

BILINGUAL CONVERSATION

Pragmatics & Beyond

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J.C.P. Auer

Bilingual Conversation

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For Peter Hartmann (1923-1984)

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1. INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE ALTERNATION AND THE STUDY OF BILINGUAL CONVERSATION

According to estimations, about half of the earth's population speaks at least two languages. Given this fact, the growing interest in code-switching and related issues over the past two decades seems only too natural. It is an indication of linguists' sharpened awareness of the communicative problems whose emergence in modern developed and developing societies calls for a *linguistique de la parole* avoiding the old self-imposed limitations of the discipline, that is, for a more 'realistic' approach to language (Hartmann 1982). The alternating use of more than one language is one of the most striking features of many interactions in bilingual communities. It is usually looked down upon by the very speakers who code-switch in everyday life, just as it was looked down upon by linguists until recently; both did not consider it worthwhile to think about language alternation. Not until sociolinguists ceased to regard it as a degenerate and incompetent way of expressing oneself — that is, not until they ceased to evaluate it from the point of view of the monolingual — did questions begin to be asked about the regularities and functions governing, and expressed by, this particular linguistic behaviour.

Three different perspectives may be distinguished in the literature on language alternation. First, from what might be called the *grammatical perspective*, the syntactic and morphological restrictions on switching from one language to the other are investigated. The second perspective — call it *interactional* — is concerned with the meaning/function of individual instances of language alternation in conversation. Finally, there is a third perspective which can be called *sociolinguistic* (in a restricted sense); its aim is to find out which bilingual communities show language alternation in which situations and why.

This monograph will focus exclusively on the second, i.e. the interactional perspective.¹ Although the importance of the grammatical and sociolinguistic sides of the issue is beyond doubt, the analysis of the meaning of individual instances of language alternation seems to be the most basic and also the most unresolved question. Grammatical restrictions on code-

switching are but necessary conditions; code-switching is not merely a matter of linguistic well-formedness — it also has communicative content left unexplained by the analysis of syntactic surface constraints. Furthermore, in my data and those used by other researchers,² language alternation beyond the sentence level (i.e. the upper limit of syntactic analysis) and apart from single lexeme (mostly noun) alternation makes up only a small percentage of the total number of switches. These can be accounted for quite elegantly by the two constraints introduced by Poplack (1981a), i.e. the 'free morpheme constraint' forbidding stem/affix alternation as in **trinkevo* (Germ. *trinken* and the Italian *imperfetto* suffix) and the 'equivalence constraint' forbidding switching in non-parallel constructions, e.g. in **siamo andati a casa mein* ('we went to my house'), a blend of the non-corresponding Italian (*siamo andati a casa mia*) and German (*wir sind zu meinem Haus gegangen* or even *wir sind zu mir nach Hause gegangen*) adverbial phrase structures.³

Matters are much less settled from the sociolinguistic perspective on language alternation. Although most authors investigating code-switching have been concerned with relating this particular verbal style to larger scale sociological constructs such as networks or domains, there is no single answer to the question of where code-switching occurs and why.⁴ However, as in grammatical analysis, work in this area does not account for the communicative content of language alternation; its (global) 'social meaning' is inferred from a description (in whatever terms it may be formulated) of the macro-situations in which it is observed. Language alternation is taken to be another — linguistic — parameter of these situations, not as an individually meaningful linguistic activity. Yet the 'global' social meaning of code-switching is dependent upon its local function: it seems evident that the status of language alternation as a form of linguistic behaviour in a given speech community differs according to the local functions it serves in interaction. In a community which only permits switching languages when setting off ritual events from the surrounding conversation⁵ we will be dealing with a different 'social meaning' of code-switching than in one where frequent language alternation is a feature of almost every turn.⁶

There is, then, a particular need to approach language alternation from the interactional perspective. Many investigators have of course realized that language alternation (in contrast to single parameter variation as analyzed in the Labovian framework) is individually (locally) meaningful. But often, this has only led to anecdotal descriptions of selected instances considered to be particularly typical or striking, or, alternatively, to classificational sys-

tems for code-switching which are neither capable of clearly defining the individual types nor of providing the reader with those interpretive procedures that must be used to assign a given switch to one of the categories.

Merely enumerating types of language alternation seems inadequate for a number of reasons. To begin with, it is a futile endeavour to give a closed classificational scheme for code-switching, for an indeterminate number of interpretations can be arrived at. What exactly a bilingual participant is doing when he or she switches languages is closely tied to the specific, never-identical circumstances in which alternation occurs. To be sure, there are interpretations that recur, and it can be instructive to know about these most frequent functions of language alternation in discourse. Even so, participants don't just choose one type from some fixed set of alternatives. This brings us to the second point against a classificational approach to code-switching. If the number of types of language alternation isn't finite, then *how* do participants agree on one interpretation or the other *in loco*? It is this question which seems to be of primary importance, and it is one left unanswered by all classificational systems.

Note that this question implies a fundamental shift of analytic interest. It suggests that the classification of language alternation types is subordinated to the analysis of the procedures used to arrive at it. Let us call this a *procedural* instead of a classificational interest. Also note that the procedures we aim to describe are supposed to be those used by participants in actual interaction, i.e. that they are supposed to be interactionally relevant and 'real', not just a scientific construct designed to 'fit the data'. So there is an analytic interest in *members'* methods (or procedures), as opposed to an interest in external procedures derived from a scientific theory. In short, our purpose is to analyze *members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation*.

The existing literature on code-switching from an interactive perspective may be further criticized for often being restricted to only some functions of language alternation. What we will call discourse related code-switching, i.e. code-switching related to specific conversational tasks, has been investigated, but less 'spectacular' occurrences such as code-switching in the process of negotiating a common language of interaction and language alternation to display bilingual (in)competence, have often been neglected. We will attempt to overcome these shortcomings and present a model for the interpretation of language alternation which is *comprehensive*, coherent and can account for these less spectacular instances as well.

Two analyses stand out in the literature for coming close to such a goal. The first, by Gumperz, is based on his famous distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 1982: Ch. 4). According to this model, situational code-switching is "patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local system" (Blom & Gumperz 1972: 409), that is, it stands in an "almost one-to-one-relationship" (1982: 61) to the defining features of the situation. Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, exploits such one-to-one-relationships. It is meaningful precisely because it violates them and thereby invites conversational implicatures. It is independent of the situation and is described as "a shift in contextualization cues, which is not accompanied by a shift in topic or in other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation" (1982: 81). Put in this way,⁷ one would either have to conclude that (in the situational case) code-switching is without social meaning because it is a necessary consequence of certain situational parameters, or that (in the metaphorical case) it is dependent on an (almost) one-to-one-relationship between language choice and situational parameters which can be purposefully violated. In many sociolinguistic situations where language alternation is a frequent phenomenon, such a view could only account for a very limited number of switches. As a rule, language choice is not determined by situational parameters: the choice of one language over the other is part of the complicated business of defining the situation. On the other hand, what Gumperz calls metaphorical switching is deeply interwoven with its context; when participants switch languages to joke, to quote or to give emphasis to what they are saying, they (re)negotiate situational parameters, just as they do in those cases of code-switching that coincide with changes of participant constellation or topic.⁸

The second model to be considered here briefly is one presented by Zentella (1981) in her study of code-switching among Puerto Rican children growing up in El Barrio. She distinguishes three types of factors related to language alternation. 'On the spot' factors pertain to the 'observables of interaction' (1981: 147), such as the topic, the 'psychological setting' and the children's addressee, whom they tend to accommodate in their language choice — at least if he or she is an adult. Changes in these parameters can lead to language alternation. The second group of factors ('in the head') are not directly observable but "come into play when the speaker, attuned to the total social context, makes language choices that are meant to achieve his/her communicative intentions" (205). On this level of communicative strategies,

Zentella mentions 'crutching', triggered for instance by a momentary loss for words, 'footing', i.e. a change of the speaker's 'role', and some others. Finally, factors 'out of the mouth' are taken into account, i.e. linguistic knowledge about phonological and syntactic restrictions on language alternation.

Although the differentiation between the three groups of factors may not always be unproblematic, Zentella gives a good description of almost all of the phenomena of interest in bilingual conversation. But despite the comprehensiveness of her approach, the interplay between the factors 'out of the mouth', 'in the head' and 'on the spot' does not suffice to explain why a given instance of language alternation has its particular function or meaning in discourse. The main reason for this shortcoming is Zentella's (and almost all other researchers') failure to consider adequately the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers.⁹

In the following chapters, we will make this sequentiality of language choice, this embeddedness in the sequential organization of interaction, our starting point. The seemingly trivial fact that language choice (whatever the linguistic activity) is preceded and followed by the choice of the same or other language will turn out to be the cornerstone of the explanation of the meaning of code-switching. This is simply a matter of taking code-switching seriously as a *conversational* activity. We will see that under close scrutiny, the details of the sequential embeddedness of language choice and language alternation permit us to formulate the coherent procedural model we are looking for.

The framework for starting this analysis is conversation analysis.¹⁰ Given the progress that has been made in this field during the last few years, it is surprising that so few attempts have been made to address questions of bilingual conversation.¹¹ This seems even more surprising when we remember that conversation analysis focuses on the sequential development of interaction and is therefore a natural point of departure for a turn-by-turn analysis of language choice and language alternation. A conversation analytic approach to code-switching requires two things. First, we need to base our analyses on detailed transcriptions of naturally occurring interactions. With respect to the form and quality of the examples for code-switching usually to be found in the literature, it is necessary to stress this point: no sequential

analysis can be carried out on data which do not allow (much) reconstructing of the interaction as it unfolded in real time. For the interpretation of code-switching, participants and analysts alike depend on the 'trivia' of verbal interaction, such as pauses, hesitations, overlaps, fillers, backchannels, and so on. Whenever these details are filtered out so that only an 'amended', 'corrected', 'more readable', in short, 'written' version of the oral data remains, conversation analysis becomes impossible from the very start.

Second, conversation analysis gives priority to dialogical meaning, that is, to meaning as a negotiated property of interaction. This is to say that linguistic (as social) activities become significant because they are given significance by all participants — not only the 'speaker'. Consequently, conversation analysis limits the external analysts' interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour. 'Meanings' are neither equated with speakers' intentions, nor with recipients' interpretations; both are looked upon as mental entities which are of little interest as long as they do not 'materialize'¹² in interaction. What is of primary interest is the visible-observable techniques, strategies, signals, etc. by which participants make themselves understood, display their understanding of co-participants' utterances, check on their being understood by co-participants, etc..

The model presented in the following chapters is meant as an attempt to flex the muscles of conversation analysis as much as possible. The restrictions this approach imposes on methods and procedures are in the first place restrictions on the resources available to the researcher. We will refrain from using knowledge which cannot be shown to be used by conversationalists themselves and therefore limit the use of the 'background knowledge' often excessively drawn upon in investigations of code-switching. We will also refrain from using members' or others' comments on the tape-recorded episodes due to the additional and unresolved problems these comments raise.¹³ Both additional resources (researchers' background knowledge, members' comments) can be useful tools if they are used in a methodologically controlled way. However, as long as such a methodology is only beginning to be developed, it seems appropriate to extend the conversational approach as far as possible, and to see how far it takes us.

It is necessary to turn to some definitional issues at this point. First, there is the question of *defining bilingualism*. Linguists have generated an extensive literature in their inconclusive discussion of exactly how competent someone has to be to be 'bilingual'.¹⁴ Dozens of attempts have been made

to come to a definition, ranging from minimal ('use of two languages') to maximal ones ('native-like control of two languages'). The impasse can only be overcome if bilingualism is no longer regarded as 'something inside speakers' heads', i.e., a mental ability, but as a displayed feature of participants' everyday linguistic behaviour. You cannot be bilingual in your head, you have to use two or more languages 'on stage', in interaction, to show others that and how you can use them.

Such a view on bilingualism is in accordance with a version of ethnomethodology (as advanced, for instance, by Coulter 1979), in which mental predicates — i.e. predicates relating to 'inner states', 'cognitive events', etc. — are looked upon as the result of participants' interactional work of displaying and ascribing them on the basis of observable-accountable material events. 'Bilingualism' is such a mental predicate in lay as well as most linguistic usages of the term. The phenomenologically inspired bracketing policy of ethnomethodology recommends disregarding its cognitive reality and asking instead for the interactional bases of its ascription to a particular speaker. Bilingualism is looked upon primarily as a set of complex linguistic activities, and only in a 'derived' sense, as a cognitive ability. Consequently there is no one definition of bilingualism: being bilingual becomes an achieved status. And how this status is achieved, in different ways and by different speakers, is what needs to be investigated. If by their behaviour participants motivate the use of the predicate 'bilingual', the analysis of the multiple ways of using two languages also answers the question of how bilingualism is to be defined. As a set of complex linguistic activities it cannot be captured except through the conversation analysis of these activities.

Harvey Sacks used the following trick to underline this 'interactionalizing' which is central to ethnomethodology and conversation analysis: he prefixed *doing* to any presumably mental predicate in order to elicit its produced status. Thus, we might get 'doing being polite', 'doing being an interviewer', 'doing being hesitant',¹⁵ etc.. In a parallel fashion, we may talk about 'doing being bilingual'. How one 'does being bilingual' is the topic of our investigation; it could, in fact, have been its title.

A second problem concerns the definition of the term *language alternation*. Up to now, this term has been used interchangeably with code-switching. I now want to introduce the following way of speaking: 'language alternation' is the cover term for all instances of *locally functional usage of two languages in an interactional episode*.¹⁶ Language alternation may occur between two turns, or turn-internally; it may be restricted to a well-defined unit or change

the whole language of interaction; it may occur within a sentence, or between sentences. No formal restrictions are made at this point. 'Code-switching' however is reserved for a particular type of language alternation which will be introduced in the following chapter and will be opposed to transfer there.

Note that there is a requirement for *local functionality* of language alternation here, one which most researchers do not mention in their definitions of code-switching (or language alternation). Nonetheless, almost all of them want to draw a line between language alternation on the one hand, and what is often called 'interference'¹⁷ on the other hand.¹⁸ The basic idea is that each of the 'languages in contact' in the individual bilingual speaker, and also in the bilingual community, tends to become different from its corresponding monolingual system; these languages may show unilateral or bilateral convergence to one another. From the point of view of the linguist, such convergence can be described — at least diachronically — as the transference of structures or rules from the one language into the other. However, such changes in the two varieties in the bilingual repertoire are not to be equated with language alternation. For elements of the one language that have become part of the other obviously cannot be analyzed as alternation between these two languages.

Although there is thus a clear intuitive distinction to be drawn between language alternation and 'interference', it is very difficult to find adequate criteria by which this distinction can be maintained. This is particularly true on the lexical level where the occurrence of an item which can be classified by the linguist as (also?) belonging to the other system is surely not enough to speak of language alternation. A number of proposals have been made to formulate additional criteria¹⁹ which are, however, all less than unconvincing.²⁰

Here, I want to use the local functionality of language alternation as the decisive characteristics to show its differences from other language-contact phenomena which, taken individually in their specific context, cannot be said to have a specific function. Thus, the mere use of, say, a German word in an Italian sentence such as *poi sono andato nella Sechste* ('then I went to the SIXTH (form)') as such does not, in the first place, have more than a referential function: the speaker uses an originally German word which has become (a variable) part of his or her bilingual repertoire, whether s/he is speaking Italian or German. He or she does so in order to refer to the German form s/he attended and which is best described by this term (be it — from the linguist's point of view — 'Italian' or 'German'). In such a case, the

speaker does not make use of, or mark, the lexical item's 'other-language-ness', and s/he does not employ it for any meaningful purpose apart from establishing reference. In short, there is no indication in the way the item is treated that, from the speaker's perspective, two varieties are in alternation. In contrast, if we find an utterance such as *e poi ho fatto un eh — eh Fehler, allora un errore* ('and then I made a eh — eh a MISTAKE, that is, a mistake'), the speaker produces an item in such a way as to point to its other-language-ness. He or she makes it visible to the co-participant(s), and also to the linguist interpreting the utterance *ex post*. Here, the fact of transferring an item from German is displayed as such, and it has a locally established meaning or function, i.e., to signal the speaker's (momentary) superior lexical knowledge in German as opposed to Italian.²¹

The distinction between functional and (locally) non-functional variation is also important for setting off code-switching against 'code-mixing'. Labov (1971) and Poplack (1981a, 1981b) have presented data in which, they claim, English and Spanish are mixed together without any describable function. In such a case, the frequent variation between the two 'codes' has become a 'mode of interaction' in its own right, i.e. a new code with 'rules' and regularities of its own. Again, we would not speak of language alternation in such instances of language contact.²²

Finally, some comments on the materials used here. The analysis of language alternation to be presented in the following chapters is based on around 1800 instances of code-switching and transfer taken from transcriptions of interactions among and with Italian migrant children living in Constance (West Germany). These were collected in the Constance project on the *Muttersprache italienischer Gastarbeiterkinder* (M.I.G). Because the analysis of language alternation is only one of the issues treated in this project, the present work is embedded in ethnographic, grammatical-variational and attitudinal investigations.²³

The aim of this little book however is not to analyze the linguistic situation of Italian migrant children in Germany; in fact, the reader will find few hints that point to this specific sociolinguistic context. Instead, it will be attempted to outline a model of bilingual conversation which should be applicable to other bilingual communities as well. However, the model was developed to account for language alternation among Italian migrant children, and is therefore particularly suited to cope with a situation which is characterized by the following features: a) Patterns of situation-specific language use aren't much institutionalized and tend to be open to (re-)negotia-

tion to a very large degree. b) Corresponding to this absence of clear cut "domains" of language-use, individual speakers often have trans-episodically valid preferences for one language or the other i.e. they increase the number of alternations when they can switch into the preferred language (most often German, rarely the Italian dialect of their parents). c) Many speakers do not alternate with such a high frequency that no 'base language' can be established for a given stretch of conversation; the language of interaction may often change, but it is usually easily recognized. However, because not all of the children investigated showed these characteristics, it was necessary to outline a model flexible enough to handle other patterns of language alternation as well.

Twenty children aged between seven and seventeen were analyzed in the M.I.G.-project. Most of the data extracts cited in the following chapters involve the following: Agostino (17), Alfredo (16), Camillo (15), Clemente (15), Daniela (14), Fiorella (12), Innocenza (10), Niccolo (8), and Nora (8). Transcriptions follow the notation developed by Gail Jefferson (cf. Schenkein (ed.) 1978), with additional prosodic details given in musical notation where necessary (see Appendix).

2. TWO BASIC PROCEDURES FOR THE PRODUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF LANGUAGE ALTERNATION

Classificatory approaches investigate language alternation by listing its functions — in whatever way these may be shown to be relevant. It has been mentioned that the limitations of such a way of proceeding can be seen most clearly in its inability to cope with the in-principle infinite number of ways in which language alternation may become meaningful. Participants apparently do not interpret code-switching or transfer by subsuming a given instance under one of a pre-established set of types; instead, they dispose of certain procedures for coming to a local (situated) interpretation where the exact meaning or function of language alternation is a result of both contextual information and these more general procedures. As contexts are infinitely numerous, so are the meanings of language alternation.²⁴ Aiming as we do at reconstructing members' conceptions of it, we cannot be satisfied with an enumeration of the local interpretations bilinguals arrive at; we want to investigate how these local interpretations are accomplished on the basis of the more general, context-sensitive procedures. They are the subject of this chapter.

Note that frequency counts are quite irrelevant for our purposes. It is a mistake to believe that numbers of occurrences of certain 'types' of language alternation could reveal their functional character. A frequent line of reasoning in the literature on code-switching runs like this: if a, b, c, \dots are types of language alternation, the probabilities of their occurrence $p_1(a), p_2(b), p_3(c), \dots$ prove that a, b, c, \dots are functional if p exceeds certain limits (which have to be fixed arbitrarily). However, such 'proof' for the functionality of language alternation seems to be of little use beyond the fact that it provides an artificial (per fiat) closure for a list of types, where no such closure is available to participants. Apart from that, frequencies do not relate to functions at all; they may valuable tools to show how often participants make use of language alternation for various purposes described beforehand by the researcher, but they do not even touch the problem of *what* these uses are in functional terms. In fact, very frequent uses of language alternation

that have been found in practically all studies on the subject — for instance, language alternation for citations or for addressee selection — may be as valuable or as useless for the analysis of how code-switching and transfer become meaningful as isolated cases.

Two basic category pairs will be introduced here; they provide the 'underlying' procedural apparatus for arriving at local interpretations of language alternation in its individual context. These are the category pairs *transfer* vs. *code-switching* and *participant* vs. *discourse related* language alternation. From a hearer's point of view, we can reformulate them in the form of the following problems for which the speaker must provide hints to solutions:

- i) Is the language alternation in question tied to a particular conversational structure (for instance, a word, a sentence, or a larger unit (transfer)), or is it tied to a particular point in conversation (code-switching)?
- ii) Is the language alternation in question providing cues for the organization of the ongoing interaction (i.e., is it discourse related), or about attributes of the speaker (participant related)?

In answering these questions, and in providing cues that make them answerable, bilingual participants operate with a basic category grid which provides the fundamental four-way differentiation of the signalling device under investigation. It is important to keep in mind that 'discourse related code-switching', 'discourse related transfer', 'participant related code-switching' and 'participant related transfer' are not generic categories assembling language alternation types into groups; that is, they are not superordinates to the subordinated alternation types like addressee selection, citations, and so on. Such a conception would only lead back to the classificational approach. Instead, there is a qualitative difference, for whereas addressee selection, citation, etc. are situated interpretations arrived at in context, discourse related transfer, discourse related code-switching, etc. are generally available procedures to carry out these local interpretations. Contrary to almost all analyses of code-switching and related phenomena, I want to suggest that it is not the types of language alternation which are used as interpretive resources by participants in the first place, but these more general procedures.

In what follows these procedures will be discussed in more detail on the basis of some data extracts which document transfer and code-switching, and participant and discourse related language alternation in approximately 'pure' versions. The relevance of 'context' will be treated in chapters 3 and 4.

2.1. Discourse vs. participant related language alternation

Let us look at the following data extracts:

(1) (PRANZO A/II, 3/4)

((Daniela is talking about Fiorella's drinking habits))

- 3: 10 Daniela: perché lei è- riempè il bicchiere no, =
because she is fills her glass you know
11 quando mangia: —
when she eats
12 b: °°mhm, °°=
4: 01 Daniela: =e poi lo lascia sta:re;
and then she leaves it
02 a: mm,
03 (0.5)
04 Daniela: [poi devo: be/ - eh=bevo io e mia madre; -
then I have to dr/ I drink it and my mother
05 ?: (.....)
((pp))
06 Daniela: io non (ne) voglio; - °quindi si butta°,
I don't want it so it's thrown away
07 a: mm
08 (2.0)
*09 Daniela: die Nudeln schmecken besser,
the noodles taste better
10 (1.0)
11 als alles
than anything

((conversation continues in German about the meal))

(2) (VW-Bus A:120, 1-3)

((beginning of an interactive episode))

- 1: 01 m: che bella giornata oggi=eh?
what a nice day it is isn't it
02 Francesca: °mm:, °
03 m: cosa facciamo oggi? - restiamo dentro;
what shall we do today shall we stay inside

- 04 facciamo qualche [gioco (dien)? - n [o;
shall we play a game (inside) [no
05 Luca: [nō=ä [ä::
06 m: eh?
07 Luca: °uno° - -
one
08 m: cosa vuoi fare Lukas;
what do you want to do Lukas
→09 Francesca: °ausgehe°
go out
10 Luca: in de Wald,
into the forest
11 m: ja?
really
12 Luca: ääh- in der Wald,
into the forest
13 Francesca: °langweilig°
boring
14 Luca: (wo de:nn)
where
15 (1.5)
16 e::m:
2: 01 (0.5)
02 in.n Pa:k
to the park
03 (1.0)
04 Francesca: am liebschte schwimme; -
((più f))
(I love best) to go swimming
05 Luca &
Francesca: h h h
→06 m: vuoi andare a nuotare
you want to go swimming
07 (1.0)
→08 Luca: dann geh doch in de Bodesee
then why don't you go into Lake Constance
09 n: h e h e h e h e h e 'h i 'h i

- 10 Francesca: wenn morge no schöns Wetter isch=(darf i mama
if we still have fine weather tomorrow I can (...
11 schim.m im Jakob)
go swimming in the Jacob (pool))
12 (0.5)
13 Luca: ah schön wär de gu:t
great that would be fine
→14 m: sapete nuotare voi due - -
((f))
can you swim you two
*15 Francesca: [lu:i [no [lu:i [no: [lui [no
((lento)) ((acc.))
he [no he no he no
→16 Luca: [doch-ich (habs nicht)
yes I (haven't)
→3: 01 m: tu [no?
you don't
02 Francesca: [no! non vuol fa:r mala figu:ra
[no he doesn't want to give a bad impression
03 pirciò dice se:mbre si:=
therefore he always says yes
04 m: = [ah::: [:
*05 Luca: [perchè: (io va:i: ?in) ië no(n); -
[because (I go to) I don't
06 (kon) { volevo } emparra:re
{ voglio } want(ed) to learn it
07 m: bravo Lukas — perché non vuoi imparare
good Lukas why don't you want to learn it
08 Luca: perché voglio:-- perché non voggio.
because I want because I don't want to
09 m: h e h e h e h e h e 'h 'h
10 Francesca: iò si
I do

Datum (1) is taken from a conversation over lunch between Daniela, a fourteen year old Italian girl, and two adult female speakers (a. and b.). The extract begins in the middle of the topic 'lunch at home'. In lines 3:10 to

4:06 Daniela explains to a. and b. why the mother doesn't like her younger sister Fiorella to have wine with the meals: it always gets thrown away, for Fiorella doesn't empty her glass. A. and b. accept Daniela's speaker role: their continuers (lines 12, 02, 07) acknowledge it, at the same time signalling that a. and b. continue to be available as recipients. The point in the sequential development of that interaction which we will focus on is reached in line 09. Daniela proposes to change the "footing"²⁵ of the conversation at that moment; more precisely, she proposes a new conversational topic, in talking no longer about Fiorella and her drinking habits but about the lunch she and a. and b. are having together. At the same time she returns from a secondary into the primary deictic situation.

We have to consider this transition in somewhat more detail. A number of structural phenomena lead up to it. To begin with, the internal organisation of Daniela's turn is such as to provide the reading 'end of a statement', as opposed to 'beginning' or 'middle of a statement'. Specifically, two *loci* seem to be relevant for a potential utterance termination. The first is reached with the end of turn component 4:01. It is marked by the semantic structure starting with *perché* ('because') in line 10, and ending with *e poi...* ('and then...') in line 01. The former conjunction is the beginning of an account for the affirmation formulated before our extract sets in, i.e. that the mother doesn't like Fiorella to have wine, the latter introduces the decisive reason for the mother's stance: Fiorella doesn't empty her glass. In between, some additional information is given which is organized such that it cannot be seen as terminating the utterance. Now, although a possible completion of the account, and also of Daniela's contribution has been reached in 01, no other participant claims the turn: a. produces a continuer acknowledging Daniela's speaker role, b. is silent. After a 1/2 second pause, Daniela resumes and elaborates her statement (line 04).²⁶ Again, this elaboration is structured towards a possible turn transition point: the utterance component *quindi si butta* ('therefore it is thrown away') is displayed as a conclusion by the initial *quindi*. And again, the structurally provided semantic closure does not result in a speaker change: as in the first case, a. provides but a continuer, and b. is silent.

There is then a notable 'refusal' on the part of Daniela's recipients to take up the turn at transition relevant points. This absence of a coparticipants' topically coherent next utterance is responded to in one case by the present speaker's (same turn) elaboration of her argument; in the second case, it leads into topic change. Topic change is Daniela's solution to the problem

given by a.'s and b.'s apparent lack of interest in the present topic.

The relationship between troubles at taking turns — as evidenced by silence and by continuers in positions where topical talk is to be expected — and topic change is a regular one, as has been shown in Maynard's work on monolingual American conversations (1980). In our bilingual case, we additionally note a coincidence between topic change and change of language: the new footing is marked off against the old one by switching into German. Daniela not only proposes a new topic, she also proposes to use a different language for ensuing talk about this topic. (And in fact, both proposals are accepted in our case: conversation continues about the meal in German.)

What is the relationship between language alternation and the new footing in such a case of discourse related code-switching? One way of conceptualizing this relationship would be to see code-switching as a *consequence* of the change of topic. According to such a view, switching is triggered by a change of footing; both stand in a causal relationship to each other. If we were to conceptualize code-switching in such a way, we would deny its functionality; being caused by the new footing, it could hardly be said to have any meaning for the development of the conversation. However, in most speech communities, it is impossible to apply the notion of CAUSE to code-switching in any rigid way; for in many cases, there is no one-to-one relationship between language choice and utterance type. Language alternation seems to be a strategy used by bilingual participants according to their choice; that is, what they can use code-switching for can also be done through other techniques that provide alternatives. In order to come to a more satisfactory conceptualization of the relationship between code-switching and the new footing in a case such as the one documented in the data extract, it is useful to introduce Gumperz' notion of *contextualization*.²⁷ Gumperz' basic idea is that conversationalists need to provide their hearers not only with well-formed propositions in order to communicate what they want to say, they also have to provide a context in which these propositions can be embedded and in which they become interpretable. 'Contextualization' refers to participants' joint efforts to establish and make relevant such contexts. Thus, the notion of contextualization goes a considerable step beyond the commonplace linguistic formula that interpretations of utterances 'depend' on their context. It brings into focus the fact that such a context is not something given and available in itself, but has to be created and maintained by participants in addition to what they say (in the restricted, referential sense). Context is no residual category for Gumperz (as it often is in 'mainstream'

linguistics), it deserves attention in its own right.

In addition to verbal means, contextualization strategies rely on prosodic cues (intonation, rhythm, accent, etc.), gestural and kinesic cues, eye contact, etc.. Code-switching is one of these cues which, for instance, can signal that one topic is terminated and another one about to begin. Generally, it is one way of contextualizing verbal activities, that is, of informing co-participants about the ever-relevant question 'what are we doing now?' — even though its contribution to answering it may be restricted to the information 'something different than before'. Switching is, in this sense, very similar to other contextualization strategies such as lowering or heightening of pitch level, change of posture (e.g. leaning back, leaning forward), change of speed of utterance delivery (*lento* vs. *allegro* speech), and some others.

Language alternation related to the development of conversation has received more attention in the literature than any other of the four basic types of signalling.²⁸ Before turning to other examples, it is necessary to consider what evidence for the claim that code-switching serves as a contextualization strategy might look like. A useful starting point consists in exploiting redundancy of signalling where it occurs.²⁹ Research on contextualization has shown that transitions between activity types are often marked on more than one level, thereby securing understanding even in cases where attention is given to some signalling channels only, or where participants do not necessarily share knowledge about contextualization conventions.³⁰ Given such redundancy, it is possible to start out by establishing the type of change of footing independently of considerations of language choice. Such a quasi-correlational way of proceeding leaves behind the members' perspective, for participants must, of course, process all contextualization cues simultaneously, including language alternation. However, in order to show that there is coincidence between language alternation and change of footing at all, we have to resort to those instances where other cues are available to warrant our claim about the new context which is supposed to be initiated via code-switching as well. It seems that such a 'thought experiment' that dissolves the 'hermeneutic circle' between contextualization cues and contextualized footing in a way that is alien to participants does little harm as long as one keeps in mind that instances of code-switching in which an intuitively present change of footing cannot be explained on the basis of contextualization cues other than language alternation, do not contradict the supposed coincidence but are (perhaps) just cases of non-redundant signalling.

Establishing coincidence between language alternation and change of

footing is the most important evidence for the alleged use of code-switching as a contextualization strategy. Another way of demonstrating the oriented character of postulated structural relations that has often been used in conversation analysis, i.e. the consideration of 'deviations' from the alleged format (for instance, repairs on such deviations), is precluded in the case of language alternation because of the very same redundancy that allows some access to it: the absence of code-switching for, say, topic change is most regularly not noticed or even sanctioned by co-participants, since speakers tend to use alternative contextualization strategies in its place. However, there is one way of considering 'problematic instances' which can be useful for showing that members orient to coincidences between language alternation and change of footing. Consider extract (3):

(3) (PRANZO B:1150,1)

- 01 Daniela: eTere:sa - è scesa: giù. - allo:ra si è/ -
and Teresa came down so one
02 fin=alle: - il=una meno un quarto: abbiamo
until quarter to one we
03 parla:to cossì= [no -- fa (morí: d/dē/ .../ äh
talked like that make (.....)
04 a: [mm
05 D: (dello di) barzelle:tt, -
(of the) jokes
06 kennsch du Witzle?
((f))
do you know jokes?
07 b: poche
((mp))
few

Participants are the same as above. Again, Daniela proposes a new topic, which, in this case, is a new activity type as well, i.e. the telling of jokes (line 06).³¹ Again, this topic proposal is accompanied and signaled by code-switching into German. As in extract (1), Daniela not only invites b. to engage in a different activity/ topic, she also invites her to switch into German for the following stretch of conversation. However, whereas in (1) both the new topic and the new language were accepted, b. declines Daniela's invitation to change the language of interaction in (3). In addition, the new topic/activity is only responded to in a very 'unenthusiastic' fashion (cf. the low amplitude

of b.'s response in contrast to Daniela's *forte* proposal, and the scaling down³² on the lexical level — 'few' as opposed to 'oh yes a lot' or something similar). Note in passing that this 'lack of enthusiasm' is stimulated in a way by the passage leading up to the new topic, at least if we compare this passage to the corresponding one in extract (1). For whereas in extract (1), opportunity is given for other participants to add topical talk, and this opportunity is not made use of by recipients a. and b. (continuers, silence), the new topic/activity is introduced by Daniela in extract (2) without the longish, jointly achieved 'fading out' of the old one which was observed in the first datum.

The interactional significance of b.'s non-acceptance of the new language of interaction can only be fully appreciated against the background of the preference for same language talk which will be introduced shortly. It should be clear though that b.'s non-cooperation on the level of language choice parallels her non-enthusiastic cooperation on the topical/ activity type level: again, the former is used to signal the latter. This, in turn, provides evidence for our claim that code-switching is employed as a contextualization strategy to initiate new footings. Participants, as shown in extract (3), exploit language choice to create discontinuities which are to be interpreted as non-cooperative contributions with regard to a speaker's proposal for the further development of the conversation; *ex negativo*, they thereby demonstrate their orientation to the relevance of language alternation for the new footing in the first place.

Turning to extract (2) now, a different member's procedure for using language alternation is to be considered. M., an adult bilingual Italian, has met Luca (9) and his cousin Francesca (12) in the *Centro Italiano* in Constance. The three start to plan the afternoon, the usual Saturday play group. Francesca wants to go swimming, so m. inquires if the two children know how to swim at all. The girl does, but Luca doesn't know and has to defend himself against his cousin's teasing (lines:14ff).

In this extract, language alternation is quite frequent (cf. the arrowed lines): however, it does not appear to coincide with a change of footing. The contributions 'marked' by new language are conversationally 'unmarked'. Another difference is that code-switching is not effected by one speaker in his or her contribution, but between turns; and that this inter-turn switching is due to participants' consistent use of one language (Italian for m., German for Francesca and Luca) for their utterances. Thus, on a turn-by-turn basis, we can speak of code-switching, but from the perspective of the individual speaker, there is no switching at all. Such a sequence will be called a *language negotiation sequence*. It begins with a disagreement between two or more

parties about which language to use for interaction, and ends as soon as one of them 'gives in' to the other's preferred language.

Actually, our extract turns out to be composed of two of such language negotiation sequences. M.'s initial question (line 1:01, *che bella giornata oggi=eh?* 'what a nice day it is isn't it?') and his following question about what should be done that afternoon (1:03/04) only receive minimal responses which mostly cannot be attributed to either language. The first full-fledged utterance of one of the children is only produced in line 09, when m. addresses Luca directly. The boy makes a proposal in German to 'go out' (*ausgehe*), which is collaboratively completed/ supplemented by Francesca's *in de Wald* ('into the forest'). M.'s German repair initiation device *ja?* terminates this first language negotiation sequence in favour of the children's preference. After some German turns by Luca and Francesca, m. returns to his old preference for Italian in line 2:06 by reformulating Francesca's proposal to 'go swimming' (*am liebschte schwimme*). This reformulation starts a second language negotiation sequence. But Francesca does not respond; instead, she turns to her cousin, and only in 2:10 back to m., in both cases using German. M. insists on Italian in his next question (line 14, *sapete nuotare voi due*, 'can you swim you two'); at this point, the two children, who have both displayed a preference for German, split. Francesca switches into Italian and terminates the language negotiation between herself and m.; whereas Luca remains with German until line 3:05 when he too 'surrenders' to the other two participants' language choice.

Switching in the arrowed lines of this transcript does not contextualize new activities, topics, etc.. Also, it does not contrast something that has been done before with something that will be done now; on the contrary, different language choice by the participants establishes some sort of coherence — not between adjacent turns, but between same-speaker turns (or, to be more precise, between m.'s turns on the one hand, and Francesca's and Luca's turns on the other). In Sacks' terms,³³ code-switching 'skip-connects' utterances and thereby provides a particular type of 'tying'. As to the interactional function or meaning of such a case of code-switching, the object of the signalling process is a different one than in extract (1). Whereas in the case of discourse related switching a new footing is marked by language choice, switching of the second type signals a speaker's preference for one language over the other. In the first place, it tells co-participants something about the code-switching party which is not specific to the sequential position in which it occurs, but holds for a larger unit, such as the interactional episode as a

whole. Here, the term *participant* related language alternation will be used.

Preference for one language over the other as displayed by a co-participant in such a way may be of the relatively stable, individualistic kind. However, it may also be bounded to and hint at characteristics of the episode, that is, a speaker may demonstrate that he or she finds it appropriate to use a given language in the present context (for instance, in the present constellation of participants, for interaction in the presently relevant institutional context, for the kind of interaction to be carried out, etc.). Such a more restricted interpretation of participant related code-switching invokes or alludes to larger scale 'norms' for the uses of the two languages of the bilingual community. Different speech communities diverge in their developing of such 'norms', in their generality and in the strictness in which they require them to be followed. In bilingual speakers' own formulations, language preferences are frequently introduced and justified by reference to competence ('I don't like to speak German because I don't know it well enough') or to attitudes ('I don't like to speak Italian because I don't like this language/ the Italians/ Italy'). Thus language preference is often not a concept used by members to account for their language alone; as an ethno-category, it is no conceptual end point.³⁴

Let us now come back to extract (2). Specifically, we want to reconsider line 2:14 (Francesca: *lui no lui no*) where, intuitively, the interaction seems to have reached a turning point. As noted above, Francesca for the first time uses Italian here and gives up her language preference in favour of m.'s preference for Italian. There is something more substantial at stake though. We have to see Francesca's factual answer to m.'s question *sapete nuotare voi due* as a selection out of a set of at least two possibilities. Let us suppose that the 'facts' require a different answer for Francesca and for Luca. Then the girl can at least choose between the answer *io si* ('I do'), with an implicature 'but he doesn't', and *lui no* ('he doesn't') with an implicature 'but I do'. In terms of truth values, both answers are equivalent. In terms of how language works in and for communication, they are not. To see why this is so, one must take into account that competences of almost all kinds are evaluated positively in the cultures in question; this is demonstrated, among other things, by the preferred character of (other-)ascriptions of competence over (other-)ascriptions of incompetence.³⁵ Accordingly, the set of alternatives available to Francesca in formulating her answer contains a preferred, 'politer' version avoiding an explicit other-ascription of incompetence (*io si*) and a dispreferred, 'ruder' one exposing the other's incompetence (*lui no*).

In addition to choosing the 'ruder' alternative, the girl employs prosodic means to mark *lui no* and its repetition as mockery, such as slow delivery and syllable-by-syllable switching between a high and a low pitch level. That Francesca's turn is hearable as a teasing is also confirmed by Luca's responses: he first makes an attempt to contradict her (line 16), but when Francesca reveals this move as a strategic lie (lines 3:02 and 3), he has to justify himself and find a reason why he can't swim. (Which he does in line 08, *perché non voglio*, 'because I don't want to'.)

If it is correct that there is antagonism developing in these lines between Luca and Francesca, this throws a new light on the girl's switching into m.'s preferred language: by surrendering in the language negotiation sequence Francesca changes her affiliation. Instead of insisting on German together with Luca, she takes m.'s side and 'isolates' the boy. As this is done together with exposing his incompetence, Luca is 'under attack' both on the level of 'content' and on the level of language choice. So language choice is discourse related, or 'strategic', in this extract. However, it is not code-switching (on the turn-by-turn basis) which is functional — for this phenomenon, as we have seen, is to be interpreted as signalling participants' preferences — but the termination of a language negotiation sequence by one of the opponents' having given in to the other. Francesca uses it to symbolically 'switch sides'.

One further step has to be made in this reconstructive analysis of participant related code-switching as a basic way of using language alternation. In order to understand a sequence as a 'language negotiation', or in terms of 'diverging language preferences', we (and participants) start from the assumption that there is a *preference for same language talk*. Only on the basis of such an expectation does it make sense to speak of a tension between participants using different languages, one which is resolved by one participant giving up his or her preference. As analysts, our evidence for participants' orientation to such a preference (as opposed to, say, a everyone-use-whatever-he-wants preference), is, in addition to the regular occurrence of sequences of the type

$$\begin{array}{l} A_i, B_g, A_i, B_g, \dots // A_i, B_i, A_i, B_i, \dots \quad \text{or} \\ // A_g, B_g, A_g, B_g, \dots \end{array}$$

(where A and B are participants, and i and g languages), the way in which the transition between the dispreferred and the preferred pattern of language use ('/' in the above formula) can become functional for answering the question 'what is going on?'. In addition to Francesca's turn 2:14 in extract (2),

b.'s non-acceptance of Daniela's new language choice *and* of her proposal for further conversational activities in extract (3) is relevant here. For according to the preference for same language talk, the other parties' accepting of the code-switching party's language choice is 'unmarked'. Doing what is 'marked', and employing it for some purpose, underlines the oriented-to status of the postulated preference for same language talk.³⁶

Obviously, the preference for same language talk is nothing like a universal. It seems to hold, for instance, among bilingual Italian migrant children in Constance, and also among Puerto Rican children in El Barrio (Zentalla 1981: 270 *et passim*), but in other communities, linguistic accommodation of this sort may be irrelevant or even dispreferred.³⁷ However, as long as it exists, it is an important resource for generating meaning via language use and has to be treated accordingly.

One basic category pair for the production and interpretation of language alternation is, as we have seen, the distinction between discourse and participant related alternation. In order to understand the procedural character and value of this category pair, it is useful to relate it to the tasks participants have to master in conversation. Discourse and participant related alternation can be seen as methods to come to grips with two general types of such tasks. One of them concerns the organization of conversation, that is, turn-taking, topical cohesion, tying, sequencing of activities, repair, overall organisation, etc.. In addition to whatever means there are available to monolingual conversationalists to carry out these tasks, bilinguals can make use of the two or more languages in their linguistic repertoire by employing language alternation as a contextualization strategy. This is what has been called discourse related alternation. A second type of task concerns finding/ negotiating the proper language for the interaction, i.e. (in the ideal case) one that is situationally adequate, that accommodates all parties' competences and preferences, etc.. It also includes finding out if the other has more than one variety at his or her disposal at all. All instances of language alternation serving this second type of task have been called participant related.

2.2. Transfer vs. code-switching

The second basic category pair that is of general relevance whenever language alternation occurs is the distinction between code-switching and transfer. This category pair crosscuts the one already introduced, i.e. discourse and participant related language alternation. Up to now, only examples for code-switching have been considered (extracts (1) to (3)). In order

to illustrate transfer, compare extract (1) with the following two instances:

(4) (SCHNECKENFRESSER 91:25)

((Clemente and Alfredo are complaining about two older people in their house))

- 02 m: perché non lavorano però eh stanno tutto=il
because they don't work so they stay at home
- 03 [giorno a casa]
all through the day
- 04 Alfredo: [che è vecchie e] già pensionann nun hannè figliè;=
he is old retired already they don't have children
- 05 m: =he ::
- 06 Clemente: [na aber nicht der Mann; -
no but not the husband] [der Mann schaff't no;
the husband still goes
to work
- 07 Alfredo: [u mo u mo
the husband the husband
- 08 u Mann è:: chiste: chiù sch - chiù schlim angorè;
the husband is this one (is) more b/ - even worse
- 09 (1.0)
- 10 na vo:t (.) ((follows story))
- 11 m: once
°°mhm°°

(5) (CM-EINZEL 13)

((narrative about a television film about a dog))

- o2 m: ma ma era era in guerra era
but but this was this was during the war it was
- 03 Camillo: no, allorè- lui era - ahm - dressiert, -
no well he was trained
- 04 °come si dice°
how do you say
- 05 m: hm, - si si si si.
yes yes yes yes

Looking at the German items *dressiert* ('trained') and *Mann* ('husband' or 'man') in these extracts, the following differences are readily observed: (a)

in (1), a whole sentence is produced in German by the alternating speaker, but only single lexemes are in (4) and (5). (b) After the present speaker's language alternation, talk in the switched-to language follows in (1), whereas the speaker himself, resumes talk in Italian in (4) and (5). (c) There are functional differences. In particular, the transfer of *dressiert* seems to correspond to a speaker's difficulties to 'find the right word' in Italian, and *Mann* ties back anaphorically to the first mention of the word in line 06 by another participant, that is, it establishes topical cohesion between two adjacent turns.

More generally, we will call any language alternation at a certain point in conversation without a structurally determined (and therefore predictable) return into the first language code-switching; any language alternation for a certain unit with a structurally provided point of return into the first language with that unit's completion will be called transfer.³⁸

To avoid misunderstandings that usually come up at that point of the discussion, the reader is reminded that language alternation was conceptualized in functional terms (cf. pp 7ff). Consequently, our notion of transfer does not correspond to and is not to be confused with the one usually met in the literature on language contact and second language acquisition. The latter is supposed to cover the phenomena subsumed under 'interference' before that concept went out of fashion. Let us call them transfer_L, where the subscript L stands for 'linguist'; for transfer_L is defined and described from the scientist's point of view. He or she can take into account 'diachronic' and other facts that do not necessarily concern participants. Transfer_L is in continuous danger of being a linguistic artifact, due to a monolingual point of view, that is, of taking the monolingual systems of the two languages in contact as the point of reference (German as spoken by Germans in, e.g., Hanover, and Italian as spoken in Florence). The (bilingual) speaker may not make a distinction between two independent and strictly separated systems. Often, the varieties in the repertoires of bilingual speech communities show independent developments setting them off against the monolingual norms ('convergence').³⁹ Transfer_p (P for participant) is defined from the member's perspective. Accordingly, if we want to claim that an item such as *Mann* is a transfer_p, we have to show that the speaker *makes use of* the other-language status of *Mann*; it is not enough that *Mann* can be found in a German dictionary, and not in an Italian one. The 'proof procedures' for transfer_p and transfer_L are therefore quite different. Usually, transfer_L is the weaker alternative with which we have to content ourselves if we cannot demonstrate

that the production of an other-language item has a function. Incidentally, 'finding' a function of transfer in the conversation analytic approach must not be equated with ascribing 'intentions' to a bilingual participant. It requires demonstrating how the participant *displays* a 'reason' for language alternation, in the way this alternation is produced, in visible-inspectable ways for his or her coparticipant(s); in short, it requires a detailed sequential analysis. In extract (4), this 'reason' is displayed by and can be reconstructed because of the repetitive relationship between a preceeding turn and the speaker's 'theme' in his own turn; in (5), Camillo displays a 'reason' for alternating by his hesitations before the item in question (*era — ahm — dressiert, —*), and by his explicit formulation of the lack-of-vocabulary problem just subsequent to its production (*come si dice*, 'how do you say').⁴⁰ On the other hand, utterance components such as *Messer* ('knife') in (6) or *Hauptschule* ('secondary modern') in (7) can only be classified as transfer_L, as the speaker does not orient to their other-language status:

(6) (PRANZO A:235,1)

- 02 Daniela: (un) Messer dov=è,
a knife where is one
03 (0.5)
04 b: Messer c'e gua,
knife it is here

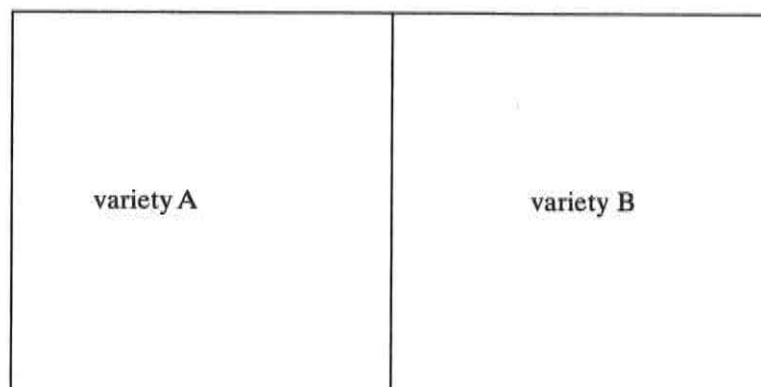
(7) (DURKOLL 38/39)

- 05 Alfredo: quandē sono sceso dē quella scuola da=a
when I came down from this school from the
06 → Hauptschule: - sēnē venutē inda quella scolē
secondary modern I came into this school
07 u deutsch a mi - era uguale comm=nda=a
'German' for me it was the same as in the
08 → Hauptschule;
secondary modern

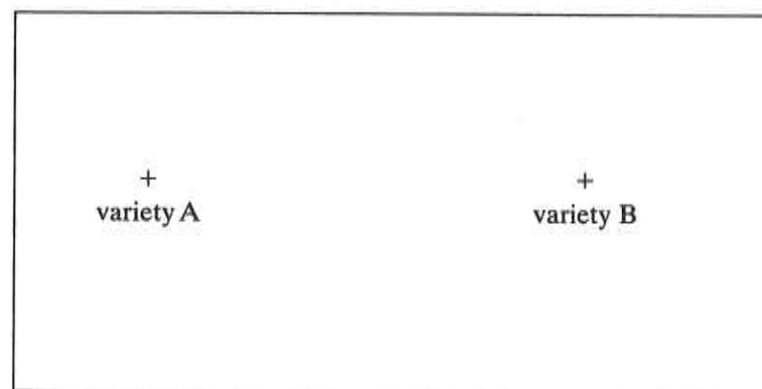
Transfer_L is an aspect of the bilingual's repertoire which dissolves the clear-cut boundaries between the monolingual reference systems in a way that language alternation (including transfer_p) does not. Although both are types of intra-repertoire variation, they differ in the way in which the repertoire is used by the bilingual participant. Language alternation treats this repertoire as a compound of two or more distinct varieties; transfer treats it as a

(most probably polarly structured) whole.⁴¹ Neither is restricted to the lexical level.

A graphical representation of the two types of uses of the bilingual repertoire might look like this:



Type 1: repertoire as a compound of two varieties



Type 2: polarly structured repertoire

Note that the distinction between transfer_p and transfer_L is based on participants' visible-observable behaviour in conversation. We do not want to claim that participants would not be able to slip into the linguist's role and recognize transfers_L as other-language items when asked to do so. In the context of a metalinguistic interview ('triangulation'), the usage of the repertoire most likely to occur is one which is relatively close to the monolin-

gual norms and is biased in favour of the 'distinct varieties'-interpretation.⁴²

Returning to the basic category pair 'transfer' vs. 'code-switching', transfer has been said to be neutral with respect to the negotiated language-of-interaction, whereas code-switching invites other parties to switch languages as well 'until further notice'. This criterion is based on an orientation to a preference for same-language talk. Even in those cases where such an orientation may not be present, there is a difference in the unit of the signalling process: transfer marks items, code-switching marks points. The items set off by the other language against their environment in the case of transfer may be on the lexical or on any other level, and there are no in-principle restrictions on their length or complexity. We observed that Italian migrant children transfer other members' speech activities (citations), *Kleine Gattungen* (Jolles) such as sayings or proverbs, songs and other more complex ritual activities.⁴³ However, the longer the transferred item is, the more difficult prestructuring and end-point predicting become; therefore, prototypical transfers are on the word level.

If it is basic for bilingual participants in the production and interpretation of language alternation to decide whether this phenomenon relates to a structural unit or a point in conversation, this permits some interesting remarks on the methodology of 'code-switching' research. Scholars have often attempted to correlate conversational language choice with the activities carried out by alternating speakers. For instance, Zentella (1981: 221ff) used Halliday's typology of the functions of language for young children (Halliday 1973) and tried to link them to language use; similarly, Genishi (1981), in a study on six year old Spanish/English bilinguals, followed Fishman's advice: "if we note that a switch has occurred from variety *a* to variety *b* [...] the first question that presents itself is whether one variety tends to be used (or used more often) in certain kinds of speech acts or events" (1971: 41). Yet, both attempts yielded no or unsatisfactory results, i.e., for most types of linguistic activities, there was no preferred language. There have also been some futile attempts to correlate language choice with topic (e.g., Dorian 1981: 79). There is an obvious explanation for these 'findings' if one takes into account that only transfer of a unit depends in its functionality on, and may be facilitated by certain properties of that unit. (Indeed, Dorian found in the same study on Gaelic/English bilingualism that what she calls 'loans' were related to topic.) Discourse related switching, on the other hand, builds up a contrast between something before, and something after the point marked in such a way, and thereby contextualizes the new activity. Now we have seen that in

many bilingual communities, there is a preference for same language talk; code-switching (discourse- or participant-related) runs counter to this preference — which, of course, only heightens its signalling value — whereas transfer is neutral vis-à-vis questions of negotiating the language-of-interaction. It should be evident then that code-switching (but not transfer) is always caught inbetween two mutually exclusive considerations. There is the preference for same language talk on the one hand which, if followed strictly, would mean to keep the language-of-interaction as it is. On the other hand, a certain task such as marking the new footing is to be fulfilled, and can be fulfilled, among other things, by code-switching. Some participants may give priority to the one, others to the other consideration. The mere quantity of occurrences cannot be related to activity types or topics, for the preference for same-language talk intervenes as an additional 'variable'. Correlational studies such as the ones cited above disregard the sequentiality of language choice; they start from the implicit or explicit assumption that every bilingual participant (provided he or she is competent enough to do so) is free and independent in his or her language choice for the linguistic activity in question. But bilingual conversations are organized differently; they treat language choice as an interactional issue, related not only to the further development of the conversation (by the impact it may have on it) but also to its preceding sequential context whose language bears on the present speaker's choice.

3. PROTOTYPICAL LOCAL MEANINGS

Local meanings of language alternation based on the two-way procedural grid discussed in the last chapter are built into the context in and for which they are produced. Some of them will occur considerably more often in certain environments than others. Consider just one example; extract (1) of the last chapter (p 13) is taken from an episode where participants are having lunch together. This episode shows an extraordinarily high number of switchings that contextualize topic change. If one only evaluated the functions of code-switching or transfer from a statistical point of view, this might incorrectly be described as a characteristic feature of the speech community, or of the individual participants. A more conversation analytic approach can show that it is part of the particular, activity-centered type of interaction as it unfolds. During meals, it often is the case that several characteristics of natural conversations are suspended. For instance, there is a much higher tolerance for phases of non-speech (lapses); also, topics can change rapidly — for as the interaction is held together on the non-verbal level by co-participants' coordinated activities, it seems to be less urgent to provide verbal coherence by producing longer stretches of same topic talk. Thirdly, the meal itself is available as an omnipresent subject of talk which can be employed when other topics run out. The frequent usage of this 'buffer topic' in our episode PRANZO has to be taken into account for the explanation of the high amount of discourse related code-switching.

Other examples of specifics of the episode that interact with the local interpretation of language alternation are easy to find. For instance, code-switching for the purpose of contextualizing a change of participant constellation will be rare if there are only two participants; transfers may be produced with high frequency in talk about a certain subject (for instance, German transfers in Italian children's talk about school and education). It should also be kept in mind that a single instance of language alternation can relate to more than one feature of the situation. This is especially true for discourse related code-switching. For instance, a newly contextualized topic may coincide with a new participant constellation, or a sequentially subordinated

utterance with a new 'key' (in the sense of Hymes). Such 'multiple' meanings of language alternation are more evidence for a procedural model. They support the hypothesis that the local function of language alternation is not selected by speakers out of a list of pre-established categories, but is arrived at in each case with the help of more general principles such as the distinctions between transfer and code-switching (i.e. the structural basis of the signalling process) and between participant and discourse related alternation (i.e. the object of the signalling process). Interactants start out seeing the new language as a departure from what has happened thus far; they then determine which properties of the situation are 'affected'. This determination is often a global one and does not necessarily differentiate the new footing into all its constituent parts.

3.1 *Discourse related code-switching*

Instead of giving the usual list of discourse functions of code-switching, the discussion in this paragraph will be restricted to two illustrative cases: code-switching for change of participant constellation, and code-switching for sequential contrast. The first has been observed in a great variety of bilingual settings, the second seems to be somewhat rarer; this is compatible with our data: code-switching for signalling a new constellation is the most frequent type, whereas sequential contrast marking holds a middle position.

3.1.1. *Change of participant constellation*

To capture the extraordinarily complex notion of participant constellation, we take Sacks' description of the turn taking system as a starting point (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974/1978). As is well known, the "simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation" has two components; the turn-constructive component allows projecting possible transition points by instructing both speaker and non-speaker(s) to orient to syntactically, prosodically and otherwise motivated units. Their completion makes the second, turn-allocational component of the system relevant, the 'distribution rules' that are used by participants to decide 'who is going to speak next'. The turn-allocational component has two parts and is hierarchically structured:

- i.a) Current speaker selects next speaker.
- i.b) If i.a) does not apply, self-selection takes place, and the first starter acquires the rights to the turn.

- i.c) If neither i.a) nor i.b) hold, present speaker may continue.
- ii. In this case, part i. of the turn-allocational component becomes relevant again as soon as the next transition relevant place has been reached.

In addition to the distinction between speaker and non-speaker, we will need the following terminology to describe larger constellations. The role of the non-speaker can either be looked at as that of a present speaker's *addressee* (i.e. the party to which he or she primarily or exclusively directs his/her utterance), or as that of the *recipient* (i.e. the party who displays in his or her behaviour next to or accompanying current speaker's turn that he or she claims to be addressed by this present speaker).⁴⁴ We will refer to non-addressed ratified participants in the conversation as *listeners* and to (non-addressed) non-ratified non-speakers as *bystanders* (following Goffman 1979: 132). The system of 'roles' that hold for all ratified participants will be called a *participant constellation*.

The importance of the 'simplest systematics' developed by Sacks and his colleagues lies in the fact that it is able to explain the most important properties of conversations; among them (and especially important for our discussion) the non-determinacy of the number of participants. The fact that conversations must have at least two, but can have many more participants, is a consequence of the local organization of turn-taking around transition relevant places. 'Local' means that two parties are sufficient to keep the machinery going (a present speaker and a next speaker), but also, that third and further participants can compete for the turn (via i.b). The authors note (1979: 22) that the system favours small (two party) constellations; for as i.a) is superordinated to i.b.) (and i.c), a present speaker can select another party as his or her addressee, and as the next speaker. This next speaker can re-select the first speaker as his or her addressee and as the next-to-next speaker, etc. Thus, monopolization may occur (and will tend to occur unless specific measures are taken against it). In four- and more-party conversations, such monopolization may lead to conversational schisms, i.e. to a constellation of, say, four splitting up into two two-party conversations, in both of which the 'roles' of recipient/addressee and speaker are exchanged between only two persons who are bystanders with respect to the other two-party conversation (although their bystander status may quickly be abandoned again). The tendency to favour small constellations can be counter-balanced by the following (and other) activities: current speaker avoids

selecting a next speaker, or at least, avoids selecting the last speaker as the next speaker; all participants are given approximately equal chances to win in a competition for the turn according to rule component i.b) (self-selection); and current speaker avoids addressing the same single party consistently.

The following extracts which exemplify the way code-switching contextualizes a new constellation in settings with more than two participants must be seen against the background of the tension between the built-in tendency of conversations to be monopolized by two participants and the measures that are necessary to prevent such monopolization.

Type (i): A present speaker selects more than one addressee in his or her turn. This format (addressee change) is the one that seems to be most striking in many bilingual contexts and has been observed many times. Extracts (1) and (2) demonstrate that code-switching is employed for this function by Italian migrant children in Constance as well.

✓ (1) (MG 3, I, A:70/71)

((m. has taken Luciano and Pino in his car to his house. The car has stopped, the three are about to get out))

- 70:06 m: là là si apre, là sotto
there there you can open it down there
- 07 Luciano: ah là.
oh there
- *71:01 Pino--willscht rau:s - wart mal,
 Pino do you want to get out - wait
- 02 wart mal Pino
 wait Pino

✗ (2) (MG 8, I, B: 87)

((Fabrizio ran away from home; with the help of Filomena, he was found. Filomena is telling the story))

- 06 Filomena: ma sabato mattina quando sono andata a
 ((più f, allegro))
but on Saturday morning when I went to
- 07 scuo:la mi è venu:to in mente che (puo)
school it crossed my mind that he (can)
- 08 essere là;
be there

- 09 m: m;
 10 (0.5)
- 11 Filomena: e po:i l=hanno trovato là
 ((pp))
and then they found him there
- 12 (3.0)
- *13 awenn des mir (net) e ingfalle wär Fabrizio
 oh if I hadn't had that idea Fabrizio
- 14 (.....)'h Abenteuergeschichte
 (story of) adventure
- 15 beend et is
 is finished
- 16 m; h h h h

In the first of the two data a stretch of interaction is documented that takes place after adult m. has parked his car and the two Italian boys, Luciano and Pino, want to get out. M. points to a button and instructs the boys on how to open the car door. Only Luciano acknowledges this Italian instruction in the same language (line 07). Immediately afterwards, he turns to Pino (cf. the prepositioned address term) and in relation to the (smaller) boy assumes the role formerly taken by m., i.e. that of the 'knowing adult'. The language changes in the middle of the turn, and so does the addressee. The same holds for the second datum, which is taken from a dramatic narrative about Fabrizio's getaway from his family. His half-sister Filomena reports on how he was eventually found with her help. Her speech is directed towards m. and does not include the co-present Fabrizio as an addressee (cf. the third person /=, line 11). Having finished, and after a three second pause, the teller turns towards the former non-addressee (Fabrizio) and comments on his adventure. The switch of addressee is highlighted by the switch of language.

It is obvious that such a change of addressee contextualized (among other things) by code-switching is an activity which maintains or supports the larger constellation. It involves at least three participants, and therefore counteracts monopolization tendencies. The second type has the opposite effect:

Type (ii): Code-switching speaker narrows down the constellation by selecting fewer participants as addressees than have been involved as speakers or addressees in the last turn. Cf. (3) and (4):

(3) (FOTOROMANZO A 62)

- 01 b: si/possiamo: [:
yes we can
- *02 Fiorella: [eh! wart=mal,=
hey wait
- 03 u: =hn? [(.....)
- 04 Fiorella: [Beate frag=mal ob die:: ah: ob einer von
Beate ask them if they ah if one of
- 05 [denen,
them
- 06 b: [des kannst du doch auch fragen
you can ask that yourself just as well

X (4) (PRANZO B/I, 15)

- 01 b: ah- mi piaciono molto i gelati [hn hn hn
ah I really like icecream [< hn
- 02 a: [hm hm [hm
- *03 Fiorella: [möchte
((f))
do you
- 04 Sie von mir?
want of mine
- 05 b: nee,
noo

Extract (3) is from an episode in the *fotoromanzo* project;⁴⁵ b. and a group of Italian girls are discussing the plot of the photo novel that they want to produce. In line 01, b. is about to formulate a proposal directed at the whole group, when she is interrupted by Fiorella, who tries to persuade her to translate her own proposal into Italian for the others most of whom understand little German. Disregarding questions of competence display and assessment,⁴⁶ the impact Fiorella's proposal has on the present constellation is as follows. Fiorella's summons in line 02 (*eh! wart=mal*, 'hey, wait') only and exclusively addresses b. (cf. the use of the singular). Now a summons such as this not only requires an answer by the addressed party, but also re-allocates the turn, after this answer, to the summoner (cf. Schegloff 1968). Thus, if b. responds to Fiorella, she also has to listen to her next turn. Our extract only provides indirect information about her way of dealing with the summons. It is possible, that she answers it non-verbally. In any case, she

stops talking without having reached a possible turn completion (her proposal, initiated in 01, has not come to a hearable, understandable end) and thus orients to Fiorella's interruption. The summons can therefore be said to have been successful in narrowing down the present constellation, for it selects b. and only b. as the next speaker, whereas line 01 addresses the whole group. It also foreshadows the continued relevance of the narrowed-down constellation at least until the completion of the third turn, i.e. the turn after b.'s answer. This expectation is in fact born out by the transcript, i.e. by the actual development of the interaction: line 04 (the third turn) is explicitly marked by the pre-positioned address term *Beate* (=b.) as being only relevant in the smaller constellation.

But Fiorella now takes her chance to try to monopolize the interaction even further. If b. were to accept her proposal to act as an interpreter between Fiorella and the rest of the group, she would stabilize the dissolution of the big constellation by agreeing on the particular type of schism interpreting necessarily implies: a schism between b. on the one hand, and b. and the other girls on the other hand. Fiorella would only continue to interact with the other girls indirectly, via b. The adult's refusal to accept the role of the interpreter prevents this splitting of the constellation.

Similarly, the same girl selects b. again as the exclusive addressee in extract (4), line 03 (cf. the *Sie*, and b.'s response, line 05), and thereby potentially isolates a third participant (a.). In both examples, the new, narrowed-down constellation is being marked by switching into German. Fiorella is successful in the limited sense of receiving at least one further turn from b. which is formulated in the new language (although, in the passages documented only in part in the extracts, this language is quickly abandoned again).

Type (iii): Code-switching speaker tries to 'get into' a constellation to which he or she has only been a bystander, or a non-addressed ratified participant, up to that point. This use of code-switching proposes to redefine the constellation in the sense of a mirror-image of type (i): it favours a larger constellation, not because of the activities of some participant who is already a speaker, but because of on 'outsider's' activities. Cf. (5) and (6):

X (5) (TARZAN 32)

((Niccolo has been telling t. how he got sunburnt once))

- 01 Niccolo: cioè mi hanno girato sempre la pella
that is they always peeled off my skin

- 02 t: i: - fa male?
i: *does it hurt*
- *03 Innocenza: das macht mir Spaß
I like that
- 04 Niccolo: 'dz: - einmal hab ich ((narrative continues in German))
(no) once I...

(6) (VIERER B:38/II)

((Alfredo is reporting how the results were calculated in a typewriting examination he took))

- 01 Alfredo: rrope - garde le: - Fehler, alore i=errori - e tutto
((lento))
then she looks at the - mistakes, that is the mistakes -
- 02 sbaglio ci vonno lovare venticinque Anschläge - cioè:/ -
((hesitating))
and (for) every mistake they subtract 25 touches - that is/ -
- 03 m: 'ho capito
I got it
- 04 Alfredo zum Beispiel due sbagli cinquanta An/ Anschläge
for instance *two mistakes* 50 to/ touches
ab[ziehe,
subtract
- *05 Agostino: und=
((presto))
and
- 06 =wieviel=ha[st du
how many have you got?
- 07 Alfredo: e dopo
and then
- 08 m: e poi [(i prossim/)
and then (the next)
- 09 Alfredo: [geteilt durch zehn - durch die Zeit-
divided by 10 by the time
- ((continues))

In TARZAN 32, lines 01, and 02 document the end of a story-telling by Niccolo; the primary addressee and recipient is t. (cf. her response in line 02). Innocenza (Niccolo's sister) tries to 'get into' this interaction with her turn 03 (*das macht mir Spaß*. 'I like that', relating to peeling off Niccolo's

sunburnt skin); for this turn formulates an aspect of her (alleged) involvement in the events of Niccolo's narrative, and attempts to shift the focus of t.'s attention from the boy to herself. Note that the utterance is positioned next to a question by t., i.e. in the sequential development of the conversation, it occupies a slot which was allocated to Niccolo. It therefore must be seen as an interruption of the on-going constellation t./Niccolo. The same holds in the second extract, where Agostino intervenes during Alfredo's explanation (directed to m.) of how the final results were computed in a typewriting test (line 05/06).

The two extracts given here only exemplify one subtype of 'getting in'. A participant may try to get into a present constellation by means that are less disruptive for the running of the turn taking machinery. Also, both examples show characteristics of Type (ii), for the intervening third party in either case tries to pick out just one participant of the present interaction as his or her recipient, thereby exchanging a constellation in which he or she was marginalized for one in which another party is marginalized. Again, this is frequently, but not necessarily the case in our data.⁴⁷

As in the other examples, the (attempted) initiation of a new constellation which may either hinder or foster its more-than-two-party character coincides with a different language choice. In this sense, it is a contextualization cue on a par with address terms, eye contact, contents (above all presuppositions), etc.. One of the more striking features of the extracts is the fact that the children always use German for that purpose. This is striking because the direction of code-switching is irrelevant for the discourse related task which it has been shown to serve — in other words, the mechanism would work just as well in the opposite case. There are participant related inferences to be drawn from this constancy of direction to which we will come back below (cf. pp 77f).

3.1.2. Sequential subordination

The second exemplary type of local meaning of discourse related code-switching concerns the sequential chaining of utterances. Specifically, I want to consider the relation between ongoing and side-sequences. According to Jefferson (1972), side-sequences share the structure of most conversational schemata,⁴⁸ i.e. they consist of initiating, central and terminating activities. Although her examples, and the ones to be discussed here, focus on repair in side-sequences, subordinated sequences can be made to do other things as well. For instance, they may be used to deal with activities secondary to

on-going topical talk but to be handled 'in between', such as: lighting cigarettes, offering another glass of wine, asking someone to close the door, apologizing for having to answer the phone, and so on.

(7) (VIERER G:1)

- 05 m: mi vuoi dire perché ci venivi; --
would you like to tell me why you came there
- *06 Alfredo: wo
where
- 07 m: e l' a Kol [pinghaus
well there to the Kolpinghaus
- *08 Alfredo: [Samstag
Saturday
- 09 m: °al [Kolpinghaus°
to the Kolpinghaus
- 10 Agostino: [Tischtennisspiele] und des --
playing table tennis and these things
- 11 Alfredo: Langeweile?
boredom
- 12 Camillo(?): dalia:n b/ Cam/ Clementē
Italian Cam Clemente

X (8) (VIERER G:4)

- 01 m: sabato passa:to no, sabato scorso;=che cosa
last Saturday you know last Saturday what
- 02 avfete fatto. (.)
did you do
- *03 Agostino: [ich
me
- 04 Alfredo: i:ch --
me
- 05 Agostino: °°allor°°
o.k.
- 06 Alfredo: abbiame giocatē al pallo:ne ((etc))
we played football

(9) (PAMPANIN 15/16)

- 15:15 Alfredo: i maltagliatē nun su(n) chill=accussi h
the m. (=type of pasta) aren't this sort of

- 16:01 others: ((laughter))
- 02 Clemente: ch_i sonē- ro_{ton} [dē
they are round
- 03 Agostino: [no=e/ c'e pure a pasta e
((pp))
no there is also the noodle
- 04 brodē (la suppa)
soup (the soup)
- 05 ? : [(.....)
- 06 al: [ah!
- 07 Alfredo: arroppē c'e [(tannē)
and then there is (those)
- 08 Agostino: [ai (.....)
- 09 Alfredo: [si (sono -- von ner)
yes (they are -- of a)
- 10 (Muschl) hascht(.) i au scho mal gsäh;
(shell) have (you) I also seen once
- *11 Camillo: cossa; --
what
- 12 Alfredo: da gibts welche die=sehn aus wie Muscheln
there is a type which looks like shells
- 13 (1.0)
- 14 Clemente: [ja gen [au
yes ex actly
- 15 Agostino: [°°(das che?)°°
(ba gs)
- 16 Alfredo: [Muscheln
shells

In the examples, the side-sequence is initiated in the asterisked lines. The repairable item in (7) is the local pronoun *ci* in m.'s last turn of the superordinated sequence (line 05); it is turned into a problem by the subsequent *wo* ('where') which begins the subordinated sequential structure. In (8), it is m.'s selection of a next speaker (both Agostino and Alfredo are candidates, for m. addresses them both in line 01). Finally, in (9), Camillo asks for a global, unspecified re-do of Alfredo's preceding, superordinated utterance (09/10).

Thus, we are dealing with cases of other-initiated repair on a component, or on the whole, of the preceding speaker's turn. Repair initiations have

preference over topical talk. If, for instance, m. asks a question in extract (7), line 05, the answer, which is made conditionally relevant by this activity via the adjacency pair format question/answer,⁴⁹ is suspended by a subsequent repair initiation (in our case, up to line 11, *Langeweile*, 'boredom'). Given this preference, the repair-initiating recipient of a topical turn such as m.'s *mi vuoi dire perché ci venivi* ('would you tell me why you went there') has the structural problem of making his utterance interpretable not as a filler of the conversational slot opened up by the question, but as the initiation of a subordinated sequence. He has to signal that the interactional development is to be postponed until his problems have been solved. There are numerous ways in which monolingual participants can contextualize the beginning of the side-sequence. For instance, repair initiators like *what?*, *hm?*, *who?*, reduced loudness, etc. may be used. Also, there are numerous ways to signal its termination, such as *I see*, *aha* (on the part of the party who initiated the repair), *so*, *all right*, increased loudness, etc. (on the part of the party who resumes topical talk in the superordinated sequence). Code-switching is an additional strategy available to bilingual participants. It can be used to mark the beginning of the side-sequence, or the return into the superordinated sequence, or both. Between the two signalling processes, there is only an accidental relationship. Thus, if the initiation is marked by switching into the other language, participants may, but need not, switch back into the first language when they organize the return into topical talk. Also, code-switching may be used to organize this return, but not for the initiation of the subordinated sequential structure. Because the two marking processes are in-principle independent, it is necessary to speak of code-switching here, and not of the transfer of a unit which has a predictable point of return into the first language.

3.1.3. Double cohesion

Sequential hierarchisation and definition of the participant constellation are two instances of the use of code-switching to change the footing of an interaction. Instead of introducing further features of the situation, and how they may be affected by such a renegotiation (such as topic, key, informative vs. evaluative or metalinguistic talk, mode of interaction (formal-institutionalized vs. informal-conversational)), I now want to turn to a phenomenon which is able to shed some more light on the way code-switching becomes meaningful. In the extracts that have been discussed so far in this chapter, the change of language supported and partly construed a change of other features of the situation. In other words, language choice worked as

a way to interrupt interactional cohesion (in the most global sense of this term). In contrast, sticking to one language in bilingual conversation maintains interactional cohesion on this level. In both cases, there is a parallel development of language choice and of the footing. Both remain constant, or are changed together. Now, it may also be the case that tying is done differently on the level of language choice than on other levels. That is, a speaker may take up the language of one preceding utterance, but refer back, to another preceding utterance by pronominalization, topic, etc., or vice versa. This split of the two levels will be called *double cohesion*. For illustration, reconsider extract (6) in a somewhat larger sequential context:

(10) (VIERER B:37/38/39/ II)

((same context as in extract (6)))

- 37:09 Alfredo: coll/-l=orologio=dieci minutë quandë fai;
with the watch when you do then minutes
- 10 m: °h m°
- 11 Alfredo: dopë- da tutte quelle pagine ke pë scrive
then of all the pages that you can write
- 12 svelti c'e scritte,
fast (that are) written
- 13 tutti Anschläge quand/ volte- 'hhh
all touches how many times
- 14 m: °hm,°
- 15 Alfredo: sin zum Beispiel: due mille=o - cinque cento: -
there are for instance two thousand or - five hundred
- 16 Agostino: due mille cinque cento
((p e molto presto))
two thousand five hundred
- 17 m: par [ole
wor ds
- 18 Alfredo: An [schläge
touches
- 19 m: Anschläge qu=ähm (.....)
((p))
touches (.....)
- 38:01 Alfredo: rope-guarda le: - Fehler, alore i=errori - e tutto
((lento))
then she looks at the - mistakes, that is the mistakes -

- 02 sbaglio ci vonno lovare venticinque Anschläge – cioè:/ –
(hesitating))
and (for) every mistake they subtract 25 touches – that is/ –
- 03 m: °ho capito°
I got it
- 04 Alfredo: zum Beispiel due sbagli cinquanta An/ Anschläge
for instance *two mistakes 50* to touches
- 05 Agostino: ab ziehe,
sub tract
und=
((presto))
and
- 06 =wieviel=hast du?
how many have you got?
- 07 Alfredo: e dopo
and then
- 08 m: e poi^{il prossim}
and then (the next)
- 09 Alfredo: geteilt durch zehn - durch die Zeit -
divided by 10 by the time
- 10 und denn kummt da=raus zweihundertvierzig,
and then you get twohundredandforty
- 11 zweihunder=fünfadrei/
twohundred=andthirtythree/
- 12 m: ahm,=
- 13 Alfredo: =wenn sie sieht aha, zweihundertvierzig zweihundert=
if she (can) see I see twohundredandforty twohundred=
14 =dreißig des isch gut des kann (i) – 'hh dem ins
andthirty that's allright (I) can put it
- 15 >
Zeugnis schreibe;=
in his certificate
- 16 Agostino: =u^{nd=du?}
and you
- 17 Alfredo: dann sch^{reibt sie= hin;}
then she writes it down

- 18 m: ^{i/in/ in d}er Minute
^{i/ in/ in} the minute
- 19 Agostino: und=du,
and you
- 39:01 m: zweihund^{ertvier zig –}
twohundr^{edandforty}
hja!
- 02 Alfredo:
- 03 Agostino: ^{und=du?}
and you
- 04 Alfredo: halt^{ich hab zweihundertfünzig in der Minute}
well^{I had twohundredandfifty per}
khabt;
minute
- 05 Agostino: °°(gut),°°
(well done)

We want to focus on lines 38:04-09. Alfredo is in the middle of his report on the typing text which, as we know, is addressed at m.. His language is basically Italian, though there are a number of transfers interspersed in it. Although Alfredo's explanation is not completed at that point, Agostino tries to get into the on-going conversation in 38:05; he underlines this attempted change of constellation by switching into German. As in all instances of discourse related code-switching on the inter-turn level, the turn has to be seen not as a factual change of the footing but as a proposal to do so. In the present case, the chances of this proposal being accepted are predictably small, due to the interruptive positioning of the turn. And indeed, the subsequent development of the conversation seems to provide unambiguous evidence for a rejection of the new constellation: Alfredo continues his explanation in lines 09ff, seemingly without orienting to Agostino's question. Agostino must repeat it three times (lines 16, 19, 39:03); in any case, its positioning is problematic, i.e. there is simultaneous talk. Alfredo only takes up the fourth version in line 39:04 and answers it. He thereby ratifies the transition into the new footing; however, he has delayed this footing until the end of his explanation directed towards m..

Until now, one detail of this sequence has not been taken into account: it is the fact that from line 38:09 on, Alfredo does not speak Italian. For the continuation of the explanation, he uses German; or, more precisely, he begins his utterance in Italian (*e dopo*, line 07) and carries on in the other

language (*geteilt durch zehn*, line 09). The beginning of the exclusively German passage exactly coincides with the end of Agostino's intervention. It now becomes increasingly clear that our initial impression was wrong. When we suggested that Alfredo's turn after Agostino's first intervention did not orient to this intervention, we disregarded matters of language choice. If this aspect is taken into account as well, a different picture emerges. For although Agostino's turn is indeed ignored on all other levels of tying, it is responded to by the new language choice. The boy semantically ties back his utterance 07/09 to those parts of his explanation that were produced before his friend interrupted him, but he takes up Agostino's German, and thereby also establishes a level of cohesion with this immediately preceding turn. Thus, the new footing proposed by Agostino by, among other things, code-switching into German, is not completely rejected. One of the formal means by which it was organized is taken up: the language-of-interaction is altered. This may be a minimal way of showing orientation to a preceding turn, but it can be enough to convey to Agostino that Alfredo has noticed him, and will perhaps come back to his turn in due time.

Double cohesion dissolves the parallelism between the level of language choice and other levels for certain, describable purposes. The phenomenon is systematically characterized by the following properties: (a) there are two sequential-topical structures to which independent simultaneous responses are required; (b) they are given in two different languages; (c) one of the tasks is oriented to 'symbolically' by taking up its language and (d) the other one is responded to on the sequential-topical level, disregarding cohesion of language choice (i.e., the preference for same language talk). For our analysis of discourse related code-switching, the phenomenon indirectly demonstrates that code-switching not only occurs together with other, 'monolingual' contextualization cues, but that it can conflict with these other cues, and be functional in its own right.

3.2. Participant related code-switching

One could expect bilingual participants to settle language negotiations on a metalinguistic level, i.e. by uttering their wishes or proposals, insisting on them, or revising them. Although such explicit negotiations occur, they seem to be typical of special occasions (such as first meetings between strangers), and are quite the exception between the children, or between the children and the adults, in our group. In this context, matters of finding a

common language for interaction, and of sticking to this language or trying to re-negotiate it, are quite frequent, and not restricted to the opening phase of an interactional episode. They are dealt with implicitly, that is, in addition to whatever else participants may do. Language choice for individual turns is itself employed to do what metalinguistic talk may accomplish in other cases.

Negotiation sequences such as the one discussed in the last chapter (cf. pp 13ff) allow participants to ascribe to each other *individualistic preferences* for one language or the other. This is probably typical for a sociolinguistic context in which situation or co-participant specific 'norms' on language use are weak or too instable to be employed to account for the opponents' behaviour in language negotiation sequences. Only in some cases do children refuse an other-proposed language on episode-specific grounds, such as co-participants' 'roles' or age.⁵⁰ (We may note in passing that for almost all children born and/or brought up in the Federal Republic or in German speaking Switzerland this preferred language is German. This language will not only get preference over Italian, but also over the local Italian dialect of the family, if such a distinction is made at all in the repertoire of the speaker. It is important not to confuse this preference of usage (as displayed in language negotiation sequences) with either the indirectly displayed preferences that can be reconstructed from the direction of discourse related switching, or with the emotional or affective values explicitly attributed to the varieties. These are not addressed by the extracts.⁵¹)

However, these transepisodically relevant individualistic preferences may not bear on a participants' code-switching behaviour if the competence ascribed to the co-participant prevents from doing so. Bilingual conversationalists seem to monitor their partner's speech production very carefully for 'mistakes' or insecurities of 'grammar' and 'pronunciation' (where these members' analyses of correctness and grammaticality may well diverge from those of the linguist), and adapt their own language choice to the assessed bilingual abilities of the other. This, for instance, is done by Alfredo in the following discussion with his father, when the latter use a 'pidgin' variety of German:

(11) (DURKOLL 75/76 ... 79/80)

((about plans to go back to Italy; hd. is Alfredo's father))

75:11 hd: di na=manere – sindē gutē=n Deutschland^h.
 in a way are good in Germany

- 12 (2.0)
 13 aber andererseits -- sende besse in Italië=
 but on the other side are better in Italy
 *14 Alfredo: =se s=aggiustè in Itaglië i va(d)o in Itaglië;
 if it gets better in Italy I'll go to Italy
 76:01 [però s=add=aggiustà (...) Italië.] [u governë
 but it must get better (...) Italy the government
 02 hd: [weiß/] [weiß warum;] [weiß warum;
 know you know why know why
 03 Alfredo: italjanë=
 in Italy
 04 hd: zi erschtë
 to begin with
 05 (2.0)
 06 kenn=e=se sag=s-- wann sagë=me=ma ksë: --
 they can say it if let's say (...)
 ((father carries on in Gastarbeiter pidgin without any interventions
 by the son))
 79:04 hd: engelsche-- ?deutsche-- (sprech so) guatë
 English German (speak so) well
 05 -- und --schreibs un läse se; -- die sind -- ne
 and you write and read them they are aren't they
 06 interessantë; (0.5) undë wie, -- Italien=au
 interesting (really) (in) Italy too
 07 (0.5) sage=me=mol nū viele abë
 let's say not much but
 08 (1.0)
 09 wanne-- was du [jetz isch w/
 when what you now (...)
 *10 Alfredo: [ma (vanë) in Itaglië [i vagë in
 but (I go) to Italy I go to
 11 hd: [ws/ ws/ se/
 12 Alfredo: Itaglië; [fazzu da tembë fazzu mbarà bellë
 Italy I'll do it in time I'll learn a good
 13 hd: [se tu vai mo
 yes you go now

- 14 Alfredo: Itaglianë;
 Italian
 15 (1.0)
 80:01 ? : °m°
 02 m: °ēh!°
 03 Alfredo: un=isch gut ((continues in German about learning
 and it is good languages))

Although Alfredo usually displays a strong and transepisodically stable preference for German, he does not accept the father's language proposal but switches into Italian (or better, Italian dialect) in the asterisked lines. This, we suggest, is done as a response to the father's very poor (and sometimes — probably even for his own son — hardly understandable) German.

Note that such switching for the co-participant's benefit is a dangerous move. For although it may actually facilitate communication in the sense of mutual understanding on the referential level, it implies an ascription of incompetence to the other speaker which may be felt to threaten his or her face. Thus, Alfredo's implicit proposal to switch into a variety of Italian can have positive consequences in the first sense, but negative ones in the second. Competence related code-switching on the part of the participant who has problems at formulating what he or she wants to say is a less delicate matter. In the following extract, Nora displays her own imbalanced bilingual competences by switching from German into Italian;⁵² various hesitations, break-offs, and repetitions help to identify linguistic problems as the 'reason' for changing the language:

(12) (QUATTRO CANI 10/11)

- 10:10 Nora: Ich klau m=einen; -- (für) mich ein Apfel; für essen
 I'll steal one (for) me an apple to eat
 11 t: °ja, ° ißt du den jetzt?
 yes do you eat it now?
 12 Nora: was?
 what
 13 t: Ißt du den jetzt -- den Apfel?
 do you eat it now the apple?
 *14 Nora: nein/ -- ich isse:: eh: eh wenn dich ?n (au du will);
 ((più f))
 no I eat when you when (you want too)

- 11:01 t: ah [!:
 *02 Nora: dann (re)/-h dann tea:
 then (..) then (...)
 03 t: ja?
 yes?
 →04 Nora: dopo la gente mi (sgobísciono)
 then people (will) me

But let us return to language negotiation sequences that can be related to participants' diverging, transepisodically relevant and stable preferences. It is necessary to distinguish two sequentially defined loci for preference-related code-switching; they are exemplified in extracts (13) and (14) below:

(13) (HELPER 12/13)

- 12:10 Nora: faccio venire le bambine così non ha più
 I make the children come so he/she isn't
 11 paura solo;
 afraid any more
 12 t: si; questo [è un=idea [- si - si;
 yes this [is an idea [yes yes
 13 mo: [si [si,
 [yes [yes
 14 Niccolo: °°(.....)°°
 15 t: Innocenza che dici tu? -
 Innocenza how do you feel about it?
 *13:01 Innocenza: ja, des ging -
 yes, that might do

((continues game in Italian))

(14) (FOTOROMANZO 337)

- 01 b: è così diverso il dialetto fra di voi?
 are your dialects so different?
 02 Fiorella: mhm,
 03 Annamaria: m;
 *04 Fiorella: die komm.m aus Potenza, [die (.....)
 they are from Potenza, they (.....)
 05 Annamaria: è come na - in sicilia
 it's like a - in Sicily

- 06 u párlan n=atra mane:ra in basilica:ta n=altra
 they speak it in a different way in the Basilicata in a
 07 maniera
 different way

((continues in Italian))

In the discussion of discourse related code-switching in the last paragraph, the notion of coherence was used. In the present context, it is necessary to add some details about the relationship between interactional coherence and code-switching. Coherence, in our sense, is accomplished by pointing back from one turn to another, or from one turn component to another, or forward to some utterance which is still supposed to follow. It is not restricted to grammatical structures such as anapher/catapher, textual deixis, ellipsis, conjunctions or particles, but includes sequentiality and topical cohesion as well. In addition, we need to include consistency of language choice among the factors producing coherence.⁵³ Now two utterances may be tied together tighter or looser, i.e. coherence is a matter of degree. For instance, there may be tying on a varying number of levels. On any of the individual levels, some structures may have a stronger tying effect than others. Thus, the sequential format of question/ answer provides more rigid tying than that of compliment/ compliment response. In this case, the second pair part can be filled by a number of activities, whereas questions require answers and only answers.

Differences of tying via sequential formats are particularly important for our argument. Looking at extract (13), lines 13:01, we find a participant related digression from the first participant's language choice on the part of Innocenza. It occurs in a sequential slot that is highly prestructured, i.e. after a question. In contrast, Fiorella produces a turn in her language of preference in extract (14), line 04, which is responsive to b.'s preceding other-language utterance on the topical level, in that it explain the difference of dialect between herself and the other girls present (Annamaria and others), but this turn is not bounded to b.'s utterance by a rigid sequential format such as an adjacency pair. Innocenza has no sanctioned alternative to answering t.'s question, whereas Fiorella produces her explanation 'voluntarily'.

(The account in line 04 is an elaboration of Fiorella's prior answer to b.'s initial question *è così diverso il dialetto fra di voi?* ('are your dialects so different?'). It is very likely a strategic move that Fiorella chooses to answer this initial question minimally, with an affirmative *mhm*. For this

utterance is unspecific as to language choice, that is, it can neither be understood as accepting nor as rejecting b.'s language. It satisfies the immediate needs of the conversational environment by providing an answer, and thus a second pair part, after b. has opened the adjacency pair with her question; at the same time, it allows for the positioning of the subsequent elaboration of the answer where no rigid tying exists. Thus, Fiorella need not display her preference for German in a highly cohesive position, and can nevertheless take part in the interaction with a topical contribution.)

Preference related code-switching occurs in more or less cohesive positions. I want to suggest that the two positions are not equally weighted when it comes to ascribing individualistic preferences to speakers. Specifically, it appears to be 'easier' to switch according to one's language preference when cohesion is low, that is, when one has the initiative. On the other hand, one displays a stronger preference for the language not used by the preceding conversationalist when switching in highly cohesive, 'responsive' loci.⁵⁴ Consequently, Innocenza demonstrates a stronger preference for German in (13) than Fiorella does in (14).

Many more extracts for participant related code-switching could be discussed. However, as in the case of discourse related code-switching, it seems to be less illuminating to include further examples than to present some instances of switching which are particularly interesting for the analysis of the conversational meaning and function of language alternation, even though they may not be as prototypical as the ones that have been considered up to now. Let us look at the following instances of *turn reformulations*:

(15) (VIERER G:16)

- 09 m: eh cioè com=è: come sono i vostri amic[i];
so what is it like what are your friends like
- 10 Agostino: [e:/
- 11 Alfredo: aja sind halt -- nett manchmal gut scho gute Freunde
well they are nice sometimes really good friends
- 12 kannsch scho -- sind manche wo ma --
you can there are some where you
- *13 allorè cisono [qualche che poi fare ta:ntè cos(è)
ok there are some you can do everything with
- 14 Agostino: [certè fessi
[some idiots

(16) (VIERER B:16)

- 02 m: e che cosa fate, che avete fatto per esempio
and what do you do, for instance what did you do
- 03 a quella festa
on that party
- 04 Alfredo: erscht fresse -- ah/ es/ es [se
first munch ea/ eat
- 05 Camillo: he he he he he (.....) [.....)
- 06 Clemente: he he he he he
- 07 Agostino: esse
eat
- *08 Alfredo: primo
first
- 09 mangiare, torta, tutta dopè (domè) quess cips so
eat cake everything then (...) these chips there

(17) (VIERER :6/II)

((topic: learning difficulties of (migrant) children))

- 14 m: cioè: -- qualcuna delle difficoltà: che:: i vostri
that is some of the difficulties which your
- 15 compagni opp [ure voi
classmates or also you
- *16 Agostino: nicht mitkomme -- allora --
[not follow well
- 17 eh:
- 18 (1.0)
- 19 non capischënë
they do not understand

(18) (VIERER G:4)

- 06 m: di ch/ di che cosa parlate general [mente=
about wh/ about what do you talk generally
- 07 Agostino: [°°tuttè cosè=°°
[everything
- 08 =della scuolè °°della scuolè°°
about the school about the school

- 09 m: della [scuola
((f))
about the school
- *10 Agostino: [was wir we:rde wolle – alor cosè devo: –
what we want to become well what becu
11 Alfredo: compa:gn
(friends)
- 12 Agostino: °devo°
becu
- 13 (1.0)
- 14 m: cosa (d)
what (b)
- 15 Agostino: °devenda:re; n°
become (right)

These and a high number of parallel sequences occur in an interaction between four Italian youngsters and an adult Italian bilingual. In this episode, m. displays an unequivocal and strong preference for (standard) Italian. Against this preference, Agostino and Alfredo start to formulate their asterisked contributions in German; in this way, they display this language as being their preferred language. If they brought their contributions to an end in German, they would initiate a language negotiation sequence with m. (who, in all four cases, has used Italian for the turn to which Alfredo or Agostino responds), and at the same time underline their own preference by switching in a highly cohesive position. However, instead of doing so, they give up on their German utterances (sometimes even before they have come to a possible completion), and reformulate them in Italian.⁵⁵

Formally, we are dealing with self-initiated self-repair in the same turn (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Such repair may either be a correction of the first portion of the utterance (the *reparandum*), or its elaboration/clarification. In the first case, the new formulation annuls the old one, i.e. the speaker treats it so as to be interpreted as being false or inadequate (for whatever reason), and to be disregarded by the recipient; in the second case, the new formulation provides additional information without annulling the old one. In our extracts, it is quite clear that correction and not elaboration/clarification is the issue. Evidence for this interpretation is provided by the self-interrupting positioning of the reformulation (it starts before the *reparandum* is complete and well-formed) and/or by the particle used to introduce it, i.e. *allor(è)*.

Agostino and Alfredo are thus observed to display a preference for German which they themselves cancel in the same turn, that is, without m.'s intervention. The 'other' language is made relevant for the interaction, but it is also visibly renounced by the boys. We have here a particularly cautious way to signal language preference. It stands in contrast with the extra stress that is provided by a participant who not only initiates a language negotiation sequence, but does so in a highly cohesive position. The interdependence of participant related code-switching and the (re-)negotiation of the language of interaction that was observed in the last chapter (pp 20ff) seems to be called into question by such intra-turn language revisions. Here preference is shown, but does not lead into (re-)negotiation of the language of interaction. Despite this, there is no need to revise this description: by behaving as they do, Agostino and Alfredo prove to orient to exactly this interdependence. Their repair activities must be seen and can only be analyzed against the background of the interdependence which they attempt to suspend. They show that our analysis is a valid description not only from the point of view of the conversation analyst, but also from that of the members.

3.3. Participant related transfer

If transfer is used by participants for ascribing predicates to each other, it is always bilingual competence that is concerned. Before going into detail, some general remarks on the relevant notion of bilingual competence are necessary. Earlier, it was pointed out that we see bilingualism not as a mental disposition of speakers, but as a set of complex linguistic activities. Whenever code-switching or transfer occurs, this is part of, and at the same time constitutes bilingual conversation. In this respect, bilingualism was treated as a feature of interactions, or interactional behaviour, and not of persons. Yet it is possible on the basis of the material events that constitute such conversations to formulate assessments of individual participants' competence in one language as compared to the other. Such assessments are carried out by bilingual participants themselves all the time. Again, our task is to reconstruct the members' procedures. We do not attempt to duplicate their assessments of bilingual competence by, for instance, measuring 'real' bilingualism. We do not want to find out how balanced a bilingual 'actually' is, but we are concerned with how *members* assess their respective competences in Italian and German, on the basis of their language alternation behaviour, and how they display their respective competences by language alternation.

Assessments of competence are the outcome of a negotiation process

between speakers' displays and assessors' interpretations of certain cues (Auer 1981). Perhaps the most obvious method for a participant to ascribe (in)competence to his or her co-participant is to view his or her linguistic production in one language against the background of the own linguistic 'norms'. However, it is difficult to trace the processes by which 'norm violations' are related to competence if we try to base our analysis on what the assessor considers to be correct. In order to do so we would have to know what the 'norms' available to the ascriber are; and it goes without saying that it won't do to use the analyst's own (external) concept of grammaticality and appropriateness, for linguists' and lay analysts' opinions can diverge widely on that topic. This is evidenced in extract (19):

(19) (VIERER G 2: 8/II)

- 13 Alfredo: le italia:ni le- genito:re- quantë no/ --
the Italians the parents when w/
14 dobbia:më fa:rë se:mbë- sempre qualco:sa a casa. -
we always have to always have to do something
at home
15 [puliscë puliscë qual[co:sa
clear up clear up something
16 Agostino: mhm
*17 Camillo: [pulizzare mica puliscë;
((allegro))
[pulizzare' not 'puliscë';

Camillo repairs his brother's 'wrong' verb ending and thereby makes it apparent that according to his 'norms' the word is *pulizzare*. The standard Italian form, however, which we might be tempted to use as linguists to ascribe (in-)competence to Alfredo, is of course *pulire*.

Although repair sequences such as the one above provide the analyst with some access to an ascriber's linguistic 'norms', their use is limited. Indeed it seems that overt repair work of this sort is *not* done when a person's linguistic abilities are severely restricted. It is frequent in interactions among participants who do not radically question their mutual competence and can even be observed in interactions among monolinguals where there can be no doubt about co-participants' mutual ascriptions of perfect competence.

The analysis of transfer opens up a different, less complicated way of approaching members' displays and assessments of competence, one that is

independent of linguistic 'norms' and grammaticality judgements. However, competence related transfer almost exclusively points to lexical competence; and although this competence is of primary importance for members (contrary to most linguists), it is not easily generalized to other aspects of linguistic competence. It should also be kept in mind that competence related transfer strictly speaking only points to a *momentary* 'lack of words', a *momentary* problem of accessibility. Thus, a word that cannot be found on one occasion, and is replaced by its other language counterpart, may be used on another occasion, even in the same interactive episode. Therefore, competence displays and assessments do not relate 'automatically' to transfers. These latter have to be considered in the situation in which they occur, especially in light of prior linguistic documents taken from the same or from other episodes, if they are to become valid documents on which a more general assessment can be based.

Let us now turn to some illustrative data extracts. In all cases, a participant uses a heteroglossic lexical item and displays this heteroglossia by several means. These means interrupt the smooth running of utterance delivery, or even of conversation, in a more or less drastic way. Frequently, they occur in combination.

3.3.1. Time-out transfers

(20) (PRANZO A:543)

- 01 a: l=aria è più buona lì;
the air is better there;
02 Daniela: si : :
yes
03 (1.0)
04 [lì non ci sono: {quellë} fabbriche come ci sono:
cosë }
There there aren't (these) factories like
05 qui, -- non ci sono: m/- { si(.) ce ne sono::
here there aren't yes there are
06 (2.0)
07 [co:se=mnë come si chiama: Lastwagen [wie heißt
((whispering))
things=eh what do you call lorry what are they
08 schon wieder;
called again
09 (2.0)

- 10 b: °camion°=
lorry
11 Daniela: =camion
lorry
12 ? : °no::°
no
13 (2.0)
14 Daniela: no cossì come – troppè ce n=è in città
not like too much is there in the city
15 a: °°mm,°°

(21) (PRANZO B:600)

- 05 Fiorella: quandè=andavi(.) a scuolè in italia,
when I went to school in Italy
06 a: m,
07 Fiorella: avevo/ ò/ e::
I had
08 (1.5)
09 quandè abbiám/ abbiamo fattè la matematica,
when we we had mathematics
10 a: [si
yes
11 Fiorella: la dob bie la/la dovevamo fare con – con [tre: eh:: –
we had to we had to do it with with three
12 Daniela: [tre matitè.
three pencils
*13 Fiorella: °kuli – wie heißt des?°
ballpen – what is that called?
14 ? : hmf=
15 a: = con tre culi
with three asses

Time-out transfer is organized in such a way as to point to its own 'inadequacy', that is, to the fact that the transferred item (*Lastwagen*, 'lorry', and *Kuli*, 'ballpen', respectively) is introduced in a language that should not have been used, either because the addressee-recipient does not understand it, or because he or she strongly prefers monolingual talk. In addition to signalling that the 'wrong language' has been selected, time-out transfers also indicate the reason for which this has been done: because the speaker could not think

of the 'correct' word in the 'adequate' language. In the data, the speakers explicitly state that they do not know the Italian equivalent of *Lastwagen* or *Kuli*. At the same time, they appeal to a third party to provide the missing word, thereby displaying their own relative incompetence in the one, and their superior competence in the other language. Time-out transfer therefore combines four different activities: (a) a concept is introduced, (b) the inadequacy of the chosen language is signaled, (c) inferior competence in the abandoned language and superior competence in the newly chosen language is displayed, and (d) the speaker appeals to a third party to provide the missing item.⁵⁶

It is this fourth feature that produces the time-out character of such transferred items. The re-organization of the addressee selection (leading into a short 'aside') is partly the result of the fact that the turn component not directed at the primary addressee is separated prosodically and (at least in extract (21)) by code-switching from the framing sequence. (Note the low pitch in (20) up to *Lastwagen*, whispering from the transferred item on, and other-language continuation after the transferred item; in (21), note the low amplitude and other language continuation after *Kuli*. A.'s pun in the second extract deliberately disregards this marking; it is only the fact that she transforms Francesca's *con tre: eh::* – °*Kuli*° into *con tre culi* which enables her to play on the double meaning of [kuli] that she produces herself.)⁵⁷

3.3.2. Subsequent same-turn repair (initiation)

(22) (VIERER B:38/II)

- 01 Alfredo: rrope – guarda le: – Fehler, alore i=errori – e tutto
((lento))
then she looks at the – mistakes, that is the mistakes
02 sbaglio ci vonno lovare venticinque Anschläge – cioè:/ –
((hesitating))
and (for) every mistake they subtract 25 touches – that is/ –
03 m: °ho capito°
I got it

(23) (VIERER G 2: 76)

- 03 Alfredo: c=è uno nella classè nostra è un tēdeschē
there is one in our class is a German
04 c=ha tante Pickel –
he's got lots of pimples

- 05 ?:
 06 Alfredo:
 07 m:
- | | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|
| s | i. | |
| y | es | |
| | allorè questè | così qua. |
| | <i>I mean these</i> | <i>(things) there.</i> |
| | | foruncoli. |
| | | <i>pimples.</i> |

Instead of carrying on after the transferred item, the speaker embarks on a clarifying repair which eventually either translates or explains the item in question. In our cases, the transferred item is in German and the framing language is Italian; the self-repair often starts with an Italian correction marker (*allora*). Although repair is initiated by the speaker during his or her turn, it is not necessarily he or she who effects it. In (23), a third party offers the translation *foruncoli* for German *Pickel* ('pimples'), overlapping the speaker's explication.

In all cases, speakers orient to the other language character of the transferred item and treat its use as an 'inappropriate' verbal activity — one that calls for repair. However, the transferred item is — in contrast to time-out transfers — part of the ongoing interaction between speaker and addressee-recipient; it does not coincide with a change of addressee, and not even a side sequence, although a third party may volunteer the missing same-language item.

How can transfer plus subsequent same-speaker repair (intiation) be suited for the interactional task of ascribing competence? To a lesser degree than time-out transfers, such phenomena point to a — momentary — lack of competence in the abandoned language. Although the same language item is sometimes provided by the speaker himself (cf. extract (22), *Fehler, errori*), it is the other language item that demonstrably 'comes to mind' first. By juxtaposing, in such a case, 'no problem' recall in one language and word-search in the other, speakers point to their comparatively better knowledge of the vocabulary of one language.

3.3.3. Prosodic marking

Same-turn repairs like those discussed in the last paragraph can be regarded as retrospective marking of the transferred items. Participants may also mark transferred items prospectively, i.e. prior to their occurrence. This way of introducing an other-language item also orients to its other-language provenance and to the possibility that such use could be subject to a recipient's criticism. The standard technique involved in forward marking is that of

'hesitating' before the possibly problematic item:

(24) (PAMPANIN 27)

((topic: plans to go to Augsburg for a trip))

- 01 al: Augsburg? — perché che ci sta;
 Augsburg why what is there;
 02 Alfredo: è stato un —
 there was a
 03 al: per/(.) con la squadra? —
 for th/ with the team?
 *04 Alfredo: co:n- °Kegel(.) club,°
 with skittle club
 05 al: quannè? ((continues in Italian))
 when?

(25) (CL-EINZEL 32)

((topic: the Germans))

- 13 m: perché sono più liberi
 why are they freer
 14 Clemente: lor por/ possono andare (0.5) ah zelte, (0.75)
 ((distinctly))
 the/ ca/ can go ah camping
 15 per le w/ wocheende —
 for the w/ weekends
 16 m: m

Some additional extracts are also important here:

(26) (PAMPANIN 249)

((Clemente is trying to explain 'Kegeln' ('skittle')))

- 01 Clemente: sono no, ah ci=(hanno) no le cose di: —
 they are you know, ah (they have) these things made out of
 02 al: Kegeln
 skittle
 03 Clemente: di legnè; — com=una::
 of wood like a
 04 (0.5)
 *05 wie ne Flasche,
 like a bottle

- 06 (1.0)
 07 Agostino: °come=una bottiglia [(.....)°
 like a bottle
 08 mr: com=una [bottiglia
 like a [bottle
 09 Clemente: ecco com=una
 that's it like a
 10 bottiglia e dopo ((etc.))
 bottle and then
- (27) (HELPER 2)
 01 Nora: non ho detto questo
 ((f))
 I didn't say that
 02 ?: ha ha ha
 03 Lucia: cosa hai detto - °° (.....)°°
 what did you say
 04 Nora: ho detto per scappare con la bicicletta vai -
 ((f))
 I said to escape the bicycle is
 05 più: *schneller*;
 more faster
 06 mo: più veloce
 faster

In extracts (26) and (27), recipient's response to a first speaker's marking explicates its interpretation. Agostino (in 26), line 07) and mo. (in 27), line 06) provide the missing word (*bottiglia*, 'bottle', *veloce*, 'fast') themselves. By doing so, recipients make inspectable how they have seen their coparticipants' hesitations: as indications of a momentary lack of competence in Italian that can be bridged with their help.

3.4. Discourse related transfer

The remaining fourth application of the two basic interpretive procedures gives discourse related transfer as the last local meaning of language alternation that we have to consider in this discussion. In our corpus, it is the least frequent. Apart from anaphoric transfer (cf. the discussion of extract (4), ch. 2), lexical transfer is not very often employed for discourse related

purposes. In the rare cases, transfer is usually part of a contrast pair built up between a same-language and an other-language item. This is done by Agostino in the following extract:

(28) (SCHNECKENFRESSER 28:4/5)

- 4:07 Agostino: ië se[mangë un piatto di pasta, so già pienë. --
 ((presto))
 me if I eat a plate of pasta I'm full already
 08 Clemente: Nudle
 noodles
 09 Agostino: invece me (se) [mangë a: la carnë
 anche
 however (if) (I) eat (also) meat
 10 Alfredo: si ma tu - tu no
 yes but you you
 11 [michë (..) mangiatë u pie:në]
 (haven't ever eaten a full one) --
 12 Agostino: però mangià dieci pi
 (but) (I) eat ten (plates)
 13 Alfredo: du musch schaue was des für dein Kö [rper denn isch
 you have to see what this means for your body then
 14 Agostino: du musch au mal [you have to see as
 15 schaue was des für - [u partafoglië=
 well what this (means) for - the purse
 16 Clemente: [der/
 the
 5:01 = [hör mal
 listen
 02 Camillo: [hn,
 03 m: °hn [hn hn°
 04 Clemente: [hör mal
 listen
 05 Agostino: °° (.....) [.....]°°
 06 Alfredo: [quand=ië aggia ppensà u mangia:r;
 when I have to think of eating
 07 a mi non me interessënë i so:ldë
 I'm not interested in money

In (31), the four boys talk about their German class mates who feign friendliness in their presence but talk about them behind their backs. To the same extent as the reported language choice corresponded to the actual one in the first two examples, it does not correspond in these extracts. Surely, the German class mates will have used German, and not, as reported, an Italian *guardate* ('look'). Similarly, Alfredo reports his father's expression *sta sera vai a mangiare in.n Keller* ('this evening you'll go eating into the basement') and incorporates the transfer of German *Keller* in this quotation. Such lexical transfer_L is typical for the boy's own language behaviour, but, according to our knowledge, is very improbable for the father. Thus, speakers adapt what they mark as another person's speech transferred from a different situation to their own style (extract (32)) and/or to the exigencies of the conversational context (marking the reported speech against its surroundings) (extract (31)). In any case, the authorial context is given priority over authenticity.

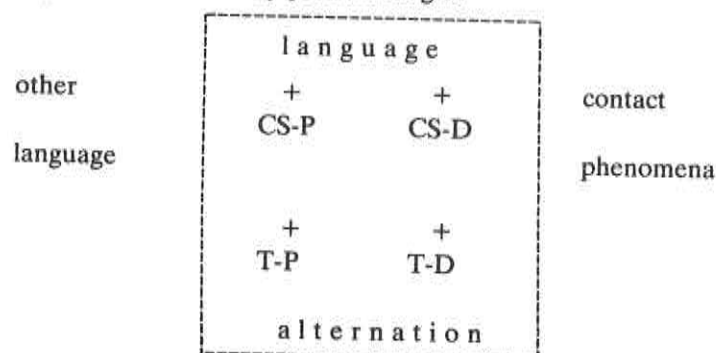
4. POLYVALENT LOCAL MEANINGS

The four local applications of the two dichotomical organized procedural distinctions that are relevant for the production and interpretation of language alternation were introduced on the basis of prototypical data in the last two chapters. Participant and discourse related transfer or code-switching are not categories in the usual, 'Aristotelian' sense, that is, they are not labels that can be unambiguously assigned to any instance of language alternation in the data. Instead, they stand for those local meanings of language alternation that are maximally 'distant' from each other and therefore represent 'clearest' and 'most obvious' cases. However, only a part of the data of our (and presumably of any other) corpus on language alternation can be accounted for using these prototypes. At least some instances will be polyvalent in the sense of showing characteristics of more than one prototype, or in the sense of showing only some features of the 'nearest' prototype.⁶¹

It must not be seen as a weakness of our procedural model, but as its natural outcome that the four prototypes do not exhaustively classify the data. Bilingual participants are equipped with the distinctions transfer vs. code-switching and participant vs. discourse related alternation. They use these distinctions to constitute local meanings, which, in addition to these interpretive procedures, require taking into account the context of the alternation. The two dichotomies are important means to arrive at local functions; however, they do not determine them. They can be employed in various ways. One (and perhaps the most important) way is to interpret a given instance of language alternation as prototypical for one and only one element of each of the dichotomies. Another use of the dichotomies consists in treating them as points of orientation for the interpretation of instances of alternation in relation to the underlying two-way procedural grid. Graphically, we can represent the two cases as follows:

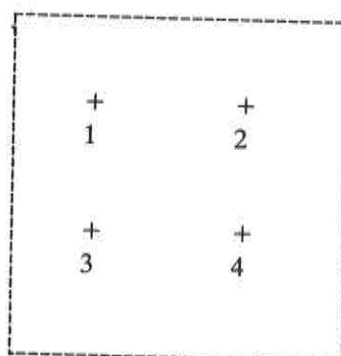
Figure (B): Prototypical and polyvalent local meanings of alternation

(i) the basic two way procedural grid

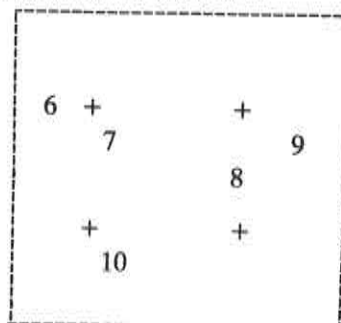


CS: code-switching T: transfer
P: participant / D: discourse related

(ii) prototypical instances: 1, 2, 3, 4



(iii) polyvalent instances: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10



What counts as a prototypical case is determined by the two basic dichotomies. Knowledge of these dichotomies is necessary, and is used for the interpretation and production of polyvalent cases. (The logic of sense-making involved here does not require as a necessary condition that prototypical instances are frequent, or that they factually occur at all; they must only be possible.) The latter cases are assessed on the basis of their difference or similarity to the prototypical ones.

The structuring of the phenomenal field of language alternation in prototypes and polyvalent cases is the consequence of a conception of (bilingual) linguistic behaviour that does not see members as complying with externally given, societal 'rules', 'norms', or 'schemata', but as *using* these regularities for the production and interpretation of language in context. Showing that the scientific reconstruction of such regularities is valid requires not the unambiguous classification of a given percentage of members' activities but rather the proof that members orient to these regularities. This requirement is satisfied in the case of what we have called prototypical instances, but it is also satisfied in the case of polyvalent instances which owe their polyvalent interpretation to the dichotomies in question. This is even true in cases of blatant violations of the assumed regularities, provided that these 'violations' are visible, and functional, because they can be seen as 'violations' by members.⁶²

4.1. Between participant and discourse related switching

I will start out with an analysis of two cases of polyvalence in which code-switching assumes features both of discourse and of participant related language alternation. In the first case, it is the renewed insisting of a party on his or her individualistic language preference in a certain environment which gives code-switching a discourse related meaning.⁶³ In the second, it is the direction of switching for discourse related purposes which is used to ascribe preferences.

4.1.1. Defensive code-switching

In the following extracts, Daniela switches into German for a very short passage (a *jaja* in (1), a *ah so* in (2)), which, however, clearly deviates from the established language of interaction (Italian). According to the local types of meaning of code-switching that have been discussed so far, this language alternation is difficult to analyze. On the one hand, it does not build up a contrast between something that has been said before, and some-

thing that is going to be said now; on the other hand, it is quite ineffective on the level of renegotiating the language of interaction. Intuitively, one might describe the *loci* in which the switching occurs as 'critical' for the interaction because the girl seems to be embarrassed, and therefore relate what is happening to the overall definition of the situation (the footing).

(1) (PRANZO B II, 24/25)

- 24:02 Daniela: allora: c=era questo: m- staváne passeggiando:
well there was this m- they had a walk
- 03 no-era u[n - -
you know - it was a
- 04 a: [un tarz [an
 [a Tarz an
- 05 Daniela: [un giorno caldo -
 [a warm day
- 06 (1.5)
- 07 Daniela: e dice Jane a Tarzan - Tarzan - - - no
and Jane says to Tarzan - Tarzan - - - no
- 08 Jane - Jane dice a Tarzan si - dice Tarzan
Jane Jane says to Tarzan yes - she says Tarzan
- 09 a me mi fa: - fa caldo - me dē - be:/ - e
I am I'm warm I (ha) (ok) so
- 10 spogliati no - -
take off something
- 11 a: hi hi hi hi nella foresta
in the forest
- 12 Daniela: e: - e soltanto: quello di sopra lei no - e a
(yes) (she has) only this thing the top you know -
- 13 detto ma che fa - quelli che co:sa (.....) -
and he said but what do you do - these what (.....)
- 14 sono le - mie: due lu:ci no, -
they are the - my two lanterns you know, -
- 15 a: ah.
- 16 Daniela: e [:
 25:01 a: [le mammelle
 [the breasts

- 02 Daniela: eh hi hi [h ja ja 'h 'h 'h 'h 'h
 yesyes
 03 b: [° [hnhn hn hn hi hi hi
 04 a: [ehn
 05 Daniela: allo:ra ((Daniela continues to tell the joke))
 so

(2) (PRANZO B:2050, 1/2)

- 1:01 Daniela: [tu non ce l=hai il fidanza:to;
 [you haven't got a boyfriend
 02 a: [((singing, pp))
 03 ^{oo}no^{oo} ((very short and dry))
 no
- 04 Daniela: peccatē hn?
it's a pity isn't it?
- 05 (1.0)
- 06 a: ((perché - è un peccato?)
 ((p))
(why is it a pity?)
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 Daniela: non lo non lo ne vuoi
 ((mf))
you don't want one
- 09 a: m̃
- 10 (2.0)
- 11 Daniela: perché
 ((presto))
 why
- 12 a: perché gli uomini mi hanno rotto le scatole,
because men get on my nerves >
- 13 (0.5)
- *14 Daniela: ah so: 'he he
 I see
- 15 a: tutti uguali, -- tu lo vuoi?
 ((p)) ((mp))
all the same you want one?
- 16 Daniela: no; 'h
 no

- 01 a: perché?
 why
- 02 Daniela: he he h ha ha 'h (('embarrassed'))

What is going on here? In the first extract, Daniela is just about to tell a joke to the two young women (a. and b.) with whom she is interacting. This joke is introduced as an 'innocent' Tarzan joke:

(3) (PRANZO B:I, 21-23)

- 21:02 Daniela: racconta barzellett
 ((to a.)) *tell us some jokes*
- 03 a: e non mi vengono in mente
 I can't think of any
- 04 b: aoe:: ((protests))
- 05 a: raccontale tu – sono più belle quando le
 ((to Dn.)) *you tell them they are more beautiful when*
- 06 raccontano i ragazzini
 children tell them
- 07 sono più simpatiche
 they are nicer
- ⋮
- 22:01 Daniela: conosci quella di Tarzan?
 ((f))
 you know the one about Tarzan?
- 02 a: no?
 no?
- 03 Daniela: °ha/ha° du? – °°he he°° – aber nīt lache
 ((to b.))
 do you, —but don't laugh
- 04 gell? 'h [hi] allo:ra c=era – Tarzan e Jane no, –
 will you? o.k. *there was – Tarzan and Jane –*
- 05 [la: sua/
 his
- 06 a: [m,
- 07 [la sua donna
 his woman
- 08 Daniela: [sua ve/ sua donna – ecchè
 his(..) his woman *that's it*
- ⋮

- 23:01 b: allora racconta
 ((to Dn.)) *allright tell us*
- 02 Daniela: allora: c=era questo ((etc., see (1)))
 well *there was this*

Soon, however, it turns into a 'dirty' joke. How its 'dirty' character is being established by coparticipants is highly relevant to the analysis of Daniela's behaviour after a.'s *mammelle*, i.e. her switching into German. First of all, the use of obscene words is obviously not responsible; for as in many jokes of this type,⁶⁴ there are no 'obscene' words to be found in it. There must be other reasons then for which we can see the joke turning into a dirty one.

After the general setting has been given (Tarzan and Jane are on a walk through the jungle), the central part of the joke starts with the reconstruction of an interaction between the two proponents. Extract (1) documents the first step in a three step coding sequence in which Jane introduces 'innocent' code names for sexual organs for which (only?) 'obscene' terms are available to her. Jane takes off her blouse and explains to Tarzan (the strong but naive lover) what her breasts are: *le mie due luci* ('my two lanterns'). Further steps in the coding sequence will introduce 'jungle' for vulva and 'serpent' for penis. The punch line which is prepared in this way is: *dice Tarzan – Jane Jane, – accendi le tue luci il mio serpente s=è fa ehl – s=è perso nella tua giungla nella tua bo:sko*, 'so Tarzan says – Jane Jane, – light your lanterns my my serpent has go/ – is lost in your jungle: in your wood'. The coding seems to have at least two functions. First, it introduces one of the three elements that have to be used by recipients to understand the punch line of the joke. Second, it turns the joke into a dirty joke by respecting the very sexual taboo that makes it dirty.

If this second claim seems implausible, consider the following. Jane has to use a lie to convince Tarzan that her breasts are something innocent. The joke's teller and the joke's recipients are in a better position than Tarzan; they know that Jane is lying. What the joke's coding sequence tells to them is that Jane has to lie because what she wants to make Tarzan believe is something innocent is in fact something obscene. Thus, obscene words are avoided by the teller in her joke. Yet, the very fact that innocent code names are introduced instead of available obscene terms orients to the taboo that forbids the use of the first. The indirect referential expressions turn a story containing 'innocent' words into a 'dirty' joke.

After Daniela has performed the first step in the coding sequence, a. provides feedback; using the sequential format of a transformation (Schegloff

1972: 95ff), she introduces a direct (although non-obscene) referential item: *le mammelle* ('the breasts'). By re-transforming the code expression into what it 'really' stands for, a. proves that she has understood. Such feedback is frequent in tellings of all sorts and has a well defined function in establishing, or checking understanding without questioning the teller's role. It makes sure that the prerequisites for the proper reception of the solution, or punch line, are given. However, in our case, the naming of the critical item violates the very taboo Daniela has made relevant by the coding; it presupposes that *luci* and *mammelle* are exchangeable, even though Daniela has put any direct reference 'off limits' by telling the joke as she has told it. Thus, it is a.'s explication of what must not be explicated which turns the situation into an 'embarrassing' one (for Daniela). All three participants try to defuse this embarrassment with the subsequent laughter (lines 02, 03, 04), which is initiated by Daniela, and joined in last by a.. At the same time, this laughing ratifies the critical character of the interaction at that point. In addition to laughing, Daniela shows another reaction: she briefly switches into German.

In extract (2), the conversation develops quite similarly, again between a. and Daniela. This time, the critical topic isn't sex, but boyfriends (*fidanzati*). Again, the topic isn't critical in itself, but is turned into a critical one, on an initiative by the adult. A. does the trick by turning the girl's system of evaluation upside down. This system has 'having a boyfriend' as a positive, and 'not having a boyfriend' as a negative value (cf. her *peccate*, 'it's a pity', after learning from a. that she does not have a boyfriend). So there is disagreement in the first place (probably from line 06 on). In this delicate (and face threatening) situation, a. can very easily cause Daniela's embarrassment. In our case, it is the tone of voice in which her answer to Daniela's question why she doesn't want a boyfriend is formulated. The *mi hanno rotto le scatole* ('they get on my nerves') is not a vulgar, but a rather colloquial expression. It is marked in PRANZO where such a style is otherwise avoided. Again, Daniela switches into German, and also indicates her embarrassment by laughing (line 14).

Code-switching in either case has something to do with the precarious situation that has evolved. More precisely, it is one of the indicators that show to co-participants as well as to external observers that Daniela perceives a.'s preceding utterance as embarrassing. As such, the switching is discourse related. But how is such a discourse related interpretation possible? Here, matters of language preference come in. In the episode PRANZO, Daniela displays an individualistic preference for German, although she usually

adapts to b.'s and even more to a.'s preference for Italian. In the latter case, the preference is underlined by a.'s restricted knowledge of German which does not allow her to take part actively in conversation in that language. Given these preferences, it is evident that Daniela's response to an activity by a. which is embarrassing to her, and which thus threatens her face, is to switch into the language which she has agreed to avoid for a.'s benefit, but which is her own preferred language. Daniela 'retreats' on 'her' language. Given a.'s preference for Italian and her incompetence in German, this is tantamount to a ('symbolic') retreat from the interaction — one of its agreed upon features is dissolved. The discourse related effect of this type of switching is an effect of one participant's rejecting the language of interaction. As it is this participant who is 'on the defensive', we will speak of defensive code-switching here.

The short duration of the other-language passage is in line with this analysis. The speaker on the defensive retreats from the interaction to compose himself or herself. The language of interaction is abandoned only as long as is necessary for this purpose.⁶⁵

4.1.2. Directionality of code-switching

Several researchers on bilingualism have tried to assign issues of language preference and finding a common language of interaction on the one, and language alternation on the other hand to two different temporal stages in interaction. Thus, Grosjean writes: "In the first stage the bilingual decides which base language to use, and in the second stage he or she determines whether to code-switch" (1982: 154). Although such a differentiation into two different stages may be possible when constructing an external model of language choice in bilingual interaction, it does not reflect the temporal ordering in actual conversational decision making. At least in our data, matters of negotiating the "base language" (Grosjean), i.e. the language of interaction, and matters of alternating between languages for discourse related purposes, cannot be strictly separated. This is only natural if we recall that code-switching — whether related to participants or to the organization of discourse — always invites the next speaker to take up the newly introduced language. Every occurrence of code-switching (with the exception of those cases where the code-switching party switches back into the language of departure within his or her turn) puts in question the negotiated language of interaction. For this reason, matters of language negotiation are relevant throughout a conversation in which code-switching occurs.

For the same reason, discourse related code-switching incorporates elements of participant related switching as well. Trivially, this is true for the ascription of bilingual competence; every code-switching speaker shows active competence of the other language at least to a minimal degree, and therefore displays his or her bilingualism.⁶⁶ It also applies to ascribing individual preferences to speakers. This may become clearer if we approach the problem from a different angle. Earlier, the preference for same language talk was introduced; it was suggested that only against the background of this principle can conversationalists see co-participants' diverging from the established language of interaction as displaying their individual preference. Indeed, without this principle, there wouldn't be an established language of interaction. Now every discourse related code-switching disregards the preference for same language talk, i.e. a code-switching values the positive effect of switching on the organization of the interaction higher than the digression from the established language. If it is true that the preference for same-language talk prevents the unlimited use of discourse related code-switching, there is a 'dilemma' for any participant who wants to initiate a new footing. But then, it is also obvious that a speaker will be more liable to switch into the other language, and use switching as a contextualization strategy, if this new language is his or her preferred language, and if the old, agreed-upon language of interaction is the preferred language of his or her co-participant. It is for this reason that code-switching of the discourse related type can be relevant for the ascription of preferences to participants.

In the Constance data, this connection is particularly strong. Most children use code-switching as a contextualization strategy considerably more often when the language of departure is Italian and the newly chosen language is German. (In some cases, the southern Italian dialect variety is preferred over ('standard') Italian or German (dialect). Note however that this dialect variety is not insisted upon in language negotiation sequences, that is, it is rare in cases of prototypical language alternation related to preference. The indirect nature of signalling preference via polyvalent switching corresponds to the 'hidden prestige' of the dialect.) The direction of discourse related code-switching therefore tends to be stable, and displays the children's preference for German.⁶⁷

4.2. Between transfer and code-switching

Prototypical transfer does not have any impact on subsequent language choice, concerns a well-defined unit and is (as a consequence of the latter)

relatively short. Prototypical code-switching implies a re-negotiation of the language of interaction, concerns a well-defined point in interaction and does not allow to predict return into the first language. Thus, the two distinguishing questions are: (i) Is it a unit or a point that is concerned? and (ii) Does language alternation relate to language negotiation? Both criteria can lead into polyvalent interpretations if they cannot be applied with unequivocal results.

4.2.1. III-defined units

The first case we want to consider is the diffusion of the boundary between units and points. In simple cases, such diffusion occurs in elliptical turns which may either be interpreted by co-participants as 'just' one well-defined unit (e.g., a word), or as the only formulated element of a more complex, 'underlying' structure (for instance, a sentence). Consider examples (4) and (5):

(4) (CL-EINZEL 21)

- 10 m: che lavoro fa papa,
 what job's your daddy in,
- *11 Clemente: Dachdecker
 roofer
- 12 m: aha— e mamma che lavoro fa,
 I see and mum what job is she in
- *13 Clemente: Verkäuferin;
 saleswoman
- 14 m: ah— dove dov=è
 ah where where is (it)
- 15 Clemente: nel EKZ
 in the ((name of a shopping centre))

(5) (CM-EINZEL 11)

- 01 m: quando i genitori (mi davano)— un po di
 when my parents (gave me) a little
- 02 soldi no, andavo subito al cinema. eh:: fai
 money you know, I immediately went to the cinema. eh do
- 03 anche tu così oppure: (.)
 you also do like that or
- *04 Camillo: spare
 save

- 05 m: du dusch sparen h h hn tu risparmi hēh?
 you save it you save it right?

Both are taken from formal interviews with Clemente and Camillo respectively. Due to this general setting, the 'interviewees' are quite taciturn; they laconically respond to the 'interviewer's' questions with one word answers (*Dachdecker*, 'roofer' and *Verkäuferin*, 'saleswoman' in (4), *spare* 'to save', in (5)). Taken as words without a syntactic structure, i.e. as pure lexical entries, they may be considered to be transfers, and thus, not as attempts to re-negotiate the language of interaction. However, if they are looked upon as surface remnants of syntactic structures such as *mein Vater ist Dachdecker* ('my father is a roofer'), etc., they would have to be interpreted as code-switching. (A third possibility is to see the one word contributions as elliptical, but of an Italian answer such as *mio padre fa il Dachdecker*.)

The actual recipient's behaviour does not provide us with clues as to how he interpreted the language alternation. In one case, m. continues in Italian, that is, he does not orient to matters of language negotiation, in the other, he uses German for his subsequent turn, that is, he seems to take up the boy's language choice. However, this evidence isn't very conclusive in either case. For in extract (4), the use of Italian by m. may just as well be analyzed as his next step in a language negotiation sequence, i.e. as his insisting on the preferred language; and in extract (5), it seems that the adult's 'expansion' of Clemente's *spare* also changes the 'key' of the interaction – at least, m.'s laughter points to an attempt on his side to reinterpret a rather 'stiff' situation as a humorous one. Also, m. quickly switches back into Italian in the same turn.⁶⁸ I consider the diffusion of the clear borderline between a unit and a point in interaction in Clemente's and Camillo's turns not just as an analyst's problem. Our difficulties at arriving at a clear interpretation only mirror those of the participants.

However, it would be certainly wrong to imagine that co-participants are particularly puzzled by such instances of language alternation. They are polyvalent in the sense of being compatible with either 'transfer' or 'code-switching'. That is to say, the dichotomy just ceases to be important. Consequently, language alternation will be less readily interpretable and acquire interactional function in these cases than in those that can be mapped onto one of the prototypes.⁶⁹

The diffusion of the distinction between units and points is not only observed in the case of one word answers in the other language. It is also relevant in the following data:

(6) (DURKOLL 149;5/6)

((narrative about a school adventure))

- 5:08 Clemente: no che dopë che tu hai purtatē ^{normal e} Note
 no then you brought another mark
 6:01 però a la: e: hai purtatē nu tre
 but this time you brought a 'three'

((continues in Italian))

(7) (VIERER B:14)

((about the Germans))

- 11 Camillo: quannē c=è n=atē – – mettē la zigarette –
 when there is another one – – (they) put the cigarette –
 12 in=de Schnauze – e parlanē
 in the jaw and talk

In both cases, a stretch of German longer than one word occurs in an Italian passage. It is not unlikely that the nouns *Note* ('mark') and *Schnauze* (lit. 'jaw') are the nuclei of these stretches, and that their usage is 'responsible' for their occurrence. However, the single noun has expanded to the whole direct object noun phrase (plus adverbial, *normal e Note*, 'another mark') or prepositional phrase (*in de Schnauze*, 'in the jaw') and does not permit seeing the structure as a well-defined unit any more. A different interpretation is also possible, namely that turn-internal structures are built up by code-switching, for instance in order to differentiate 'thematic' and 'rhematic' elements.

4.2.2. Turn-internal code-switching

The second criterion to tell code-switching from transfer is the impact that the alternation of language has on subsequent language choice. In addition to the existence of such an impact (code-switching) and to its absence (transfer), we observe cases of turn-internal language alternation which fall between these extremes, or more precisely, which are neutral with respect to the language of interaction. Nevertheless, the distinction between points-in-interaction vs. units-of-interaction remains an applicable criterion for classifying these cases as instances of (non-prototypical) code-switching for describable contrastive functions.

Consider the following contribution by Alfredo:

(8) (SCHNECKENFRESSER 91:20/21)

- 20:12 Alfredo: no: - quandë=a casa nostra mbë/ - a tedeschè -
you know-when at our house (...)-the German (woman)
- 13 quilla Nachbarin; - quando=nui=facimm da mangià
this neighbour; when we do the cooking
o ange
or also
- 14 - oh da stinkts wieder nach dem Zigeuneresse und so
 ((pressed))
 oh again it's stinking from this gipsy food and so on
- 15 [(si mettë=a crapi)
she goes to open]
- 16 Agostino: ming=ië cë darisë nu scuppolo:ne a chill [(che!
if it was me I'd give her a kick to this one]
- 17 Alfredo: [a fënestrë=
the window]
- 21:01 =e=s mettë=a - mna u:: - spritz spritz da Parf üm
and starts to (take) the - spray spray there perfume
- 02 [ma
 but
- 03 m: [°ma ma veramente°
 but but is that true
- 04 Alfredo: [na=vo:t- si:: na: [vo:t=i: - ë: e;
 ((p))
 once- yes once I
- 05 Agostino [è qua/ u/è quella
 ((f, agitated))
 is it there/ the/ is it
- 06 [là (.....)
 this one there (.....)
- 07 Alfredo: [tornatë da [scolë [i hab gedacht komm jetzt in e
 ((mf))
 came home from school I thought I am stepping into
- 08 ?:
 ((thud))
- 09 Agostino: [°scus°
 sorry
- 10 Alfredo: Puff nei- so hat=s gstunke nach dem Zeug; -
 brothel that's how it was stinking from that stuff

- 11 Agostino: e:: è [quellë che ci=ha i capelli::]
is it this one who's got the hair
- 12 Alfredo: [des hat da gstunkn
 ((p))
 it was stinking there]
- 13 Agostino: m/a [chillë vecchjë zaganonë
 b/ut this old (.....)]
- 14 Alfredo: [da die Mö:bl:
 there the furniture]

((follows second story by Alfredo about the German neighbour))

For the purpose of this discussion, it is useful to look at a de-interactionalized version of the report (01-05) and narrative (06-08):

- 01 quandë a casa nostra mbë/ - a tedeschè - quilla
 02 Nachbarin; - quando=nui=facimm da mangià o ange -
 03 oh da stinkts= wieder nach dem Zigeuneresse und so
 04 (si mette a crapi) a fënestrë=e=si mettë=a - m=na u:
 05 spritz spritz da Parf üm
 06 na vo:t - na=vo:t ië e tornatë da scolë
 07 i hab gedacht komm jetzt in e Puff nei - so hat=s gstunke
 08 nach dem Zeug; - des hat da gstunkn

Although there is an overall tendency of the speaker to 'glide' from a more Italian beginning of the turn into German, such that the turn terminates more or less in that language, it is difficult to tell if the contribution as a whole should be considered to be German or Italian. A number of language alternations contribute to the neutral character of the contribution. Some of them are already familiar to us. For instance, we notice the transfer of another person's (the neighbour's) speech. We are less familiar with the instances of switching in lines 05 and 07/08. Both have to do with the internal organization of Alfredo's report and the subsequent narrative. *Spritz spritz da Parf üm* ('spray spray there perfume') is the climax or upshot of the teller's report of what the neighbour does when the Italian family cook their meals⁷⁰ and therefore marks a step in its internal build-up. On the other hand, the switching after *ië e tornatë da scolë* ('I came home from school'), sets off the 'setting' of the narrative against the 'events' (which are given in German). Again, switching has a structuring function; it underlines the overall organization of the narrative in its constituent parts.

Frequent turn-internal code-switching of this type between German and

Italian is responsible in the first place for the neutrality of Alfredo's contribution with respect to the negotiation of the language of interaction. (Not being a prototypical instance of transfer because of its length (cf. above, pp 78f), reported speech is of relevance as well.) In fact, as documented in the original version of the transcript, other participants intervene in both languages: Agostino in Italian and Clemente in German. In this constellation, Alfredo's behaviour can be seen as a compromise between their conflicting preferences.⁷¹ Becoming a habitualized form of talk, frequent turn-internal switching of this type is also the beginning of a development which is restricted in our data to Alfredo and his friends; it may eventually lead into abolishing the preference for same language talk. For if more than one participant frequently switch languages within turns (as Alfredo regularly, and the others sometimes do) it becomes less and less relevant to speak of a language of interaction forming the background against which instances of alternation must be seen. Code-switching remains functional because of the contrastive effect it has, but this effect isn't any longer the consequence of calling into question or deviating from a base language.

By using its position as a criterion, we can distinguish three groups of switching. The first group occurs exclusively between turns. Attempts to redefine the constellation of participants by getting into an ongoing conversational sequence are cases in point. The second and largest group comprises switchings that may either occur between turns or turn-internally, such as the contraposition of two 'keys', of a superordinated and a subordinated unit, or of two topics. Finally, a third group of discourse related switching is restricted to turn-internal usage.

Apart from code-switching used to mark the 'setting' of a narrative against its 'events', or set off the 'events' against the punch line (as in extract (8)), language alternation frequently occurs in turn constructions such as /answer/ & /account/ or /explanation of the answer/:

(9) (MG 81 A, 25)

- 01 m: viene anche il ragazzino piccolo?
the small child will come too?
*02 Filomena: 'ts non viene (der) komt ja nicht mit
No s/he doesn't (he) can't follow
03 odder
can s/he

(10) (VIERER B 30)

- 11 m: e che - che cosa: m - che/ che film quale
and what what which/ which film which
12 programma vedete [(.....)
station do you watch (.....)
*13 Agostino: [italia; mei Vatter will ja
[Italy; my father always
14 immer de Scheiß Italienisch sehn
wants to watch this bloody Italian

Also, the goal may be differentiating various levels of saliency in the information contained in the turn components, that is, marking what I call the turn-internal thematic structure:

(11) (VIERER B 23-30)

((topic: Agostino's cleaning job in a chemical factory))

- 23:11 Agostino: ja aber dort - darfscht erscht ab sechzehn
yes but there you are not allowed until 16
12 Alfredo: erscht ab sechzehn =
not until 16
13 Clemente: =(sie habe) draufgschriebe daß er siebzehn Jahr
(they) wrote down that he was seventeen
14 wär(t); -
((follows narrative by Agostino about an accident in the laboratories))
29:13 Clemente: des kann vergiftet werde=
it can be poisoned
14 Agostino: =Vergiftung -
poisoning
15 m: e deve stare attento che -
and he has to be careful to
*16 Agostino: deshalb an a/=ab sechzehn erst - ponnë andarë là
that's why n/not until 16 - they can go there
30:01 m: mm
(12) (VIERER B31)
((topic: the parents' liking for Italian television programmes))
06 m: ah anche a te; - anche anche a casa tua;
with you as well; - at your at your house as well;

- 07 Agostino: [dene gfällt dann die alte – °die°]
 they (then) like the old the
 *08 Alfredo: [meine Mutter(.) sempre – °filmë
 my mother always Italian
 09 itaglianë filmë italianë°
 films Italian films
 10 Camillo: jao:, manchmal komme ganz gute Filme manchmal
 ((acc. e dim.))
 well, sometimes they have quite good films, sometimes

It should be noted in passing that distinguishing just two types of 'information' such as 'new' and 'old' (or thematic vs. rhematic structures) does not suffice to account for the semantic structure of such turns as the ones marked by asterisks. In order to describe the effect of turn-internal code-switching in these cases, one has to qualify the thematic status of the turn components in a more sophisticated way; one must distinguish several degrees of saliency. In (12), *meine Mutter* ('my mother') is certainly the most salient element of the turn, since it answers m.'s question and therefore introduces 'new' information for him (the remainder of the turn, formulated in Italian, merely states that Alfredo's mother likes Italian films just as does Agostino's father, who was complaining before, cf. extract (10)). However, matters are more complicated in (11) and cannot be captured by the simple dichotomy 'new' vs. 'old'. Here, Agostino establishes a link to the topic of conversation preceding his rather elaborate narrative, i.e. lines 23:11-13 of our extract. The information which is set off by the use of German in the construction of the turn is not salient because it is new, but because it does this back-referencing work. The Italian part of the turn (*ponnë andarë là*, 'they can go there') is almost redundant and could be reconstructed by every attentive listener. In the German passage knowledge is made relevant that had been introduced before the turn. It is this function, not the newness of the information, that gives its more salient character.

In our data, turn-internal code-switching is also frequently organized in a structure or format which can have various functions. It may be exemplified by the following set of extracts:

(13) (NOCHMAL-MONOPOLY 17,1)

((Giacomo, Tiziano, Biagio and p. are playing 'monopoly'. In the following extract, Giacomo hits the 'prison' field, that is, according to the rules, he has to pause for a round))

- 01 Giacomo: eins zwei drei [vier fünf
 one two three four five
 02 Biagio: [vier fünf [seks
 four five [six
 03 Tiziano: ha! ((claps his hands))
 *04 Giacomo: non è niendë ich
 it's nothing I
 05 bin nur b/ für besüke ha ha nur für Besüke –
 ((più p))
 only am a/ a visitor only a visitor
 *06 sto a guarda:re solda:ndë; non pa:rlë. non
 I'm only having a look (I) don't speak. (I) don't
 07 (giova) rest:are.
 (have to) stay.
 08 Tiziano: (i) neanche, e(s) io vengo da te? –
 neither (do I), and (if) I come to you?

(14) (KOCHREZEPTE 9)

- 02 mo: la gita ti è piaciuta
 did you like the excursion
 03 Barbara: che:?
 what?
 04 mo: la gita; –
 the excursion;
 05 Barbara: quale; – ah non gi sono anda:to alla git – no.
 which one; – ah I didn't go there to the excursion – no.
 *06 ich bin nicht gegangen;
 I didn't go;
 07 mo: come; – –
 what;

((continues in Italian))

(15) (VIERER B:3/4)

((about films and film stars))

- 3:12 m: Charles Bronson
 13 Clemente: ja, de/ der (isch Spitze du)
 ((p))
 yes he/ he (is great you know)

- 14 Agostino: ?a!
((mf))
- 15 Camillo: °° (.....)°°
- 16 Clemente: komme gleu/ glei die Frage –
they will co/come immediately the questions –
- 4:01 w=wo:
where
- *02 Agostino: vui chi ssë film – ihr denkt nur an Filme Camillus; –
you with your films – you only think of films Camillus; –
- 03 Alfredo: ja (als)o Filme find I=i=it (.....)
well films I dont find (.....)
- 04 Camillo: [(.....)]
- 05 Alfredo: in letzte Zeit sind ma Filme so lang weilich
((emphatic))
lately I find films so boring
- 06 Agostino: genau
exactly

(16) (VIERER B:44)

((narrative about how Alfredo faked his father's signature))

- 09 Alfredo: und denn, – hab=i– nächschte– Diktat war n Dreier
and then, – had I– the next– dictation was a 'three',
- *10 era un tre – o fatto vedere a mia matr – mein.
((più p))
was a 'three' – I showed it to my mother – my
- 11 Vatter den/ – der muß immer zurückblättern °(du) da°
father whom/ – he's always got to leaf back (you) there
- 12 gibts nix
is nothing to keep him from that
- 13 Agostino: ja (a [u])
yes also
- 14 Alfredo: guarda
((più f))
he looks

((continues in Italian))

I shall speak of *pseudo-translations* here to designate turn components that 'repeat' what has been said in previous turn components in the other language. Such an other-language repetition is quite different from a same-turn

reformulation in the opposite code (cf. pp 52ff above). In the case of the reformulation, the other-language item annuls the *reparandum*; in the case of the repetition, a more complex relationship obtains between the pseudo-translation and the translated turn component. This may be a specification, an elaboration, a summary, etc., but in no case can it be a correction of a 'wrong' formulation. The structure is once again that of a turn-internal, same speaker repair; however, the repair does not take back the first utterance, but paraphrases it.

The 'repetition' can diverge from the first formulation in various ways and by varying degrees. This is why we speak of 'pseudo'-translations here. In an example such as extract (16), the relationship between *war n Dreier* and *era un tre* ('it was a 'three') is that of semantic equivalence, that is, we are dealing with a case of actual translating here. As a thought experiment, one may imagine interchanging the two components; the first (formerly the second) one would remain understandable without any restrictions. The same thought experiment applied to extract (14) will give a slightly different result; in this case, the German pseudo-translation *ich bin nicht gegangen* ('I didn't go') is elliptical with respect to the Italian version that immediately precedes it (*non gi sono andat alla gitè* – no, 'I didn't go there to the excursion, no'). The deleted indication of the goal of the going must be inferred from the first version. If interchanged, the now first, elliptical version could still be understood by reference to preceding talk between mo. and Barbara; however, the second, non-elliptical version would appear to elaborate the preceding one in the same turn, perhaps even to orient to some recipient's problem of understanding what 'going' the speaker was talking about at the moment.

Such an elaborative semantic relationship between the first and the pseudo-translated item is indeed observed in extract (15). Here, the second version isn't less, but more informative than the first. Thus, *vui chisë film* ('you with your films') is clarified in the pseudo-translation by adding a verb (*ihr denkt nur an Filme Camillus*, 'you only think of films, Camillus'); at the same time Agostino specifies or perhaps redefines his addressee by adding an address term.⁷² Finally, in (13), the relationship between the German and the Italian version is neither one of giving more nor one of giving less information; Giacomo just formulates a different aspect of the same 'underlying' theme, i.e. that although he has to go to the 'prison' during a game of 'monopoly' (and therefore has to sit out one round), this is only a temporary stay about which the other players should rejoice cautiously: (*Ich bin*) *nur für besüke* ('I'm only on a visit') has a literal meaning quite different from

sto a guardare soldandë ('I'm only looking'); however, it can count as a pseudo-formulation insofar as it expresses the same pragmatic meaning.

Looking at the functions of turn-internal pseudo-translations, we first have to point to an important difference between this phenomenon and (potential) inter-turn switching. Turn-internal switching is meaningful because of the contrastive effect produced by juxtaposing two languages. However, it does not introduce a new footing in the sense of contextualizing an activity which requires the next turn taker to join in. Whatever turn-internal switching does, it does it without appealing to next speakers to follow. Unlike say, initiating a new topic, which invites other participants' agreement and contributions, turn organization concerns only the current speaker; each of the following speakers has to organize his or her turn independently. Again, we observe parallel structuring on the levels of activity organization and language choice: orientation to previous speakers is lacking in both cases of turn-internal switching.

The functions of pseudo-translations in turn organization are several. First among those in our data is that of emphasis: underlining an argument or giving additional weight to a statement. This is comparable to monolingual repetitions (cf. (13):05, the two productions of *nur für besüke*), or paraphrases. Not enough is known about these two processes in monolingual conversation; however, it would seem that paraphrases are much more frequent than word-by-word repetitions. Paraphrasing might be preferred for underlining or accentuating arguments and statements. That is, instead of simply saying twice what one wants the other to believe, one tends to couch it in different terms for the second version. In bilingual conversation, the use of the other language suffices to mark such a second version as different from the first.

In other cases, the pseudo-translation orients to a recipient's possible problems with understanding the first version. However, it does so without correcting this version. The first turn component is supplemented by a second which can accommodate the needs of a recipient possibly having troubles. In such cases (extract (16) is a candidate), what is pseudo-translated will differ from what is pseudo-translated when the speaker's purpose is emphasis. In the first case, the pseudo-translated utterances will tend to be ones whose primary aim is to convey information of some type; statements that might be contested, on the other hand, will be interpreted as receiving extra emphasis if pseudo-translated. The difference becomes more evident if we compare extracts (16) and (15). In (16), the *era un tre* gives a bit of information

which cannot be contradicted by the story's recipient(s), for it is the teller himself who has privileged access to this knowledge. What is at stake is the transfer of his knowledge to other parties, and it is here that the pseudo-translation becomes functional. In contrast, Agostino's statement in (15):02 is a rather direct reproach, and highly debatable. In this context of argumentation, the function of the pseudo-translation is to underline the remark.

A third important function of pseudo-translations is related to turn-taking. It is well known⁷³ that the beginning of a turn is not merely the first utterance of a speaker, but shows some characteristics of that position which can only be understood by taking into account the turn-taking system. As outlined above (cf. pp 32f), self-selection occurs whenever the present speaker did not determine the next speaker. In constellations of more than two participants, this will often lead into competition for the turn, in which case the first starter is entitled to carry on. Of course, there may be more than one starter, i.e. several participants may simultaneously talk after a transition point has been reached. It is also in orientation to the actual or possible occurrence of such simultaneous talking that many turns are organized into at least two components, a pre-element and the central component. The pre may be an *uhm*, a particle (*well, yes, ok*) or a formulaic expression (*I mean, let me just say one thing*). In addition to (partially) forbidding the 'central' move of the turn, such pres allow (potentially) competing participants to begin with the articulation of sounds that demonstrate their willingness to talk; however, they can be overlapped by other competing parties' simultaneous talk without putting the contribution in danger of becoming uninterpretable. That is, turn-initial structures are used by participants to claim the turn; however, because what they say, or hint at, is to be formulated more explicitly in the central turn component, they are semantically 'redundant' enough to tolerate simultaneous talk. In our data, some of the turn components that are later pseudo-translated into the other language, stand in turn-initial position and are susceptible to other parties' competition. (In extract (15), there is in fact simultaneous talk between Clemente and Agostino.) In these cases, the reformulation in the other language can retroactively turn the first version into a pre, and the second into the full-fledged contribution. Note that it would be wrong to take the whole structure (formulation plus other-language pseudo-translation) as pre-planned; instead, one has to look at the first turn component as an attempt to gain the floor by an utterance which is understandable in itself, although perhaps not very explicit. If this attempt is successful, i.e., if no other party competes with the present speaker, or if all

speakers cede to him or her after a period of simultaneous talk, the speaker may use the pseudo-translated second turn-component to fill out his or her turn.

On the level of preference related switching, i.e. on the level of finding a common language of interaction, pseudo-translations maintain the balance between the two languages. Whatever language the subsequent speaker may choose, it will not stand in contrast to the present speaker's (undecided) choice. In this sense, switching for turn-internal organizational matters is markedly different from switching in order to initiate a new footing (which may also occur within a turn).

5. CONCLUSION

We have presented a model that accounts for the interactive meaning of one of the most prominent forms of bilingual behaviour, i.e. the alternating use of two languages during an interactive episode. The model was built on some basic assumptions that can be summarized as follows.

First, our approach is essentially sequential, not 'semantic' in nature. This is to say that the function of code-switching and transfer is not looked upon as being solely derived from decontextualized 'meanings' of the two languages, but as being embedded in the sequential development of the conversation; this sequential development constitutes its primary and most important context. Instead of correlating linguistic activities and the languages in which they are carried out, we have focused on transitions from one language into the other. This led into the important distinction between transfer (as related to units of speech from the other language) and code-switching (as related to points of transition). Approaching language alternation from this angle, we didn't have to start with preconceived conceptions of what the 'social meaning' or the 'value' of the codes in the linguistic repertoire of the speakers is, but were able to reconstruct this 'value' by looking at how transitions between languages are used for various functions.

A sequential approach to language alternation treats language choice as an additional level on which interactional cohesion is established in bilingual conversation. Language choice can also be used to mark contrast. Such code-switching interrupts conversational continuity in order to set off something that has been said before against something that will be said now (discourse related code-switching). On the other hand, code-switching that only redefines the language of interaction was analyzed as participant related (that is, as pointing to a speaker's unbalanced bilingual competence, or to diverging preferences for the two languages among participants). The working of discourse related code-switching as a contextualization strategy (in the sense of Gumperz) that initiates new 'footings' (Goffman) can only be analyzed properly in sequential terms. It is the outcome of a speakers' compromise between the necessity to contextualize a new activity and the overall tendency of (most) bilingual speakers to accommodate their own

language choice to that of the preceding speaker(s). For this reason, it is quite unreasonable to expect statistically convincing correlations between activity types and language choice; such an expectation would disregard the preference for same language talk. Code-switching is never determined by the situation; it is a strategy that may but need not be used by an individual speaker to contextualize an activity. Having more than one language at his or her disposal is the bilingual's advantage — an additional resource for contextualization. However, he or she is free to use other ('monolingual') contextualization techniques instead.

Secondly, the model proposed here is procedural, instead of just classificatory. Two basic distinctions relevant for the production and interpretation of language alternation were introduced and used to account for local instances of meaningful language alternation. They can be put in the form of questions: (i) What is the structural basis of the signalling process? (If it is a unit, we are dealing with transfer, if it is a point, we are dealing with code-switching.) (ii) What is the object of the signalling process? (If it is an aspect of the conversation, we are dealing with discourse related alternation, if it is a property of the participants, we are dealing with participant related alternation.) The two distinctions resulted in prototypical examples. In and for specific contexts, switching becomes interpretable, and is produced such as to be interpretable, e.g. as changing the constellation, or initiating a new topic (discourse related code-switching); or as a move in a language negotiation sequence (participant related switching). Transfer may take on, e.g., anaphoric back referencing functions (discourse related), or signal a speaker's lack of access to an item of the lexicon of the respective language (participant related). But in addition to these prototypical instances the model allowed us to account for non-prototypical instances between the 'pure' applications of the two dichotomies as well. These latter cases become meaningful because of their distance from or closeness to prototypical realizations. For instance, we were able to describe one word answers as non-prototypical, because they neutralize the distinction between transfer and code-switching, and turn-internal code-switching as polyvalent, because it does not influence the subsequent speaker's language choice or the activity type of his or her utterances.

Thirdly, but in the same vein, the model presented here is, in the sense of Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974/78), both context sensitive and context independent. In order to take part in bilingual interaction, members have to dispose of some rather general 'rules' that are shared by all participants; yet these 'rules' are flexible enough to be modeled to the needs of any new

occasion. In the case of the turn taking system described by SSJ, the context independent core of the 'turn-taking machinery' is constituted by the turn taking rules. Context sensitivity is built into these rules, a) by the fact that it is not fixed in advance when turn transition becomes relevant, if present speaker selects next speaker, if next speaker takes up the opportunity to take over, if next speakers compete for the turn, if present speaker continues, etc.; and b) by the fact that techniques are available that orient to the existence of the turn taking rules, but suspend their application (such as, for instance, techniques to suspend the relevance of syntactically defined transition points). This context sensitivity accounts for the infinite number of ways in which conversations vary in length, number of participants, length of turns, distribution of turns among participants, and so on. In the case of our model for bilingual language alternation, context independence is given by the two basic dichotomies available to any member, and used by any participant producing or interpreting functional language alternation. But again, in the never identical sequential environments of alternation, the distinction between transfer and code-switching, and that between participant and discourse related alternation, will not provide a local function unless these environments are taken into account. Thus, context-sensitivity is given, a) because the two dichotomous basic procedures stipulate four prototypes, and render interpretable a number of polyvalent cases in between the prototypes and b) because the prototypes themselves are meaningful in very different ways in the varying contexts in and for which they occur. Thus, discourse related code-switching may suggest redefining the constellation or separate the setting from a narrative's events, participant related code-switching may display a participant's unwillingness, or his/her inability to speak a language, and so on. Just as the turn taking rules plus their local application regulate the transition from one speaker to the next, it is the basic procedures for the production and interpretation of language alternation plus the local context of their application that jointly provide participants with the information necessary to decide on the function of a particular instance of alternation.

Our model has a number of consequences for research on bilingualism as a whole. Dealing with one of its most important aspects from a conversation analytic perspective, it implies a non-mentalist, pragmatic conception of bilingualism. Just as the turn taking system is not just a feature of conversation, but *defines* conversation from a members' point of view, our model *defines* bilingualism as set of complex verbal activities. Matters of bilingual competence are only a part of the issue; they are relevant for defining bilingualism

as a set of activities only insofar as members orient to them in the process of displaying their own or ascribing to other conversationalists, relatively better or worse competence in one of the two languages.

In this sense, the model is neither individualistic nor (macro-)sociological. Both positions have been taken in research on code-switching and related phenomena. The individualistic view reduces language alternation to the whim of the individual speaker (a 'stylistic' issue); language alternation is considered to be only accessible by introspection on the part of a code-switching speaker who has sole access to the reasons for his or her behaviour. In this view, bilingual speech is a matter of mere chance mixing of languages, possibly determined by cognitive parameters, and therefore altogether non-functional. According to our conception of bilingualism as social activity, such chance mixing of languages is irrelevant to the degree that it cannot be interpreted by co-participants either. If there is no way for the speaker to get across what he or she wants to say, or if he or she does not even intend to get anything across by using two languages, an interactional dimension of bilingualism cannot come into play. It is quite sure though that bilingual behaviour of this type is much more the exception than the rule.

On the other hand, there is the macro-sociological approach to (the meaning of) language choice, usually associated with the question 'who speaks what language with whom and when' (Fishman 1965) — let us call this the 4W-approach. The 4W-approach takes the unproblematic existence and relevance of patterns of language choice for granted. Being beyond the individual speaker's influence, these patterns are there to be followed by the members of a bilingual community. Therefore, a social conception of bilingualism as a collection of norms for the selection of one language or the other disregards the meaningfulness of language alternation just as much as the individualistic approach does. The present analysis avoids both extremes which seem to be pitfalls created by a purely psychological/psycholinguistic, or a purely sociological/sociolinguistic point of view. It relegates matters of language choice and alternation to the stage on which they become relevant in the first place: to conversation. It is only here that a *linguistique de la parole* can take its point of departure. Here, individuals are in inter-action; they behave neither like pawns in a preestablished game has that been devised and set beforehand (4W-approach), nor do they act out their individualistic whims. Instead, they engage in a subtly coordinated exchange. In the case of bilinguals, language choice is both a topic of (language negotiation) and a means for organizing (contextualizing) this exchange. Both aspects are not

just deeply social, for they are social activities, or parts of such, but also are inseparable from individual participants, for only their continuous efforts sustain interactional involvement.

The 'status' or 'value' of the languages of a bilingual community can partly be analyzed via an investigation of language alternation in conversation. This is particularly relevant in a case like that of the second or third generation of guest workers in Europe where matters of prestige will decide upon the future bilingualism of the community. Given the enormous difficulties that face any researcher who wishes to extract valid attitudinal statements from interviews, or to collect them by means of testing, the analysis of conversational language alternation opens up an interesting alternative. First, of course, preference related switching is to be considered. It tells us whether the speaker is ready to insist on the language of his or her preference under more or less favourable conditions (type of co-participant, responsive or initiative position, etc.). Second, the direction of discourse related switching must be taken into account. From the activities that typically are contextualized by switching into a given language the status of this language can be inferred in more indirect ways than language negotiation sequences permit. For instance, it is possible to relate to the description of the status of a language such findings as the one that Italian migrant children in Constance switch into German (or, in some cases, into the southern Italian dialect of their parents) for less formal genres, for joking/funny comments, when they are 'on the defensive' in embarrassing contexts, for subordinated or side-sequences, and so on. It may also be observed that a variety is only displayed as having some positive status in this more indirect way, but not in overt language negotiation sequences. (This, for instance, applies to the Italian dialectal variety). In short, a close look at language alternation is often revealing for the analysis of the varieties' status in the repertoire of the speech community.

In the more general framework of 'sociolinguistics', the investigation of code-switching and transfer therefore plays an important role in the description of a community's (or, an individual's) linguistic repertoire. To see the importance, and also the generality of the phenomenon, the reader is reminded that both transfer and code-switching are not restricted to 'bilingual' communities/speakers in the orthodox sense of the word. Just as switching between two 'languages', speakers may alternate between a (near-)standard and a (near-)dialect variety in their repertoire. As most people dispose of more than one variety, alternation has an enormously wide field of possible

occurrence.

The analysis of language alternation is best seen as part of the much wider business of dealing with 'variation' in natural language. There are of course various ways of investigating variation, the best known probably being the one outlined in the work of Labov and his school. However, it seems that the variable rule approach can only cope with a specific type of variation, and is unable to integrate the whole field of research. It is restricted to the analysis of how statistical means of variable realizations of a parameter stratify according to socio-economic status, age, sex, and so on. Individually meaningful variation, that is, variation of certain parameters or groups of parameters that are locally interpretable and functional, cannot be captured in such an approach. A broader view on variation must center around Gumperz dictum that "a language is not a sociolinguistic prime" (1984a: xxx). It has to start from the notion of the linguistic repertoire and must encompass all types of variation in this repertoire. Based on their analysis, the internal structure of the repertoire becomes visible, and through this structure, the status of its elements (languages, dialects, single variants).

Some of the more important types of repertoire variation are a) switching and transfer as the joint variation of a number of variables in the same direction and in locally functional ways; b) shifting between poles of the repertoire, i.e. the gradual and again locally meaningful transition from a way of speaking, e.g. closer to a dialectal pole to one closer to a standard pole; and c) code-fluctuation beyond the level of individual (local) interpretability, but globally related to such parameters as the ones described by Labov and others.⁷⁴ Different speech communities are characterized by the different types of repertoire variation. Some communities may only permit switching, others switching and shifting, again others neither of them. Code-fluctuation will always be present, but vary in degree. The final step in the analysis consists in defining 'varieties'. Here, it is determined, for instance, if there are sharply delineated, "focussed"⁷⁵ codes, or if the repertoire is diffusely structured. For such a reconstruction, the contextual-conversational description of the various types of variation takes on primary importance, for this description is the basis of all higher order generalizations about 'varieties' and their roles.

For a linguist neither interested in bilingualism nor in 'socio-linguistics', what has been said here may still seem to be quite irrelevant for his or her work. I would like to conclude by pointing to some aspects of this discussion that I believe are central for linguistic theory in a way that decidedly goes

beyond problems of code-switching and its analysis. During the last few years, it has become more and more accepted in linguistics that a proper understanding of the working of language as a means to communicate, that is, of understanding and making oneself understood, must not be restricted to the 'classic' levels of linguistic analysis. Additional systems of signalling were investigated — prosody, non-verbal communicational codes, rhythmic coordination, etc. — and larger levels of structuring were considered (texts, conversations). The theoretical innovations that have changed our conception of language seem more important to me than this broadening of the focus in various directions, however. There is an increasing convergence of opinion on the view that language cannot be analyzed properly in structural terms alone, but that structural analysis must be complemented by a procedural investigation of how structure is being put into use, that is, of how understanding and producing linguistic utterances occurs as a temporal achievement. This has led to a dynamic rethinking of the notion of context. Context is no longer taken as something static, but as the ever changing aspects of the speaker's and hearer's environment that participants consider to be relevant to the production or interpretation of the utterance. What a context is is determined/ negotiated by participants themselves. Here, Gumperz' notion of *contextualization* is of fundamental importance. If context (in the wide sense of 'relevant knowledge') is not given but has to be made available, the strategies by which this is done have to be analyzed in their own right. The techniques by which we signal what the context is are themselves to a large degree linguistic. They comprise, and justify the investigation of, intonation, rhythm, tempo, etc., but also of word choice, phonetic variation, morpho-syntactical variation — and code-switching. In order to communicate, participants must not only concatenate morphemes in meaningful ways, they must also take care that these semantic structures are interpretable. Our analysis of language alternation has demonstrated how this can be done for one particular way of signalling.

NOTES

1. Cf. M.I.G. (n.d.) for a discussion of grammatical and socio-linguistic aspects of language alternation among Italian migrant children in Constance (W.-Germany).
2. In the data used here, syntactic constraints are of relevance in no more than about 5% of all (intra- and interturn) instances of language alternation. In Pfaff's work on turn-internal Spanish-English code-switching in the USA (n.d.), 84% of all instances of alternation related to single lexemes; 6% related to whole sentences. Zentella (1981), counting only intra-turn switching as well, reports 26.5% single lexeme and 23% full sentence alternation only.
3. Also cf. Gumperz (1982), Lipski (1978) and Timm (1975) on the syntax of code-switching. It should be noted that the languages investigated by these authors are all Indoeuropean; therefore, Poplack's constraints should not be treated as universal (cf. Nartey 1982 for a critical evaluation).
4. For a recent discussion, cf. Breitborde (1983) and the comments on his paper in volume 39 of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Classical analyses have been brought forward by Gumperz (Blom & Gumperz 1972), and by Fishman, Cooper & Ma (1971). Also cf. Gal (1979) and Scotton & Ury (1977).
5. Such a case is reported by Fitzgerald (1975).
6. Cf. below, pp. 81ff, for example.
7. Gumperz' writings are rather more vague than is suggested in this short summary of his ideas on code-switching. In fact, some of his recent remarks on the issue (Gumperz 1984a) as well as the general sociolinguistic theory outlined in his work imply that a clear cut distinction between metaphorical and situational code-switching is impossible and even mistaken. A detailed critique of Gumperz' work on code-switching can be found in Auer (1984).
8. This, of course, isn't just an empirical, but a theoretical issue concerning the conceptualization of the 'social situation'.
9. Zentella mentions this in passing (p. 246f); however, she doesn't make use of it for the explanation of the meaning of language alternation. Also, being subsumed under the factor group "out of the mouth", the importance of this finding for the other types of code-switching (for instance, for the children's accommodation to adult and other partners, discussed on pp 166ff) is obscured.
10. I wish to underline at this point that 'conversation analysis' always refers to 'ethnomethodological conversation analysis' here. There is no space to explicate the theoretical and methodological principles of this approach. Readers are referred to the volumes edited by Schenkein (1978 and n.d.), Psathas (1979 and n.d.), Sudnow (1972). Recent developments in Great Britain are summarized in Heritage (1984). Monographs on conversation analysis are in preparation in English (Heritage) and German (Auer/Bergmann/Kallmeyer/Streeck/Uhmann).

11. Among the few exceptions are Valdès & Pino (1981) and Jordan & Fuller (1975).
12. Cf. Vološinov's quest for a materialist approach to meaning (1929).
13. This method is mainly advocated in Gumperz (1982). Some of the unresolved problems with this way of proceeding are discussed in Auer (1984).
14. A detailed discussion of these definitional issues concerning 'bilingualism' can be found in Auer (1981).
15. This is the title of an article on hesitation phenomena in conversation by Good (1978).
16. Cf. Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro (1976: 13f) for the notion of 'interactional episode'. An episode is delimited by certain boundary activities (establishing and resolving co-presence). Different language choices for different interactional episodes which are clearly independent are not considered to constitute language alternation.
17. Other investigators have used the terms 'transference' and 'integration'.
18. For instance, Scotton & Ury (1977) or Poplack (1981b).
19. Perhaps the most frequently mentioned is phonological or morphological adaption of the lexical item in question to its 'other language' environment. Such adaption frequently is quite unsystematic though and is sometimes clearly a 'performance' phenomenon; on the other hand, even regularly or exclusively used 'other language' items may remain unadapted, especially if the languages in contact are typologically close. Frequency, i.e. consistency of usage of the item in question (cf. Mackey (1970)), is also theoretically questionable; for the variable use of two lexical items with similar or almost identical meaning is in itself no proof of their belonging to different languages. It may be the case, for instance, that Italian children in Germany use *Fehler* and *errori* ('mistakes') variably just in the way Italians would use *errori* and *sbagli*. Recently, Grosjean (1982: 290f) tried to define 'interference' as "the involuntary influence of one language on the other" occurring in interactions between bilinguals and monolinguals, and language alternation as the voluntary switching between languages taking place among bilinguals. However, the criterion 'voluntariness' seems to be of little use since language alternation isn't always conscious either, and it is surely impossible to prove it to be so. Situational differentiation according to the type of coparticipant disregards the fact that 'convergence' may be a matter of context and not (adequately) observable in interactions between monolinguals and bilinguals: among bilinguals, both types of variation occur, and Grosjean's differentiation does not help us to tell one from the other.
20. For a more detailed discussion the reader is referred to Auer (1983: 309ff) and Auer (n.d. b).
21. A discussion of other types of variation can be found in Auer & Di Luzio (1983a & b).
22. Instances of language alternation on the one hand, and instances of convergence and mixing on the other, are separated by the decisive criterion of local functionality. It may be misleading to subsume all these phenomena under the heading of 'marques transcodiques' (Lüdi & Py 1983; Del Coso-Calame, De Pietro & Oesch-Serra, n.d.) unless it is noted that this category is only a linguists' construct.
23. Cf. M.I.G. (n.d.); also di Luzio (1983) for a programmatic summary, and the articles by Auer, Bierbach, d'Angelo and di Luzio in the volume edited by Dittmar & Mioni (n.d.).

24. An obvious parallel to this argument against classificational approaches to code-switching and transfer is the generative critique of structural linguistics. In both cases, what is at stake is a creative, dynamic vs. a normative, static notion of linguistic behaviour.
25. The term is taken from Goffman (1979).
26. Cf. Jefferson (1978) for a description of similar problems with 'getting rid of' the speaker role after complex turns — in her case, post possible story completions.
27. Cf. Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz (1976) and Gumperz (1984b); for a summary on research on contextualization, see Auer (n.d. a).
28. A typical example of the restriction of the concept of language alternation to this category is Fishman's treatment in his introduction to sociolinguistics (Fishman 1971: 37ff).
29. This method was also used in the discussion of extract (1) above.
30. Cf. Fitzgerald (1975) and Erickson & Shultz (1977) on redundancy. Also note that difficulties in understanding contextualization cues are hard to clarify via repair sequences, when compared to repairs on form or content à la Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977). This reduced possibility to safeguard intersubjectivity through other-initiated repairs seems to be counterbalanced by multi-channel signalling.
31. There is also a change of addressee selection involved in this case, as Daniela exclusively addresses b. in 06 whereas 01-05 are either directed at a. or at a. and b.
32. Scaling down is regularly used to foreshadow disagreement; cf. Pomerantz (1975) and, for German conversations, Auer & Uhmann (1982).
33. Cf. Lectures, 9.4.1971.
34. See D'Angelo (n.d. a) for examples of members' co-categorizations of preference of usage, attitudinal preference, competence, and situational adequacy.
35. Cf. Auer (1981: 72ff). In the case of self-ascriptions, things are more complicated, as self-praise is a dispreferred activity. Some of the multiple 'constraints' on ascriptions are analyzed in Pomerantz's work on compliment responses (Pomerantz 1978).
36. In a somewhat parallel fashion, monolingual speakers adapt their 'accent' to each other if they want to affiliate with their partners (cf. Giles 1973 and also Giles & Powesland 1975).
37. Cf. Barber (1973). Among some of the children investigated in Constance, there is a tendency to reduce the importance of the preference for one 'language of interaction'. We will come back to this problem in Chapter 4, pp 81ff below.
38. In German, a good terminological distinction has been coined by Stolt (1964); her terms 'Umschaltung' (switching) and 'Einschaltung' (transfer) avoid collision with the notion of transfer in language contact and in second language acquisition research. However, it is hard to translate it into English.
39. This, of course, is Gumperz' famous argument against the notion of 'interference' (cf. Gumperz 1967). Also cf. Lüdi & Py (1984: 112f) who argue very convincingly for carefully distinguishing between the linguist's and the language user's point of view.

40. Not just any kind of pre-item hesitation may be interpreted as a speaker's display of (momentary) lack of competence in the language of interaction (i.e., as displayed 'ease of access' in the switched-to language). For instance, the transfer *schlimm* in extract (4) occurs in the context *u Mann e: chiste: chiù sch — chiù schlimm angorè*; but does not seem to relate to competence at all. Apparently, only immediately preceding hesitations are a good indicator. That there is some relationship between hesitation phenomena and language alternation has been noted several times in the literature. But obviously, it is completely mistaken to correlate both parameters, as, for instance, Beardsley & Eastman (1971) do in their study on English-Swahili 'language alternation'. The authors found a positive correlation; however, this finding only obscures the interactive structures it is derived from by quantitatively combining two phenomena which have fundamentally different local meaning (transfer_L and transfer_P). It is not hesitation which 'causes' language alternation, nor does language alternation 'cause' speakers to hesitate. Instead, hesitations, where they do occur, have a marking function and provide the recipient with cues regarding the interpretation of his or her utterance.

41. For a further explication of this idea, cf. Auer & Di Luzio (1983a).

42. It can be found in the Constance corpus that the same speaker treats one item as transfer_P at one time, and as transfer_L at another time. For instance, it regularly occurs that other-language items are introduced as such when they are first mentioned in an episode; further occurrences, however, will be unmarked. Also, 'formal' situations may make a bilingual feel compelled to obey monolingual 'norms', which may lead into more frequent marking. Finally, there is of course a transsituational development; frequently used formerly other-language items become more and more usual and part of both varieties (i.e., the overlapping area between them). At some point in this development, what has been variation may disappear so that only one (the formerly marked other-language item) is the accepted expression. This final step in the 'integration process' seems not to have been reached for any item in the sociolinguistic situation this discussion is based on.

43. An instance of a game-transfer is discussed in Auer (1982).

44. The distinction goes back to Goodwin (1981). Behaviour displaying a claim to recipient status may include 'continuers' (Schegloff 1982), eye contact or at least one-sided gaze at the speaker, bodily orientation towards the speaker, etc., if occurring simultaneously with the speaker's turn. If one looks beyond the present turn, it may be any next utterance tied to the first.

45. Cf. Behrens and Jaeger (n.d.).

46. By behaving as she does, Fiorella not only displays her unwillingness, but also her incompetence to use Italian. At the same time, she attributes good bilingual competence to b. who is supposed to act as the interpreter. B.'s subsequent refusal to accept this 'role' must be seen as a rejection of at least the first competence ascription. It implies: 'you can speak Italian well enough to interact directly with the Italian dominant girls' (cf. Auer 1981 for details).

47. On the basis of a broader collection of data it could be shown that the status of m. or t. as adult participants is relevant to explain this fact. Children compete among themselves for privileges to approach and interact with (certain) adults. Being able to get all of their attention seems to be tantamount to sharing at least some of their power and status.

48. Cf. Kallmeyer (1978).

49. Cf. Sacks & Schegloff (1973: 295ff) on adjacency pairs and conditional relevance.

50. Cf. d'Angelo (n.d. a) for a description of a possible conflict between individualistic and episode-specific preference.

51. For the role of the dialect in the Italian repertoire of the children, cf. d'Angelo (n.d. b) and di Luzio (1984).

52. Nora is one of the youngest in our group (aged 8 at the time of the recording) and one of the very few who display a better competence in and a preference for Italian.

53. Other prosodic parameters may contribute to interactional/textual cohesion as well, for instance, consistency of amplitude or tempo.

54. This, of course, is only true *ceteris paribus*. The weighting of preference related code-switching also depends on such things as the 'authority' of the co-conversationalist, the 'formality' of the situation, and so on.

55. This reformulation quite often leads into competence related trouble and cannot be brought to an end without the help of some other participants. Cf. extracts 17:19 and 18:14.

56. This third party may be the speaker himself/herself, i.e. the time-out may be organized as a soliloquy. Cf. Auer (1983b) on the interactional functions of such soliloquies, in monolingual and bilingual conversation.

57. The reader will have noted that time-out transfer is embedded in a side sequence and implies addressee change. If the speaker chooses to contextualize either of them via code-switching, we will find phenomena such as the ones that have been discussed above, in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. (cf. pp 32 ff and pp 39 ff).

58. A description such as the one presented here is very reminiscent of Gumperz' analysis of code-switching (Gumperz 1982) which he calls 'semantic' because it relates the meaning of the alternating use of two language to the attitudes and values ascribed to these languages. Above, I have expressed my skepticism regarding this approach (cf. p 4). This skepticism is due to Gumperz' claim that semantic values are used to generate conversational meaning of language alternation on each occurrence. As shown in this chapter, discourse related code-switching is quite frequently related to much more mundane tasks, i.e. to the organization of the on-going conversation. However, in the case of transfer (on the lexical level, but also on the level of sayings and proverbs), matters seem to be different. In fact, Gumperz' analysis seems to hold primarily for some lexical items which are heavily loaded emotionally, or pertain to the migrants' 'identity', and whose usage can in fact have the effect Gumperz claims for code-switching. Cf. Del Coso-Calame, De Pietro and Oesch-Serra (n.d.) for another example of discourse related transfer of this 'identity rich' type.

59. For a general discussion of the topic cf. Güllich (1978).

60. Vološinov himself takes the first tendency ("linear style") as being characteristic for both direct and indirect speech, whereas he relates the second tendency ("pictorial style") to mixed forms between indirect and direct reported speech. I take a slightly different point of view in claiming that the two tendencies are both manifest in direct reported speech.

61. Cf. Rosch (1975) and (1977) for a psychological discussion of category structure around prototypes. Rosch's work suggests that from the point of view of cognitive processes, classifications are not based on criterial features that define category membership, but on closeness to or distance

from a prototypical representation. However, Rosch's notion of prototypicality is restricted to perceptual and cognitive fields for which language(s) provide lexicalized names; in our case, such lexemes are not available. We are dealing with how participants interpret certain verbal activities. At the present stage of research on prototypes, it is unclear if this should make a theoretically interesting difference. I would think it does not.

62. The ethnomethodological concept of using (instead of 'following') a 'rule' is directly related of course to Wittgenstein (1958/1976, §186 *et passim*). Also cf. Mehan (1979: 162ff.)

63. Other instances of discourse related usages of preference related alternation are antagonistic switching and switching on non-first firsts. For a discussion of the latter, see Auer 1984. Also cf. the discussion of extract (2), pp 20ff above.

64. Cf. Sacks (1975) and (1978). In these articles, the reader will find a detailed discussion of the internal structure of ('dirty') jokes and of their sequential embeddedness. Both cannot be treated here in any depth. Some general remarks on joke telling in the group of Italian children investigated in the Constance M.I.G. project are to be found in Bierbach (n.d.).

65. It should be noted that because there is no preestablished point of return that can be predicted from the very beginning of the other language passage we are dealing with code-switching and not with transfer in this passage.

66. Incidentally, this is also true for discourse related transfer, although the transfer of a single lexical item may be less conclusive evidence than code-switching.

67. This also holds, to a somewhat lesser degree, for discourse related switching purpose of redefining the constellation (cf. the data presented on pp 32 ff above). The language chosen for the proposed new constellation is in a part of the materials the preferred language of the addressee; thus, addressee change from participant A to participant B may be accompanied by switching from language x into language y if x is the language of interaction, but y is B's preferred language. If this preferred language is also the one preferred by the code-switching speaker (as in examples (1), (2) and (6) in chapter 3) — so much the better. In the opposite case, the intended addressee's preferred language is a fourth factor to be taken into account in addition to that of the speaker, the necessity to mark a new footing, and the preference for same language talk.

68. The syntactic category of the lexical items might be relevant. One could imagine that verbs are more readily interpreted as elliptical remnants of sentences than nouns; the former are also much less frequently transferred.

69. This is quite different from the case of polyvalent language alternation between participant and discourse related switching. When the object of the signalling process does not correspond to the prototypical cases, the interpretation becomes richer, for it can be carried out on various levels (cf. 4.1.). In contrast, when the structural basis of the signalling process becomes diffuse, interpretation becomes less rich.

70. This utterance is characteristically formulated by an onomatopoeically used verb (the duplicated verb stem *spritz*).

71. This recording was made three years after the recording VIERER. As will have been noted, Agostino's preferences have changed completely during that period.

72. This semantic type of pseudo-translation is in fact very similar to using turn-internal code-

switching to distinguish between a turn-initial answer to a preceding question and a subsequent other-language account as in extracts (10) and (11).

73. Cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974/1978: 32.

74. See the more detailed discussion of these three types of variation in Auer & Di Luzio (1983a & b).

75. See Le Page (1978).

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Transcription conventions follow those used in conversation analysis (cf. Schenkein (ed.) 1978), with some amendments.

A. Sequencing

- Temporal ordering in natural discourse corresponds to the direction of reading: from left to right, and from top to bottom. (No "Partitur"!)
- (.) Phonetic pauses between turns are not marked. Turn-internal phonetic pauses are marked unless they coincide with tone group boundaries whose final intonation contour is represented by punctuation marks.
- = Latching, that is, two turns are not separated by a phonetic pause. The sign is also used for turn-internal slurring of words, and for clitics.
- Longer pauses are transcribed by dashes (ca. 0.2 sec.)
- (1.5) or indications in seconds, given in round brackets.
- [] Simultaneous talk is indicated by squared brackets running across two or more speakers' lines.

B. Phonetic transcription

- Italian and German orthographic conventions are followed, but dialectal forms are captured as detailed as this is possible without using phonetic alphabet.
- ë stands for schwa in the Italian passages,
- ? for a glottal stop.
- In the English translation, passages that are Italian in the original are italicized.

C. Prosody

- x Italicized vowels have sentence stress;
- ˘ word accent is marked by ˘ and ˘ in the Italian passages.
- ? , ; . Intonation contours were only marked very superficially. As usual in conversation analysis, punctuation marks indi-

cate the final contour of a tone group (strong rising, rising, falling, strong falling).

l, [[

were used to transcribe a sudden change of pitch level between tone groups.

°xx°

means 'piano'. Apart from that, musical expressions were used to indicate tempo, loudness, etc..

V:

Lengthening is marked by a colon.

((loco))

cancels prosodic or other transcriber's comments given in double brackets before.

D. Others

'h, hh

In-breath, out-breath;

hh, xx

laughter;

/

break-off;

'ts

implosive;

((coughs))

transcriber's comment;

(.....)

not understandable;

(xxxxxxxx)

transcription doubtful;

{ ich }

{ ach }

two versions by different transcribers.

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