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Humorous or occasioned instructions: Learning the "shoulder check" in theoretical and practical driving lessons

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This study investigates how driving school instructors adapt their instructions to constraints and affordances of different activity types. Adopting a Conversation Analytic approach and building on a comparative corpus of theoretical and practical driving lessons in German, it compares sequences of instructions of the execution of the "shoulder check" (i.e., checking the blind spot) in stationary theoretical versus mobile practical driving lessons. In theoretical lessons, the instructor uses vivid and humorous embodied instructions. In practical driving lessons, the instructor orients to the complex multi-activity and delivers instructions in a succinct manner, considering the students' previous knowledge and the embeddedness into the global tasks. The paper shows how instructional practices are sensitive to contextual contingencies which they reflect and treat by their situated design.

KEYWORDS
conversation analysis, definitions, driving school, (multimodal) instructions, theory and practice

Diese Studie beschäftigt sich mit der Interaktionstypspezifik von Instruktionen in der Fahrschule und geht der Frage nach, wie Definitionen von Begriffen und Erklärungen von Lerninhalten an die Möglichkeiten und Beschränkungen verschiedener Aktivitätstypen angepasst werden. Aufbauend

auf einem komparativen Korpus theoretischer und prak-
tischer Fahrschulstunden vergleicht die konversationsana-
lytische Untersuchung Instruktionssequenzen zum "Schul-
terblick" im stationären, theoretischen vs. mobilen, praktis-
chen Fahrunterricht. Im theoretischen Frontal-Unterricht
verwendet die Fahrlehrerin anschauliche und humorvolle,
oft normative Instruktionen. Im praktischen Fahrunterricht
im Auto orientiert sich die Fahrlehrerin an der komplexen
Multiaktivität und verwendet konkret veranlasste, knappe
Instruktionen, die sie an das Vorwissen ihrer FahrschülerIn-
nen sowie die Gegebenheiten der Situation anpasst und in
eine globalere Lernaufgabe einbettet. Der Artikel zeichnet
nach, wie die Gestaltung der instruktionellen Praktiken die
jeweiligen kontextuellen Bedingungen reflektiert.

SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER
Konversationsanalye, (multimodale) Instruktionen, Definitionen,
Fahrschule, Theorie und Praxis

1 | INTRODUCTION

Expert-novice-interaction can concern different "activity types" in the sense of "goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraints on participants, settings, and so on" (Levinson, 1992: 69). One distinguishing feature of these types can be whether they are stationary (e.g., in classrooms) or mobile activities (e.g., in gyms or vehicles). In both kinds of educational contexts, experts explain a variety of theoretical knowledge and practical skills. Often, the respective skills are associated to specific expressions or technical terms (like "curve sketching" in mathematics or "flèche attack" in fencing). The introduction of those terms is relevant for categorizing and re-activating the associated knowledge and skills at a later point. Studies on instructions typically deal with one type of activity only (i.e., stationary or mobile). Therefore, little is known about the specific affordances, challenges, and exigencies of giving instructions about the same skills in different activity types. Comparing the introduction of the same term and the same associated (practical) skill in both, stationary and mobile activity types serves to understand which aspects of instructions are based on context-free routine and which aspects are adjusted to a specific situation and environment.

Driving lessons in Germany are a suitable subject of investigation to address this question, because (1) obtaining a driving license includes both, theoretical education and practical training. In some countries, like Germany, France, and Italy, there is an institutional dichotomy between theoretical and practical driving lessons and both are mandatory to get a driver's license. (2) Some skills are taught in both types of lessons. This paper is dedicated to the investigation of specific affordances, challenges, and exigencies of theoretical versus practical driving lessons. Focusing on the practical skill of executing the "shoulder check," it addresses two questions: How do instructions of (practical) skills and, linked to this, definitions of the meaning of the same terms differ in theoretical versus practical lessons? And how do affordances and constraints of each activity type shape the instructions?

2 | INSTRUCTIONS AND DEFINITIONS IN DRIVING LESSONS

The notion of "instruction" is used in different ways: 1. the practice of teaching or education, 2. directives that require a compliant next action, and 3. written texts like manuals (see Lindwall et al. 2015: 144–145). In my study, I focus on the first two understandings of "instructions."

Instructing can comprise theoretical knowledge as well as practical skills. Theoretical knowledge is typically instructed in stationary settings (e.g., in a classroom) – of course, it can also include practical parts such as solving tasks based on the previously learned knowledge. Practical skills are essential in moments and activity types in which bodily activity of the moving body itself is instructed, demonstrated and imitated, for example in Pilates lessons (Keevallik, 2010) or dancing lessons (Keevallik, 2020). Another kind of practical skills are required in activities, in which the body moves a vehicle, such as in aviation lessons (Melander & Sahlström, 2009) and – being the focus of the present study – driving lessons (e.g., Björklund, 2018; Broth et al. 2017, Deppermann, 2016, 2018b, 2018c; De Stefani, 2018; De Stefani & Gazin, 2014, 2019; Mondada, 2018). Sometimes (theoretical) knowledge about practical skills is dealt with in the form of pre-instructions in mobile settings (e.g., Arnold, 2012; Björklund, 2018; Deppermann, 2018c; Helmer & Reineke, in press; Melander & Sahlström, 2009).

Instructions in expert-novice-interaction are often linked to specific technical terms or conventional expressions associated with the learning content and skill. The often complex theoretical or practical contents of teaching are condensed into those terms. Linking skills to terms helps to categorize something as a relevant task and at a later point re-activate the complex contents associated with the terminological categorization (Harren, 2009). Experts either start with explaining a content and subsequently naming the associated term. Or they introduce the term, define it by denoting its reference and/or subsequently explain related knowledge, i.e., they clarify the meaning of the term (Harren, 2009).

Experts make use of a variety of practices to define unfamiliar terms, e.g. with routine formats such as *x is y, not z* (Deppermann & De Stefani, 2019) or *x means y* (Helmer, 2020). The studies show that the locally relevant meaning of expressions and related instructions is interactively constituted, situated and recipient-designed (see also Deppermann, 2015; Helmer & Reineke, in press). Participants often employ multimodal resources to illustrate the meaning of terms (e.g., Harren, 2009; Stukenbrock, 2009), especially when they are linked to practical skills (Arnold, 2012; Deppermann, 2016). Combining the definition of terms with iconic gestures and demonstrations of the associated required bodily conduct (see Arnold, 2012; Broth et al., 2017; Deppermann, 2016) can be described as a multimodal practice of defining (Deppermann, 2016). Condensing a complex practical skill into a term and linking this term to bodily conduct is economically efficient since participants can refer to the term once learned instead of repeating a complex definition. This is especially important during multi-activity (see Haddington et al., 2014), in which participants' processing capacity can be decreased and in which naming the familiar term can already serve as a request or reminder to execute the skill as a compliant action.

The multi-activity setting under scrutiny is driving lessons. Learning to drive a car requires learning various skills, from theoretical (road traffic regulations, road signs) through rather technical (clutch, gears, or buttons; see Broth et al., 2017; Deppermann, 2016; Reineke, in prep.) to procedural knowledge (turning left/right, overtaking; Broth et al., 2018; De Stefani, 2018; Deppermann et al., 2018), and communication skills within all of the multiple strands of participation (see De Stefani & Gazin, 2019). While driving, both, driving instructors and trainee drivers need to adapt to new events, relevant objects, road users, and the environment quickly, which shapes the temporal and sequential organization of the interaction (see De Stefani & Gazin, 2014, 2019; Haddington, 2013; Mondada, 2018). The grammatical and multimodal timing and design of instructions is oriented to the temporal emergence with respect to prior and ongoing activities inside and outside the car (e.g., De Stefani & Gazin, 2014, 2019; Mondada, 2018), i.e., the design is situationally adapted to the mobile contingencies and interactional history (Björklund, 2018; Deppermann, 2018c).

Practical skills instructed in driving lessons range from manipulations of objects inside the car (e.g., gear change or the car control panel; see Deppermann, 2016) to more elaborate tasks concerning the handling of the car (e.g.,

pedal work; see Broth et al., 2017) and to complex skills involving the surrounding traffic (turning left/right or over-taking; Deppermann et al., 2018). The multi-activity (Deppermann, 2018a; Haddington et al., 2014) does not only make instructions more challenging, but the mobility of the car also offers opportunities to instruct aspects that are not directly relevant in the stationary setting of theoretical driving lessons, e.g., exact timing, occasions, situational embeddedness, and reasons for relevant actions. This also concerns actions that are just a sub-task of one or several overarching skills, such as the "shoulder check" (checking the blind spot with a quick glance over the shoulder), which is required during overtaking, turning left/right, and changing lanes (e.g., Björklund, 2018; Broth et al., 2018; Deppermann et al., 2018), and which is embedded in more complex sequences of looking into the mirror(s).

Conversation analytic and Interactional Linguistic research on instructions in driving school so far has focused on the mobile setting of practical driving lessons. Some notable exceptions (Björklund, 2018; Deppermann, 2018c) have examined pre-instructions inside the parked, stationary car as a preparation of immediately following exercises of practical skills. However, research has not yet systematically dealt with a comparison of the stationary setting of theoretical driving lessons versus the mobile setting of practical driving lessons. Comparing instructions in these types of settings allows to study how social actions, such as defining and explaining, are shaped by different activity types, and reveal which features are similar across those types. This paper aims at filling this research gap and investigates the question on how instructors linguistically and multimodally adapt their definitions of key terms and explanations of practical skills associated to these terms to the different activity types. This is shown using the "shoulder check" as a showcase example.

3 | DATA AND METHOD

The study is based on a comparative corpus, consisting of 45 hours of practical driving lessons (one instructor and four students) and 14 hours of theory lessons (the same driving instructor and varying students). The data allow a comparison of instructional sequences, e.g., with definitions of expressions and explanations of skills that are addressed in both activity types (like different ways of parking and learning to drive foresightedly). For this study, I focus on instructions about the "shoulder check." In German, it is denoted with the determinative composite "Schulterblick" ("shoulder check" (literally "shoulder glance")).

By recording the same instructor in theoretical and practical lessons I cannot rule out the instructor's potential idiosyncrasies. Yet, it has an advantage for the identification of similarities and differences of instructions of the shoulder check in different activity types: On the one hand it allows to identify verbal and embodied routines the instructor uses when instructing the shoulder check – i.e., to identify commonalities of the instructions independent from the activity type. On the other hand, differences in the instructions, e.g., regarding verbal or embodied design, can be better attributed to the different affordances and constraints of the activity types (while differences between two instructors could result from different routines).

In order to identify similarities and differences in instructions about the shoulder check I built a collection with all instances in which it becomes an explicit topic (whether or not the term "Schulterblick" itself is mentioned, i.e., I included occasions in which performing the shoulder check is corrected but not encoded by the term), which amounts to two instances in the theoretical and 11 in the practical lessons. I analyzed and compared these occurrences sequentially, linguistically and multimodally to identify differences and similarities and relate them to the characteristics of the theoretical and practical driving lessons.

4 | THE SHOULDER CHECK IN THEORETICAL DRIVING LESSONS

Theoretical driving lessons in Germany typically take place in the evening hours on the premises of the driving school. One driving instructor teaches several students who are already taking practical driving lessons or will take them soon. Even if theory lessons are mandatory in Germany to obtain a driving license, no grades are given, so students

FIGURE 1 The situation in the classroom of the driving school [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 2 The instructor uses movie clips on a screen and a blackboard [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

often don't participate actively – this leads to a lack of interactivity and constant challenge for the driving instructor of getting the students' attention. Often, there are hardly any visible reactions from the students during instructions and some devote their visual attention to other things (like their smartphones, see Figure 1). In addition, one constituting aspect of the theoretical lessons, not taking place in a car in different situations, is a (potential) lack of illustrativeness. After all, the driving instructor must deal with contents that are practical and often mobile in nature and is yet restricted to a frontal and stationary teaching situation. These circumstances are countered by tools such as movie clips, blackboards, and interactive programs (see Figure 2) as well as several linguistic and multimodal resources.

The following example shows the instruction of the shoulder check in one of the theoretical lessons. The instruction presented here takes 40 seconds in total. For better comprehensibility I have divided it into two extracts. Before Extract 1, the instructor stops a clip of a car entering a highway. She had mentioned a short glance before, but did not introduce the term yet.

EXTRACT 1 FOLK_FAHR_V03_03_04_Schulterblick_01-06-56_01-08-02_part1

```
01     (0.6)
02 IN  .hhh
03     gut. (.)
       good
04     äh:::m so.=
       ehm so
05     =dann mach mer unsern schulterblick?
        then make we  our    shoulder.glance
         then we do our shoulder check
06     auch hier sag isch nochma?
       here, too, I say again
07     bitte  nur  schulterblick?
       please only shoulder.glance
       please only a shoulder check
08     kein n (.) blick (.) isch verrenk mir    *den rücken hinten aus
       no         glance   I  wrench  myself the back  behind  out
       der scheibe:.*
       the window
       no glance "I wrench my back towards the window"
   in                                          *slightly moves and turns
       torso       *
09     sondern (.) #*schulterblick is hier.*
       but shoulder check is here
   in              *taps on left shoulder *
                   #fig. 3
10     (0.33)
11 IN  des. (.)
       this
12     *das * ist die *schul*ter.
       this is the shoulder
   in *taps*         *taps *
13     (0.79)
14 IN  $#hat (.) so jeder von $eusch,
        has like everyone of you
   st1 $raises eyebrows, purses lips$
       #fig. 4

15 IN  .h *das heißt *n::: (.) #*da hin kucken.#
       that means nnn (to) look over there
   in    *lifts hand w/straight palm*aligns hand w/ shoulder diagonally->
                            #fig. 5          #fig. 6
16     (0.46)
   in  ------>
17 IN  so.
       like that
   in  ------>
18     (0.26)*
   in  ------*
19 IN  das is alles.
       that's all
20     (0.8)
```

FIGURE 3 The instructor taps her left shoulder [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

The instructor orients to two main characteristics of the frontal and stationary setting – lack of illustrativeness and lack of the students' attention. To introduce the term "Schulterblick," she uses several linguistic and multimodal resources to make her instructions, i.e., the teaching of the term and skill, both illustrative and humorous. Firstly, the instruction of the glance is embedded into watching the movie clip – the movie constructs the situation through its perspective as if the spectators were sitting in the car and needed to enter the highway. The instructor uses a possessive pronoun in its first person plural form, involving the students ("unsern," "our," line 05), in order to introduce the glance.

After this situational anchoring, the instructor adapts her instructions to the conditions of the stationary setting. One practice she adopts to make the shoulder check illustrative is defining it with the (global) format *x is y, not a z* (Deppermann & De Stefani 2019), mentioning both a positive example (y) and a negative contrast (z) with regards to the term (x), which in other occasions (faulty prior executions by novices) is a systematically used strategy in expert-novice-interaction to correct errors (Evans & Reynolds, 2016; Keevallik, 2010). Here instead it is designed as a (partly) humorous instruction, denoting an exaggerated action (see Drew, 1987). As a negative contrast the instructor uses an expressive "inverted" phrasal compound "kein n (.) blick (.) isch verrenk mir den rücken hinten aus der scheibe:." ("no glance I wrench my back towards the window," line 08). The instructor gets the visual attention of most of the students, but no further reaction is observable by any of the students.

The instructor then initiates the "positive definition" by firstly localizing a relevant landmark. She taps on her shoulder, identifying it as relevant for executing the glance: "schulterblick is hier." ("shoulder check is here," line 09, Figure 3). She continuously taps on her shoulder and presents it as an ostensive definition, jokingly stating "das ist die schulter. (0.79) hat (.) sojeder von eusch," ("this is the shoulder (0.79) has like everyone of you," lines 12–14). Declaring the obvious violates the (Gricean) maxim of quantity and thus functions as a joke (see Attardo, 1994: pp. 271).

This definition has an observable effect, be it because of its humorous quality or because it invites the students to display that they identify the referent to which the instructor draws their attention: whereas before no student had shown any reaction, after this joke one student in the first row raises his eyebrows and purses his lips (see Figure 4) which then becomes a slight smile. In any case, the jokingly definition serves to direct the students' attention towards the shoulder and its relevance for the correct execution of the glance. The observable reaction in turn serves the instructor as an indication that she is getting attention.

The instructor continues the positive definition of the shoulder check by executing it herself (see Figure 5). On the linguistic level, she uses a deontic infinitive ("da hin kucken," "(to) look over there," line 15), not naming specific addressees, but formulating the instruction on a normative level (see Deppermann, 2007a). A praxeologically, or teleologically relevant target of the glance – the traffic behind the driver – is specified neither by the indexical deixis ("(over) there") nor through the instructor's embodied conduct. Instead, in this decontextualized classroom setting, the instructor's flat, vertical hand with open palm serves to globally localize a direction (see Fricke, 2007: 105; Flack

FIGURE 4 ST1 raises his eyebrows and purses his lips [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 5 IN demonstrates direction [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

et al., 2018) and thus visually supports the verbal instruction (see also Stukenbrock, 2015: 149–159). In this case, the gesture does more than just pointing, in that as an extension of the instructor's head it represents the visual axis and the glance iconically (see McNeill, 1992: 12). This gesture is a depiction in that the instructor stages a physical scene for her students to "use in imagining the scene[s] depicted" (Clark, 2016: 325). The instructor, having the student's attention (Figure 6), demonstrates the correct shoulder check as a "performance of a task-like activity out of its usual functional context in order to allow someone who is not the performer to obtain a close picture of the doing of the activity" (Goffmann, 1974: 66).

FIGURE 6 Students pay attention [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

After this positive example of a demonstration, the instructor proceeds with a contrasting, negative example of how not to execute the shoulder check:

EXTRACT 2 FOLK_FAHR_V03_03_04_Schulterblick_01-06-56_01-08-02_part2

```
21 IN  ((smacks)) keine turnübungen machen.
                  make no gymnastic exercises
22     und schon gar net hier so bei achzisch neunzisch.=
       and least of all here like at eighty ninety (km/h)
23     =ja dann*#.h UMdreh-#
        yeah  then  turn around
   in          *twists torso to the left----->
               #7---------#

24     BOAH# da [hinten KOMMT $#einer_*#=]
       whoah "back there someone is coming"
   in  ----------------------------------*
   st1                      $smiles --->
         #8------------------------#
                           #9
25 ST5          [((laughs out))          ]

26 IN =$%weißte des is (.) des net so sinnvoll.
         you know that is that's not that useful
   st5 $smiles ---->>
   st4  %smiles ---->>
27     (0.24)
28 IN  d müsst er auch gar net_=
       you don't have to either
29     =dafür habt ihr ja eure spiegel.
       for that you have your mirrors
30     .h ((smacks)) und mit denen trainier mer ja vorher in der stadt
       schon,
                    and with them we practice already before in the city
31    .h von daher;
       therefore
32     (0.66)
33 IN  ((smacks)) j*a?
                   yeah
   in            *taps on right shoulder-->
34 IN  $#schulter*$ (.)# $blick.*#
        shoulder       glance
        shoulder check
   in  --------*turns head to the left*
   st1 $smiles----$nods 1x$smiles --->>
        #fig. 10      #fig. 11   #fig. 12

35     (0.71)
36 IN  okee.
       okay
37     (0.36)
```

Whereas the positive demonstration of the shoulder check addresses the constraints of the (lack of) illustrativeness, the instructor's performance in Extract 2 is mainly a humorous demonstration of the negative contrast, i.e., of how not to do it. The sequence can be understood as an embodied elaboration of the initially used phrasal compound (line 08), appealing not to wrench the back while looking. This negative part of the "definition" of the shoulder check is

FIGURE 7   IN twists torso [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]
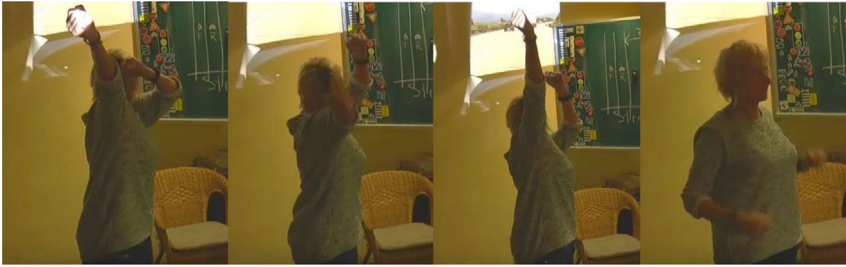
FIGURE 8   IN twists torso [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

performed through an exaggerated reenactment, coordinating gestures, gaze and talk (see Sidnell, 2006). The reen-actment consists of conspicuous embodied conduct (lines 23-24, Figures 7 and 8) and a quotation of (fictive) direct speech (line 24), both depicting several aspects of misconduct (see Clark & Gerrig, 1990).

Reenactments that consist of verbal quotations and/or bodily conduct are typically used to illustrate past events during story telling e.g., (e.g., Günthner, 1999; Sidnell, 2006). They reflect and highlight aspects that the narrator perceived in a concrete past situation (Clark & Gerrig, 1990). Also in other contexts, reenactments are situationally occasioned, based on concrete and factual perceptions (see Tutt & Hindmarsh, 2011 for data sessions or Keevallik, 2010 and Evans & Reynolds, 2016 for dancing and sports). The driving instructor's reenactment, however, does some-thing different: It has more the character of what Stec et al., (2016) describe as a multimodal quotation of "fictive interaction" which is often accompanied by conspicuous facial expressions and a conspicuous intonation. The exag-geration does not aim at reenacting a particular experienced situation; rather it mirrors (and caricatures) the instruc-tor's accumulated experiences with several driving students' errors. Through the exaggerated animated speech and the excessive body movements it becomes clear that she performs a "category-animation" (Deppermann, 2007b: 336) and "plays" a prototypical figure (see Günthner, 2007; Stukenbrock, 2012), in this case the still incompetent driving student.

While referring to stereotypes is a typical practice for narratives and identity work, here it has (at least an addi-tional) didactic character. The exaggeration serves as an involvement strategy (Tannen, 1989), i.e., it creates a norma-tive distance towards the incorrect execution. At the same time, for the driving students, it is both humorous as well as face-saving. The instructor teases her students with her exaggerated version of a driving student (see also Drew, 1987: 231). But by ridiculing and thus "assessing" only a prototypical figure, she does not embarrass any concrete present stu-dent. The laughter and smiles of at least some of the students (lines 24–25, Figure 9) show that the humorous character is effective in terms of activating them to display their attention and involvement. Together with the ironic assessment in line 26 ("net so sinnvoll," "not that useful") the instructor implicitly hints at the negative consequences this wrong execution of the shoulder check may have regarding attention to the road, steering, etc. Again, when she refers to the relevance of the mirrors, it remains vague ("dafür", "for that," line 29) what exactly are the motivations for the shoulder check and glancing into the mirrors.

FIGURE 9   ST1, ST4, and ST5 smile and laugh [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

As a conclusion, the teacher repeats the compound "schulter (.) blick" (line 34) and simultaneously demonstrates the position of the shoulder as well as the direction of the glance again (see Figures 10 and 11). This conclusion has the quality of a mnemonic and potentially simplifies the process of memorizing the essential features of the shoulder check. The mnemonic is accompanied by a nod and a smile by at least one student (line 34, Figure 12).

FIGURE 10   IN taps shoulder [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 11   IN turns head [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 12   ST1 smiles [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Especially at the beginning and the end of the instruction, the task of learning the shoulder check is framed as a task of understanding the meaning of the term (see the contrasting compound in line 08 as well as the lexical "decomposition" in lines 09 and 34). What the instructor teaches about the meaning of the "Schulterblick" is firstly the relevance of the compound's components—especially by identifying the shoulder as one important landmark. Secondly, she teaches procedural knowledge connected to the term on a normative level, specifically the correct direction (not backwards, but alongside the shoulder), duration (short, not long) and intensity (moderate, not excessive) of the shoulder check. Orienting to the exigencies of the frontal and stationary setting of the theory lessons, the teacher conveys the holistic conduct of the body i.e., (i.e., torso, head, and eyes) in an illustrative and humorous way. The affordances of the stationary setting in turn, also allow for the temporally and bodily extended demonstration in the first place.

5 | THE *SCHULTERBLICK* IN PRACTICAL DRIVING LESSONS

The conditions in the mobile setting of the practical lessons are different in many respects (see Deppermann, 2018a for an overview). The main constitutional characteristics are its temporal processuality (typically, tasks are not isolated, but become consecutively relevant) and its situational complexity due to multi-activity (see Haddington et al., 2014) and due to different strands of participation and interactions within the car, with other road users and inhabitants of other cars (see De Stefani & Gazin, 2019). These characteristics result from the mobility of the car. One consequence of these conditions is a potential overload of tasks and information the students face. Also, the side-to-side position of instructor and student leads to a lack of visual attention towards the instructor and her instructions. The instructor adapts to this, e.g., by:

- verbally and multimodally actively drawing attention to her and relevant aspects in or outside the car;
- giving rather short and concrete instructions in adequate occasions, focusing on the essential; and
- adapting her recipient design with respect to both, the individual level of experience of students and the complexity of the ongoing activity.

These characteristics are reflected in the following examples.

5.1 | Occasioned, concrete, and short instructions

In comparison to the theoretical introduction of the shoulder check in class, there is one similar, but in its slight differences enlightening example of the first explicit instruction of the shoulder check for one student in his second lesson. He already has practical experience as a motorcyclist in road traffic.

EXTRACT 3 FOLK_FAHR_02_V04_01_Schulterblick_00-23-03_00-24-04

```
01 IN  links,
       to the left
02     (0.1)§#(1.0)§(2.8)§
   st      §twists torso and head to the left§changes lanes§
            #fig.13
03 IN  und versuch auch mal den schulterblick net ganz so weit zu machen.
       and try not to do the shoulder check that far
04     (1.6)
05 IN  ((smacks)) .hh weil der heißt ja   net wir kucken hinten aus dem
         rückfenster blick?
                        cause it names PTCL not we  look   behind out the
       rear.window glance
         cause it's not called "we look backwards outside of the rear
         window" glance
06 IN  sondern der heißt schulterblick.
       but     it   names shoulder.glance
       but it's called shoulder check
07 IN  *.h die schulter is #*des,*
           the shoulder is this
   in  *lifts hand to shoulder*taps*
                             #fig. 14
08 IN  *des heißt?
        that means
   in  *straight palm at shoulder-->
09 IN  kuck ma.
       look
   in  -------->
10     §(.)#
   ST  §gaze>IN-->
          #fig 15
11 IN  du kuckst einfach §so
       you just look like this
   in  -------------------->
   st  -----------------§
12     (0.7)
   in  ---->
13 IN  kuck ma §so über die *schul§ter #da.*
       look    like this over the shoulder there
   in  -------------------*movements with hand diagonally to the left*
   st          §gazes to IN-------§gazes over left shoulder->
                                   #fig. 16
14 IN  [so. ]
        like this
15 ST  [ach§] so:.
        oh I see
   st  ----§
16 IN  mehr musste da gar net machen.
       you don't have to do anymore at all
17     (0.9)
18 IN  *.h und alles andere die ganze fahrzeug_*
           and everything else the whole car
   in  *points with pen to the left side mirror*
19 IN  oder beziehungsweise* verkehrs#beobachtung_*
       or rather monitoring of the traffic
   in                      *points w/ pen to side mirror*
                                   #fig. 17
20 IN  des geht nur über die spiegel da.
       that works only via the mirrors there
21     (2.3)
```

There are some striking similarities between the instruction in the stationary setting of the theory lesson and in Extract 3. For example, the bodily conduct (open palm and diagonal hand alongside the shoulder) as a part of a "multimodal definition" (see Deppermann, 2016) seems to be the instructor's routine practice when it comes to teaching the correct intensity and direction of the head torque. Also, the instruction is structured almost identically:

1. naming and (re-)activating the task (Ex. 1, line 5; Ex. 3, line 3);
2. referring to a negative contrastive example with a phrasal compound (Ex. 1, line 8; Ex. 3, line 5) ;
3. decomposing the actual meaning of the compound (Ex. 1, line 9; Ex. 3, line 6) and localizing the shoulder as a land-mark (verbally and multimodally, Ex. 1, lines 9–12; Ex. 3, line 7) ;
4. formulating and demonstrating the correct direction (Ex. 1, lines 15–18; Ex. 3, lines 8–13); and
5. referring to the relevance of the mirrors (Ex. 2, lines 28–30; Ex. 3, lines 18–20).

However, there are important differences regarding these points that reveal how the instructor adapts her instructions to the particular activity type:

1. While the instruction in the theory lesson is part of a planned educational activity (e.g., the instructor stops the film as one prerequisite) and at least partially focuses the execution of the shoulder check on a normative level, the instruction in the practical lesson is occasioned and corrective. It is initiated due to a wrong performance of the shoulder check (line 2, Figure 13). It is designed as a directive in an imperative format (line 3) and requires an immediate self-correction (other than the declaratives and deontic infinitives in the theory lesson). The instructor already indicates that it was too "weit" ("far"/"widely," line 03), i.e., concretely refers to the intensity of the head torque. Another difference to the theory lesson is that the instructor cannot explain the shoulder check at any time. In the practice lesson, she adapts her timing to the student's ongoing activity that requires his attention—she initiates her correction only when he has finished changing lanes (line 2).
2. While the phrasal compound seems alike to the one from Extract 1 at first ("wir kucken hinten aus dem rückfenster blick," "we look backwards outside of the rear window glance," line 5), in this case the clausal modifier comprises a concrete noun, "the rear window," instead of a reference to the bodily execution ("wrench my back"). This concrete compound is more target-oriented, making it easier for the student to process and follow the instruction while driving.
3. and 4. While in the theory lesson, she has at least the visual attention of the students when naming the term, localizing the shoulder, and demonstrating the correct execution, this is not the case in the practical example. The student

FIGURE 13 ST twists torso [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 14 IN taps shoulder, does not have ST's attention [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 15 IN shows direction, ST gazes at her [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

monitors the traffic, which is why the instructor's gesture is not in his visual field when she refers to her shoulder (line 07, Figure 14). She manages to establish joint attention and intersubjectivity about the relevance of the shoulder and the requirement of repeating the shoulder check only by using several imperatives and declaratives (lines 09–13, Figure 15). In the theory lesson, she uses a deontic infinitive and the directional adverb "dahin" ("over there," Example 1, line 15)—both, direction and intensity are addressed by that. In the car, the student has already shown that he knows the correct direction, he just needs adjustment of the intensity of the head movement to perform the check correctly (Figure 16). Thus, the instructor uses the modal deictic adverb "so" ("like that," lines 11, 13, together with the gesture, see Stukenbrock, 2010) and both, a declarative (line 11) and an imperative format (line 13) as requests for imitation.

5. When the instructor refers to the relevance of the mirrors, in the theory lesson this remains vague and decontextualized (see also Björklund, 2018), whereas in the practical lesson, she ensures joint (visual) attention to the side mirror by a clearly visible pointing gesture (in the midst of the student's visual field, Figure 17) and by concretely stating what using the mirror is for ("monitoring of the traffic," line 19).

Another striking difference is that a prominent part of the instruction of the "Schulterblick" in the theory lesson is devoted to the exaggerated reenactment, which is totally lacking in the mobile setting. Due to the dyadic one-to-one

FIGURE 16 ST performs shoulder check correctly [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 17 IN points with pen to side mirrors, ST gaze follows [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

and side-by-side-situation, a humorous instruction in an exaggerated fashion would not only endanger the attention towards the traffic and potentially obstruct the student's view, but due to its ridiculing characteristic it would also be potentially face-threatening for the student.

The subtle differences between the theoretical and practical instructions suggest that the instructor adapts her instructions to the constraints and exigencies of each activity type. In the mobile setting she gives occasioned, carefully timed corrective instructions that are formulated concretely and concisely in order not to overstrain the student's processing capacity who multi-actively needs to drive the car, monitor the traffic, and adjust prior errors.

5.2 | Introducing terms and skills is recipient-designed

Other instruction sequences of the shoulder check highlight further important aspects of the orientation to the practical situation.

In the stationary setting of the theoretical lessons, previous knowledge of single students might locally play a role, but generally, the teacher must cope with different levels of knowledge within a heterogeneous group. In the mobile setting with its on-to-one-situation and its "intra-unit participation" (De Stefani & Gazin, 2019), previous knowledge of the student has more consequences and leads to individually recipient-designed instructions. In the first driving lesson, the instructor asks her students about their previous knowledge and/or experiences (gained e.g., through exercises with parents or a motorcycle license) and subsequently adapts her introduction of new terms and skills to these different levels of knowledge (see a comparative study by Reineke, in prep.). That is, she displays "an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s)" (Sacks et al., 1974: 727). In case of the "Schulterblick," the driving instructor only uses the term in the first practical lesson, when the students already have previous knowledge and sometimes have even done it before e.g., (e.g., riding a motorcycle), and then concentrates on adjustments in case of errors (see Extract 3). Having no previous experiences, the students are instructed in such a way that they learn the skill first—step by step—and the term later (see also Harren, 2009). Only then it is used as a key term, which can serve as a request when the student needs to be occasionally reminded of performing the shoulder check. This can be seen in a row of three short examples with the instructor and a student who has no driving experience at all:

5.2.1 | First instruction (1st lesson)

EXTRACT 4 FOLK_FAHR_02_V05_01_Schulterblick_01-17-49_01-17-52

```
01 IN so dann guckst ma dass kein radfahrer kommt?
       so then you look that there's no cyclist
02    da,
      there
03    $(1.4)$
   st $turns head to the left$
04 ST ja_
      yeah
```

While the student enters a road at an intersection, the instructor uses a "task setting" declarative format (see Deppermann, 2018b) to call for the required glance (over the shoulder). The instructor builds her directive instruction on the concrete scenario that there might be a cyclist on the left side. The student executes her first shoulder check in a correct way, yet the expression is not mentioned at all.

5.2.2 | Fourth instruction (2nd lesson)

EXTRACT 5 FOLK_FAHR_02_V08_01_Schulterblick_00-18-40_00-18-49

```
01 IN  kannst nochma so kurz den kopf drehen_
       (you) can turn the head shortly again
02     (0.6)
03 IN  mit dem schulter$blick.
       with the shoulder check
   st                $turns head slightly to the left--->
04     (0.9)$
   st  -----$
05 ST  kommt niemand.
       no-one's approaching
```

After two similar instructions to the one in Extract 4, only in the second lesson, before reversing the still standing car out of a parking space, the instructor introduces the term "shoulder check." She uses a modal verb declarative (line 01) to direct the student to look. When the student does not comply immediately, the instructor elaborates her request with the prepositional phrase "mit dem <u>schul</u>terblick." ("with the shoulder check," line 03), which is the first instance of using the term itself. Already after "shoulder" the student turns her head to the left—she has learned the correct execution before and only mentioning the relevant body part signals her that she needs to perform the practical skill.

5.2.3 | Fifth instruction (3rd lesson)

EXTRACT 6 FOLK_FAHR_02_V12_01_Schulterblick_00-11-25_00-01-31

```
01 IN  guck ma in deinen außenspiegel
       look into your side mirror
02     (0.5)
03 IN  und deinen schulterblick.
       and your shoulder check
04     §(0.8)§(0.7)
   st  §head slightly to the left§
```

At the beginning of the third lesson, at the fifth instruction of the shoulder check, the term "Schulterblick" is established as a key term. After referring to the mirror with an imperative format, the instructor simply uses a noun phrase (line 03) as a directive instruction itself. The possessive article "deinen" ("your") marks the shoulder check and the term as a familiar concept—the student complies without any further negotiation or repair.

This row of examples illustrates how the instructor designs her instructions for a recipient with no driving experiences and how she teaches her student all relevant features of the skill (reasons, timing, intensity, occasions) without mentioning the unknown term itself for a long time. Once established, the term serves as a request for performing the skill.

5.3 | Learning occasions, the embeddedness and the rationale behind the shoulder check

In the two theoretical lessons in which the shoulder check is mentioned, its embeddedness into other activities of a specific occasion (e.g., turning the car or changing lane) play only a minor role. In addition, reasons for performing it are either neglected or remain vague. They remain vague in the practical lessons as well (where however they are directly experienced, e.g., when seeing a car in the blind spot)—until occasionally it becomes clear that students do not understand the rationale behind it and thus have not yet established a "professional vision" (Goodwin, 1994). In these cases, the teacher gives short accounts for looking (see also Broth et al., 2018, on accounts for using the indicator). In the following extract, the student is asked to turn to the right.

EXTRACT 7   FOLK_FAHR_02_V02_01_Schulterblick_00-46-06_00-46-28

```
01 IN   wir biegen rechts ab.
        we turn right
02      (so jetzt) versuchst ma* spiegel hier?*
        (so now) you try mirror here
    in                        *points to rear-view mirror*
03      §(0.2)
    st  §gaze>rear-view mirror----->
04      *spiegel d§a,* .h§
         mirror there
    in  *points to righ side mirror*
    st  ---------§gaze>right side mirror§
05 IN   *und dann *kommt der schulterblick?=
         and then comes the shoulder check
    in  *.........*points to the left rear window--->>
06      =gu_§ma da§# hinten_
         look back there
    st       §.....§gaze>right side-->
                 #fig. 18

07 IN   nee§ auf die§ andre seite.
         no to the other side
    st  ---§,,,,,,,,§............

08      §da #wo§ das kleine fens§*ter is.*
         where the little window is
    in  -----------------------*,,,,,,,*
    st    §gaze>left rear window§,,,,,§
             #fig. 19
09      (1.0)
10 IN   für den radfahrer und den fußgänger.
         for the cyclist and the pedestrian
```

The extract shows three aspects of the shoulder check that play a very minor role in the theory lessons: different occasions, its embeddedness, and the reasons for performing it.

The shoulder check is always embedded into a larger trajectory of action, both globally (occasions of checking) and locally (the shoulder check as one link in a chain of tasks). In the practical lessons, as Extract 7 illustrates, the instructor anchors the shoulder check in the "mirror routine" (Björklund, 2018). The instructor decomposes the holistic tasks (in this case turning the car to the right) into several subtasks (lines 02, 04, 05)—the student learns to perform the check as one part in a process. *En passant*, he also learns several occasions which make the check mandatory (before he had to perform it while changing lane).

In addition, occasioned by the student's incorrect performance, the instructor teaches him the rationale behind performing it. The student correctly executes the shoulder check in its intensity, but prompted by the already established key term (line 05) performs it into the wrong direction—he equates the key term with a glance to the left (Figure 18). The instructor's disambiguating pointing gesture does not help due to the students' lack of visual attention. The instructor corrects him (line 07) and gives a more concrete instruction, holding her gesture and identifying the rear window as the relevant landmark (line 08, Figure 19).

FIGURE 18   ST looks into the wrong direction [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 19   ST looks into the correct direction [Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

   When naming potential targets as an account for the shoulder check ("for the cyclist and the pedestrian," line 10), the instructor orients to the fact that her student has not yet understood the rationale behind the key term, i.e., the need to pay attention to teleologically relevant objects of perception when executing the shoulder check. In comparison to Extract 3, she does not mention the traffic globally ("monitoring the traffic," which mostly refers to other cars), but activates concrete road users that are endangered when the driver does not perform the look correctly. Accounting here is an integral part for understanding the situationally adapted execution of the shoulder check. Whereas in the theoretical lesson, the meaning of the shoulder check (comprising the practical skill associated to the term) is introduced in a more general and global way, this example shows, that its meaning is situated. When the term is used in or as an instruction, students need to adapt their compliant action to the situational contingencies.

6 | CONCLUSION

A systematic comparison of the theoretical versus practical driving lessons shows how a driving instructor adapts her instructions to the exigencies and affordances of each activity type. The comparison reveals her context-free routines, but also how she designs her instructions to adapt them to the specific activity. Commonalities of the instructions reveal that certain practices are routine practices of instructing, like bodily demonstrating a new skill and contrasting a new term with a negative example when defining it. Differences between the instructions result from the fact, that in the stationary setting of the theory lessons, the instructor orients to the lack of illustrativeness and students' attention. In the mobile setting of the practical lessons, her instructions are shaped by the mobility of the car, multi-activity, and students' previous experience.

With regards to the meaning of the new term "Schulterblick" in the theoretical driving lessons, the instructions stay rather vague, e.g., indexical expressions are not verbally specified and requests are formulated normatively as deontic infinitives without concrete addressees. In the practical lessons, the instructions are delivered in a more concrete way, grammatically and because indexical expressions can be directly disambiguated by gestures referring to the interactional space. Once introduced, the term can be used as a directive in the practical lesson, requiring a compliant action.

The explanation of practical skills associated to the term is illustrative and humorous in the theory lessons both bodily and prosodically. In this context, bodily conduct operates on a normative level. In the practical lessons, bodily conduct is often corrective—it basically serves only to localize relevant landmarks with pointing gestures and to coordinate subtasks in the car in order not to distract but help the students.

The instructions are shaped by contextual contingencies. But in addition, the activity types determine which contents can be (reasonably) conveyed in general. The theoretical lesson delivers selective information in one "condensed" period in time (in both instances about 40–60 seconds) and focuses the (in)correct intensity of the shoulder check, which however is explained in an elaborate fashion. Other facets like occasions, the embeddedness in a process or the rationale behind it, are either neglected or not explained in detail. In practical lessons, instructions are rather scarcely given and often occasioned by wrong performances. They are temporally split up in several short instructions over time (between 5–30 seconds, Extract 3 being an outlier of ca. 1 minute). They focus single essential aspects that are situationally relevant, but during the iterative process the students learn the shoulder check, accumulated and *bottom-up*, in all its facets.

This study contributes not only to the already substantial research on instructions of specific skills that need to be learned to become a competent driver. It also adds to the question on how context shapes interaction, specifically: how speakers adapt their linguistic and embodied instructions to address specific exigencies, constraints, and affordances of a situation. It therefore contributes to studies that investigate how contents that are practical in nature are introduced, explained, and demonstrated in rather decontextualized settings (see e.g., Arnold, 2012; Björklund, 2018; Deppermann, 2018c; Melander & Sahlström, 2009).

In addition, the study suggests that key terms are systematically used in instructive and definitory practices (see also Deppermann, 2016) to link theoretical and practical knowledge to the term. In the case of the shoulder check: Even if the lexical decomposition makes landmarks and directions relevant, the "meaning" of the key term is mainly of procedural nature—it includes procedural knowledge like occasions (changing lane, turning right), timing (at what point in time during an occasion and for how long), reasons (why/for whom), directions (when to the left vs to the right), and intensity (how excessive, which body parts etc.). Once the key term is established, merely naming it can re-activate all facets of its execution, serve as a request and prompt the necessary compliant action.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

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