexander Graham Bell, Clarke has traditional been a boarding school. But for the last two years, day

students have outnumbered boarders among the 110 students enrolled as more families with deaf children have moved to Northampton.

Frustrated in Public School

"It was a lot of work and we're starting over again, but it was worth it," said Leslie Meli, who spent 11 months apart from her husband, a cable television executive who stayed behind in Locust Valley, L.I., until landing a job in Boston recently. The Melis have two deaf children enrolled in Clarke. A third, who has a less serious hearing-impairment, attends public school in Northampton.

The Melis moved when it became clear that their oldest child, John, now 9 years old, had become frustrated after two years in a public school special education program for the hearing-impaired on Long Island. "He didn't have the words to ask questions," Mrs. Meli said. "He couldn't describe things. He had to draw them." Now he can speak to his grandparents, who do not know sign language, she said.

Cindy Higginbotham felt so strongly about teaching her daughter to speak that she moved to Northampton in September, even though her husband had to stay behind in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., because of his job. Her daughter, Lindsey, who is 5 years old, lost all her hearing by age 2. Just before entering Clarke's preschool, she received a cochlear (pronounced COKE-lee-er) implant last summer, in which an electronic device is surgically inserted into the ear to replicate sound signals.

Because the new technology requires intensive follow-up work with the children to teach them to interpret the sounds, the Higginbothams chose Clarke for the individual attention it provided.

Other Parents Help

Although it is hard living without her husband, Mrs. Higginbotham said a support group for new Clarke parents had eased the transition. "They just took us in and made us a part of their family right away," she said, adding that Lindsey was happy and making progress.

Dennis Gjerdingen, the school president, said the number of parents moving from out of state ballooned during the 80's. "We've had as many as 19 families move in one year," he said. But those numbers have declined recently because of the recession, as families find themselves unable to afford the tuition.

The Clarke curriculum is grueling for the children, who must learn not only their ABC's but the skills to speak them at the same time, said Alan Marvelli, the acting headmaster. Hearing children have years of listening and speaking before they learn to read.

For this reason, schooling goes more slowly at Clarke. The school is divided into lower, middle and upper schools instead of grade levels. At age 17, graduates are usually ready to be "mainstreamed" into a high school of their choice, usually at the ninth- or 10th-grade level.

Speech or Signing?

Poor performance among the hearing-impaired children has kicked off a vigorous debate among teachers of the deaf about which of three methods is best -- signing, speech alone or a combination of the two, the so-called total communication method.

The two dominant teaching methods since the 1950's, speech and total communication, have come under fire. Standardized tests have shown that the average hearing-impaired 18-year-old reads at a third- or fourth-grade level, said Arthur Schildroth, a researcher at the Center for Assessment and Demographic Studies at Gallaudet College in Washington.

Teaching speech to deaf children "works for only a handful of children," said Robert Johnson, chairman of the linguistics department at Gallaudet and co-author of "Unlocking the Curriculum," a 1989 paper credited with prompting the current debate over how to teach the deaf.

"Most deaf people don't learn to speak very well," said Mr. Johnson, who advocates teaching American Sign Language before English or speech. Signing, he said, "doesn't require any intervention, anything except getting them in contact with people who use it, and it can be acquired by age 5." So far, though, teaching signing as soon as children are identified as deaf is being attempted only experimentally, he said.

While Mr. Johnson said the total communication method is an improvement over methods that rely primarily on speaking, it, too, has failed to raise achievement test scores. Teachers speak and use a different sign language, one designed to replicate each English word. "When hearing people do this, they pay attention to what they are saying and assume the sign is fine," Mr. Johnson said. "But usually the sign portion ends up being very incomplete," hampering a deaf child's ability to learn language.

American Sign Language is not a transliteration of English words but an entirely separate language that can be learned on its own.

But to parents at Clarke, teaching children to depend on sign language means shutting the door on any life outside a small deaf community.

"I feel it's a hearing world and there's not many people who know sign language," said Jean Thibodeau, who moved to Northampton from Newtown, Conn., with her deaf son, Justin, now 7 years old. "No one would really understand him."

On a recent evening, Justin ordered chocolate ice cream all by himself at a Friendly's restaurant. The person behind the counter understood him perfectly.

Appendix G: ‘Hearing-impaired’ Text 3 for In-Depth Analysis

Bouchez, C. (1996, February 18)
Sound of Progress from bilingual centers to computer technology, the treatment for kids’ hearing loss continues to evolve

Among the most disheartening discoveries parents can make is that their child has a hearing problem. Affecting the ability to speak and learn, the problem is often compounded when children grow up in bilingual homes and neighborhoods, as often happens in New York. 'It's difficult enough for children with hearing problems to hear, understand and duplicate speech patterns of one language it's nearly impossible when they are bombarded with two or more languages," reports Janet Rovalino, a speech pathologist at New York Eye and Ear Infirmary (NYE&E).

Competing languages

And because speech therapy must be augmented with home-based programs, children whose parents speak little or no English have a difficult time putting what they learn in treatment into practice in real life. "Since most of a child's language skills come from imitating conversation they hear at home, if speech therapy is in English and the home language is something else, it's very difficult for that child to make progress," says Dr. Felix de Pinies, an otolaryngologist at NYE&E.

While all non-English-speaking groups are at risk for these problems, experts say Spanish-speaking children are perhaps affected the most. To help aid the situation, New York Eye and Ear Infirmary has just opened HOLA, the area's first completely bilingual (Spanish/English) hearing and speech center.

'We don't just have therapists who speak both languages," says Rovalino, "we are actually able to conduct the therapy sessions completely in Spanish, if that is the language the child is likely to hear most at home."

Although critics argue this approach may deter children who already have speech and hearing problems from learning the English necessary to function well in school, experts at HOLA assure us this is not the case.

"Once the child is able to conquer their speech problems in one language, those same skills can be carried over to a second langu-age with relative ease," says Rovalino.

Additionally, experts report that if children are allowed to work on their problems in the language with which they are most comfortable, progress is often faster.

In addition to helping hearing-impaired children learn to speak, the HOLA program is also open to those with speech impairments due to other causes, such as stuttering, cleft palate, oral motor-skill problems, or delayed oral skills. Equally important, the bilingual approach used to help the children can also work for Hispanic adults who have lost their ability to speak as a result of illness, particularly a stroke.

"In many instances, when a stroke victim recovers, their speech reverts back to the first language they learned when they first learned to talk even if it has been 50 years since they actively spoke that language," says Rovalino.

Opening more new doors

Regardless of your native language, experts at the New York League for the Hard of Hearing are also reaching out to parents of children with hearing-impairments with an important message they say is often overlooked.

"What many parents fail to realize is that even profoundly deaf children do not have to rely solely on sign language in order to communicate," says Patricia Rothschild, spokeswoman for the League.

While learning to sign can make functioning easier within the deaf community, realistically, a child must also be able to function at least minimally within the hearing world as well. And that, says Rothschild, is now possible.

In addition to medical advances such as cochlear implants (devices surgically implanted inside the ear that help decrease nerve-related hearing loss), there is a variety of new types of hearing devices able to bring a child into the listening world.

One such advancement uses FM radio technology to relay signals from speaker to listener. "In this instance, the child is outfitted with a tiny remote radio receiver those speaking to him or her, such as a teacher, will speak into a tiny lapel microphone," says Rothschild. Unlike old-style hearing devices, which amplify all sounds (the teacher's voice would be the same level as horns blowing outside the classroom), this device allows for selective listening. "The child can distinctly hear the teacher's voice and discern it from backgroun d noise," says Rothschild.

Additionally, new learning devices many of them computer-driven use technology to reach hearing-impaired children in a fun and effective way. One such program is a CD-ROM

called Foundation in Speech Perception (FSP), which teaches listening skills to children with hearing loss.

"Using a unique combination of stories, pictures and real-sound human voices, FSP enables children ... to identify objects by the sounds of the words used to describe them and to differentiate between words that sound the same, such as fan, van and man," says Denise Dettman, an education resource spe-cialist at the Cochlear Corporation, who distributes FSP.

While the cost of the program is steep about $ 750 the company reports there are a number of organizations offering grants to needy families. However, a more likely solution may be to enroll your child in a program that already makes use of this teaching technology. Such programs exist at The New York League for The Hard of Hearing. The really good news: Nearly all the services at the League are covered by either private insurance or Medicaid. In addition, a sliding fee scale insures that no person with a hearing loss is ever turned away.

Appendix H: ‘Hearing-impaired’ Text 4 for In-Depth Analysis

Levine, S. (1999, February 3)

Hearing loss hits teen-agers and baby boomers more often; A younger crowd now seeks relief from the loudness of our ‘turned-on, switched-on’ society

Tomi Browne listens to people's ears. To how they hear and what they don't. And for most of her 22 years as an audiologist, her clients have been overwhelmingly older -- stereotypically so. Seniors pushing 70 or beyond. The hearing-aid set.

But lately, surprisingly, Browne's contemporaries have been showing up at her office.

These are men and women in their forties to early fifties, baby boomers. They confess that they strain to catch words in crowded restaurants or meetings, or that the television suddenly needs to be turned higher. Loud sounds really hurt their ears, and maybe they've noticed an incessant buzzing.

Some walk out with the startling news that they've permanently lost hearing. More than a few return to get fitted for hearing aids.

"I'm seeing more of my classmates . . . as patients, rather than them bringing in their parents," said Browne, 44. "Sometimes they're even bringing in their teen-age kids."

Other audiologists report the same sobering age shift, and statistics are starting to corroborate the anecdotal evidence. Data from the National Health Interview Survey indicate that significantly more Americans are having difficulties hearing. From 1971 to 1990, problems among those ages 45 to 64 jumped 26 percent, while the 18 to 44 age group reported a 17 percent increase.

California researchers found an even sharper rise in hearing-impairment among more than 5,000 men and women in Alameda County, with rates of impairment for those in their fifties increasing more than 150 percent from 1965 to 1994.

With people living longer than ever, "this has to be viewed as a very serious health and social problem," said Sharon Fujikawa, president of the American Academy of Audiology. "It really behooves us to conserve our hearing as much as possible or risk isolation."

Marilyn Pena, a secretary from suburban Germantown, Md., was about 47 when she first learned her hearing was deficient. She ignored the diagnosis. Soon she also was ignoring her alarm clock -- because she couldn't hear its wake-up beep -- and resorting to lip reading at work. Seven years later, Pena finally hooked a hearing aid behind her left ear. She no longer

guesses in vain at conversation or asks "What?" countless times a day. "It's amazing how many people wear them," she noted.

Worrisome changes also are taking place among children and teen-agers, who are growing up with rock concerts far more deafening than those the Woodstock generation attended, along with the mega-volumes of everything from video arcades to boomboxes. A study published last year in the Journal of the American Medical Association showed that nearly 15 percent of children ages 6 to 19 tested suffered some hearing deficit in either low or high frequencies. Other research has identified pronounced differences among high-schoolers compared with previous decades.

The main culprit, many suspect, is noise -- not just the noise blaring from the teen-agers' headsets, but the noise from their parents' surround-sound stereos, which can rival small recording studios. Add the barrage to moviegoers' ears during flicks such as "Armageddon" and "Godzilla" as well as the blast from leaf blowers, mowers, personal watercraft and power tools, even vacuum cleaners.

Convenient they may be, but they produce decibel levels that can prove downright dangerous over time.

"We've grown up in a sort of turned-on, switched-on society," said Carole Rogin, president of the Hearing Industries Association. The group, in partnership with the National Council on the Aging, just completed a survey of the social, psychological and physiological impact of hearing loss. It's telling that the two organizations decided to drop the age of those polled from 65 to 50.

For the estimated 28 million Americans with a hearing loss, noise is a leading cause, experts say. Once that would have traced back to the machinery din of factories, but federal regulations have helped protect industrial workers. Now it's more the hours away from work that are the problem. There's even a term for those who study excessive noise from leisure-time pursuits: recreational audiologists.

Dick Melia, of Arlington, Va., never paid much attention to how annoying the lawn mower or tools were that summer during graduate school when he worked for a contractor. The same goes for the civil rights demonstrations he participated in during the 1960s, and later, the pro basketball games at which he cheered. He'd leave the arena with his ears ringing. But during his forties, he noticed how he'd replay his voice mail several times, how he'd race to keep up in discussions. Then, one night at his office, a fire broke out. The alarm went off. "I never heard it," Melia recounted.

His procrastination ended; at 50, he got hearing aids. "There is a problem of stigma," said Melia. "There is something about hearing aids and the way society over the years has characterized hearing loss."

For one, the subject is freighted with fears about growing old. But some scientists and audiologists question whether diminished hearing is an unavoidable consequence of aging, or rather the cumulative assault of a cacophonous world. Both loud, sustained sound and extreme, sudden sound can damage and ultimately destroy the delicate hair cells in the inner ear that translate sound waves into nerve impulses. High-frequency sounds are usually the first casualty -- consonants such as S and F and children's and women's voices. The ability to distinguish sounds and block background noise also deteriorates.

Because all that generally occurs over time, the onset of hearing loss is slow and insidious. And "people aren't concerned if it doesn't happen now," said Laurie Hanin, of the League for the Hard of Hearing in New York City.

Prevention and education were an ongoing effort at the Environmental Protection Agency until 1982, when its Office of Noise Abatement was eliminated. That's about the time a push to require decibel labels on lawn equipment gave way to voluntary notices, which were "a miserable failure," in the view of Kenneth Feith, who headed the office.

In the meantime, hearing aids sales are booming. Nearly 2 million were purchased last year, almost 25 percent more than in 1996, at a cost of $ 600 to $ 3,100 each. The most expensive are individually programmed digital devices capable of processing sounds 1 million times per second. When fitted within the ear canal, they are literally invisible.

Appendix I: ‘Hearing-impaired’ Text 5 for In-Depth Analysis

Brody, J. E. (2006, Sept. 29)
Hearing Loss Is Common, but Often Untreated

Conversations with my elderly aunt alternate between being comical and frustrating. I might say to her, "My grandsons are now swimming like fish," and she will reply, "My friend's dog died yesterday." If I should ask, "What is your granddaughter doing this summer?" she is likely to reply with something like, "I went shopping in Brooklyn yesterday."

Though her mind remains razor sharp and she maintains an independent life in her late 80's, her hearing is so poor that most people soon give up trying to engage her in conversation, unless they happen to enjoy such non sequiturs. But though family members have been urging her for years to get a hearing aid, she has refused, saying, "They're too much trouble," or that a friend had one and didn't like it (although this friend wears hers every day).

My aunt is one of 31.5 million Americans who suffer from hearing loss. They include a third of Americans over 60 and up to half of those over 75, most of whom have age-related hearing loss, a condition known medically as presbycusis. Hearing loss is the third most common chronic condition among older Americans, after hypertension and arthritis. Hearing difficulties in older people can have, including social isolation, functional decline and depression. Hearing loss can also impair memory and cognitive function, according to a study by neuroscientists at Brandeis University.

A survey of 2,000 hearing-impaired adults conducted in 1999 by the National Council on Aging found that those using aids had better feelings about themselves, greater independence, improved mental health and better relationships with their families. Yet only one person in five with hearing loss wears a hearing aid -- partly because of their cost, which is not covered by Medicare and rarely by private insurance. I can't help wondering why the computer on which I'm writing this column costs less than most hearing aids.

Acknowledging the Problem

Some people do not know -- or they deny -- that they have a hearing problem, complaining instead that everyone seems to mumble or talk too fast. Even those who get a yearly physical rarely have their hearing checked. Others are embarrassed to wear a hearing aid. About 30 percent of people who have hearing aids don't wear them daily.

Hearing aids have improved vastly in the past decade, in both design and selection. Even so, some people, having once had a bad experience, refuse to explore the many new options.

As with the eye and vision, there are many steps between the ear and hearing, a process that takes but a tiny fraction of a second. Sound entering the ear canal causes the eardrum to vibrate. These vibrations are picked up by three tiny bones in the middle ear that connect the drum to the cochlea, a snail-shell-like structure with three tubes filled with fluid. The resulting waves in the fluid signal hair cells in the cochlea that transmit electrical signals to the auditory nerve that connects to the brain stem. These signals then travel to the brain's auditory center, where the message is processed.

Disruption or damage at any stage in this chain can result in hearing loss. Among factors that can damage hearing are trauma, chronic infection, wax buildup, fusion of ear bones, diseases like diabetes and medications like the antibiotics vancomycin and gentamicin. Some anticancer drugs are also toxic to the ear. Heredity, too, plays a role; some people carry gene mutations that make them more susceptible to hearing loss.

The most common environmental factor is loud noise, either a sudden very loud noise like an explosion or gunshot next to the ear or, more commonly, repeated exposure to loud noises like those produced by rock bands or earbuds and headphones. Some rockers and countless rock fans have developed hearing problems.

Hearing loss associated with aging most often results from cumulative damage to the hair cells in the cochlea, which, like other body parts, suffer the wear and tear of age. The first to decline are those in the outer part of the cochlea that are sensitive to high-frequency sounds, including those produced by the consonants f, sh, ch, p, s and t, which are crucial to clarity in perceiving speech. The low-frequency vowel sounds are the last to go.

Finding a Solution

Detection of a hearing problem is the first step. Hearing specialists have long urged family physicians to check the hearing of patients over 60 at every annual visit by doing a whisper test in each ear or administering a short written quiz.

Anyone with a suspected hearing problem should be referred to an audiologist for detailed testing, or to an otolaryngologist if the cause is medical. Anyone experiencing sudden loss of hearing in one or both ears should consult an otolaryngologist without delay. That could be a reversible problem if treated quickly.

Audiologists are certified clinicians trained to analyze a hearing problem, prescribe hearing aids and help people adjust to their use. In areas where there is no audiologist, look for a licensed hearing aid specialist who is trained to fit and dispense hearing aids.

Choosing a Hearing Aid

Four styles of aids are now available, ranging in price from about $400 to $3,000:

A behind-the-ear model fits over the ear and directs sound into the ear canal through a tube and custom-fitted ear mold. This model offers the most circuit and feature options and is easiest to handle for people with limited dexterity.

An in-the-ear model fits into the outer ear and projects slightly into the ear canal. It is relatively easy to handle and also supports many features.

An in-the-canal model protrudes only slightly into the outer ear but can accommodate fewer features and is more difficult to handle.

A completely-in-the-canal model, the smallest and most difficult to handle, is not noticeable in the outer ear but has the fewest features.

Audiologists can help patients select the most appropriate model based on their hearing and living needs and dexterity. When circumstances change, audiologists can also reprogram hearing aids. New designs help patients distinguish speech in noisy environments; some adjust automatically while others require the user to make adjustments. For people with severe hearing loss who need a lot of amplification, new devices have been designed to suppress the high-pitched whistle that can be produced by a hearing aid turned to high volume amplification.

Most important for anyone getting a hearing aid is to take the time needed to adjust to its use. No hearing aid can replace normal hearing, but when properly fitted and adjusted, an aid can greatly improve quality of life.

For more information on hearing aids and preventing hearing loss: "Save Your Hearing Now" by Michael D. Seidman and Marie Moneysmith.

Appendix J: ‘Hearing-impaired’ Text 6 for In-Depth Analysis

Ayoub, M. (2013, October 30)

Cochlear Implants Let the Hearing-impaired Listen to the Music

Cochlear implants, first employed in the 1950s, aim to provide profoundly deaf and hard of hearing patients with a method of auditory functionality.

The disruption of air waves in the environment enter the ear, which is structured so that these air waves travel down the auditory canal and cause the small bones and cilia of the ear to vibrate. These pulsations continue past the tympanic membrane, better known as the eardrum, and into the inner ear where a spiral structure called the cochlea is situated.

The cochlea contains fluid and thousands of cilia which move, stimulated by the vibrations and enough movement sends a signal down the attached auditory nerve which connects to the brain. The cilia work together while each hair The brain is then able to interpret the original disruption of air waves as a sound and it then goes on to further decipher the meaning of that sound.

Many cases of chronic and temporary deafness involve patients suffering from damage to the tympanic membrane or the cochlea. Damage to the cochlea has a wide array of culprits, however it is primarily due to extensive exposure to loud noise. Such damage destroys the tiny hairs within the cochlea which unfortunately do not regenerate. Therefore, the damage is permanent and varying degrees of hearing is lost according to the amount of hair cells damaged.

While hearing aids work to amplify sounds, they can only function according to the amount of cilia within the cochlea and therefore, prove inefficient in more severe hearing loss injuries. Cochlear implants therefore prove useful as they are structured with parts that essentially take the place of the hair cells and work to detect, transmit, and interpret sound waves.

Until now, cochlear implants have only been able to provide a somewhat better quality of hearing for most kinds of speech. The advent of interpreting music has been introduced. This is a monumental step towards providing deaf people with a more realistic perception of sound.

Music, as opposed to speech, is much different, and in some ways more difficult, for our brains to interpret due to the involvement of numerous variables such as tone, pitch, beat, and timbre which all act simultaneously.

With hearing aids, music is barely decipherable and is interpreted as one jumbled sound merely amplified. Cochlear implants thus far would have been able to better distinguish the sounds, however, still be unable to differentiate the various aspects of music. Therefore, the innovative efforts to improve the current cochlear implants prove highly significant.

Adjunct biology professor professor Dr. Arthur Feintuch said that, "Considering the quality of life issue with regard to music, it is essential that this research be continued in earnest. Music is more than just sound. It is an essential component of humanity. From the earliest beginnings of man, music has been the cement of civilization."

Although it is a profound endeavor, completely and clearly interpreting music through cochlear implants is just in its beginning stages. With time there will surely be advancements to come.

Sophomore biology major Nikita Bassi said, "It's very admirable that researchers are working to improve cochlear implants to allow anyone with hearing damage to be able to experience music."

She agreed that, "While it will take some time for researchers to make the optimal hearing device, I believe that with current advancements in technology, it will surely happen." Many are fascinated by situations such as these to observe our own human limitations. While we have become capable of curing various diseases and protecting ourselves from a myriad of illnesses, our advancements in technology have not been able to produce results equivalent to our natural born senses.

Senior biology major Malka Saba added, "It is amazing to imagine cochlear implants have come this far and perhaps this research will help to deplete the barrier between the deaf and non-deaf people." In effect, we truly appreciate the miracle of our bodies and the pristine mechanisms by which they consistently function day and night.

Appendix K: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 1 for In-Depth Analysis

Cahill, S. (1994, March 29)
Sounds of Silence;
Deaf Culture: A Separate World Worth Saving

In 1988, students at Gallaudet University, the nation's only liberal arts college for the deaf, launched a noisy revolt that captured the country's attention. For more than 100 years, the school's governing board had chosen candidates who weren't deaf to be the school's president. But this time, when the board rejected yet another deaf candidate, I. King Jordan, the students took over their campus in angry protest and forced the board to reverse its decision.

The takeover at Gallaudet is a dramatic example of the political activism that has taken hold in the deaf community in recent years. Leah Hager Cohen presents readers with an intimate look at this new politics of deafness -- the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny.

The setting for much of Cohen's book is Lexington School for the Deaf, a large public secondary school in Queens, N.Y. Although Cohen is not deaf, she has a kind of birthright to her opinions on deaf politics. Her father has been the superintendent of Lexington for the past eight years; for seven years before that, he was its principal.

As a child, Cohen lived on the school's campus with her family, and both of her paternal grandparents were deaf.

Part of the destiny deaf activists seek to control is whether deaf culture -- the ways of life that have been handed down -- will survive. Central to the issue is whether special schools for deaf children, like Lexington, will endure. The recent practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens the existence of these special schools, as their dwindling student populations attest.

"Oralism" is another issue at the heart of deaf politics. For more than 100 years, educators of the deaf -- most of whom are hearing -- have taught their classes in spoken English and have insisted that their students use oral speech. (Students with residual hearing wear hearing aids; others rely on lip reading and other visual cues). The educators maintain that using the spoken word rather than sign language, which has a different structure from that of English, will help deaf children assimilate into society. But activists cite studies that show deaf

children learn better using sign language because it is visual. Oral education, they claim, doesn't allow deaf children to reach their potential.

The issue underlying both of these conflicts is that, historically, deaf people have been excluded from the discussions that decide their fate.

Cohen draws readers into her book with skillful storytelling. She begins with a kind of scrapbook of childhood memories from Lexington.

Cohen's experience becomes a vehicle for telling, with understated passion, the personal stories of her deaf grandparents, of her father Oscar and his work at Lexington, and of two real-life Lexington students, James and Sofia.

It is through their stories that readers get a sense of what deaf culture is: a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity. The Lexington students must use touch to alert each other to the fact that a teacher is about to make an announcement. They make sure that no one is left out. They softly tug each others' arms when they want to talk. When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone lingers.

The title, "Train Go Sorry," means "you missed the boat" in American Sign Language. In naming it that, Cohen may have been referring to what she calls the missed connections and lost opportunities that characterize communications between the deaf and hearing worlds.

But the values that emerge in Cohen's stories about life at Lexington make readers wonder which of the two worlds is missing the boat. The advanced students make sure that kids from the slow learners' class understand what's going on, without a thought of derision. An African-American boy sitting behind a Caucasian girl in class idly swings her long braid back and forth in boredom. Cohen herself is white and has an adopted brother, Andy, who is black. She recounts how, on the public school bus for the hearing, the other boys taunted Andy, asking him in vulgar terms whether he had sex with his white sisters.

Throughout her book, Cohen builds up a subtle tension that reaches a kind of resolution at the end. James struggles against the odds of both deafness and poverty. But when he graduates from Lexington and heads for college, he is finally proud of himself.

Sofia, a young Jewish Soviet immigrant whose family wants her to remain at home after she graduates, finally resolves that she will live out her dream of going to Gallaudet.

The release of tension explodes most thoroughly in a chapter in which the Lexington students are on their way to Washington for a field trip. On the bus, unhampered by the constraints of a hearing society that imposes its own language on them in the classroom -- awkward oral speech and an English grammar that feels foreign -- they fly into a frenzy of

games played in sign language. They abandon themselves to the freedom of having intense fun their way.

As the book ends, it is only Cohen's father, caught in the conflict between activists and traditional educators, who has not reached a resolution. He is not sure if the political turmoil that increasingly distracts him from his work of educating deaf children will allow him to remain at Lexington.

Cohen's book gives readers an understanding of that political struggle and of why some deaf people choose to carry it on: Deaf culture, her book suggests, is a culture of closeness that is worth saving.

Appendix L: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 2 for In-Depth Analysis

Lee, F. R. (1998, March 5)

New York to Teach Deaf in Sign Language, Then English

In what is being hailed as a landmark change in the education of deaf students, the city's only public school for the deaf will be overhauled so that all teachers will teach primarily in a sign language based on symbols and gestures, rather than an English-like sign language based on sounds, or other methods like lip-reading and pointing.

Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew will take direct control of the school, now called Junior High School 47 but extending from pre-kindergarten to 10th grade, with a planned expansion to 12th. It is at 225 East 23d Street, at Second Avenue, in Gramercy Park.

With the move, to be announced today, New York City, the nation's largest school system, is embracing an approach that has gained currency among many educators and advocates for the deaf. They say that research shows that the primary language of deaf people is visual, not verbal, and that schools using their preferred method, called American Sign Language, educate students better than other schools do.

They say deaf students should be treated like bilingual students, not disabled ones. In their view, students first need a primary language -- American Sign Language -- before they learn a second language, in this case, English.

The advocacy of bilingual education as a model for deaf people is an integral part of their growing campaign for recognition of a deaf culture with its own rituals and beliefs. Martin Florsheim has been applauded as the first deaf principal in J.H.S. 47's 90-year history.

"I think Public School 47 is in the vanguard of a movement," said Harlan Lane, a Northeastern University professor who teaches deaf culture and was a consultant to J.H.S. 47. "The present system, to put it tersely, is a failure. Deaf kids are not getting an education. Deaf kids went into the trades, historically."

But opponents of embracing American Sign Language as the best method contend that it fails to prepare deaf people adequately for a hearing world and that it applies one methodology to a group of people with a wide range of skills.

"The idea that you can learn sign language as your first language and it'll solve problems of education and socialization is utter nonsense," said Arthur Boothroyd, a Distinguished Professor of speech and learning science at the City University of New York's Graduate Center.

"First of all, A.S.L. is not a written language, which limits access to the world's knowledge. I don't want to decry the value, the beauty or the power of sign language, but the issue is how you go about giving a deaf child what they need to have a satisfying and fulfilling life."

Students at the school will for the first time be offered New York State's college preparatory curriculum and a diploma. Now, many deaf students get a watered-down version of a general education curriculum with modifications, education experts said. Under the new plan, American Sign Language will be used to teach reading and writing English, and all other subjects.

"It's an exciting opportunity for a community that needed a chance to acquire the same academic skills provided at any of our other schools," Dr. Crew said yesterday.

The State Legislature has also set aside extra money to improve the school's crumbling physical condition and train the staff and parents in American Sign Language.

The changes are a culmination of three years of study of deaf education by school alumni and experts from across the nation under the direction of Assemblyman Steven Sanders, a Manhattan Democrat who is chairman of the Assembly's Education Committee.

Alumni found that the school had been reflecting the same failures that had left hearing-impaired students behind both academically and socially nationwide. For instance, a 1988 report by the Council on Education of the Deaf, a nonprofit organization that seeks to improve educational opportunities for deaf and hearing-impaired children, found that by the end of 12th grade, children deaf or hard of hearing children were reading on average at a fourth-grade level and doing math at a sixth-grade level.

Some advocates for hearing-impaired and deaf people attribute those statistics to efforts by the hearing to force deaf and hearing-impaired people to communicate in the same manner as they do.

"They've tried to make us poor imitations of hearing people," said Joel Goldfarb, president of the J.H.S. 47 alumni association, who is deaf and spoke through an interpreter. "No matter how they try, we'll remain deaf."

There has been research since the 1960's supporting the idea that American Sign Language is a separate language, with its own grammar and syntax. The basis of the language is gestural symbols that represent whole words or even sentences. The shape of the hands, speed and direction and the movement of face, head and body are part of the language. Raised eyebrows, for example, can mean a question.

Like J.H.S. 47, many schools for the deaf and hard of hearing use a combination of informal sign language, lip reading, American Sign Language, captions and amplification. New

York State does not require teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing to know sign language, an issue Mr. Sanders plans to address.

"It is the first public school that will grant a diploma with the same standards that we grant the rest of the population," Mr. Sanders said. "The teachers will have the ability to instruct at the pace of the students, which means they have to communicate in the language of A.S.L., which is the language of deaf people."

There are 4,000 to 5,000 children in New York City who are hard of hearing or deaf, Mr. Florsheim estimated. Most attend special programs in mainstream schools, and some are enrolled in special state-supported schools, like the Lexington School for the Deaf in Queens. There are an estimated half-million to one million deaf people in the United States and about 20 million with severe hearing-impairment.

Junior High School 47 has 277 students, and the expansion will make room for an additional 25 to 40 students, Mr. Florsheim said.

A handful of state-supported schools in places like California and Indiana have taken the lead in using American Sign Language as the language of instruction. Charter schools in Minnesota and Colorado that use A.S.L. primarily have been started in the last five or six years. "Deaf children tended historically to be viewed as defective beings who needed to be fixed without regard to deaf children's preferred language, which is American Sign Language," said Russell Rosen, a Columbia University specialist in deaf education who prepared the 1996 report that went to Steven Sanders. "Deaf children could not understand their hearing teachers, which has produced failure after failure."

In 1867, all 26 schools for the deaf in the United States used A.S.L. By 1907, all 139 such schools had forbidden its use in an effort to make the deaf more like hearing people. Instead, they were taught to read lips or to speak. New York's embrace of American Sign Language reflects a pendulum swing back.

"There is no single method by which all deaf kids can be educated," said Keith Muller, executive director of the League for the Hard of Hearing, the nation's oldest and largest hearing rehabilitation and service league. "I'm supporting the effort to improve the facility for sure and to upgrade the staff -- that's all glorious," Mr. Muller said of the changes. "The question becomes one of diagnosis and placement decisions."

Appendix M: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 3 for In-Depth Analysis

Lee, F. R. (2000, October 1)
A Children's Adventure in a Deaf World

On Monday, "Blue's Clues," the Nickelodeon TV series for preschool children, will focus the adventures of its puzzle-solving puppy on a young girl who is deaf, and in the process teach its viewers a handful of words in American Sign Language. The episode will be the first of many allowing children to learn some signing basics.

In Monday's episode, called "Signs," the host, Steve Burns, and the bubbly female puppy Blue discover clues around the house indicating where Blue wants to have a snack. They visit a school for deaf children and become part of an animated storybook where they meet Carly, a young girl who is deaf. Mr. Burns and Blue are told a story in sign language.

"We wanted to teach kids sign language and show how relevant it is to their world," said Angela Santomero, the show's chief writer and one of its creators. Carly "will do something like make the sign for elephant, and we show an elephant," she said.

"It's not a one-time diversity issue," Ms. Santomero added. "Our approach to education is mostly through repetition."

"Blue's Clues" is structured as an interactive search for clues, with pauses for the young audience to figure out what Blue is doing. "Sesame Street," an educational show with a different format, has long featured a deaf character who uses sign language with the Muppets.

The actress Marlee Matlin, who is deaf, has recorded a series of public service announcements with Mr. Burns to promote the show's use of sign language. Mr. Burns learned American Sign Language at the Lexington Center School for the Deaf in Jackson Heights, Queens.

Adele Agin, the executive director of vocational and mental health centers at Lexington, said: "The A.S.L. is incorporated naturally into the show, with all the signs and gestures that Steve uses. It's a natural language for children because children are so visually stimulated."

"The message to deaf children is 'you're valuable; you are part of this society,' " Ms. Agin added. "The message to hearing children is to be open-minded, to be accepting, to be respectful to each other.

Five to 10 new signs will be incorporated in each new episode of "Blue's Clues," said Stacey Levin, a spokeswoman for the show. About seven signs will appear consistently in each episode, like the signs for "Blue" and "thank you."

Ms. Levin said that the ongoing use of sign language, with the interactive quality of "Blues Clues" -- Mr. Burns speaks directly to the viewerse -- made it different from other children's programs featuring people with physical challenges.

Jeffrey Bravin, the associate director of development at Lexington, said he had watched the "Signs" episode with his son, who is 2 1/2. Mr. Bravin is deaf, but his son can hear.

"I could see his eyes pop out of his head," Mr. Bravin said in American Sign Language as Ms. Agin translated. "He said, 'Daddy, I must watch it again.' "

Appendix N: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 4 for In-Depth Analysis

Barron, J. (2004, October 29)
Realizing Potential;
Two seniors find their place at NMSD

Where would Mark Ramirez and Robert Salas be if they didn't come to New Mexico School for the Deaf?

Ramirez might not have found the outgoing personality within him, the one that made him senior class vice-president and all-everthing at the school.

Salas might not have found his way to the football field or the basketball court. He would have missed the beautiful shores of Australia, which he saw while touring with an all-star basketball team this summer.

The "what ifs" don't matter, though. They've realized their potential, and found out who they are. In the process, they helped their school reach a plateau it hasn't met since 1996 -- a 6-man state playoffs berth. A win Saturday over Animas in the first round would be nice, but a loss won't tarnish what the school has given them.

"Coming to NMSD (meant) discovering who I am and bringing out the skill and potential I have," Ramirez says.

Salas and Ramirez are the backbone to the Roadrunners. Salas is a bruising 5-foot-11, 190-pound athlete who lines up anywhere. Running back. Quarterback. Lineman. Receiver. There aren't many players who can match his size or his speed.

He has been the team's best player for the past three years, and may be the best athlete at the school. He was the team's leading scorer and rebounder on the basketball team last year. Most of all, he just loves to play.

"(Sports) are very important," Salas says through Ramirez. "I like to play sports. I've been doing it since the eighth grade."

Ramirez is the vocal leader of the team, the one NMSD head coach Robert Huizar relays plays to and who can talk for his teammates because he is hard-of-hearing. He also plays receiver and defensive back and is one of several options the Roadrunners have in their passing attack.

"Mark is the smartest kid on the team and one of the smartest kids in school," Huizar says. "He keeps the team aware of everything in the huddle. He's a leader."

Ramirez also is a leader on campus. He is the campus' student government president as well as the senior class vice president. Ramirez is in the school's drama troupe, was on the homecoming committee and has made speeches on the educational issues facing deaf and hard-of-hearing students.

Once he graduates from NMSD, he will enroll at Galludet University in Washington D.C., a school for deaf, hard-of-hearing and hearing students.

"I wear hundreds of hats," Ramirez says. "I'm involved in all the organizations, plus my school work and my homework and I tutor other students."

Both say the atmosphere and the communication access they have at the school have helped them immensely. They both hail from Albuquerque, and felt trapped in the public-school system.

While the school offered curriculum and classes designed for deaf and hard-of-hearing students, they also were thrown into classes with hearing students without the necessary assistance to make it worthwhile.

"In the public schools, there just aren't as many deaf students," Salas says. "It was hard. It was hard to communicate with people and I couldn't read lips."

Ramirez left the public school system by the fifth grade, and he said he was a very shy person in school. Once he transferred to NMSD, he developed more self-confidence and threw himself into many of the school's activities and programs.

"After the first year, I could see it was naturally inside of me," Ramirez says. "It was who I am and what I liked to do. I didn't have to be cool to help people."

Salas did not attend NMSD until the seventh grade, instead spending a couple of years at McKinley Middle School. There, he met A.J. Williams and Dustin Moulder, who are now teammates on the Roadrunners. It was Salas who played a big part in encouraging them to come to NMSD.

"I told them that if they went to (Albuquerque) Del Norte, then they wouldn't play a lot," Salas says. "If you come over here, you'd play sports and meet new friends."

They've done both, as Williams, a junior, is the starting quarterback and Moulder, a freshman receiver, is one of his favorite targets. They are two players who will play a big role in continuing the success the Roadrunners have had on the gridiron.

As for Salas and Ramirez, the opportunities and the experiences they got from the school will stay with them for a lifetime.

"You just look back and think about how much we have learned, all the things we have done, and everything they gave us," Salas says. "We'll be sure to come back and visit."

Appendix O: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 5 for In-Depth Analysis

Sambides Jr., N. (2009, October 28)
A sign of changing times;
Mattanawcook Academy students learn sign language, promote awareness

If you happen to meet any of the 39 members of Carrie Pierce's American Sign Language classes at Mattanawcook Academy of Lincoln, you'd be wise to avoid using the term "hearing-impaired."

They really don't like it.

"They're not impaired - they're deaf," said senior Candice Osborne, 17, of Lincoln during an interview last week. "They're deaf, they know that they're deaf, and they like to be treated equally. They don't want you to baby them."

Deaf people - or those who live in "the community," as the students say - feel that being called "hearing-impaired" smacks of condescension and the unequal treatment given those who are disabled, when all they really do that's different from anybody else is speak with their hands, the students said. They also like the "d" in deaf to be capitalized.

"Don't stare at them [when they sign]," Osborne said. "They regard that as an intrusion, like people being nosy."

"And don't yell at them," said sophomore Jenna Brown, 15, of Lincoln. "They won't be able to hear you any better. If you meet someone who is deaf and don't know how to do sign language, tell them you don't understand and that you will try your hardest to understand."

This awareness of the sensitivities of deaf people, and the fact that it was among the first things mentioned by a half-dozen of Pierce's students at the Mattanawcook Academy football game last Friday night, shows that the students are learning more than just ASL in Pierce's classes.

They're learning awareness, the culture of American deaf people, how to be more inclusive with the deaf, and a healthy feel for the sensibilities of those for whom signing is not just a second language - and that's precisely the point, Pierce said.

Pierce, who is deaf, said with aid from Osborne's translation that one of the goals of the class is to have her students, all of whom can hear, become more "understanding and accommodating to deaf people."

This year, Pierce is teaching three ASL classes at MA. Students take the class for foreign language credit. It is part of the curriculum and meets every other day. Pierce also teaches adult education in Ellsworth and teaches two ASL classes at the University of Maine. She also runs a summer camp for deaf children and has a nature photography business.

One of the principles taught in Pierce's classes is that English and ASL are separate languages. For example, when a student asked how to sign the phrase "you're welcome," Pierce explained that the sign is a thumbs up, or the sign for "all right" or "fine." This prevents confusion with the sign for "welcome" when admitting someone to your home.

Friday's football game was something of a milestone for Pierce and the two years of classes in ASL that she has taught at the Lincoln high school: It marked the first time that her students signed the national anthem before an athletic event.

The 10 students arrayed themselves on the field before the crowd and, after an announcement explaining their presence, "sang" the anthem in sign.

"I thought it was great," said Julia Delano of Lincoln, who attended the game with her husband, Byron. "We actually have a cousin who is deaf, and I was thinking it would be great for her to have seen them doing that."

"It was really different," said Mike Farrell, 20, of Lincoln, a business management major at Husson University in Bangor. "We never had that in class when I was here."

Pierce said she was proud of her students for their performance on the field and in the classroom, though sophomore Harlee Whitney, 15, of Lincoln said they were "crazy nervous" learning the translation for the anthem before the game.

"This is the first time it's ever been done at a game here," she said.

"We crammed it all in," said 15-year-old sophomore Alycia Botting of Lincoln.

The students hope to sign the anthem at an MA basketball game next, they said.

They also want to continue learning and teaching sign language and promoting awareness of the needs of deaf people until the goal Pierce announced to her students in the first days of class - to have sign language so commonly known in the Lincoln Lakes region that she can shop here without any discomfort - is finally realized.

Appendix P: ‘d/Deaf’ Text 6 for In-Depth Analysis

De Leon, M. (2014, April 30)

Deaf social: Learning about a culture, not a handicap

Anyone can tell you time and time again not to be nervous, we are all people, it'll be fine.

But this will never stop you from having butterflies in your stomach the first time you try to communicate with someone from a culture you've studied but never been a part of.

That is, after all, exactly what it is for a hearing student of American Sign Language attending a Deaf social.

But just like everyone promised, I lived to write about it.

If there is anything I want to be taken from my experience, it is to never refer to any member of the Deaf community as "hearing-impaired."

This is a culture, not a handicap - and they're proud of it.

When my ASL teacher informed our class that we were going to the Ice Cream Social for the Deaf, I and many of my classmates were a little nervous.

If you've ever learned Spanish in school and then (when approached by a couple of Spanish-speaking students) suddenly realized you hadn't even scratched the surface of the language, you have some idea of how we felt walking into the food court at the Vintage Faire Mall in Modesto.Suddenly I forgot everything I had learned all semester.

True to my American culture, I sat with my classmates. We would sign to each other, practicing and trying to recall what we knew.

A few basics about Deaf etiquette: use your hands and facial expressions as much as possible so that any member of the Deaf community can follow the conversation.

If you aren't using gestures and trying to create images, you are excluding the people welcoming you into their world. How rude is that?

The next thing we knew, we were surrounded by people signing. The other fascinating thing about the Deaf world: It isn't divided by color or accent (that a beginner can tell).

When everyone around you is signing, you have no clue who's Hearing and who is Deaf, which are just regular attendees and which are advanced ASL students. Suddenly I was immersed in another culture in the center of my hometown mall.

In my experiences with trying to communicate across cultures, the basic fear is that you are going to say or do something offensive.

Knowing some basic etiquette helps you to feel that while you might make mistakes you can, at the very least, avoid anything that culture might take offense to.

The most important thing to remember when experiencing a new culture in general is that people are proud of their culture and are usually eager to share.

The Deaf are absolutely no exception.

Owning up to being a visitor with good intentions will excuse you from most faux pas, so don't worry about messing up.

As my ASL teacher signed when easing our worries about attending the social, the deaf don't bite.

If you do fear being rude, a big help is to learn some basic signs like "please," "thank you," "I don't understand" and "again." It is just like traveling to a different country and needing to know how to say, "Where is the bathroom, please?" These are phrases that will make communicating a little easier.

Quite often I found myself communicating with another student, and then someone would come and simply watch or join in on the conversation. The thing about signing is that it's very open, so I was able to take that as an invitation to meet, greet and learn about everyone.

This experience was an incredible insight to another part of the diversity of our American culture. Students should join in expanding their knowledge of this amazing facet of our culture, and anyone who would like to can find the dates for socials and other events at norcalcenter.org.

Appendix Q: Transitivity Analysis Sample—'d/Deaf' Text 1

Key:
RED CAPS = word in text signifying process
Bold blue = type of process
Regular blue = description of other elements of transitivity (actor, goal, token, value, etc.)

Sounds of Silence;

Deaf Culture: A Separate World Worth Saving (1 ~ : (implied) – Process: **relational**, identifying – Deaf Culture = token; a separate world worth saving = value)

In 1988, students at Gallaudet University, the nation's only liberal arts college for the deaf (2 ~ , (implied) – Process: **relational**, identifying – Gallaudet University = token; nation's only liberal arts… = value), launched (3 ~ LAUNCHED – Process: **material**, creative – students at Gallaudet = actor; noisy revolt = goal) a noisy revolt that captured the country's attention (4 ~ CAPTURED – Process: **material**, creative – noisy revolt = actor; country's attention = goal/beneficiary). For more than 100 years, the school's governing board had chosen (5 ~ CHOSEN…to be president – Process: **material**, creative – school's governing board = actor; candidates who weren't deaf = goal; more than 100 years = circumstance) candidates who weren't deaf to be the school's president. But this time, when the board rejected (6 ~ REJECTED – Process: **material**, involuntary – the board = actor; another deaf candidate = goal) yet another deaf candidate, I. King Jordan, the students took over (7 ~ TOOK OVER – Process: **material**, creative – the students = actor; campus = goal; in angry protest = circumstance) their campus in angry protest and forced (8 ~ FORCED… to reverse its decision – Process: **material**, creative – students = actor; the board = goal) the board to reverse its decision.

The takeover at Gallaudet is (9 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – takeover = token; dramatic example… = value) a dramatic example of the political activism that has taken hold (10 ~ HAS TAKEN GOLD – Process: **material**, creative – political activism = actor; deaf community = goal; in recent years = circumstance) in the deaf community in recent years. Leah Hager Cohen presents (11 ~ PRESENTS – Process: **material**, creative – Leah Hager Cohen = actor; readers = goal; intimate look… = circumstance) readers with an intimate look at this new politics of deafness – (12 ~ emdash (implied) – Process: **relational**, identifying – new politics of deafness = token; quest of… = value) the quest of deaf activists to control (13 ~ CONTROL

– Process: **material**, involuntary – deaf activists = actor; their own destiny = goal) their own destiny.

The setting for much of Cohen's book is (14 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – setting = token; Lexington School for the Deaf = value) Lexington School for the Deaf, (15 ~ comma (implied) – Process: **relational**, identifying – Lexington School for the Deaf = token; large public... = value) a large public secondary school in Queens, N.Y. Although Cohen is (16 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – Cohen = token; not deaf = value) not deaf, she has (17 ~ HAS – Process: **relational**, attributive – she = carrier; a kind of birthright… = attribute) a kind of birthright to her opinions on deaf politics. Her father has been (18 ~ HAS BEEN – Process: **relational**, identifying – her father = token; superintendent… = value; past eight years = circumstance) the superintendent of Lexington for the past eight years; for seven years before that, he was (19 ~ WAS – Process: **relational**, identifying – he = token; principal = value; for seven years before that = circumstance) its principal.

As a child, Cohen lived (20 ~ LIVED ON – Process: **material**, creative – Cohen = actor; school's campus = goal; as a child, with her family = circumstance) on the school's campus with her family, and both of her paternal grandparents were (21 ~ WERE – Process: **relational**, identifying – her paternal grandparents = token; deaf = value) deaf.

Part of the destiny deaf activists seek to control (22 ~ SEEK TO CONTROL – Process: **material**, creative – deaf activists = actor; destiny = goal) is (23 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – destiny…seek to control = token; whether deaf culture will survive = value) whether deaf culture – (24 ~ emdash (implied) – Process: **relational**, identifying – deaf culture = token; the ways of life… = value) the ways of life that have been handed down -- will survive. Central to the issue is (25 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – central… = value; whether specials schools…will endure = token) whether special schools for deaf children, like Lexington, will endure. The recent practice of "mainstreaming" deaf children into schools for hearing children threatens (26 ~ THREATENS – Process: **material**, creative – the recent practice… = actor; the existence… = goal) the existence of these special schools, as their dwindling student populations attest (27 ~ ATTEST – Process: **material**, involuntary – dwindling student population = actor; [schools' existence is threatened]).

"Oralism" is (28 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – oralism = token; another issue… = value) another issue at the heart of deaf politics. For more than 100 years, educators of the deaf (29 ~ emdash (implied) – educators of the deaf – token; most…hearing = value) -- most of whom are hearing -- have taught (30 ~ HAVE TAUGHT – Process: **material**, creative – educators of the deaf = actor; their classes = goal) their classes in spoken English and have

insisted (31 ~ HAVE INSISTED…USE – Process: **material**, creative – educators of the deaf = actor; their students = beneficiary; oral speech = goal) that their students use oral speech. (Students with residual hearing wear (32 ~ WEAR – Process: **material**, creative – students with residual hearing – actor; hearing aids = goal) hearing aids; others rely on (33 ~ RELY ON – Process: **material**, involuntary – others = actor; lip reading… = goal) lip reading and other visual cues). The educators maintain (34 ~ MAINTAIN – Process: **mental**, cognition – educators = senser; using spoken word…will help… = phenomenon) that using the spoken word rather than sign language, which has (35 ~ HAS – Process: **relational**, attributive – sign language = carrier; different structure… = attribute) a different structure from that of English, will help (36 ~ WILL HELP – Process: **material**, transformative – using spoken word… = actor; deaf children = beneficiary; assimilate… = goal) deaf children assimilate into society. But activists cite (37 ~ CITE – Process: **material**, intentional – activists = actor; studies = goal) studies that show (38 ~ SHOW – Process: **material**, intentional – studies = actor; deaf children learn better… = goal) deaf children learn better using sign language because it is visual. Oral education, they claim (39 ~ CLAIM – Process: **mental**, cognition – activists = senser; oral education doesn't… = phenomenon), doesn't allow (40 ~ DOESN'T ALLOW…reach full potential – Process: **material**, involuntary – oral education = actor; deaf children = goal) deaf children to reach their potential.

The issue underlying both of these conflicts is (41 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – issue… = token; deaf people have been… = value) that, historically, deaf people have been excluded (42 ~ HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED ([EXCLUDE]) – Process: **material**, intentional – [not mentioned] = actor; deaf people = goal; historically, from discussions… = circumstance) from the discussions that decide their fate.

Cohen draws (43 ~ DRAWS…INTO – Process: **material**, ergative – Cohen = actor; her book = goal; readers = beneficiary; with skillful… = circumstance) readers into her book with skillful storytelling. She begins with (44 ~ BEGINS WITH – Process: **material**, creative – she = actor; a kind of scrapbook… = goal) a kind of scrapbook of childhood memories from Lexington.

Cohen's experience becomes (45 ~ BECOMES – Process: **material**, transformative – Cohen's experience = actor; vehicle for telling… = goal; with understated passion = circumstance) a vehicle for telling, with understated passion, the personal stories of her deaf grandparents, of her father Oscar and his work at Lexington, and of two real-life Lexington students, James and Sofia.

It is through their stories that readers get (46 ~ GET, [give] – Process: **material**, intentional – their stories = actor; readers = beneficiary; sense of deaf culture = goal) a sense of what deaf culture is (47 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – deaf culture = token; a closeness… = value): a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity. The Lexington students must use (48 ~ MUST USE – Process: **material**, intentional – Lexington students – actor; touch = goal; each other = beneficiary) touch to alert each other to the fact that a teacher is about to make (49 ~ MAKE – Process: **material**, creative – teacher = actor; announcement = goal) an announcement. They make sure (50 ~ MAKE SURE – Process: **material**, intentional – they (students) = actor; no one is left out = goal) that no one is left out. They softly tug (51 ~ TUG – Process: **material**, transformative – they (students) = actor; each other's arms = goal) each others' arms when they want (52 ~ WANT – Process: **mental**, desideration – they (students) = senser; talk = phenomenon) to talk. When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone lingers (53 ~ LINGERS – Process: **material**, involuntary – everyone = actor; time to go home = goal; back into the hearing world = circumstance).

The title, "Train Go Sorry," means (54 ~ MEANS – Process: **relational**, identifying – title = token; "you missed the boat" = value; in sign language = circumstance) "you missed the boat" in American Sign Language. In naming it that, Cohen may have been referring to (55 ~ MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO – Process: **material**, creative – Cohen = actor; missed connections… = goal; in naming it that = circumstance) what she calls the missed connections and lost opportunities that characterize (56 ~ CHARACTERIZE – Process: **relational**, identifying – missed connections and… = value; communications… = token) communications between the deaf and hearing worlds.

But the values that emerge in Cohen's stories about life at Lexington make (57 ~ MAKE – Process: **material**, intentional – values that emerge… = actor; readers = goal) readers wonder (58 ~ WONDER – Process: **mental**, cognition – readers = senser; which of the two worlds… = phenomenon) which of the two worlds is missing the boat. The advanced students make sure (59 ~ MAKE SURE – Process: **material**, intentional – advanced students = actor; kids from the slow… = goal; without a thought… = circumstance)) that kids from the slow learners' class understand (60 ~ UNDERSTAND – Process: **mental**, cognition – kids from the slow… = senser; what's going on = phenomenon) what's going on, without a thought of derision. An African-American boy sitting behind a Caucasian girl in class idly swings (61 ~ IDLY SWINGS – Process: **material**, transformative – African-American boy – actor; long braid = goal; sitting behind…, back and forth… = circumstance) her long braid back and forth in boredom. Cohen herself is (62 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – Cohen = token; white

= value) white and has (63 ~ HAS – Process: **relational**, attributive – Cohen = carrier; and adopted brother = attribute) an adopted brother, Andy, who is (64 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – Andy = token; black = value) black. She recounts (65 ~ RECOUNTS – Process: **mental**, cognition – she = senser; on the public school bus… = phenomenon) how, on the public school bus for the hearing, the other boys taunted (66 ~ TAUNTED – Process: **material**, intentional – other boys = actor; Andy = goal; on the public… = circumstance) Andy, asking (67 ~ ASKING – Process: **verbal** – other boys – sayer; whether he had… = verbiage) him in vulgar terms whether he had sex with his white sisters.

Throughout her book, Cohen builds up (68 ~ BUILDS UP – Process: **material**, creative – Cohen = actor; subtle tension = goal; throughout her book = circumstance) a subtle tension that reaches (69 ~ REACHES – Process: **material**, creative – subtle tension – actor; resolution = goal; at the end = circumstance) a kind of resolution at the end. James struggles against (70 ~ STRUGGLES AGAINST – Process: **mental**, emotion – James = senser; the odds of both… = phenomenon) the odds of both deafness and poverty. But when he graduates (71 ~ GRADUATES FROM – Process: **material**, transformative – he = actor; Lexington = goal) from Lexington and heads (72 ~ HEADS FOR – Process: **material**, creative – he = actor; college = goal) for college, he is (73 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – he = token; finally proud of himself = value) finally proud of himself.

Sofia, a young Jewish Soviet immigrant whose family wants (74 ~ WANTS – Process: **mental**, desideration – family = senser; [daughter] to remain at home… = phenomenon) her to remain at home after she graduates, finally resolves (75 ~ RESOLVES – Process: **mental**, cognition – Sofia = senser; that she will live out… = phenomenon) that she will live out her dream of going (76 ~ WILL LIVE OUT – Process: **material**, creative – she = actor; her dream of going to Gallaudet = goal) to Gallaudet.

The release of tension explodes (77 ~ EXPLODES – Process: **material**, transformative – release of tension = actor; in a chapter = goal; most thoroughly = circumstance) most thoroughly in a chapter in which the Lexington students are on their way (78 ~ ON THEIR WAY – Process: **material**, creative – Lexington students = actor; Washington = goal; for a field trip = circumstance) to Washington for a field trip. On the bus, unhampered (79 ~ UNHAMPERED – Process: **mental**, emotion – [students] = senser; the constraints of… = phenomenon) by the constraints of a hearing society that imposes (80 ~ IMPOSES – Process: **material**, creative – hearing society = actor; its own language; [students] = beneficiary; in the classroom, awkward oral speech… = circumstance) its own language on them in the classroom -- awkward oral speech and an English grammar that feels foreign -- they fly into (81 ~ FLY

INTO – Process: **material**, creative – they = actor; frenzy of games = goal; played in sign language = circumstance) a frenzy of games played in sign language. They abandon (82 ~ ABANDON – Process: **material**, involuntary – they = actor; themselves = beneficiary; the freedom… = goal) themselves to the freedom of having intense fun their way.

As the book ends, it is only Cohen's father, caught (83 ~ CAUGHT IN – Process: **mental**, cognition – Cohen's father = senser; the conflict between… = phenomenon) in the conflict between activists and traditional educators, who has not reached a resolution (84 ~ HAS NOT REACHED – Process: **mental**, cognition – Cohen's father = senser; resolution = phenomenon). He is not sure (85 ~ IS NOT SURE – Process: **mental**, cognition – he = senser; the political turmoil…will allow him… = phenomenon) if the political turmoil that increasingly distracts (86 ~ DISTRACTS – Process: **material**, involuntary – political turmoil = actor; him = beneficiary; his work of… = goal) him from his work of educating deaf children will allow him to remain at Lexington.

Cohen's book gives (87 ~ GIVES – Process: **material**, creative – Cohen's book = actor; readers = beneficiary; an understanding… = goal) readers an understanding of that political struggle and of why some deaf people choose to carry it on (88 ~ CARRY…ON – Process: **material**, intentional – deaf people = actor; political struggle = goal): Deaf culture, her book suggests, is (89 ~ IS – Process: **relational**, identifying – deaf culture = token; a culture of… = value; her book suggests = circumstance) a culture of closeness that is worth saving.

Appendix R: Social Actor Representation Analysis Sample—'d/Deaf' Text 1

Key:
underline = social actor in question
italics = instance of excluded social actor
bold = passivation
*all specifics about type of representation in parentheses following underline in blue

Sounds of Silence;

Deaf Culture: A Separate World Worth *Saving* (who is saving? – excluded social actor)

In 1988, students at Gallaudet University (categorization, functionalization), the nation's only liberal arts college for the deaf, launched a noisy revolt that captured the country's (indetermination) attention. For more than 100 years, the school's governing board (nominalization, informal) had chosen candidates who weren't deaf (categorization, classification) to be the school's president. But this time, when the board (nominalization, informal) rejected yet another deaf candidate (categorization, classification/functionalization), I. King Jordan (nominalization, semi-formal), the students (categorization, functionalization) took over their campus in angry protest and forced the board (nominalization, informal) to reverse its decision.

The takeover at Gallaudet is a dramatic example of the political activism that has taken hold in the deaf community (categorization, relational identification) in recent years. Leah Hager Cohen (nominalization, semi-formal) presents readers (categorization, functionalization) with an intimate look at this new politics of deafness -- **the quest of deaf activists** (categorization, functionalization) to control their own destiny.

The setting for much of Cohen's book is Lexington School for the Deaf (nominalization, formal), a large public secondary school in Queens, N.Y. Although Cohen (nominalization, formal) is not deaf, she (nominalization, formal) has a kind of birthright to her opinions on deaf politics. Her father (categorization, relational identification) has been the superintendent of Lexington (categorization, functionalization) for the past eight years; for seven years before that, he (categorization, relational identification) was its principal.

As a child, Cohen (nominalization, formal) lived on the school's campus with her family (categorization, relational identification), and both of her paternal grandparents (categorization, relational identification) were deaf.

Part of the destiny deaf activists (categorization, functionalization) seek to control is whether deaf culture -- the ways of life that have been handed down -- will survive. Central to the issue is whether special schools for deaf children (categorization, functionalization), like Lexington, will endure. The recent *practice of "mainstreaming"* (who is practicing? – excluded social actor; objectivation, instrumentalization) deaf children (categorization, classification) into schools for hearing children (categorization, functionalization) threatens the existence of these special schools (categorization, functionalization), as their dwindling student populations attest.

"Oralism" is another issue at the heart of deaf politics. For more than 100 years, educators of the deaf (categorization, functionalization) -- most of whom are hearing -- have taught their classes in spoken English and have insisted that their students (categorization, functionalization) use oral speech. (Students with residual hearing (categorization, classification) wear hearing aids; others (indetermination) rely on lip reading and other visual cues). The educators (categorization, functionalization) maintain that using the spoken word rather than sign language, which has a different structure from that of English, will help deaf children (categorization, classification) assimilate into society. But activists (categorization, functionalization) cite studies (objectivation, utterance autonomization) that show deaf children (categorization, classification) learn better using sign language because it is visual. Oral education (objectivation, instrumentalization), they (categorization, functionalization) claim, doesn't allow deaf children (categorization, classification) to reach their potential.

The issue underlying both of these conflicts is that, historically, **deaf people** (categorization, classification) ***have been excluded*** (who is excluding? – excluded social actor) **from the discussions that decide their fate**.

Cohen (nominalization, formal) draws readers (categorization, functionalization) into her book with skillful storytelling. She (nominalization, formal) begins with a kind of scrapbook of childhood memories from Lexington.

Cohen's experience (objectivation, instrumentalization) becomes a vehicle for telling, with understated passion, the personal stories of her deaf grandparents (categorization, relational identification), of her father Oscar (nominalization, titulation, affiliation) and his work at Lexington, and of two real-life Lexington students, James and Sofia (categorization, functionalization; nominalization, informal).

It is through their stories that readers (categorization, functionalization) get a sense of what deaf culture is: a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity. The Lexington students (categorization, functionalization) must use touch to alert each other (categorization,

relational identification) to the fact that a teacher (categorization, functionalization) is about to make an announcement. They (categorization, functionalization) make sure that no one (indetermination) is left out. They (categorization, functionalization) softly tug each others' arms (objectivation, somatization) when they (categorization, functionalization) want to talk. **When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone** (indetermination) **lingers**.

The title, "Train Go Sorry," means "you missed the boat" in American Sign Language. In naming it that, Cohen (nominalization, formal) may have been referring to what she (nominalization, formal) calls the missed connections and lost opportunities (objectivation, instrumentalization) that characterize communications between the deaf and hearing worlds.

But the values (objectivation, instrumentalization) that emerge in Cohen's stories about life at Lexington make readers (categorization, functionalization) wonder which of the two worlds is missing the boat. The advanced students (categorization, functionalization) make sure that kids from the slow learners' class (categorization, classification) understand what's going on, without a thought of derision. An African-American boy (categorization, physical identification) sitting behind a Caucasian girl (categorization, physical identification) in class idly swings her long braid back and forth in boredom. Cohen (nominalization, formal) herself is white and has an adopted brother, Andy (nominalization, titulation, affiliation), who is black. She (nominalization, formal) recounts how, on the public school bus for the hearing, the other boys (categorization, classification) taunted Andy (nominalization, informal), asking him in vulgar terms whether he (nominalization, informal) had sex with his white sisters (categorization, relational and physical identification).

Throughout her book, Cohen (nominalization, formal) builds up a subtle tension that reaches a kind of resolution at the end. James (nominalization, informal) struggles against the odds of both deafness and poverty. But when he (nominalization, informal) graduates from Lexington and heads for college, he (nominalization, informal) is finally proud of himself.

Sofia (nominalization, informal), a young Jewish Soviet immigrant (categorization, classification) whose family (categorization, relational identification) wants her (nominalization, informal) to remain at home after she (nominalization, informal) graduates, finally resolves that she (nominalization, informal) will live out her dream of going to Gallaudet (nominalization, semi-formal).

The release of tension (objectivation, instrumentalization) explodes most thoroughly in a chapter in which the Lexington students (categorization, functionalization) are on their way to Washington for a field trip. On the bus, unhampered by the constraints of a hearing society

(categorization, classification) that imposes its own language on them (categorization, functionalization) in the classroom -- awkward oral speech and an English grammar that feels foreign -- they (categorization, functionalization) fly into a frenzy of games played in sign language. They (categorization, functionalization) abandon themselves (categorization, functionalization) to the freedom of having intense fun their way.

As the book ends, it is only Cohen's father (categorization, relational identification), caught in the conflict between activists (categorization, functionalization) and traditional educators (categorization, functionalization), who has not reached a resolution. He (categorization, relational identification) is not sure if the political turmoil (objectivation, instrumentalization) that increasingly distracts him (categorization, relational identification) from his work of educating deaf children (categorization, classification) will allow him (categorization, relational identification) to remain at Lexington (nominalization, semi-formal).

Cohen's book (objectivation, instrumentalization) gives readers (categorization, functionalization) an understanding of that political struggle (objectivation, instrumentalization) and of why some deaf people (categorization, classification) choose to carry it on: Deaf culture, her book suggests, is a culture of closeness that is *worth saving* (who is saving? – excluded social actors).

Appendix S: Appraisal Analysis Sample—'d/Deaf' Text 1

Key:
underline = judgement (+ve/-ve normality, capacity, tenacity, propriety, veracity)
italics = affect (+ve/-ve happiness, security, inclination, satisfaction)
bold = appreciation (+ve/-ve reaction, composition, valuation)
*all specifics about type of statement will be in parentheses in blue

Sounds of Silence;

Deaf Culture: A Separate World Worth Saving (+ve valuation)

In 1988, students at Gallaudet University, the nation's only liberal arts college for the deaf (+ve normality), **launched a noisy revolt that captured the country's attention** (+ve tenacity – students; -ve reaction – country). For more than 100 years, the school's governing board had chosen candidates who weren't deaf (-ve normality – candidate who weren't deaf) to be the school's president (-ve propriety – governing board). But this time, when the board **rejected** (-ve reaction) yet another deaf candidate (-ve propriety), I. King Jordan, *the students took over their campus **in angry protest*** (-ve reaction) *and forced the board to reverse its decision* (+ve tenacity – students; -ve satisfaction).

The takeover at Gallaudet is a **dramatic example** (-ve composition) of the political activism that has taken hold in the deaf community (+ve tenacity) in recent years. Leah Hager Cohen presents readers with an **intimate look** (+ve composition) at this new politics of deafness -- the quest of deaf activists to control their own destiny (+ve tenacity).

The setting for much of Cohen's book is Lexington School for the Deaf, a large public secondary school in Queens, N.Y. Although Cohen is not deaf, ***she has a kind of birthright to her opinions on deaf politics*** (+ve valuation; +ve security). *Her father has been the superintendent of Lexington for the past eight years* (+ve capacity; +ve security); *for seven years before that, he was its principal* (+ve capacity; +ve security).

As a child, Cohen lived on the school's campus with her family, and both of her paternal grandparents were deaf.

Part of the destiny deaf activists seek to control (+ve tenacity) *is whether deaf culture -- the ways of life that have been handed down -- will survive* (-ve security). *Central to the issue* (+ve security) is whether special schools for deaf children, like Lexington (+ve normality), will endure. **The recent practice of *"mainstreaming" deaf children*** (+ve normality) **into schools for hearing children** (+ve normality) **threatens the existence of** (-ve propriety) **these special**

schools (-ve reaction – full statement in bold), as their *dwindling student populations* (-ve security; -ve inclination) attest.

"Oralism" is another issue (-ve reaction; -ve security) at the heart of deaf politics. For more than 100 years, ***educators of the deaf -- most of whom are hearing*** (-ve satisfaction) -- ***have taught their classes in spoken English and have insisted that their students use oral speech*** (-ve reaction; -ve satisfaction). (Students with residual hearing (-ve normality) wear hearing aids; others rely on (-ve capacity) lip reading and other visual cues). The educators maintain that using the **spoken word** rather than sign language, which has a different structure from that of English (-ve normality), **will help deaf children** (-ve normality) **assimilate into society** (+ve valuation – spoken word). But **activists cite studies that show deaf children learn better using sign language because it is visual** (+ve valuation). ***Oral education, they claim*** (-ve security), ***doesn't allow deaf children to reach their potential*** (-ve valuation; -ve satisfaction).

The issue (-ve reaction) underlying both of these conflicts is that, historically, ***deaf people have been excluded*** (-ve propriety) ***from the discussions that decide their fate*** (-ve reaction; -ve satisfaction).

Cohen draws readers into her book **with skillful storytelling** (+ve capacity; +ve reaction). She begins with a kind of scrapbook of childhood memories from Lexington.

Cohen's experience becomes a vehicle for **telling, with understated passion** (+ve reaction; +ve capacity), the personal stories of her deaf grandparents, of her father Oscar and his work at Lexington, and of two real-life Lexington students, James and Sofia.

It is through their stories that readers get a sense of what **deaf culture is: a closeness, physical and emotional, born of necessity** (+ve valuation). The Lexington students must use touch to alert each other (-ve normality) to the fact that a teacher is about to make an announcement. They make sure that no one is left out (+ve propriety). They softly tug each others' arms when they want to talk. ***When it's time to go home, back into the hearing world, everyone lingers*** (-ve security; -ve happiness; +ve valuation – school).

The title, "Train Go Sorry," means "you missed the boat" in American Sign Language. In naming it that, Cohen may have been referring to what she calls the ***missed connections and lost opportunities that characterize communications between the deaf and hearing worlds*** (-ve reaction; -ve satisfaction).

But the ***values that emerge in Cohen's stories about life at Lexington make readers wonder which of the two worlds is missing the boat*** (+ve valuation – deaf community; +ve inclination). *The advanced students make sure that kids from the slow learners' class*

understand what's going on, without a thought of derision (+ve propriety; +ve security). An African-American boy sitting behind a Caucasian girl in class idly swings her long braid back and forth **in boredom** (-ve reaction). Cohen herself is white and has an adopted brother, Andy, who is black. She recounts how, ***on the public school bus for the hearing*** (-ve normality), ***the other boys taunted*** (-ve propriety) ***Andy, asking him in vulgar terms whether he had sex with his white sisters*** (-ve reaction; -ve satisfaction).

Throughout her book, Cohen ***builds up a subtle tension*** (-ve satisfaction; -ve composition) that *reaches a kind of resolution* (+ve satisfaction) at the end. *James struggles against* (-ve security) the odds of both deafness and poverty (-ve normality). But when he graduates from Lexington (+ve tenacity) and heads for college, *he is finally proud of himself* (+ve security; +ve happiness).

Sofia, a young Jewish Soviet immigrant (-ve normality) whose *family wants her to remain at home after she graduates* (-ve security), finally *resolves that she will live out her dream of going to Gallaudet* (+ve tenacity; +ve security).

The **release of tension explodes most thoroughly** (+ve composition) in a chapter in which the Lexington students are on their way to Washington for a field trip. On the bus, *unhampered by the constraints of a hearing society* (+ve security; +ve tenacity; +ve normality – hearing society) that imposes its own language on them in the classroom (-ve propriety) -- **awkward oral speech and an English grammar that feels foreign** (-ve composition) -- *they fly into a frenzy of games played in sign language* (+ve capacity; +ve happiness). *They abandon themselves to the freedom of having intense fun their way* (+ve security; +ve happiness; +ve tenacity).

As the book ends, it is only Cohen's father, *caught in the conflict between activists and traditional educators* (-ve security), who **has not reached a resolution** (-ve composition). He is *not sure if* ***the political turmoil*** (-ve reaction; -ve valuation) *that increasingly distracts him from his work of educating deaf children will allow him to remain at Lexington* (-ve security – full statement).

Cohen's book gives readers an understanding of that political struggle (+ve composition) and of **why some deaf people choose to carry it on** (+ve composition; +ve reaction; +ve tenacity): **Deaf culture, her book suggests, is a culture of closeness that is worth saving** (+ve valuation).