This presentation explores the constitution of social groups in a mainstream classroom with three deaf students. Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted from 2013-15 in Iquitos, Peru in homes and schools of deaf youth without access to an established language. Research documents how deaf students engage in reinforcing bonds of solidarity with peers through explicit acts of classmate exclusion and inclusion, carried out in moments of situated interaction. Deaf Children are observed to laminate their utterances with a range of semiotic resources to express forms of stance towards target assessable objects or events. Examining the moment-by-moment achievement of the classroom order illustrates how deaf youth without access to an established language are able to accomplish complex social work with limited shared language.