THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF POSITIONAL IDENTITIES IN AN EFL CLASSROOM: A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS-LED CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF POSITIONAL IDENTITES IN AN EFL CLASSROOM A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS-LED CASE STUDY

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Throughout the past decades, socially oriented studies have become the leading topics in the fields of SLA and Applied Linguistics. Within this framework, in particular, identity has attracted its deserved attention following Norton's work (1995, 2000, 2013) as Block (2007) puts forward. In line with this case, an extensive body of research has provided significant insights into the links between identity and language learning. However, analyzing classroom interactions in an EFL context has been the core subject of very few scholars in identity literature. In that sense, this study aims to understand how positional identities were constructed and negotiated in interaction in an EFL setting, and further to explore how these positional identities interact with learners' getting access to language learning opportunities. Guided by positioning theory (Davies and Harre, 1990), this study has been conducted in an EFL classroom of a preparatory English program of a private university in Central Anatolia in Turkey and a conversation analytic approach is utilized to analyze 55 hours of audio-video recordings of classroom interactions.

Displaying different identity negotiation from other members of the class during the

term, three students were chosen as focal participants. The findings reveal that by

adopting and being assigned a variety of positions in the sequential organization of

interaction, students constitute and negotiate certain identities such as being

competent, talkative or humorous and these identities are quite dynamic and play a

vital role in students' language learning opportunities. By bridging the gap with a

different methodology and context, this study contributes to the existing knowledge

of identity research.

Key words: Identity, Positioning, Conversation Analysis

YABANCI BİR DİL OLARAK İNGLİZCE'NİN ÖĞRETİLDİĞİ SINIFLARDA KONUMLANDIRILMIŞ KİMLİKLERİN DİNAMIK DOĞASI KONUŞMA ÇÖZÜMLEMESI ODAKLI ÖRNEK OLAY İNCELEMESİ

Özbakış, Özlem Yüksek Lisans, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hale Işık Güler

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Onlarca yıldır, sosyal konuları içeren çalışmalar ikinci yabancı dil edinimi ve uygulamalı dilbilim alanında da önde gelen konu olmuştur. Bunun sonucu olarak, özellikle kimlik, Block 'un (2007) da belirttiği gibi Norton'un çalışmasının ardından hak ettiği ilgiyi görmüştür. Bu durumla uyumlu olarak, kapsamlı birçok çalışma yabancı dil öğrenme ve kimlik arasındaki ilişkiye önemli ölçüde ışık tutmuştur. Ancak yabancı dil olarak İngilizce'nin öğretildiği sınıflarda sınıf içi etkileşiminin incelenmesi oldukça az bilim insanın değindiği bir konu olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğretilen bir sınıfta, öğrencilerin nasıl konumlandırılmış kimlik oluşturduklarını, buna paralel olarak nasıl müzakereye vardıklarını analiz etmektedir ve bu konumlandırılmış farklı kimliklerin sınıf içinde yabancı dil öğrenme olanaklarıyla nasıl ilişkili olduğunu anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, konumlandırma teorisi (Davies and Harre, 1990) tarafından yönlendirilerek, Türkiye'de İç Anadolu'da özel bir üniversitenin hazırlık programındaki yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğretilen bir sınıfta uygulanmıştır ve 55

saatlik sınıf içi ses ve görüntü kayıtlarını incelemek için konuşma çözümlemesi

yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Sınıfın diğer üyelerinden farklı kimlik müzakereleri gösteren

üç öğrenci odak katılımcı olarak seçilmiştir. Sonuçlar gösteriyor ki, öğrenciler

etkileşimin dizisel yapısında çeşitli şekillerde hem konumlar benimseyip hem de

başkaları tarafından konumlandırılarak yetkin, konuşkan ya da esprili olmak gibi

belli başlı kimlikler oluşturmaktadır ve müzakereye varmaktadır. Bu kimlikler

oldukça dinamik olmakla birlikte öğrencilerin öğrenme olanaklarında önemli rol

oynar. Bu çalışma, literatürdeki boşluğu farklı bir yöntem ve araştırma ortamıyla

destekleyerek, kimlik araştırmalarına katkı sağlayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: konumlandırma, konuşma çözümlemesi, kimlik

vii

To My Beloved Parents,

Seher and Hasan ÖZBAKIŞ

whom I miss at every moment of my life

wherever you are...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background to the Study	1
1.2 Purpose of the Study	5
1.3 Scope and Significance of the Study	5
1.4 Limitations of the Study	7
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Presentation.	8
2.2. Socio-Cultural Theory.	8
2.3 Defining Identity & Identity in Discourse	10
2.4 Positioning.	12
2.4.1 Roles and Position.	12
2.4.2 Positioning and Identity	13
2.4.3 Modes of Positioning	15
2.5 Identity and Language Learning	17
2.5.1 Identity and Investment	20
2.5.2 Imagined communities and Imagined Identities	21
2.6 Identity and SLA Research	23

2.7	Positional Identities and Language Learning	31
2.8	CA, Identity and Studies Using Conversation Analysis Frame	ework
	in Identity Work	35
3. M	ETHODOLOGY	42
3.1	Presentation	42
3.2	Research Questions	42
3.3	Methodological Review: Case Study	42
3.4	Conversation Analysis	43
3.5	Research Setting.	47
	3.5.1 The University	47
	3.5.2 The Preparatory English Program	47
	3.5.3 The Class	49
	3.5.4 Conversation Classes Conducted by Native Speakers	50
3.6	Participants	51
	3.6.1 The Reading Writing Instructor: Nil	51
	3.6.2 Focal Participant I: Asya	55
	3.6.3 Focal Participant II: Oktay.	58
	3.6.4 Focal Participant III: Berk.	60
3.7	Data Collection Tools.	61
	3.7.1 Audio-Video Recordings	62
3.8	Data Analysis.	63
3.9	Ethical Issues.	65
4. FINI	DINGS	67
4.1	Presentation	67
4.2	Asya as a Case	67
	4.2.1 Acclaiming and Acclaimed Position as a Legitimate Spe	aker:
	The Embodiment of Symbolic Capital	68
	4.2.2 Aspiring to be the Assistant Teacher	94
4.3	Oktay as a Case	106
	4.3.1 A Critical Language Learner	106

4.3.2 A constant Participator: An uninvited guest in the conver	rsational
floor	116
4.3.3 Not a funny classmate, but a bad joker	133
4.4 Berk as a Case	140
4.4.1 On encouragement, a Persistent Language Learner	140
4.4.2 Going Solo: Self-Persistence	146
4.4.3 A survivor: Surviving Peers' Put Downs and Mockery	150
5. DISCUSSION	168
5.1 Introduction	168
5.2 Summary and Discussion of The Findings	168
6. CONCLUSION	180
6.1 Implications and Suggestions for Future Research	180
REFERENCES	182
APPENDICES	191
Appendix A: Transcription Conventions	191
Appendix B: Approval of Applied Ethics Research Center	193
Appendix C: Türkçe Özet	194
Appendix D: Tez Fotokonisi İzin Formu	206

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES	
Table 1: Types of individual and collective identities	2/3
Table 2: The steps in data analysis	63/64

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES	
Figure 1: Asya smiles	69
Figure 2: Asya smiles	69
Figure 3: Asya points at the symbol on PPT	69
Figure 4: Melis laughs by covering her mouth	78
Figure 5: Sena orients her body to TA	83
Figure 6: Sena orients her body to TA	83
Figure 7: Asya smiles	87
Figure 8: Asya smiles	87
Figure 9: Asya looks at Nil and uses her hand gestures	95
Figure 10: Asya attempts to make a translation	96
Figure 11: Asya attempts to make a translation	96
Figure 12: Asya gives instructions in the group work	103
Figure 13: Asya gives instructions in the group work	103
Figure 14: Asya gives instructions in the group work	103
Figure 15: Oktay palms out	108
Figure 16: Oktay smiles	108
Figure 17: Oktay raises his hand	126
Figure 18: Oktay raises his hand	129
Figure 19: Oktay raises his hand	129
Figure 20: Oktay raises his hand	129
Figure 21: Oktay raises his hand	129
Figure 22: Oktay reacts with his fist	129
Figure 23: Oktay reacts with his fist	129
Figure 24: Berk uses his hand gestures	141
Figure 25: Berk uses his hand gestures	141
Figure 26: Berk uses his hand gestures	141

Figure 28:	Berk leans back	.141
Figure 29:	Berk leans forward	142
Figure 30:	Berk uses hand gestures	.142
Figure 31:	Berk orients his body towards Ayşe	147
Figure 32:	Oktay gives a high five to Berk	148
Figure 33:	Berk uses hand gestures	.151
Figure 34:	Oktay imitates what Berk is doing and laughs	151
Figure 35:	Oktay imitates what Berk is doing and laughs	151
Figure 36:	Oktay imitates what Berk is doing and laughs	151
Figure 37:	Oktay imitates what Berk is doing and laughs	151
Figure 38:	Some students imitates Berk's hand gestures	.152
Figure 39:	Berk uses his hand gestures and says 'go away' to Emre	152
Figure 40:	Berk uses his hand gestures.	157
Figure 41:	Oktay imitates Berk	157
Figure 42:	Berk covers his face with his hands and laughs	159
Figure 43:	Berk checks his smart phone	159
Figure 44:	Berk laughs and withdraws gaze	.162
Figure 45:	Some students can't help laughing	163
Figure 46:	Some students can't help laughing	163
Figure 47:	Some students can't help laughing	163

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ESL English as a Second Language

EFL English as a Foreign Language

CA Conversation Analysis

TA Teaching Assistant

IRF Initiation-Response-FeedbackEPA Explicit Positive Assessment

MCD Membership Categorization Device

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

How language learning takes place has been a great concern among researchers for years and second language acquisition research has started to place greater emphasis on social context rather than the input learners are exposed to and the output that learners produce (e.g. Firth & Wagner, 1997; Norton, 2000). In other words, "individuals are always members of larger social groupings, and so their learning is affected by changing social conditions" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 45). Thus, concepts like social context, identity and interaction of the learners are referred to in modern educational research agendas frequently since 1980s with the movement from L1 to L2 interaction (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Socio-cultural theories of learning focus on its social nature and learners have an interaction with the 'expert' adult teacher 'in a context of social interactions leading to understanding' (Röhler and Cantlon, 199, p. 2). Therefore, it can be pointed out that learning includes an interactive process in which learners construct knowledge and understanding. This situation has also considerable relevance to language learning. Walsh (2006) puts forward that any second language lesson can be regarded as a dynamic context, in which 'interaction is central to teaching and learning' (p. 16). Furthermore, as van Lier (1996) maintains 'interaction is the most important thing on the curriculum' and Ellis asserts 'learning arises not through interaction, but in interaction.' (2000, p. 209). Having all these in mind, it should be noted that any effort to improve teaching and learning should start by looking at classroom interaction. In accordance with this idea, Walsh (2011, p. 50) suggests "[w]e cannot look inside the heads of our students and see what they are learning. We can look at what they say, how they interact, how they use the L2 and so on; this is where we can really begin to uncover some of the finer nuances of learning as a process".

Apart from social context and second language learning, research on second language identity, mainly focusing on post-structural theories of learning, has started to increase (e.g., Duff, 2002; Menard Warwick, 2004; Miller, 2010; Norton, 2000; Talmy, 2008).

Identity has been identified in many fields by many scholars such as social theorists, sociologists, anthropologists and sociolinguists. In the same way, Block (2009; p 43) points out that there are different points of view on identity and lists these identity types as follows:

Table 1: Types of individual and collective identities

Ascription/ affiliation	Based on
Ethnic Identity	Shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, language and religion, all associated with a cultural group
Racial Identity	Biological/ genetic make-up, i.e. racial phenotype
National Identity	Shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, language and religion associated with a nation state
Migrant Identity	Ways of living in a new country, on a scale ranging from classic immigrant to transmigrant
Gender Identity	Nature of conformity to socially constructed notions of femininities and masculinities, as well as orientations to sexuality and sexual activity

Table 1: Types of Individual and Collective Identites Continued

Social Class Identity	Income level, occupation, education and symbolic behavior
Language Identity	Relationship between one's sense of self and different means of communication, understood in terms
	language, or a dialect or sociolect, as well as multi modality

Along with these identites, as stated above, learners' identities have begun to be mentioned recently and in literature review, various definitions can be found concerning identity in SLA context. Firstly, in Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (Richards & Schmidt, 2010; p. 268) identity is defined as follows:

a person's sense of themselves as a discrete separate individual, including their self-image and their awareness of self, and an important concept in SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY. People's sense of identity influences how they view themselves as an individual and in relation to other people. Becoming a language teacher, for example, involves developing the identity of a teacher and the teacher's sense of identity may reflect his or her age, ethnicity, experience, and language proficiency. POSTMODERNISIM and FEMINIST LINGUISTICS, identity is not seen as a constant, but is viewed as unstable, fragmented, self-conscious, and constructed in interaction. In CRITICAL APPLIED LINGUISTICS, the role of identity has been explored in relation to the role language and discourse can play in marginalizing or empowering speakers.

As it can be understood from the definition above, in postmodernism, feminist linguistics and critical applied linguistics, identity is regarded in relation to interaction and language and discourse, change and multiplicity are of crucial importance for this construct. Norton (2000) defines identity as 'how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, how the person understands possibilities for the

future' (p.5). In accordance with this definition, Norton (2013) highlights the role of language 'as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity' (p. 45). Moreover, whereas Pennycook (2001) describes identity as 'a constant ongoing negotiation of how we relate to the world' (p.149), Gee (2000) refers to it as 'being recognized as a certain 'kind of person'. (p. 99). Also, Johnson (2003) asserts identity is 'relational, constructed and altered by how I see others and how they see me in our shared experiences and negotiated interactions' (p. 178). In brief, Block (2009) puts all the definitions in a nutshell by stating:

[S]ocial scientists frame identities as socially constructed, self- conscious, on-going narratives that individuals perform, interpret and project in dress, bodily movements, actions and language. [I]dentities are about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of past, present and future. [T]he entire process is conflictive as opposed to harmonious. [T]here are unequal power relations to deal with around different capitals - economic, cultural and social - that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others in differing communities of practice with which individuals engage in their lifetimes (p. 27).

As seen, identity is a complex, social and dynamic construct and SLA research has concentrated on identity issue from different perspectives and so, a great many studies have been carried out, especially in the Western world (see Norton and Toohey, 2011). In line with these different persepectives, the studies conducted in the mentioned topic differ in their approaches they have used, mainly, macro or micro. While macro perspectives are interested in social factors, micro perspectives take interaction into consideration.

Furthermore, concerning the above-mentioned postructural approach to identity and its social and dynamic aspect, the term *positioning* is also deployed to shed light on identity work as a social construct. Positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990) emphazises dynamic identity construction in discourse and while people ongoingly participate in talk, they position themselves, in turn, co-construct their identities. In that sense, drawing on the concept of positioning, Kayı-Aydar (2012) argues identity is constituted as 'we position ourselves or are positioned by others across

time and settings' (p.34). Hence, she highlights the positional identities constructed in talk and claim that these identities play a crucial role in language learning. In her doctoral dissertation, she described this case and she examined the relationship between power, competence, positional identities and ESL learners' language learning experiences.

Also, this study, by underlining the need for the investigation of identity in an EFL setting and considering the multiplicity of identity as a social construct, foregrounds the identity construction in interaction and its relationship with language learning. In this regard, the present study has been carried out in an EFL class at a prep-school of a private university in Central Anatolia in Turkey.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

This study will analyze identity as a social construct in the sequential development of talk in an EFL class and by using naturally occurring classroom data, it underscores the view that identity is dynamically constructed and negotiated in interaction and it has a relation with language learning process.

In that sense, the current study aims to explore how EFL language learners negotiate positional identities in the classroom and further to understand how these positional identities interact with language learning (opportunities) in an EFL context.

1.3 Scope and Significance of the Study

Research on identity guides us to understand how and why L2 learners interact, negotiate identities, power, and membership in various contexts, especially in ESL settings. Nevertheless, as these contexts are highly context-dependent and complex, one case study can only describe the existing context's phenomenon (Hansen & Liu, 1997). In this regard, the studies that have been conducted so far cannot capture the relevant phenomenon in the mentioned setting. Also, the studies in relation to the same issues in EFL classrooms are quite rare. In that sense, Block

(2007) posits: "there have, in fact, been far fewer studies of identity in FL settings than there have been studies situated in naturalistic settings" (p.869). Thus, the present study is of paramount importance in bringing further evidence to the current identity research in SLA with its EFL context.

Moreover, most of the studies dwelling on identities and power relations in L2 contexts have utilized questionnaires, interviews, observations, field notes, narrated autobiographies as the primary data collection tools. Nonetheless, these types of data collection tools do not seem to be enough in explaining how language learners construct and negotiate their identities in talk. In this regard, the discourse analysis of classroom interaction is essential in order to be able to make sense of above mentioned issues with regard to second language learning. Therefore, in order to fill this methodological gap and contribute to the field, this study will make use of a microanalysis of classroom interaction in an English preparatory program of a private university in Turkey. Furthermore, Block (2007) suggested utilizing naturally occurring data to gain an insight to the studies of identity in SLA and to explain how identities are constructed in the sequential unfolding of interaction. He reported the following points on the issue:

Norton's book, like so many of the works I have cited, did, however, leave to the side one essential ingredient in SLA research focusing on identity. I refer here to the fact that she provided no examples of recorded conversations in which her informants participated. Her cases were, therefore, constructed stories of L2 learning and use. They are powerful and compelling stories, to be sure, but they lack the extra perspective that examples of interactions would have provided (p.868).

In accordance what was previously stated concerning the methodological and the local context gap, the study in hand will shed light on identity issue by using 'Conversation Analysis' in an EFL classroom. Hence, the discursive construction of learners' identites in relation to learning practices will be presented sytematically as the interactional organization of the talk unfolds.

Finally, the study can present some practical implications for teachers in the mentioned context in terms of awareness of the positional identities and classroom interaction.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

In the current study, first of all, the first two weeks of the term could not be recorded since the students were coming to a new community, university after the higher education examination and it was thought that they might resist the cameras in the class. It would be better if it were possible to record these weeks and the data from these weeks may bring evidence about the classroom events in detail. Although, as a teacher-researcher I know the classroom culture and events on those days, further comments cannot be integrated owing to the approach, CA which has been adopted in the present study. Technical limitations should also be mentioned. Since the class in which this study was carried out was U-shaped, the placement of the cameras created a problem. Therefore, the number of the cameras was increased in October, yet still locating all of them in a u-shaped class with 23 students was one of the biggest challenges of data collection tools. Moreover, there were times at which side talks of the students could not be obtained, especially the students' talks sitting at the back. What is more, although the transcriptions were tried to be completed in detail, especially with figures, it is a well-known fact that it is not possible to reflect each detail occurring in interaction. Nonetheless, as Sert (2011) states: '[o]ne should keep in mind that the data has to be represented in written form, combined with images.' (p.151)

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Language is more than a mode of communication or a system composed of rules, vocabulary, and meaning, it is an active medium of social practice through which people construct, define, struggle over meanings in dialogue with and in relation to others.

~Walsh, 1991, p.32

Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed.

~ Weedon, 1997, p.21

2.1 Presentation

In this part of the current chapter, the theoretical lenses, identity as a discursive and social construct and review of literature will be presented.

2.2. Socio-cultural Theory

With a turning point in SLA, as discussed before, language learning has started to be regarded as a social process. Similarly, socio-cultural theories of learning put much emphasis on its social nature and interaction and the focus on social interaction and its influences are central to Vygotsky's work. Vygotsky held the opinion that learning happens as a consequence of human interaction between the learner and the environment. Also, he believed that as well as biological factors, socio-cultural factors play an important role in developing higher mental activities. Vygotsky (1978) puts forward: 'Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first,

between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological) (p. 57).'

Hence, in line with this idea, as Walsh (2006) states 'learning a language is also regarded as a mental process that is inextricably linked to our social identity and relationships' (p. 33). Also, Schoen (2011) describes 'socio-cultural theory' as in the following:

Sociocultural philosophy is concerned with how individual, social, and contextual issues impact human activity, especially learning and behavior. Socioculturalism acknowledges that humans are both social and reflexive and that complexity in the social world alters human thought and behavior; to overlook these forces leads to an incomplete understanding at best. Hence, for the socioculturalist, understanding the situated context in which the phenomenon occurs is of supreme importance (p. 12).

Moreover, according to Vygotsky, learning happens through interaction with the experts who can guide the novices and language is a tool to construct new knowledge. One of the key concepts, the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) comes into play at this point. Vygotsky defines ZPD as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (1978, p. 86). Hence, the concept of the ZPD and scaffolding points out that the knowledgeable person supports and assists the less knowledgeable one to make sense of new knowledge. Therefore, it can be stated that the socio-cultural theory emphasizes classroom interaction in which teachers and learners construct meaning. As Rogoff (2003) states, learning is 'changing participation in the socio-cultural activities of a community, which also change.' (p. 368). Following these ideas, classroom practices and participation becomes crucial in classroom interactions in which students get support from their peers and teacher. Walsh (2006) brings the related phenomenon to the fore by stating:

In the context of second language acquisition, socio-cultural theory has an important contribution to make, focusing as it does on the collaborative, interactive characteristics of the learning process, the centrality of language as a 'tool' and the ways in which new knowledge is co-constructed with an 'expert' through reference to previous experience and understanding (p. 37).

2.3 Defining Identity & Identity in Discourse

Considering the theoretical challenges in identity work and the fact that theoretical frameworks make an impact on research studies, it will be necessary to define identity in the present study.

Contemporary theories of identity have described identity as 'an essential, cognitive, socialized, phenomenological or psychic phenomenon that governs human action.' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.3), that is, identity was regarded as 'the project of the self' by many people. (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Thus, taking this notion of identity into account, at this point, one can argue that everyone has a fixed, isolated and 'pre-discursive' identity even though they act in a different way in different settings. According to this notion, each person inherently has his or her identity and it includes rigid boundaries. However, some other theories have taken quite a different approach by pointing out that identity is a social phenomenon, and thus it is constituted in discourse in the interaction. Unlike the essentialist account, this idea emphasizes that 'rather than being reflected in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically constituted in discourse' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.4). Hence, it can easily be put forward that there is no specific self-hidden behind discourse, but 'who we are to each other, then, is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.4). In the current study, this definition of identity with respect to 'discourse' will be used and this description of identity in discourse stresses the need for looking at interactions among people since people say, do things and being (identity) at different times at different places in language while interacting with each other (Gee, 2011).

In this regard, it can be stated that as Bucholtz & Hall (2005) put forward 'identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction' (p.587) and identities are 'micro-analytically accessed' (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004, p.476). This interactional view of identity directs us towards positional identities which are built through social interactions. That is to say, speakers assign and are assigned some certain positions with their orientations to the ongoing talks, thereby constructing positional identities.

Considering this conceptualization of identity and classroom settings in which a wide range of interaction patterns emerge, then, it is inevitable not to talk about identity in SLA research. In that sense, Block (2007) points out that The Firth and Wagner paper is the starting point to challenge the prevailing conceptualization of SLA research and by focusing on social aspects of language learning, they indirectly caused some researchers to concentrate on identity in relation to language learning. Firth and Wagner argue that the main theories, methodologies and focus on discourse and communication in SLA research were 'mechanistic' and 'individualistic' (p.285) and these theories took interactional aspect of the language for granted. Therefore, according to them, some basic concepts in SLA research are not sufficient in explaining contextual and dynamic aspect of language use and social interaction should be brought to the forefront. The Firth and Wagner also state that along with the Chomskyan paradigm that focuses on human cognition, SLA research gives importance to experimental settings rather than naturalistic ones and puts the language learner in a 'deficient communicator' position who tries to come up with a native-like competence. Moreover, they put forward that in accordance with these ideas, 'SLA research has had the effect reducing social identities to subjects', or at best to a binary distinction between natives and nonnatives' (p.760). However, as they argue identity goes beyond native-nonnative binary positions. Taking all these into consideration, they call for a reconceptualization of SLA research by laying emphasis on social aspect of language use, emic perspective for basic concepts and including more SLA data base. In line with these views, they say that "language is not only a cognitive

phenomenon, the product of the individual's brain; it is also fundamentally a social phenomenon, acquired and used interactively, in a variety of contexts for myriad practical purposes" (p. 768). Additionally, apart from Firth and Wagner (1997), as Block (2007) argues the "general push to open up SLA beyond its root in linguistics and cognitive psychology" made applied linguists consider about identity and its relation to language learning, and as a result, a boom in publications regarding the issue has started. (Toohey, 2000; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004, Norton, 2000; Block, 2007; Block 2009).

2.4 Positioning

2.4.1 Roles & Position

Having mentioned identity from interactional and discourse perspective, now, there is a need to talk about one of the crucial works that explains human interaction and identity relationship. This work is Goffman's 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life' (1959) and in his work, Goffman sheds light on human interactions and how self is constituted. The work starts with the following words:

When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed. They will be interested in his general socio-economic status, his conception of self, his attitude toward them, his competence, his trustworthiness, etc...Information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he will expect of them and what they may expect of him. Informed in these ways, the others will know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response from him (Goffman, 1959: p. 1).

Hence, according to Goffman (1959), it can easily be claimed that people are the actors of every day conversations and how they present themselves in those interactions is quite significant. In order to be able to understand these conversations, Goffman underlies the influence of 'roles' people take up and give to others. Though Goffman assists us to understand the relationship between interactions and construction of self, Harré and van Langenhove (1999) opposed him by suggesting that 'positioning' "helps focus attention on dynamic aspects of

encounters in contrast to the way in which the use of 'role' serves to highlight static, formal, and ritualistic aspects." (p.32). Roles 'dominate the possibilities of action over substantial stretches of a person's lifetime' whilst positions are 'situation specific' (Harré & Slocum, 2003, p. 127). Additionally, Harre & van Langenhove assert 'Fluid positionings, not fixed roles, are used by people to cope with the situation they usually find themselves in' (1999, p. 17) and they suggested moment by moment interactions and 'positioning' play a vital role in constructing selves rather than fixed roles.

2.4.2 Positioning and Identity

Positioning, in the domain of discursive social psychology, is defined as "the study of local moral orders as ever shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting" (Harre & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1). In addition, positions can be regarded as 'a loose set of rights and duties that limit the possibilities of action.' (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5). Thus, positioning theory reveals the subtle details of interaction from a discursive stance and it focuses on positions and social force of speaking and actions. Speakers adopt or give certain positions to others in their interpersonal encounters. Harre & van Langenhove (1999) describe a *position as*:

a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup, and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster (p. 1).

Drawing on the definition suggested above, positions include both social and individual components and "since a position is to be understood as a cluster of rights with respect to the acts one is enabled to accomplish as an occupant of a position, the place of rights and duties in social action needs to be examined" (Harré and Slocum, 2003, p.125). Moreover, Davies and Harre (1990) put forward that positioning is "a discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly

produced story lines" (p.48). Consequently, positioning theory places an emphasis on the construction of self through talk. Van and Langenhove (1999) put forward that an individual takes the opportunity to speak and act in a certain way and in a certain setting through positioning, thereby impinging on the social actions of individuals. Harre & van Langenhove (1999) posit "positions are relational, in that for one to be positioned as powerful others must be positioned as powerless" (p. 2). Much in the same way, Hollway states "Discourses make available positions for subjects to take up. These positions are in relation to other people" (1984, p. 236).

Positioning can be understood in the context of positioning triad involving social force, position and storylines. Through the medium of this triad, conversations can be examined in the unfolding of an episode. Harre and Secord (1972) describe episodes as 'any sequence of happenings in which human beings engage which has some principle of unity' (p. 10).

Each episode can include one or more storylines described as 'the contexts of acts and positions' by Slocum and van Langenhove (2003, p.225). A storyline, basically, 'a chunk of conversation that develops around a certain topic' (Kayı Aydar, 2012, p. 14). Furthermore, 'neither story lines nor positions are freely constructed' (Harre & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 19). As Kayı-Aydar (2012) suggests 'it is the members of a conversation' who are engaged in the framework of positioning triad (p. 13). In order to be able to comprehend the details of episodes, according to Harre & van Langenhove (1999), one should take the three features of interaction into account:

- 1. The moral positions of the participants and the rights and duties they have to say certain things,
- 2. The conversational history and the sequence of things already being said,
- 3. The actual sayings with their power to shape certain aspects of the social world (p. 6).

Considering the conversation as the starting point, Tan and Moghaddam (1999) maintain "positioning involves the process of ongoing construction of the self through talk, particularly through the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within which the members of conversations have specific locations' (p. 183). To exemplify, taking up an identity position of a facilitator teacher, a teacher is socially expected to make certain types of remarks which guide and help students in learning for themselves. Another further example is that 'if someone is positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavor they will not be accorded the right to contribute to the discussions in that field' (Harre & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1).

Hence, positioning is regarded as a process making a person's actions straightforward in the discursive construction of personal stories. Moreover, Bucholtz & Hall, 2005 state: "[E]ven in the most fleeting of interactional moves, speakers position themselves and others as particular kinds of people" (p. 595). In the same vein, as Rex and Schiller propose 'through conversation, people situate themselves and others with particular rights and obligations. Speakers take up or resist positions others create for them' (2009, p. 6). In that sense, it can be pointed out that speakers create positions through their conversations which play a significant role in these participants' personal identities.

2.4.3 Modes of Positioning

Harre & van Langenhove (1999) introduce various forms of positioning and it should be noted, basically, positioning can occur in two ways which are *reflexive* positioning and interactive positioning. Whereas reflexive positioning means positioning oneself within a conversation, interactive positioning means giving certain positions to others. In this regard, it can be claimed that one sees the world from his or her point of view through reflexive positioning while interactive positioning depends on the positioning in relation to others. Through reflexive or

interactive positioning, people construct who they are and this situation can be traced in Davies and Harre (1990) as follows:

Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, story lines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned' (p. 46). Besides, "initial positionings can be challenged and the speakers sometimes thereby repositioned" (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, p. 18).

Therefore, it can easily be claimed that when a speaker is assigned an unwelcome position, s/he can reject it, accordingly, the rights and duties to talk and act in a certain way and repositioning can be observed.

Considering that interaction is an indispensable part of classrooms, adopting positions and assigning positions to others can be observable in classroom settings as well. Rex and Schiller (2009) posit:

Students and teachers position themselves in relation to others as they engage socially. Through their discourse they recognize themselves and others as certain kinds of people. These are ways of being in the world with instructions about how to look, act and talk, so as to take on particular social roles that others will recognize....Students that ascribe to ways of being in the world different from those required for classroom participation may struggle with issues of social membership and have difficulty demonstrating capability (p. 22).

Regarding this claim, it can be asserted that members of social interaction create positions which give way to students' construction and negotiation of positional identities and gaining membership in the classroom context. This case is also illustrated in Kayı-Aydar's (2012, p. 11) dissertation, *Negotiating Power in the ESL Classroom*, as follows:

The same individual can manifest any of his/her identities or be assigned new identities in the form of positions in different social contexts. Taken over a period of time, some particular positions become more dominant in one's mode of self-presentation in particular context. For example, being a silent student is a positional identity and one of the multiple identities one

has. What makes a student silent is the positions that the student takes up and the behaviors he or she displays in relation to other people over a certain period of time in a particular social context.

Positional identities are co-constructed in a cumulative process, that is to say, an individual comes to be created as a certain being such as a funny student or a silent one through the recurrent positions s/he adopts and is assigned over a period of time, which s/he can accept, resist, challenge, and negotiate. In accordance with these lines, Davies and Harre (1990) argue as follows:

An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate. Accordingly, who one is always an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and other lives (p.46).

Furthermore, Davies and Harre (1999) state: 'It is one and the same person who is variously positioned in a conversation. Yet as variously positioned we may want to say that that very same person experiences and displays aspects of self that are involved in the continuity of a multiplicity of selves' (p.35).

To conclude, positioning with its concern into the details of social interaction has a significant role in shaping and construction our identities in discourse and as previously stated, it has an influence on speakers' what to say and do. Therefore, taking all these case into account, it can be said that the positions students take up and assign to each other are crucial for their language learning opportunities and participation framework in classroom.

2.5 Identity and Language Learning

Most of the studies considering the relationship between second language learning and social context, from a broadly social position, consider learning as a social process as stated before and in accordance with this idea, Walsh (2011) goes on to say:

Learning is regarded as a dynamic, constantly shifting process in which participants collectively construct meanings. Learning is not something we have or we own, it is something that we participate in.-it entails encounters with others. Learning is regarded much more as a social rather than a cognitive process. Our actions, activities and interactions with others all work together to determine what it is that we learn (p. 49).

Thus, it can be claimed that learning is not something we possess or it does not occur only in our minds. Rather than involving a cognitive process, learning is a social action. In that sense, starting to analyze social context and language learning, the fields of SLA and Applied Linguistics started to lay emphasis on socially oriented traditions such as socio-cultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978), critical sociolinguistics (e.g., Firth & Garnder, 1997; Kumaravadivelu, 1999) and feminist post-structural theory (e.g., Norton, 2000). Within this framework, concepts such as differences in social contexts, gaining membership, power relations, and negotiation of identity and classroom discourse have become vital. As was previously stated, in particular, identity in language education has become central to the field.

Language learning studies with respect to identity in 1970s and 1980s considered identity as a fixed and stable construct and paid attention to language learners' motivations. In this regard, Block (2007) states: '[b]efore the 1990s, there was little or no research examining identity as a site of struggle, the negotiation of difference, ambivalence, structure and agency, communities of practice, symbolic capital, or any other constructs associated with poststructuralist identity' (p.866-867). Nonetheless, as Block (2007) suggests, bodies of research studies have started to be conducted concerning identity and language learning along with Norton's arguments over the issue in 1995. Also, Ortega (2009) claims that Bonny Norton's doctoral dissertation enabled SLA researchers to pay attention to identity and language learning. Bonny Norton is one of the pioneers introducing identity, as an academic concept, with regard to language learning and by adopting post-structural theories and focusing on identity and language learning; she made a contribution to the theoretical lenses of SLA research.

Basing her theory of social identity broadly on the work of social theorist Chris Weedon (1987) and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Norton (2013) suggested: 'the learning of a second language is not simply a skill that is acquired with hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners in ways that have received little attention in the fields of SLA' (p. 168). Twenty years ago, as mentioned above, she (1995,2000) proposed a notion of identity by combining the language learner and language learner context claiming that second language theorists 'have struggled to conceptualize the relationship between the language learner and the social world' (Norton Peirce, 1995). According to Norton (2000), identity is a construct which is complex, subjected to change, dynamic and multifaceted. Moreover, Norton (2000) claims that identity constitutes and is constituted by language and it is influenced by social processes. Also, Norton (2000) stresses the importance of inequitable power relations between L2 learners and their interlocutors in interaction and she maintains:

Identity theorists question the view that learners can be defined in binary terms motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relationships of power, changing across time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways within a single individual (Norton, 2013, p. 2).

In accordance with these ideas, Norton has a longitudinal study of five immigrant women in Canada and analyzed the relationship between identity, power and access to English both in the classroom context and naturalistic settings. By using interviews, diaries, documents as tools, Norton presented how identity is a complex site of struggle for these five immigrant women. To exemplify, Martina, one of the participants, resisted the immigrant woman position because of her social identity as a caregiver and mother. Hence, she surprised her co-workers with her desire to speak in the target language despite her imperfect master of English. What is more, Norton (2000) showed that identity is subjected to change over time. For instance, Eva, a young Polish participant, was silenced by her co-workers due to her bad

command of English and denial access to material and symbolic resources. However, she did not focus on being positioned as an immigrant and 'illegitimate speaker' of English and invested in speaking in the target language and came to be valued by her co-workers. Indeed, in the study, all the participants were eager to communicate in English, but they often felt marginalized owing to being immigrants and they did not feel comfortable while talking to the 'people with whom they had a particular symbolic and material investment' (Norton Peirce, 1995, p.19). On the other hand, they were able to speak to the people they knew well without feeling uncomfortable. Norton created a vivid image of the relationship between language learning and identity with her study. Also, she found out that SLA motivation theories are not sufficient in explaining the results of her study which focus on language learning experiences of five immigrant women and so, she developed the construct of investment in SLA research.

2.5.1 Identity and Investment

Norton (2000) claimed that prevailing theories of motivation did not place an emphasis on unequal relations of power between the target language speakers and language speakers and they held the idea that language learners own a 'unified, coherent' identity. Also, Norton adds that motivation is more complicated process than it is thought and for example; being highly motivated does not necessarily mean that good language learning occurs. Thus, investment, a construct defined by Norton to complement constructs of motivation in SLA research, is associated with a learner's commitment to learning the target language (Norton, 2013). As Norton (2000) puts forward:

The conception of instrumental motivation presupposes a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical language learner who desires access to material resources that are the privilege of target language speakers. The notion of investment, on the other hand, conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires . . . when learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world (pp. 10-11).

Influenced by Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1991), Norton with the concept of investment, refers to 'the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (2013, p. 6). As long as the learners 'invest' in the target language, they will get access to symbolic resources such as language, education and material resources such as money, real estate, which will have an influence on their cultural capital and social power. Capital, defined by Bourdieu, may be economic, cultural, social, and it results in power with access or control over others or vice versa. Hence, with the increase of cultural capital, 'learners' sense of themselves and their desire for the future are reassessed' (Norton, 2013, p. 6). Norton illustrates this construct with the following example:

A learner may be highly motivated language learner but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a given classroom or community, which may, for example, be racist, sexist, elitist or homophobic. Thus, despite being highly motivated, a learner could be excluded from the language practices of a classroom, and in time positioned as a 'poor' or unmotivated language learner (p.6).

Thus, it can be concluded that investment relates the learner's commitment to learn a language and their changing identities. Whereas motivation is considered in psychological framework, (Dörnyei, 2001; Dörnyei & Ushuda, 2009), investment should be thought in terms of sociological framework.

2.5.2 Imagined Communities and Imagined Identities

'Imagined communities refer to group of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of imagination.' (Norton, 2013, p.8). She goes on to say that these communities involve our neighborhood, our workplaces, educational institutions and our religious groups. Norton and Toohey (2011) state that we can create a sense of community with people we do not know owing to 'imagining ourselves allied with others across time and space' (p.422). The notion of 'imagined community' was introduced to SLA theory by

Norton (2001) and these concepts were then elaborated by Kanno& Norton (2003) and Pavlenko and Norton (2007).

To give an example of the notion, Norton (2000) describes adult immigrant women's identity negotiation and one of these participants in her study, Katarina was denied access to take a computer course by the ESL teacher's discouraging statements. Thus, Katarina decided not to attend the ESL classes. Kanno and Norton (2003) claim that Katarina's sudden decision can be considered as extreme, but taking Katarina's investment in her imagined community into account, her reaction was quite normal. With the teacher's criticism of her English, 'Katarina felt that she was positioned as a "mere" immigrant and that she was being denied an important opportunity to gain greater access to her imagined community of professionals. In short, her nonparticipation in the ESL class resulted from a disjuncture between her imagined community and the teacher's educational vision. (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 243).

In accordance with what was mentioned above, it can easily be claimed that imagined communities have implications for language classrooms and students' participation behaviors can be analyzed from this notion's vantage point. When teachers become aware of students' imagined communities and identities, they can create a learning environment in which students can invest in language practices. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) reflect on this as in the following: 'If we do not acknowledge the imagined communities of the learners, we may exacerbate their non-participation and impact their learning trajectories in negative ways' (p.678). Also, Norton and Toohey (2011) posits: '[s]uch imagined communities may well have a reality as strong as those in which learners have currently daily engagement, and might even have a stronger impact on their investment in language learning' (p.422).

2.6 Identity and SLA research

Identity research in SLA has become a new area and a great number of researchers have touched on the issue in language learning and teaching. By making use of different methodologies and analysis such as macro or micro, many studies have focused on the way students and language teachers construct and negotiate their identities and its relevance of language learning in different settings, particularly in ESL settings. Following Norton (2000) work on five adult immigrant women related to their identities and language learning experiences, researchers have started to adopt post-structuralism approach for their identity work. For instance, McKay and Wong (1996) conducted a two-year qualitative study in California (1991-1993) and analyzed how four Mandarin-speaking students in the seventh and eighth grade co-constructed their identities in multiple discourses, which are 'colonized-racialized discourse on immigrants, Chinese cultural nationalist discourses, social and academic discourses, gender discourse and model minority discourse'. McKay and Wong (1996) founded a contextualist perspective and revealed how some learners resist being marginalized by generating counterdiscourse. Thus, they highlighted multiple discourses interacting with each other and explored students' multiple, contradictory and dynamic identities and they suggest that learners' investment in learning a language was connected with their desires, needs and negotiations.

Furthermore, Skillton-Sylvester (2002) discussed that traditional motivation and participation views are not enough in explaining the four Cambodian adult women identities, investment and language learning experiences in an ESL class in the US. The main aim of this study was to understand how multiple identities of adult learners of English, the context they live and the classroom environment pave the way for these learners' investment in adult education programs. Utilizing an ethnographic approach, the data sources of this study come from four months of observations, interviews, informal discussions and small group tutoring with the participants so as to analyze the phenomenon more deeply. The analysis of the data

indicated working that these women's and domestic identities (spouses/daughters/mothers/sisters) interacted with their participation outside the class, and also affected 'their claiming of the right to participate in educational programs that support their language development' (p.22). Secondly, these women's cultural experiences regarding the language, history and becoming an immigrant had a striking influence on their investment in language practices. Considering the classroom as real places where learners' identities are 'central to teaching [and] learning' (p 22), this study has implications for adult learners' language learning by focusing on 'the interaction between who learners are, which identities are acknowledged and recruited in and out of the classroom, and the potential "return on investment" (Norton Peirce, 1995) from participating in an adult ESL classroom' (p.10).

Likewise, Morita (2004) examined 'how a group of L2 students from Japan negotiated their participation and membership in their new academic communities in a Canadian university" through a qualitative inquiry and the study demonstrated that students' participation and their identity construction has a relationship with their personal histories, goals, investments. Also, the study argued that the main difficulty for the participants was negotiation identities, discourses, competence and power relations to be regarded as a legitimate participant in classroom community and each of the participants underwent different personal transformation across different courses over time. Moreover, Morita discussed that participants went through a process of identity construction which "were often based on their changing sense of competence as a member of a given classroom community" (p. 583). Hence, it can be put forward that students' identity construction process interacts with their sense of competence in the classroom environment. In the study, most of the students thought that they were not successful language learners as those whose native language was English and Morita states:

Students seemed to develop this type of identity based on the difficulties they were experiencing in the classroom, such as not fully understanding reading materials, lectures, or class discussions, and not being able to contribute to discussions as much as others (including their native-English-speaking and non-native-English-speaking classmates) (p.583).

Additionally, Potowski (2007) examined how four dual immersion students used Spanish and English in the fifth grade and eighth grade. In order to gain a deep insight into students' identity investments and classroom language use, Potowski (2007) used observations, audio-video recordings, a variety of language proficiency measures, questionnaires and interviews in and out of the classroom setting. Fostering Spanish use at home, students' perspectives regarding the dual immersion school and Spanish, the teacher's stance towards the students and students' own positions in peer groups were found as relevant to learners' investments. Moreover, the findings revealed that students 'who had strong investments in using Spanish, because it enriched their sense of self or their status within their families and communities, used Spanish more often' (p.4). In addition, Potowski (2007) argues that learners' investments must go hand in hand with the aim of the program.

Apart from these studies, some studies also put an emphasis on the notion of "imagined communities and imagined identities" in learners' identity construction. To exemplify, Cervatiuc (2009) analyzes linguistic and cultural identity construction of adult immigrants and the participants in this study consider themselves as 'professionally successful and highly proficient' in the target language. Describing the features of 'good language learners', Cervatiuc (2009) touches on how the participants negotiated their identities in Canada and achieved to have a good command of English. In this study, in contrast to the notion of power defined by Norton (2000), along with the role of human agency, identity formation in this study interacts with both external and internal power of the participants.

The sample of the study included 20 professionally and academically successful non-native adults who arrived in Canada after the age of 18. Conducting three interviews with each participant in November 2006 and June 2007, Cervatiuc (2009) found out that participants came up with three approaches to improve their master of English and constitute their linguistic and cultural identity. To begin with, the participants produced a counter-discourse (McKay and Wong, 1996) when they felt native speakers marginalized them owing to their low level of English. They did not compare themselves with the native speakers and they paid attention to their own progress while learning a language. Also, they put effort to practice in authentic contexts and participated in native speakers' social networks. Additionally, most of the participants rejected the idea that the target culture assimilated them, and they considered about gaining 'membership in an 'imagined community" of successful multilingual and bicultural adult immigrants' (p.259). Although the language learners in this study are not influenced by asymmetrical power relations in their language learning experiences and in turn, identity construction and they cope with the marginalization by investing in language practices, this is not the case in some other studies. For instance, Miller (2010), by making use of observations, semi-structured interviews, diaries during 18 months examined the relationship between social context, membership, second language use of immigrant students and their identity construction in Australian high school. Throughout this study, linguistic minority students could not integrate to the social and academic classroom environment due to some certain reasons and one of the crucial reasons was their non-native accents. Asian students thought that they could not make themselves understood by their Australian classmates; and as a result, they were excluded and they were denied their access to language learning opportunities in the classroom. One of the participants, Tina, reported in her interview this case as in the following: 'sometimes, perhaps because of my accent, different accent, so sometimes they don't understand. Then, I don't want to speak any more (p.81)."

Miller (2010) suggests '[t]he ways in which these students represent themselves and are represented in schools are critically related to the types of social interactions they participate in, to their inclusion or exclusion from mainstream discourses, and to their ongoing language acquisition' (p.98)

Another further example can be examined in a similar study by Ajayi (2006) who examines how middle school students negotiate their identities in relation to English language learning. A questionnaire with a 31 item was used and students wrote an essay in order to give some background information regarding their own lives. Concerning the findings, Ajayi (2006) states that Hispanic middle school students were subjected to silence by English-only students and they had difficulties in practicing English. To illustrate, one of Hispanic middle school students stated in the essay: ''in my experience about speaking English, it is bad because when I start to learn English a lot of kids laugh about how do I speak'' (p.475).

One of the crucial studies which highlights discursive construction of identity was conducted by Duff (2002). By analyzing micro and macro level of communication within a specific course in multilingual secondary school in Canada, Duff (2002) collected data through observations, recordings of classroom events, interviews and documents over a two-year period. Duff (2002) focused on interactional organization of talk, turn-taking and participation frameworks and revealed discursive construction of identity, tensions in classroom discourse and a teacher's efforts to respect for cultural identity and difference in an ethnically mixed class. The teacher attempted to involve the non-local, ESL students in classroom discussions about culture by allocating turns to them. Nonetheless, the students did not adopt the identity positions ascribed to them and preferred to be silent. On the other hand, local students took the conversational floor and gained access to speaking opportunities, thereby demonstrating their identity differences from non-local students. Non-local students had the fear of being laughed at and criticized for their language. To illustrate, one of the non-local students commented on the issue

as follows: "When some of my friends speak, Canadian boys laughed, if I speak, some 'White People' won't understand, it is uncomfortable" (p.311)

'Silence protected them from humiliation. However interactional withdraw attracted disdain from local students (who confirmed this), for whom silence represented a lack of initiative, agency, or desire to improve one's English or to offer interesting material for the sake of the class' (Duff, 2002, 312). Therefore, it can be said that these students resisted in speaking and investing in class and their identities became a site of struggle. However, interestingly enough, although these silent non-local students did not invest in classroom interaction, they took part in written classroom activities and academically more successful.

Unlike the studies mentioned above, Ellwood (2008) discusses the relationship between code-switching and identity work. He analyzes group talks of students who come from different backgrounds and study in English in Australia. There were three main acts of identity in students' code-switching. (p.542). First of all, when the students did not understand the given tasks, they gave up using English used code-switching so as to be engaged with the task. Thus, students tried to align with 'good student' identity not to come up with a face threatening act stemming from a failure to comprehend what to do. Secondly, the students switched to their mother tongues in order to resist classroom practices and criticize the teacher's pedagogical agenda. Ellwood states that the students performed resistance as in the following way:

They want to be treated as intelligent, not as superficial, and not as children. Their desire for more stimulating classes indicates that the English classes to which they are responding do not offer any links to personal interests and identities that would engage or excite them, and it also indicates that they feel they are being treated as less capable than they believe they are. In this sense, the students can be seen as rejecting a particular kind of positioning, that of a less capable student. Their code-switches amount to displays of intelligence and of the capability to participate in a wider variety of ways than has been acknowledged. (p.546)

Lastly, the students' desire to be a global person resulted in their code-switching in the conversations with their peers. By adopting teachers' roles momentarily in their talks, the students made attempts to teach their own languages to each other. As Ellwood points out that these acts can be read as 'resistance' to classroom activities again, but also these switches are created to 'form affective bonds, build solidarity and achieve legitimacy within the group and establish students' cultural identities.' To conclude, Ellwood is of the opinion that uses of code-switching can be considered in accordance with Canagarajah's (2004) notion of 'safe houses' and maintains ''the multilayered and emergent nature of identity means that the bodies in our classrooms are not merely learners, but are complex beings engaged in an ongoing process of constructing and enacting new selves; their code-switches make it clear that how they present themselves and how they wish to be seen by others are both of great significance.'' (p.554).

Although the studies in relation to identity are more common in ESL settings, there are some studies conducted in literature in EFL context. To illustrate, Kinginger (2004) study examines a young American woman called Alice and her negotiation identity as a foreign language learner. In this study, Alice's foreign language learning experiences at home and abroad over a period of four years, from 1997 to 200 were analyzed. Data collection tools were comprised of interviews with Alice before and after her two year experience as a student in Quebec and France and included journals, e-mails and letters to gain a deep insight into her language learning experience. Throughout the study, how Alice struggled to learn French, how she reconstructed herself while undergoing identity changes and invested in her social identity. As Kinginger puts forward '[f]or Alice, becoming a speaker of French is a way of reorienting herself in the world- a mission wherein she summons her own strategic use of personal experiences, talent and resources to upgrade her access to cultural capital, become a cultured person, and share her knowledge with others. In this sense, Alice's efforts toward French language competence are just as much an investment in social identity as of those immigrant women in Norton's (2000) study' (p.240).

Apart from this study, Haneda (2005) reported two Canadian university students from different ethno linguistic backgrounds in a Japanese literacy course. Dwelling on community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), identity and investment (Norton,2000), Haneda (2005) states that learners participation behaviors may change from full, to peripheral or marginal participation and their engagement may be analyzed 'in terms of their movement between communities of practice, past and future'. Also, the participants', Edward and Jim, membership in different communities played an important role in their access and investment in writing Japanese. Moreover, she argues that learning a foreign language has a lot to do with students' life stories in relation to the target language, their multiple identities and their agency.

In Turkey context, Atay and Ece (2009) analyzes how prospective teachers of English changing identities are constructed while learning English and interviews were conducted with 34 Turkish students at the department of English language education in a state university in Istanbul over 2 months. The analysis of the data showed that the participants became aware of the differences among different cultures while learning English, particularly, the differences between their Turkish culture and Western culture. They did not consider Western culture as a threat to their Turkish and Muslim identities, but they 'privileged their Turkish and Muslim identities over the Western way of existence presented during English-language courses' (p.30). Also, the participants were of the opinion that they broadened their horizons, which resulted in 'cultural enrichment' for them and construction of their new identities. Furthermore, learning English and being exposed to new culture made a change in their behaviors and personalities such as becoming a more flexible person. What is more, in line with the construct of investment (Peirce, 1995), the participants stated that learning English enhanced their status in their careers and in their social life, accordingly, they invested in their social identities.

Besides, in terms of language socialization, Ortaçtepe (2013) study explores the identity (re)construction of Erol, a Turkish doctoral student in the United States. The data obtained from autobiographies, journal entries, and semistructured interviews. Erol's identity (re)construction was quite a hard process and it was full of struggles. His investment for the better turned into his feelings of *araf*, *gurbet*, and "free falling." Free falling was described as 'culture shock' (Schumann, 1997) for Erol and Erol's 'negotiation of social identity was a reflection of the struggle to engage in meaningful relationships in order to gain access to the cultural sources (cultural capital) that would enable him to be accepted as a legitimate speaker (audibility)' (p.226). Ortaçtepe (2013) suggests that affective and social factors have an influence on learners' getting involved in social interactions.

2.7 Positional Identities and Language Learning

The number of studies highlighting positional nature of identities in second/foreign language context is quite limited as Kayı-Aydar (2012) asserts in her dissertation. Menard-Warwick (2008), one of the first researchers analyzing positioning in ESL classroom discourse, showed the relationship between positional identity in classroom discourse and language learning. The events of social positioning in this study were obtained from a larger critical ethnographic study at the Community English Centre (CEC), a California ESL program. As a classroom participant for seven months, the researcher conducted interviews with eight students and two teachers and collected twenty hours of audio-taped classroom observations. Moreover, the researcher used "Critical Discourse Analysis" to examine two events of gender positioning and Menard-Warwick (2008) shed light on how educators can enhance language learners' construction of their voices through a discursive analysis in an adult ESL classroom. Throughout the study, the participant teacher assigned some pre-defined roles to the learners in the classroom and did not consider the learners' prior experiences during instruction and preparing class materials. Hence, learners' positioning of themselves was undermined by the teacher's remarks, and as a result, the learners felt powerless. In short, educators

should support the learners' various reflexive positioning while they co-construct their L2 identities.

Also, Miller (2006) analyzed how three students were assigned as good/bad language learner and worker positional identities in moment by moment classroom interactions. Drawing on positioning theory, Miller examined how the participants including her were constructed as certain beings and relative power or powerlessness came into play in the context of an ESL classroom through discourse analysis. For instance, during the study, while one of the students was positioned as a successful one because of her knowledge of grammatical patterns, another student was regarded as less competent by others in language practice activities and was given a role as a poor language learner. Song made comments on her peers' English, displayed her competence in classroom activities and got confirmations of the teacher, which resulted in a powerful stance on the part of her in the classroom. As for Tenzin, his attendance rate was lower than other members of the class and had difficulties in catching on and his friends were aware of this situation. For example, one of his classmates laughed at him when he said 'expensively' instead of 'exercise' mistakenly. Such instances along with his reflexive positioning in the ESL class constructed him as a poor language learner. The last participant, Peng, his work experiences enabled him to be a good student in the mentioned class.

Lastly, one of the most instrumental studies on this issue is Kayı-Aydar's (2012) dissertation titled 'Negotiating Power in the ESL Classroom'. This qualitative case study dwells on "Positioning Theory" to gain a deeper understanding of the negotiation of power, how students were assigned positional identities and how these identities interact with language learning. The researcher investigated two male students as her focal participants out of nine students and it was conducted in English for Academic Purposes oral skills class at a university level and the students had various educational and cultural backgrounds. As for the data collections tools, it consisted of audio-video recordings of classroom activities for

3.5 months, interviews with the students and the teacher twice, observations & field notes, documents, diaries and teacher and learner artifacts. Kayı-Aydar explored how reflexive and interactive positioning allow or limit the certain actions in classroom talk and the relationship with positioning and second language use. By analyzing classroom talk recursively through discourse analysis and supplementary data in line with qualitative research paradigms, Kayı-Aydar revealed that Hashim and Ahmad, the focal participants, dominated classroom conversations, which had a positive influence in their language learning opportunities, yet they did not open up spaces for other members of the class and denied access to language learning opportunities. While Hashim assigned powerful positions for himself by displaying symbolic capital, confronting the teacher's methodological and pedagogical decisions and engaging in teacher-like positions, Ahmad took up powerful positions in the floor by producing long turns, displaying his competence and displaying particular aspects of his selfhood. What is more, Kayı-Aydar conducted a cross-case analysis and the findings demonstrated that Hashim and Ahmad struggled to adopt powerful positions competing to display competence, using implicit sarcasm, and challenging each other's competence. Nevertheless, Hashim, by making use of humor, became an accepted member of the class whilst Ahmad was positioned as an outcast owing to his reflexive positionins as a competent language learner. That is to say, Hashim was created as a 'funny' student together with his powerful positions, but Ahmad was considered as an arrogant person who was trying to show off most of the time. This situation did not occur in one day, but it happened in and through classroom talk over the semester. Kayı- Aydar argues: 'positions that individuals assign to others or are assigned by others have an accumulated impact on one's self development' (p.200). Kayı-Aydar's findings also demonstrated that age, social-backgrounds; beliefs are central to students' constructing an identity throughout the term.

Some studies, however, have taken a different approach by focusing on the classroom teacher role in the learners' positional identity construction and language learning. The study conducted by Yoon (2008) is a striking example for this

situation. Yoon (2008) examined how regular teachers' views of their roles concerning English language learners were connected to ELLs' learning and powerful or powerless positional identities. There were three teachers in the study and each of them positioned themselves differently. As a participant in the study, Mrs. Young used multicultural activities and took cultural differences into consideration and she positioned herself as a teacher for all the students. By positioning ELLs as intellectual and believing that non-ELLs can get benefit from these students, Mrs Young opened up spaces for ELLs in her class. Thus, ELLs were also assigned powerful positions by their American peers, they heard positive and encouraging utterances from them and lastly, they were regarded as 'learning partners' rather than incompetent language learners in classroom practices. Nevertheless, the other participants, Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Brown only put an emphasis on subject matter and did not consider themselves as teachers for all the students like Mrs. Young, and as a result, students in these classrooms, resisted in classroom practices and were positioned as isolated and powerless. To illustrate, even if Mr Brown's class was quite interactive, he did not create any language learning possibilities for ELLs and his interactive positioning of 'invisible' caused these students to show resistance and be quiet in the classroom activities. In conclusion, ELLs positioning as active or passive members of the class differed significantly on account of different teachers' positioning.

Likewise, from a socio-cultural perspective, employing positioning theory and the concept of investment, Reeves (2008) examined the case of a secondary English teacher in the United States, Neal, who positioned himself as a tough-love teacher, a hip and a highly competent teacher whereas he positioned ELLs like any other student. During the study, Neal demonstrated a great many identity positions and Reeves states 'Neal's stance on ELLs and undifferentiated instruction are indicative of an assimilative approach in the education of ELLs'. In the study, although the teachers thought that they presented equal rights for ELLs and non-ELLS students by positioning them as any other student and ignoring their

differences, Reeves argues that the achievement gap between ELLs and non-ELLs can be based on this view as teachers lowered expectations for ELLs.

2.8 CA, Identity and Studies Using Conversation Analysis Framework in Identity Work

How identity is discursively constructed can be analyzed with different analytical tools such as conversation analysis, membership categorization analysis, discursive psychology, narrative analysis, and critical discourse analysis (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). In the study in hand, as was previously stated, identity is not considered as a fixed phenomenon, rather it is understood from moment by moment interactions among people in talks. As Sert (2015) discusses: We interact with our environment through talk and nonverbal conduct. Not necessarily because of, but in and through these interactions with other people, we teach, learn, understand, discuss, reject, agree, allow, criticize, and constantly negotiate identities.' (p.192). Hence, we construct 'who we are to one another' (Drew, 2005, p.74) in and through talk. In this regard, a micro-level approach, conversation analysis will be adopted for studying identity in the present study. Schegloff (1997) discusses that approaches like critical discourse analysis depend on identity categories and does not capture what happens in talk owing to the analyst's theoretical lenses. On the other hand, CA concentrates on interactional data and turn-by-turn interactional organization underpins the analysis. CA emphasizes 'the identity work of shifting selves, contingent on the unfolding demands of talk's sequential environment' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.37).

In addition, Heritage (2005) points out that 'context and identity have to be treated as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed, and, by extension, as transformable at any moment' (p.111). Thus, it can be maintained that conversation analysis 'adopts an indexical, context-bound understanding of identity, in which the self (if it is anything) is an oriented-to production and *accomplishment of interaction*' (Benwell and Stokoe, p.36). Any orientation regarding identity should

be observed in interaction and interlocutors show their understanding of each other's identity through the turns they take. That is to say, in conversational analysis, 'participant orientations, relevancies, and intersubjectivity, are not treated as states of mind that somehow lurk behind the interaction, but instead as local and sequential accomplishments that must be grounded in empirically observable conversational conduct' (Markee and Kasper 2004, 495)

Moreover, Bucholtz and Hall (2005), as previously stated, underscore the importance of interaction in identity formation and they say that along with the principles, emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness, identity work can be conducted from different points of view. With the positionality principle, identity includes the interactional positions taken up by the interlocutors, macro-level categories and ethnographically constructed cultural positions. Thus, the following comments can be made:

different kinds of positions typically occur simultaneously in a single interaction. From the perspective of the analyst, it is not a matter of choosing one dimension of identity over others, but of considering multiple facets in order to achieve a more complete understanding of how identity works (p.593).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) also argue that identity emerges through discourse in interaction rather than being a fixed, stable psychological phenomenon. Moreover, they point out indexical processes involving categories, intertwined roles, epistemic stances presuppositions, and linguistics structures connected with certain groups or ideologies are also significant for identity construction. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is relationally constituted and 'a view of identity that is intersubjectively rather than individually produced and interactionally emergent rather than assigned in an a priori fashion' (p.587) comes to the forefront. Taking all these into account, and Block's (2007) suggestions for the need of identity work's use of naturally occurring talk, now, we turn to identity studies deploying conversation analytical framework. Indeed, it needs to be noted that the number of the relevant identity and language learning studies which uses conversation

analysis framework is scarce when compared to other methodological tools and in this part, these studies will be reviewed.

To start with, Based on Zimmerman identity work (1988), Richards (2006) takes the dynamic nature of identity into consideration in his study. Zimmerman (1998) presents three types of identity, which are 'discourse, situated and transportable' identities. Discourse identity means 'initiating an action, one party assumes a particular identity and projects a reciprocal identity for co-participants' (p. 90) (e.g. questioner / answerer, expert /novice). Situated identities come to the forefront in particular situations (e.g. teacher/student). Transportable identities are 'usually visible, that is, assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization' (p. 91). Utilizing these distinctions, Richards (2006) provides instances of talk related to identity with pedagogical implications.

Firstly, Richards (2006) challenged IRF pattern (Mehan, 1979; Sinclour and Coulthard, 1975) and puts forward that although this pattern has a striking influence on getting an understanding of classroom discourse, it fails to explain 'classroom conversation' and 'turn-taking controlled by identities' rather than those of students and teachers'. Thus, Richards, like Markee & Kasper (2004); Walsh (2006) and Waring (2009), is of the opinion that IRF is not the only pattern occurring in classroom interaction and learners move out of it. Considering this case, teachers and students in this study went beyond the boundaries of their situated roles and these different identity orientations resulted in different interactional organization. For example, in one of the instances described in the article, the student introduces a word about which the teacher does not have any knowledge and the teacher asks the student to provide an explanation and the student by referring to his/her culture gives an explanation which is listened and confirmed by the teacher in the sequential development of the talk. Thus, the student's epistemic stance and going beyond and the teacher's acceptance of lack of knowledge cause them to reverse their situated identities and takes up a different discourse identity in interaction. Another further example is that the teacher introduces 'it is no use crying over spilt milk' while talking about '-ing' form and asks the students whether they know it or not. Next, a student interrupts the teacher and says they have the similar saying in their culture in Japan. The teacher asks the student to provide the saying and next she starts to repeat it. The teacher's invitation for the student to contribute to the ongoing talk and the student's transportable identity (becoming Japanese) pave the way for both parties' taking up different identities. By using conversation analysis framework, Richards (2006) tried to understand whether authentic conversations were possible and how the identity categories interacted with classroom talk and how this situation played a role in terms of moral, pedagogical and practical dimensions. Also, Waring (2013) by focusing on 16 hours of videotaped interactions from eight different adult ESL classrooms showed that language learners can be engaged in playful talks by ascribing their situated, relational and personal identities and they can be involved in conversations which go beyond traditional classroom boundaries. Thus, she argues that learners can have opportunities to practice different language functions with by playing with different identities and they can improve their communicative repertoire.

In another setting, Okada (2014), by referring two CA notions regarding identity, that is, 'identity-in-context and MCD' (p.75), aims at gaining deep insights to the identity work in classroom interaction. The data analysis revealed that contrasting teachers and students' non-default situated identities creates an 'epistemic gradient' in the classroom environment and the participants' actions are regarded as accountable with specific identities. The data consisted of 720 minutes of video-recordings of classroom interactions in an ESP class at a Japanese university. There were four student participants and two teachers, one of them was an English teacher and the other was a scientist to teach the content. The results indicated that the English teacher succeeded in her teacher goals by ascribing different identities to himself and the students other than their institutional roles. To illustrate, in one of the segments analyzed in the mentioned study, when one of the participants,

Murato, could not come up with an answer for a question directed by the teacher, the teacher ascribed 'Fujino',another student in the class 'knowledgeable' position by stating 'maybe senpai (Eng. senior) understands'. At this point, it needs to be noted that because of Murato's 'unknowing participant' epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012) and the teacher's turn allocation by referring to Fujino's non-default 'senior' identity in the class, Fujino comes to be created as the knower in the interaction.

In this regard, the teacher made students take part in language practices and created a learning environment in which students were socialized as 'scientists'. Okada (2014) further posits:

By contrasting a feature of a participant's situated identity with a teacher's or other students' identity, the teacher can impose an obligation on the identity-ascribed student to account for the proposed action (such as answering a question), irrespective of whether or not s/he affiliates or disaffiliates with the identity and its predicates (p.84).

Hence, it can be stated that the teacher managed the turns in such a way that he contrasted identities of participants, which resulted in participants' contribution to the ongoing talk with their epistemic status.

Another further study highlighting identity in interaction was conducted by He (2004) from a language socialization perspective. He (2004) suggests 'identity is dynamic, constantly unfolding along with interaction, and thus has the potential to shift and mutate' (p.199). He (2004) focuses on this notion throughout the study and further states identity is constructed in interaction through the participants' responses and acts. Drawing on the Language Socialization theory and putting an emphasis on repair organization of CA, He (2004) gives specific examples from two Chinese language schools in two different cities in the U.S and the data corpus includes 30 hours of audio-video recordings of classroom events and observations, interviews with the teachers, administrators and parents. To illustrate, in the study, it was pointed out that the teacher came to be positioned as an expert or authority as interaction unfolds. Although the teacher adopts an expert position at the beginning of the interaction with her/his instructions and questions, this case is

challenged with the students' turns in the interaction. Also, neutralized expertnovice relationships can be observed in the mentioned segment and the teacher
regains her expert position again at the end. That is to say, the teacher status and
the learners' acceptance or denial of this status changed sequentially in classroom
talk, and thus 'the expert and authority status is not a static property, but instead an
emergent one and the expert novice relationship is constantly shifting as the
interaction unfolds' (p. 208). Moreover, He (2004) puts forward that CA research
may explain student group and cultural identities. For instance, the mentioned
participants in this study utilized various language forms during all turns and
sequences and showed themselves differently in interaction. Although the teacher
constructed them as members of Chinese language school, they classified
themselves as members of multiple groups in interaction.

Lastly, Siegel (2015) examined 'the development of language learner identity from a longitudinal socio-interactional perspective' by using CA as an analytical framework and adopting the notion of epistemic stance (Heritage, 2013). The data came from a university dormitory in Japan and two participants, a Japanese and Vietnamese, living in the same dormitory, were involved in the study. Comparing the two participants, Ami and Hang, Hang was a more competent language learner at the beginning of data collection. The conversations between these two students were recorded across 22 months and each recording consisted of 30 to 40 minutes. In the study, 'word search sequences' were analyzed by using CA and by placing an emphasis on the changes in the participants' identities in relation to each other and their epistemic stance. Ami and Hang constructed language expert and novice identities in their conversations and these 'sequentially contingent positions were found negotiable and changeable, displaying learner identity and development as co-constructed phenomenon.' To exemplify, although Ami was positioned as a less knowledgeable/ novice language learner in relation to Hang in the first months of data collection, she began to demonstrate her knowledge of English and positioned herself as 'equal' with Hang in the following months. Furthermore, towards the end of data collection procedure, Ami with her sequential moves regarding 'word searches' took up a more powerful epistemic stance, conveyed her message and was constructed as 'an independent user of the language' who did not need scaffolding. As Siegel (2015) argues, the participants created language learning opportunities for themselves and they negotiated their identities with respect to their claims of language knowledge in the interaction.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Presentation

In this chapter of the thesis, first of all, the research questions which the current study aim to answer are presented. Secondly, the methodological review is described. Next, the research setting, participants and data collection tools are portrayed in detail. Following this, data analysis and ethical issues are introduced.

3.2 Research Questions

The following research questions have been addressed in order to understand the dynamic construction of positional identities in an EFL context and the relationship between positional identities and language learning opportunities.

- 1. How do EFL students in an English preparatory program of a private university negotiate positional identities in classroom interaction?
- 2. How do EFL students' positional identities interact with English language learning (opportunities) in EFL classroom interaction?

In accordance with these research questions, a case study approach has been adopted and it is presented in the next section.

3.3 Methodological Review: Case Study

As the research questions indicate, I aimed to explore negotiation of positional identities in an EFL context and language learning opportunities; therefore, I decided that a qualitative approach was the most suitable approach for my study. The reason why a case study approach is the best applicable for the current study can be understood from Cresswell's (2013, p. 97) following explanation:

[Case study research] is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information, and reports a case description and case themes.

Besides, Richards (2003) states "the focus of the research should be on a particular unit or set of units- institutions, programs, events, and so on- and the aim should be to provide a detailed description of the unit(s)" (p.20). Yin (2009, as cited in Creswell, 2013) also points out that in a case study the researchers study a real-life case which has a contemporary context and setting. Considering what is stated above, it is only possible to understand the complex and contingent nature of classroom interaction, classroom events as well as identity work through a case study approach. Moreover, as Norton (2013) discusses, 'the identity approach to language learning characterizes learner identity as multiple and changing, a quantitative research paradigm relying on static and measurable variables will generally be not appropriate.' (p.13)

3.4 Conversation Analysis

This study mostly depends on classroom discourse and interaction research and 'conversation analysis' as a research method was utilized while analyzing the classroom talk. Before going into detail regarding the rationale for using this method, a brief description is portrayed below in relation to conversation analysis.

Growing out of ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, basically, 'is the systematic analysis of talk produced in everyday situations of human interaction, talk in interaction' (Hutchby & Wootfitt, 1998). Originally started in sociology by Harvey Sacks and Emanuel A. Schegloff during the 1960s, CA is described as a 'naturalistic observational discipline that could deal with the details of social action rigorously, empirically and formally'(Schegloff & Sacks,1973, p.289). Furthermore, aiming to analyze ordinary conversations in its initial stages, later, an interest in CA in other disciplines has grown including education. Seedhouse

(2004) defines CA as a methodology for analyzing 'naturally occurring talk' and he also puts forward the four basic principles as in the following: (p. 14-15)

- 1. There is order at all points in interaction: talk in interaction is systematically organized.
- 2. Contributions to interaction are context-shaped and context-renewing. Contributions are context-shaped in that they cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the sequential environment in which they occur and in which the participants design them to occur.
- 3. No order of detail can be dismissed a priori disorderly, accidental or irrelevant. (Heritage, 1984, p.241). This principle follows from the first two and can be seen to underlie the development of the highly detailed CA transcription system, its minute analysis of the detail of naturally occurring data, and its highly empirical orientation.

4. Analysis is bottom-up.

Additionally, turn-taking plays a significant role in CA (Hutchby & Wootfitt, 2008) and the bases of the turn-taking system are 'turn-constructional units' (TCUs), which can be sentences, clauses and words' (Seedhouse, 2004). Besides, the points at which there is a speaker shift are called as transition relevance place (TRP). This turn-taking procedure creates an adjacency pair and it is another concept that needs to be touched upon in CA. Adjaceny pairs consist of two pair parts of the same pair type produced by different speakers, adjacently. Moreover, it does not necessarily mean that a second pair part will always be produced after a first pair part. Moreover, adjacency pairs can be expanded and it is possible for other pairs to be inserted between the first pair part and the second pair part. Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p.295) formulates adjacency pair as in the following: ''Given the recognizable production of a first pair part, at its first possible completion its speaker should stop, a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type the first is recognizably a member of.''

The concept of preference is closely connected to the term 'adjacency pair' and it is related to the notions of affiliation (preferred responses are obtained) and disaffiliation (dispreferred responses are obtained). Preference does not mean wanting or liking something as Seedhouse (2004) suggests. Adjacency pairs can have multiple potential second pair parts and categories of responses as stated above and they can be preferred or dispreferred. For instance, an invitation can be responded by an acceptance (preferred action) or rejection (dispreferred action). Repair is also of crucial importance in CA and it is 'the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use.' (Seedhouse, 2004, p.34) and also Seedhouse argues that repair is the significant mechanism 'for the maintenance of intersubjectivitiy' (p.34)

Anything that affects the progressivity of the talk for the participants is likely to be repaired. There are four types of repair which are self-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other repair, other initiated self-repair, and other initiated other repair. Seedhouse also points out that self-initiated self-repair is most preferred whereas other initiated other repair is least preferred.

CA, taking its starting point from the institutional interaction, concentrates on the details of the talk; and as a result, it is not surprising that it has also been applied to the language classrooms. Walsh (2006) put the mentioned case into words as in the following:

The relevance of a CA approach to the L2 classroom context is not difficult to perceive. CA attempts to account for the practices at work that enable participants in a conversation that makes sense of the interaction and contribute to it. There are clear parallels; classroom talk is made up of many participants, and there have to be smooth transitions and clearly defined expectations if meanings are to be made explicit (p.52).

In educational research, CA has created a path for the researchers to gain deep insight to the dynamics of classroom settings by enlightening the classroom events happening moment-by-moment in the social context of teaching and learning. Besides, as maintained in Sert and Seedhouse's (2011) article, 'its main

contributions have been to provide us with a realistic account of what actually happens in language learning talk and to enable a process account of language learning through interaction' (p.8).

Considering the outstanding contributions of Conversation Analysis in classroom interaction, by using CA as a methodological tool, the current study will aim to shed light on the social events of a classroom, how teachers and learners construct their positional identities, and how all these are related to language learning opportunities in an EFL setting in 'naturally-occurring spoken interaction' (Seedhouse, 2005, p.165). Since CA deals with the subtle details of classroom interaction and its transcription conventions, as A. Forrester (2002) maintains, 'represent in text the actual sounds people make in the position they make them (their sequence), and do so in a way which makes the resultant transcript as accessible to people as possible.'(p.9), it proves itself as a suitable tool for the investigation of disclosing the mentioned phenomenon.

Furthermore, quite parallel to the purpose of this study, Seedhouse (2005) suggests that CA studies have made us develop a deeper understanding of how '[1]earners and teachers construct their identities in and through talk...these identities are quite permeable and are deployed by members on a moment-by-moment basis as a resource for making particular types of learning behavior relevant at a particular moment in a particular interaction.' (Markee & Kasper 2004: 496).

I used CA as a methodological tool because CA deals with each detail in talk and I was able to see how these details such as pauses, intonations or the pace of the participant's talk affected my analysis. Additionally, I managed to analyze visual aspects of the participants' talk like hand gestures, gazes or body orientations, which enabled me to get a better understanding of the micro-details of interaction. I did not use any additional data sources like stimulated recalls because CA's emic perspective brings evidence on sequential basis.

3.5 Research Setting

This study was conducted in an EFL (pre-intermediate) reading-writing class at an English preparatory program of a private university which is located in Central Anatolia. In the next section, the setting is described.

3.5.1 The University

The university the current study is conducted is situated in Central Anatolia, in Turkey. Having been founded around a decade ago, it is one of the most famous private universities in Turkey. A variety in student profile can be observed at this university and the students mostly come from middle and upper class of the society. The school offers a wide range of scholarships and the students pay their tuitions with respect to their level of success in the university entrance exam and in their undergraduate studies. To exemplify, the students who are high flyers in higher education examination receive a full stipend, they do not pay any tuition fees and stay at the campus residence free of charge. The university offers three academic terms every year and students graduate from this university within five years along with one year preparatory English education.

The school's medium of instruction is partially (30%) English for most of the departments and it is also Turkish for a few departments such as history, law. However, each student has to study at the preparatory program of the school which is quite an intensive one among Turkish universities. To be able to move to their departments, the students have to pass an international and standardized proficiency exam. Moreover, the students learn a second foreign language in their undergraduate studies.

3.5.2 The Preparatory English Program

This study was conducted in a reading-writing class at a preparatory English program of a private university in the central Anatolia in Turkey. The preparatory school is a part of the Department of Foreign Language Education and general

English, academic English and TOEFL oriented instruction are given within three semesters in a year.

After the university entrance exam, the students enrolling at the current university take the preliminary exam prepared by the testing unit. According to the results of this exam, the students are placed into their classrooms. The students who get 0-49 in this exam are placed as AF level, beginners. The students getting 65 and over in the preliminary exam have the right to take TOEFL ITP exam at the beginning of the term. If they get 450 and over out of 670 in ITP, they will be C level, the advanced level, but provided that they do not get 450, they continue with their studies in B level classes, intermediate ones. In addition, the ones who obtain 399 and below in TOEFL ITP are placed in A level classes. Students who were registered in previous years, but have an unsatisfactory score in the TOEFL ITP test are placed in the last level that they finished with a satisfactory grade. Therefore, repeat students who have not taken the proficiency test or received a score of 399 or lower are placed in A level, repeat students who score between 400-449 are placed in B repeat levels and lastly, repeat students who score between 450-499 are placed in C repeat levels. Furthermore, it should be noted that the students should get a score of 500 in TOEFL ITP to be able to move to their departments. This year is the first year in the current context in which students are able to move onto a higher level or move down a level within three semesters. Thus, it is necessary to mention that the preparatory program consists of four levels (Beginner, Elementary & Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate & Upper Intermediate, and Advanced) which build on one another. In addition to class work, students are expected to attend tutorials, do regular independent study, and do assignments including online ones. Those students who have successfully completed the exit levels may sit the proficiency test and, if successful, be eligible to enter their freshman year. While AF classes have 30 hours of instruction, A, B, C levels have 25 hours of instruction in a week. Each level has its own curriculum which has to be followed by all the instructors each week. Weekly quizzes and monthly exams are conducted to assess the students. Skill-based instruction classified as "reading and writing", "listening and speaking" and "main course" is available in the preparatory program. One class has three teachers, each of whom teaches different skill. Each teacher has to teach at least 20 hours of teaching hours per week, in addition to their office hours, marking exams and invigilation. Approximately 80 instructors work at the preparatory English program and each teacher is in charge of teaching at least two different classes. As each skill is taught by different teachers, teacher have partners, co—teachers and a curriculum, testing, professional development and educational technologies units exist at the department.

3.5.3 The Class

The data for this study were gathered from the reading writing class. The seating arrangement in the classrooms was U-shaped, and as a result, the students could see each other, and the teacher can keep an eye on everyone's actions. In each classes, all the four skills are integrated, yet their focus changes. Taking the purpose of the study and classroom interaction into consideration, it can be thought that 'listeningspeaking' class should be observed. Nonetheless, in the program, the students have only five hours of 'listening-speaking' classes in a week and they can't do it because of the exam schedule. Also, concerning the curriculum issues and the materials which should be followed rigidly owing to the international exam at the end, as an experienced teacher-researcher in the mentioned context, I thought that I could have difficulties in reaching data. As for the main course, even if it combined all four skills, I was the teacher of that class, so this class wasn't included in the present study. Due to the mentioned-reasons, the reading-writing class would be the most appropriate to observe interaction and it consisted of ten hours of instruction each week. In addition, it must be stated that one hour of instruction is used for 'conversation classes' which are carried out by the native speakers of English coming from different countries in the reading-writing classes each year. Also, the reading-writing instructor whom I called as Nil throughout the study was more experienced at the university and was a teacher who put an emphasis on classroom interaction (see 'participant' section for the details).

The reading-writing class occurred on the weekdays and the goal of the reading writing class is to improve the students' reading and writing skills mainly; however, the skills, as stated before, are integrated in each class at the prep-school. Nil opened up discussions before each reading sessions and her warm-up sessions involved a great deal of interaction with a variety of activities. Nil had to follow a textbook for reading sections and it was the textbook the students liked most including discussion sections at the beginning, readings, vocabulary practices and interesting videos integrated with speaking skill. As for the writing sections, a standard writing booklet which is different for each level is followed at school and writing sections were like mostly formal lectures in which the teacher talked most and instructed. After writing the paragraphs and checked by the teacher, the students used to get oral feedback from Nil in the classroom and Nil sometimes involved the students to the feedback sessions and they practiced pair-check. Nonetheless, students did not work in pairs and groups a lot in reading-writing class, mostly; they perform them in 'conversation classes' which is a part of the reading-writing class. Students did presentation by working with a team at the beginning of the term once. Though Nil did her best to integrate 'discussion sessions' to the class, there were some times she had to do teacher talking a lot because of the curriculum and exam schedule of the prep-school.

3.5.4 Conversation Classes conducted by the Native Speakers

In the institution the current study has been conducted, native speakers of English come to the prep-school to conduct 'conversation classes' each year. They carry out extracurricular activities like speaking, game, drama clubs after the classes are over. What is more, they visit the reading-writing classes for one hour each week and they conduct conversation classes, in which they communicate with the students, play games and have discussions about their cultures in the target language. The reading writing instructor is also available in the class while they do their activities, but s/he does not interrupt the flow of the class and just sits and

observes the class. In the first term when data were collected, there were seven teaching assistants in the institution.

3.6 Participants

Since the current study is related to classroom interaction and classroom discourse, advanced (C) or intermediate & upper-intermediate (B) level students were initially chosen as participants. However, it must be stated that advanced students prepare for the proficiency exam and they do practice regarding the exam, particularly in the last month and they move to their departments in December. Therefore, the administration and my colleagues suggested me not choosing this level and I was also of this opinion. As for B level students, Nil, the teacher-participant of the current study teaches Departmental English courses, it was not possible for her to be able teach in B level classes. Therefore, in the end, the study was planned to take place in A (pre-intermediate) level classes. Also, it is worth mentioning that A level classes in the current institution get 50-64 from the preliminary exam carried out by the testing unit at the beginning of the semester and also, some A level students get over 65 from this exam and sit TOEFL ITP, but they cannot succeed in getting over 400.

There were 23 students in the reading-writing class and some of the students graduated from private high schools whilst others, mostly, were graduates of Anatolian high schools.

3.6.1 The reading writing instructor: Nil

As a teacher- researcher, I had been working in the institution the study was carried out for 3.5 years and after deciding on focusing on classroom interaction, I started to talk about my project with my colleagues. Since it includes audio-video recordings, some of my colleagues stated that students would not want to speak in front of the camera and they would not feel comfortable with the cameras in the classroom. However, a few instructors volunteered to be engaged in the study. As

known, teachers play a crucial role in classroom interaction in which language learning opportunities are shaped. Breen puts forward that it is the teacher who 'orchestrates the interaction.' (1998, p.119) and Walsh defines 'teachers' and learners' ability to use interaction' as Classroom Interactional Competence. Besides, acknowledged by Walsh (2006), Johnson (1995) suggests 'teachers influence learner participation both by the ways in which they use language and by what they bring to the classroom.' (p.6). In line with these ideas, after some conversations with these instructors, I verbally invited Nil to participate in my study. Also, Nil, the teacher participant appeared to be very interested in my possible thesis topic. I met first the reading-writer teacher, whom I called Nil in this institution in 2012. Since then, she has also been working in this preparatory school, we have been colleagues and our offices are on the same floor. She was also one of the experienced teachers in the institution. Upon Nil's accepting to participate in my study, I prepared my reports to get permission from the institution the study was carried out and the institution allowed me to conduct my study and upon request, they helped Nil and me to become partners in the same class for my project. A detailed description for Nil is presented below:

Nil was born in a small city in Western Turkey and also, after her family moved to another city in Central Anatolia, she started her education there. Her parents are 'teachers' and they played a crucial role in her education. While Nil was on the third grade, (she was nine at that time), they had to move to Belgium due to her father's job. Nil changed her schools frequently and she stated that she did not know any French when they went abroad to live. Moreover, except for her sister, there were not any Turkish students in the school where she got her education in Belgium. Therefore, she pointed out that she had to learn French when she was a child and she posited that she could speak French at the end of the first year in Belgium. Nil finished the primary school in Belgium's educational system. After finishing the first cycle of the secondary education in Belgium, her parents moved back to Turkey, that is to say, Nil spent five years in Belgium in total. When they moved to Turkey, she had to take the exam conducted in Turkey for high school

education and upon being successful in the exam; she studied at a boarding Anatolian teacher training high school. In high school, she did not study in the prep-school focusing on English for a year because of her high level in English. Later, after the higher education examination, she enrolled in English Language Teaching department at a highly prestigious state university in the city the present study has been conducted. Indeed she wanted to be a diplomat since she said she loves different cultures, countries, meeting new people, travelling and she had been in a different culture in her childhood and she had never thought about being a teacher. Furthermore, she told that she loved literature and linguistics courses more than teacher education courses at the university. She was quite interested in English Literature and did many different activities concerning it. While studying at the university, she worked in a publishing house as a person who communicated with the foreign partners and as a translator in translation offices. After graduation, she went to England with the Comenius programme which is a European Union Educational Project as a teaching assistant. She described this experience as 'great' and she stated as in the following:

My first experience happened with British children, since I lived in Belgium before, I taught them French there, I was the teaching assistant of French classes and I organized French speaking classes. Also, I conducted classes I talked about Turkish culture for each class, so it became a very good experience for me; I had the opportunity to travel in England.

Having stayed in England for a year, Nil, in fact, wanted to get her MA degree in England, but she could not find any scholarship to do that; therefore, she had to come back to Turkey. Then, she decided to get her MA degree in comparative literature department as she was fond of literature. While getting her master degree, she worked in a language school where she taught business English and carried out translation clubs for adult learners. Although she did not want to be a teacher at the university, after her experience in England and teaching experience in the language school with adults, she started to love teaching.

Having worked with adults, Nil, then applied for the university the current study has been conducted for teaching position and now she has been thinking about getting a PhD degree. As for her teaching experience in the current university, she taught a variety of courses from beginner to upper-intermediate levels at the preparatory program of the university, but also she has been teaching departmental English courses including business English, academic writing, presentation classes etc.

At the preparatory program of the university she has been working in, she loves working with high level students more . While the current study was being conducted, during data collection period in the first term, she was teaching reading-writing class for a pre-intermediate class and she was teaching academic writing and presentation techniques classes for undergraduate students.

Having worked as an instructor of English for three years in the institution the current study has been conducted; Nil was one of the caring teachers about her students. As for her lessons, since the curriculum office planned the program in advance, she had to follow it, but she tried to add extra activities to the class. However, there were times she had to follow the weekly program quickly because of the exam schedules. Nil was a teacher who talked slowly and carefully while communicating with her students. She usually tried to bring up discussion topics before each reading class in order for her students to voice their opinions. Furthermore, she often asked questions related to their comprehension, she gave feedback for students' answers in each session of the class, and she did her best to provide individual face-to-face feedback even in the writing sessions of the class. What is more, while teaching, she moved around the class a lot, used her tone of voice quite well and deployed her hand gestures frequently. While describing her reading writing class, she stated that this year, her class' level was better compared to the previous years and the students were very motivated to learn English especially at the beginning of the semester, but the interaction patters began to change later like in each class.

3.6.2 Focal Participant I: Asya

Asya was born and grew up in the city the study has been conducted in Central Anatolia. She lives with her family and she studies in the same city. Her father is a Turkish representative of an international company, so he frequently goes abroad and Asya states that she has accompanied him from time to time since her childhood. Apart from her father's business trips, Asya and her family prefer to go abroad during holidays. Moreover, she says that her family always supports the idea that English should be learnt very well and her brother studies in a high school in Canada.

Asya has been learning English since kindergarten education and she has always been in private schools and as she states 'English has been in [her] life since [her] childhood'. While studying in the primary school, one of her English teacher's attitudes towards her changed her positive thoughts about English and such was her disappointment and frustration due to her teacher that she wasn't able to use English till the eighth grade. However, right after when she started to study in another private school where she also had her high school education, she again began to use English.

Asya graduated from a prestigious high school which offers a well-known international diploma programme; therefore, she has got two high school diplomas. The aim of the programme was to equip students with intercultural issues and preparation for university education. She describes her high school studies as in the following: 'my high school education was like studying abroad.' Moreover, in accordance with the curriculum of the international diploma programme, English was the medium of instruction in the last two years of her high school. She was supposed to choose six courses to study at a higher and standard level and she chose English at a high level.

In her interview, she acknowledged that she did not put any effort to prepare for the higher education examination conducted in Turkey, but she mostly, studied for getting international diploma. Moreover, she was accepted by two prestigious universities in England with her score in the exam carried out by the international organization with the condition of a high score of IELTS or studying English for a year. However, after the university entrance exam, Asya enrolled in International Entrepreneurship department at her current university.

As for her abroad experience, she has been in Dubai, France, Holland, Germany, Austria and Italy and Azerbaijan for touristic purposes for a short period of time (like one-two weeks for each). Nonetheless, she has been in England for educational purposes. First of all, she has been there for a language school during the summer. Also, since she was a member of an international educational programme, her school allowed her to go to England for her studies. Therefore, she has been there for three times, in the last two years of her high school education, and they lasted more than one year in total.

She wants to pursue her career with a master program on Human Resources or she wants to work in energy industry like her father. As for the reasons why she learns English, she posits:

I think that learning English makes a person more sociable, you can be a more social person wherever you go in the world. It is true that knowing English in business life definitely makes you stand out. I mean, knowing English, using it actively, at a level to have a connection with abroad, because of the position I think in the future. My department is entrepreneurship, I want to work in energy sector, my father also is in that sector, but in a different field, I want to be interested in solar and wind power, but firstly I need to learn English, to make my job easier. I am curious about languages.

When she was asked to write her expectations from the first term and the school, she put forward that she wishes to move to her department at once and she wants to be successful in the exam conducted in April. Also, she acknowledged that she wants to improve her English and speak in a more fluent way.

Asya believes that learning a language is possible with using the target language, listening to music and watching movies in the target language. Moreover, she went on to say:

I have friends abroad, Spanish, Arabic, many actually, I met them when I was in England and we still communicate with each other, for example, at the weekends on skype. Language is learnt comfortably by speaking actively. When I went there, I could not speak at all. I could use the language a little bit. I cried a lot in the first week when I was there. I can't speak, I understand the people, but I can't answer them, then I started to speak in the second week because I had to, I thought that I was there for 3 months and I had to speak and I spoke actually, my luck was to be able to go abroad. When I went abroad, I improved myself in terms of speaking.

Moreover, she thinks that compared to language teaching abroad, grammar based curriculum is followed in Turkey, so everyone in Turkey can write and use grammar correctly, but can't speak, but the case is different for her, she can speak, but she has a bad command of grammar. In line with what she stated about language learning, she also pointed out that listening- speaking classes were the easiest ones for her.

As for her first impressions about the class, she reflected on them quite differently from her friends. She was of the opinion that her educational, family and culture background was not the same as her peers in the class. Her opinions are given below:

When I entered the class, I said to myself there is something called being a graduate of a private school, since there were a few students from private high schools, I mean not private or state, but the environment in which we grew up.... in our class, everyone has a different culture by coming from different cities, from the rural areas, other places, so actually I found it strange a little bit at the beginning of the term.

Besides, she thinks that there are a great many opportunities in private high schools in terms of education, culture, travelling and beyond and she believes that these kind of differences play an important role in the classroom setting. Furthermore, she argues that the opportunities she has given so far added a plus to her learning opportunities.

3.6.3 Focal Participant II: Oktay

Oktay was born and grew up in a small city in Central Anatolia and he graduated from a science high school in his hometown. As a student in the department of computer engineering, he chose the current university the study has been conducted due to the job opportunities it will create for him. Oktay was staying in the campus residence. He was one year older than his peers in the class since he was not able to get enough points in higher education examination a year ago, so he started his studies at the university in 2014. He has only been in Uzbekistan and he has never gone to any other foreign country. In his interview, Oktay talked about his prior thoughts about his school. He reported that he had some fears about coming to a private school till the last grade in high school since he was considering that he could be humiliated in a private school owing to the students coming from upperclasses. According to what he stated in his interview, his concern stemmed from the society's attitudes, yet when his friends started to choose private universities, he changed his attitudes towards these schools. Moreover, upon being asked what he wanted to do after graduation in his interview, he replied as follows: 'I want to go abroad, actually, it is my biggest dream, I want to go abroad, study and work there. I don't want to stay in TurkeyApart from his interview, Oktay also talked about his future plans when he was asked to write his expectations from the school on the first day of the classes, he explained them with the following words:

My biggest aim is to learn English very well, and then learn the second and the third foreign language by the time I graduate. This case is my primary objective of coming to this school. Since English is not given importance in primary and high school, I didn't have enough opportunity to learn it and I felt the lack of English most of the time. I hope I can understand, write and speak comfortably when I graduate. My biggest career plan is to work abroad.

As for the reasons why he wants to learn English, he thinks that English is quite popular and he feels the lack of it, so he wants to learn English very well and he wants to be the best. Also, he believes that he should have a good command of English in accordance with his career goals. Oktay's previous experiences in English were not satisfactory when examining what he acknowledged in his interview. He pointed out he didn't learn any English in primary school and added that he could not do so, also in high school because of the curriculum in his school and the university entrance exam. Nevertheless, he stated that he was always interested in English and he tried to go to a language school in his hometown on the 10th grade in high school, but the objective of the course was not suitable for him, mostly, it appealed to the adults; therefore, he could not continue his studies there. He talked about an ideal language learner as follows:

I think he/she is able to speak the language like his/her mother tongue, and we should go abroad for this. At this school, the number of the native speaker (he means native teaching assistants) can be increased. We should communicate with native people, we should make foreign friends. I think foreign radio programs, TV channels, newspapers should be followed, I understand the benefit of them, and for example, while I was reading the graded readers, I realized it. My reading skill improved in an extreme way.

He also thinks that speaking is the most important skill while learning a language and he adds that grammar can be learnt by studying. Oktay's first impressions about his teachers and classmates seem to be quite positive. Even though the teachers' talking about the rules with respect to the school setting made him a little bit anxious on the first day of the classes, he later got used to the atmosphere and he thought that the teachers were wonderful people at the prep-school. As for his classmates, he put forward that he really liked his class and classmates at the beginning of term, yet later he had some problems with some of his classmates because of their different views. Above all, he had positive attitudes towards his friends during the term.

3.6.4 Focal Participant III: Berk

Berk was from the city the present study has been carried out and he was living with his family. He graduated from an Anatolian high school. He has never been abroad. He chose the university in the mentioned context voluntarily and his major is medicine. The reason for why he chose this university was the quality of language education and he described this case as in the following: 'I heard that English language education here is very good, some of my friends said it to me. My department is medicine, so I chose this school'.

Berk is well aware of the fact that he should have a good command of English for his job and for his life. After graduation, he plans to be a very successful surgeon. Reflecting on his expectations and career plans on the first day of class on a piece of paper, he pointed out that his level of English was low in primary school and high school, but he was planning to change this case here at the preparatory program of the university. His words are depicted below:

My English was bad in primary and high school, especially my grammar, but I believe that I will improve my English here. My expectation from here at the end is to be able to speak fluently, have a fluent accent, pass the exam at the end and move to the department. I am hopeful, and I know that I will get a good English language education here. After finishing my department with a good degree, I am planning to be a successful doctor.

Upon being asked the reasons why he learns English, he expressed his perspective on the issue as the following:

First of all, most of the articles and books in medicine are in English. The number of Turkish resources is quite limited, and most of them haven't been translated well, yes there are some good ones, but most of them are in English. English is an international language. Furthermore, when you want to go abroad to work, I know lots of doctors who started to live in the USA after getting their PhD, so for my future actually.

Berk's language learning experiences until the given time at the prep-school were not adequate like Oktay. He stated that he was getting low grades, and only his speaking skills were good, he could speak in the language classes, but especially his grammar was not good enough. He also posited that he was taught grammar thorough memorization and he added that he found them very boring. Moreover, he took some classes in language schools and the courses were with the native speakers. Nevertheless, later when he stopped to speak in English, approximately for four years, his speaking ability also went worse. Berk made further comments on the teaching& learning process in his high school and he argued that even if the teachers were quite good, the class hours were not sufficient, so they could not do a lot of things. He holds the idea that speaking is the most crucial skill while learning English and he likes speaking the most. He describes as the ideal language learner as follows:

English shouldn't be studied only by coming to school; you should bring it into your life. There are sometimes I think in English. For example, I make sentences in my mind to say in case I can meet someone. You should incorporate it into your life. You should consider it like music, you should not underestimate it, you should it repeat it all the time.

3.7 Data Collection Tools

This study has been a 3-month qualitative case study of classroom interactions in a pre-intermediate classroom in EFL preparatory English program of a private university in Turkey. The data collection period started in September, 2014 and continued until the middle of December, 2014. The data collection tools of the study have included audio and video recordings of classroom events. This is because CA's emic approach brings 'evidence on sequential basis to how participants make sense of each other's talk' (Sert, 2011, p. 4). I also interviewed with the whole class one by one to learn about their educational, professional and other related backgrounds, their experiences regarding English until the given time at the Preparatory English program and their reasons for studying English. I conducted these interviews to be able to introduce the participants and background of the study. The interview with the teacher-participant was held to gain information about her teaching backgrounds and her experiences until then in the relevant setting. I did not use these interviews to bring further evidence to my

analysis, as previously stated, these interviews were carried out just to introduce the participants. Moreover, although I have a variety of written documents in this process, again, I did not include them in the study in accordance with the aim of my study and the approach I used.

3.7.1 Audio-Video Recordings

The audio-video recording series for this research was initiated on September, 30 and it was completed on December, 11 for a total of 11 weeks. Although the term lasts 13 weeks, I did not start to record classroom events in the first two weeks since I wanted to establish a good rapport with my participants and get their permission. Also, as they were new-comers to the university, I thought that they might not want to be videotaped in a new community. In the second week, as a teacher-researcher, in one of my classes, I mentioned my participants that other than my main course teacher identity in this class, I was getting my master's degree and I should conduct research as part of my graduate studies. I then talked about my project and my plans with audio-video recording of this class. In particular, I stated that no risks and no direct benefits were anticipated as a result of their participation in this study, and that their participation had to be purely voluntary and their identity would be kept confidential. After a brief negotiation, my class, the participants of the current study, accepted to be audio-videotaped without any hesitation and signed their consent forms in that class (i.e. 24th September, 2014, in the second hour).

Two digital cameras were set up in class in the first two weeks of the recording, but then I realized that they were not enough to capture all the details in the classroom as the seating arrangement in the classroom is U-shaped. Therefore, I decided to set up one more video camera, and as a consequence, three cameras were used focusing on both the teacher and the students. Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff (2010) also point out:

In many cases a single video camera will suffice. Indeed, multiple cameras tend to complicate data collection and analysis. However, there are settings and activities that demand the use of more than one camera, especially where a single view severely constrains or even undermines the ability to analyze the activity of interest ... In certain circumstances, it may be necessary to simultaneously record the activities of participants in different physical locations (p. 53).

In accordance with these lines, it can be argued that it was essential to utilize three cameras in relation to the purpose of this study. In addition to this, two voice recorders were positioned in the classroom to ensure audible voice quality; however, having noticed that the talks could actually be captured by the cameras successfully, I gave up using voice recorders.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, the video recordings have included 47 classroom hours of reading-writing class, and 8 classroom hours of conversation classes conducted by native teaching assistants. Thus, at the end of data collection process, I collected 55 hours of classroom hours of audio-video recordings (50 minutes each) over an 11 weeks period.

3.8 Data Analysis

In line with CA, analyzing the recorded data including ''classroom interactions'' was an ongoing process and the basic steps in data analysis of the study in hand will be summarized as follows:

Table 2: The Steps in Data Analysis

- 1) Watching the audio-video recordings, that is, the data set closely.
- 2) Taking initial notes of my unmotivated observations & taking notes of identity segments observed throughout the data.
- 3) Noticing the focal participants'; Berk, Asya and Oktay's different

Table 2: The Steps in Data Analysis (continued)

positioning & participation acts.

- 4) Watching and going through the focal participants' identity segments again.
- 5) Building a collection of the focal participants' identity sequences. Going through them many times and identifying the most representative cases.
- 6) Starting the transcriptions.
- 7) Examining the micro details of interactions in terms of turn taking, adjacency pairs and repairs.
- 8) Disclosing the positional identity sequences for each focal participant.

First of all, after collecting the audio-video recordings and naming all the files, I watched the audio-video recordings & the whole data set with an unmotivated look and took notes of my initial observations. That is to say, I took notes of all the segments related to identity, that is, all the class members were observed in terms of identity segments. Next, after watching the recordings and going through my initial observations, I realized that Berk, Asya and Oktay's positionings and participation acts were different from other members of the class both in terms of quality and quantity in the interactional organization of classroom talk. Also, they seemed to show variations in their participation acts during the term. Namely, they displayed both intra and inter variation in terms of positional and participation acts. Later, I watched and went through the focal participants' identity segments again. I built a collection of their identity segments. After that, I went through these numerous segments to be abe to choose the most representative ones. Following this, I started the transcription analysis and examined the sequences and the transcriptions were checked many times. Finally, the focal participants' positional identity sequences were disclosed and in total, 27 extracts were included in the analysis.

I used MAXQDAplus 11, which is 'a computer software program that helps the researcher to systematically evaluate and interpret qualitative texts' (Creswell, 2013, p.203) so as to get the detailed transcriptions. As known, transcriptions play a significant role in data analysis for classroom discourse since the data are represented through them. To illustrate, ten Have (2007) argues 'transcripts are not the data of CA, but rather a convenient way to capture and present the phenomena of interest in written form.' (p.95). Thus, transcriptions are subjected to change by different researchers owing to their various researchers' lenses. Nevertheless, as Sert (2011) discusses, CA researchers have come up with standard transcription systems and I utilized the most well-known and used transcription system adapted from Gail Jefferson (Hutchby and Wootfitt 2008).

Furthermore, I used + sign to show the onset of nonverbal behavior and # sign was made use of for the screenshots. These signs were adopted from Sert (2011) dissertation. Since the study was conducted in an EFL context, both English and Turkish existed in the classroom which is observable in the transcriptions and I demonstrated English translations in *italics*. In order to protect the privacy of the participants, all the participants were identified with pseudonyms and I named a different file for each participant.

3.9 Ethical Issues

Credibility and trustworthiness play a crucial role in data collection and analysis in qualitative studies. To establish the trustworthiness, firstly, as I stated before, I contacted the department chair of the institution personally and following his welcoming remarks about my project, it was decided that I should get the approval of the institutional review board of the department to do my study as well, so I wrote a petition for the board in detail concerning my study and they permitted me to record a class. Next, I applied to human subjects ethics committee of the institution the thesis is submitted to and I prepared the necessary documents. Upon getting approval from the Institutional Review Boards from the related universities

to conduct the current study, I also obtained the participants' approval through informed consent forms by assuring the confidentiality and privacy of the participants.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4. 1 Presentation

In this section, the findings of the present study are presented and three focal participants are discussed separately. Firstly, Asya's positioning will be explained and next, Oktay's positional acts in interaction will be introduced and lastly, Berk as a case will be dwelled on.

4.2 Asya as a Case

In this section, Asya's positioning, in relation to the research questions, is examined and analyzed by the use of excerpts from classroom interactions. Asya assigned and was assigned powerful positions, particularly at the beginning of the term (approximately the first five weeks). She presented herself as a capable language learner and a fluent communicator in classroom activities and in the conversation classes carried out by native teaching assistants. It can be put forward that Asya was considered as a student who has 'conversational dominance, conversational charisma' (van Langenhove & Harre, 1999, p.30) in the classroom. However, the roles started to be reversed towards the end of the term in the reading-writing class, yet interestingly her powerful positions have never changed in the conversation classes native teaching assistants have conducted. Upon taking the data into consideration, it should be noted that Asya was constructed as a 'legitimate speaker' which was subjected to change in the reading- writing class and the 'assistant to the teacher' in the classroom.

4.2.1 Acclaiming and Acclaimed Position as a Legitimate Speaker

Asya has been positioned as a 'legitimate speaker' in classroom interactions and her abroad experiences and the cultural capital she possessed enabled her to maintain the floor in classroom environment. In particular, in the classes teaching assistants conducted, Asya exhibited a powerful sense of self and a distinct positional identity. In general, she self-selected herself as the next speaker, asked questions, produced longer turns by elaborating on the mentioned topics and brought up her content knowledge, showing her symbolic capital.

The following segment is from the first class (October, 2) which native teaching assistants teach and a male assistant comes to the class and introduces his homeland, Canada through a PowerPoint presentation. During the session, the class watches videos, listens to the teaching assistant and comments on the questions addressed by the teaching assistant. The extract below starts when the teaching assistant asks what the students know about Canada to elicit some answers.

Extract 1: 'What do you know about Canada?'

October, 2

```
1
          so before I begin the actual presentation I want
2
          to ask you 'what do you know about Canada?
3
           (1.8)
4
     Berk: it is a good city.
          +gazes at TA
5
         very::
     TA:
6
     Berk: city? city neydi ?
          city? What is a city?
          +uses his hand gestures
7
     Nil: "it is a country"
8
          ((the class laughs))
     TA: you think city? No, Canada is not a city:: it is
9
10
          ↑not a state either.
          ((the class laughs)) (0.6)
11
     Berk (Neydi?) ((laughs))
12
           what was it?
13
     Sts: country
14
     Berk [country
15
         >[birileri de İstanbul'a köy demişti.<
     Ali
          some people called İstanbul as a village
```

```
16
     TA: ↑countiry
     Asya: ((raises her hand)) [it is too cold
17
18
     TA:
                                  [yes I think
19
            it is a good country
20
            ha::?
21
     Asya: It is too cold? ((looks at TA))(0.4)
22
            It is ↑COLD ((eye-contact with Asya))
23
     Asya: ^{\circ}Ye:s^{\circ} ((smiles and eye-contact with TA))
            So far all my classes, everyone has said cold.
24
25
     Asya: #1#2((smiles))
```





Figure 1

Figure 2

```
26 (1.2)
27 TA: everyfone ((keeps his gaze at Asya))
28 Asya: and :: 11::
29 (2.4)
30 the symbol is your (0.6) popular tree:
#3 +points at the symbol on PPT
```



Figure 3

```
31
           (0.6) 11::
32
           (1.7)
33
           ((turning left for the teacher to ask the name of
34
           the symbol))ney o?
                        what is that?
35
     Nil
           ((pouts her lips))
36
     Nihal akçaağaç
            maple leaf
37
     Oktay akcaagaç
            maple leaf
     Merve hocam<sup>1</sup> ney [o?
38
            teacher, what is that?
39
     Asya:
                       [I know it in Turkish, but in English
                       +smiles and uses hand gestures
40
           I don't know the name =
41
            = Yes, the leaf is a Maple (1.0) we have a maple
42
                 in () flag, too.
43
           anything else? ((moving his hands and showing the
44
           maple on PPT)
```

The teaching assistant, in line 1-2, asks a question in relation to his homeland, Canada and after a 1.8 s pause, Berk "steps in as the class representative" (Waring, 2011) by gazing at the TA to answer the question directed by him. However, upon giving an incorrect answer, in line 4, Berk solicits help from his peer by requesting for information with a question in Turkish, which is 'what is a city?'. Thus, Berk positions himself as an 'unknowing participant' (Heritage, 2012) in relation to the question and Nil, the teacher responds to Berk's request in the target language, English (line 7). Consequently, she assigns an information giver position to herself and enacts her institutional teacher power. In line 8, the laughter in the class for Berk's mistake can be read as 'disalignment' (Glenn, 2003) on the part of Berk. Following this, the TA recycles Berk's epistemic status in turn initial position, and next he demonstrates his disagreement with a negative assessment, followed by a turn final upgrade of the negative response. Later, he sets off laughter from the class one more time. Next, Berk uses an open-class repair indicating that he does not understand and accepts his preceding turn as a problem probably demanding for a subsequent repair (line 12). During the lines 13-16, Berk with the repetition of the word 'country' of one of the students and the TA, changes

¹ Hocam is used to call the instructor in Turkish.

his 'epistemic stance' (Heritage, 2012) from a non-knower to a knower. In the following line, one of the students elaborates on Berk's changing position, particularly his state of lack of knowledge of Canada as a country by giving an example in line 15. In line 17, Asya by raising her hand and nominating herself as the next speaker, attempts to take a turn and produces 'It is cold' with an overlap to TA's utterance by positioning herself as a possible responsive candidate showing learner initiative (Waring, 2011). After the TA's sign of not comprehending what Asya states in line 20, Asya possibly interprets this as a hearing trouble and repeats her utterance by maintaining her position as a respondent (line 21) and the teaching assistant repeats 'It is too cold' louder and with a rising intonation. Asya then acknowledges the answer of the TA with a quiet voice. ("Ye:s") and smiles.

Followed by Asya's turn, the TA, by positing that everyone in all classes shares this common knowledge, confirms what Asya states (line 24), consequently, accepts Asya's knower position in this class. Here, it needs to be noted that even if what Asya utters is a well-known fact that nobody in the class initiates to tell it in the class and this class is the first conversation class conducted with a native speaker. Also, another smile occurs at the end of this turn as seen in Figure 1 and 2 as a responsive action. Following this, the TA, with a repetition of 'everyone' and his gaze, reconfirms what Asya produces for Canada is quite parallel to what is generally known and so, he underscores her 'legitimate speaker' position which is gained through her content knowledge. This utterance results in Asya's selecting herself for the next turn (line 28). After fillers and 2.4 s pause, she starts a new sequence and changes the topic of the conversation when she starts to talk about the Canadian flag on the ppt shown by the TA. Therefore, she goes beyond 'that is, piggybacking on the 'legitimate' floor space she currently holds' (Waring, 2011, p. 212). Thus, Asya assigns herself a powerful position by coming up with the answers other students cannot and gets maximum benefit from speaking opportunities. However, following 0.6 and 1.7 s pauses, she asks 'what is that?' to the teacher in the class, so Asya demands for an answer and makes a change in her knower position and solicits help from the teacher. Furthermore, two students tell

what the symbol is in Turkish (lines 36, 37) and right after she cannot receive a reply from the teacher, Asya, in line 39, explains that she is in the state of knowing the symbol's name in Turkish, possibly in order not to lose her position as a knowledgeable student about the topic discussed. Then, she utilizes an overt 'CIK that signals insufficient knowledge' (Sert, 2011), but also she smiles, which can be read as a way to manage the interactional trouble she has (Sert and Jacknick, 2015). Following this, the TA acknowledges Asya's answer, explains the correct answer related to the flag of Canada and asks whether any other student wants to comment on his homeland. Upon getting no response, he changes the direction of the topic.

This extract plays a crucial role in understanding how Asya positions herself and is positioned as a legitimate speaker during the first conversation class with a native speaker and demonstrates her symbolic capital in the interactional organization of the talk. Apart from Berk who takes a turn, but cannot give a sufficient answer, no other student in the class initiates producing utterances in relation to the question by the TA like Asya. Thus, both with her initiatives (self-selecting herself as the next speaker, starting a new sequence and going beyond the assigned turn) and other students' hesitations (not taking a turn) she has become the legitimate speaker in the conversation. Moreover, it should be noted that Asya manages to maintain the floor even in the cases she does not possess linguistic knowledge (lines 30-40) by exploiting the turns. To illustrate, even if two students apart from Asya also know 'maple leaf' in the Canadian flag in Turkish (lines 36, 37) and share the same position, they do not take any turns.

Much in the same way, another further example of this type of Asya's powerful positioning can be seen in the following extract 2 from the same class as extract 1:

Extract 2: 'St Patrick's Day'

October, 2

1 TA St Pat↑rick's↓ Day.(0.7) have you heard have you heard about St Patrick's Day before?

```
3
     Asya [yes] ((looks at the TA and smiles))
4
     Sts
           [no]
5
     TΑ
          yes? (0.5)
           +uses his hand gestures and orienting his body and
          his gaze to Asya
6
     TA
          where have you heard it from?
7
     Asya 11:: (1.3) my brother live in Toronto.
8
     TA
           ah::↑
           +raising his eyebrows and eye-contact with Asya
9
           so I heard
     Asya
10
     TΑ
           (1.8)
11
          have you watched how I met your mother? You may
12
           have seen the episode, St Patrick's Day.
```

In the first line, the TA asks students whether the students have heard about St Patrick's Day in Canada before. Following this first pair prompt, Asya, by looking at TA and smiling, provides a confirmation token (yes) as a second pair part with an overlap to some students' negative response marker 'no'. This is a clear indication of lack of knowledge of the mentioned topic on the part of all the students in the class except for Asya, and thereby placing Asya in a unique position and acknowledging more power for herself. In the following line, the TA, while holding gaze towards Asya, allocates the turn to her (yes?) followed by a 0.5 s silence. In line 6, the TA wants to learn what lies behind Asya's different participation behavior and Asya, after a 1.3 s silence, gives a response by bringing up her family background, symbolic capital. The TA, by employing minimal post expansion 'ah†' shows 'change-of-state' (Heritage,1984) and promotes the powerful position Asya has illustrated for herself. Subsequently, Aslı utters 'so I heard', which confirms her positioning as a knowledgeable student, and as a result, displays her symbolic capital and the power associated with it. At the end of this sequence, after a 1.8 s silence, the TA asks a question whether the students have watched the episode in relation to this day in a TV series, How I Met Your Mother in order to distribute the power of knowledge to all the students equally, but getting no response to his question, which reconfirms Asya's distinctive position, the TA continues talking about that specific day in the rest of the conversation.

As it can be understood from extract 2, Asya's family background (her brother studies in Toronto, Canada) provides her with the cultural capital other students in the class do not have; therefore, takes the floor and takes a turn. Except for these cases, there are also other instances in this class in which Asya is the only student who expands on the questions the TA directs such as food culture in Canada and extreme sports. Furthermore, the TA usually gazes at Asya to get a response to his questions during this class in accordance with Asya's interactional positioning as the legitimate speaker in the conversation.

In addition to these segments in the same class, Asya asks some questions to reveal her knowledge and expertise by self-selecting herself and initiating sequences in other classes, especially in conversation classes when native teaching assistants come.

The following extract comes from a conversation class on November, 27 and the students direct questions related to what they want to learn about Canada and the class focus is 'meaning and fluency context' as described by Seedhouse (2004):

Extract 3: 'Thanksgiving Day'

November, 27

```
1
     Asya I think in Canada now this week's or next week's
2
           ↑Thanks↓giving?
3
     Nil
                      (.)
           [today]
4
     TA
           [Ame↑rica.]
5
     Asya today?
           °not::?°
6
     Nil
7
           ((shaking her head))
     TA
8
     Asya in Canada?
9
          [canada's
     TA
10
     Asya [when?
11
     TA
          was in October.
           +uses hand gestures
12
     Asya aaa (.) [It is a different time
13
                   [It is American's.
     Asya ((pouting her lips))
14
15
           (2.0)
           (
16
     TA
17
     Merve neymiş? (1.0)
```

```
what is that?
18
     Asya Thanksgivingler var ya
           You know Thanksgiving Days
           +turning her head towards Merve
19
           (1.0)
20
           Thanksgiving [Türkçe de neydi?
                         what was it in Turkish?
     Nil
21
                         [maybe you can
22
           [talk about Thanksqiving
23
     Irmak [Şükran Günü
           Thanksgiving Day
24
           [Şükran Günü farklı zamanlarda yapılıyormuş.
     Asya
           Thanksgiving Day are celebrated in different times.
25
           °[Because they don't know it I guess.°
     Nil
26
     Merve ha::
27
           (1.0)
28
     TA
           Thanksgiving (0.6) ( ) (1.5) THANKSgiving↓ is
29
           one of my favorite holidays (1.8) be ↓ cause (.)
30
                                off schoo::l which is↑
           you get (1.0) time
31
           lovely↓ and:: do you know the ( ) like a
32
           yeah, so my family has a ( ) we all pile
                                                       into
33
          the ( ) It sounDS awful, but it is really fun (1.5
34
          uhm we eat a lot of foo::d (
                                          ) your family come
35
          together but it is not stressful like Christmas
36
          for you, buying presents, >(after) wrap presents<
37
          and decorate. Thanksgiving.just >you can get
38
           together with your fa:mily::< and just eat
39
           (2.0)
40
     Asya 11:: it is like Christmas for you? (1.0)
41
           It is like Christ↑mas↓=
42
     Asya = because I know in the Christmas Toronto is real
43
            really colourful in the streeTS everywhere tree
44
     Emre [°havasını da attı°
             she showed off
            +turning towards Toygar and Elçin and they smile
45
     TA
           [yeah::
46
     Asya "maybe" you do the same things in Thanksgiving?
47
     Emre
           ( ) ((still comments on Asya's talk))
48
           not Thanks↑giving↓ in Thanksgiving we don't
49
           decorate there is no decoration.
50
     Asya
           just coming with your family
51
               )it is just connection ( ) put your
     ΤА
52
           decorations and:: you get a tree:: ((goes on))
```

The extract starts with Asya's starts a sequence and she comments on whether Thanksgiving Day is celebrated in the current week or no. By initiating a question in relation to Thanksgiving Day, Asya positions herself as someone who controls 'the trajectory of the interaction' (Markee, 1995). In the next turn, line 3, the

classroom teacher takes a turn and utters 'today' with an overlap to the TA's utterance 'Ame\rica\'. Quite surprised by the given answer, Asya delivers 'today' with a rising intonation which is followed by the teacher's reaction to the answer. Next, the TA shows disagreement embodied by a headshake. Subsequently, Asya asks when it is held in Canada with an overlap to the TA's answer (lines 8-10). In the succeeding line 12, Asya takes a turn and expresses her surprise which occurs as an overlap to the TA's response in line 13. Following Asya's pouting her lips and a 2.0 s silence, in line 17, Merve requests for a clarification. In line 18, Asya by taking up a knowledgeable position and as a legitimate speaker, initiates to explain the content of the conversation by turning her head towards Melis and offering a response in Turkish by stating 'You know Thanksgiving Days?'. This utterance, especially 'Thanksgiving Days' merits further consideration in this particular moment because it seems that Asya has noticed what the TA talks about Thanksgiving Day in Canada and in the USA and contributes to the upshot of the TA's turns. As known, at the beginning, she only talks about Thanksgiving Day in Canada, but after the TA's providing information, she realizes it also happens in the USA and changes her epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012) in the discourse and produces 'days' instead of 'day' for Merve. Also, in line 20, incapable of coming up with a Turkish translation of 'Thanksgiving Day' and soliciting help from other members of the class, Asya adopts a position as someone who is in the command of target culture's holiday name in the target language, but not in the mother tongue. The classroom teacher's sudden turn to suggest the TA talking about 'Thanksgiving Day' overlaps one of the students' translation of what this holiday means in Turkish. Later, in line 24, Asya launches into a Turkish explanation for Merve with an overlap to the teacher's next turn (line 25) and Merve utters 'ha::' which shows her acceptance of Asya's answer; accordingly, her knower position. Upon the teacher's request, the TA during lines (28-38) talks about Thanksgiving Day.

Following a 2.0 s silence, in the succeeding turn (line 40), Asya initiates a post-expansion (Scheggloff, 2007) to the CA's comments on 'Thanksgiving Day' and

marks a change of topic. Consequently, Asya repositions herself as knowledgeable about the target culture by bringing up another topic into the floor with a post expansion, an indicator of learner agency (Jacknick, 2011). Next, the TA repeats Asya's utterance 'It is like Christ\mas\'which is immediately followed by Asya's next turn in line 42. The position she assigns herself as a legitimate speaker with her sequential moves by using shared background knowledge with the correspondent native speakers about the target language and their culture is built at the beginning of the conversation, develops with her turns and she keeps this stance even at the end by explaining the reason why she asks the question in line 40. With the claim of 'Because I know in the Christmas Toronto is really colourful in the streets everywhere tree', she conveys her knowledge of 'Christmas' in Canada.

Next, occurring as an overlap to the TA's 'yeah::', Emre's makes a sudden move and says 'she showed off' and turns his head towards Elçin and Toygar. Thus, along with Emre's utterance and the smiles realized by Elçin and Toygar, Asya is positioned as someone who tries to attract others' attention in the conversational floor. In line 45, the TA acknowledges what she states with 'yeah', accordingly, her epistemic primacy over her classmates. Later, Asya inverts the traditional IRF pattern since she initiates a question following the TA's acknowledgement (yeah), the TA responds in line 48 and Asya follows up in the third turn (50). Thus, as Jacknick (2011) discusses, took up powerful positions and demostrates agency in her own language learning opportunities.

The sequential analysis of the unfolding interaction in the extract 3 above illustrates that Asya dominates the conversational floor by starting a new sequence, using post-expansions and reversing IRF pattern. With these interactional moves, Asya brings up a new issue through which she can show her expertise and her cultural capital. Asya's powerful positons she takes up during the interaction prevails not only when she is in the classroom but also when she is absent in the class. This incident can obviously be seen in the subsequent extract 4.

In this extract, the class focuses on 'City Living Unit' in that specific week and they are going to watch a video about 'Living in Venice' and teacher asks some warm-up questions in order to make the students familiar with the topic.

Extract 4: 'Don't ask, Asya is not here'

October, 23

```
1
     Nil
           All right (.) I have a picture here of Venice.
2
           Have you ever
                            been to Venice before?
3
           (0.4)
     Oktay °no°
4
5
     Nil
           ↑ Italy
     Oktay no ((some students shake their heads))
6
7
     Nil
           \uparrowany\downarrowone? (0.4)
            [planning to go?
     Berk °[Asya'ya sorun, Asya gitmiştir.°
9
           you should ask Aslı Aslı must have been there.
10
     Dila
            [Asya kesin gitmiştir
           Asya must have been there
           +Cenk and Merve looks at Dila))
11
     ((Cenk smiles, #4 Melis laughs by covering her mouth))
```



Figure 4

```
12 (1.1)
13 Oktay ((looks around the class)) aa:: Asya isn't here
```

```
14
          Asya [isn't here]
          +looks at Rasim, laughs and gazes at the teacher))
1.5
     Nil
                [planning to go?]
          maybe Asya went, yeah maybe she did. Right?
16
           +looks at Oktay
                          ((laughs))
17
     Rasim
              £Asya£ (.)
18
     Nil
          >[It is good for her<
19
     Elçin [((incomprehensible talk))
     Oktay £Asya burda yok hocam, sormayın£
20
           Asya isn't here, don't ask.
          We can ask her in the next class, let's not gossip
21
     Nil
22
           (0.5)
23
           Okay (.) anyone who plans to ↑go
```

The teacher asks whether the students have been to Venice before so as to elicit some ideas from the students in relation to the topic. After a 0.4 s pause, Oktay, as a second pair part, by making use of a decreased volume, deploys a negative response marker 'no'. Also, it needs to be noted that no other student provides an answer for the question (first pair part) directed by the teacher. Upon no student's bidding for a turn, the teacher utters 'Italy' with a rising intonation in order to find a willing student to respond to the question she has addressed. The same pattern repeats again with Oktay's answer, other students' no reply and some students' head shakes indicate that nobody in the classroom has been to Italy. Hence, the teacher changes the focus of the conversation by uttering 'anyone planning to go?' in order to allocate turns to the students and nurture 'interactional space' (Walsh, 2006). In line 9, Berk, with an overlap and quiet voice, suggests the teacher should ask Asya since most probably, she has been there; and also Dila, with an overlap to Berk's TCU, demonstrates her certainty about Asya's being there in line 10. Note how Asya is designated as the potential responsive candidate in the sequential unfolding of the interaction even in her absence. Following Dila's utterance, Cenk's smile and Merve laughs by covering her face. This may be read as an indicator of mocking Asya's excessive turn-takings. Hence, Asya's peers position Asya as the only possible traveler and someone who has abroad experience with their sequential moves. Later, after a 1.1 s wait time, Oktay points out that Asya isn't in the class and so he means she possibly has been in Italy and fosters Asya's intercultural stance Berk has started in the current conversation. Considering that

no one in the class is able to take a turn due to lack of experience in Italy and the students' utterances with their laughter and smiles, it can evidently be pointed out that Asya would be 'the possible legitimate speaker' and maintain the floor were she available in the class.

What is next is that Oktay repeats the same utterance with an overlap to the teacher's next question 'planning to go?' looks at Mert and laughs. Following this, the teacher expands upon what is being talked and tells that it is probable for Asya to go to Italy with the use of 'right?' a tag question and at the same time, looks at Oktay. Moreover, Rasim also produces 'Asya' with a smiley voice and laughs. Shared laughter between Oktay and Rasim demonstrates 'like-mindedness' (Glenn, 2003) towards Asya's positioning.

Next, Nil, with a hedge marker, makes a further comment quickly on Asya's stance and meanwhile, Elçin, whose talk cannot be understood in the recording, seems to talk about Asya. In the succeeding line (20), Oktay by saying 'Asya isn't here, you shouldn't ask us' with a smiley voice positions Asya as the only potential respondent to the question again. Lastly, the teacher utters that they can direct this question to Asya in the next class and closes the topic by stating 'let's not gossip' and addresses a question if there is anybody planning to go to Italy again.

This sequence is of vital importance to indicate how Asya was sequentially ascribed the 'legitimate speaker' positional identity even in her absence in the class. Asya's legitimate speaker position is not limited to these examples and she is in the control of the conversational floor also by exploiting the turns. The case is revealed in the next segment, extract 5a/b in which TA directs a question at the end of the class.

Extract 5a: 'Do you have any questions?'

October 2

1 TA any other questions?

```
2
           (3.0)
     Asya do you have questions? (0.5)
4
           hı?
     TA
5
     Asya do you have ↑questions (0.5)
6
           I have ↑a questio::n
7
     Asya ((smiles)) (0.9)
8
     TA
           to see here aa::
9
           (2.8)
10
           what kind of places would you recommend foreigners
     TA
11
           (.) to visit in Tur↑key↓
12
           (2.0)
13
     Merve nereleri ↑mi ziyaret edelim diyor.=
            is he asking where we should visit?
14
     Can =all of them in Istanbul. In Ankara, no
15
            ((laughs)) (1.4)
16
     Melis Anıtkabir.
17
           (0.9)
18
     Asya 11:: (1.0) if you want (.)
19
           I have already seen that
20
           (1.2)
21
     Asya if you want to go for holiday and:: seaside, seaside
           +mutual gaze between Asya and TA
22
           beach, you should go to Antalya or Çeşme.:=
23
     Hakan = yine başladı ya::
           she has started it again.
24
      Asya it is seaside city. (0.1) and:: there are too much
25
           hotels (.) they are very nice hotels if you want
26
           ıı::↓hi↑king
27
           ((using hand gestures and leaning toward TA))
           °[111]° (1.6)
28
29
     Sena [rakıyı sorsak mı?]
           shall we ask Rakı?
30
     Asya Or 11::
31
           (5.3) eat
           +uses hand gestures
32
     Sena Asya::
33
     Asya
           our foo:d you should go
34
           ((turning back))batı neydi:: ay yok doğu:?
                           what is west? Well, no, east?
35
     Sts
           west side
```

In line 1, at the end of the class, the TA asks whether the students in the class have more questions about Canada and after a 3.0 s silence, Asya, instead of a second pair part, initiates the same question to the TA, by 'stepping herself as the class representative' (Waring, 2011). The TA by producing 'hi?' asks for a repair which is followed by the same question by Asya. Then, the TA poses a question in line 6

followed by a smile by Asya and a 0.9 s silence. Later, the TA formulates a question about visiting places in Turkey (lines 8-11).

In the subsequent turn, following a 2.0 s pause, in order to check her understanding of the question, Merve, one of the female students, asks a question about what the TA puts forward, which is immediately followed by a second pair part by Can 'All of them in Istanbul. In Ankara, no'. After the TA's laughter and 1.4 s pause, Merve takes a turn to tell the TA to visit Anıtkabir, Atatürk's monumental tomb. However, the TA, in line 19, says that he has visited the place which Merve suggests.

In line 18, self-selecting herself as the next speaker, with filler and pauses, initiates a sequence and in line 21, following a 1.2 s pause, she goes on by producing a longer turn compared to her classmates (lines 21-22). At this juncture, it needs to be noted that unlike her friends, Asya initiates a longer turn for the question posed by the TA; therefore, adopts a powerful position for herself in the discourse. Meanwhile, in line 23, Harun, in the class, delivers 'she has started it again' by referring to Asya's talking about these places at least one more time before. During lines 24-27, by leaning towards the TA and not focusing on what Harun reports, Asya goes on to expans on her turn and keeps her position as a legitimate speaker.

In line 27, while Asya tries to elaborate on what she has said along with a filler and 1.6 s pause and shows hesitation. Next, Sena comes up with a question in relation to Turkish traditional alcoholic drink occurring as an overlap. What is more, in line 30, Asya's filler 'or 11::' follows the silence measured as 5.3 during which she uses hand gestures to hold the floor. Right after that, Sena addresses Asya with her name to stop her from speaking more on holiday places (line 32). Nonetheless, as the above extract reveals, Asya does not quit contributing to the conversation (line 33), thereby not giving up her positioning as a legitimate speaker. Furthermore, she initiates a repair by asking what 'east' and 'west' and solicits help from her peers. Lastly, some students provide translations for Asya. In this particular sequence, it

should be stated that Asya she cannot come up with some basic words, yet still she in the control of the interaction. The extract continues with 'b' part as in the following:

Extract 5b:

```
36
            Asya rakıyı sor
     Sena
            Asya, ask Rakı
37
     Asya west side of [Turkey]
38
     Sena
                         [Asya::]
39
     Asya and the Black sea side too much
           +moving her hands to clarify
40
           (1.0)
41
     Asya şey neydi orman?
           what does forest mean?
42
     Sena Bir dakka biz sorucaz((hand movements to stop Asya))
           One minute, we will ask
43
           #5#6((laughs with Berk when Asya does not stop and
44
           orients her body to TA))
```

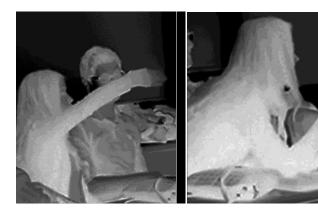


Figure 5 Figure 6

```
45
     Sts
          Forest
46
     Asya Forest, yes (.)
           +gazes at TA
47
           (3.0)
     Melis You should go Antalya (1.0) Antalya is a very
48
49
           touristic cit:y.
50
     Sena Şş:((tries to stop Melis' turn)).Please go Antalya.
51
           (1.8)
52
           Have you ever drink Rakı?
53
     TΑ
          No, I have not drinken it.
54
     Sena Really?
55
          Everybody told me that. A lot of students,>you
56
           should drink it, it is so:: ↑good<Turkish's
```

```
57
          ↑national drink.
58
     Sena Mangal ne yaa?
          what is barbecue
59
     Asya barbecue, but Turkish style
     Melis Turkish barbecue.
60
61
          Okay::
62
           (2.0)
63
     Burak [Do you know Anıtkabir?
     Asya [and:: 111 in Ankara
     TA
           +gazes at Asya
65
     Sena Gezilecek yer yok yaa::
          there is no place to visit
66
     Asya Var:: in Ankara if you want at night, go out,
67
          Bestekar and Tunalı is the best.
68
          there is.
          +mutual gaze between Asya and TA
69
     TΑ
          Okay.
70
           (0.4)
71
     TA
          Thank you everyone, nice to meet you.
72
     Asya Thank you.
```

Not realizing her aim to ask 'Rakı', Sena still strives to convince Asya to perform what she wants in line 36. At this point, it must be put forward that Sena's remarks 'Asya, ask Rakı' trying to interrupt the pattern of the conversation, explicitly assigns a respondent position for Asya simply because Sena, instead of asking the question by herself, wants Asya to do that specific action in this sequential interaction.

The same participation behavior of Asya in line 37, which marks a powerful position, encounters an overlap by Sena and she calls for her name again by stretching the final sound (Asya::) (line 38). Following this, with her hand gestures possibly to clarify meaning, Asya delivers an utterance regarding Black Sea region in Turkey and right after a 1.0s pause, she initiates a repair in the form of a request for information and solicits help from other learners. Preceding some students' translation for Asya, Sena, having attempted so many times to take a turn, orients her body towards the TA so as to be selected as the next speaker and produces 'just one minute, we will ask a question' in Turkish in line 42. In addition, this case can be regarded as a signal of Sena's complaining about Asya's powerful stance.

Ultimately, in the next turn (line 47), Asya cedes the turn and leaves the floor for her classmates as soon as she conveys her message across.

This extract, so far, is of paramount importance to unfold Asya's powerful positional identity she constructed throughout the interaction. Upon examining the above mentioned conversation, it can be evidently pointed out that Asya (between lines 18-47) has created interactional opportunities for herself with her sequential moves such as initiating a sequence and does not give any space for her classmates. In addition, it should be acknowledged that Asya initiates repairs and solicits help from her peers from time to time; hence, it cannot be claimed that she is in the command of linguistic knowledge. Nonetheless, this case does not prevent her from being involved in the classroom activities, in particular, conversation classes. Also, her peers (like Sena in line 36 in this specific segment) interactionally invest in Asya's legitimate speaker position by ascribing a respondent position to her.

What comes next is that Melis interrupts the interaction and utters 'You should go Antalya, Antalya is a very touristic city.' and lastly, Sena by stopping Melis to continue, starts an adjacency pair of question answer (lines 52-54). Later, after the TA's answer in line 53, Sena replies this with 'really?' with a rising intonation, a sign of her surprise. Subsequently, the TA states that everybody so far has talked about Turkish Rakı and immediately after the TA's utterance, Sena asks the meaning of barbecue which is followed by Asya's sudden initiation into the conversation, thereby keeping her legitimate speaker position. The TA constitutes a minimal expansion, 'okay' for 'projecting receipt of information' (Schegloff, 2007). Moreover, after 2.0 s pause, Asya overlaps with Burak in line 64 and establishes a mutual gaze with the TA and initiates a sequence again. Thus, she still indexes powerful position by not allowing another student to get a response to his question. In line 65, Sena posits that there is no place to visit in Ankara; however, Asya disagrees with this idea by proposing 'there is in Ankara if you want at night, go out, Bestekar and Tunali is the best'. Much in the same vein as her holding the floor in the previous sequences, Asya, in this line, keeps her powerful position by

exploiting the turns. Finally, the TA closes this sequence with 'okay' and following 0.4 s pause, thanks for the class which is followed by Aslı in the same way.

Asya's this powerful positioning as a 'legitimate speaker' is accepted by her classmates and reinforced by the teaching assistant most of the time as it can be understood from the extracts and excerpts so far. Asya, as Van Langenhove & Harre put forward 'has conversational dominance, conversational charisma' (1999, p.30) for her classmates as stated before while demonstrating her symbolic capital. Moreover, Asya, especially at the beginning of the term, is associated with this case since she seems to be more component language learner in the class. The following extracts 6 and 7 from the same class in the fifth week (October, 16) are directly connected to what is described above.

Extract 6: 'Come on, guys! You know English, too!'

October, 16

In the extract below, after greeting the class, native teaching assistant presents a jeopardy game, a quiz competition in which students are asked questions related to English language and general knowledge. There are two teams in the classroom; *Hobbits* and *Bombastic*. The questions are chosen by the team members together and after a negotiation, they decide on the answer together. The extract below begins with the decision on which group will start first.

```
1
     TA
          Any ↑question:s
2
           (4.0)
3
     TΑ
          Any ↑questions
4
     Asya Yes:: I have a question ((looks at Oktay))
5
     Oktay How many times do we have?
6
7
     Asya Yes, How many times in normally?
8
           (0.9)
9
     TA
          How many times you use it?
10
     Asya Yeah::
          you say I wanna ↑use ( ) right? You can't use (21)
11
12
     Asya (1.2) >No, no< we have how many time?
          oh: how much time to answer? =
13
     ΤА
14
     Asya =Yes=
```

```
15
     TA
           =Ten seconds to pick (.) a category, thirdy
16
           se<u>conds</u> to
                            give ↑me an answer
17
           (0.8)
18
     Asya Okay(1.0) and::first you ask questions? (0.6) and
19
           Secondly::, first this group or all together? Which
20
           group [is first ((she uses her hand gestures))
21
     TA
                  [Which group Which ↑group is first? I am
22
           gonna I should decide on that right now. Do you
23
           guys know heads or tails?=
24
              =Yes.
     Class
25
           Okay (1.6) Heads or tails?
26
           ((hobbits choose heads, bombastic choose tails))
27
     TA
           Heads, (2.0) so yo guys↑go first, and::which one( )?
28
           ((bombastic groups discuss the game rules among
29
           themselves silently)) (6.3)
30
     TA
           so ↑pick a category?
31
           (1.6)
           °Movies°
32
     T/M
33
     TA
           ↑Movies movies:: which number?
34
     Asya 111 (2.3) first
35
     TA
           Movies, one hundred.
36
     Toygar Yes
37
     TA
                 )
           (
38
     Asya One hundred:=
39
     TA
            =One hundred
40
           Why does she always talk? Come on guys, you know
41
           English, too.
42
     Asya
            #7#8 ((laughs))
```



Figure 7 Figure 8

In the extract above, the teaching assistant gives some information about the rules of the game. In the first line, he asks whether the students have any questions

before starting to play the game. After a 4.0 s pause, he repeats his question (first pair part and Asya taking an instant turn, states she has a question with a confirmation token (yes::) and 1.9 silence follows this during which she looks at Oktay. Following 1.9 s silence, Oktay, asks a question in line 6. In the following line (7), Asya confirms what Oktay states and after a 0.9 s silence, the TA ddresses a question in order to check his understanding of the question. Thus, it can be claimed that only Oktay and Asya use second pair parts for the TA's question and Asya, elaborates on it. In line 10, after Asya's acknowledgement with 'yeah::', the TA gives an explanation concerning the game rather than answering Asya's question. In line 12, following a 1.2 s pause, Asya utters negative response marker 'no, no' and shows disagreement with the TA. The TA, as a token of understanding, uses other initiated other repair which is immediately followed by a confirmation token (yes) by Asya. After the TA's providing an answer for Asya's question and 0.8 s silence, Asya, addresses another further question (line 18-20) about which group will start the game, thereby maintaining her position as a legitimate speaker and the TA states he will decide on that and asks whether the students know heads or tails.

After choosing who will start the game (27-31) and group members' discussion within their groups, the TA wants Asya's team members to pick a category and Toygar and Mert choose the movies in line 32. Also, the TA wants the group to select a number (line 33) and self-selecting herself as the next speaker, Asya utters ''ııı (.) first' which she means the category 100. Then during lines 35-38, the TA, Toygar and Asya confirm the category that is chosen by Asya with their utterances 'yes, one hundred' one after another.

When the extract is examined thoroughly, it can be put forward that Asya's positioning as a legitimate speaker is obvious in her self-selecting herself as the next speaker, initiations and making decisions on behalf of her friends like choosing the number of the question category. Asya's taking the floor for the longest period of time in classroom interaction also attracts the TA's attention and this case is

enclosed in line 40 with the utterance of 'Why does she always talk?' which fosters Asya's seizing the turns in the current segment. Moreover, the native speaker confirms Asya's singularity by making a comparison between her taking-turns to other members in the classroom with the utterance 'Come on guys, you know English, too.' and further strengthens the linguistic capital she owns. Notice how this momentarily act of the TA assigns a powerful position to Asya in the class. These utterances are in line with what Harre & Langenhove (1999) posits "positions are relational in that for one to be positioned as powerful others must be positioned as powerless'". Besides, as a responsive action, Asya's powerful position inferred by a native speaker in the discourse results in her laughter as seen in figure 7 and 8. Another striking instance of the similar case can be examined also in the following extract from the same class and the group hobbits choose a question from the vocabulary part including 300 points. In line 1, the TA repeats the category which is followed by 6.7 s pause.

Extract 7: 'Good Job!'

October, 16

```
1
     TA
          vocabulary
2
           (6.7)
3
     TA
          What does unusual mean?
4
           (1.4)
5
     Rasim ne? ↑unusual? (1.2)
            what?
6
     TA
            unu:sual?
7
     Nur
           böyle soru mu olur?
            is it a question?
8
     Toygar it is the opposite of usual.
            opposite of usual
     Rasim
           you cannot give↑me that definition
10
11
           ((the class laughs))
     Cenk [it is:: ] something different.
12
13
     Asya [ne demek?]
           what does it mean?
14
          ((asks it to Toygar and Toygar whispers
15
           the answer to her)) (1.0)
16
     Rasim ((raises his hands)) it is not routine.
17
     Toygar unacceptable
18
            (2.2)
```

```
19
     TΑ
           you ↑quys okay, you give me a definition or an
           example ?
20
21
           (1.4)
22
     Mert example olsun.
           let's give an example
23
           (1.0)
24
     Asya exam:::
25
            (2.0)
26
     Asya example veriyim mi?
           Let me give an example, shall I?
           +looks at her team members
27
           alışılmadık demek?
           does it mean 'unusual'?
28
     Grp Ver. ((nods their heads))
                give an example
29
                (1.2)
30
     Asya for example (1.0) if I come to school every \text{\text{week}}
31
           usual, but if I not coming to school this week::
32
           it isunusual because it is not routine
33
           (1.3)
34
           [is that example?]
35
     Oktay [oo:: Asya döktürdü yine] ((explains the answer))
           wow, Asya did her best again
36
           (1.0)
37
     Mert buna ben 600 veririm.
           I give 600 points for this answer
38
     Yağız helal olsun!
            good job
39
     TΑ
            something that does not happen very often.
40
                 [Yes
41
     Rasim
                 [aldik, aldik
                  we got it
42
     TA
            I will accept THAT, 300.
43
            (2.0)
44
     Cenk
            helal olsun! ((team members laugh together))
            good job!
45
     Asya ((smiles, gives a high five to one of the team
46
            members and shakes hand with another group
47
            member))
     Rasim Vala ben 600 verirdim
48
             I would give 600 points for this answer
```

In line 3, native teaching assistant introduces the question for the team, Hobbits by putting an emphasis on 'unusual' and 1.4 s pause comes after it. Next, Rasim repeats 'unusual' with a rising intonation and the TA repeats what Rasim states in line 6. Meanwhile, Nur, from the opposing team named as Bombastic, utters 'böyle

soru mu olur ya' (is that a question? in English) in order to indicate that she finds the question very easy. Rasim and Toygar's second pair parts to the TA's question are not accepted as a proper answer by the native speaker, setting off laughter in the class. Cenk, in line 12, takes a turn and tries to give an answer by stating 'It is something different.' With an overlap to Cenk's answer, Asya asks a question 'ne demek?' (Eng. what does it mean?) demonstrating she does not know the answer at the time of speaking and solicits help from other learners. However, upon being asked, Toygar delivers the answer by whispering to Asya. After a 1.0 s silence, Rasim, failing to provide an answer in line 16, tries again and utters 'it is not routine'. Also, Toygar makes comment on the answer by producing 'unacceptable'. Following a 2.2 second pause, the teaching assistant rejects the answers presented by the students by marking his turn as dispreferred and initiates another question to get an answer in line 19. Following a 1.4 s silence, Rasim states 'let's give an answer'. Right after the utterance of Rasim and discussion, silently in the team, Asya selects herself as the next speaker and attempts to say 'exam' by stretching the final sound along with a 2.0 s pause, which suggests her hesitancy in the initial stage. However, she takes a turn to give an example by getting the approval of the team members (lines 26) and validates the meaning of 'unusal' in the next turn. Although she does not know the answer which is evident in line 13, Asya distinguishes herself as a respondent to the question and after a 1.2 second pause, by establishing a mutual gaze with the native speaker and orienting her body to him, Asya uses an if clause structure in a fluent manner which is not observable in other students' replies. The linguistic capital she possesses makes her gain the floor, which gives rise to a powerful position in the current class. In order to keep this powerful position, Asya by using a nonvocal device of gaze, asks 'is that example?' in line 34 to get an approval from the teaching assistant, the only native speaker in the class.

Furthermore, Asya was assigned similar powerful positions by her friends and this case can be seen with their giving the right to speak to her, (line 28) and manners highlighting her contribution with utterances such as 'helal' which almost has a

close meaning to 'good job!' (lines 35-44) in English; therefore, assigning her the position of a successful fluent speaker in English among the group members in the class. The following statements 'I give 600 points for this answer, Asya did her best, good job!', 'explicit positive assessments' (Waring, 2008) uttered by the team members congratulates both the linguistic capital and Asya's whole journey in the game, thereby confirming Asya's this unique position. What is more, in line 34, Oktay from the opposing team delivers 'Asya did her best again', and thus validating Asya's similar powerful positional acts before. In order to maintain her stance, at the end of the extract, during lines 45-47, Asya also embodies some certain facial expressions, gives a high five to one of the team members and shakes hand with another group member. Moreover, in line 42, the native speaker who enacts the power of managing the game accepts Asya's answer by producing 'that' in a higher volume even though he produces dispreferred responses to other students' answers in the sequential unfolding of the interaction, and as a result, further positions Asya as a 'knower' in the class. The extract ends with Rasim's use of 'explicit positive assessment' (Waring, 2008), which further Asya's legitimate speaker position.

The last example of Asya's 'legitimate speaker position' is taken from the reading writing class and the following extract is an indication of how Asya comes to be created as a competent language learner. The teacher asks the students what their departments are and each student tells their department, in particular by paying attention to the pronunciation. Finally, Asya's turn starts:

Extract 8: 'International Entrepreneurship!'

November 4

```
Nil ((walks towards Asya and points at Asya))
Asya dit::
Oktaydit:: ((looks at Asya and laughs))
Asya ((laughs))
(0.5)
```

² EPA refers to the terms such as good, very good, perfect. (Waring, 2008)

```
6
     Nil
           ((standing in front of Asya))söylemeyi öğren
                                       learn how to say it
7
           (0.8) international?
            [International Entrepreneurship
8
     Asya
     Yağız °[law de geç ya:: ° ((laughs))
               just say law
10
     Nil Very good::((eye-contact with Asya and hand
11
                gestures))
12
     Asya
            ((smiles))
13
           [İlk seferde oldu hem de
           I managed to say it for the first time
14
     Nisa [International Entrepreneurship okay:: second
15
           ↑ question
16
     Asya bence ondan sonra kadın beni yollamalı
17
           I think following this the jury should send me
18
           ((smiles))
```

The extract is a continuation of the speaking practice for the speaking activity and the teacher asks for students to practice their departments' names, especially with correct pronunciation. In order to address the question 'what is your department?' to Asya, the teacher walks towards her and points at her, which is a signal for Asya to take the floor. At this point, Asya by uttering 'dit::' shows her hesitation to pronounce her department. Furthermore, Oktay repeats the same hesitation for Asya and laughs. Most probably, so as to mitigate the position as a hesitant speaker, Asya laughs at that particular moment and following a 0.5 s silence, the teacher suggests Asya learning to pronounce her department. Then after a 0.8 s pause, the teacher utilizes a 'designedly incomplete utterance' (Koshik, 2002), which is completed by Asya in line 8 with the correct pronunciation of her department. Meanwhile, as an overlap to Asya's production of her department correctly, Yağız delivers a statement 'just say law' and possibly he means there is no need to put effort and you can make it up in the exam. Comparing Asya's and Yağız's answers for the question, it can be concluded that Asya assigns a more powerful position by showing more initiative with her completion of DIU.

This case results in the teacher's 'explicit positive assessment' (very good) (Waring, 2008) for positive evaluation on Asya's prior performance in the preceding line and positions Asya as a competent language learner. As a responsive

action, Asya responds to 'very good' with a smile. Also, stating she correctly pronounces it for the first time; she ascribes a competent language speaker position to herself. In the succeeding turn (line 14), the teacher shifts the focus of the conversation and uses a verbal prompt to go on; however, Asya interrupts her by praising herself once again for her managing the trouble source, which is followed by the teacher's alignment with her. Here, she means that it is so difficult to pronounce 'international entrepreneurship' that the speaking jury should not continue her exam upon her correct pronunciation. Thus, as it can be understood from the above extract, Asya's positional legitimate speaker identity was invested moment by moment with her own, the teacher's and her peers' sequential moves.

4.2.2 Aspiring to be the Assistant Teacher

In this section, the extracts with regard to Asya's 'assistant to the teacher positioning' in relation to her peers will be presented and discussed. Asya translated the unknown utterances for her classmates, assisted them to understand the parts they have difficulties, gave explanations & examples in the sequential unfolding of interaction; and as a result, she was at that in-between positional identity, neither an ordinary student nor a teacher. However, she has become visible to others and stood out in the class by offering help her classmates. Furthermore, in pair or group work, she tried to be in the charge of the group by giving instructions.

In the class the following sequence is taken from October, 31 and the students do 'pair check' for each other's writings and the teacher gives instructions about what they will do, what pair check is and marking. However, one of the students, Oktay insistently shows claims of not understanding and comes up with statements such as 'I don't understand' a few times, which enables Asya to adopt a sub-teacher position.

The extract starts with a transition marker (okay) by the teacher and she explains what the aim of the lesson is by directing a question 'what is pair check?' with an emphasis on the word 'check'.

Extract 9: 'Shall I translate it?'

October, 31



Figure 9

```
6
           ((turns her head to where Asya sits )) =Yes (.)
           [I will write it to do it together.
8
     Asya [biz de check edicez.
           we will check them.
9
           You will check your friends and you will mark it
     Nil
10
           (.) but fair marking. What is fair marking?
11
     Oktay Ben anlamadım hocam
           I did not understand
12
           fair ↑marking.
     Nil
13
          [Adaletli
     Sts
           fair
14
     Nil [Adaletli ((moving her hands)) (0.2)
```

```
fair

Okay::? We will give points over <u>fi::ve</u> >we do 16

pair check <then you give you give them all::

back to me. will check them again (0.7) All ↓right

Anlamadım° (0.4)

I did not understand

Asya #10 HOCA::M
```





Figure 11
21 Nil ((moving her hands to her ears))No(.)Listen
22 Asya £tercüman edilmez zaten£
you can't translator

```
so (.) what we do:: what we do (1.0)I will give 24 this <u>back</u> to<sub>↑</sub> you::,okay::? sofor example yours be checked by Nida. You will check yours::I will write (.) the <u>answers</u> and then:: after that<sub>↑</sub> you will give points over five, you will give them back to<sub>↑</sub> me. <I will check them again.
```

Following 0.4 s delay, Oktay repeats what the teacher says with a quiet voice and slightly rising intonation showing his non-knower 'epistemic stance' at that specific moment (Heritage, 2012). Next, the teacher repeats 'pair check' with a rising intonation, possibly, so as to elicit answer from the students. Meanwhile, in line 4, Berk by self-selecting himself as the next speaker, utters a statement in Turkish, which corresponds to 'controlling and giving back?' in English by taking up a potential respondent position. Attempting a sudden move, Asya with an overlap to the preceding line by Berk, 'steps in as the class representative' (Waring, 2011, p.209) with her sequential move by initiating a second pair part to the question directed by the teacher, and shows learner initiative.

The teacher then turns her head back to Asya and confirms what she says with a confirmation token 'yes', in turn, accepting her positioning as a knowledgeable student. In line 8, occurring as an overlap to Asya's further explanation about pair check (line 9), thereby maintaining her powerful position, the teacher goes on to explain what the class is going to do. During lines 9-10, the teacher gives instructions in relation to pair check and fair marking with her hand gestures to clarify and asks 'what is fair marking?'.

The extract, then, continues with Oktay's claims of not understanding. However, the teacher does not hear what Oktay delivers or hears but ignores and continues with her further comments on 'fair marking' (lines13-15) and goes on to expand upon the objective of the class (lines 15-17). Moreover, Oktay's insistence on his display of not understanding the mentioned topic 'I did not understand' can be seen again in line 18. Thus, Oktay's demonstrating of not understanding the objective of the class gives Asya an opportunity to take a turn and be involved in a powerful position (line 19). She utters 'hocam' which is used to address the teacher in

Turkish classes with a noticeably increased volume and offers to translate what the teacher talks about so far in line 20.

Thus, it can obviously be suggested that Asya holds an assistant teacher position by means of both her self-act positioning and the roles other students take in the interaction (such as Oktay's non-knower 'epistemic stance'). Also, it should be stated that Asya uses 'translator' instead of 'translate' in Turkish and it seems as a slip of the tongue. Nonetheless, in an interesting way, the teacher does not allow Asya to adopt this position in line 21 and starts the sentence with 'no', a negative response marker and gives further instruction (lines 23-27); therefore, positions herself who is in command of the conversational floor by bringing up her teacher identity. Besides, Asya with a smiley voice makes fun of her slip of the tongue in line 22 after the teacher does not let her voice be heard. As the given extract 5 unfolds, Asya translates the teacher's utterances into English at the beginning of the class for her friends and upon Oktay's continuous questions with regard to pair check; she initiates sequences and becomes a volunteer for explaining what it is for Oktay. Thus, Asya positions and repositions herself as an assistant to the teacher in interaction, thereby retaining power in the discourse as the storylines unfold.

Another notable instance of the above mentioned case can also be examined in the following extract 10 which comes from one of the native speakers' classes and the class discusses what the native speakers do like or don't like in Turkey. The particular segment is related to the native teaching assistant's food preferences.

Extract 10: 'pork and beef'

November, 27

```
8
     Asya domuz eti, (1.0)
            Pork
           +turning her body to her friends
9
           [beef de dana eti
           beef means 'dana eti'
           [and:: beef is cow
10
     TA
11
     Asya do you just eat chicken and fish?
           +mutual gaze with TA
12
           chicken and fish, yeah (.)
     TA
13
     Asya that's all?
14
     TA
           and like turkey.
15
     Asya ha::
16
           the food.
17
           ((the class laughs))
```

The extract starts with the TA's comment on her choice of food and she states that she does not prefer to eat pork and the following line is completed with Asya's nodding her head to show that she listens to what she talks about. After a silence measured as 1.0 s, Dila not comprehending what the TA says initiates a repair and requests for a clarification by the teacher. In line 5, the TA bids for a turn to explain Dila's question; however, the teacher nominates herself as the next speaker with a silent voice to ask the TA to explain 'pork and beef' rather than directly responding to Dila's question. Thus, the TA is assigned a position as a responsive candidate to the question. Nonetheless, following the utterance of the TA in line 8, Asya takes a turn, positions herself as the answerer on behalf of the teacher and translates what a pig is and continues with the explanation of 'beef' for her classmates with an overlap to the TA's reply to the question. Hence, it can easily be argued that Asya 'is in effect substituting for the teacher and assuming the teacher's role in the interaction' (Seedhouse, 2004, p.109) in the above segment with her sequential moves and the translation of the unknown vocabulary items for her friends. Also, it should be acknowledged that the teacher refuses to take turn in line 6 and allocates the turn to the TA, which results in Asya's constraining the TA's turn with overlaps and taking up a teacher-role. Even though the TA begins to provide an answer for the students, Asya also takes the floor by assisting her classmates to comprehend the current conversation. In line 11, Asya, creates 'interactional space' (Walsh, 2006) for herself so as to develop the topic further

with a mutual gaze with the TA and initiates a sequence. In the subsequent turn (line 12) the TA with an acknowledgement token at the end gives response to Asya. Later, in the third turn, Asya utters 'that's all' with a rising intonation.

The TA then gives another example of her choice of food followed by Asya's uttering 'ha::' displaying approval of what is stated before. Finally, the TA makes a joke related to the word 'turkey' as an animal and the name of the native country in which the study has been conducted, which triggers laughter from the class.

This segment is a matter of the utmost importance since Asya was interactionally 'engaged in teacher-like position' (Kayı-Aydar, 2012); accordingly, exercises symbolic power. Another further example of Asya's assuming the teacher role positioning can be observed in the following extract 11, in which the students and the teacher have a discussion about their studying habits for English.

Extract 11: 'I learn when I explain!'

October, 30

```
Anyone else? Asya (1.3)
2
     Asya ((raises her hands and points at Hakan and Emre))
3
          111h when I was study group, Hakan a [nd Emre
4
     Nil
                                                [when I study
5
          in a group. uh huh ((eye contact with Asya)) ouh huh
6
     Asya 11:: (1.6) first I study at home 111::h (2.1)
7
          before the exam and:: (0.8) second we come
8
          together in Thursday night a::nd we study
9
          together a::nd< it is better than I > because
          they can't(.)study alone because they never=((uses
10
11
          her hand gestures))
     Nil =they are boys=
12
     Asya = yes (.) ((smiles))
13
14
          (1.2)
     Nil okay:: ((smiles))good(.)okay,you help them right?
15
          [you advi:se them. maybe]
16
17
     Asya [ben anlatınca öğreniyorum]
          I learn when I explain
     Asya [öyle öğreniyorum
18
            I learn so
19
           [Ben onlara anlatiyorum ((laughing))
     Emre
             I explain them
```

```
20
     Asya yalan ↑ cı ((smiles))
           liar
2.1
     Nil
         you teach:: each other?
           +looks at Emre and Asya and uses hand gestures
22
     Asya Yes (0.2)
23
     Nil
           It is helpful. Very good(.) teatching each other::
24
           is helpful anyone \telse? who wants to contribute
25
           to here?
26
     Asya °gülme bir kelimeyi söyledin
           don't laugh you told only one word.
27
           °((turns her head towards Emre))
```

In order to involve the students into the topic, the teacher asks a question and allocates the turn to Asya with 'individual nomination' (Mehan, 1979) in the first line. Following 1.3 s, Asya by pointing at Hakan and Emre, starts talking about her studying habits and makes a mistake in linguistic form of the utterance. Even though the context focuses on 'meaning and fluency' (Seedhouse, 2004) interestingly 'other- initiated other-repair being most dispreferred' one (Seedhouse, 2004) is performed by the teacher in the next line, which positions the teacher as the evaluator. With eye contact and the use of 'uh huh', the teacher is in 'the active engagement with one's interlocutor', that is 'listenership'. (McCarty, 2003). During lines 6-9, Asya uses some fillers and pauses (11:: (1.6), 111::h (2.1)), as seen in line 6 and 7, proposes that she studies at home firstly, and later she goes on to say that they (Hakan, Emre and Asya) come together to study. Next, she utters, with a decreased speed, studying in this way is better than studying alone and explains the reason why they do so. At this juncture, it can easily be claimed that Asya by producing 'they can't (.) study alone', puts her classmates in a less powerful position which implies they are able to succeed in only when she explains, thereby contributing a plus point to her powerful positional identity.

The teacher, on the other hand, by curtailing Asya's turn in a latched format, attributes Harun and Emre's not studying alone to their gender, which is immediately confirmed by Asya with a confirmation token (yes).; therefore, Asya still differentiates herself from Harun and Emre.

Subsequently, in line 14, following 1.2 s pause, the teacher delivers 'okay', smiles and utilizes explicit positive assessment (good) as a 'congratulatory applause' (Waring, 2011, p.586) for their study in a group. Also, the teacher produces an utterance 'you help them?' with a tag question at the end and 'you advise them'; thus, the teacher empowers Asya's 'discourse identity' as a teacher (Zimmerman, 1998).

Asya's next turns (lines 17-18) regarding her learning style in English grant Asya a teacher-role since she is of the opinion that she deals with the exams only if she explains her peers before the exam. Nonetheless, in line 19, with an overlap, Emre interrupts the ongoing talk by laughing and delivers 'I teach them', which is a threatening act to Asya' teacher- role positioning. As a result of this sudden move of Emre, Asya turns back to the conversation and utters 'liar' for Emre with a smile by repositioning herself as an achiever in the mentioned positional identity and assigns a reverse position Emre so as to maintain her symbolic power in the discourse. Towards the end of the current segment, upon Emre's response, in line 20, the teacher uses a verbal prompt for student initiation (Jacknick, 2009) 'you teach each other?' by looking at them. After a confirmation token (yes) by Asya, the teacher comfirms Emre and Asya's studying behaviors by giving power to them and uses an explicit positive assessment 'very good', which is a 'sequence closing' (Waring, 2008). Lastly, Asya utters 'don't laugh, you told only one word'; thereby curtailing the powerful stance that Emre has been trying to keep during the conversation; and as a result, stands out and repositions herself as the only student who can adopt a teacher role.

Last but not least, another remarkable example of the mentioned theme can be analyzed in extract 12. Upon examining the following extract thoroughly, it should be noted that this extract plays a vital role in exemplifying how Asya keeps her powerful position through giving instructions and assign a role herself for writing the role-play dialogue particularly at the beginning of the acting out while the group members prepare for their role-play. This case is evident in the following figures and so, Asya assigns a teacher-role for herself. In addition, as a writer of

this dialogue, she decides on what to say, that is, she builds power for herself in the discourse.



Figure 12 Figure 13 Figure 14

Extract 12: 'I am the actor!'

November,13

```
1
     Asya 111 our topic is 1111 (.) seeing your favorite
2
           celebrity at Armada, they are shopping alone
           inside a store 1111
           (1.0) you are want to take a picture (0.5) however
5
           the store manager does not allow 1111 you take::
6
           you to take picture 11:: (2.5) ((pointing at
7
          Yağız)) he is ııı fan
8
          (1.1) ((pointing at Yusuf)) he is manager and
9
           (.)((showing herself with her hands))I am (0.9)
10
            actor
11
     Faruk vay be
12
           (1.9)
13
     Asya [of course
                       ((smiles))
14
           [class laughs
15
            (4.0)
16
            °yes°
     Asya
17
            (3.5)
18
     Yağız
            hi, could you be be take↑ a photo with Asya?
19
             Please::
20
     Yusuf (3.8) No, you can't, please get out of the store
            (1.1) She doesn't want to take a photo. She
21
22
             doesn't have enough time
23
             (1.5)
24
     Yağız Please:::, just one minute. Please she is my
25
           favorite ac↓tor=
```

```
26
     Yusuf =go out.
     Ayse °actor yalnız°
27
            but actor
28
     Yağız <actor ()>
29
     Nihal £Asya da triplere girdi£
           Aslı changed her behaviors
30
           (3.0)
31
     Asya you are li↑ar↓ bad manager, of course I have a
          minute for my fan, ((walking towards Yagız and
32
33
          Yusuf))
34
          [hemen nasıl sattı
           she quickly changed her behaviors
35
     Asya [please say sorry to my fan
36
     Ozan bak bak bak
          look, look, look
37
     Faruk bu kızların hepsi böyle
          all the girls are like this
           ((they take the photo of themselves)) (4.0)
38
39
     Asya that's all
40
     Merve bravo
41
           ((Class clap their hands and laugh))
42
     Yağız doğuştan yetenekli
           gifted
     Yusuf vala helal olsun ( )
43
            Very good!
44
     Yağız içinde var, ruhunda var
            gifted
```

The above extract begins with Asya's introduction of the role-play activity (lines1-10), which is encountering your favorite celebrity at Armada, which is a big shopping centre and taking a photo with her/him. Asya also talks about the roles they have assigned in group work and points at Yağız and Yakup. Whereas Yağız is the fan of Asya, Yusuf is the manager of the store and Asya, with the use of her hands, points at herself and utters 'I am actor' in line 9. Asya, by positioning herself as an actor and with the utterance of 'I am actor', she distinguishes herself as someone who is popular, well-known and wealthy in the role-play activity. Right after this utterance, Faruk is engaged in the conversation with 'Vay be!' in Turkish, which has a quite parallel meaning to 'wow' in English.

After 1.9 s delay, Asya delivers a discourse marker 'of course' with an emphasis on 'course' to show her strong agreement with her reflexive positioning as a celebrity in role-play activity and smile coming from Asya and the laughter of the

class indicate that the class acknowledges Asya's distinctive position in this roleplay activity at this particular moment. By producing 'yes' with a quiet voice, Asya takes turn and after a silence measured as 3.5 s, the acting out starts.

In line 18, adopting a fan position in role-play, Yağız demands for taking a photo with Asya, the celebrity. In the next turn, Yusuf, taking a role of the manager of the store, after a 3.8 s silence, explains the reasons why Yağız cannot take a photo with Asya and explicitly rejects what Yağız asks for. Following this, Yağız makes another move and insists on taking a photo with Asya and points out 'She is my favorite actor', which is immediately followed by the utterance 'go out' by Yusuf. Thus, it can be stated that Asya, with the role of a famous person with whom the fans want to communicate, takes up a powerful unique position in group work task as well.

Meanwhile, one of students criticizes Yağız for his use of 'actor' as a vocabulary item. Asya's facial expressions and body language at this point draw the students' attention and Nihal's statement with a jocular voice 'Asya changed her behaviors' reveals that Asya's acts out her role quite well. Following 0.3 s pause, Asya, in accordance with her role, walks towards her group members and says that she definitely has enough time for her fan to take a photo and wants Yusuf, positioned as the manager of the store, to apologize to her fan. Therefore, Asya with the utterances she has created for herself retains power over others.

The lines 13-35, are significant in terms of Aslı's constructing, developing and maintaining her unique position since she is the author of this particular segment. Nonetheless, it needs to be noted that not only Asya's self-acts in the interaction but also her peers allowing her to prepare the conversation give rise to Asya's maintaining the floor in this sequence.

Meanwhile, during lines 36-37, Ozan and Faruk comments on how Asya has shifted her behaviors for her fan while acting out. Asya's closing the sequence by stating 'that's all' is followed by 'explicit positive assessment' (Waring, 2008),

'bravo!' to congratulate the group for their acting out. Apart from this situation, Yağız and Yusuf, Asya's group members deliver explicit positive assessments such as 'gifted, she has a natural ability, very good!' which assigns similar powerful position to Asya in the discourse and validates her distinctive position.

All these extract indicate that Asya's position as a legitimate speaker and adopting a teacher role from time to time mostly depends on her self-confidence, courage and content-related knowledge. It can easily be claimed that Asya is not a fully competent language learner, but a fluent communicator in the classroom setting. In accordance with the audio-video recordings, it needs to be noted that Asya did not pay attention what went on in the class in some instances. Moreover, when the other student members in the class began to take the floor, she did not fully maintain the floor.

4.3 Oktay as a Case

This part aims at a detailed analysis of Oktay's positional identity as a 'critical language learner', 'constant participator' and 'a bad joker' through data collection tools. Upon examining the various classroom activities, it can be put forward that Oktay's limited participation behavior at the beginning of the term has shifted towards being an 'active member' of the class which is constructed via his turn-initiations, his frequent interruptions and his classmates' and the teacher's interactional acts. Also, it needs to be touched upon the fact that Oktay has had 'fluctuating' messages from the teacher during the term.

4.3.1 A critical Language Learner

Oktay, who reflexively positions himself as a 'silent' student at the beginning of the term, has contributed to the ongoing talk with his interruptions and frequent questions over time and this situation has resulted in a drastic change in his typical participation behavior .Oktay, especially in mid-October, has begun to take up powerful positions in the classroom and dominates the conversational floor. Being

a critical language learner by challenging the teacher's knowledge in the sequential unfolding of interaction and proving himself as a knowledgeable student is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Oktay.

A striking example of the above-mentioned case can be observed in the following extract 13. Nil, the reading-writing instructor, greets the class, takes the attendance and explains what she plans in the class. The class will do the vocabulary revision activity on the book, but before that, the teacher asks successive questions about whether the students remember the words they have learnt before. Afterwards, they start to revise the vocabulary items together and the extract starts with Nil's question regarding 'particularly'.

Extract 13: 'Isn't it heard?'

October, 23

```
1
     Nil
           then we have, $$::, we have what? Particularly what
2
           was particularly?
3
     Sts
           especially
4
     Dila [especially özellikle
5
    Nil
          [especially
6
           right?(0.7)especially, particularly expen↑si↓ve,
7
           it is unu::sually especially very expensive.
8
           tourist? we kno::w shape? Example for shape?
9
           formed şekil
     Sts
10
     Rasim [se ] kil
           [formed]right? I say for example heart
11
     Nil
12
           shaped chocolate (0.5)
13
           do you like ↑that girls::?
14
          (0.5)
15
          16
           with her hands)) ↑heart
17
     Sts
          kalp, çok şeker
           heart, very cute
18
    Nil
           yes, of course ((nods her head)) do you like it?
19
           It's a good present.
20
     Oktay ben anlamadım.
           I did not understand
           +gazes at Nil
21
    Nil
           heart:: ? (0.4) heart shaped.
                         +forms a heart shape with her
                    hands to clarify
     Oktay °heart?°
22
```

```
23
     Sts
            Kalp kalp
            Heart, heart
     Oktay haa::: \uparrowhs:(r)d =((leans back))
24
25
            = not heard:: [heard is ((points at her ears))
26
                           [/hs:(r)d/)) değil miydi o?
     Oktay
                             is not it heard?
27
     Nil
             (0.2) heart:=
28
             = /hs:(r)d/
     Oktay
29
            ((points at the board)) (2.2)
     Nil
30
     Oktay ((gazes at the teacher))
31
     Nil
             fno::f I am sure it is heart.
32
     Oktay #15#16((palms out and smiles))
```



Figure 15 Figure 16

```
33
             we can revise them all::((points at the board))
     Nil
34
             we can revise heard heart herd <u>hurt</u>
35
     Oktay
             ↑Hurt
36
              (1.5)
37
     Nil
            I will write them ((points at the board)) and we
38
            can revise them. Okay::? hear::t shaped chocolate
39
            >we understand<
40
     Oktay Okay: . ((Oktay looks at Berk and starts to discuss
41
            heart and heard again))
           °/heard/?°
42
     Berk °/heard/ kalp°
43
            heard is heart
            °hıı?°
44
     Oktay
            ^{\circ}/\text{heard}/\text{ kalp}^{\circ}
45
     Berk
46
     Oktay °değilmiş, heart kalp diyor°
             it is not like that, she says heart
             ((lines omitted the teacher goes on to expand
47
48
            some other vocabulary items and Nil start walking
49
            towards the board))(39)
50
     Oktay hocam Berk de öyle diyor. ((Oktay takes notes))
```

```
hocam Berk also says so.

51 Berk "heard kalp"
heard means heart

52 Nil he knows it wrong. Okay:: (3.0) Of course, he knows it wrong.
```

From line 1 to 8, Nil defines the vocabulary item "particularly" together with the students. Upon stating 'tourist' with slightly rising intonation to indicate students are in the state of "knowing" it, Nil initiates a question for the word "shape" and asks for an example. In line 9, a few students utter 'formed, şekil'as a second pair part both in English and Turkish and Nil approves their answer with an overlap to line 10 ''formed, right?', which is followed by 0.5 s silence and Nil's question about whether the female students like 'heart shape chocolate'. Also, Nil provides an example 'heart shaped chocolate' to clarify her explanation. In the subsequent line, she repeats the same example noticeably slower than her surrounding talk, in particular with sharply rising intonation on 'heart' and contributes to the ongoing talk with her body language by forming a heart shape with her hands. In line 17, after some students' and Nil's comments on 'heart shaped chocolate', the conversation between Oktay and Nil starts when Oktay shows a claim of not understanding by orienting his gaze to Nil and started the conversation by positioning himself as a student who could not comprehend what was being told. Following this, Nil produces (Heart::?) and after a 0.4 s pause, she uses the same strategy, hand gestures, to make it more comprehensible. With a quiet voice, Oktay, in reply to Nil, initiates a repair in the form of requesting for a clarification 'heart?' and following this, some students explain 'heart' in Turkish. In the following line (24), Oktay, produces an utterance that signals disagreement with his sudden rising intonation (haa::: /h3:(r)d/) and maintains his stance by his upright body position. Thus, Oktay tries to show his knowledge of the word and seems pretty sure about his answer when he leans back right after his utterance, thereby showing her 'epistemic stance' (Heritage, 2012) as a knower. Oktay, as seen, acknowledges himself as a knowledgeable student although he was actually wrong and downgrades the teacher's institutional role. Nil contributes to the ongoing talk

with a negative assessment in the turn initial positon and initiates a repair (not heard). Her repair with her hand gestures (line 25) allows Oktay to take the floor again with a follow up, confirmation check 'isn't it heard?', which furthers his position as an 'actively critical member' in the class. Nevertheless, in the next line, Nil constructs a different turn, gives up explaining the meaning of the word and initiates a repair by producing 'heart' again in the correct pronunciation form by ignoring Oktay's persistently critical behavior which indicates her enactment of power as a teacher in authority. Next, in a latched format, Oktay furthers the conversation with the utterance 'heard' in line 28. Therefore, it can easily be claimed that Oktay positions himself as a 'critic' as it is evidenced by his insistent sequential moves on the difference between 'heart' and 'heard'. Next, in line 29, Nil tries to align with Oktay by pointing at the board which possibly means 'I will write them on the board'. Following 2.2 s silence Nil, having established her own position as a learning facilitator for a long time, interprets Oktay's statements as challenging her knowledge and takes a different stance with her utterance "I am sure it is heart." (line 31). After Nil's making a powerful move to maintain her institutional position as a teacher. Oktay takes a step back and only smiles in order to 'pursue affiliation in the face of misalignment' (Sert & Jacknick, 2015). This case is quite parallel to what Sert and Jacknick (2015) discuss, when disalignment occurs, it is 'the student who smiles in order to manage the resulting interactional trouble' (p.103). Furthermore, Nil contributes to her position as a teacher by taking a turn andf introducing some other vocabulary items 'herd, hurt', which aims to eliminate Oktay's uncertainty about the mentioned words. As a result, Nil shifts Oktay's actively critical position to a student who needs to learn from the knower, simply, the teacher. However, with his new question, 'hurt' with a rising intonation, Oktay appears to be more confused when compared to his initial state. After a 1.5 s pause, in line 37, Nil states they can revise all of them again and proceeds with an utterance "heart shaped chocolate we understand". Hence, it can be suggested that Nil repositions herself as a teacher who has the control over the conversational floor because she attempts to move on by closing the sequence and

ignoring Oktay. Also, she displays collective positioning 'we understand' by referring to the whole class. However, Oktay starts to discuss the unknown words with Berk (lines 40-46) and to regain his power. With his turns, he seeks confirmation from Berk. Insistently aiming to preserve his position as a knowledgeable student, Oktay resists the position assigned by Nil and tries to reposition himself as a legitimate student in the classroom by saying 'Hocam, Berk also says so.' One can argue here that Oktay tries to gain membership by getting support from his friend, Berk, which demonstrates a collective positioning against the teacher. Upon Oktay's persistent objections to the teacher's uptakes, the teacher wants to close this sequence and this unclear situation by uttering 'he knows it wrong, of course he knows it wrong'. Thus, power circulates back to her and she repositions herself as a knowledgeable teacher evaluator showing her teacher superiority and the power associated with it while wishing to put an end to Oktay's confusion and critical position.

The above-mentioned extract highlights how Oktay holds a 'critical language learner' position with his repair initiations, follow-up turns, and his epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012) in interaction. Thus, with his interruptions and taking turns, he creates 'interactional space' (Walsh, 2006) for himself in the floor, shapes the flow of the class and exercises power. Additionally, power struggles can be observed between Nil and him occasioned by Oktay's challenging storylines towards the teacher. Likewise, another notable instance can be seen in the extract 14 coming from the warm-up session of the reading class on November, 6.

Extract 14: 'mi'stiorios/ or /maistiorios/? November, 6

```
8
           the mystery \text{\phi}be\text{\phi}hind the dinosaurs?(
                        +used hand gestures
9
     Oktay:
                 °mystery ne yaa?°
                 what is mystery?
10
     Nil
           >mystery?<
11
     Merve gizem değil mi?
           is it mystery, isn't it?
12
     Nil
           yes::
13
           (1.0)
14
     Oktay mystery?
           +gazes at the teacher
15
     Nil: mystery ↓be↑hind the dinosaurs (.)
                    +hand gestures to show 'behind'
16
     Ekin [dinazorların arkasındaki gizem
           The mystery behind the dinosaurs
     Nil
           +walks towards Eylül
17
     Oktay [hocam
           teacher
18
     Nil
           yes::, ↑exact↓ly.
                   +pointing at Eylül
19
     Oktay o /maistiəriəs/'daki mystery?
           is it mystery in /maistiəriəs/
20
           >no, no < /↑mɪˈs↓tɪəriəs/ not
                                             /↑maɪs↓tɪəriəs/
           +gazes at Oktay and uses her hand gestures))
21
           (0.4)
22
     Oktay yani. ben onu diyemediğim için.
                 since I cannot tell it
     Nil mysterious °uh huh°
23
24
     Oktay
             o ↑o mu?
             Is it that one?
25
     Nil
           mystery noun. mysterious adjective. I can write it
26
           for you. ((points at the board))
27
     Oktay ((nods his head))
28
     Nil
           (0.6) Okay?
29
     Rasim now, mystery is gizem?
30
           uh uh mystery gizem, uh huh (1.0) gizem sır gizem
             mystery
                                               mystery
31
     Oktay (0.6)/marstrəriəs/ boss
32
     Nil
           /maistiəriəs/ no, /mi'stiəriəs/
33
          ((smiles))
34
     Oktay/mɪˈstɪəriəs/ boss
35
          yes (.) ((thumbs up))
     Nil
36
           (3.0)
```

From lines 1 to 5, the teacher explains what the students will learn after reading the passage. 2.0 s and 1.6 s pauses, and Oktay's initiation 'hı'?' makes the teacher interpret that the students do not listen to her at that particular moment and she

repeats what Oktay produces with a smiley voice. Right after that, Nil by focusing on the word 'mystery' and using her hand gestures delivers 'the mystery behind the dinosaurs' so as to involve the students in the conversation. Next, Oktay with a quiet voice asks what the mystery is in Turkish in line 9, so positions himself as someone who does not know about the target word. In line 10, Nil repeats 'mystery' to question students' knowledge of the word and Merve provides a tag question and translation in L1, Turkish, thereby positioning herself as a knowing student (Heritage, 2012), which is acknowledged by a confirmation token 'yes::' by the teacher. After a 1.0 s pause, although Merve translates what 'mystery' means, Oktay (line 14) questions himself and the class about mystery again by producing 'mystery' in the correct pronunciation, which can further his 'not knowing' position'. Following this, the teacher, instead of giving an explanation, repeats what she states at the beginning of the conversation to elicit an answer from Oktay with a combination of hand gestures to clarify her statement (lines 15) Nevertheless, in the next turn (line 16), Ekin's sudden move delays Oktay's agenda to continue, yet positively evaluated by the teacher with 'yes:, exactly' (line 18). Therefore, according to the lines so far, it can be suggested that Oktay has been positioned as a student 'less knowing' in relation to his repetitive questions and other students' answers which are confirmed by the teacher.

What is next is that Oktay starts a new sequence with a new question 'is it mystery in mysterious?' by pronouncing the 'mysterious' incorrectly as /maistiarias/ and as a result, positions himself as a critical participator and as someone who knows the morphology of the adjective form of 'mystery' and still incorrectly pronounces it. Thus, he creates 'interactional space' (Walsh, 2006) for himself again. However, Oktay's contribution to the conversation with a wrong pronunciation of the 'mysterious' is followed by a quick 'no, no' by the teacher and other initiated-other repair is initiated by emphasizing the correct pronunciation. Subsequently, in the same line, the teacher highlights the wrong pronunciation by adding 'not' before that with her hand gestures to indicate disagreement with Oktay. Thus, the teacher takes up her institutional role with these lines and positions Oktay as someone who

lacks the knowledge about the pronunciation of the word. Interestingly, Oktay, at this point, claims that he cannot produce an accurate pronunciation of 'mysterious' and so, he accepts his mistake about the pronunciation. However, he persistently doesn't accept the flaw in his cognition. This case results in the teacher's repetition of the word and Oktay makes another move by saying 'o o mu?' which means 'is it that one?' in English, in turn, positions himself as a student searching for an answer while at the same time implying that he knows the word actually, but cannot create a connection with the word and the pronunciation which is correctly uttered by the teacher. Later, in line 25, the teacher explains the noun and adjective form of the words again and she suggests writing them on the board, which is aligned with Oktay's nodding in line 30.

Upon examining the extract from lines 14 to 34, it can be proposed that Oktay has pushed the limits of his participation and ultimately in line 29, another student comes up with a question to check his understanding. Nevertheless, in line 31, Oktay still tries to give an example with 'mysterious' with a wrong pronunciation. Although the teacher initiates repairs and shows the correct pronunciation of 'mystery' in lines 23, 25, 30 and Oktay demostrates claims of understanding in line 30, he gives this examples. Therefore, he maintains his critical language learner position and challenges the teacher's 'epistemic authority'. Afterwards, the teacher delivers what Oktay states with a negative response marker 'no/maistiarias/'(other-initiated other repair) to demonstrate that he performs an incorrect pronunciation again and spells the correct version followed by a smile. Oktay, in the succeeding line, produces 'mysterious' correctly and the teacher goes on with the confirmation token 'yes' and gives a thumbs up.

The extract continues with Nil's attempt to warn Eren and Yusuf not to talk too much in line 40 and Eren delivers 'it is related to the course'.

```
40
            tell me like high school £hadi bize de anlat£
41
          ((smiles)
                                      why not telling us?
42
     Oktay [hocam
           teacher
43
           (2.0)
     Oktay hadi, >hepimiz gülelim<
44
                let's laugh all together
                +looking at Eren and Yusuf
45
     Eren about fossils ( )
46
     Nil
          h11, goo::d okay, okay. ((smiles))
47
           (1.1)
48
     Oktay Hocam bunların ↑ço↓ğunu oyundan öğrendiğim için
           since I have learnt most of these things in the games
49
           (Türkçe) okuyunca (1.0)/maistiəriəs/ diye öğrendim
           when I read in Turkish, I learnt as /maistiəriəs/
50
          mystery. (( gazes at Oktay and nods))
51
     Oktay Hocam mystery diyince bilsem bile anlayamıyorum.
           when mystery is told, I cannot understand
52
     Nil
           [Okay (.)
53
     Emre [oğlum ↑hiç mi <u>yu-gi-oh</u> seyretmedin
           haven't you ever watched yu-gi-oh?
54
     Oktay ((shakes his head))(1.0)
55
     Emre yu-gi-oh seyretmedin mi?
           haven't you watched yu-gi-oh?
56
           [any twolunteer for the firs::t paragraph?
     Nil
57
     Oktay [bir dakika seyretmiş olabilirim
           one minute, I may watch it
58
           seyretmemiş de olabilirim.
           I may not watch it, too
```

Following this, in lines 37-38, the teacher asks Eren and Yusuf what they are talking about with a humorous approach. Meanwhile, with an overlap to what the teacher produces, Oktay attempts to take a turn and lastly, he succeeds in taking the conversational floor in line 44 by saying 'hadi hepimiz gülelim' which means 'let's laugh all together' in English. What is interesting here is that Oktay makes a temporary transition from 'the situational identity' of a student to 'the discourse identity' of a teacher (Zimmerman, 1998) by projecting continuity in Nil's jocular remarks. After the teacher's closing the sequence in line 46, Oktay takes turns to explain himself (lines 48, 49, 51) why he cannot come up with the accurate pronunciation of 'mystery', thereby repositioning himself as a possibly competent language learner if the conditions are provided. Nonetheless, Nil does not make any further comments and just repeats the word 'mystery' to close the sequence by

gazing at Oktay, probably meaning he needs to stop explaining himself anymore. Right after Oktay's last explanation, Nil utters 'okay' so as to 'mark the intent to move on' (Jacknick, 2009, p.120) and so, it can be said that the teacher wants to regain the control over the conversation, correspondingly, the course of the class. Lastly, in line 53, by looking at Oktay and with his statement 'haven't you ever watched yu-gi-oh?', which is a cartoon, Emre intends to put Oktay offstage and after Oktay's embodied disagreement with a headshake, Emre repeats his question again and so, marginalized Oktay as a non-knower of the pronunciation of 'mystery' and 'mysterious', thus retaining symbolic power over Oktay.

As in the previous case, in this extract, Oktay does not accept the weak positions ascribed in the interaction, questions the teacher's knowledge and specifies the reasons for his language-related knowledge. As it is seen in the storylines above, what he tries to do is to steal the show most of the time by being the main 'actor'. However, even if he gets access to language learning opportunities for himself in this way and he changes the direction of the course.

4.3.2 A Constant Participator: an uninvited guest in the conversational floor

In this part, Oktay's constant participator positional identity will be examined and exemplified. As mentioned before, Oktay was a learner who shaped the interactional floor most of the time, yet there were some instances in which he went beyond what he did, came up with comments without being invited to the talk and he was constructed an uninvited guest in the conversationa floor in the sequential unfolding of interaction both hs own self-positioning acts and his teacher and peers' sequential moves.

The following extract is a clear signal of what has been mentioned and the class has a speaking exam the following day and they do practice in the classroom with Nil. Throughout this specific class, Oktay interrupts other students' talks; make

comments on other students' questions or comments by self-selecting himself and raising questions to the teacher.

Extract 15: 'I have an answer!'

November, 4

```
Can, did you choose your department yourself?
     Cenk Yes, I choose my department on my own because
3
           (0.1) like computer and I don't like the relation
           other people everyday 11: I want (2.0) I want to
5
           (0.5) for \uparrowexample (1.2) 11:: when I open my
6
           computer, this area became my office
7
     Nil
           °uh huh°
8
     Cenk I can't feel the time when I use computer.
9
           so you are really really into computer. <You</pre>
10
           really like it> Do you think that in the future we
11
           will have robots inside people?
12
     Cenk I don't think so.
13
          Because he really likes computers? So let's ask him.
14
     Cenk Software is (1.8) became very important in the
15
           future more than important nowadays 11:: (1.9)
16
           ↑be↓cause we use computers we use software
17
           everything 11:: (2.0) maybe robot (1.8) maybe.
18
     Nil
           maybe they ↑will
                                [become.Very good answer very
     \frac{\text{very}}{\text{Oktay}} \text{ ((raises his hand) °[hocam I have an answer}^{\circ}
19
20
2.1
          ↑Yes Oktay.
22
     Oktayrobots nee::ds every. 11: robots needs me every
2.3
           day (1.2) for brain.
24
     Nil
            him::, uh huh so::?
           +gazes at Oktay and palms out
25
     Oktay (0.5) >defdiniz ya ROBOTLAR insanlara() onun için <
                  You stated that (
                                         ),so
2.6
     Nil
             uh huh
27
     Oktay >bu kadar.< (( using hand gestures))
             that's it
28
     Nil
            so:: robots will need? ((gaze towards Oktay))
29
     Oktay (0.8) >beyinleri için bize ihtiyaçları var.<
                    they need us for their brains
30
     Nil
           Ha: okay:: will nee::d human beings all the ↑time
31
           very good (.) very good answer (.) too:
32
           Yes ii:: |Merve (0.7) how about you?
33
     Merve I choose my department (1.8) because I don't like
34
           science 11:: when I went to (0.6)>dava neydi hocam?<
                                        what does case mean?
35
     Nil
          ↑case
```

```
36
     Merve when I went to case (3.3) four or five years ago::
37
          with my tuncle is lawyer when I sa::w neydi hakim?
                                             what was judge?
38
     Rasim judge
39
          ↑jud↓ge learn them bunları iyice öğren the judge
     Nil
                               learn these things
40
           (0.6) etkilenmek neydi?
                what does get influenced mean?
41
          get really affected (.) really impressed
42
    Merve I really like it
43
     Nil
          uh huh. So since ↑then you want to be a ↑law↓yer.
44
          very goo:d you can also say I like talking, I am
45
          very persuasive persuasive? (1.0)
46
          because lawyers you need that, you can say I am
          very talkative, persuasive I think I can help
47
48
          people, okay::? Very good answer Zeynep
49
     Oktay Bir şey sorcam hocam.
          I will ask something
50
     Nil
         H1 (.) Oktay (( gazes back towards Oktay))
51
     Oktay sonsuz (0.1) son:suz infinite miydi?
                      'infinite' 'infinite?'
52
     Nil
          Infinite, [infinite
53
     Oktav
                    [infinite,
           ↑in↓finity sonsuzluk değil mi? (0.2)
54
                      is it infinity, isn't it?
           infinity
55
     Nil
          infinity sonsuzluk.
     Rasimuniverse evren mi?
56
          Is 'evren' universe?
57
     Nil
          £ne oluyor? Okay::£
          what's happening?
58
     Oktayyok şey dicem ↑de (1.1)
          I'll say
59
          yazılım >az once Can dedi yazılım her şeydir<
          Software, Can stated it means everything,
60
          yazılım sonsuzluktur nasıl diyeceğim de.
          how can I say software is infinite?
61
     Nil ha::, it is infinite
     Oktay software is infinite (.)
62
63
     Nil yes. uh huh, goo::d (.) yes Sena
```

This segment starts with Nil's addressing question to Cenk and even if Cenk is a little bit hesitant as seen in his fillers and pauses provides an explanatory response in multiple TCUs. In the next turn, Nil displays 'listenership' (McCarty, 2003) through minimal response token 'uh-huh' (Schegloff, 2007) and Cenk goes on to expand upon what he talks abou. Lines 9, 10 and 11 are designed by the teacher to

make comments on Cenk's prior in line 8 and ends up with one more question regarding the robots in the future. After Cenk's response, Nil's takes a turn and gives a rationale for her question, thereby creating an opportunity to talk more for Cenk, which is followed by Cenk's answer (lines 14-17). The succeeding line carries on with explicit positive assessments (Waring, 2008) (good, very good, perfect) of Cenk's answer to close the sequence and when analyzing the storylines Can and Nil have depicted so far, it can easily be put forward that Nil positions Cenk as a potentially competent language learner with her constant explicit positive assessments (Waring, 2008).

In line 20, Oktay considers the directed question to Can as a source to answer and 'steps in a slot' prepared for Can (line 10), which illustrates 'learner initiative' (Waring, 2011). Following Nil's nominating him as the next speaker with an affirmative token (line 21), Oktay with a pause and a filler comes up with an utterance, which is listened by Nil as showcased in her 'uh-huh, hii:' Also, along with a gaze and hand gestures, Nil produces 'so' as a 'stand-alone object' (Raymond, 2004) to indicate her incomprehension of Oktay's utterance and adds a new prompt to the sequence. Next, in order to reposition himself as a learner who can convey his message, in line 25, Oktay gives an explanation with a quick pace in L1, Turkish by referring back to what the teacher asks Cenk and finishes his statement by stating 'bu kadar' which means 'that's it' in English in line 27. However, Nil initiates a designedly incomplete utterance (Koshik, 2002), thus giving an opportunity for Oktay to go beyond. Here, it is significant to point out that Oktay's reflexive positioning as an uninvited guest in the conversational floor positioning is fostered by the teacher's utterances like DIU in line 28 as the story lines unfold, yet still Oktay not succeeding in using the target language to clarify himself, provides an answer in L1, Turkish with an increased pace. Interestingly enough, although Nil completes her own DIU in line 30 instead of Oktay, positively evaluates what Oktay delivers in Turkish in line 29, in turn, confirmed the initiative Oktay takes to practice speaking.

Next, Nil selects Merve as the next speaker by calling her name (line 32), Merve talks about her department (lines 33-34) and the following two lines (36-37) are constructed with Merve's expansion of her storylines regarding the mentioned topic. Right after scaffolding for Merve, Nil also suggests Merve what she should add more in the speaking exam with explicit positive evaluation of her performance and selects Sena as the next speaker by calling her name. However, following this, in line 49, Oktay, makes an interruption again by stating he wants to raise a question that is confirmed with a gaze and 'hi Oktay' by Nil. As seen in Oktay's storylines, Oktay, with his sudden sequential move, becomes an uninvited guest in the conversation which is confirmed by the teacher, Nil. Moreover, Oktay's repetitive questions in line 51 and 54 are welcomed by the teacher's agenda (line 52-55), accordingly, enables Oktay to exploit the conversational floor. Later, upon Rasim's addressing a question related to the meaning of the universe, Nil with a smiley voice, utters 'what is happening? Okay?' to demonstrate her curiosity over Oktay's and Rasim's questions. In the next line 58 with a 1.1 s pause and in the lines 59, 60, Oktay by referring back to Cenk's utterance in lines 14-17 asks how he can describe software as 'infinite', gets an answer from the teacher and forms a complete sentence by opening up a learning space for himself. These particular storylines in the current segment are important indicators of Oktay's willing to participate most of the time and getting himself to be engaged in every momentary sequence. Finally, Nil, with a confirmation and minimal response token, positively evaluates Oktay's sentence, thereby fostering his powerful stance in the interaction and moves on to Sena's practice in the following part of the extract above.

```
Sena I choose my °de;partment°
64
65
     Nil (1.4) [my department
66
     Sena
                 [↑my ↑de↓partment
67
           very good. (2.6)
           actually I thought 111 (2.3) psychology (1.4) but
68
69
           (2.1)
70
           tutmadı?
           it did not happen
71
     Nil
          my points:: were not enough.
72
     Sena my points
73
    Nil
          were not enough.
```

```
74
     Sena were not enough, I came to this school 11:: (1.1)
75
           speak to other students (3.6) this student's
76
                ↑department is
77
          (0.3) international relation, suddenly 111 (2.7)()
78
          I change my ↑mind
     Nil
79
     Sena I change my mind, my parents think that †my †idea.
80
          So I cho:se it very good answer Sena, you should
81
           talk mo::re in the classroom (1.0) very good,
82
           really very fluent answer, very very good.
83
     Oktay ((raises his hand)) Hocam, can I †say something?
84
     Nil Yes, you can say something.
85
     Oktay My parents want 11:: (2.0) Electric and Electronics
86
          ↑Engin↓eering=
87
         =you can say that in the exam and::?
88
     Oktay and:: I (3.0) my parents (1.5) fpress me mi diycem?f
                         should I say my parents press me?
89
     Nil pressured me
90
     Oktay [pressured me
91
     Nil [pressured me
     Oktay and 111 I (1.2) I 11:: (2.8) I must write
92
93
           (2.4) up to computer engineering, but
94
           (1.6)
95
           gelmedi nasıl diyeceğim?
           how can I say it did not happen?
96
     Nil
          I couldn't get it.
97
     Oktay I could not get it.
98
     Nil
         Okay [So: you become
     Oktay
99
                [and I, I am, I get my (1.5)
100
           >istediğim bölüme geldim nasıl diyeceğim?<
           how can I say I came to the department I wanted
101
     Nil
         I came to the department I wanted.
102
          very good, you can tell this one.
103
           ((looks at Merve))
104
     Merve HOCAM adalet [nasıl yazılıyordu? justice diye
          Hocam how can I write justice?
105
                       [Nasıldı hocam baskı pressure?
     Oktay
                      Hocam, how can I say pressure?
     Nil Justice, justice (.) Yes. 11::
106
107
     Oktay Hocam pressure miydi?
           is it pressure hocam?
108
     Nil
          Ha?
109
     Oktay baskı yapmak neydi?
          Hocam, pressure, what does pressure mean?
110
          ((gazes back towards Oktay))Pressure
     Nil
111
     Oktay Pressure?
112
                     ((spells the word))
     Nil
          Pressure
113
     Oktay Ha okay.
```

In line 64, given a turn by the teacher, Sena starts to define the reasons why she has chosen her department and she is engaged in a detailed explanation in the next turns which are followed by the teacher's assistance in completing her utterance. In the same way, during lines 80-82 Nil, after Sena's answer, expands upon Sena's answers and encourages her to speak more in the class with EPAs (Waring, 2008). In the succeeding line, as he does after Cenk and Merve's responses, Oktay, again launches an expansion by saying 'can I say something?' which gives rise to his control over the conversational floor again. At this point, it needs to be noted that although the students do practice one by one in this session of the class for the speaking exam, Oktay is nominated as the next speaker most of the time with his interruptions and asserts a powerful voice in the conversational floor. Next, following Oktay's comments on his department choice along with a filler and 2.0 s silence, Nil states that he can also mention his case in the exam in a latched format. Besides, in the same line, Nil nurtures Oktay's active member positioning by using an extended 'and?'. Right after that, in line 88, Oktay tries to formulate a question with 3.0 s and 1.5 s pauses showing his hesitancy, and at the end, he cannot come up with the target word and requests for a repair. After Nil's uttering 'pressured me', Nil and Oktay repeat the same utterance 'pressured me' with an overlap in the following lines. Hence, Nil creates a learning environment for Oktay in which he shapes the interactional floor. In line 92, Oktay embarks on another explanation with some fillers and some pauses (1.2 s, 2.8 s, 2.4 s) suggesting his hesitancy again while talking in line 88 and goes on with a contrast marker (but) in line 93. After a 1.6 s silence, Oktay by initiating a repair takes up a non-knower epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012). Next, Nil by taking up her institutional role, provides a translation for Oktay in line 96. Nonetheless, as seen in line 98, Nil aims to close the sequence with "okay:?" and a further comment, yet still Oktay addresses a further question. Also, in the next line, Nil directly provides a response as she does in the previous lines with a positive evaluation at the end. Towards the end of the extract, Merve calls the teacher (HOCAM), asks how justice is written in line 100 and Oktay also asks a question with an overlap and initiates a repair, which is

actually dealt with before. After answering Merve's question in line 106, Nil answers Oktay's question with a gaze and emphasizes the word in line 112, which is acknowledged by Oktay.

The analysis of this extract explicates how Oktay makes 'an uninvited contribution to the ongoing classroom talk' (Waring, 2011) and lets his voice be heard. While doing speaking practice, Oktay takes turns after each student's answer for a specific question as if the question was addressed to him. By offering responses regardless of whether the question specifically is prepared for him or not, Oktay puts an effort to exhibit his communicative competence; and as a consequence, shapes his own participation and learning by exercising agency.

Another striking example of this case is illustrated below in the extract 16 on December, 2. The class will read a passage about pirates in 'Legends of the Sea' unit and talks about why pirates wear eye-patch in this specific extract.

Extract 16: 'I read an article about that!'

December, 2

```
First of all, why do they wear ↑eye, patch? (0.5)
1
2
           ↑be | cause generally
3
     Oktay ((raises his hand))
         ((gazes and points at Oktay))
5
     Oktay I read an article 11:: about that (0.3)
6
     Nil
         mm-hmm. ((gazing at Oktay))
7
     Oktayeye-patch 11:: (3.2) they use eye patch because
8
          they close one 111 (1.6) if they close one ↑eye
           ° uh huh°
9
     Nil
10
     Oktay 11:: they(1.3) can(2.0)alismak get used to muydu?
                                   is 'alışmak' get used to?
11
     Nil
           hihi. get used to
12
     Oktay get used to (1.1) dark (0.6) or light
13
     Nil
          h11:: okay (.)
14
     Oktay 11::=
           = to get used to \underline{dark} and:: light easily.
15
     Nil
16
     Oktay ↑easily.
           okay (.) interesting
17
     Oktay an::d they easily (1.2) go dark (0.9) or go
18
            °light° and
19
           >go to the light, < I understand very good. So
20
     Nil
```

```
21
           they \ealsily switch from da::rk to ligh::t .
                           +using hand gestures
2.2
          because they thave an eye patch and with one
           ↑eye it is easier
23
24
     Oktay Yes.
25
     Nil
          goo::d.
          +gazing at Oktay and using hand gestures
           I did not know that. interesting. goo:d.
26
27
           Secondly, they wore it for some reasons, maybe
28
          they have one e::ye only because pirates
29
           actually have very poor conditions. ((goes on))
```

The extract begins with the teacher's question and her attempt to give an answer as seen in her utterance 'because', so it can be claimed that the teacher does not intend to allocate any turn to the students to get a response. Nonetheless, Oktay interprets the teacher's prompt as an invitation to bid and raises his hand, which shows Oktay's a constant participator position and this is confirmed with Nil's mutual gaze and pointing at Oktay. Next, in line 5, Oktay appears to demonstrate himself as knowledgeable in relation to the addressed question by stating 'I read an article about that' and depicts his knower position (Heritage, 2012). After a 0.3 s pause, the teacher gazes at Oktay and utilizes a continuer 'mm-hmm' (Gardner, 2001) which is 'used to pass up the opportunity to take a more substantial turn at talk' (p.25). Upon getting an approval from the teacher to continue, Oktay provides an explanation why the pirates wear eye-patch even though he is a little bit hesitant as evidenced by his gap-fillers and pauses (lines 7-8). Meanwhile, the teacher with a minimal response token (Schegloff, 2007) demonstrates 'listenership' (McCarty, 2003) in the succeeding line. In line 10, Oktay with a gap filler and the pauses measured as 1.3 s and 2.0 s asks whether he knows the meaning of 'get used to' correctly or not and solicits help from the teacher, which is followed by Nil's confirmation. Hence, Oktay does not quit being on the floor, accordingly, his powerful participator position even if he has some hesitations in his responses. In line 12, Oktay goes on to expand upon his explanation and Nil indicates her understanding of what he delivers with 'hi::' and acknowledges it with 'okay' by looking at him. Later, Oktay wants to go beyond, but while he thinks about how to express himself (11::) (line 14), the teacher immediately gains the floor with an

explanation in a latched form and tries to move on with the use of 'okay'. Then, she accepts Oktay's knowledgeable student position with her comment 'interesting'. Whereas Oktay is insistent on not ceding the turn in line 18 with some pauses (1,2 s and 0,9 s), Nil takes back the floor at a quick pace and acknowledges what Oktay utters with 'I understand' and a positive evaluation 'good'. Hence, she regains the control of the conversational floor. Later, Nil elaborates on what Oktay tells about pirates during lines 20-23. After Oktay's acknowledgement of Nil's summary about the mentioned topic, Nil uses 'explicit positive assessment (good), congratulates Oktay for bringing up his content-related knowledge (lines 24-25). Next, she uses EPA (good) again to close the sequence (Waring, 2008) utters 'interesting, I did not know that'. Thus, she assigns herself a non-knower position in relation to Oktay and promotes the powerful position Oktay has exhibited for himself. At this point, it should be noted that Oktay takes up an information provider position which is generally connected with the teacher role. Due to knowledge asymmetry, the tacher and Oktay, as a student, reverse their situated identities (Zimmerman, 1998) in the interaction. Finally, during lines 24-27, Nil tries to provide an extended explanation which she is supposed to do at the beginning of the extract in the first line, but she cannot due to Oktay's initiation. Throughout the extract, it can be observed that Oktay has depicted the conversational floor ownership through his interactional moves even if there is no question addressed by the teacher to be answered. Here, it is vital to suggest that Oktay's reflexive positioning as a constant participator is promoted by Nil's 'listenership' (McCarty, 2003), 'explicit positive assessments' (Waring, 2008) and direct responses, so Oktay is constructed in this way and exercises powerful position in the floor. Moreover, everybody in the classroom is aware of the fact that Oktay is always ready to be a volunteer respondent and many segments are observed in line with this situation during the term. As a token of this phenomenon, the extract below in which Oktay does not take a turn, but how he articulates the powerful volunteer and participator position will be analyzed. The class focuses on reading comprehension questions in the second class on November, 4.

Extract 17: 'It does not mean that I will not be the volunteer!'

November, 4

```
1
     Nil
           and the last:: one?
2
           (1.7)
3
     Nil
           six?
4
           (1.3)
5
     Merve yapıyım mı hocam?
           shall I do it, hocam?
6
     Nil
           yes, Dila
           +Dila gazes at the teacher
     Merve hocam, aşk olsu::n ben demiştim
                                I stated it
           +laughter from Dila
8
           you said it? £She was looking at me£
     Nil
     Oktay°işte°
9
           well
10
     Merve >hocam ben yapıyım ↑mı dedim< hemen Dila, neyse↓
           Hocam, I stated 'shall I do it', but Dila, anyway
     Oktay işte. hep böyle olur
11
           well, these things have always been the same
12
     Nil
          but Dila is my favorite STudent she always does this
13
     Dila (Yani hocam anında ) ((laughs))
14
           ((raises her hand and smiles)) yeah.
15
     Mervehocam, AŞK olsun
     Oktay ↑ kim ALWAYS [hocam? (0.9)
16
           Who is always, hocam?
17
           #17 hocam=
```



Figure 17

```
21
     Nil
          =£yes(.)£
22
     Oktay bu volunteer olmadığım ↑anlaşmına gelmez
           it does not mean that I will not be the volunteer
23
     Nil
          aynen.
           exactly
24
     Ali
           (ya hehe, öylesine )
            hihi, so
25
          Okay, Merve sorry I thought you were Dila.
     Nil
           ((stands up and walks towards Merve and Dila))
26
```

In line 1, the teacher address a question, and so opens the floor to the students to take a turn, but 1.7 s silence goes after the question, (unanswered second pair part), which triggers one more turn by the teacher 'six?'. After a 1.3 s pause, Dila indicates her willingness to take a turn with her gaze (e.g Mortensen, 2008). However, before this momentary action, Merve bids for a turn in line 5, yet the teacher confuses Merve's voice with Dila's and selects Dila as the next speaker. At this juncture, Merve states 'hocam, aşk olsun' (she means I was disappointed) and 'I stated it' to demonstrate her voluntary action, which catalyzes laughter as a response from Dila. Surprised by Merve's action, Nil addresses a question with a confirmation check and right after that, she utters 'she was looking at me' with a smiley voice. Thus, the teacher confirms that gazes on the part of the students play a vital role in showing willingness to participate before the speaker selection. (Mortensen, 2008). Interestingly, Oktay with a decreased volume produces a hedge marker and completes his sentence in line 10 by asserting the mentioned case happens all the time. Most probably, Oktay refers to a similar past action happening to him with his statement. Moreover, Merve, still complains about not getting the right to speak in line 10 and Nil, with a jocular statement and an emphasis on 'always', looks for an alignment with Merve in the discourse. Nonetheless, Nil's utterance 'Dila is my favorite student, she always does this' does not resolve the misalignment, (line 12), but creates a possible threat on the part of Oktay's positioning as a participator in the class. Therefore, Oktay, produces 'kim' referring to 'who' in English by placing an emphasis on it and delivers 'always' with a higher volume; and as a consequence, it can be suggested that Oktay takes such a move in order not to lose his powerful position as a

volunteer in the conversational floor. In addition, the succeeding line by Nil 'and Oktay, and Oktay' with a focus on Oktay's name further supports the position Oktay has constructed for himself. Moreover, Oktay's next turn includes a rationale for not raising his hand to be nominated as the next speaker at that specific moment, which is acknowledged by some students' and teachers' smiles and the confirmation token 'yes' in a latched format. As for line 22, Oktay points out that even if he hasn't shown an explicit participation behavior, he is the constant participator in the classroom, thereby strengthening his powerful position. Oktay's powerful agenda established in the interaction is validated by Nil's positive evaluation 'aynen', which means 'exactly' in English. Thus, Oktay does not establish his positional identity as a constant participator on his own. Also, the teacher's turns contribute to his position in the class. Lastly, the teacher stands up and moves on to the activity by walking towards the students and says 'sorry' for Merve not to allocate turn to her.

Upon examining the extracts so far, it can be clearly stated that Oktay was constituted as a constant participator by taking initiatives' (Waring, 2011) through his sequential moves in the class and the teacher's and other students' interactional acts. However, when Oktay cannot exhibit any participation behavior, he manifests this agency with his assertions about his powerful positional identity in the discourse.

Moreover, Oktay's raising his hands figures 18 and 19 below (taken from different classes) obviously depict the case described above:



Figure 18 Figure 19

Furthermore, when Oktay is not given a right to speak, he sometimes shows reactions. To illustrate, on October, 23, while answering the vocabulary questions one by one, Oktay raises his hand, but Nil doesn't nominate him as the next speaker and other students in the class give responses. In the following figures, Oktay's reaction with his fist can be observed:



Figure 20 Figure 21 Figure 22 Figure 23

However, Oktay's unusual participation behavior has become disruptive to the course of the class and the teacher remarks on it explicitly in the following extracts. In extract 6, the teacher gives instructions about the weekly quiz, which ends up with Oktay's interruption in the third line.

Extract 18: 'It is not important, now!'

November, 13

```
1
          üç kısım var, structure vocabulary writing.
2
           there are three parts
2
           ↑rea↓ding YOK.onun yerine writing olacak
         there is no reading, instead, you will have writing
3
     Oktay/vo↑kebələri/
4
           (1.0)
5
     Nil
         vocabulary (1.1)
6
     Oktay / vok ↑ kebələri / (0.4)
         önemli değil bence şu an.
7
           it is not important now
          +uses hand gestures and gazes at Oktay
8
          [vocabulary
9
  Oktay
          [/vokab/ >diyip duruyoruz da hocam<=
          we tell /vokab/ most of the time hocam.
10
     Nil =vocabulary)) okay::?
11
     Oktay/vocab/ ((smiles))
12
     Asya ufff
          +looking at Oktay
     Nil now::
13
```

In line 3, Oktay, right after Nil's instruction, utters 'vocabulary' so as to position himself as a legitimate language learner, but offers an inaccurate pronunciation. After a 1.0 s pause, repair is provided by the teacher in line 5, and following 1.1 s silence, Oktay takes a turn and insists on producing the same word with a pronunciation which is still not identical to the one targeted by the teacher. Considering that Oktay's interruption at this particular moment is inappropriate, Nil by utilizing L1, Turkish states 'it is not important now' marking her turn as dispreferred in line 7 and initiates a repair with the help of her hand gestures and gaze at Oktay. Nil, by explicitly reprimanding Oktay for extending an irrelevant question, takes a 'teacher in authority' role and she does not allow Oktay to continue his powerful participator position with this momentarily act. Becoming

aware of his interruption as a problem for the teacher, Oktay provides a follow-up 'we pronounce it as /vokab/', by referring to his classmates, which shows a collective positioning. Thus, it can be posited that Oktay tries to regain power in the discourse by repositioning himself as a student who creates a learning space for his friends with a worthwhile question, and so needs a positive evaluation. Right after that, in line 10, Nil repeats 'vocabulary' and uses (okay:.?) which demonstrates her attempt to move on. (Jacknick, 2009). Not reaching his goal of nurturing his own agenda as a legitimate language learner, Oktay takes another turn to regain the power as evidenced by his repetition of 'vocab' with a humorous manner. What is more, Asya's 'uff' is in accordance with Nil's sequential acts towards Oktay's question since it also indicates Oktay's disruptive behavior to the flow of the class.

The above extract plays a significant role in understanding how the teacher, Nil sends fluctuating messages to Oktay. Although she enables interactional language learning opportunities for Oktay in general, she is sometimes is disturbed by Oktay's unexpected interruptions, which results in reprimanding Oktay or using humor and sarcasm for his actions. Especially, after the mid-of the term, Oktay's initiating turns are considered as unnecessary and irrelevant by Nil and the students in the class, and as a consequence, positions Oktay as a disruptive student.

Another example also supports how Oktay's participator positional identity has created power struggles between the teacher and him. While doing the vocabulary activity on the book, Oktay raises a question regarding 'wise' and the teacher heavily criticizes for his question and not concentrating on the task.

Extract 19: 'Think about it!'

November 27

```
Oktaywise /wiz/ neydi hocam?

(1.2) west ? /wiz/

Nil wise::

Oktaywise ((correctly pronunced))

(2.0)
```

```
6
     Nil zeki↑ce↓
           sensible
7
     Oktay [üçe, üçe
           for the third one
8
     Nil
          [a wise decision
9
     Oktay üçe hiçbir şey olmuyor
          none of the words is suitable
10
           (1.6)
11
          Oktay, biraz düşü::n (( with a serious tone))(0.3)
    Nil
     Oktay nasıl bir şey >arayacağım acaba?<
12
           what kind of an answer am I looking for?
13
          sürekli konuşursan olmaz tabi::
          If you speak all the time, it is not possible
14
          okay::? bir ↑dakika bakıyorsun
           You look at for a minute
15
           sonra yeniden soruyorsun
            then you ask again
16
          öyle çözülmez ki↓
          you cannot answer in that way
     Oktay °çözüyorum ° ((gazes at Nil))
17
            I am answering
18
     Nil
          on dakika böyle konsantre (.) sonra sorular (0.7)
           concentrate for ten minutes, then questions
19
          Okay? here we go: Tuğba?
```

The extract starts with Oktay's question related to the word 'wise' while doing the activity and he is not able to come up with a correct pronunciation of the word and is in the state of 'not knowing' the meaning of it. In line 3, Nil, firstly corrects his pronunciation which is followed by the repetition on the part of Oktay and with a pause measured as 1.0 s. Later, the teacher explains the meaning of the word with a translation in L1, Turkish. Following this, while Nil makes an attempted move to give a further example 'a wise decision' in line 8, Oktay also delivers an utterance with an overlap by complaining about not finding the answer for the third question in the activity. Thus, it can be claimed that Nil gives answers to the directed questions by Oktay so far, but the case is reversed with the next turn (line 11). After a 1.6 s silence, Nil, unlike her usual stance, utilizes an imperative statement and tells Oktay to think about the question a little bit, and as a result, she asserts her authority as a teacher with her dispreferred response. As a response, in line 12, Oktay poses a question in Turkish which means 'what kind of an answer should I look for?' thereby positioning himself as a learner seeking for information.

Nonetheless, Nil, surprisingly, goes on presenting a powerful authority position with her dispreferred acts and points out that Oktay does not concentrate on the activity and talks a lot, so asks unnecessary questions. Therefore, it can be suggested that Nil assigns a powerless position to Oktay again by making decisions on behalf of him. Next, Oktay, in line 17, with a silent voice indeed, just states that he is answering at that specific moment by refusing the powerless position assigned by Nil and in the succeeding line, Nil with a calmer approach, advises Oktay to focus on what he is doing and address his questions later. At this point, Nil gives up ending up with a judgment, but rather softens the hierarchy she has established between Oktay and herself and suggests him what he should do.

Concerning the extract above, it can be acknowledged that Nil showcases her teacher authority for Oktay from time to time and does not permit him to construct his 'active participator' position, in turn, his investment in the conversation. Nil and Oktay's agendas sometimes clash with each other, particularly owing to Oktay's sudden interruptions and power comes to the forefront of the conversational floor.

4.3.3 Not a funny classmate, but a bad-joker

Oktay gets another positional identity especially after mid-term, 'a bad joker'. Oktay strategically utilized 'humor' in the class, but his jokes did not turn out as intended and were not found 'funny' in the class. Particularly, with the jokes related to the vocabulary items in the target language, he distinguished himself at the heart of the conversational floor, albeit the class' reactions. The situation is depicted in the following extract 20 retrieved from December 2 and the class concentrates on 'seasickness' as a target word.

Extract 20: "seasickness"

December, 2

```
1
     Berk Hocam seasickness dediniz ↑ya bende de var hani
          Hocam, you said seasickness, you also had it
           o sadece denizde mi oluyor?
2
          does it happen only on ship?
3
     Nil
          evet
     Berk 'Yoksa karada?'
4
             Or on land?
5
           gemide oluyor ↑sadece.(1.9)otobüste ol<u>muyor</u>mesela
     Nil
           it happens on the ship, not on the bus
     Yağızçünkü sea↑sickness↓ ((smiles))
          because seasickness
7
     Nil
           evet ama [mantıken ↑düşü↓nünce
                      when you think about it
8
                     [Belki deniz otobüsünde oluyor
     Oktay
                      maybe it happens on the sea bus
9
         denge olayıysa otobüste de olabilir.
         when you think of balance, it is possible on the bus
     Oktay [peki deniz otobüsünde ne oluyor hocam?
10
           what happens on the seabus, hocam?
11
           [uçakta olması da↑ha yüksek=
           it is more possible on the plane
12
     Merve =Ama hocam
            but hocam
13
            [ama uçakta olmuyor
            but it does not happen on the plane
14
     Merve [otobüste başınız ↑da dönüyor
            You feel dizzy on the bus
15
     Nil
           (1.6) gibi evet (0.6)
           like that, yes
     Oktay deniz otobüsünde bir şey oluyor †mu hocam?
16
          does it happen on the seabus hocam?
17
     Nil
          hayır uzun yol†culukta oluyor.
          No, it happens on a long journey.
18
           (1.9)
19
          espriyi anladınız mı?
     Ali
          did you understand the joke?
20
     Merve [aynen. ben anladım
           I got it.
           +Oktay laughs
     Asya [Peki bunu
21
             so?
22
            nasıl şey yaptınız?
          How did you understand it?
23
           [Seyahhatteyken fark ettim. kötü bir a†nı oldu
     Nil
           I realized while travelling, it was a bad memory.
```

```
24
     Ali [Denizde midem bulanıyor dedi, ama (0.5)
           I feel nauseous at sea, but
25
           otobüste olmuyor dedi
           it doesn't happen on the bus
26
            deniz otobüsünde oluyor mu dedi
           he stated does it happen on the seabus?
27
     Nil
           deniz otobüsünde ↑ol↓muyor
           it does not happen on the seabus
28
           ((Laughter from the class and Oktay leans forward
29
           and laughs))
30
     Ali
           Hani hocam siz espriyi anlamadınız(0.2)
           Hocam, you did not understand the joke
31
           Oktay espri yaptı
            Oktay made a joke
     Nil
           +gazes at Ali
32
           [deniz otobüsü::
            sea bus?
           [espri ↑miy↓di o?
33
     Can
           is it a joke?
34
     Ali
           otobüste ol↑mu↓yor, denizde oluyor
35
           him:: ((looking at Ali, then her gaze towards
     Nil
36
                Oktay starts))
37
     Ali
           o espri yap↑tı da kimse anlamadı da o yüzden
38
     Berk baska anlayan var mı?
           is there anyone else to understand it?
39
    Nil
           okay (.)
40
    Ali
           Bu kadar[iğrenc bir espriyi bir tek ben anladım((smiles))
           Only I understood such an awful joke.
41
     Asya
                   [Keşke sen de anlamasaydın ya::
                     I wish you did not understand it
42
             (2.2)
43
     Nil
           bir kişinin anlaması önemli bence
           It is important that even one person understands
           +gazes at Ali
44
     Merve [Ben de anladım
            I also understood it
45
     Ali
           [Ben anladim ((laughs)) ben ayrıyım.
46
           (1.3)
47
     Nil
           Okay, shall we shall we yes. shall we †move to
48
           the:questions?
49
     Ali
           Oktay şu zekanı başka yerlere kullansan
           I wish you used your intelligence for other things
              + laughs
50
     Oktay
```

The extract starts with Berk's question about whether 'seasickness' happens on the ship or not with an emphasis on the word 'seasickness' and he goes on to ask whether it is possible on land with a quiet voice, thereby taking up a 'not knowing

participant' position (Heritage, 2012). In line 5, after the teacher's providing an explanation for Berk's question, Yağız utters that it is understood from the word itself, so happens at sea with a humorous approach.

In lines 7 and 9, while Nil expands on the mentioned topic, Oktay, with an overlap to Nil, in line 8, takes a sudden turn and utters 'seasickness' may happen on the sea bus. Also, the same utterance transform into a question by Oktay in line 10 this time. Following the lines 11-15 involving Merve and Nil's further comments, in line 16, Oktay again directs a question 'does seasickness happen on the sea bus?'. Subsequently, as a second pair part to Oktay's question, Nil makes a further contribution to the discussion in line with her institutional teacher role and after a pause 1.9 s pause in line 18, Ali asks whether the class understands the joke or not, Merve answer and says she understand it and at the same time only Oktay laughs. Here, what Bell (2005) claims: 'laughter on the part of the speaker' presents a clue that the speaker plans his or her utterance to be 'interpreted playfully' although the hearers do not laugh at it is quite parallel to what is performed by Oktay in the current storylines. Therefore, Oktay's interruptions and laughing at himself may suggest that he intends to make the class laugh, but nobody notices what he tries to do except for Ali. Following this, Nil, as a result of a hearing problem, is not able to comment on what Ali tells, so she does not change her focus and goes on to expand on her own experience with Asya (lines 21-23). Meanwhile, Ali as 'the only one' who grasps the joke elaborates on it and explains it to the students sitting close to him (lines 24-26). In the next line (27), upon hearing what Ali points out, Nil supposes that Ali addresses the same question with Oktay (whether seasickness occurs at sea bus or not) comes up with a response, which triggers laughter from the class and in particular, Oktay leans forward and laughs loudly (line 28-29). Next, Nil gazes at Ali designed to show her not understanding, and as a consequence, Ali posits that Oktay has made a joke and the class does not comprehend it (lines 30-31) and places an emphasis on the word 'joke'. Right after that, Can requests for a clarification with the utterance 'is it a joke?' in line 33 to show his surprise and Ali gives a clear explanation for Oktay's joke for the whole

class, which is acknowledged with a continuer 'mm-hmm' (Gardner, 2001) by the teacher. Then, the teacher fixes her gaze towards Oktay, slightly smiles and delivers 'okay'. At this point, it needs to be noted that the teacher does not find Oktay's joke funny, but rather her described acts demonstrate her reverse position towards the joke. Moreover, Berk's utterance 'is there anyone to understand it?', Ali's statement 'Only I understood such an awful joke' and Asya's comment at the end 'I wish you didn't understand it' explicitly reinforces the position Oktay has taken up as a bad-joker. In order to make Ali's position as the only person who grasps such an awful joke legitimate, Nil puts forward that even one person's understanding is crucial (line 43). Thus, it can easily be asserted that the teacher does not assist Oktay to construct a 'funny student' positional identity; on the contrary, she underestimates Oktay's joker agenda. Later after Merve and Ali's statements regarding their comprehension of such a bad joke (line 44-45), 1.3 s pause follows. Lastly, the teacher does not spend more time for this joke and moves on to the following activity in line 47 and, in line 49, Ali still comments on Oktay's joke by suggesting Oktay using his intelligence for other things, thus further supports his bad-joker position.

This segment is a striking example of how Oktay comes to be created as a bad joker in the interactional organization of the talk. Oktay's yearning for getting the floor through humor. Pomerantz and Bell (2011) describe humor 'as a rich resource for the construction of spaces in which students can experiment with particular classroom identities' (p. 149) and accordingly, Oktay attempts to construct 'a funny student' positional identity with humor, yet his desire to be 'humorous/ funny' student is resisted by his classmates' orientations to the conversational floor with facial gestures, utterances, sarcasm and the teacher's acts and as a result, Oktay ends up with a 'bad joker' in contrast to what he wants for himself. Notice how Oktay's this position does not happen on its own, but as the storylines unfold in the interaction. Most importantly, with regard to the learning environment, it can be

claimed that Oktay restrict his peers' language learning opportunities by diverting their attention from the classroom activities with his bad jokes.

Oktay's never ending bad jokes is on the increase towards the end of the semester, and as a consequence, the class quite bored with them decides to give punishment for them and they mention this in a humorous and sarcastic way. The following extract supports what is stated above.

Extract 21: 'punishment for the bad joke'

December, 4

```
o↑kay we will get started↑ bu::t before that I see
1
     Nil
          many people with cell phones::
          +stands up and opens her book (2.0)
3
          >Niye herkes telefonla oynuyor yine?<
          why is everyone playing with their phones?
4
          Oktay çünkü bilgisayarları kapattık.
          because we turned off the computers ((smiles))
5
          (0.4) ((Nil grimaces and gazes at Oktay)
     Nil ((starts walking towards Oktay)) (4.5)
6
7
          Okay (.)↑Oktay her kötü şaka ↑yaptı↓ğında bir şey
          whenever Oktay makes a bod joke
8
          yapacaktık ne dediydik unuttum.
          we will do something, what did we say? I forgot it
9
     Dila [Ya, bence [en son] artık kick out çıksın
          I think he should kick out, get out
10
     Berk
                      [£Pataklayacaktık£]
                      we will beat him
11
     Nil
          Şey miydi?Üç tane yapınca yok mu yazıyordum
          Will I write him absent when he makes three jokes.
12
          ↓Öyle miydi?
          was it like that?
13
          (0.6)
14
     Dila [↑Hayır. direk espri yaptığı ↑an.
          no, directly as soon as he makes a joke
15
     Oktay [ ( )
16
     Nil Şaka yapıyorum, şaka: ↑yapıyorum
          I am joking, I am joking
     Oktay £Devamsızlık bol yani:: yazabilirsiniz£
17
          +qazes at Nil
          I have a low absence rate, you can write me absent
18
     Nil
          No. I am joking, but no ↑bad jokes.
           ((walks towards the other side of the class))
19
```

In line 1, the teacher starts the conversation with a transition marker, warns the students about their cell phones and asks why they use cell phones. As a response, Oktay selects himself as the next speaker and states they turn off their computers by smiling. According to Oktay, it is a joke to the teacher's utterance. However, this case makes Nil grimace and keep her gaze fixed on Oktay following a 0.4 s pause. Subsequently, Nil starts walking towards Oktay, after a 4.5 s pause, takes a turn and talks about punishing Oktay for bad jokes, and thus granting a bad-joker position to Oktay. After Nil's asking for the students to remind the punishment for Oktay, in line 8, Dila puts forward that Oktay should get out of the classroom and in line 10, Berk suggests beating him. That is to say, not only the teacher but also the students share the similar sequential moves about the jokes Oktay makes. As seen, Oktay's bad-joker positional identity constructed in the interaction with both the teacher and the class' comments on it. Were they to laugh at what Oktay produces to show affiliation, possibly, Oktay would be a funny student. In line 11, Nil requests for a clarification by uttering whether she will write him absent when he makes three jokes. After a 0.6 s delay, Dila delivers a negative response marker and she points out that as soon as Oktay makes a bad joke, he should leave the class. After an incomprehensible talk by Oktay, Nil says 'I am joking' so as not to create disalignment with Oktay. Also, the class' reactions to him aren't considered negatively by Oktay and with a smiley voice and by gazing at the teacher, he goes on to say that writing him absent for the current class will not be a problem since his absence rate is quite low. Thus, it is obviously seen that Oktay accepts the badjoker positional identity ascribed to him by the class, but he does not care about what others think of him. Right after that, Nil starting with a negative response marker, says that she is joking, yet warns Oktay not to crack a bad joke any more. At this point, Nil takes a step back so as to indicate affiliation probably not to affect Oktay's participation framework in the class, but still positions Oktay as someone who tells bad jokes at the end of her discourse. As the excerpts 20 and 21 reveal that Oktay enacted the bad-joker positional identity in the classroom and this case was constructed in interaction.

4.4 Berk as a Case

This section will describe and analyze Berk's positional identity as a case and the data has revealed that he volunteered for answering the questions and voicing his opinions most of the time. Moreover, he asked language-related questions frequently, displayed his knowledge by changing the direction of the conversations and showed a strong desire for winning in the games conducted for language learning purposes. Throughout the term, he has taken up a 'persistent language learner' position together with encouragement and 'survivor' position by surviving peers' put downs and mockery in the classroom.

4.4.1 On Encouragement, a Persistent Language Learner

During the term, Berk was actively engaged in the classroom activities and managed the flow of the conversation, albeit in L1 from time to time. Moreover, together with his code-switching, his bodily-kinesthetic behaviors have constituted the bulk of his interactions. Although his insufficient command of English had the potential of hindering his communication, he was constructed as a persistent language learner through the teacher's scaffolding, encouraging statements and explicit positive assessments.

The following extract is taken from the first conversation class in the reading writing course on October, 2. The TA delivers a presentation about Canada and some question/answers between the students and the TA take place. In this particular segment, the TA addresses some questions about a sport, 'curling' and Berk displays participation behavior to the question posed by the TA. However, his hesitation in the conversation results in the form of resistance, which is overcome with the help of the teacher.

Extract 22: 'I will not speak, I can't speak'

October, 2

```
1 TA okay, does anyone <u>here</u> like curling? (0.7) no::?
2 Cenk "it is so:: boring"
```

```
Berk ((raises his hand)) it is ↑enjoy↓able
TA ((looks at the camera)) (1.5)
Berk >Konuşmayacağım, konuşmayacağım<
I will not speak, I will not speak
+ #24#25+uses hand gestures
```





Figure 24

Figure 25







Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

10 Rasim 'Berk, go on::'
11 Nil 'try, try::'

12 Berk [I ($\underline{\text{have}}$ I have $\underline{\text{n't}}$ \uparrow played(2.0)in my life

#29 +leans forward

#30+ hand gestures

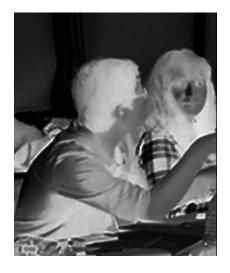




Figure 29 Figure 30

- 13 Oktay [there is a film about curling
- 14 Berk but I think it is maybe enjoyable(.)((leans back))
- 15 TA maybe, ↑enjoy↓able I have never played
- 16 myself((goes on))

In line 1, the TA addresses a question and utters 'no' with a stretching sound which signals his expecting an answer from the students. In line 2, Cenk states 'it is so boring' with a quiet voice, but in line 3, Berk bids for a turn by raising his hand and provides a candidate response showing learner initiative (Waring, 2011). Next, the TA looks at the camera which is followed by 1.5 s silence. Upon realizing the TA looks at the camera and is not interested in what he talks about, Berk refuses to speak with his hand gestures. Thus, it can be said that Berk is demotivated by the TA's ignorance against his initiative and is put into a powerless position as a 'respondent' who is not listened to. Here, it needs to be noted that the TA does not know Turkish and is not aware of Berk's resistance with his utterance 'I will not speak'. Following this, in line 6, laughter occurs among some students who realize the TA's sudden look at the camera and indirectly ignoring Berk. Later, in line 7, the TA taking a sudden turn embodies an encouraging statement with a gaze at

Berk, thereby repositioning Berk as the contributor to the ongoing talk again. In line 8, in an answer to the previous turn by the TA, Berk is engaged in the conversation once again with pauses 0.6 s, 0.7s and a long 3.5 s silence which suggest hesitation in his talk. Subsequently, in line 9, he builds resistance to participating further with a shift towards L1 and uses hand gestures as seen in figure 26 and 27 and leans back at the end, possibly so as to counteract a potentially incompetent language speaker position. In line 10, Rasim uses an encouragement token 'go on, Berk' with a decreased volume to support Berk's initiative. Also, sitting next to him in the conversation class on that day, Nil, the teacher encourages Berk to try with a quiet voice, and thus attempting to assign power on the part of Berk. In accordance with the teacher's positioning, Berk leans forward, starts a sequence and voices his opinion related to the mentioned topic with self-initiated self repair in line 12. Therefore, it can be claimed that the teacher's encouragement 'served to return the floor' to Berk (Jacknick, 2009, p.167). Next, Berk leans back as a token of finalizing his utterance. Finally, the TA validates what Berk claims with his repetition his wording and expands upon the topic under discussion. Dealing with resistance to speaking and repositioning himself as a respondent to the question with the encouragement tokens of the teacher and the TA in the above extract, Berk has also shown participation behavior through his frequent code-switching. Nevertheless, Nil, the teacher assist him again to maintain the floor. A notable example is illustrated in extract 2 in which the class discusses the reasons why 'wild fires happens in Russia' before reading the passage about 'forests on fire'. Cenk and Oktay make some comments about the topic and Berk makes a bid for sharing his opinions related to the topic.

Extract 23: 'environmentalist'

November, 20

```
Berk I have a bad idea (0.8) because (1.8) there have a

en- cevreci diveceğim ↓de

en- I will say environmentalist

+uses hand gestures

°/enverənmentelist/°
```

```
4
          say ↑it say ↑it en↑vironmentalist
     Nil
           +qazes at Berk
5
     Berk ha (1.0) [they have a (1.0) ondan;
                                      I mean that
6
                    [((silently spells the word
     Rasim
7
            'environmentalist' for a few times))
8
     Nil
           ((walks towards the board))
           say it, say it environmentalist ((writes on the
9
10
           board))
11
     Berk environmentalist yes(.) but they have anti
12
           ↑environmentalist (1.6) ↑so somebody it is bad
13
           somebody (1.8) kundak↑la↓yabiliyorlar.
                they can set a fire on purpose
14
     Nil
          aa::somebody can set a ↑fi↓re on purpose right?
          +gazes at Berk and uses hand gestures
15
          we say SET a fi↑re↓ >bir yeri ateşe vermek<(1.0)
                                 set a fire
16
           set ↑a fi↓re ((writes on the board))
17
     Berk some people (1.2) search a (2.2) 11::
18
           insanların olmadığı bir yer araştırıyorlar
           they serach for places where no one exists
19
     Nil
         some people search ↑isolated pla;ces okay
          +uses hand gestures
20
     Berk for grill, grill an::d
          for green areas "uh huh"
21
     Nil
22
     Berk grill mangal yakmak için falan
                 to grill
          aa for grilling:: okay::
23
     Nil
          +keeps her gaze fixed on Berk
24
     Berk after grill they (0.4) put the ash on the 11::
          +using his hand gestures
25
     Nil
           ↓a↑rea?
     Berk area:: and onlar gittiğinde de oralar yanabiliyor
26
           when they go, those places can burn
27
     Nil
          It sets a fire, I agree I think it may be on
28
          purpose too. ((goes on))
```

In the first line, Berk starts talking about his ideas about the topic with some pauses 0.8 s and 1.8 s, but he cannot produce 'environmentalist' and he utters 'I will say environmentalist' along with his hand gestures and in line 3, he pronounces the target word incorrectly with a quiet voice, thereby showing his non-knower position (Heritage, 2012) about the correct pronunciation of 'environmentalist' and also showing his hesitation with his quiet voice. Next, the teacher provides the correct pronunciation and encourages him to go on by gazing at Berk. In line 5, Berk produces 'ha' and following 1.0 s pause, utters 'ondan' which means 'I mean

that' in English by referring to 'environmentalist'. This case shows Berk's difficulty in pronouncing the word 'environmentalist'. At the same time, Rasim practices the pronunciation of the target word with an overlap to Berk, and so opens up a learning opportunity for himself owing to Berk's question in lines 6-7. Next, upon not receiving the target word from Berk, the teacher attempts to write it on the board and wants Berk to pronounce 'environmentalist'; therefore, adopts an 'encourager' role. In the next turn, Berk slowly repeats the word with a confirmation token (yes) at the end and along with pauses; he voices his ideas with code-switching at the final position of TCU since he cannot find the right word in English. Although the pauses and switch in code can be considered as a token of Berk's hesitation and lack of lexical knowledge, he adopts a courageous, persistent position by giving a candidate response again and learner initiative (Waring, 2011). Following this, Nil provides the translation of what Berk wants to say (line 14) with hand gestures and a gaze. In line 14, by producing 'set' at a higher volume, the teacher explains the word in Turkish to make meaning clear. Thus, it can be claimed that the teacher displays compliance to Berk's code-switching so that he can manage to go on in interaction.

Inserting pauses 1.2 s and 2.2 s signal Berk's thinks about what to say and this case is not oriented as problematic by the teacher and sets a good example of meaning-fluency focus in the sequence (Sert, 2015). Thus, Berk nurtures his persistent language learner position. However, his code-switching displays his epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012) as an unknowing participant in the target language. Upon analyzing this part, it can clearly be said that the progressivity of the conversation is in the foreground for Berk here because his non-knower position in the target language does not stop him to continue in the conversation and leads to his using L1. After Nil's direct translation in line 19, Berk tries to manage the flow of the conversation in line 20, which is followed by the teacher's repair and "uh huh" listenership (McCarty, 2003), but as seen in Berk's turn in line 22, the teacher misunderstood Berk's utterance. Finally the extract ends up with Berk's expanding on the topic (line 24) along with 0.4 s pause and the teacher took a turn for

vocabulary assistance. In line 26, Berk L1 to get his message across and his explanation is translated by the teacher in the next turn.

This extract plays a crucial role in illustrating how Berk establishes his 'persistent' language learner position in the classroom. As seen, Berk sometimes has insufficient command of English, which can hinder communication, but he uses code-switching a lot along with pauses and so, he maintains the conversational floor. At this point, the teacher's momentarily acts (e.g. waiting for Berk's pauses) merit consideration in the conversational floor again since she encourages Berk's progressivity in the talk, as Sert (2015) discusses, and facilitates Berk learning opportunities.

4.3.2 Going Solo: Self-Persistence

Apart from being a persistent language learner along with encouragement in the conversational floor, Berk also took initiatives, accepted challenges and insistently existed in the conversational floor on his own. In particular, while playing language related games in conversation classes, he was very ambitious. A typical example of the above-mentioned case can be seen in the following extract 3.

Extract 24: 'Bingo!'

December 4

```
1
          ALL RIGHT we have one ↑ person who got Bingo (0.8)
          what >are the four words< in the line (0.7) the
3
          four words?
     Berk marriage, internet, holiday, steal
5
          (1.0)
6
     TA
          Now, your challenge (.) is to make one sentence or
7
          more than one sentence using those fou:r words.
8
          classoo::
                       00::
9
     Kübra hepsini mi?
          all of them?
10
     classoo::
                  00::
     Cenk °hepsini kullanıcak°
11
          he will use all of them
12
     Dila
                                [challenge için pişman olcak
                                 he will regref for it
13
     Berk((looks at the words))[okay (.)
```

```
+some students laugh
14
           Okay, I'll give you some time ↑to think. Who else
1.5
           has the internet?
     Rasiminternetten evlendim de
16
           just say I got married through the internet
17
            ((a few students laugh))
18
            ((berk thinks about the challenge))
19
            ((6.4))
20
     Berk ((raises his hand)) I (1.1) I met ↑a pretty girl
21
           on the internet, \underline{\text{then}} (1.0) she steal my \underline{\text{heart}} she
           steal-ed my heart
22
23
           ((laughter))
24
     Dila stole::
25
            ((some female students laugh))
26
     Berk then we:: (2.8) we will ↓marriage and marriage(0.2)
            +uses hand gestures
27
     Ayşe £ onu kullanamazsın↑ £
           you can't use it
28
     Berk HAYIR ↑ya kullanmadım marriage dedim
           NO, I did not use it, I said marriage
           #31 +orients his body towards Ayse
```



Figure 31

29 Ayşe we will marriage dedin
you said we will marriage
30 Dila married
31 Berk ha married
we will married not marriage married okay?
33 TA okay.



Figure 32

41 ((some students still laugh))

In line 1, the TA produces 'all right' at a higher volume to involve the students in the conversation and underscores that there is a student, Berk who gets bingo and asks which words he has on his paper by looking at Berk. After Berk's response and 1.0 s silence, the TA, with his 'managing the turns' position, explains the challenge Berk will face as a result of his bingo. The class ''oo::, oo::' delivery with a stretched sound suggests that 'bingo challenge' is difficult to perform, which is also strengthened by the same pattern in line 10 and Kübra and Cenk's turns in line 9 and 11. Later, Dila also bids for a turn and posits that challenge will invoke regret for Berk which triggers laughter, and thus, supporting the idea that the question is hard. Comparing all these to Berk's acceptance of the challenge (okay) in line 13, it can be claimed that Berk adopts a 'competitive' position. In line 18, while Berk considering about how to cope with his challenge, Rasim takes a turn for assistance which is followed by laughter among some students. Next, in line 20,

getting ready for the response, Berk raises his hand to take the floor back and starts the challenge with a 1.0 s pause suggesting his hesitation. Besides, Berk does not show error free performance as evidenced in 'steal-ed' and right after that, Dila's other initiated other repair puts Berk in a powerless position resulting in the group laughter. In line 26, Berk elaborates on his ongoing talk, albeit with some pauses 2.8 s and 0.2 s. Also, hand gestures come into play again and his storyline includes an accuracy based error. Taking all these into account, it can be pointed out Berk does not avoid investing in the language practice although he is not able to give a sufficient performance, and so takes up a persistent language learner position so as to reach his goal. Subsequently, Ayşe, with a smiley voice and laughter, parses his statement. Here, it is significant to touch on the function of the laughter and how it positions Berk as the laughingstock. As seen in Ayşe's utterance, it is not designated for alignment; on the contrary, it is utilized after Berk's non-humorous turn, thereby displaying alignment (Glenn, 2003). In order to gain the power of the conversational floor, Berk uses a negative response marker at a higher volume and denies using 'marriage' in his statement. At the same time, he orients his body language towards Ayse, which appears to be designed for claiming to be right about what he says. Following Berk's defense, in line 29, Ayşe takes a turn to refute Berk's claim in L1, a move demonstrating power struggles. Not being able to object to Ayşe's powerful stance and Dila's repair, Berk accepts his error and corrects himself with a quiet voice. As for the following turn, Berk makes a sentence with 'married', yet still it is not error-free and ends up with 'okay' which is also confirmed by the TA. In line 34, Berk expands on the discussion with a 1.1 s silence at the end and his utterance brings about laughter among some female students, which fosters his laughingstock positioning. What is next is that Berk takes up a knowledgeable position as evidenced in his attempt to use a different connector, 'therefore'. Lastly, Berk regales the class with his storylines (lines 34-37) with respect to the challenge posed by the TA and he contributes playfulness to the classroom atmosphere evident in the class' laughter; accordingly, assigns himself and is assigned a funny student position. What is more, the TA's 'explicit positive assessment' (very goo::d) 'offers a positive gloss' (Waring, 2008, p. 585) of Berk's performance in the game as a whole and promotes Berk's competitive and persistent position. In addition, Oktay congratulates Berk by giving a high five to him, and as a consequence, confirms his existence in the challenge.

This extract sheds additional light on Berk's powerful position as a persistent language learner on his own. His sequential moves in relation to his friends' responses to his utterances and insistence on utilizing all the four words in one context together further this position, and as a result, the TA welcomes his agenda with a positive evaluation.

4.3.3 Survivor: Surviving Peer Put Downs and Mockery

During the term, Berk deployed his hand gestures during speaking all the time. He piqued his peers' interest in this way and his classmates often mirrored his body language. Furthermore, apart from his body language, his language practices, curiosity-driven questions concerning the target language, errors and code-switching set off 'laughter' from the class most of the time. Thus, Berk was created as a 'laughingstock' and these distractions did not prevent him from his persistently investing in language practices and taking initiatives, on the contrary, constructed him as a 'survivor' in the classroom. A typical example of this case is provided below in extract 25:

Extract 25: 'Your children will grow up!'

December, 5

```
Berk Imagine †that 11:: twenty (1.0) years
#33((uses hand gestures))
```



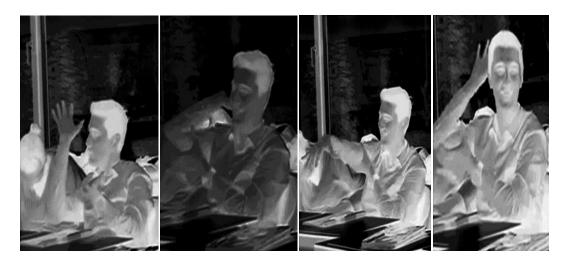


Figure 34 Figure 35 Figure 36 Figure 37

3 (0.5)
4 Nil la:ter
5 Berk ha later
6 ((laughter from the class))
 #38+some students imitates Berk's hand gestures))



Figure 38

```
7
            (2.5)
            because kids is (1.0) 11: your kids 11 will (1.0) update (0.6) °yok iptal ettim °grow up büyüyünce
9
                               no, I gave up, when they grow up
10
     Nil
            grow up good::
11
     Oktay update update ((pretends to update the computer))
12
            ((the class laughs))
13
      Toygar °güncelleme gelecek°
             the children will update
14
     Emre update çocuğa güncelleme gelecek
            the children will update
15
           ((the class laughs including Berk))
16
             but
           +leans forward
17
             [the class is still laughing out loud))
18
         #39[uses his hand gestures and says °bi git° to Emre))
```



Figure 39

```
19
     Berk \uparrowbut when (1.6) when she or \uparrowhe has a \uparrowprob\downarrowlem
20
          (1.0)>arkadaş çevresinden çok yakın birisi olmucak<
                 s/he wll not have any close friend
           GO ON in ↑English (.) she won't ha:ve any:: close
21
     Nil
22
           frilends
23
     Berk she want ↑to very close somebody (0.4)
                     +claps his hand
           °Uh huh °
24
     Nil
25
     Berk but (1.4) friends (1.9) aren't enough
           +Toygar imitates his clapping hand
26
     Berk > Arkadaşlar kardeş yerini tutmazlar<
             friends do not mean siblings
27
     Nil
           I know I ha:ve(.)I have one brother and two
28
           sisters but (0.7) I think because I work because I
29
           work very \fard, my husband works very hard we
30
           will move a lot so: having many children will be
31
           hard. I think
32
     Berk [but two is good.
33
     Can
          [Two?
34
     Nil
           Two is good. maybe
     Berk [BIR ŞEY DIYECEĞIM:>two is derken hocam doğru mu?<
35
                                       +rubbing his ears
           I will say something is it correct to say 'two' is?
36
           [overlapping talk from the class
37
   Nil
           (
38
     Berk HOCAM two is derken two doğru mu orda yaa?
            is it correct to say two is?
           +looking at Nil
39
     Nil
          Hı?
40
     Berk Two is doğru mu? (0.5) ((still gazes))
           Is 'two is' correct to use?
41
     Nil
           Two is
     Berk Two is good dedim ya ben orda
42
           I said two is
           +gazes
43
           Yeah "uh huh" two is fine
     Nil
     Berk is doğru mu?
           is 'is' correct?
           +gazes at Nil
45
           Yes, haha (.)
     Nil
```

The extract prefaces with Berk's utterance 'imagine that twenty years' and he uses a hand gesture to mean 'later' (Figure 33) and as seen in Figures 34, 35, 36 and 37, Oktay copies his actions, which is followed by 0.5 s pause. Next, in line 4, Nil bids for a turn for vocabulary assistance and Berk repeats what the teacher says. During

lines 6-7, laughter from the class and some students' mirroring Berk can be read as disturbing for the flow of Berk's conversation, but he does not show any reaction and continues talking. In line 9, by articulating 'update' instead of 'grow up', Berk takes up a 'not knowing participant' (Heritage, 2012) position; however, with selfinitiated self repair in the same TCU, he repositions himself as powerful again. Later, in contrast to Nil's positive evaluation in line 10, Berk's statement generates some students' teasing and the class' laughing at his error as seen in lines 11, 12, 13, 14. Later, it needs to be noted that Berk also laughs at himself with the class in line 15. These lines merit further consideration. Some students' making fun of Berk's error and their laughter may work to disaffiliate; however, this is not the case since Berk laughs along with his peers. As Glenn (2003) argues, by laughing at his own error, Berk changes the situation of 'laughing at' to 'laughing with' and shared laughter, here, confirms the students' 'co-orientation' towards Berk's error laughable. Displaying affiliation for his friends' laughter in line 15, Berk makes a sudden move in lines 16,17,18 and tries to go on by inserting 'but', leans forward and utters 'bi git' in Turkish which has a close meaning 'go away' in English, while laughter continues in the class. Notice how he uses his hands and body posture in Figure 39. Thus, Berk takes up quite a different position towards Emre's teasing and laughter at this very moment shows disaffiliation this time and tries to terminate Emre's stance.

Right after that, in line 19, Berk goes on to expand upon his talk. By planning his message with 1.6 s and 1.0 s pauses, he frees himself from being the laughingstock and the target of the mockery by his peers. In doing this, it can be said that he adopts a 'survivor' position in the conversation. Line 20 contains Berk's codeswitching with a quick pace, which is followed by the teacher's encouragement token'go on in English' at a very noticeable higher volume and translation of what he says. Here, it can be maintained that Nil contributes to Berk's potentially able language user position with an attempt to assign power to him in the conversational floor. Also, it should be noted that 'go on' is the first uttered phrase before, so the

teacher also prioritizes the continuity of Berk's talk here instead of language policing.

Later, in line 23, Berk elaborates on his ongoing talk and in line 23, he claps his hands suddenly which is followed by the teacher's listenership (McCarty, 2003). In line 25, Berk expands on his discussion along with pauses 1.4s and 1.9s pauses indicating his hesitancy. At the same time, Toygar mirros Berk's clapping hand. Nevertheless, by not attaching any importance to Toygar's copying him, Berk ratifies his utterance in line 26 in Turkish. During lines 27-31, Nil talks about her family background with respect to her siblings and prospective children.

What is next is that by self-selecting themselves as the next speakers, Berk and Can comment on the teacher's statements with an overlap to each other (lines 32-33). Following the teacher's turn in line 33, Berk steps in for directing a question at a higher volume to attract the teacher's attention.

As a result of Nil's hearing trouble, Berk repeats his question by calling the teacher with 'hocam' at a higher volume and looking at her in line 38. Upon, Nil's request for clarification with 'hi'?, Berk poses his repetitive question which examines his own grammatical accuracy in lines 40,42,44. Hence, with his consecutive questions, Berk succeeds in dealing with the teacher's hearing problem, makes his voice heard and asks for acknowledgement from the knower, simply, the teacher in the class.

Apart from his volunteering responses, Berk also gained the conversational floor with his curiosity-driven questions and initiations. By adding a new dimension to the ongoing discussions, he continued to dominate the classroom activities and his 'survivor' position in the interaction also exists in these kinds of situations.

The extract described below reveals how Berk 'offers the unfitted' (Waring, 2011) to the conversation and takes up the floor. In this class, the topic of the unit is 'dinosaurs' and what the teacher, Nil does is to make the students familiar with the

topic with a discussion in warm-up session. The class comes up with some ideas about what they know about dinosaurs, dinosaurs becoming extinct and cloning them. After some students' contributions to the ongoing discussion, Berk takes a turn and brings up a new topic into the discussion in L1, Turkish, which he means in English 'I want to say something not about this topic, but about cloning and it is very interesting', thereby positioning himself as an information provider who can present interesting ideas to the discussion. In essence, Berk's turn as the next speaker 'offers the unfitted' (Waring, 2011) for the topic discussed and he takes a learner initiative which results in a powerful position on his part and his friends' mockery, laughter and mirroring his body language prevail in this extract as well.

Extract 26: 'dolly the cloned sheep'

November, 4

```
1
     Berk >bununla ilgili değil ↑de<
          not about this topic
2
          klonlamayla ilgili
           about cloning
3
          çok ilginç bir şey söylemek istiyorum
          I want to say something very interesting
4
     Nil why Tur↑kish↓(0.2)
5
           [£Bununla ilgili değil↑de£((laughs))
                               it is not about this
                              + uses hand gestures and smiles
6
     Berk [Tamam İngilizce anlatacağım
           I will talk in English
7
           ((smiles))
8
     Dila [İngilizce anlst, herkes İngilizce konuşuyor
           tell it in English, everyone speaks in English.
9
     Yusuf [(İngilizce anlat)
              Tell it English
10
     Oktay hocam Berk'e beden dili yasağı getirebilir miyiz?
           hocam, can we forbid Berk's body language?
11
     Berk I want to say something about clone (1.0)
                      #40+uses hand gestures
```



Figure 40

```
12
            ((laughter from the class))
13
      Oktay [((imitates Berk's hand gestures))
14
      Nil
              [thank you(.)((leans forward))
15
            ((laughter from the class))
16
      Berk it is very 11: [It is very
                             [I really like his body language,
17
     perfect body language ((thumbs up))
Oktay hocam↑yal↓nız klonlar hakkında değil, klon hakkında
18
19
            but hocam it is not about clones,
                                                      about clone
                                                #41 +imitates Berk
```



Figure 41

```
20 (1.6)
21 Nil perfect body language ((nods)) °uh huh°
22 Berk it is very interesting and enoyable I think.Do you know
23 (1.3)#42 Alla:h((covers his face with his hands
24 and laughs))
```



Figure 42

```
25 ((laughter from the class)) (2.0)
26 Berk >adını unuttum bir saniye bilgisayarımdaydı<br/>
I forgot the name, it was on my computer
27 #43 +checking his smart phone
```



Figure 43

```
28
     Nil
         that's okay(.)
29
     Dila [bilgisayarımda
          on my computer
          +imitates Berk's checking smart phones
30
           ((laughs))
     Berk [do you know?
31
32
          [((laughter from the class including Berk)) (1.6)
33
     Nil he is a scien::tist ((smiles))
34
          ((the class laughs))
35
     Dila £bilgisayarda saklıyor onu£
          he keeps it on his computer
36
     Nil
          [fhe is a scientistf
37
     Berk [do you know?do you know Dolly? dolly is the first
          +uses hand gestures
38
          cloned sheep.
39
     Dila (
                )
40
     Nil yeah I know shee:p uh huh
     Berk dolly's name (1.0) come ↑to
41
          +uses hand gestures
42
          >isminin nerden geldiğini söylicem<
           I will tell where its name comes from
          +uses hand gestures
43
     Nil come from
     Berk yes 11:(1.8) one sheep 11:(1.4) some /sarənsist/
44
          +uses hand gestures
45
           ((laughter from some students))
46
          Scientist uh huh ((smiles))
47
     Berk Yes (1.2) 11 take the some cells (goes on)
```

In the lines 4 and 5, the teacher with a humorous tone, echoes Berk's utterance and suggests using English. Of particular interest in the teacher's utterance is the way in which she produces it because although Berk does not use any hand gestures, she embodies hand gestures by imitating Berk's usual body language, thereby fostering Berk's 'laughingstock' positioning. Later, with an overlap to the teacher's previous turn, Berk shows compliance to the teacher's pedagogical agenda and starts to talk in English in line 6 and smiles in line 7. This smile is in line with what Sert & Jacknick (2015) discuss. Since Berk uses L1, Turkish, this can be read as an interactional trouble considering the teacher's turn in line 3. After aligning with the teacher, Berk smiles to mitigate the negative positioning L1 usage causes. Besides, in line 8 and 9 Dila and Yusuf show agreement with the teacher's agenda in line 4 by telling Berk to use English. Therefore, it can be asserted that the teacher actually

gives rise to a space for Dila and Yusuf to attack Berk's using L1 and their putting Berk into a powerless position.

In the following line, Oktay, with his usual uninvited guest positional identity in the talk, makes an interruption to suggest forbidding Berk's body language use while talking, thereby positioning Berk as someone who uses excessive body language. Next, Berk complies with the teacher and goes on in the target language with his hand gestures to clarify himself. At this point, it is evident that Berk does not accept the negative positioning assigned by the teacher (line 5) and his peers due to his hand gestures and right after Oktay's statement; he again survives in the conversational floor and utilizes his hand gestures. After 1.0 s silence, Berk's use of hand gestures sets off laughter from the class and Oktay copies Berk's hand gestures at the same time. Hence, Berk's inserting his body language into his talk can be read as 'a source of fun' and the laughter from the class positions him as the laughing stock again. Upon Berk's shift from L1 to L2 while answering the question, Nil thanks Berk, and so assigns a potentially competent language speaker position in line 14. Following the extended laughter from the class, Berk makes an attempt to move on in line 16 (It is very) which is interrupted by Nil's encouraging utterances regarding Berk's body-language as an answer to Oktay's statements in line 10. In particular, she puts an emphasis on 'perfect', an EPA (explicit positive assessment) (Waring, 2008) in her description and gives thumbs up to confirm Berk's body language. Interestingly enough, whereas she mirrors Berk's body language with a humorous tone and causes other members of the class to assign a weak position on the part of Berk, here, she rectifies what she has done in line 5 again. As a consequence, it can be pointed out that Nil confirms what Berk does in his talk even if it is regarded as funny by the class and assigns a legitimate position to him. Although Oktay repeats and mirrors what Berk does once again (line 19) as a reaction to Berk's hand gestures in line 11, Nil by maintaining her positive stance on Berk's body language, accepts Berk's participation behavior as legitimate one more time and to support this even further, she states 'perfect body language' and empowers Berk's initiative to display knowledge.

In line 23, Berk elaborates on his discussion about cloning and tries to initiate a question, but he cannot complete it and says 'allah' which has a close meaning with 'oh my god!' in English by covering his face with his hand as seen in Figure 39, which results in laughter both from the class and himself again. Also, by laughing with the class, Berks displays alignment towards his peers' laughter at him. (Glenn, 2003). What is next is that in line 26, Berk tries to remember what he wants to say and states in L1 'what was the name, it was on my computer' with an increased pace and checks something on his smart phone. Thus, as evidenced in the above storylines, Berk does not give up the conversational floor due to the interactional problem arising from his forgetting what to say; however, he mitigates the possible negative positioning through searching for what he is trying to convey. After the teacher's confirmation, Dila makes fun of Berk's actions and laughs. However, while Berk prepares for pursuing his 'participator' position by stating 'do you know?', Dila's previous turn invites shared laughter in the class including Berk. In addition, following a 1.6 s silence, in line 33, Nil upgrades Berk's position with her utterance 'he is a scientist::' and with her smile. Hence, the teacher defines Berk as someone who 'does research' which gives symbolic capital, accordingly, power over his classmates in the conversation. Later, the class laughs at Berk's actions since his hand gestures accompanying conversation breakdowns and his using smart phone to reach knowledge extends beyond a typical student in this classroom setting.

Besides, Dila expands on Berk's actions with a jocular voice and following this, Nil utters 'he is a scientist' again with a smiley voice. Right after that, Berk contributes to the ongoing talk with his question about Dolly, the first cloned animal and as a second pair part to Berk's storyline, Nil shows her epistemic stance (Heritage,2012) in the following line by displaying listenership with 'uh huh' (McCarty, 2003). In lines 41-42, Berk keeps explaining, yet switches from English to Turkish again with a quick pace in L1 to compensate for linguistic gap (Gil, 2007). Nonetheless, Berk does not lose the control over the conversation. His pauses 1.8 s, 1.4 s pauses and fillers in his explanation indicates his hesitance and

he repeats the 'scientist' with a wrong pronunciation twice which results in laughter among some students again in the class.

This case, indeed, can end up with a potential powerless positioning on the part of Berk, but Berk does not care about it and takes up a 'survivor' position again. At the end, with a smile, Nil provides a repair, the accurate pronunciation of 'scientist' with her institutional role as a teacher. The extract continues as in the following:

```
48
           ((lines omitted where Berk expands upon how
49
           scientists take the cells of sheep and cow's
50
           mammary glands and what name they should give to
51
           the cloned sheep))
52
     Nil what name should they give or what should be the: name?
     Berk and (0.7) this year (3.2) this girl is \underline{\text{very}}
53
54
           popular her name is dolly she is very ↑fa↓mous
55
           singer and (1.0) she has a very
           ↑ya kibarını bilmiyorum ama
56
            I don't know the polite way but
57
     sts
            Kind
58
     Nil
           [Polite
59
     Berk [She has very
60
     Dila polite
     Berk big boobs
61
62
           ((some students laugh))
63
     Nil
           .hh [okay.
64
     Berk
               [and:
                       (0.8)
65
     Nil
           breast. ((smiles))
     Berk breast mi? tamam acıklayım.
66
           is it breast? Okay let me explain it
67
           #44((laughs and withdraws gaze))
```



Figure 44

```
68 Nil uh huh
69 ((the class laughs))
70 Berk and scientists gave the name
#45#46#47((some students can't help laughing))
```

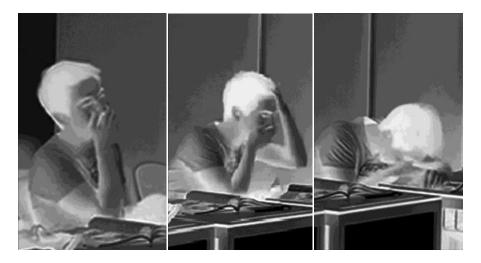


Figure 45 Figure 46 Figure 47

```
71
     Berk įya işte o bayanın ↑isţmini 0.5 koyuna vermişler
72
     Nil
         Haa::
73
          ((laughter continues))
74
     Oktaypopuler bir kadının ismini ↑mi vermişler
           did they give a popular woman's name
75
           bilimsel bir çalışmaya
           for a scientific study?
76
     Nil
           Yes:
77
     ToygarBiraz farklı bir durum
           the case is a little bit different
78
     Nil
           Ha:: doll:y was a big breast singer (1.0)okay:: mm hmm
79
     Berk Yes (.)
80
     Oktay Ben de bekliyorum ki bilimle alakalı inekler var
           I was expecting something scientific you said cows
81
           ((some students laugh))
82
     Nil
           interesting thank you. breast ↑o↓kay?
83
     Oktay £Berk I am lighting£
            Berk you enlightened me
84
            ((some students laugh))
85
     Rasim £I am lightining ↑ay↓nen£
           You enlightened me , exactly
86
           £Şu an yeniden doğdum£
           I am reborn now
           (1.6)
87
     Nil
           ↑What I am lighting?
88
           ((laughter from some students for 2.0 seconds))
89
     Oktay £Aydınlanıyorum, aydınlandığımın£ ((laughs))
```

```
I am enlightened
90
     Ali
          £Avdınlandığımın£
          I am enlightened
91
     Nil Hımm okay (.)
92
     Yusuf Biraz farklıydı yani
          It was a little bit different
93
     Nil
          interesting
94
     Berk Güzel ↑değil miydi hocam? ((smiles))
          Isn't it nice hocam?
95
     Nil Nice (1.0) nice.
```

In line 53, Berk goes on to expand on where Dolly's name comes from and in line 55, he states 'Kibarını bilmiyorum ama' which means 'I don't know the polite way'. Since Berk states this utterance in Turkish, some students and the teacher suppose that Berk asks the meaning of 'polite' and they directly utter 'polite, kind' for Berk, (lines 57, 58, 60), but at the same time, Berk comes up with 'she has big boobs', a slang word for 'breast'(line 61). This move is met with some students' laughter and right after that, Berk requests for a clarification from the teacher by laughing and withdrawing his gaze, which shows a moment of shyness on his part for using an impolite word. What is interesting in Berk's utterance is the way in which he conveys his message. For the sake of displaying his knowledge, he performs a face threatening act by deploying a slang word.

Berk's utterance with respect to Dolly's name (lines 70-71) along with his L1 usage makes the class laugh more and some students can't help laughing loudly. Here, it is crucial to note that Berk hasn't aimed at laughing the class with his contribution, actually what he tries to do is speaking in the target language, participating in the discussion and assigns himself 'information provider' position. However, his hand gestures, language related mistakes which end up other-initiated other repairs and the content of his message with his wording contextualize his statements as 'funny' and they are met with laughter by the class, thereby positioning Berk as 'the laughingstock' again.

Next, in line 72, by maintaining her positive stance, Nil confirms what Berk states which is followed by Oktay's interruption with a clarification request for the

ongoing topic. Upon Nil's producing 'yes' in line 76, in response to Oktay's question, Toygar by claiming of understanding the context emphasizes that what Berk has been trying to describe is quite different. Later, in line 78, Nil prefaces with 'ha::' and displays her understanding with her statement and ends her statement with a final confirmation 'okay' and 'mm-hmm.'

Berk's classmates' take turns (lines 80, 83, 85, 86) and expand upon Berk' position as someone who presents non-scientific/pointless information. In particular, Oktay, along with his bad joker position, mocks what Berk points out together with Cenk and Rasim. However, (in line 82), Nil seems quite interested in Berk's discussion, thanks for Berk's whole journey in the given extract and utters 'interesting' by supporting Berk's position as information-provider. Upon other students' acts, in line 87, the teacher requests for a clarification because students make jokes by using 'light' instead of 'enlighten'. In the same line, she also provides a repair for Berk's use of 'boobs' instead of 'breast'. Lastly, in order to reposition himself as powerful, Berk asks for confirmation by the teacher in line 94 with a smile which is actually done so with the teacher's explicit positive assessments (Waring, 2008).

This extracts sheds light on how Berk survives his peers' put downs, mockery and laughter in the sequential unfolding of the interaction with his initiatives. Berk escapes mockery by being persistent to speak and he sometimes laughs at himself and shows alignment to mitigate the possible threat to his position in the class.

Another further example how Berk survives his peers' mockery and laughter with the teacher's assistance and by displaying symbolic capital is depicted below in extract 6:

Extract 27: 'People call me Berk'

November, 4

```
°uh huh°
3
     Nil
     Berk işte böyle denmiyor da nasıl (call )
           well, it is not said in this way, but how ()?
5
           people ca:ll me |Berk
     Rasim [O ne ya?
6
           what is that?
7
     Nil
           [insanlar bana Berk der
             people call me Berk
8
           ((some students laugh))
9
     Elçin £ [ama demelerini istemiyorum£
            but I don't want them tell my name
10
           (0.4)
11
     Berk
           [(hani böyle
               well
12
           people call me Berk ((laughs))
     Can
13
     Berk (kitapta da) [böyle hani
            this is the case on the book as well
14
     Oktav
                        [berkiş
15
     Berk
            call kullanarak isim söyleme şeyi vardı
            there was a way to tell your name by using 'call'
            + uses hand gestures
16
     Berk bir kitapta görmüştüm hatta
            I saw it even on a book
17
     Nil
           I am ca::lled ↑af↓ter someone↑(.) you mean that?
18
           birinin sana isim vermesi
           someone calls you after
19
           (1.5)
     Berk o şekilde mi kullanılıyor?
20
           is it used in that way?
21
     Dila >şey demek istiyor herhalde<
           he wants to say, probably,
22
           [arkadaşlarım bana böyle der
           my friends call me in this way
23
     Nil
           [()people call me berk
24
     Oktaypeople call me berkiş ((laughs))
25
     Cenk artistik yapma orda
           don't show off there
26
     Toygar my name is de geç ((laughs))
           Just say 'my name is'
27
     Cenk şekil yapma orda, hiç gerek yok
           don't show off, there is no need
28
     Nil
           or or \$\$: \$\$: for example, let's say \underline{\texttt{that}} my name
29
           is abdurrahman, okay? I said my name is .hh
30
           abdurrahman, butpeople call me:: apo, (1.6) do you
31
           understand? Not I am Berk (1.0) £people call me
32
           Berk£ okay::?
33
     Oktay (1.0) you can call me Berkiş
34
     Nil
           ( ) you can call me maybe ( )Okay? Berk you
35
            got it?
36
           ((thumbs up))okay?
```

The extract starts with Berk's directing a question about whether he can use 'call' while introducing himself in the speaking exam (line 1-2). Following Nil's listenerhip 'uh huh', Berk asks a question about the same above-mentioned topic. Then, in line 5, Nil's repetition of 'people call me Berk' is followed by Rasim's question, thereby showing his incomprehension of what Berk states. As soon as Nil's translation of what Berk says 'people call me Berk', laughter occurs in the class and Elçin makes fun of Berk's question (lines 7, 8, 9). Following a 0.4 s silence, in line 11 and 13, Berk tries to survive and reposition himself as someone who asks a reasonable question by stating 'this is the case on the book'. Meanwhile, Oktay, quite parallel to his frequent interruptions, mocks Berk by uttering 'Berkiş'. In line 15 and 16, Berk by uttering 'I saw it on a book' along with hand gestures gives justification for his question again.

In line 17, Nil with her institutional role, as a teacher, gives an explanation with a translation in line 18, which is followed by 1.5 s pause. Still maintaining the floor, Berk asks another question and delivers 'is it used in that way?' in Turkish. Some members of the class make sudden moves and take turns to contribute to the ongoing talk (lines24, 25, 26) by positioning Berk as someone who wants to show off with a complicated utterance in the speaking exam and puts him down. What is next is that in line 28, Nil elaborates on the question asked by Berk by firstly starting '\$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{

This extract demonstrates Berk's initiation to be engaged in language learning practices with his interactional acts and how he was constructed as a laughing stock and how he ignored his friends positioning acts in the sequential unfolding of interaction both on his own and the teacher's sequential moves.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the data presented in the previous chapter will be summarized and discussed in relation to the research questions and literature review.

5.2 Summary of the Findings & Discussion

As it is stated before, this study took place in an English preparatory program of a private university in Central Anatolia. The class was a reading-writing class with a female instructor and 23 students. 'Conversation classes' by native teaching assistants were also the part of the reading-writing class and they were also included in the data analysis. Considering the scope of the study, three students; Asya, Berk, and Oktay were selected as focal participants to be analyzed to be able to present a detailed micro analysis of the construction and negotiation of positional identities and how these positional identites play a role in language learning opportunities in an EFL classroom.

My aim is not to generalize the results; rather the study was conducted to explore the related phenomenon in this specific context with a micro analysis of classroom interaction. Before going into detail, it is worth re-mentioning the research questions which the study in hand intends to answer:

- 1. How do EFL students in an English preparatory program of a private university negotiate positional identities in classroom interaction?
- 2. How do EFL students' positional identites interact with English language learning (opportunities) in EFL classroom interaction?

Shifting my focus from the whole class to three cases, I will describe these three cases with their possible implications and recommendations for future research.

The findings of this study demonstrated that Asya, Oktay and Berk's positional identities were different from each other and they also showed variation within their own positional identities throughout the term, that is, the focal participants showed the dynamic nature of 'identity' with respect to their classmates and each other in the interactional organization of the classroom talk.

Asya, who was regarded as an active and fluent conversationalist in the classroom broke the silence most of the time, particularly in October, at the beginning of the term with her turn-takings, providing candidate responses and offering assistance for her friends. Especially, she translated what the TA and the teacher produced in the target language for her friends when they had difficulties in going on in the interaction. Also, apart from these sequential moves, by producing longer turns compared to her peers, exploiting the assigned turns and initiating sequences in classroom talk, particularly in conversation classes, she was constructed as a 'legitimate speaker' of the class. Asya, as seen in her interactions (see extract 1, 2 and 3), revealed her cultural capital and her epistemic primacy concerning intercultural issues with her interactional acts such as her longer turns or starting new sequences. This case also attracted her peers' attention in the interaction, which was disclosed in classroom talk and in turn, influenced their sequential acts towards Asya in the conversational floor and they positioned her as the legitimate speaker. (E.g see extract 4: don't ask, Asya is not here).

Asya's storylines in native speakers' classes consisted of post expansions and sometimes, she reversed the IRF pattern in which she initiated questions about or demonstrated knowledge. (e.g. see extract 3: Thanksgiving Day). Nevertheless, her peers sometimes came up with statements and micro-reactions for Asya's powerful stance and they positioned her as someone who showed off with her cultural capital. Moreover, Asya was constructed as a 'legitimate speaker' with her fluent

communication styles and obtained 'explicit positive assessments' (Waring, 2008) from his friends and the native speakers (e.g. see extract 6: come on guys, you know English, too and 7: good job). Furthermore, Asya came to be positioned as 'in-between positional identity, neither an ordinary student nor a teacher, and she behaved like an assistant to the teacher in some situations. Nevertheless, her powerful stance started to change in the reading-class and she did not show a powerful position with her interactional moves such as self-selecting herself as the next speaker or initiations in the sequential organization of the classroom talk.

As for Oktay's case, it was vice-versa. Oktay who wasn't engaged in classroom talk a lot at the beginning of the term began to take initiatives later and have 'powerful floor rights' (Vann, Richardon-Bruna & Escudero, 2006, p.208). Moreover, he implicitly challenged the teacher from time to time with his initiations in the interaction (see extract 1: isn't it heard?) and positioned himself as the constant 'volunteer' of the class which was also acknowledged by the teacher and the class. Oktay, often 'stepped in in the slots' (Waring, 2011) which were planned for other students, made interruptions and changed the flow of the class with his sudden moves. Oktay's holding the conversational floor all the time was interpreted as disruptive by the class and the teacher's utterances after the midterm. (e.g. see extract 18: it is not important now). Additionally, Oktay, as evident in extract 20: seasickness and 21: punishment for the bad joke) was positioned as a student who cracked awful jokes, and thus changing the focus of the class. Oktay's sequential moves to be positioned as a 'funny' student were not welcome by his peers' and the teacher's acts. Quite interestingly, Oktay did not initiate to adopt powerful positions in 'conversation classes' and he only showed competitive behaviors during the games from time to time.

The last case, Berk, unlike Asya and Oktay, was the student whose active engagement in the class remains steady. Berk, as a safe house (Canagarajah, 2004), utilized his body language and codeswitching a lot in his interactions though they triggered laughter and mockery among his peers from time to time. The analysis

indicated that Berk was ascribed the positional identity of being a 'persistent language learner' together with encouragement and on his own in the interaction. Besides, the reading-writing instructor's positive evaluations and 'explicit positive assessments' (Waring, 2008) use for Berk while he was on the floor is of paramount importance in Berk's persistent investment in language practices throughout the term, in turn, his positional identity. Moreover, 'laughter' from the class and smiley or jocular voices which followed Berk's interactional moves most of the time put Berk in a 'laughingstock' position. Berk sometimes turned this 'laughing at' case into 'laughing with', thereby showing alignment (e.g. see extract 25: your children will grow up). However, there were times when Berk showed disalignment (e.g. see extract 25 again: your children will grow up) and survived his peers' put downs and mockery and maintained the conversational floor. Furthermore, Berk initiated sequences to address questions which were unusual for his peers (e.g. see extract 27: dolly the cloned sheep) and 'offered the unfitted' (Waring, 2011). What is more, Berk accepted the challenges in the games in conversational classes and his positional acts ended up with 'laughter' in the class, which contributed playfulness and positive atmosphere to the class.

These three focal students constructed and negotiated their positional identities in the interactional organization of interaction. Their becoming as certain beings such as legitimate speaker, bad-joker or survivor did not happen only with their acts, on the contrary, all these changing, multiple and dynamic identities were actively and ongoingly constituted, ascribed, resisted, negotiated or enacted as interaction unfolded.

In this regard, to start with, the findings of the current study are in line with sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978) that places an emphasis on interaction in the classroom setting. While taking up quite different positional identities, Asya, Oktay and Berk took turns, launched sequences, asked questions, challenged the teacher and contributed to the ongoing classroom talk in moment by moment interaction, and as a result, constructed new knowledge through using the language. Moreover, while dominating the sequential organization of the talk, they co-constructed themselves as certaing beings in the interaction by being engaged in more identity positions and in accordance with their positional identities; they opened up spaces for themselves, simply, the interactional space (Walsh, 2006). To illustrate, Oktay, raised questions after each student's speaking practice with the teacher, took up a 'constant participator' position in extract 15 and created 'interactional space' (Walsh, 2006) for himself, accordingly, language learning opportunities. Another further example is that Asya used post-expansions and initiated sequences in native speakers' classes and in turn, was co-constructed as a legitimate speaker and showed a powerful sense of self a in the interaction, and as a consequence, participated in learning practices more.

In that sense, the results of the present study are quite parallel to what Kayı-Aydar (2012) describes in her dissertation. Similar to what she argues in her study, the three focal participants' reflexive and interactive positioning in the interaction played a crucial role in their granting access to language learning opportunities. Also, while these students were taking up and being assigned various positional identities, they were both engaged in classroom activities and underwent a process of identity construction. For instance, like Hashim, the focal participant in Kayı-Aydar (2012) study, Berk and Oktay frequently made interruptions to pose questions to the teacher with their positional acts and in turn, created participation acts and language learning opportunities for themselves. However, this was not the case for other students in the class since the interactional organization of the talk developed among Berk, Oktay and the teacher most of the time as in Kayı-Aydar's study (2012). In particular, notice how Oktay's 'constant participator' positional identity interacted with his sequence initiations or taking a turn designated for another person and grabbing other students' potential turns. Thus, especially, Berk and Oktay, along with their sequential moves, shifted the flow and the focus of the class. Besides, Asya like Ahmad initiated longer turns and held the conversational floor, which resulted in a more powerful position for her in the interaction. Furthermore, As Kayı-Aydar (2012) states, the students who do not participate in classroom practices have been analyzed a lot, but the students who show continous participation behaviors have not been examined. In this regard, this study contributes to literature like Kayı-Aydar's study with its emphasis on the students who were engaged in participation acts in the interaction in line with their positional identites.

What is more, one of the most crucial findings of this study is that it takes learner initiatives into consideration in moment by moment interaction. Waring (2011) presents three types of learner initiatives, which are 'initiating sequence, volunteering response and exploiting assigned turns'. Each of three focal participants of the study in hand displayed a variety of these initiatives within interaction while enacting their positional identities. As Waring (2011) argues that these students went beyond the boundaries of interactional space and rather than just answering the questions, they made us of the language to perform specific social acts and pushed the limits of traditional classroom discourse. Thus, 'by actively seeking and contributing to understanding of various issues, for example, they assert ownership of their own learning process' (Waring, 2011, p.215). Additionally, these initiatives played a crucial role in these three students' positional identity construction. Indeed, it was a vicious circle. Whilst they assigned positioned themselves and were assigned positions in the interaction, they took initiatives such as initiating a sequence, offering the unfitted or stepping as the class representative as it is evident in data analysis.

Other than Waring (2011) the focal participants, especially Asya uttered post-expansions and challenged the traditional IRF pattern. Hence, Asya, as Jacknick (2011) argues, demonstrated 'student agency in the upending of traditional asymmetry in classroom talk' and she assigned power for herself, in turn, a powerful position in the interaction, accordingly, came to be created as a legitimate speaker. In addition, she controlled the direction of the interaction and gained interactional space. Also, as in the case of taking initiatives, Asya initiated and expanded in the interaction in accordance wth legitimate speaker position. Thus,

the results of this study confirm what Jacknick (2011) puts forwards, that is, how students were engaged in power moves by initiating post-expansions.

Along with these findings, the present study provided evidences for the multiple, dynamic and fluid characteristics of identity. Considering that 'all conversations always involve some sort of positioning" (Davies & Harre, 1999, p.29) it can easily be suggested that like in ESL classrooms, positional identities are crucial also in EFL classrooms in terms of language learning opportunities. As Kayı-Aydar (2012) points out positioning 'either limits or gives people access to language learner experiences or opportunities that are believed to foster language learning in the classroom' (p 198). This study also supports this view. Asya, Berk and Oktay got access to language learning opportunites along with their positionings as discussed. As Harre and Langenhove (1999) suggest that when a person is positioned in a certain way, that person is expected to behave in that way by having certain rights & duties. In addition, these positions you take up are likely to hinder your acts. To exemplify, the focal participant, Berk, both with his-self positioning acts and others' interactive positioning were ascribed the laughing stock, persistent language learner and survivor identities. In extract 3 in the analysis of Berk, even though Berk did not use any hand gestures (a typical behavior in his talk), the teacher echoed what he stated with a jocular tone and used hand gestures by implying Berk's usual participation behavior, which was followed in the same way by other students. In this regard, Berk was expected to be involved in the conversation with his body language since he was positioned in classroom interactions in that way before. Another further example is that Asya took place in the conversational floor even in her absence in the class on October, 23 when abroad issues came into play in discussion parts. As Asya took up powerful positions with her experiences abroad in the previous interactions in the class, her peers ascribed this position to her again in the class even in her absence.

Davies and Harre (1999) claim 'an individual emerges through the process of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is

constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate...It is one and the same person who is variously positioned in a conversation' (p.35). In accordance with these lines, in the present study, the focal participants revealed the dynamicity of positional identities by showing intra and inter variation in moment by moment interaction throughout the term. These identities are not fixed, stable, on the contrary, multiple, dynamic. Asya, Oktay and Berk were not created as in the way they did only in one day or one conversation; however, they were co-constructed and took up powerful acts over time. As Rex and Schiller (2009) puts forward, 'other recognize these identities because they were displayed over and over again.' (p.20). To illustrate, Asya became the legitimate speaker of the class in conversation classes due to positioning herself and being positioned by other members of the class in this way many times as observed in data analysis.

Above all, the findings of the current study are quite parallel to identity work presented by Norton (2000). As she stated, identity is 'as a site of struggle' and 'while a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the person might resist the subject position, or even set up a counter-discourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalized subject position' (Norton, 2013, p.164). For example, in the current study, Berk set up a counter discourse and presented the positional identity of being 'survivor' in the sequential unfolding of interaction by surviving his peers' put downs and mockery. This case both gave him the chance to speak in the target language and in effect, subverted his peers' discourse.

Additionally, Norton (2000) says identity changes over time. The findings of the study validate what she says. The participants in the current study were ascribed and enacted changing positional identites throughout the term. For instance, Oktay's participation behavior cannot be observed in the initial weeks as seen in data analysis, but later on, he started to show participation behavior together with

the positional acts he took up and even became a disruptive student and a bad-joker in the class.

Norton's notion of investment can also be observed in the results of the study. By maintaining the interactional space, Asya, Oktay and Berk were involved in language practices in the class with their sequential acts and established their own agenda. For example, Berk constructed a persistent language learner identity with his own and the tecaher's positional acts and took turns, initiated sequences and persistently invested in language practices. Norton (2013) puts the investment into words as in the following:

The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language also an investment in a learner's own identity, and identity which is constantly changing across time and space (p.51).

Thus, by creating opportunities for themselves to speak in the target language in line with their positional identities constructed actively and ongoingly in classroom interaction, Oktay, Asya and Berk invested in the target language, and correspondingly, their identity which is in a state of flux.

Regarding the teacher, the analysis of classroom discourse through CA in this local setting has depicted that the reading writing instructor, Nil also played an important role in students' positional identities; and as a consequence, the results of this study support what Reeves (2008) and Young (2008) have discussed. As mentioned in literature review in detail, these two studies are connected to the teacher investment in learner identity and they conclude that teachers' different self-positioning and assigning different positions to their students can pave the way for students' becoming powerful or powerless in the classroom events and teachers can foster students' interactive processes. To illustrate, similarly, in the current study, Nil displayed alignment with Berk's interaction patterns, way of participation, unusual questions and encouraged him to go on in the conversational floor with her

continuous scaffolding in spite of the class' laughter and mockery. Getting such positive feedback and evaluation from the teacher most of the time in momentarily acts, Berk came to be positioned as a 'persistent language learner' in classroom interaction and invested (Norton, 2013) in the target language. On the other hand, Nil, the reading writing instructor did not show the similar patterns for Oktay from time to time. Even she had an impact on Oktay's being a bad joker in the class and made a contribution to other students' positioning him in that way. In that sense, the study also confirms what Kayı- Aydar (2012) discusses one more time. In her study, the classroom teacher, Betsy's positionings had a siginificant role in the participants' positioning and while one of the participants, Hashim was positioned as an accepted member of the class, the other participant, Ahmad became an outcast.

The findings of the study also revealed that the focal participants and the teacher wend beyond their institutional roles and shifted from their 'situated identites' (Zimmerman, 1998) to the different discourse identites. (e.g. see extracts 11 and 13). Therefore, the findings of the current study are in line with those of Richards (2006) which place an emphasis on the relationship between different identity orientations and the interaction. As Richards (2006) states, in the present study, conversations moved out of the IRF patterns and they were managed by various identites other than student and teacher roles. That is to say, in the study in hand, changes in positional identities were observed in moment by moment interactions and the participants negotiated, joked, resisted or acted in many different positional acts and challenged the teacher-led instruction with their sequential moves and a wide range of interactional acts occurred, that is, conversation was possible. Thus, understanding of the dynamic nature of identites in classrooms is of crucial importance for teachers' pedagogical agenda. In accordance with this case, Richards (2006) puts forward:

In classroom talk, the relevant default identities are teacher and student and it is perhaps not an exaggeration to suggest that previous discourse-based research in this setting has worked entirely from the default position, taking these situated identities as given and exploring how discourse identities can be manipulated to pedagogic advantage. There is, of course, nothing wrong with this, and in practical terms it can deliver useful insights, but it is necessarily limited and may fail to identify some of the interactional possibilities available in the classroom situation (p.61).

Hence, it can be pointed out that the current study provides opportunities for gaining insights into potential classroom conversations along with dynamic and multiple positional identities presented in the results. Moreover, Okada's (2014) study can be referred in terms of the teacher's practice in the current study. Okada (2014) suggests that teachers can manage to realize some goals by 'contrasting the students' and their identities'. Also, in this study, the teacher positions students in interaction and ascribes some specific identities, in turn; the students were involved in language practices.

Furthermore, what He (2004) claims in her study is quite parallel to the results of the present study and as reviewed in literature, He (2004) states expert/novice identities and multiple group and cultural identities are constructed in the details of interaction and focuses on repairs in her study. First of all, in the study in hand, as He (2004) argues, the teacher's expert position was subjected to change from time to time in the sequential unfolding of the interaction, that is, the students in this study sometimes challenged the teacher's expert position with their interactional moves and the teacher also led to this case with her own positional acts. Hence, the teacher lost her authority in the conversational floor. Also, these expert-novice positional were also reversed and the teacher came to be created as powerful. These emergent cases stemmed from the sequential organization of classroom talk and these expert-novice identities came into play. For instance, in extract 12, notice how Oktay and the teacher's, Nil's expert/novice identities unfolded in interaction. When Oktay challenged the teacher with persistent disagreements/sequences in moment by moment interactions, the teacher's expert status was also challenged, yet Nil's regaining her expert position with her powerful moves such as using repairs made a change in the expert/novice relationships. In line with this situation, He (2004) claims: 'the participants ratify, reverse, reject or make irrelevant their prescribed role identities moment-by moment'.

The current study shows the focal participants' took powerful and powerless epistemic stances in relation to their positional identities and other members' of the class. Note how Oktay was constructed as a less knowledgeable student in relation to Asya in extract 9. Here, the participants with their claims of knowledge came to be created as powerful and powerless. In that sense, this study confirms the results of Siegel's (2015) study, which was not conducted in the classroom setting, but focuses on language learning, especially from epistemic stance and how language learning identity develops in interaction. Like in Siegel's study, in this study, the participants showed their epistemic primacy over each other with their sequential acts in some cases throughout the term and developed identities. Lastly, the findings of the study validates those of Miller (2006), which shows how students constructed as good and bad language learners in interactions. Similar to that study, Asya, Berk and Oktay enacted positional identities which were constructed in and took up powerful and powerless stances in the sequential unfolding of the interaction.

To conclude, EFL learners constructed and negotiated their positional identities in discourse in relation to each other and the data analysis indicated that these positional identities created through sequential moves interact with EFL students' language learning opportunities, specifically, participations acts. Thus, the learner both invested in language practices and their positional identities. Additioanly, these positional identities are not fixed, on the contrary, they have a dynamic nature and are subject to change in moment by moment interactions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Implications and Suggestions for Further Research

By conducting this study, it was aimed to understand how positioning, language learning and identity issues interact with each other in classroom interactions of an EFL context. Considering the setting it was conducted (EFL) and the methodology it adopted (CA), the current study made a contribution to literature in SLA research with a different perspective.

Micro-analysis of classroom talk moment by moment has revealed that in language classrooms, positional identities constructed in the interactional organization of talk play a crucial role in the maintenance of students' participations acts, in turn, language learning opportunities. In this regard, the ways the teachers' position learners with their interactional moves are of crucial importance. As long as teachers become aware of how their talk in the sequential organization of classroom talk invest learners' identity construction while learning a language, they can come up with the interactional strategies through which students construct beneficial positional identities. In that sense, teachers should look for the ways of saying things which will reinforce more effective classroom interaction. As Walsh (2011) states 'a teacher's ability 'orchestrate the interaction' in this way not only determines who may participate and when, it influences opportunities for learning' (p.5).

Furthermore, while enacting their positional identities, the participants of the study showed learner initiatives, an indicator of learner agency. Therefore, teachers' awareness of how their and others' positional acts can create language learning opportunities should be increased, and as a result, teachers will be able to empower their students in classroom interaction.

Considering not only students' identities but also teachers' identities are constituted in classroom talk, for future research, how teachers construct and negotiate their identities in classroom talk can be investigated. This is because they also play a crucial role in effective language teaching and learning practices.

Besides, how teachers manage learners' different positional identities in the classroom can be analyzed. Furthermore, more studies utilizing CA approach for SLA research should be carried out to have a better understanding of the identities constructed in the sequential unfolding of interaction and how this emic perspective discloses 'identity work'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

Adapted from Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008)

- (1.8) Numbers enclosed in parentheses indicate a pause. The number represents the number of seconds of duration of the pause, to one decimal place.
- (.) Very short untimed pause.
- [] Brackets around portions of utterances show that those portions overlap with a portion of another speaker's utterance.
- An equal sign is used to show that there is no time lapse between the portions connected by the equal signs. This is used where a second speaker begins their utterance just at the moment when the first speaker finishes.
- :: A colon after a vowel or a word is used to show that the sound is extended. The number of colons shows the length of the extension.
- ? A question mark indicates that there is slightly rising intonation.
- . A period indicates that there is slightly falling intonation.
- , A comma indicates a continuation of tone
- ↑↓ Up or down arrows are used to indicate that there is sharply rising or falling intonation. The arrow is placed just before the syllable in which the change in intonation occurs.
- <u>Under</u> Underlines indicate speaker emphasis on the underlined portion of the word.

CAPS: Capital letters indicate that the speaker spoke the capitalized portion of the utterance at a higher volume than the speaker's normal volume.

This indicates an utterance that is much softer than the normal speech of the speaker. This symbol will appear at the beginning and at the end of the utterance in question.

>< , <>: Greater than' and 'less than' signs indicate that the talk they surround was noticeably faster, or slower than the surrounding talk.

italics: English translation

An equal sign is used to show that there is no time lapse between the portions connected by the equal signs. This is used where a second speaker begins their utterance just at the moment when the first speaker finishes.

A dash indicates an abrupt cut-off, where the speaker stopped speaking suddenly.

.hh This indicates an audible inhalation of air, for example, as a gasp.

The more h's, the longer the in-breath.

(would) When a word appears in parentheses, it indicates that the transcriber has guessed as to what was said, because it was indecipherable on the tape. If the transcriber was unable to guess what was said, nothing appears within the parentheses.

£C'mon£ Sterling signs are used to indicate a smiley or jokey voice.

+ marks the onset of a non-verbal action (e.g. shift of gaze, pointing)

((T walks)) Non-verbal actions or editor's comments.

Appendix B: Approval of Applied Ethics Research Center

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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1. Kimlik Kavramı

Kimlik kavramı sözlük anlamı dışında birçok alanda, disiplinler arası çalışmalarda bilim insanları tarafından tanımlanmış ve teorik açıdan yorumlanmıştır. Modern teoriler, kimliğin sabit, durağan, söylemlerden bağımsız olduğunu söylerken; bireylerin tabiatından bu öze sahip olduğuna ve değişimin kendi sınırları içinde olduğuna inanmaktadır. Öte yandan özcülüğe karşı çıkan yaklaşımlar kimliğin söylemlerde yansıtılmasından daha çok, aktif, sürekli ve dinamik şekilde söylemlerde oluştuğunu savunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bireylerin kimlikleri karşılıklı olarak söylemde tartışılır, yönetilir, oluşturulur ve müzakere edilir. Bu çalışmada da kimliğe bu açıdan yaklaşılmıştır ve söylemsel kimliklere odaklanılacaktır.

Kimlik kavramının söylemde oluştuğunu söylemek, bizleri, insanlar arasındaki etkileşimi incelemeye yöneltir, çünkü insanlar konuşurken, iletişimde bulunurken aynı anda eylemlerde bulunur ve farklı kimliklere bürünür. Makro çalışma alanları kimlik analizinde yaş, cinsiyet, ırk gibi kategorilere odaklanırken, mikro çalışma alanları kimliğin insanların arasındaki konuşmalarda, etkileşimlerde anbean oluştuğunu savunmaktadır ve bu bağlamda konumlandırılmış kimliklere odaklanmışlardır.

İngilizce öğretilen sınıflarda da etkileşimin varlığı ve önemi göz önüne alındığında, yukarıda bahsedilen 'söylemde etkileşimle oluşturulmuş kimlik' kavramının ikinci dil öğreniminde de yer alması kaçınılmaz bir gerçektir.

2. Yabancı Dil Öğrenimi ve Kimlik

İkinci yabancı dil ediniminde sosyal çevrenin büyük önem taşıdığı son yıllarda yapılan çalışmalarda oldukça vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda yabancı dil öğrenen bireylerin öğrenme süreçlerinde sürekli etkileşimde oldukları, sosyal çevreden

diğer bireylerden bu süreçte etkilendikleri ve öğrenmelerinin de bu sürece dahil olduğu sık sık vurgulanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, sınıf içi etkileşiminin etkili bir öğrenme ve öğretme süreci açısından önem taşıdığı yapılan çalışmalarda sık sık bahsedilir olmuştur. Ayrıca, sosyal faktörler, çevre, etkileşim gibi konularla birlikte öğrencilerin yabancı dil öğrenimindeki kimlikleri de son yıllarda yapılan çalışmalarda giderek vurgulanmıştır. David Block'un da belirttiği gibi kimlik çalışmaları, 1990'larda Bonny Norton'un öncülüğünde hız kazanmıştır ve artmaya başlamıştır. Bonny Norton'a göre bir dili öğrenmek sadece çalışarak yapılamaz, çünkü dil öğrenme sosyal bir eylemdir ve bireylerinin kimliklerini ve güç mücadelesini de içerisine alır. Post yapısalcılık teorilerini göz önünde bulundurarak, Bonny Norton kimliğin oldukça karışık, dinamik, zamanla değişen çok yönlü bir kavram olduğunu savunmaktadır.

Norton'a göre, ikinci yabancı dil öğrenimi alanında yapılan çalışmalar sadece öğrencinin motivasyonuna, kişiliğine, çekingen ya da sosyal oluşuna bakmamalı aynı zamanda, söylemde & konuşmalarda güç mücadelelerini de göz önüne almalıdır. Bu bağlamda Bonny Norton beş yetişkin göçmen kadın üzerine gözlemler, mülakatlar ve günlükler aracılığıyla uzun vadeli niteliksel bir çalışma yapmış ve kimliğin değişken, güç mücadelesinin yer aldığı bir kavram olduğunu, zamanla değiştiğini ve dil öğrenme sürecinde önemli bir rolü olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Örneğin, çalışmalardaki katılımcılar dil öğrenmeye istekli olmalarına rağmen göçmen kimlikleri nedeniyle anadili konuşmacıları tarafından ötekileştirildiklerini düşünmüşler ve öğrenmelerinde ve pratik yapmada zorluklar yaşamışlardır. Bu bağlamda Bonny Norton motivasyon teorilerinin bulduğu sonuçları yeterince açıklamadığını iddia etmiş ve 'kimlik ve yatırım' diye yeni bir kavram ortaya atmıştır. Bu kavram, dil öğrenen bireylerin dil öğrenme kararlılıklarını açıklar. Norton'a göre motivasyon teorileri bireylerin kimliklerinin durağan olduğunu iddia etmektedir, fakat yatırım kavramı kimliğin dinamik ve oldukça karışık bir kavram olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Ayrıca bireyler dil öğrenirken sadece bilgi değişiminde bulunmamakta, hem dil öğrenmelerine hem de kimliklerine yatırımda bulunmaktadırlar, çünkü bireyler dil öğrendiklerinde

kültürel, ekonomik, sosyal ve sembolik kapitale sahip olacaklardır. Ayrıca yabancı dil öğrenen bireyler, Bonny Norton'un dediği gibi, kendilerini gelecekte görmek istedikleri hayali topluluk ve kimliklerle bağdaştırmakta ve bu bağlamda dil öğrenmeye yatırım yapmaktadırlar. Bu durum ayrıca daha önce de söylendiği gibi bireylerin kimliklerine de katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Bonny Norton'un kimlik ve yabancı dil kavramı ikinci yabancı dil edinimi alanındaki çalışmalarda sıkça kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada da Bonny Norton gibi post yapısalcılık teorileri baz alınarak, kimliğin söylem bilimde dinamik bir şekilde oluşturulduğunu iddia etmekte ve bu söylem bilimde konumlandırılmış öğrenci kimliklerinin yabancı dil öğreniminde nasıl rol oynadığı vurgulanmaktadır.

3.Konumlandırma, Konumlandırılmış Kimlikler ve Yabancı Dil Öğrenimi

Goffman konuşma etkileşimlerinde bireylerin aldığı rol'ü vurgular ve bu rollerin kimlik oluşunda önemli olduğunu söylemektedir. Davies and Harre (1990) gündelik konuşma etkileşimlerinde, rollerin durağan, sabit doğasını eleştirerek ve buna karşılık gündelik konuşmaların dinamik, değişken doğasını açığa çıkarmak adına konumlandırma kavramını ortaya atmışlardır. Davies and Harre tarafından söylem bilimsel sosyal psikolojide tanımlanan konumlandırma, gündelik konusma etkileşimlerinde bireylerin kimlik inşa edinimini vurgular. Bireyler gündelik konuşma etkileşimlerinde hem karşılarındaki bireyleri hem de kendilerini belli konumlara yerleştirirler. Bu süreç anbean değişken ve süreklidir. sırasında kendine konum atfeden birey, aynı zamanda karşısındakini de değişmekte olan belli konumlara yerleştirir. (Harre ve van Langenhove, 1999). Bu etkileşimlerde karşıdaki kişi kendine atfedilen konumlandırmayı kabul edebilir, reddedebilir ya da başka bir konum alabilir. Bu bağlamda, konuşmalarda oluşan kimlikler atfedilen ve alınan konumlarla ilişkili olarak değişken ve dinamiktir. Ayrıca etkileşimdeki bireyler bu süreçte çok önemli bir rol oynar. Kimliğin özcülük anlayışından ziyade, sosyal bir kavram olduğunu, söylem bilimde

etkileşim içerisinde oluştuğunu göz önüne alan bu çalışma, bu bağlamda, konumlandırma kavramıyla anbean oluşan kimlikleri incelemektedir.

Sınıf içinde de bireylerle oluşan etkileşim göz önüne alındığında, öğrencilerin aldığı ve birbirine atfettiği konumlar kimliklerinde ve öğrenme olanaklarında büyük önem taşır. Bu bağlamda yapılan en önemli çalışmalardan biri Hayriye Kayı Aydar'ın (2012) doktora tezidir. Bu çalışmada öğrenciler konuşmalarında aldıkları ve birbirine atfettikleri konumlarla sınıf içi etkileşimde, söylemleriyle kimlik oluşturmaktadırlar. Bu kimlikler katılımcıların derse katılımını ve öğrenme olanaklarını etkilemektedir. Sınıf içi etkileşimde sürekli söz alarak, öğretmenlerine soru sormak için araya girerek, konuşmalara atlayarak, uzun sıralı cümleler kurarak, bilgilerini göstererek, sınıf içinde etkileşimde güçlü konumlara yerleştirilmişlerdir. Sınıf içi etkileşimde hem sınıf arkadaşları hem öğretmenleri hem de kendilerinin konuşmalarıyla aldıkları bu konumlarla oluşturdukları güçlü kimlikler, katılımcılara öğrenme fırsatı edinmede yardımcı olsa da, sınıf arkadaşlarının öğrenme firsatlarını olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. katılımcılardan biri mizah söylemleriyle ve sınıfın diğer üyelerinde aldığı konumlarla sınıfta kabul edilen bir birey olurken, diğer katılımcı gösterdiği konumsal hareketler ve söylemler kabul edilmeyince sınıf içi etkileşimde dışlanmıştır. Özetle, konumlandırılmış kimlikler öğrencilerin derse katılımında, sınıftaki her bireyin öğrenme olanaklarında ve sınıf içindeki güç mücadelesinde önemli rol oynamaktadır.

4.Çalışmanın Amacı ve Önemi

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de İç Anadolu'da özel bir üniversitede, yabancı dil olarak İngilizce öğretilen bir sınıfta, öğrencilerin nasıl konumlandırılmış kimlik oluşturduklarını, bu bağlamda nasıl müzakereye vardıklarını analiz etmeyi ve bu konumlandırılmış farklı kimliklerin nasıl sınıf içinde yabancı dil öğrenme olanaklarıyla ilişkili olduğunu anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bugüne kadar kimlik üzerine yapılan çalışmalar çoğunlukla İngilizce'nin ikinci dil olarak öğretildiği ortamlarda yapılmıştır. İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği sınıflarda kimlik

çalışması sayısı oldukça azdır. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma literatürdeki bu boşluğu dolduracaktır ve yabancı dil edinimi araştırmalarına katkıda bulunacaktır. Ayrıca şu ana kadar yapılan kimlik çalışmaları sınıf içi etkileşimi göz ardı etmiş, sadece gözlem, mülakat ve dökümanlar kullanmışlardır. Sınıf içi etkileşimi gösteren veri kullanan çalışma sayısı epeyce azdır ve bu çalışma kimlik çalışmalarının yöntem kısmındaki bu eksikliği de gidermektedir. Kimliğin sosyal bir kavram olduğu, etkileşimde söylemlerle oluştuğunu göz önüne alarak, bahsedilen çalışma sınıf içi etkileşimin söylem analizini yapacaktır.

5.Yöntem

Bu çalışma için niteliksel durum, örnek olay çalışması seçilmiştir. Sınıf verisi kullanan bu çalışma, amacı doğrultusunda söylem analizi yapmış ve yöntem olarak konuşma çözümlemesi kullanmıştır. Konuşma Çözümlemesi doğal konuşmaları dizisel düzene odaklanarak inceler. Konuşma çözümlemesinde söz sırası, sıralı çift, onarım ve yeğleme düzeni temel kavramlardır. Söz sırası oluşturma birimi en temel analiz birimidir. Bu çalışmada konuşma çözümlemesinin adımlarına odaklanarak sınıf içinden toplanan doğal konuşmalar analiz edilmiştir.

Çalışma Türkiye'de İç Anadolu'da bir şehirde özel üniversitede yapılmaktadır. Bu çalışma İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği okuma-yazma odaklı, haftada on saatten oluşan bir derste uygulanmıştır. Ayrıca bu derslere haftada bir kere konuşma aktiviteleri yapmak için ana dili İngilizce olan öğretmen asistanlar da çalışmaya katılmıştır.

Çalışmanın verisi 55 saatlık sınıf içi ses ve görüntü kayıtlarından oluşmaktadır. Sınıftaki oturma şekli U düzenindedir ve veri toplamak için sınıfa Eylül ayından Aralık ayının ortasına kadar üç kamera yerleştirilmiştir. Ayrıca tüm katılımcılarla kendileri hakkında bilgi almak için mülakatlar yapılmıştır.

Öğrenci katılımcılar üç kişiden oluşmaktadır ve çalışma içerisinde Asya, Berk ve Oktay diye takma adlar verilmişlerdir. Katılımcıların İngilizce seviyesi alt orta seviyedir. Katılımcılardan Asya yurt dışı deneyimleri olan, İspanya, İtalya, Fransa, Hollanda, Avusturya, Azerbaycan, Almanya ve Dubai'ye turistlik amaçlı gitmiş,

fakat İngiltere'ye eğitim amaçlı üç yıl üst üste gitmiş ve toplamda İngiltere'de üç yıldan fazla kalmıştır. Uluslararası diploma da veren özel bir liseden mezun olmuştur. Asya ana sınıfından beri İngilizce öğrenmektedir. İngilizce öğrenmenin konuşma pratiği yapılarak öğrenileceğini savunmakta ve yabancılarla iletişimin bu bağlamda önemli olduğunu düşünmektedir. Bölümü uluslararası girişimcilik olan Asya, gelecekte enerji sektöründe çalışmak istemekte ve insan kaynaklarında yüksek lisans yapmak istemektedir.

Diğer bir katılımcı olan Oktay ise fen lisesinden mezun olmuş, geçmiş İngilizce deneyimleri kötü olan, bilgisayar mühendisliğinde bir öğrencidir. Kariyer hedefleri doğrultusunda İngilizce'yi çok iyi öğrenmek istemektedir ve yurt dışında çalışmayı ve yaşamayı planlamaktadır. Sadece Özbekistan'da bulunan Oktay, konuşmanın İngilizce'deki en önemli beceri olduğunu düşünmektedir. Üçüncü katılımcı Berk ise Anadolu Lisesi mezunudur ve bölümü tıptır. İleride çok başarı bir cerrah olmak isteyen Berk'in de geçmiş İngilizce deneyimleri çok iyi değildir. Gelecekte Amerika'ya gitmeyi hedefleyebileceğini söyleyen Berk, İngilizce'nin mesleği açısından çok önemli olduğunu savunmaktadır. Berk İngilizce'yi sadece okulda değil hayatın içine dahi ederek öğrenmek gerektiğini savunmaktadır.

Veri analizi yaplırken belirli adınlar izlenmiştir. Öncelikle bütün ses ve görüntü kayıtları dikkatlice izlenmiştir, bu izleme süresince ilk gözlemler not alınmıştır, yani, sınıftaki bütün öğrencilerin kimlikleriyle ilgili olan bölümlere dikkatlice odaklanılmıştır. Bütün veriyi izledikten ve veriye dair ilk gözlemler yapıldıktan sonra, üç öğrencinin (Asya, Berk ve Oktay) konumlandırmaları ve derse katılımlarının arkadaşlarına nazaran farklı olduğu fark edilmştir. Bu bağlamda bu öğrencilerin 'kimlik ve konumlandırma' içeren ses ve görüntü kayıtları tekrar izlenmiştir ve bu öğrencilerin sınıf içinde oluşturdukları kimliklere dair olan bölümler bir araya getirilmiştir. Bu ses ve görüntü kayıtları defalarca tekrar bakılmış ve katılımcıların sınıf içindeki kimlikleriyle alakalı olan temsili bölümler seçilmiştir. Daha sonra, verilerin analizi için çeviriyazılara başlanmıştır ve bu çeviriyazılar söz sırası alma, onarım, sıralı çift ve yeğleme düzeni dikkate alınarak

en ufak detaylarına kadar analiz edilmiştir. Son olarak bu çeviriyazılarla beraber her bir öğrencinin sınıf içinde oluşturduğu konumsal kimlikler açığa çıkarılmıştır. Ayrıca, çalışmayı gerçekleştirebilmek için çalışmanın yapıldığı ve tezin teslim edildği okulların ilgili etik kurullarına başvurulmuştur. Etik kurulları için gerekli belgeler ve dilekçeler hazırlanmış ve gerekli onaylar alınmıştır.

5.Bulgular ve Tartışma

Bu araştırmanın bulguları gösteriyor ki Asya, Oktay ve Berk'in konumlandırılmış kimlikleri birbirlerinden dönem boyunca farklıydı ve kendi içlerinde de bu konuda çeşitlilik gösteriyorlardı. Yani bu araştırmanın merkezindeki bireyler, sınıf içi konuşmanın dizisel organizasyonunda, birbirlerine ve sınıf arkadaşlarına nazaran, kimlik kavramının dinamik doğasının birer örneği oldular.

Sınıfın aktif ve akıcı konuşmacısı olarak kabul edilen Asya, dönem başında – özellikle Ekim'de – soruları cevaplamak üzere el kaldırmalarıyla ve arkadaşlarına yardım teklifleriyle çoğu zaman sınıf içi sessizliği bozdu. Özellikle belirtilebilir ki Asya, öğretmenin ve asistan öğretmenin hedef dildeki konuşmalarını arkadaşları devam eden diyaloğu anlamakta zorlandıklarında onlar için çeviriyordu. Ayrıca, arkadaşlarına kıyasla daha uzun süre söz alarak, söz almadan konuşarak ve konuşmaların yönünü özellikle konuşma derslerinde kendi istediği gibi şekillendirerek, Asya sınıfın 'meşru konuşmacısı' olarak kendini kabul ettirmiştir. Etkileşimlerinden de (Bknz: Ekstrakt 1, 2, 3) anlaşılabileceği gibi, Asya kültürel kapitalini ve epistemik üstünlüğünü, daha uzun süre söz alma ya da yeni konuşmalar başlatma gibi etkileşimsel davranışlarıyla ortaya çıkarmıştır. Sınıf içi diyaloglardan anlaşılacağı üzere, bu durum arkadaşlarının dikkatini çekti ve diyaloglardaki tavırlarını etkiledi, ayrıca Asya'yı yurt dışı ya da kültürel konularda meşru konuşmacı olarak nitelendirdiler (Bknz: Ekstrakt 4: Sormayın, Asya burada değil).

Asya'nın yabancı öğretmenlerin sınıflarındaki diyalogları art-genişletmeler içeriyordu ve bazen de öğretmenin kültürü hakkında sorular sorarak ya da bu

konularda sınıfa bilgi vererek açış-yanıt-geribildirim olgusundaki değiştiriyordu (Bknz: Ekstrakt 3: Şükran Günü). Fakat bazen sınıf arkadaşları mikro düzeyde tepkiler ve ifadelerle Asya'nın güçlü duruşuna karşı geldiler ve onu kültürel birikimiyle hava atan birisi olarak konumlandırdılar. Ayrıca, kültürel birikiminin yanı sıra Asya akıcı konuşma stiliyle 'meşru konuşmacı' kimliğini edindi ve arkadaşlarından ve yabancı konuşmacılardan 'açıkça belirtilen pozitif değerlendirmeler' aldı (Waring, 2008) (Bknz: Ekstrakt 6: Hadi ama arkadaşlar, siz de İngilizce biliyorsunuz; 7: İyi iş). Dahası, Asya ne öğrenci ne de öğretmen gibi davranarak daha ziyade öğretmene asistanlık ama yaparak 'ortada konumlandırılmış kimlik' kazandı. Fakat onun güçlü duruşu okuma derslerinde değişmeye başladı ve konuşmalara dâhil olmak için kendisini öne sürmeyerek, söz almayarak ve konuşmaların yönünü değiştirmeyerek güçlü duruş imajını değiştirdi.

Oktay'ın durumu ise Asya'nınkinin tam tersi; başlarda sınıf içi konuşmalara dâhil olmayan Oktay, daha sonraları söz almaya ve 'güçlü söz hakkı' edinmeye başladı (Vann, Richardon-Bruna & Escudero, 2006, sy.208). Ayrıca, bazı etkileşimlerde üstü kapalı şekillerde öğretmene meydan okudu (Bknz: Ekstrakt 1: Duyulmadı mı?) ve hem sınıf hem de öğretmen tarafından kabul edilen bir şekilde sınıfta olarak konumlandırdı. Oktay, sıklıkla derse kendisini sürekli ʻgönüllü' arkadaşlarının sırası olmasına rağmen atlamış ve hızlı hamleleriyle diyaloğun yönünü değiştirmiştir. Oktay'ın diyaloğun merkezinde bulunması arkadaşları ve öğretmenin dönem ortasıdan sonraki ifadelerinden de anlaşılacağı gibi rahatsız edici olarak algılandı. (Bknz: Ekstrakt 18: O şu anda önemli değil). Ilave olarak, Oktay (Bknz: Ekstrakt 20: Deniz tutması deniz otobüsünde de olur mu?; 21: kötü şakaya ceza) kötü şakalar yapan ve sınıfın dikkatini dağıtan öğrenci olarak da konumlandı. İlginçtir ki, Oktay konuşma derslerinde güçlü pozisyonlar elde etme girişimlerinde bulunmadı ve zaman zaman oyunlarda rekabetçi davranışlar sergiledi.

Asya ve Oktay'ın aksine, Berk – son katılımcı – aktif katılımcılığını sabit tuttu. Arkadaşlarının gülmesine ve bazen dalga geçmesine sebep olsa da diyaloglarında

güvenli yer (Canagarajah, 2004) olarak vücut dilini ve diller arası geçişleri kullandı. Analizler gösteriyor ki Berk iç ve dış motivasyonlarla 'ısrarlı dil öğrencisi' konumunu edindi. Ayrıca, okuma-yazma öğretmeninin pozitif değerlendirmeleri ve 'açıkça belirtilen pozitif değerlendirmeler' (Waring, 2008) Berk'in dönem boyunca dil pratiklerindeki ısrarlı yatırımlarını kritik düzeyde destekler nitelikteydi. Dahası, Berk'in hareketlerini takip eden gülmeler ya da şaka yollu mırıldanmalar Berk'i 'güldürme deposu' konumuna getirdi. Berk bu gülmelere bazen eşlik etti ve dolayısıyla müttefik oldu (Bknz: Ekstrakt 25: çocuklarınız büyüyecek). Fakat bazen de gülmelere direnerek ve dalgalara karşı çıkarak diyalogdaki konumunu korudu (Bknz: yine Ekstrakt 25: çocuklarınız büyüyecek). Ayrıca Berk çoğu arkadaşının aksine soru sormak için sözler aldı (Bknz: Ekstrakt 27: dolly, klonlanmış koyun) ve konunun yönünü değiştirdi ve dahası Berk konuşma derslerindeki oyunlarda meydan okumalara karşılık verdi ve bu durumlar çoğunlukla gülüşmelerle sonuçlandı ve sınıfın pozitif atmosferine katkıda bulundu.

Ilk olarak, bu çalışmanın bulguları sınıf içi ortamlarda etkileşimi vurgulaması açısından sosyo-kültürel teori ile paralel gitmektedir (Vygotsky, 1978). Farklı konumlandırılmış kimlikler edinen Asya, Oktay ve Berk, söz aldılar, ardı sıra konuştular, sorular sordular, öğretmene meydan okudular ve sınıf içi konuşmalara anlık olarak katkılarda bulundular. Sonuç olarak, bir yandan konuşmanın gidişatını idare ederken bir yandan da kendilerine etkileşimsel roller belirlediler ve konumsal kimliklerine bağlı olarak etkileşimsel alanlar yarattılar (Walsh, 2006).

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmanın bulguları Kayı-Aydar (2012)'ın tezinde tanımladıklarına parallel gitmektedir. Çalışmasında iddia ettiğine benzer olarak bu çalışma için söyleyebiliriz ki, üç merkezi katılımcının etkileşimlerdeki refleksif ve etkileşimsel konumları, onların öğrenme olanaklarını erişimlerini garantilemek konusunda önemli bir rol oynadı. Ayrıca, bir yandan çeşitli roller edinirken, bir yandan da üçü de sınıf aktiviteleriyle meşguldüler ve kimlik yaratma sürecinden geçtiler. Mesela, Kayı-Aydar (2012)'ın merkezi katılımcısı Hashim gibi, Berk ve

Oktay öğretmene soru sorabilmek için sürekli sözünü kestiler ve sonuçta kendilerine öğrenme olanağı sağladılar. Kayı-Aydar (2012)'ın çalışmasında da olduğu gibi, bu durum diğer öğrenciler için geçerli değildi çünkü diyalog sırası çoğunlukla Berk, Oktay ve öğretmen arasında gidip geliyordu, Ayrıca, bu çalışmanın en önemli bulgularından birisi de anlık etkileşimlerdeki öğrenci girişimlerini hesaba katmasıdır. Çalışmanın üç katılımcısı da konumsal kimliklerini oluştururken çeşitli girişimlerde bulunmaktadırlar. Waring (2011)'in iddia ettiği gibi, bu öğrenciler etkileşimsel alanın sınırlarının dışına çıktılar, dili kullanarak belirli sosyal rolleri icra ettiler ve geleneksel sınıf kavramının sınırlarını zorladılar. Bu girişimler, öğrencilerin konumsal kimlik oluşturmasında kritik rol oynadı. Aslında, bu bir kısır döngüydü. Bir yandan kendilerine roller atarken ya da başkaları tarafından onlara roller atanırken, bir yandan da girişimlerde bulundular ve söz alarak, alışılmayanı sunarak, sınıfın önüne geçerek öğrenci özgürlüğünü ön plana çıkardılar, veri analizinden de anlaşılacağı gibi.

Ayrıca katılımcılar, özellikle Asya art-genişletmeler kullanmış ve açış-yanıt-geri bildirim üçlü etkileşimsel yapısını tersine çevirmiştir. Jacknick (2011)'in de iddia ettiği gibi, Asya 'sınıfiçi konuşmanın geleneksel asimetrisini altüst eden bir tarzla öğrenci özgürlüğünü' sergiledi ve kendi kendisine güç ve nihayetinde güçlü bir pozisyon atadı.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmanın bulguları Norton (2000)'un kimlik üzerine yaptığı çalışmaya oldukça paralel. Norton (2000)'un da iddia ettiği gibi, kimlik bir 'çabalama alanı'dır ve zamanla değişir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları Norton'un iddia ettiklerini destekler niteliktedir. Bu çalışmanın katılımcıları dönem boyunca değişsen konumsal kimlikler sergilediler. Örneğin, Oktay'ın derse katılma davranışları ilk başlarda gözlemlenemezken, daha sonraları katılımcı davranış sergiledi ve hatta kendisine rahatsız edici ve kötü şakalar yapıcı gibi çeşitli roller de edindi.

Norton'un yatırım yapma kavramı da bu çalışmanın sonuçlarında gözlemlenebilmektedir. Otonomi alarak ve etkileşimsel alanda hak iddia ederek,

Asya, Oktay ve Berk sınıf içi dil pratiklerinde rol aldılar ve kendi gündemlerini yarattılar.

Böylece, sınıf içi etkileşimde ve sınıf içi etkileşim yoluyla inşa ettikleri konumsal kimlikleriyle bağlantılı olan şekillerde kendilerine hedef dilde konuşma olanakları yaratarak, Oktay, Asya ve Berk, hedef dildeki gelişimlerine ve değişim halindeki kimliklerine yatırım yaptılar.

Öğretmen ile ilgili olarak CA yoluyla icra edilmiş sınıf içi söylem analizine dayanılarak söylenebilir ki, okuma yazma dersi öğretmeni Nil, bu öğrencilerin konumsal kimliklerinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Mesela, Berk'in etkileşimsel yöntemlerine müttefik olmuştur ve sınıfın gülüşmelerine ve dalga geçmelerine rağmen ona motivasyon sağlayarak diyalogdaki yerini korumasını sağlamıştır. Bu şekilde pozitif geridönüt ve değerlendirme alan Berk sınıfta 'ısrarlı dil öğrencisi' olarak konumlanmıştır ve hedef dildeki öğrenimine yatırım yapmıştır (Norton, 2013). Diğer bir yandan, Nil aynı davranış şeklini Oktay için bazı zamanlarda göstermemiştir. Hatta Oktay'ın sınıf içinde kötü şaka yapan kimse olarak konumlandırılmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Ayrıca bu çalışmanın sonuçları gösteriyor ki merkezi katılımcılar ve öğretmen enstitüsel rollerinin dışına çıkmışlardır ve 'belirlenmiş kimlikler' (Zimmerman, 1998) yerine farklı söylem kimliklerine bürünmüşlerdir (Bknz: Ekstrakt 11 ve 13). Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmanın Richards (2006) ile çeşitli kimlik oryantasyonları ve etkileşimlerine vurgu yapması bakımından paralellik gösterdiği söylenebilir. Richards (2006)'ın da dediği gibi, bu çalışmadaki diyaloglar açış-yanıt-geri bildirim kalıplarının dışına çıkmıştır ve geleneksel öğrenci öğretmen rollerinkinden farklı kimlikler tarafından idare edilmiştir. Yani, bu çalışmada, konumsal kimliklerdeki değişimler anlık etkileşimler yoluyla gözlemlenmiştir ve bireyler müzakere etmiştir, şakalaşmıştır, direnmiştir, bir sürü farklı konuma gelmiştir ve söz almaları da dâhil daha bir sürü etkileşimsel hareketleriyle öğretmen yönetimli eğitime meydan okumuşlardır. Sonuç olarak, sınıf içi kimliklerin dinamik doğasının anlaşılması öğretmenin pedagojik gündemi için kritik bir öneme sahiptir.

Sonuç olarak, sınıftaki öğrenciler sınıf içi etkileşimde konumlandırılarak kimlikler edinmişlerdir ve bu durum öğrencilerin ders sırasında, sınıf içi etkileşimde aldıkları dizisel eylemlerle olmuştur. Ayrıca, konumlandırılmış bu kimlikler sabit kalmamış, aksine dinamik olup, değişmişlerdir. Bu durum öğrencilerin ders içi katılımlarıyla ilişkili olmuş ve öğrencilerin derse katılımında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu bağlamda yabancı dil öğretmenleri sınıf içi etkileşimdeki söylemlerin ve dizisel eylemlerinin öğrencilerin dil öğrenirken kimliklerine yatırımda bulunduğunun farkına varmalıdır. Buna ek olarak öğretmenlerin sınıf içi etkileşim konusunda farkındalığı artırılmalıdır. Ayrıca, öğretmenlerin de sınıfta büründükleri kimliklerin etkili bir eğitim öğretim için önemli olduğu düşünülürse, gelecekte bu konuya dair yapılacak çalışmalar, öğrenciden ziyade öğretmen kimliklerine odaklanabilir. Son olarak, konuşma çözümlemesiyle kimlik üzerine yapılan çalışmalar artırılmalı, kimliğin sosyal bir olgu olarak etkileşimde oluştuğu ve bu durumun ikinci yabancı dil edinimiyle nasıl ilişkili olduğu ortaya konmalıdır.

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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1.	Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.	
2.	Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.	
3.	Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.	X

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