Changing codes for classroom contexts[1]

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Abstract
This article is concerned with the use of speech variation in a classroom in south-west Germany. It shows how a teacher uses dialect-standard variation as a resource for carrying out different tasks. An analysis of the variational practices of the teacher reveals two different code-alternating procedures with different functional scopes. On the one hand, the teacher uses code-shifting along a continuum of standard forms, especially to draw attention to relevant aspects of the instructional activities, and to guide participation in the unfolding discourse. On the other hand, she uses the context-cueing function of code-switching between standard and dialect, especially to locally manage the key of interaction (interaction modalities). It is shown that, for the teacher analysed, switching to dialect is a methodological resource which matches the intricate pedagogical tasks involved in the evaluation moves which follow pupils' 'troublesome' answers.

Keywords: dialect-standard variation, code, code-alternation, institutional communication, classroom interaction, key of interaction (interaction modality), linguistic repertoire

German abstract
Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem Phänomen der Sprachvariation anhand von Unterrichtsdaten aus einer Schulklasse in Südwestdeutschland. Es wird gezeigt, wie eine Lehrerin die Formwahl im Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuum als Ressource nutzt, um verschiedene institutionelle Aufgaben zu bewältigen. Durch die Analyse der variativen Praktiken der Lehrerin lassen sich zwei Prozeduren der Code-Alternation mit jeweils spezifischen Funktionsbereichen unterscheiden. Zum einen verwendet die Lehrerin Verfahren mit Kontrasten innerhalb des standardsprachlichen Form-Kontinuums. Diese Verfahren setzt sie insbesondere in rede- und diskursorganisierender Funktion ein, und zwar um die Aufmerksamkeit der Schüler auf relevante Aspekte des Unterrichts zu lenken und die interaktionale Teilnahme der Schüler zu organisieren. Zum anderen gebraucht sie die Kontextualisierungsfunktion von Alternationsverfahren mit Kontrasten zwischen Dialekt- und Standardformen. Diesen Variationstyp gebraucht sie insbesondere zur Anzeige von Veränderungen der Interaktionsmodalität (*key of interaction*). Die Analyse belegt, dass der kontrastgenerierende Dialektgebrauch (*code-switching*) eine methodische Ressource der Lehrerin ist, mit der sie insbesondere die pädagogischen Aufgaben bearbeitet, die sich bei evaluativen Reaktionen auf unbefriedigende Schülerantworten stellen.

Keywords: Dialekt-Standard-Variation, Code-Alternation, Code, institutionelle Kommunikation, Unterrichtsinteraktion, Interaktionsmodalität, sprachliches Repertoire

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the functions of the speech alternation (variation) of a teacher in a classroom situation in southwest Germany.[2] Most research on functional aspects of speech variation has been carried out under the well-known label of code-switching. In this field of research, basic conceptualisations were introduced by the pioneering work of John Gumperz. First, he proposed the oft-cited distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching (Blom/Gumperz 1972), and the related distinction between "we-code" and "they-code" (Gumperz 1982). Second, he introduced the analysis of code-switching as a contextualisation cue (Cook-Gumperz/Gumperz 1976; Gumperz 1982). From Gumperz's conceptualisations, two quite distinct perspectives on the analysis of code-switching have emerged. One has been labelled "semantic" (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1984b), and the other the "contextualization account" of code-switching (Cromdal 2005). The semantic approach has been criticised by Auer because of a "too confining conception of 'the situation'" (1984b:90, 1984a:4), on which the distinction between situational and metaphorical use of code-switching is based. Above all, Auer challenged the assumption of a more or less stable relationship between language use and extra-linguistic situational parameters (1984b:88). With this, he also problematised the notion of semantic values or "meaning potentials" associated with languages (Auer 1984b:89).[3] In his work on German-Italian variation (Auer 1984a), Auer combined Gumperz's concept of a contextualisation cue with a Conversation Analytic (CA) approach, in which 'situation' is not defined prior to interaction by the analyst, but as it is accomplished by participants' sequential moves. This combination has triggered many code-switching studies, including this one, applying the frameworks of Conversation Analysis.[4]

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[2]   In the following, *code-alternation* is used as cover term for different variational procedures. The code-alternational procedures of *code-switching* and *code-mixing* are conceptualised according to the function-based definitions proposed in Auer (1999), which include intralingual alternation. The terms *code-switching* and *code-shifting* are used to distinguish salient switches between forms in the two polar areas of the standard-dialect continuum (*code-switching*) from procedures within a narrowed scope of the dialect-standard continuum (*code-shifting*), e.g. alternations between neighbouring formal linguistic category groups such as canonical and weak standard forms. The use of the term *shifting* does not imply that the denoted procedures are necessarily gradual transitions, nor does it presuppose that code-shifting is necessarily perceived as a procedure within a single code.

[3]   See also Auer (1995) and Sebba/Wootton (1998) for a critical discussion.

[4]   See, for example, the studies in Auer (1998) and Li Wei (2005). See Li Wei (2002) for the distinction between 'applying' and 'doing' CA in code-switching research.

Scanning the large and growing volume of (above all sociolinguistic) literature on code-switching, two trends are discernible. First of all, there is a lack of work dealing with intralingual code alternation. In general, the vast majority of code-switching studies are based on bilingual data.[5] This might be due to problems that arise if one tries to distinguish and define 'codes' involved in intralingual speech variation, where the interacting linguistic systems are genetically related and often share an intersection of 'neutral' forms, which might be both elements of the standard and the dialect.[6] In addition to this, speakers might not use discrete varieties – *the* dialect or *the* standard – but mix forms to create intermediate varieties. At least for the analysis of dialect-standard variation, the definition of 'code' qua equation of 'code' and 'language' or 'language variety' does not work.[7] Nevertheless, participants do instantiate codes also in 'monolingual speech', and they can draw upon the conversational resource of intralingual variation and code-switching in their business of organising interaction.

Secondly, most code-switching studies focus on non-institutional contexts, and especially on identity-related aspects of code-switching. Furthermore, work on code-switching in classrooms and especially on teachers' variation in class is done predominantly in 'specific' sociolinguistic contexts, where the choice of language as medium of instruction has been a debated political issue.[8] Code-switching might not be expected to be part of a teacher's practices in 'ordinary' classroom interaction. To a certain extent, code-switching lacks legitimacy in almost all classroom settings. Educational policy usually stipulates the medium of instruction, and the use of a specific language or variety is the default in curricular guidelines. In the German classroom investigated, the standard language is the language of instruction, but, as the following analysis shows, actual classroom practice does not necessarily conform to official guidelines.

The CA-framework has proven to be a fertile approach to the analysis of institutional interaction.[9] The CA-approach to institutional interaction is intrinsically comparative, analysing task- or context-specific adaptions of general practices of everyday conversation – transformations of the *conversational bedrock* (Heritage/Greatbatch 1991). The most characteristic classroom-specific interactional practice has been described in the CA-literature as a triple structure of initiation-

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[5]   See Gumperz (1971) for dialect-standard variation in India and Norway. One of the exceptional cases of a sequence-analytic approach to intralingual variation is Auer (1986). Studies with a 'widened' interactional perspective on functions of German intralingual variation are presented in Auer (1990, Chap. 4), Kallmeyer/Keim (1994), Keim (1995, Chap. 4).

[6]   See, for example, the fierce critique in Maelum (1996) of Blom/Gumperz's (1972) analysis of Ranamål and Bokmål as discrete varieties which are kept separate by the speakers.

[7]   See Alvarez (2000), Gafaranga (2000) and Meeuwis/Blommaert (1998) on the problematic identification of 'code' and 'language' or 'linguistic variety' in the code-switching literature. Alvarez (1998) calls for a "communicative view of codes" which does not define 'code' along linguistic criteria alone, but from an emic perspective according to use by speakers. Interestingly, Alvarez elaborates his concept of "communicative code" on the basis of data derived from the interaction of two structurally closely related languages, Spanish and Galician, of which the latter has recently undergone a basic change of status from 'dialect of Spanish' to 'official language'.

[8]   In such 'specific' contexts, ideological processes and political frames might be involved in processes and analyses of language choice in classrooms. See Martin-Jones (2000) for an overview of the (sociolinguistic) research on code-switching in classrooms.

[9]   See, for example, the studies in Drew/Heritage (1992).

reply-evaluation (IRE, Mehan 1979). Furthermore, CA-based work on formal aspects of turn design within the recurring IRE structure has shown that participants routinely use (the variation of) patterns of turn design as an interactive resource.[10] For example, in their reply turns, pupils orient themselves to specific formal – above all syntactic – features of the teacher's preceding questions (Lerner 1995; Koshik 2002a, 2002b; Margutti 2006). Furthermore, the shape of teachers' follow-up turns to pupils' answers has been examined as a cue to the evaluative character of the turn, and with that, as an interaction-organisational resource, either projecting expansion of the IRE sequence by initiating correction, or closing it through positive feedback (Mehan 1979; McHoul 1990; Mcbeth 2004). Hellermann (2003) examined how teachers draw upon a variety of micro-level linguistic features to produce evaluative third turns. He isolated two different sets of prosodic features which teachers systematically use with repetitions of pupils' answers in their feedback moves, to cue either a positive or negative evaluation of the answer. In accordance with a general tendency in CA, the analysis of interactive aspects of turn design in classroom interaction has focused above all on syntax and prosody. Segmental phonetic features have received little attention until now.[11] But the phonetic design might also be an orderly detail of interaction (see Local 2003), and the variation of patterns at the phonetic surface has to be taken into account as a resource used by participants to co-constitute their turns and interaction.

The following analysis focuses on dialect-standard variation in a southwest German classroom. The variation of dialect-standard encoding level is treated as an interactional device on the surface level of turn design, used by the participants to co-construct ordered interaction. The goals of the article are threefold. First of all, it describes how – by which procedures – a teacher uses the choice between co-available linguistic forms to comply with the local exigencies and interactional tasks in the unfolding situation. Secondly, the structure of the teacher's linguistic repertoire in the class is reconstructed by exploring patterns of form-function relations. Finally, it addresses a basic question in the code-switching research mentioned above, namely how code-switching functions, that is, how code variation generates meaning: is it "brought along" (Hinnenkamp 1987) by the use of specific linguistic forms and semantic values attached to them, or is it "brought about" by the contrast-constituting use of linguistic forms which is accomplished on a turn-by-turn basis?

The findings and examples presented here are based on about four hours of audio-recorded interactional data from a Year 10 class in a secondary school in southwestern Germany. The data come from a Latin class with 14-15-year-old pupils.[12]

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[10] Drew/Heritage (1992:29) account for turn design as one of five "major dimensions of interactional conduct" which are constitutive for the organisation of institutional interaction.

[11] The body of CA work on the relationship between segmental phonetic details and interaction organisation is growing (see e.g. Local et al. 1985; Local 2003, and the papers in Couper-Kuhlen/Ford 2004).

[12] The data are derived from a larger corpus of audio recordings in two different school types and age groups. This classroom corpus has been collected for the investigation of the functions and relevance of speech variation in different settings within a small town in southwestern Germany (Knöbl 2008). Note that what will be said in relation to the teacher's repertoire and

2. The sociolinguistic situation in southwest Germany

In Germany, three main dialect areas with major bundles of linguistic isoglosses can be distinguished: the area of Low German dialects in the north, Middle German dialects in the centre, and Upper German dialects in the south. As well as exhibiting formal linguistic differences, the areas differ in terms of the sociolinguistic situation and the overall relation between the use of dialect and standard German. In northern Germany, the use of Low German dialects has always been detached from standard German in a diglossic situation, which has led to the scenario of dialect loss there (Auer 2005). In contrast to that, speakers in the south of Germany are still loyal to their dialects (Mihm 2000). The relation between the linguistic forms used in (West, Middle and) Upper German speech communities can be modelled as "diaglossic" (Bellmann 1997) – as a linguistic continuum with intermediate features between a dialect and standard pole (see Bellmann 1983; Auer 1986, 2005).

The data on which this article is based derive from a classroom located in the western part of the Upper German area, where Swabian, a dialect of the Alemannic family, is spoken. My observations on dialect usage in different settings in a small Swabian town give rise to the hypothesis that, as well as the relative vitality of the dialect in the investigated area, there is sociolinguistic dynamisation and tension caused by standard-oriented innovation. The standard language – de facto transformed spoken forms of the standard – is conquering speech domains, and therein scopes of functions. The sociolinguistic situation in the southwestern area can be described as a complex dialect-standard contact situation, where speakers have a choice between co-available linguistic forms which build up the speakers' linguistic repertoires. The co-available variants of the standard-dialect continuum are a basic resource used by speakers to instantiate different varieties or codes in interaction. As already pointed out by Weinreich et al. (1968:99), the use of variable linguistic forms might not be random, but of "structured heterogeneity".

3. Inventory of forms and repertoire of codes

The co-available variants of the Swabian dialect-standard continuum can be classified from a purely linguistic point of view. The following tentative classification is based on two criteria, namely differences in geographical reach of the forms, and differences in the "grammatical processes" involved (Auer 1986). Within the inventory of variable forms in the area of southwest Germany under investigation, at least four main categories can be distinguished:

- Codified or explicit standard forms: these are forms oriented to the written standard. They conform to the codification of German pronunciation, which is based on isolated entries in (pronunciation) dictionaries, without taking into account flow-of-speech effects.[13]

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variational profile refers to the particular teacher being analysed. However, according to my data, it is a typical profile in classrooms of the investigated area.

[13] This category includes hypercorrect forms, which are characteristic elements of a traditional functional style of southwest Germany, the so-called *Honoratiorenschwäbisch* ('dignified Swabian') used by dialectspeakers in public speech situations. In our teacher's case, an impres-

- Spoken or weak forms of the standard: these are caused by adaption to a stress-timed speech rhythm of spoken German. The processes involved occur all over the German-speaking area: processes of co-articulation, especially assimilation, and elision of sounds, as for example in reduced forms of <haben> ('have'). Prototypical weak forms are reduced articulations of function words, above all pronouns, articles and copula.[14] Weak forms are often involved in processes of cliticisation.

- Regional forms: forms spread traditionally all over the High German area, especially forms shared by the neighbouring Alemannic, or Bavarian dialects. Typical processes are: prefix reduction in <ge-> and <be->, syllable-final schwa-deletion, *n*-deletion in unstressed <-en>, fricative-deletion in the frequent monosyllabic words *ich*, *mich*, *dich*, *auch*, *noch* ('I, me, you, too, still').

- Local forms: forms with the smallest geographical reach. These are restricted to the base dialect (Swabian). Local forms typically involve processes concerning vowels (diphthongisation, unrounding, raising or lowering[15]), and dialect-specific lexical variants.

Of course, this typology of linguistic forms is an idealisation. Even on the basis of the technical criteria, the four compartments of the standard-dialect continuum are not as discrete as this typology might suggest. In particular, the distinction between the second and third categories is in some cases problematic. In terms of the teleological approach of natural phonology (see Stampe 1979; Dressler 1984; Auer 1990), many regional forms can be considered products of articulatory lenisations, so that the line between specific regional forms of articulatory reduction and general German reductions is in some cases not easy to draw, e.g. in the case of the deletion of the final schwa in unstressed syllables connected to an enclitic pronoun with an initial vowel, e.g. in *hab ich* instead of *habe ich* ('have I'). In a few cases, especially those involving consonants, the categorisation of a procedure as either dialectal or regional is difficult. For example, the so-called *s*-palatalisation – the articulation of morpheme-final <st> as [ʃt] instead of canonical [st] – can be considered a stereotypical marker of Swabian (as confirmed in matched-guise tests by Steinig 1982 or Hundt 1992).[16] On the other hand, it occurs all over the Alemannic dialect area, as well as in the Rhine-Franconian part of the Middle German dialect area and a large part of the South Bavarian dialect region, e.g. Tyrol.

It is important to note that the proposed typology does not say anything about the structure of the varieties spoken in the area. There is a crucial conceptual distinction between the inventory of co-available linguistic forms and the repertoire of codes or varieties. In this study, the inventory of selectable forms is considered

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sion of hypercorrectness is generated in particular by unreduced articulation of the vowel in unstressed word initial and final syllables (<ge-> and especially <-en> as [ge] and [en] instead of [gə] and [ən]/[n̩]).

[14] See Kohler (1995) for a description of rules of reduction in spoken standard German.

[15] By using this terminology, which originates from the description of diachronic processes, in order to describe synchronic variation processes, the intention is not to suggest that the dialect forms are derived from the standard.

[16] Auer's (1990) Alemannic data from Constance confirm this characteristic of the *s*-palatalisation. Speakers clearly perceive it as a dialect feature, but many of them cannot control it (Auer 1990:218).

a linguistic resource for the speakers to instantiate codes in interaction. This means that the speakers' linguistic repertoire is constituted and structured in the course of discursively significant interaction.[17] So besides the etic view on more or less exogenously classifiable linguistic forms, the analysis of a repertoire of codes requires a view of forms as they are classified by the speakers' use of them in interaction.

A quantitative analysis of the co-available forms used in the investigated classroom indicates differences between the teacher's and the pupils' linguistic profiles (see details in Knöbl 2008). The teacher draws upon the whole spectrum of forms, whereas the pupils use a reduced continuum. They predominantly use and combine forms from the two non-polar categories (2 and 3 of the typology), with a prevalent orientation to weak standard forms. Furthermore, the distribution analysis of 15 linguistic variables indicates that the pupils vary forms to a much smaller extent than the teacher; e.g. the analysis of intersituative changes of the variable distributions in interaction during break and in class shows invariation in the pupils' choice of forms, but variation in the teacher's case. To sum up, the pupils use a focused (Le Page 1980), quasi-invariant formal mixture that combines mainly spoken standard forms and a fixed set of regional forms. The impression of a focused mixed code is further confirmed by the analysis of co-occurrence restrictions between linguistic forms within intonation phrases (IPs) and within words.[18] In the pupils' case, hybrid combinations of standard and dialect forms are much more frequent than in the teacher's case. In the IPs and word-units of the teacher's utterances in class, standard forms tend to co-occur with standard forms, and dialect forms with dialect forms.

On the basis of a quantitative analysis, the following hypotheses arise: the pupils do not make use of local, discursive functions of code alternation, but prefer to stick to rules of the group's prestigious mixed code. Their invariant code-mixing is functional on a 'global' level for stylistic, identity-related reasons, especially to display social affiliation (Auer 1999).[19] In contrast, the teacher uses the contextualisation function of code alternation for the local management of interaction in class. This latter hypothesis is examined in the analysis in section 5.

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[17] This conception of repertoire is close both to Gumperz's definition of "verbal repertoire" (Gumperz 1971:152ff.), and to Hymes's call for an approach to language, "from the linguistic side …, not only as grammar, but also as language organised in use" (1972:9).

[18] For the co-occurrence analysis in Knöbl (2008), a scaling technique based on Telander (1976) and Möller (2006) is used.

[19] This hypothesis is enhanced in particular by the pupils' use of dialect forms. They use dialect in socio-segmentational function as the 'voice' of others (in the Bachtinian sense, see Knöbl 2006 for a case of "code-alternation of a second order"; Auer 1999; Meeuwis/Blommaert 1998). Furthermore, in class, especially during breaks, there are traces of metalinguistic awareness indicating that dialect forms lack the status of legitimate linguistic forms within the group: the pupils repair and comment on 'slipped' dialect forms. Finally, pupils explicitly comment on the status of and their attitudes towards the dialect and standard in ethnographic interviews.

4. Institutional tasks and structural provisions in classroom interaction

Basic classroom-specific constraints on everyday conversation provide for a central communicative position of the teacher. Situational control, first of all, is achieved by a teacher-dominated organisation of turn-allocation. Recurring procedures of constrained turn-taking, as well as asymmetries concerning participants' range of activities, become most manifest in the oft-cited three-turn exchange structure of traditional instruction consisting of initiation, reply and evaluation.[20] The "ubiquity" of the triadic structure has been shown by Nassaji/ Wells (2000), who counted 850 IRE-initiating teacher questions in a total of 1085 sequences within 'traditional' teacher-led whole class interaction (=78%).[21] In contrast to studies criticising the IRE practice for its constraints on pupils' participation and creativity (and subsequent perpetuating of asymmetric power relations, e.g. Lemke 1990, Fairclough 1995), Nassaji/Wells conclude that the IRE structure "can be an appropriate operationalization of a wide variety of tasks" (2000:400).

CA-based research on the IRE exchange structure has examined, first, interactional ties between initiation and reply turns. It has been shown that teachers' initiation turns display strategies of elicitation, to which pupils orient their replies. Especially by means of linguistically designing initiation turns, teachers and pupils use the first pair of IRE turns to jointly "produce accountably correct answers" (Mcbeth 2004), and with that, to co-construct knowledge (e.g. Lerner 1995; Koshik 2002a, 2002b; Margutti 2006). Second, CA studies have shown the multi-layered tasks involved in third moves of the IRE structure (Mehan 1979; Lee 2007). In third turns, teachers orient themselves to the pupil's reply while moving interaction forward. And this reacting and projecting task can be very intricate, especially in third turns following up on 'troublesome' replies, i.e. answers which do not match the answer the teacher has in mind. Roughly speaking, the teacher's third move either closes down the IRE sequence by a positive evaluation, or it expands it by an "act of continuation" (Mehan 1979) until the expected answer is produced and evaluated positively. Following up on pupils' troublesome replies, the third turn becomes the pivot of two three-turn sequences, at the same time closing one while starting the next (Lee 2007). In consequence, any strategy of continuation such as helping, prompting or any type of restarted initiation is interpreted in relation to the prior reply, most likely as evaluative and as initiation

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[20]   The three-turn sequence of classroom interaction has been examined in a range of studies (e.g. the CA-based studies of Mc Houl 1978, 1990; Mehan 1979; Mazeland 1983; Macbeth 2004; Lee 2007). It has been labelled IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback/Follow up) by Sinclair/ Coulthard (1975), and IRE (Initiation-Reply-Evaluation) by Mehan (1979). In the following, the abbreviation IRE will be used, although, of course, evaluative aspects are not the only ones being accomplished in third-turn moves. Furthermore, the conception of IRE as a three-turn sequence is a heuristic simplification which does not always correspond to empirical facts. In many cases, there are more than three turns and two transitions involved in an IRE exchange, especially if the selection of the pupil to give the answer has to be accomplished.

[21]   Wells (1993) reports a 70% proportion of IRE exchanges in classroom interaction (cited from Hellermann 2003:80). On the 'stable' adherence by participants to the IRE practice in teacher-fronted settings, see also Ohta (1999), who counted 97% of third turns taken by teachers, and 3% by pupils (cited from Mori 2002:333).

of repair/correction.[22] It is especially in third moves where teachers' pedagogical work is displayed, and where linguistic means of utterance design are a resource for teachers' work on interaction modalities, e.g. where motivation-related aspects of interaction might come into play. As Lee (2007:1226) puts it, "the third turn position pulls into view the practical details of teaching that are contingent and ad hoc". In the southwest German classroom under investigation, it is predominantly within the teacher's third moves that regional/dialect forms occur. We will see examples of the functional use of code-switching in third turns in the analysis in section 5.2.

Classrooms are multi-party gatherings, typically patterned by sequences of two-party interaction, at least in the case of teacher-led whole-class interaction, including IRE exchanges. Here, the two participants' activities constitute the central interactional focus, which (ideally) is monitored by all attentively 'overhearing' co-present participants in class (Atkinson 1982). But in the "busy place" classroom (Paoletti/Fele 2004), problems might arise, concerning, on the one hand, the production, and on the other, the monitorability of the focal interactional sequences. The teacher-centred speech exchange system restricts the possibilities of conversational, mutual turn-by-turn accountability of understanding, especially for the overhearing pupils, who are not directly involved into the focal teacher-pupil dyad. In the analysis in section 5.1, I will explore how and to what extent the teacher uses code-shifting practices as an orderly method to cope with situated problems in class concerning the basic task of co-constructing understanding and knowledge, and in particular to achieve and sustain shared attentiveness.

5. Code-alternation in class

This section contains examples of a teacher's use of procedures of code-alternation in class. It offers two longer extracts taken from teacher-led instructional interaction, and a third example from an exam situation showing a pupil-initiated sequence. Each of the two longer stretches of direct instruction contains several instances of code-alternation; both long extracts are divided into shorter segments and analysed successively. By presenting instances of code-alternation occurring within longer stretches of interaction, I intend to indicate the orderly and recurrent usage of the procedures in class, instead of the status of the examples as selected prototypical cases.

5.1. Code-alternation within a continuum of standard forms

The first group of examples is taken from an ongoing activity complex, in which the teacher guides the elaboration of Latin ACI-constructions. The activity-type of input elaboration can roughly be characterised as topic-oriented teacher-led interaction, in which teachers manage discourse in relation to their subject-matter agenda. Typically, IRE sequences are involved in content-oriented elaboration activities, in particular "prespecified" initiation turns (Nystrand/Gamoran 1991)

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[22] See McHoul (1990) for the analyses of expansions of IRE structures as repair sequences. See Mcbeth (2004) for a distinction between repair and correction in classroom interaction.

which constrain pupils' participation by the projection of specific, often short answers, e.g. as in the example below (line 3) by a "choice question" (Mehan 1979).[23] In the extract, the teacher uses predominantly standard forms to elaborate on the ACI issue. The analysis focuses in particular on patterns of alternation between the two linguistic coding levels of codified and weak standard forms (categories 1 and 2 of the typology). We will see how the teacher uses procedures of code-shifting along the continuum of standard forms in order to index different levels of instructional relevance.

In the extract, the class is working on the time relation between the two verbs of an ACI construction, which has been written down on the blackboard by the teacher: *sciebam vos omnia scire* ('I knew that you knew everything'). In the preceding context, Jonas (JO) had failed in three attempts to give the expected answer. In line 1, the teacher (TE) asks again for the time relation, without verbally addressing any pupil. After two more initiations by the teacher (2, 3), Rico (RI) gives an answer (4).

Example 1.1[24]

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01    TE:    WAS findət zuerst statt?
             WHAT takes place first?
02           DAS? (-)
             THE? (-)
03           WAS findət zuerst [statt? DAS oder DAS?
             WHAT takes place  [first? THIS or THAT?
04    RI:                     [ja ERSCHT dəs ge/ <<f> ERSCH dəs
                              [well FIRST the le/ <<f> FIRST the
             lErnən;>
             lEArning;>
05    TE:    a::↑⎺ha, (-)
             o::↑⎺kay, (-)
06           E:RST dəs lernən. (-)
             FIRST the learning. (-)
07           das ist das was !VOR!(.)zeitich ist.
             this is what is !AN!(.)terior.
08           das LERnən findət vorher statt.
             the LEARning takes place before.
09    JO:    ja,
             yes,
10    TE:    und MEIN wissņ (-) kommt danach. (-)
             and MY knowing (-) comes later on. (-)
11           ja? (-)
             okay? (-)
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Within the IRE sequence, there are formal contrasts, both between the teacher's and the pupil's turns, and within the teacher's extended third turn. While the teacher in her elicitation turn (line 1-3) uses exclusively codified forms (demon-

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23 Such a constraining use of IRE sequences has been described in the literature as "recitation discourse" (Cazden 1988; Nystrand 1997), or, more trenchantly, "teacher monologue with well-timed support from pupils" (Stubbs 1983, cited from Hellermann 2005:125).

24 The transcription follows the GAT conventions as proposed by Selting et al. (1998). Additionally, IPA conventions are used if relevant articulatory details cannot be represented by the sound-grapheme correspondence of an alphabet-based transliteration. Note that phonetic precision is limited to a set of focused variables, e.g <-en> or <das>.

strative *das*, <st-> as [st] in *zuerst*, 'first'), the pupil's reply (4) is formulated with a weak form of the article ([dəs]) and with the regiolectal articulation of <-st> (*ERSCHT*, 'FIRST'). After a positive assessment of the answer (*a::↑¯ha*, line 5), which values highly the relevance of the received answer by prosodic marking (lengthened vowel before a steep rise of base frequency (F0) in the second sylla-ble).[25] the teacher repeats in line 6 the correct answer. In her repetition, she sus-tains the weak form used by the pupil, but replaces the regiolect by the standard form in the stressed *E:RST* ('at FIRST'). Furthermore, the repetition shows a pro-sodic pattern, which Hellermann (2003) describes as typically used by teachers to mark the repeat as positive assessment: she matches the rhythmic structure of the answer (accent on <erst>), and adopts the fall-rising-pitch contour in the accented syllable. So, on the one hand, the third turn displays an "affiliative prosodic packaging" (Brazil et al. 1980:75), and on the other, it marks relevance by varying the repeated answer. The standard form realisation of <-st> is joined by another resource, articulatory duration, to add salience to the pupil's response: the teacher's realisation of <erst> lasts for 43ms, whereas both formulations of <erst> by Rico have the duration of less than 20ms.[26] All in all, the replacement of the regional form of <-st> is part of the teacher's "revoicing" (Hellermann 2003) of the pupil's contribution in a way that displays its relevance. Her subsequent reformulation (line 7) generalises the core grammatical content of the answer, importing the central grammatical term (*!VOR!(.)zeitich*, 'anterior'). This abstracting formulation, as well as the following, again concrete, third reformulation of the answer in line 8 are articulated with non-reduced standard forms (of <das> and <ist>). The use of codified forms contributes to highlight the core content element.

The sequence above is followed by an organisational turn by the teacher, an-nouncing the next step in the elaboration of the subject matter ACI. In contrast to her preceding turns, however, the teacher uses weak forms for this.

Example 1.2

```
12    TE:    [jetz guck=mə
             [now let's look
13    LI:    [hm-hm

14    TE:    [mal wie is=əs im DEU]tsch[ən. (-)
             [how   it   is  in GER]m[an. (-)
15    RI:    [ja und jetz isch-   ]
             [yes and now is-     ]
16    JO:                                [ja aber
                                         [yes but

17           [eiɲtlich (-) eiŋlich kann man=s auch]
             [actually (-) actually it can also be]
18    TE:    [ich WUSste dass du alles gəlernt/]
             [I KNEW that you had learned everything/]
```

---

[25] Hellermann (2003) accounts for repetitions as the most frequent type of teachers' evaluation turns following pupils' correct answers within IRE structures. To a certain extent, the mere oc-currence of the (more or less direct) assessment by *a::ha* before the repetitive evaluation al-ready has a highlighting effect.

[26] See Hellermann (2003) for the use of lengthened repetitions in positive third turns.

In line 12, the teacher starts a transition between two units of elaboration, one that has been closed (time relation in Latin ACI structures), and the next to come (the contrast with the time relation in German). There is a formal contrast between the preceding elaboration sequence and the following framing move. It is constituted by the use of co-occurring features of spoken standard German. First, it contains the lexical choice of colloquial *gucken/kucken* ('to look'), which is articulated with regional lenis plosive and in clitical fusion with a weak form of the pronoun (*guck=mə*, 12).[27] Furthermore, the scopus of the projecting 'now let's look' is not uttered in the more formal form of a subordinate phrase with subject-verb inversion, but in the 'colloquial' format of a non-embedded direct question (*wie is=əs im DEUtschən*, 14), in which the final plosive of the verb is deleted, and the vowel of the cliticised pronoun is reduced to schwa (*is=əs*). The shift to spoken standard forms co-occurs with further linguistic features: there is a pitch reset (Wennerstrom 1998) between the lower-pitched *ja?* (mean pitch of 190 Hz – despite its rising contour) and higher pitched *guck=mə mal* (mean pitch of 250 Hz); furthermore, intensity is reduced in the transition turn (from 70 db mean energy intensity in *ja?* to 66 db in *guck=mə mal*), while pace is increased. The simultaneous change of different microlevel linguistic features supports the indexicality of the border between the end of the teacher's extended third turn and the following framing move.[28]

Strikingly, the shift from the more or less consistent use of explicit standard forms to weak forms also co-occurs with a salient shift in participation framework concerning the interactional engagement of the pupils. In line 11, the teacher has closed the preceding unit with the reassuring *ja?*. After a short pause, she starts the transitional turn (in line 12) without waiting for any (at least vocalic) confirmation by the pupils.[29] In lines 15 and 16, two pupils start to talk while the teacher is focusing on the next elaboration concerning the time relation in German. The first one, Rico, stops his competing turn (line 15), but Jonas keeps on speaking in overlap (16-18). He refers to the preceding elaboration by presenting an alternative interpretation of the time relation in the Latin sentence. With respect to noticeable changes in the pupils' participation in the transition sequence, Jonas' *ja* in line 9 might be a "preshift token" (Jefferson 1993:6) acknowledging attention in preparation for a shift to his alternative interpretation of the sentence, which he then breaks off as soon as the teacher expands on her third turn (Line 10).

---

[27] According to the typology proposed in section 2, nasal realisations of the pronoun <wir> can be considered regional forms, since they are traditionally not used in northern Germany. From the quantitative analysis of the teacher's linguistic profile, we know that the teacher varies the regional and standard form of unreduced <wir> ([miːɐ]/[viːɐ]). But she hardly varies regional and standard form ([mə]/[və]) in cases of the reduced articulation of the pronoun in enclitical positions. From this point of view, the reduced and cliticised [mə] is a less salient regional form than unreduced articulated [miːɐ].

[28] For the use of phonetic features for participants' segmentation of "activity segments", see Hellermann (2005) or Local (1992).

[29] As in many comparable instances, neither the teacher nor the pupils treat the reassuring *ja?* as a first-pair part, which makes a confirmation relevant. It is used rather as a framing marker indicating the closure of the activity segment. It shows that the sequencing mechanism of conditional relevance is 'transformed' in classrooms, especially in teacher-to-many speech situations as in the example, where it is clear that the several reformulations of the elicitation product are not directed to the answerer, Rico, but to the whole class.

In line 18, the teacher stops the formulation of the projected German sentence after a long stretch of overlap with Jonas' turn. She uses a code-shifting procedure when she is trying to regain attention and re-establish a single-focus situation (Atkinson 1982) after a long discussion triggered by Jonas' alternative interpretation.

Example 1.3

```
17    JO:    [eiŋtlich (-) eiŋlich kann man=s auch]
             [actually (-) actually it can also be]
18    TE:    [ich WUSste dass du alles gəlernt/]
             [I KNEW that you had learned everthing/]

19    JO:    SO interpretierŋ dass zu dem zEItpunkt wo er=s gəlernt
             hat-
             interpreted in a WAY that at the point in tIme when he
             learned it-
20           WUSstə der dəs schon; (-)
             he already KNEW; (-)
21           dass der      [dəs (glaubt)
             that this one [(thinks) that
22    AX:                  [ja
23    MA:    ((laughs))
24           […]
25    RI:    dəs isch SCHEIße; oder-
             this is SHIT or

26    AX:    aber ich kann den GLEIchŋ tag (    )
             but i can the SAME day (   )
27    MA:    so ein geLAber; (--)
             such a PRAttling; (--)
28    RI:    ((laughs)) (--)
29    AX:    <<p> irgendwie.>
             <<p> somehow.>
30    TE:    hm=hm (-) ja (--) also äh (-)
             hm=hm (-) yes (-) all right äh (-)
31           dəs probLEM isch (-)
             the PROblem is (-)
32           das probLEM ist natürlich dass (--) im (-)
             latEInischen (--) seht ihr (-) gibt es eine !GANZ!
             genaue unterscheidung;
             the PROblem is of course that (--) in (-)
             lAtIn (--) you see (-) there is a !VERY!
             precise distinction;
```

Jonas' interpretation (19-21) is supported by Alex's (AX) (line 22) and commented on by Maxi's (MA) laughing (23). The reactions of the pupils trigger a rather long discussion of the alternative interpretation by several pupils, without any verbal participation by the teacher. (A long stretch of the discussion is left out in the transcription due to lack of space (24)). After about 40 seconds of creative elaboration, the discussion is getting more and more evaluative and less argumentative (line 25-29). In line 30, the teacher tries to re-establish a mono-focal situation. Here, she has to solve the problem of regaining shared attentiveness. She starts with acknowledgement receipts, a discourse-marker, hesitation and pauses. Then, she projects an argumentative solution by a focusing construction (*dəs probLEM isch*, 'the PRОblem is', line 31). The re-establishment of shared

attention is supported by the repetition of this construction, in which the salient regiolectal articulation of <-st> is replaced by the standard form (*isch – ist*, 'is', 32). The standard form helps to indicate relevance of what is following, which is the projection of the demonstration of the problem with the Latin rule (*dass (--) im (-) latEInischen (--) seht ihr (-) gibt es eine !GANZ! genaue unterscheidung*), probably by repeating it and – as the secondary phrase accent on 'Latin' suggests – by contrasting it with the German case.

Rico then asks a question (line 33) which does not directly address the issue projected by the teacher, but relates to a secondary aspect. In her answer, the teacher uses code-alternating procedures to nest the answer.

Example 1.4

```
32    TE:    … there is a !VERY! precise distinction;
33    RI:    (-) ka=man da eiŋlich (-) BEIde forɱ nehɱ?
             (-) can actually BOTH forms be used there?
34           s/ (-) scivi oder (-) sciebam (-)
             s/ (-) scivi or (-) sciebam (-)
35           [also
             [that is
36    TE:    [äh
37    RI:    perfekt oder imper[fekt oder?
             perfect  or  imper[fect or?
38    TE:                      [ja
                               [yes
39           (--) äh [du weißt ja]
             (--) äh [you do know]
40    RI:           [>oder<]
                    [>or<]
41    MA :   [((laughs))]
42    TE:    [dəs perfekt]
             [the perfect]
43           ((lacht)) s=perfekt beDEUtet (-) <<p> dass man> (-)
             FERtich isch mit etwas; (-)
             ((laughs)) the perfect MEANS <<p> that you> (-)
             are DONE with something; (-)
44           [<<f> das
             [<<f> that
45    RI:    [ja;
             [yes;
46    TE:    weiß ich jetzt SIcher.>
             i do know for SURE now.>
47           ja?
             okay?
48           und ↑HIER (-) bei sciebam heißt es- (-)
             and ↑HERE (-) with sciebam it means- (-)
49    RI:    ((clears throat))
50    TE:    ich KOMM drauf. (-)
             I'm coming to know it. (-)
51           ja?
             okay?
52           da is=əs n prozess; (-)
             there it is a process; (-)
```

```
53          dəs geht a bissle leŋer (--)
            that takes a little bit longer
54          ja? (-)
            yes? (-)
55          also (-) ich (-) !WEISS! allmählich,
            this is (-) i (-) !KNOW! step by step,
56          ich WUSste allmählich schon
            i have KNOWN step by step
57          ich merkte dəs allmählich schon. (-)
            i have noticed it step by step. (-)
```

The teacher responds to Rico's question with an explanation of Latin perfect and simple past tense. She signals lower relevance of the answer for the class by addressing it to Rico and by referring to its status as already known ('you do know', 39). Her following explanation of the perfect contains a signal of lower relevance, too: the first formulation in (42) is in overlap with a pupil's laughter; in her second start, the teacher replaces the already weak form of the article by a more reduced clitic form (*dəs perfekt*, 42 – *s=perfekt*, 43). The overwhelming use of weak standard forms in her answer to Rico contrasts with the use of explicit forms in the preceding (and following) elaboration of the topic, the time relation between the finite and infinite verb in Latin ACI-constructions. This formal contrast indexes the teacher's attempt at structuring the interaction, indicating minor relevance of the perfect-imperfect issue, and its treatment as parenthetical to the main activity. Furthermore, contrast by code-alternation helps to structure the embedded answer turn. In line 53, in the second reformulation of the general rule of Latin simple past tense, there is a further 'downshift of gears', which segments the repetitive structure used to give the general rule of Latin simple past in 52-53. The first formulation (*da is⇒əs n prozess* , 52) contrasts with its regiolectal reformulation (*dəs geht a bissle leŋer* , 53). Through a switch back to standard form use, this reformulation of the rule contrasts with the subsequent adaptions of the rule to the concrete example *sciebam* (55-57).[30] The use of regiolect forms here is obviously related to the task of nesting: it is used to sharpen the relief of a complex turn, which itself is a bracketed element of a superordinate structure.

All the examples above show that the teacher does not deliberately vary linguistic forms. Rather, the coordinated use and variation of linguistic forms of a particular standard-dialect encoding niveau takes part in the participants' accomplishment of ordered activities. And the code-alternational procedures are attended by co-occurring micro-level linguistic features to jointly create cohesion and segmentation in the co-construction of instructional interaction (Hellermann 2005). In the whole extract, there is a noticeable correlation between the activities and the teacher's use of codified and weak standard forms. She uses codified standard forms for the elaboration of the main topical issue. She then changes to basically weak forms in the transitional sequence, and uses explicit forms again in her attempt to recall the main focus after the digression caused by the pupils' discussion and the parenthetical elaboration of the perfect-past-tense issue initia-

---

[30] See also the form contrast between the formulation of the general rule and its concretisation in her explication of the rule of the Latin perfect (*dass man> (-) FERtich isch mit etwas*, 43) adapted to *scivi* (*das weiß ich jetzt SIcher*, 46).

ted by Rico. Code-alternating procedures – above all practices of code-shifting along a continuum of weak and codified standard forms – are thus used to support discourse organisational tasks.

5.2. Code-alternation between standard and regiolect/dialect forms

The following examples are taken from an oral translation exercise. Whereas the previous content elaboration was influenced by the orientation to the topical focus induced by the teacher's agenda, in the following extract, the subject matter is provided by the task at hand – namely by the sentences to be translated into Latin. Correspondingly, the IRE exchange structure (and the situational roles involved) is also influenced by the translation task. Roughly speaking, the initiation turns and requirements for a correct reply are determined by the German sentences; reply turns consist of the translation offered by the pupil, and third turns evaluate the adequacy of the proposed translation. In the task-based interaction, aspects – and the display – of knowledge and skills become relevant in the participants' work on interaction constitution. In the following extract, the focus of the analysis will be on the evaluative and projective activities of the teacher, which often feature in the same third-turn move. The teacher uses procedures of code-switching as a linguistic resource for the multi-layered interpretative work she has to undertake in third turns, especially concerning the key of the interaction (interaction modality) and participants' relations.

Immediately prior to the extract, Rico was selected to translate the first sentence of the text into Latin.[31] The translation of the sentence is elaborated segment by segment, and each segment is started by the teacher as an initiation-for-reply. The extract begins after the initial parts of the sentence have been translated by Rico. In line 1, the teacher initiates the next segment. In 2, she gives the translation of one of the German words to be translated; the phrase accent on the article (*DAS*) indicates the nominative singular of the given German word. The pupil's obvious task is now to mark the indicated case in the Latin word by finding the correct ending.

Example 2.1

```
01   TE:   UND den schaugerüstn̩ der (-) sklafn̩händler. (-)
           AND the exhibition tables of the (-) slave-traders. (-)
02         catasta ist DAS schaugerüst.
           catasta is THE exhibition table.
03   RI:   et (1.87) ca (-) tas (-) tos (-)
04   TE:   vorsicht, (1.20)
           careful, (1.20)
05         dəs kann ja nich SEIN wenn=s mit [wem isch;]
           this IS not possible if it is with [to whom;]
06   RI:                          [<<f> catas>] (-) ↑⁻TA: (--)

07   TE:   <<p> ↓WAS brouchsch denn für ɐ form;> (1.10)
           <<p> ↓WHAT kind of form do you need then;> (1.10)
```

---

[31] The sentence is: *Die Freunde Gaius und Aristoxinus, die sich zufällig dem Forum und den Schaugerüsten der Sklavenhändler nähern, sehen und hören auch die Menge der Menschen* ('the friends Gaius and Aristoxinus, who by chance come close to the forum and the exhibition tables of the slave-traders, see and hear the crowd of people').

The evaluation of Rico's reply is negative and indirect ('careful', 4). After Rico fails to produce a correction (in 1.2 sec.), the teacher gives the reason for the inadequacy of the translation by hinting (for the second time) at the case which has to be marked (5). In overlap with the intimating element, the interrogative 'to whom', Rico begins a second attempt (6). However, he cannot complete the form; instead, he signals by intonation that he is searching for a missing syllable (steep rising pitch before the accented third syllable, and salient lengthening of the nucleus vowel (40ms), with level pitch projecting turn-continuation). Without a corrected answer proposed by Rico, the teacher continues to solicit a repair of the translation. She asks for the case needed (7). In relation to her turn in line 5, this new initiation is a step back in the ongoing process of eliciting the correct case-marker; it displays a parsing strategy (Lee 2007), which separates two tasks that had been combined in the preceding elicitation attempts. There are two parts to the task, namely to identify the case to mark, and to find the corresponding Latin form. It puts the focus on a methodological issue of translating, which has already been intimated in the hints in lines 2 and 5: the first step in finding the right form for case-marking is to know the case which has to be encoded. The switch to dialect forms in line 7 marks the turn as a non-continuing step back, and distingui-shes the new search for the case from the preceding attempts. As well as this dis-course-organisational function of the code-switch, it also has an effect on inter-action modality. Together with the lower-pitched, softened voice, the dialecttal encoding indexes helping rather than evaluating aspects.

In the subsequent search for the right case and ending, the teacher has to give further help. In line 15, she switches again to dialect forms in order to manage the key of interaction.

Example 2.2

```
07    TE:   <<p> ↓WHAT kind of form do you need then;> (1.10)
08    RI:   [ja äh]
            [yes äh]
09    TE:   [DEN] schaugerüsten; (--)
            [TO THE] exhibition tables; (--)

10    RI:   <<p> akkusativ;> (--)
            <<p> accusative;> (--)
11    TE:   WEM; (-)
            to WHOM; (-)
12    RI:   ach WEM, (--)
            ach to WHOM, (--)
13          äh (--) dativ; (--)
            äh (--) dative; (--)
14          also (-) catas (-) TAS (--)
            so (-) catas (-) TAS (--)
15    TE:   <<p> DAtiv hɔsch gsagt;> (--)
            <<p> DAtive you said;> (--)
16    RI:   oh mann,
            oh man,
17    TE:   ((laughs))
18          […]
```

In line 9, the teacher hints at the appropriate case by marking it in a German word (she stresses the article, which marks the dative case in German). Rico's answer (10) is evaluated negatively by her next hint, the stressed interrogative *WEM* ('*to WHOM*', line 11). In his repair turn (line 12), Rico repeats the interrogative, marking it as a realisation with a change-of-state token (Heritage 1984). He answers the inserted question first ('*dative*', 13) and then repairs the translation of the problematic item (14). He connects the two replies by a consecutive conjunction reaffirming the intermediary and helping character of the embedded case-searching initiation. In line 15, the teacher evaluates the reply negatively. Her formulation ('DAtive you said') confirms the right answer concerning the case to mark, but the citation makes clear that the translation failed again. Furthermore, the formulation infers playful aspects of the interaction modality. By reminding him of what he correctly had said, she playfully gives him the role of a co-knowing party of the exchange, who knows the case to mark, and who, of course, knows the form needed to mark it.[32] Playfulness is inferred by the obvious contrast between the suggested role of knowing party and the de facto process of wringing the dative answer out of him. The contrast between linguistic forms constituted by the switch to salient dialect forms helps to contextualise the playful aspects of the evaluation turn. In view of Rico's preceding failures in the episode, the teacher's playful trifling with the potentially embarrassing situation might well be for motivational reasons. Rico's evaluative comment on his performance (16) and the teacher's laughing reaction to it indicate that motivation, face-threat, and the teacher's work on modality are at stake at this point of interaction.

Rico and the teacher again co-operate in translating the last segment of Rico's sentence, where again problems with case-marking arise.

Example 2.3

```
29   TE:   die <<f> MENge der menschn;> (--)
           the <<f> CROWD of people;> (--)
30   RI:   ähm (1.74) homi:- (1.21)
31   TE:   <<p>mach> (-) den GEnitiv richtich? gEnitiv plural?
           (5.52)
           <<p>form> (-) the GEnitive correctly? gEnitive plural?
           (5.52)
32         jonas? (1.33)
           jonas? (1.33)
33         genitiv  [plural
           genitive [plural
34   RI:            [<<pp> hominum;>
35   TE:   mensch/ (-)
           people/ (-)
36         <<f> HOmi?> (-)
37   RI:   norum? (-)
38   TE:   ʔaʔaʔa
```

---

[32] In the task-based interaction, the allocation of the roles of "primary and secondary knower" (Berry 1981) – or even questioner and answerer – are not as clearly reconstructable as in the previous ACI extract. If Rico had known the forms of Latin declension – which he actually is expected to know according to the curriculum – he would have been an unquestioned (co-)knowing party of the interaction, and an expanded IRE structure would probably not have emerged.

```
39    RI:   ah dəs isch ja DING,
            ah of course this is THINGY,
40    TE:   ↓de:s isch doch konsonan[tisch.
            ↓this is of course consonan[tal.
41    RI:                            [ja-
                                     [yes
42          jetz- (1.41)
            now- (1.41)
43    TE:   ↑also heißt=s? (--)
            ↑so it is? (--)
44          du weisch es, (-)
            you know it, (-)
45          ich weiß es? (-)
            i know it? (-)
46    RI:   `hm`hm (-)
47    TE:   STEffi? ((laughs)) (--)
[…]
```

As Rico shows problems with his response (line 30), the teacher accelerates the exchange by giving the grammatical case and number to mark (line 31). As she does not get a reply, she names another pupil to respond (32). As she does not get a reply from the selected speaker either, she repeats a short version of the question (33); in overlap with her initiation directed to Jonas, the still authorised speaker Rico offers a suggestion (34). The teacher breaks up her initiation (35) and reacts to Rico's reply (36), asking Rico to repeat it. She uses a format which she also uses for indirect, repair-initiating negative evaluation turns: she utters the lexical stem of a word, asking by rising pitch for its completion. As the status of her question is not clear – it is either a correction-initiating move or a 'real' request for repetition – Rico reacts with a correction of the actually correct form, offering a wrong ending (37). His reply is evaluated negatively by a non-morphemised utterance (ʔaʔaʔa, 38), to which Rico reacts with a formulation that contains two epistemic operators, the receipt object 'ah' and 'ja' ('of course'), which together claim that he has realised why the form was wrong (39). But in his formulation ('ah of course this is THINGY'), the syntactic slot for the reason is filled by the place-holding pro-form *DING* ('THINGY'). Instead of waiting for the projected postponed replacement of the pro-form, the teacher takes the turn to replace *DING* by the reason (40). The teacher's part of the co-construction is marked by the switch to dialect, but also prosodically by a noticeably segmented, slow-paced articulation with syllable-timed rhythm, and a contrasting lowered F0 in the whole intonation phrase. The formal contrast, together with the paralleled wording and syntactical structure, marks the teacher's continuation and the adoption of Rico's perspective. The utterance format continues Rico's displayed 'realising' and 'knowing', and her help is just the continuation of what he himself knows. The implied motivational aspects of the marked adoption of the pupil's perspective are made explicit in 44-45: 'you know it, (-) I know it'.

The examples of the extract so far indicate that switching codes is a basic resource for the teacher to mitigate face-threatening and de-motivating effects of negative evaluation or helping. The following example shows that the use of code-switching in evaluations is not restricted to this, but might be used to express negative affect. In the continuation of the activity, the genitive plural keeps being problematic. Rico has failed to find the form and gives up (46). The next selected

pupil, Steffi (47), gives up without trying to solve the problem (left out in the transcription). The teacher then starts a preparational parsing initiation, asking for the nominative form, the supposedly easiest and best-known case (49).

Example 2.4

```
49   TE:   du weißt doch wie=s im NOminativ heißt; (--)
           you do know what it is in NOminative; (--)
50         jonas NOminativ? (--)
           jonas NOminativ? (--)
51         von den menschṇ? (--)
           of the people? (--)
52   JO:   HOminem; (--)
53   TE:   <<p> DE:S isch də akkusativ.> (-)
           <<p> THIS is the accusative.> (-)
54   JO:   <<f> äh> (-) ho/ (-) HOmines; (-)
55   TE:   <<f> dann bild=s halt aus HOmines oder hOminem,>
           <<f> well then form it from HOmines or hOminem,>
56         dəs is mir eGAL,
           i don't MIND,,
57         hauptsach du bild=sch n genitiv <<f>↑`!PLU!ral.> (-)
           the main thing is that you form a genitive
           <<f>↑`!PLU!ral.> (-)
```

After she gets no reply to her initiation, the teacher selects Jonas to respond by naming him and repeating a reduced version of the prior initiation turn (50). After Jonas does not reply, she postpones an additional initiation element (51). Then he responds with a wrong form (52), which is evaluated negatively (53). This evaluation turn establishes contrasts on two levels: there is the code-switch to the dialect, and in contrast to the teacher's preceding evaluations, it is more direct and apodictic. It lacks a strategy for continuation (Mehan 1979), which her negative evaluations usually show. There is no hinting initiation for a continued search for the correct answer. It expresses affect, resignation, which, in the context of the problematic development of the translation exercise, is easy to understand for the pupils. It already implicitly communicates what is explicitly said after Jonas' correction (57): she gives up the inserted elicitation process in search of the genitive plural, and just wants to hear the correct form.

The teacher's code-alternational procedures described in this section are instances of code-switching between standard and dialect forms. They function as locally meaningful contextualisation cues conveying "socio-symbolic meaning" (Kallmeyer/Keim 1994), which concern the keying and, with this, the relation between the participants and roles involved. They all occur in interactionally complex third turns of IRE-exchanges, and they are all part of the methods the teacher uses to fulfil the multi-layered task of reacting to the local contingencies engendered by the pupils' unsatisfactory replies while re-initiating a correction. The different examples show that the use of code-switching emerges in the interaction process, and its specific inferences are interpretable only in relation to the local exigencies which triggered its use.

The following example further explores the emergent character of the use of dialect-standard switching in class. It demonstrates that both the use and the meaning of code-switching is accomplished on a turn-by-turn basis. Again, it is a

case of code-switching which is constitutive of the interaction modality. The code-switch occurs within a helping activity, but, in contrast to the previous examples, the help is not integrated into an IRE practice. It is the product of an elicitation process initiated by the pupils. The extract comes from an in-class exam, the translation of a Latin text into German. Before the pupils start working on the translation, the Latin text is read aloud by the teacher. At the beginning of the extract, the teacher stops reading and refers to a typing mistake in the written draft of the exam (line 1). A pupil, Maxi (MA, line 2), then asks a question which triggers a conversational episode in which the pupils and the teacher negotiate whether or not the teacher will help with a Latin word of the exam text.

Example 3

```
01    TE:    mach n BALkn̩ zwischen requirrere (-) und audiebat. (--)
             make a BAR between requirrere (-) and audiebat. (--)
02    MA:    ähm was heißt DENsa? (1.69)
             ähm what does DENsa mean? (1.69)
03    TE:    densus, (--)
             densus, (--)
04           probier was geht. (1.0)
             try what fits in. (1.0)
05    RO:    [hm]
06    JO:    [hm|
07    RO:    toll wenn [wir=s nich wissn̩,]
             great if  [we don't know it,]
08    MA:              [also (-) wir ham=s ] gwiss nich glernt.
                       [well (-) we definitely haven't] learned it.
09    RO:    'hm'hm.
10    MA:    weiß nich, (2.75)
             don't know, (2.75)
11           sie   [kenne(t)      ]
             you   [could         ]
12    TE:          [i(ch) sag=s] vielleicht später noch.
                   [I=ll say    ] it maybe later on.

13    RO:    [toll. ((lacht))  ]
             [great. ((laughs))]
14    MA:    [((laughs))]
15           ja TOLL,
             GREAT,
16           wie soll=mə=s (denn) über[SETZn̩?]
             how shall we transLATE it [then?]
17    TE:                             [(es) is] die STEIgerung von nacht.
                                      [ it is ] the COMparison of night.
18           vielleicht findet ihr selber was. (2.54)
             maybe you'll find something on your own. (2.54)
19           sieben, (-)
             seven, (-)
20           wenn də MOND net scheint,
             if the MOON doesn=t shine,
21           und solche s/ sachɐ;
             and th/ things like that;
22           un=d=stənəllɐ net zu sɛən sind, (-)
             and the little stars are not to be seen, (-)
```

```
23          dann is es DENsa nox. (--)
            then it is DENsa nox. (--)
24          sieben,
            seven,      GOES ON READING THE LATIN TEXT OF THE TEST
```

Maxi's question in line 2 is direct, without any politeness modalisation. The direct format already displays the pupils' basic claim: only elements which have been discussed in class are allowed to be tested. After a long pause, the teacher reacts, first by pronouncing the citation form of the asked word (line 3), and by requesting Maxi to try to find the solution for himself (line 4). By trying to motivate him to infer the meaning of 'densa', she expresses her preferred solution. At this point, with the question still open whether 'densa' has been covered in class or not, two other pupils join in. Robin (RO) and Jonas (JO) react with *hm* (lines 5, 6), indicating that they also do not know the word. In Robin's subsequent reaction to the teacher's request, he expresses displeasure using an ironic format ('great if we don't know it', 7). The if-clause implies the completion "it is not possible to try it out", and it presupposes the basic claim: "pupils can only know what has been covered in class". The fundamental argument is made explicit by Maxi in line 8 ('we definitely haven't learned it'). After Robin confirms the correctness of Maxi's argument (negating *'hm'hm*, line 9), Maxi prepares (10) and starts to propose a solution (11), which is interrupted by the teacher holding out the prospect of possible help ('I will say it maybe later on', 12). Starting simultaneously, Robin and Maxi react to this concession: Robin with a second, shortened ironic comment ('great', 13), updating the basic claim, and Maxi with the adoption of Robin's ironic strategy (line 14-16). Then, the teacher sets in in overlap, giving a very abstract hint ('it=s the comparison of night', 17), to which she adds the confirmation of her preferred solution ('maybe you'll find something on your own', 18). After a long 2.4 sec. pause – accomplished by all participants – the teacher refocuses the reading of the translation text by uttering *sieben* ('seven', 19), the number of the next Latin sentence. However, the opening of the focus is not followed by the Latin text, but by a code-switched passage containing a descriptive explication of 'densa' (lines 20-23). Obviously, the help – or benefit – at the end of the interactive process is accomplished turn by turn by both negotiating parties. A crucial increment in the unfolding interaction is the teacher's abstract hint in line 17. With the formulation of this hint – the somehow absurd 'comparison of night' – the teacher herself establishes the need for detailing or exemplifying what she has said; the hint given is too abstract to work by itself. At this point, she is forced to give another, more concrete explanation.

As in all the previous examples, the use of dialect forms co-occurs with other concomitant contextualisation cues. The marking is achieved by different linguistic features generating inferable extra meaning. In this extract, it is achieved above all by the salient lexical choice: 'the moon that shines and the little stars' is appropriate for addressing little children, but not 14-15-year-olds. The markedness in the context of the preceding interaction imports the teacher's preferred solution – that pupils find out for themselves – into the solution at the end. The 'synthesised' solution infers an account/commentary on the interactional episode itself, or even a kind of reproach (expressed explicitly: 'I would prefer you to try it yourself, but if you insist ...'). Although the teacher is switching codes to benefit the pupils, there is no change in the participation roles from an authoritarian to a more soli-

dary stance, or a marked stepping out of the institutional frame involved. Switching into the marked realisation of the interactively forced benefit helps the teacher to come out of the situation she has interactively come into, that is to be inconsistent in action, but reducing the danger of damaging her image and authority. In this sense, her switch of codes is an interactive means to ensure her position, thus to reproduce institutional social order.

6. Discussion

In the specific classroom which was analysed, the teacher's repertoire is structured 'diglossically' in the sense of Auer's (2005) "attenuated form of diglossia": it is characterised by a double continuum between the standard and dialect poles. The analysis of her use of linguistic variables indicates a clear border between two continua. The first continuum is constituted by explicit (canonical) and weak (spoken) standard forms (see categories 1 and 2 of the inventory in section 2); it is labelled 'standard continuum'. The second continuum is a 'regiolect-dialect continuum' (between categories 3 and 4). Between the two continua, the teacher switches codes. Furthermore, the analysis has revealed the teacher's co-ordinated and consistence use of the different types of standard forms. She uses code-shifting procedures within the standard continuum.
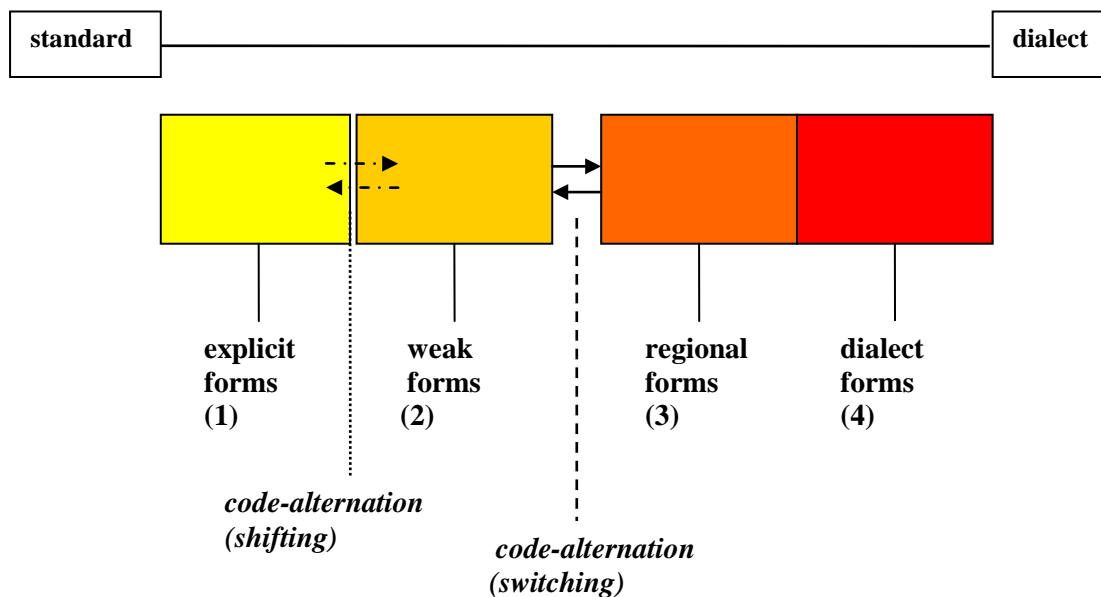

Fig. 1: Model of the teacher's repertoire

The teacher uses the rich and structured repertoire as a linguistic resource to match the complex tasks in class. The main functions of her code-alternating procedures can tentatively be assigned to three levels of a continuum from a textual/discursive to an interactive, and up to a socio-symbolic functional dimen-

sion.[33] Many instances of code-alternation are polyvalent, and in many cases the functions are not separable.[34] At first, code-alternation helps the teacher to structure discourse on a textual level, e.g. to segment and rank discourse units. This functional dimension is often directly related to and co-occurs with discourse organisational functions on an interactive level, e.g. to indicate changes in activity types or opportunities for participation. For both discourse structuring functional dimensions, the teacher predominantly uses procedures of code-shifting within the standard continuum, although code-switching can be involved in purely discourse-structuring tasks, without socio-symbolic import; this is shown in example 1.4, where a switch to dialect helps to nest the teacher's complex answer turn. Finally, there are code-alternating procedures which help to generate socio-symbolic inferences. In the examples analysed, the teacher switches codes to work on the interaction modality, which in particular emerges as a relevant task in the intricate, hinge-positioned third turn position following up pupils' 'insufficient' answers.

The analysis indicates that the two different code-alternating procedures might function on different grounds. Code-switching, as well as the inferences generated by its use, is accomplished in interaction on a turn-by-turn basis. Both the use and situated meaning of code-switching are bound to the local exigencies of the unfolding interaction. Code-switching is used to generate meaning by contrast – by 'signalling otherness'. In other words, meaning is "brought about" (Hinnenkamp 1987) by the switching rather than "brought along" by the code and intrinsic meaning potentials. The teacher's use of code-switching shows that this principle holds true even in contexts which are constrained by institution-specific tasks and routinised practices such as the IRE structure. On the other hand, formal contrast built up by code-shifting procedures is much less salient. Furthermore, the use of code-shifting has one dominant function: it helps to structure discourse by means of indexing levels of institutional relevance. The analyses of the teacher's coordinated and consistent use of code-shifting in relation to her structuring tasks – especially the correlation between the varying use of specific linguistic forms and changing activities – suggests that routinisation has an impact on the use and functioning of code-shifting procedures. In the sense of the concept of "communicative genres" (Luckmann 1986),[35] the practice of code-shifting might be a routinised solution – a standardised pattern – to which the participants can orient themselves in order to match recurrent tasks. The indexical relation between instructional relevance and linguistic forms, then, might be based on an "encoded intersubjective schema of experience" ("sprachlich gekodete Erfahrungsschemata", Luckmann 1986:199), which is instantiated in communicative patterns that scaffold interaction. Then, it is knowledge which, as Garfinkel (1967) notes, "is in the doing". It is important to note that such orientating patterns are updated and reestablished by every instance of their use (Günthner 2006). In this sense, the functional use of code-shifting in the classroom, and communicative routine in general, is also an interactive achievement (Schegloff 1986).

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[33] This tentative classification is based on the distinction between "functions structuring narratives and discourses" and "social-symbolizing variation procedures" (Kallmeyer/Keim 1994; my translation).

[34] In fact, most instances of socio-symbolic code-switching have also text- or interaction-structuring effects.

[35] See also Knoblauch/Günthner (1994), Günthner (2006), and Bachtin's (1986) concept of 'speech genre'.

All the examples have shown that the functional use of both code-shifting and code-switching procedures involves several co-occurring features of different semiotic, and in the case of code-shifting above all micro-level, linguistic resources. It indicates that code-alternational procedures, especially code-switching, are complex, holistic signs, in which choice of standard-dialect encoding level is one resource among others. Finally, in the classroom investigated, both code-shifting and code-switching procedures are part of the methods the teacher uses to fulfil her complex tasks in class. They are resources used to accomplish ordered and accountable activities, and with that they are used to re-form and reproduce institutional reality in interaction.

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8. Appendix: conventions of transcription

```
uttering wo[rds
          [words
```
overlap (indicated by square brackets)

`is=əs`	slurring/clitical units
`:, ::`	lengthening, according to duration
`äh`	hesitation signal ('filled pause')
`` `hm`hm ``	negation signal (not lexicalized)
`ʔ`	glottal stop
`((laughs))`	description of laughter
`((cough))`	paralinguistic and non-linguistic actions and events
`(.)`	micro-pause
`(-), (--), (---)`	short, middle, long pauses (of ca. 0.25 - 0.75 seconds, up to ca. 1 second)
`(1.09)`	measured pause (measured to hundredths of a second)
`(   )`	unintelligible passage
`(candidate)`	presumed wording
`word(s)`	presumed sound or syllable
`[…]`	omission of text

Final pitch movements:

`?`	high rise
`,`	rise to mid
`–`	level pitch
`;`	fall to mid
`.`	low fall

Accents:

`AKzent`	primary or main accent
`Akzent`	secondary accent
`!AK!zent`	extra strong accent

Pitch:

`↓`	pitch step-down
`↑`	pitch step-up
`<<l> >`	low pitch register
`<<h> >`	high pitch register

Intra-linear notation of pitch movement within an accent:

`ˋVOR`	fall
`ˊVOR`	rise
`ˉVOR`	level
`^VOR`	rise-fall
`ˋˊVOR`	fall-rise
`↑ˋVOR`	pitch step-up to the peak of the accented syllable

`↓'VOR`	pitch step-down to the bottom of the accented syllable

Volume and tempo changes:

`<<f> word>`	forte, loud
`<<ff> word>`	fortissimo, very loud
`<<p> w>`	piano, soft
`<<pp> >`	pianissimo, very soft
`<<all> >`	allegro, fast
`<<len> >`	lento, slow
`<<cresc> >`	crescendo, becoming louder
`<<dim> >`	diminuendo, becoming softer
`<<acc> >`	accelerando, becoming faster
`<<rall> >`	rallentando, becoming slower

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