A CASE STUDY ON INTERACTIONAL CO-CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES IN AN EFL CLASSROOM

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ABSTRACT

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Identity, conceptualized as a social construct, has found its way into SLA research after Firth and Wagner (1997) and Block (2003) made their call for a social turn in the field. Drawing on poststructuralist ideas of learning, Norton (1995, 2000, 2013) has established her social theory of identity in SLA, which sees 'identity' as multiple, as a site of struggle and as changing over time. Adopting this view, many researchers have published on the ties between identity and language learning (see Norton & Toohey, 2011); however, there is still a need for identity research evidenced by real classroom interactions coming from local contexts of EFL classes. Addressing this gap, this study aims to understand how various identity positions are co-constructed within interaction in an EFL context and how these positions affect language learning processes of the students. Informed by Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), a conversation analytic approach is used in order to analyse the video recordings of 17 hours of an Upper-Intermediate level English preparatory class at a private university in Ankara, Turkey. The analysis shows two students as focal cases as their identity construction and negotiation are different from other students. It is found that positioning oneself or being positioned in certain ways in the sequential organization of interactions, such as *knowledgeable*, *attentive*,

indifferent, *silent, funny* and so on, come to create students as certain beings, affect the ways that interactions unfold in classroom, and create consequences for participation opportunities. It is hoped that this study will contribute to identity research in Turkey, first, by providing evidence to the relevancy of 'identity' as a subject of inquiry at the intersection of discourse and language learning studies, and second, by applying discourse analysis (Positioning and Conversation Analysis) in order to study identity as a social construct.

Keywords: Identity, Foreign Language Education, Positioning, Conversation Analysis

ÖZ

İNGİLİZCE'NİN YABANCI DİL OLARAK ÖĞRETİLDİĞİ BİR SINIFTA ETKİLEŞİMSEL KİMLİKLERİN KARŞILIKLI OLUŞTURULMASI ÜZERİNE BİR VAKA ÇALIŞMASI

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Sosyal bir oluşum olarak kavramsallaştırılmış olan *kimlik*, Firth ve Wagner (1997) ve Block'un (2003) ikinci dil edinimi (SLA) alanında yaptıkları sosyal dönüşüm çağrısından sonra alana girmiştir. Ayrıca post-yapısalcı öğrenme yaklaşımından yararlanarak, Norton (1995, 2000, 2013) ikinci dil edinimi alanındaki sosyal kimlik teorisini kurmuştur. Bu teorinin ortaya koyduğu anlayış "kimlik" oluşumunu çoklu, bir uğraşma alanı ve zamanla değişen bir olgu olarak görür. Bu teoriyi benimseyen bir çok araştırmacı kimlik ve dil öğrenimi arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koyan yayınlar yapmışlardır (Norton & Toohey, 2011); fakat, hala İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği (EFL) ortamlarda yapılan ve gerçek sınıf içi etkileşimleriyle kanıtlanan kimlik araştırmalarına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Literatürdeki bu eksikliği ele alarak, bu çalışma İngilizce'nin yabancı bir dil olarak öğretildiği bir sınıfta çeşitli kimliklerin etkileşim içerisinde nasıl birlikte oluşturulduklarını ve bu kimliklerin öğrencilerin dil öğrenim süreçlerini nasıl etkilediğini anlamayı amaçlamıştır. Konumlandırma Teorisi'nden (Davies & Harré, 1990) yararlanılarak, Ankara'daki özel bir üniversitenin İngilizce hazırlık sınıfında bulunan orta-ileri seviyedeki bir sınıfın video kayıtları, konuşma çözümlemesi yaklaşımı kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Analiz, kimlik

oluşturumu ve müzakeresi diğerlerinden farklı olan iki öğrenciyi odak vakalar olarak sunmaktadır. Sonuçlar, sınıf içi konuşmadaki ardışım içerisinde, bireyin *bilgili*, *katılımcı*, *kayıtsız*, *sessiz*, *komik* ve benzeri şekilllerde kendini konumlandırması veya başkaları tarafından konumlandırılmasının bireyi zaman içerisinde belli biri olarak şekillendirdiğini, sınıf içindeki etkileşimin açılımını etkilediğini ve katılım fırsatlarını belirleyen sonuçlara yol açtığını ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışmanın, öncelikle "kimlik" olgusunun söylem ve dil öğrenimi çalışmalarının kesişiminde bir inceleme konusu olarak uygunluğunun belgelenmesine katkıda bulunması umut edilmektedir. İkinci olarak, sosyal bir oluşum olarak kimlik konusunun söylem analizi (Konumlandırma ve Konuşma Analizi) kullanılarak çalışılması umulmaktadır. Son olarak, bu çalışmanın bulguları, kimlik oluşturumunun sınıf içi etkileşime ve öğrenme fırsatlarına olan etkisinin anlaşılması açısından İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği sınıflar için çıkarımlar sunmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kimlik, Yabancı Dil Eğitimi, Konumlandırma, Konuşma Analizi

Dedicated to my love, and best friend, Onur Bektaş

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

This section will present the background and the scope of this study. Then the research questions that guided the work will be provided, which is followed by a brief discussion of the limitations of this research.

1.1. Background to the Study

In the last two decades, the literature in the field of second language learning has witnessed an increasing number of studies which conceptualize learning as a complex social practice taking place within the locality of wider social contexts. The necessity of this redirection was made relevant by Firth and Wagner (1997), who voiced the general discomfort about the dominant research paradigm in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) which saw language learning as an individual endeavour taking place in the minds of learners. Instead, they called for an "enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, and increased "emic" (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and the broadening of the traditional SLA database" (p. 757). Although it was not directly about identity, responding to this call, several researchers undertook the task of exploring the inter-relationship between identity and language learning (Block, 2007).

Among these researchers, Norton has been the most influential one as she has built a strong Identity Theory in SLA. Drawing on poststructuralist theories of language, identity and power, Norton (2000) claims that language learning takes place by participating in certain communities of practice and this social process involves

constructing, negotiating, accepting or resisting various identities, "rather than a simple accumulation of skills and knowledge" (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007, p. 590). Currently, there is a great amount of identity research embracing this view and strengthening the theoretical relevancy of identity to language learning. The common argument shared by contemporary identity researchers is that an individual engages in multiple ways of being while acting in the social world and these multiple identities are open to change in time. Moreover, as put forward by Norton and Toohey (2011), creating who you are in relation to others entails power struggles that one needs to face, which suggests that not everybody is immediately given access to the community (real or imagined) one desires to share membership with via the target language. Also, it is acknowledged that while some identities empower learners and give them more chances for participation, some others may silence and marginalize individuals by not recognizing them as legitimate to communicate with. All these social workings of identity, in relation to power, have the potential of determining the success of language learning practices (Norton and Toohey, 2011).

The identity approach to language learning advocated by Norton (2000) is also informed by the poststructuralist construct of positioning. Simply, positioning is the discursive act of assigning certain identities to oneself and others within unfolding conversations (Davies and Harré, 1999). The borders of one's actions (what you can do /say or not) are governed by the positions one is ascribed to. For example, if an interlocutor is positioned as sardonic, that person may be excluded from any further interaction, or if a person is positioned as knowledgeable relative to others, he or she may be authorized to act on behalf of a group of people. So, positioning has consequences for social action.

One important study in the field of SLA which rigorously looks into the effects of positioning in an L2 classroom belongs to Kayı-Aydar (2014), who revealed that the social positionings of students in class have a big impact on their participation behaviour and access to learning opportunities. She found out that over time, some

students come to be created and seen as certain beings, like a "silent student" or "troublemaker", because of the positional identities they frequently enact or that are attributed to them in interactions.

Informed by the purpose, findings and the implications of this study, the present research aims to understand how positional identities emerge in classroom interactions and how they interact with language learning practices within the local context of a foreign language class environment. With this purpose, an Upper-Intermediate classroom at a Preparatory English School of a private university in Ankara was video-recorded for 17 hours over a duration of three months. The natural interactions taking place in each class hour (50 minutes) were captured by two cameras and these constituted the primary data for this study. Later, the recordings were watched by the researcher closely and transcriptions were prepared. Using the micro-analytic approach of Conversation Analysis as the methodology, the sequential and interactional emergence of positional identities of two focal students, Ezgi and Efe, were documented line by line within various class talks. The implications of the findings are discussed in terms of the consequences of identity positionings for the interactional design of the classroom talk and participation rights of the learners.

As pointed out by Block (2007), unlike the volume of identity research in natural L2 settings and study abroad contexts, there is comparatively much less work on identity conducted within foreign language environments. So, it is hoped that this study will contribute to filling in this gap in by providing a case from the Turkish context. Furthermore, what this study offers as new is that it employs a conversation analytic perspective in order to study positional identities in the details of classroom interactions as they sequentially occur across various class activities. It is hoped that this study will set an example to encourage future identity researchers to conduct more classroom-based research using real spoken data collected via audio- or video- recording.

1.2. Research Questions

With the purpose of revealing the interactional identity work in an EFL classroom in relation to learning practices, this study is guided by the questions below:

1. How do EFL learners construct positional identities in classroom interactions?
2. How do different positional identities interact with the participation acts of learners in class?

1.3. Limitations

This identity research is limited in certain aspects. To start with, it only explores and discusses the positional identities of learners as they come into play in interaction. Although the positionings of the teacher is also relevant to the issue at hand, it requires another undertaking of a fully-fledged study on its own, which goes beyond the scope of the present work.

In addition, while collecting the data for this study, two cameras were used in order to video-record the interactions as they naturally took place in the class. The number and the quality of the cameras were proper in order to capture the main classroom talk as governed and shaped by the teacher. However, when it comes to some private conversations that took place between students sitting together or close, it was not possible to catch them. As the number of the students was high, and both the class teacher and the researcher were busy teaching full-time, it was not practical to place voice-recorders on desks and then collect them later in the face of the local realities. The data could have been richer if the private sites of conversations between students had been included for any identity work. These private conversations constitute, in Canagarajah's (2004) words, some "safe houses" which students may turn to for forming potentially resisting identities that they avoid performing in front of the class.

Lastly, as this is a case study looking into identity as a social performance with a conversation analytic perspective, the findings cannot be generalized to other classroom contexts. However, the implications may apply to all foreign language classrooms where similar case studies can be carried out so as to develop new perspectives about identity and language learning.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter will start with defining identity as a discursive, social performance. Then it will establish the theoretical background and the current identity research in the second language learning literature.

2.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.1   Identity in Discourse

Any research into identity work compels the researcher to take up some theoretical positions that will, in turn, shape the methodological choices. To start with, defining "identity" seems fit. The contemporary definition, which has persevered for a long time in popular culture, sees identity as a product of human cognition or psyche which resides inside the individual as a fixed possession (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). According to this view, each individual has an embedded, core identity (such as being competitive / cooperative, spoiled / good-natured) although they may not always show it in actual performance. In contrast, the alternative approach conceptualizes identity as a social production or performance. This means that identity is created within discourse, during interaction among people. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006) state, "there is no such thing as an absolute self, lurking behind discourse" and "who we are to each other is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse" (p. 4). It is this *discursive* framing of identity that will be adopted in this study.

Placing identity construction within discourse directs the discussion towards the analysis of interactions between people, firstly, at the micro level. This is because it is through interaction that people say things, do certain actions, such as promising or praying, and take up different ways of being (Gee, 2011). So, like other meaning-making processes, identity emerges from interaction as a social product. While acknowledging the macro-level identity categories of age, gender and race, the interactional approach focuses on the positional identities that people co-construct in the moment by moment structure of a talk (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). As well as being emergent and positional, identity is also indexical as speakers use language in order to imply things, presuppose certain meanings, evaluate or show orientations to the ongoing interaction or identify with certain groups by making ideologically charged linguistic choices (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This sociolinguistic framing of identity has found its way into the current SLA research in its search to capture social, contextual and discursive dynamics of language learning.

This social turn was made explicit in 1997, when Firth and Wagner made a call for a reconceptualization of SLA processes within social and contextual dimensions. They pointed out that the predominant view of second language learning was heavily structural and individualistic, and thus lacking the appropriate theoretical tools to explain contextual and interactional aspects of language use, and by extension, identity. In their call, Firth & Wagner (1997) acknowledge that the monolingual native-speaker competence, governed by the Chomskyan paradigm, has been idealized in SLA research casting the foreign language speaker as 'deficient communicator' who struggles to move beyond an inadequate L2 competence to reach native-like competence. This, as criticized by them, results in a fixed binary identity position of 'natives' and 'nonnatives', which sees any interaction between these two parts as problematic on the ground of learners' "linguistic deficiencies" and "communicative problems". Challenging this view, Firth & Wagner (1997) called for a counter interpretation of social identity as constructed and negotiated in talk with others. They point out that any conversational problems or breakdowns – like repairs or misunderstandings from structural view of SLA- can, in fact, be

interpreted as resources aiding communication. This is because, as they put it, "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).

The discontentment with the dominance of individual-based and mechanistic views of language learning and learners has been shared by others as well (Ochs 1993; Norton 1995; Mckay & Wong 1996; Pavlenko, 2002; Block, 2007). Among these researchers, an earlier perspective on the tie between language learning and identity can be found in Ochs (1993). As a linguist, she tries to provide a theoretical perspective on the tie between language acquisition and social identity. She considers social identity as "a range of social personae, including social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life" (p.288). She employs the terms 'social acts' and 'stances' for her discussion: the first means 'socially accepted behaviour aimed toward a goal' while the latter means 'a display of socially recognized point of view or attitude'. For her, speakers form an identity for themselves or for their interlocutors by verbally performing certain social acts and verbally showing certain stances. She further claims that:

> the relation of language to social identity is not direct but rather *mediated* by the interlocutors' understandings of conventions for doing particular social acts and stances and the interlocutors' understandings of how acts and stances are resources for structuring particular social identities (p.289).

This suggests that social identity is not created by the linguistic structures but the local conventional meanings attached to them by the members of a community. So, if a learner fails in his/her claim to a social identity, the reason can be a lack of understanding of culturally shared meanings and/or socialization into the culture of the target language.

Ochs's (1993) understanding of social identity can be traced back to the eminent sociologist Erving Goffman's (1959) early work as it brings up the issues of "roles" and "positions" in defining identity. In his work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday*

Life, Goffman studies human interaction to understand the construction of self. He uses a dramaturgical technique to analyse conversations between people from the viewpoint of role-taking and role-assigning. While interacting with somebody in the front stage which he calls 'social front' (1959, p.16), an individual performs in a way that is socially appropriate and expected of him in appearance and manner. For Goffman (1959), the 'social fronts', which can be understood as different discourses, are not created, but instead they are selected. He believes that people present themselves in an idealized way as "when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole" (p.23). He also uses the term "impression management" to discuss an individual's desire to manage the impression he/she wants to create on other people "for the work of successfully staging a character" (p.132). So, Goffman's ideas around presentation of self contribute to our understanding of social interactions, and thus identity formation.

2.1.2   Positioning

Davies & Harré (1990) problematize the use the concept of "role" in developing a social self. They assert that there is more to interaction than people taking up certain predetermined roles, like being a mother or a good student, which are normatively defined and transmitted. Such roles and the rules that have shaped them, in Goffmanian sense, exist independent of language production. As a replacement, Davies & Harré (1990) come up with a more fluid term, "positioning", in order to focus on dynamic aspects of social encounters. They define positioning as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (p. 48). The story lines, in this definition, are seen as being organised around discussions of various topics and personal stories of people's lives. As people speak, story lines unfold in interaction and certain identity positions are made available for

both parties. Intentionally or not, a speaker positions himself and the others within a talk. This is an inevitable discursive act as when people speak, they make choices regarding the words, images or metaphors that are (traditionally or ideologically) associated with certain ways of being.

Thus, Davies & Harré (1990) see positioning as a conversational phenomenon, and conversation as a form of social interaction. Then, in any social interaction, people actively create social meanings depending on their positions. At the same time, their positioning is also a product of the social (illocutionary) force of a conversation. So, there is a dynamic interrelationship between "position" and social force, the process of which is termed as "discursive practice". Within discursive practices taking place in different discourses, Davies & Harré (1990) believe that "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" (p.46). In this creation of who we are, a person can be in the position of a subject or object. This means that a person can position himself /herself, or can be positioned by what other people say. As a result, creation of identities concerns the issues of power relationships, having access to certain rights or being blocked to reach a desirable identity.

However, in Positioning theory, people are conceptualized as possessing 'agency' to manage the processes of creating selves. Davies & Harré (1990) explain this in these words:

> Positioning' and 'subject position' permit us to think of ourselves as a choosing subject, locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories through which we have learnt metaphors, characters and plot (p. 52).

In this view, while we have the freedom of choosing which story lines to create and which subject positions to assign to ourselves and others, we also have a choice over whether to take up a position or to refuse it. Another possibility is that we may find ourselves in multiple and contradictory positions, or in a negotiation for new

ways of being in the same conversation. This means that identity positions can shift in the moment-by-moment construction of talk, and over longer periods of time when people regularly engage in talk. However, positions are powerful in that they can accumulate in time and come to create a person as a coherent one. For instance, even though a person may position himself/herself or be positioned as 'communicative' or 'participative' in certain social episodes, that person may come to be positioned as "silent" on the whole, if this is the subject position her or she mostly take up or is assigned to.

In a later work, Harré and Langenhove (1999) provides a more elaborate explanation of Positioning Theory. They put forward that positioning someone, or being positioned, has the effect of governing the relationship between people or certain groups, by giving them certain rights, by obliging them to carry out certain acts, or by restricting their actions. They exemplify this process:

> If someone is positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavour they will not be accorded the right to contribute to discussions in that field. If someone is positioned as powerful that person may legitimately issue orders and demand obedience in those engaged in some strip of life, in which this position is acknowledged. Generally speaking positions are relational, in that for one to be positioned as powerful others must be positioned as powerless (p. 1).

Accordingly, the social force of an utterance and the unfolding subject positions in story lines are mutually constructed. To illustrate, Harré and Langenhove (1999) identify 'teacher' and 'student' as positions. They say that the same sentence uttered by a teacher and a student would convey different social meanings as within the 'moral context' of classroom and the storyline of 'tutorial', the rights to speak in certain ways are not equally distributed. As a result, positioning emerges alongside the triad of "position / social force of / storyline" (p. 18).

2.1.3 Positioning and Language Learning

The most recent study which rigorously draws the link between positioning and language learning in an ESL classroom belongs to Kayı-Aydar (2014), who, by building on the very small number of studies looking into the effects of positioning

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in classes (Miller, 2007; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Stone and Kidd, 2011), aims to examine how social positioning influence students' access to classroom interactions and thus learning opportunities. To this end, she recorded an academic, multi-cultural oral skills class at a university in the United States during a period of 15 weeks, and interviewed both the students and the teacher multiple times. Also, she used further qualitative data coming from her observations, field notes and students' diaries. Conducting a detailed discourse analysis by looking into both micro and macro details of various classroom interactions, she ended up focusing on two talkative students, Tarek and Ahmad, as their participation differed from others in terms of positioning acts. Her findings show that, although these students displayed similar participation behaviour such as showing competence and dominating the talk by talking much, they were assigned different identity positions by their classmates: while Tarek was accepted as a class member by using friendship and humour, Ahmad was cast as an "outsider" as he came to be seen as arrogant. Consequently, as Kayı-Aydar reports, Tarek was given more access to learning opportunities thanks to the positions that he assigned to himself or was assigned by others. However, Ahmad's social positioning denied him this right as his classmates were reluctant to interact with him.

Discussing her findings, Kayı-Aydar (2014) puts forward that the social positionings which shape interactions also constructs a person's identity in time over different interactions. She maintains that,

> Indeed, Tarek did not become a "helpful", "funny" classmate in single day, nor did Ahmad become an outsider all of a sudden. They took up these positional identities because of the ways they positioned themselves and the ways they were positioned by others during the semester (p. 709).

This study is of great value to the SLA literature as it is the first one to link positioning and identity to English language classrooms, using real classroom data and documenting social positioning acts over and across various interactions. Also, in terms of its implications, Kayı-Aydar highlights the important role of teachers in shaping the classroom talk towards creating interactional opportunities for helping

students to construct "positive selves" (p. 709), while at the same time developing strategies for dealing with outspoken students in order to appeal to everybody in terms of equal participation.

2.1.4 Identity in Critical Discourse Analysis

Identity construction is also relevant to the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in its aim to reveal the unjust power struggles, domination, subordination and exploitation that circulate through discourses. This is because identity construction, which is basically viewed as a social performance by discursive approaches, is not independent of these political or ideological workings of discourse. While CDA sees identity mostly as an "effect of discourse", it also acknowledges that human beings, to some extent, can have choice or agency over their investments in certain subject positions (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

Fairclough (1995) states that any text, written or spoken discursive practice, has 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual' meanings that are interwoven. The 'interpersonal' function consists of two sub-functions: "the 'identity' function – text in the constitution of personal and social identities – and the 'relational' function – text in the constitution of relationships" (p. 133). Fairclough (1995) maintains that texts, in their creation, draw upon each other in transformative or reproductive ways, which he terms as 'interdiscursivity'. By this concept, he focuses on how certain hegemonic powers have shaped the ways we understand the world, how they construct who we are and how these, in return, are constructed socially. Then, identity formation, as one function of discourse, emerges from ideological, political and cultural practices. For example, patriarchal societies offer a passive and secondary position to women compared to the empowered position of men, which is contested by feminist practices around the world.

Similarly, in classroom, teachers may assign more power to certain identity positions and expect students to orient to these favoured positions while silencing

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some others, which is an enactment of subordination. The negotiation of or resistance to demanded identities within classroom discourse has an impact on learning, in our case, language learning. A good example to such critical approach to identity can be found in one of Canagarajah's (2004) works, in which he theorizes the existence of "pedagogical safe houses" in classroom discourse. These safe houses, as he puts forward, are sites where students construct and invest in identities that are institutionally unwanted or disapproved. To exemplify this concept, Canagarajah (2004) compares samples of real classroom interactions with interactions within the private realms of student underlife in a Sri Lankan SLA class. Among others, he provides one example which shows how students looked obedient and disciplined in class about a writing assignment that they were actually so critical of. Unlike their conformable positioning in the official context of class, students were free to become critical or share their discontents in their e-mail exchanges. According to Canagarajah (2004), from educational perspective, "the detachment safe houses provide from both dominant academic discourses and the vernacular enables students to position themselves strategically for an independent and creative voice" (p. 132). So, this study sets a good example by showing us that classroom is a not a sterile place free from power issues, which links it to CDA, and that identity work in classroom discourse has implications for successful learning experiences.

In short, CDA makes it clear that life is not just, and creating a desirable identity is not a straightforward action, which also applies to classroom context. It is a site for gaining power, struggling to have a voice and being aware of the hegemonic relations dominating ones and favouring some others. So, it is crucial to combine the micro-level analysis of identity within interaction with a macro-level analysis of broader social and political contexts of power, inequality and dominance.

2.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2.1 Identity and Language Learning

The most influential work setting a strong relationship between identity and language learning in SLA research belongs to Norton Peirce (1995). Drawing on poststructuralist approaches to language learning, she develops her own theory of social identity by studying the language experiences of immigrant women in a 6-month SLA course in Canada. She conceptualized identity as multiple, a site of struggle and changing over time. Opposing the socio-psychological labelling of an individual with essential and fixed personality features, such as 'introvert-extrovert' or 'motivated/unmotivated', Norton (1995) adopted the poststructuralist view of individual as diverse, contradictory and dynamic. Having human agency, she argued that, an individual struggles with power relations in taking up positions or resisting being positioned as powerless and marginalized. To illustrate this, Norton gives the example of an immigrant woman, Eva, being positioned as "strange" by an Anglophone Canadian, Gail, when she fails to recognize Bart Simpson: "How come you don't know him. Don't you watch TV. That's Bart Simpson" (p.10). Here, the two women are unequal in their relations. Not having access to the popular culture, Eva loses her chance to have access to language practice at her workplace, and also belittled by her native colleague. Norton further argues that this discourse may, in fact, reflect the Canadian society at large, where language learners try hard to be accepted in Canadian society.

Norton (1995) also questions the concept of motivation and replaces it with the concept of "investment" in her identity theory. She argues that the dominant motivation theory in SLA based on the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) with the notions of *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation failed to account for the complex relationships between power, identity and language learning in her study of immigrant women. Instead, she used the term *investment* to "signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it"

(1997, p. 411). To better explain this term, she refers to Bourdieu's (1977) notion of 'cultural capital' which suggests that certain languages and linguistic varieties (such as standard English) provide more access to better education or desired social positions. However, unlike the instrumental motivation which is seen as a fixed personality trait, the concept of investment aims to understand the relationship between a language learner with multiple desires and the wider social word outside. Norton (1995) successfully links this relationship to identity formation with these words:

> The notion (investment) 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 is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, and identity which is constantly changing across time and space (p.18).

Furthermore, Norton (1995) analyses the relationship between language and power by problematizing the issue of 'appropriateness'. Unlike the code-based view of second-language learning which stresses that a language learner needs to master a set of rules with accuracy, Norton believes that appropriate usage is must be understood with reference to power relations between interlocutors (p.18). To her, appropriateness is a social construct favouring the interests of a dominant group in a given society. While some people have the right to speak and to be listened to, some others are silenced. So, by calling researchers to question this, Norton's identity theory, in a way, shares the central concern of critical pedagogy: bringing learners to an awareness of unjust power relationship in society and enabling them to gain the critical skills to recognize and question the practices of status quo which creates a world of winners and losers, and giving them the courage to take action for social justice (Freire, 2001). Norton and Toohey (2011) further questions how power in the social world affects learners' access to the target language community and language resources to practice listening, speaking, reading and writing outside of the class.

Another novel term that Norton (2001) has offered to the field to enhance our understanding of language learning and identity is "imagined communities". Imagined communities refer to groups of people with which we have only an imagined contact unlike the direct daily interaction people have with many communities in neighbourhood, workplace, school or religious communities. Drawing on Wenger (1998)'s definition of *imagination* -"a process of expanding oneself by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (p.176), Norton applies the term to SLA theory to understand the relationship between imagined communities and imagined identities. Later she, together with Kanno (2003), gives an example to better explain this:

> When a young Japanese man studying fashion design in in Tokyo starts to learn English, he may envision himself as one of the most successful fashion designers in New York. In his imagination, he is a recognized member of an international fashion community, and English is seen as one of the important means of gaining this future affiliation (p.242).

So, this new term 'imagined communities' is closely related to 'investment' as while a language learner imagined to be part of a community through target language and thus develops an imagined identity, he/she can invest more in language learning practices. Norton (2001) rightly asserts that if a teacher is not aware of a learner's imagined communities and identities, this lack of awareness can prevent him/her from setting up learning practices in which learners can invest.

2.2.2 An Overview of Current Identity Research in SLA

Since Norton's article 'Social identity, investment, and language learning' (Norton Peirce 1995) got published in TESOL Quarterly, several researchers have published on identity within the domain of SLA. They have mainly adopted the identity theory proposed by Norton (1995) explained above, and related the concepts of "investment" and "imagined communities" to their discussions.

One such researcher is Duff (2002), who focused on language use and identity co-construction in an ethnically mixed Canadian school. Over a two-year period, he

observed an English course with 28 students (17 non-natives, 11 natives) and had interviews with teachers and students. His findings revealed although the teacher acted with a personal and official ideology of respect for cultural diversity and tried to provide speaking rights to local students, this did not have the expected result of giving equal access to all. It became clear that most non-local students kept silent with the fear of being criticized or laughed at because of their English, and avoided verbal interaction. As Duff says, they did not take up the identity positions the teacher attributed to them in order to provide them with opportunities to participate. A non-local learner's comments make the situation clear: "I don't like discussing; I'm not a good speaker; I'm shy; If Ss who've learned English a shorter time speak maybe people will laugh; better relations with my own culture" (Ron) (p.311). Moreover, Duff also discusses that both local and non-local students negotiated a number of different identities, discourses and expectations regarding how and which language one should speak during the year, which reflects Norton's definition of identity as changing over time and as a site for struggle.

Another study which contributes to our understanding of the relationship between identity and language learning is that of Cervatiuc (2009). In her study with adult immigrants to Canada, she reveals how the successful 'linguistic-and-cultural' identity formation helps the learners develop themselves professionally and gain high proficiency in target language. Resisting being positioned as marginalized by the native speakers and developing their own counter-discourses, the 20 immigrants in this study acted with agency and relied on their cultural capital as multilingual and multicultural people. They actively joined in conversations with native speakers in different social settings, negotiated their identities as legitimate beings deserving to speak and to be listened to. Drawing on Norton's (2001) 'imagined communities', Cervatiuc (2009) attributes the immigrants' success as 'good language learners' to their membership into an 'imagined community of multilingual and bicultural people' (p.266).

In the view of situated learning, learning takes place when a person actively participates in the practices of a community. This participation is also the context of identity construction and negotiation. Adopting this framework, Haneda (2005) looks at how two Canadian students, Edward and Jim, with different ethno-linguistic backgrounds differ in their engagement in a Japanese writing course. According to her, this engagement has different modes, such as full, peripheral and marginal with varying degrees. So, a learner may have access to language resources as a member of a dominant group, or as a member of a less powerful one. As a result, he/she constantly reorganizes and negotiates their identities. In short, the study reveals that investment in learning a language, which includes writing in a language, is shaped by learners' life stories, changing identities and agency.

Ellwood (2008) explores identity in relation to code-switching. He analyses the code-switches in a multicultural SLA classroom at an Australian setting in order to look at the processes of identity construction. First of all, he found that some instances of switching to a language other than English were attempts to understand a given task, thus align with the identity of a "good student". However, at other times, students resisted to the classroom identities imposed by the teacher through switching to their mother language. They criticized the teacher, her methodology or task requirements. So, they used code-switching to disalign with teacher's positioning of themselves. Their L1 helped them to hide this from the teacher, and perform this 'bad students' to their peers (p. 546). The third function of code-switching, as reported in the study, was the desire to construct a global, multilingual and transcultural identity. At times, the students engaged in language exchange conversations in classroom to teach their mother tongues to each other. This way, they both legitimatized their own cultural identity within the classroom and, at the same time, learning other languages helped them create multicultural identities, which echoes Norton's (2001) concept of *imagined communities* although the researcher does not openly refer to it. Based on the findings, Ellwood suggests that "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 codes switched 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 all of the studies reviewed so far focus on second language learning, Kinginger's (2004) study with a young American woman called Alice learning French adds to our knowledge of identity and foreign language learning. In his study, Kinginger reports the French learning experiences of Alice, coming from a working-class background in America, and how she recreated her identity in her aspiration to become a member of a wider multilingual and multicultural world. By distancing herself from people of her country and developing social ties in the target language, she not only improved her language but also invested in a new social identity. In a more recent article, Kinginger (2013) provides us with an overview of research exploring the role of identity in study-abroad language learning experiences. Based on the findings of several studies, he argues that identity and conflicts it creates may have a great impact on the overall qualities of language learning experiences abroad and the development of communicative competence in the target language (p.352).

2.2.3 Race and Gender Identities & Language Learning

In their state-of-the-art article on identity, language learning and social change, Norton and Toohey (2011) acknowledge that different identity categories such as race, gender and sexual orientation may have an impact on the process of language learning. They note that the researchers studying this impact conceptualize these categories as 'socially and historically constructed processes within particular relations of power (p.424)'. Two studies by Ibrahim (1999) and McKinney (2007), are worthy of mentioning here as they are much-cited and highly relevant to the interplay between identity and language learning. They exemplify cases where students identify themselves with certain uses or styles of English in order to

construct identities of their own choice, and to engage in or resist to the ones which are demanded or imposed by the dominant discourse of the classroom.

In his study with a group of French-speaking continental African students at an urban French-language high school in Canada, Ibrahim (1999) tried to reveal how these young people were pushed to position themselves as "black" to racially fit somewhere as refugees, and how this "blackness", in return, affected their learning of English. Although the school instruction was in French, the African students had to learn English for everyday interactions. However, they had few English-speaking African American friends and little access to daily contact with them. Also, because of their low proficiency in English, full participation to dominant discourses in and outside of the class was not possible for them. So, they came to identify themselves with the black popular culture shown in TV via rap music videos and hip-hop, programs and Black films. This identification created their identity, and their identity determined the linguistic variety they learned: Black stylized English (BSE). Ibrahim reports that they often used expressions like '*whassup* (what is happening, *whadap* (what is happening), *whassup* my Nigger, and *yo, yo homeboy* (very cool and close friend)' (p.351). According to him, their investment in BSE was choosing marginalization, 'a deliberate counterhegemonic undertaking', and a resistance in order to create their own identity (p.365). Ibrahim concludes his study by making a call to legitimize the language of the marginalized, by identifying it in school curriculums to give voice to students' raced and classed identities among others.

A more recent study by McKinney (2007) analyses the role language plays in constructing identities of young South African students in multiracial suburban schools. Through observations, recordings, and semi-structured interviews, the researcher reveals that learners share the common awareness of racial classification of English varieties, such as Black South African English, Coloured English, and so on. They consider the variety that they call "White English" (White South African English) as the most prestigious one associated with wealth, elitism and power. McKinney exemplifies this with a learner speaking of 'Louis Vuitton English' (p.14).

However, the study also shows that the students who speak English most of the time instead of an African language, and who speak and act like a white person are labelled as "coconots", contradicting the prestige attached to it. They resisted to this labelling as they constructed new identities by moving between local languages and English varieties freely, which does not necessarily meant they stopped being black. A participant girl's question captures this: "If I speak English, does it make me less black anyway?" (p.20). With this study, McKinney problematizes how discourses around race and language enable or disable new identities to emerge, and thus offers insights into the relationship between identity and language.

Gender is another identity category that attracted the attention of several researchers with its impact on language learning (Pavlenko, 2001; Menard-Warwick 2006; Moffatt & Norton 2008; Higgins, 2010). It is acknowledged that gender, unlike sex, is a social construct and expectations from being a 'man' or 'woman' is learned through socialization. These expectations create certain discourses around gender like patriarchy, which in turn may determine the access to learning opportunities especially for women. So, language learning is also shaped by such discourses. Drawing on these ideas, Menard-Warwick (2006) notes that language learning provides a site for challenging and transforming the traditional gender discourses to create new gender identities in L2. She maintains that learners, in their struggle to become a member of target language communities, may find gender identities in L2 context appealing, and this may help them learn the target language more easily (p.383). Another possibility Menard-Warwick remarks is that learners can develop a resistance to L2 and its culture if their identification with their L1 gender is really strong.

Against the poststructuralist views of a learner as having human agency and learning as a social process, Pavlenko (2001) addresses the 'transformation of gender performance' within the discursive construction and reconstruction of identity. By analysing language learning stories of 24 women and 6 men - chosen on the basis of having a discussion of language learning and gender issues, she

revealed that women questioned the available 'gendered subjectivities[1]' in both L1 and L2, and by comparison, some chose to assimilate to the second culture to go after a particular identity they wished to adopt to; some resisted to this while some others settled with multiple and shifting gender identities (p.166). Pavlenko also found out that such negotiations of gender identities took place in different settings, such as schools, friendship circles, parent-child relationships and workplaces. Another important finding of this study is that some linguistics performances of the women changed in their decision to take up or resist certain gender performances, such as their 'pitch and overall voice quality, forms of politeness, gendered rules of turn-taking in conversations, speech acts like bargaining and joking, and choice of vocabulary' (p.166-167). A Polish immigrant woman's narration in Australia exemplifies such changes in language performance in relation to the shift between different gender identities:

> … when I was talking on the phone, from Australia, to my mother in Poland (15,000 km away, with my voice loud and excited, carrying much further than is customary in Anglo conversation, my husband would signal to me: 'Don't shout!' (p.136)

Sexual orientation has also been a subject of research as being another identity category alongside race and gender. In this regard, King's study (2008) provides valuable insights into gay identity construction, investment and access to language learning. Through interviews with three Korean men who self-identified themselves as gay, he revealed that these men invested in learning English to construct more "Western" gay identities which served them as their 'imagined community' in Norton's term (1995). They believed that having a gay identity in English is easier for them as it is more empowering. For example, a gay guy, Tak, in the study gained access to his English speaking boyfriend's social network, and gained legitimacy as a Korean. Thus, in his struggle to communicate more with his boyfriend's friends, his language learning became faster. King also revealed that gay men consider

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[1] The term 'subjectivities' is another term for 'positions' or 'positionings'. Different researchers employ different terms, such as *identity, identification, position, subject positions* or *positionings* which are used in place of each other (Block, 2007).

themselves having an advantage in gaining access to English speaking groups in gay circles where the feeling of belongingness is stronger. With this study, King questions the normalization of heterosexual discourses in second language acquisition experiences and thus broadens our understanding of identity and language.

2.2.4   Conversation analytic approach to identity and language learning

There are a few conversation analytic (CA) studies in SLA literature which aim to investigate the interactional dynamics of identity in different language learning settings. By looking into the micro details of conversations taking place in various classrooms, these studies empirically document how learner and teacher identities come into being, co-constructed, are oriented to and negotiated during flowing talks. The fundamental purpose shared by these studies is to understand how such discursive identity development can potentially affect the success of language learning processes and to discuss some pedagogical implications.

To start with, Richards (2006) questions whether it is possible to move beyond the commonly employed interactional routine of "Initiation-Response-Follow up", the dominance of which is reported to increase the teacher control over classroom interaction and thus cut down on communicativeness. By adopting a conversation analysis framework, he looks into the sequential details of conversations in an ESL classroom and shows us how learners and the teacher orient to the ongoing talk from differing aspects of their identities, other than the 'default' identities of being a student or a teacher. In one exemplary segment Richards provides, for instance, we see that a learner and the teacher display shifts in their usual discourse identities: the teacher comfortably makes evident her lack of knowledge on an unknown term in Thai, 'klong", and the student, who uttered the term, provides a definition with a joke while maintaining affiliation at the same time. In another example, an English native teacher momentarily takes up the

situated identity of a student in order to learn a Japanese expression from a student who claims the identity membership of being Japanese in order to contribute to the unfolding talk. The last example that Richards gives documents the interactional acts of a teacher and a Taiwanese student as they co-constructed and negotiated a knowledge asymmetry in relation to their understandings of the swastika. Invoking different categories, the teacher speaks from the category of being a Westerner, whereas the student identifies himself with the group of Taiwanese boys who actually like the swastika. Such interactional emergence of non-institutional identities, as Richards makes his claim, shows us that real conversations are indeed possible in classroom environment, which enables learners to engage in more authentic and diverse interaction types.

The issue of whether enacting certain non-default identities, besides the traditional situated roles of the teacher and student in class, can actually make any pedagogical contributions is also discussed by Okada (2014) who provides a perspective from an English for a specific purposes (ESP) class. Adopting the CA understanding of identity as an interactional accomplishment and the concept of membership categorization device[2], Okada analyses the classroom talks at a Japanese university. The analysis reveals certain sequences in which both the teacher and the students move out of their situated roles, showing orientations to the changing identities in talk. In one case, for example, the teacher identifies herself as a sociologist while positioning the learners as scientists and demands that they should know better than her in the field of science. Thus, the teacher ascribes a superior epistemic status to the learners in interaction, expecting them to provide relevant information in return. In response to this positioning, students do not question the responsibility demanded; one learner, acknowledging her membership with the group of scientists, even apologizes for not being able to provide an

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[2] As Stokoe (2012) briefly summarizes, "this refers to the apparatus through which categories are understood to 'belong to' a collective category (e.g. the categories 'mommy' and 'baby' are heard to belong to the MCD 'family'). Categories may belong to myriad MCDs (e.g. 'baby' can belong to the MCDs 'stage of life', or 'terms of endearment'), via various *rules of application*" (p. 281).

answer. According to Okada, invoking non-default identities in ESP classes can help learners participate more and socialize them into being scientists.

Another study which draws on conversation analytic procedures to capture the construction of identity from 'participant perspective' belongs to Waring (2012). In order to understand how playful talk is done in an ESL adult class, she analyses the micro-details of 16 hours of interactions from the viewpoint of identity. The results of her work demonstrate that learners push the institutional boundaries of the classroom by ascribing, enacting or making relevant their situational, relational or personal identities. Thus, they build "less 'legitimate' moments of classroom interaction" (p. 191), through which, as Waring points out, students come to experience more freedom and interactional possibilities. Among the examples she provides, we see a student who momentarily takes up the teacher role in a sequence and playfully praises herself on behalf of the teacher by saying: "very good" after a self-correction. In another segment, Waring shows us how a student becomes playful by invoking one aspect of personal (outside of the class) identities in class talk: her being "an obsessive shopper" unlike her husband (p. 204). The interactional result is that, as Waring comments, "the classroom context is momentarily transformed into everyday talk where the relevant categories become men, women and shoppers" (p. 204). In conclusion, Waring conceptualizes identity as a tool for managing playfulness in language classroom. Through play, as she maintains, students can take up and negotiate different ways of being a person in class (such as "a parent", "music lover" etc.) and thus move beyond the demanded institutional identities and their limiting power as to what a student or a teacher is allowed to say or not. Finally, the findings of this study support Richard's (2006) view that real conversation is possible in classroom, and Waring suggests that playful talk should at least be allowed in classrooms as it is a valuable language learning resource.

2.2.5 Identity and Language Learning in Turkey

Identity research in language learning is an area waiting to be addressed by Turkish researchers in the field of ELT. This is not surprising given the fact that most of the research reviewed so far took place in second language (L2) learning settings where English is the dominant discourse as a site of identity construction. Still, identity theory proposed by Norton and then taken up by several other researchers is highly relevant to foreign language learning (for example, Kinginger 2004). Although some researchers deal with how identities are negotiated during the learning of English (Atay & Ece 2009) and how identity is reflected in learning success (İpek & Karaman, 2013), these studies concentrate on teacher identity, which is not within the scope of this study. There are only two studies in Turkish context that partially deal with the relationship between identity and language learning (Polat 2010; Ortaçtepe 2013).

In her qualitative study with Kurdish girls and boys, Polat & Mahalingappa (2010) focus on gender as an identity category and aims to reveal gender differences in learning Turkish, which is the dominant language. Although the main focus of the study is gender differences in acculturation, it is revealed that girls' identification with Turkish and Turkish community is stronger. They have more access to Turkish social networks and they show more Turkish identification patterns, thus coming closer to have a 'Turkish-like identity'. Also, girls attained a more native-like accent in Turkish compared to boys whose identification with Kurdish identity is found to be stronger. Another quite recent study that touches upon identity belongs to Ortactepe (2013) from Bilkent University. Setting her study against the background of second language socialization, she documents the identity reconstruction of a Turkish doctoral student, Erol, in the United States. The study reveals that Erol went through a feeling of loneliness and marginalization as he could not develop meaningful relationships with American people. As a result, he could not gain access to social networks where he could practice English and learn about its cultural and social norms. These two studies, which are both published in the Journal of

Language, Identity and Education, are far from filling the identified research gap as they are both conducted in SLA settings and just partially examined the interplay between identity and language learning.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This section firstly presents the research questions and the purpose of the study. Then it gives information about the research setting, participants and data sources. Lastly, the adopted method of Conversation Analysis and ethical considerations are explained briefly.

3.1. Research Questions and the Purpose

This study aims to understand how various identity positions are co-constructed within interaction in an EFL classroom context and how these positions affect language learning processes of the students. Adopting a poststructuralist approach, identity work is placed within the discursive realm of social interactions that take place between the student-teacher and student-student talk. The following questions have guided the inquiry:

1. How do EFL learners construct positional identities in classroom interactions?
2. How do different positional identities interact with the participation acts of learners in class?

3.2. Research Setting and Data Sources

The data for this study was collected at the English preparatory school of a newly established private university in Ankara. Although it is a new university, the founder association has a long history of education in Turkey, and it is well-known and

respected for its high-quality, scientific and modern approach to educational practices and policies. While some of the university students come from privileged backgrounds, having completed a high-school degree at prestigious private institutions, most students are graduates of public high schools funded by the government, and they hold a scholarship status at this university. As the medium of instruction is English, students have to show a certain level of proficiency in order to pursue their undergraduate programs. So, when they enroll at the university, they are given an English placement test. The ones who are ranked as Upper-Intermediate take an English proficiency exam prepared by the English Language School of the university. The ones who get the expected score directly start their undergraduate studies. All the other students have to complete an English program and reach the expected English proficiency. According to the modular system of the language school, students are placed into Beginner, Intermediate or Upper-Intermediate level classes based on their levels. The duration of their language instruction depends on at which level they start. For example, while a Beginner student has to study for three terms (without any failure) in order to take the proficiency exam, a student who started the program at Upper level can complete his or her studies in just one term. If a student cannot complete the English program successfully in two years and fail to prove the required English proficiency, that student is dismissed from the university. As a result, English is crucial for the continuation and success of the students' academic lives at this university.

The present study was conducted in this setting. The primary data came from the video recorded classroom interactions of one Upper-Intermediate EFL class in the language school of the above mentioned university. For 3 months (October 2014 – December 2014), each week, 3 to 6 hours of classroom hours were video-recorded by two cameras standing at two opposing corners on tripods. As the classroom was a small lecture hall, this arrangement was able to provide the best possible capture from both the teacher and students angles (See *Figure 1*). During the video-recordings, the researcher was not present in the classroom, and other than the

existence of the cameras, the natural class environment was maintained without making any changes.

The secondary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with each student to learn about their in-class participation behaviour, relationships with classmates and their opinions about themselves as learners of English. The main purpose of this qualitative data was to provide some background to the study in order to better understand the research setting. In accordance with the conversation analytic perspective, the interview data were not made use of in the analysis phase or during the discussion of the findings.

Figure 1. Screen captures of camera angles

3.3. Participants

The video-recorded English class consisted of 19 members (3 males and 16 females). While some students made their transition from Intermediate level, some others were repeating the Upper-Intermediate course for the second or the third time as they failed before. This means that these students had already spent one year at the English language school. However, there were ten fresh students who started the program as upper level students and it was their first term at the university.

All the members of this class were Turkish and they came from different cities in Turkey in order to pursue a university degree in Ankara. Each learner accepted to participate in this research at the beginning of the term and gave his or her consent to be video-recorded.

The teacher

The classroom teacher was a young Turkish male who had been teaching English for the last four years at the time of the data collection. Upon completing an undergraduate degree in English Language Teaching at Middle East Technical University, he started doing a Master's degree in the program of Curriculum and Instruction. Following an academic career himself, he showed genuine enthusiasm about this study and willingly accepted to take part in it. He was a devoted and hard-working teacher, always well-prepared for each class hour. He was interested in using technology in class and frequently made use of different online programs as part of his teaching practices. He communicated well with each learner and guided them throughout the term both in class and on individual basis. As well as being a successful teacher, he was a well-respected and beloved colleague who shared teaching ideas and articles with other instructors, held workshops on using various online interactional tools, and helped with any kind of tech-related problems at the language school.

Focal learner I: Ezgi

Ezgi was one of the freshmen students who started the English program at Upper-Intermediate level. She studied the primary school at an English-medium private school in Ankara and established a good foundation of English knowledge there. As she stated, since early ages on, she always had a great love and interest in learning English and this was her strongest skill compared to other students who were good at other domains like arts and sports. She loved reading books and watching movies and TV series in English. Also, she expressed that she had a genuine interest in British and American culture in general.

The undergraduate degree program that she was going to study was Political Science and International Relations. Her aim was to become a diplomat and live in a foreign country in the future. For this reason, as she stated, reaching an advanced proficiency in English was really important for her career. Communicating with other cultures and following the news around the world were of great interest to her.

During the term, Ezgi sat in the very first row of the class, together with her close friend Ceyda. She showed active and diligent participation to improve herself as a language learner.

Focal learner II: Efe

Like Ezgi, Efe was a fresh Upper level student at the language school, just starting his first year at university. He came to Ankara from the coastal city of Çanakkale, where he completed his primary and high school education at public schools. While describing his English learning experience so far, he said that he could not improve himself much in high school as he did not like his teachers at all. However, at the tenth grade, he spent two months in England during summer time, and after he came back to Turkey, he developed as an English learner by watching English movies and TV series. For Efe, the English-medium instruction was the main reason why he chose this university in the first place. His department was Business

Administration and he believed he needed to know English well for a successful career.

When asked about how he felt in the classroom, Efe responded that he felt quite comfortable. He explained it with these words:

> "I do not see here as a school. I see it like a course or entertainment. In fact, I get really surprised at the exams. I feel like, "we were having fun. What's this exam now?""

Other than Efe, there were only two other male students in class. Starting from the first day, Efe sat together with them at one of the back corners of the classroom. He actively participated in class activities and took part in pair or group work with other learners.

3.4. Conversation Analysis

In order to analyse the video recordings of natural interactions in the aforementioned EFL class, a conversation analytic approach has been adopted with the aim of "studying the details of action as they are temporally and sequentially arranged, moment-by-moment by the participants within the very context of their activity" (Mondada, 2013, p. 32). The social practice, which is 'identity' in this study, has been documented as emergent in classroom talk by using Conversation Analysis (CA). With CA, the interactional construction of the classroom talks has been revealed, turn by turn, in an accountable and empirical way. Thus, any evidence of social positioning has become noticeable in the composition of the interactions, which unfolded alongside different activities or topics.

Conversation analysis (CA) is a method of studying conversations that occur naturally in various domains of human lives. This social scientific approach was developed in 1960s by the sociologist Harvey Sacks with his associates Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Today, it has well-established theoretical grounds and

its methodology is being applied in various fields including the field of language learning and teaching (Seedhouse, 2005).

By studying talk, CA aims to understand how various kinds of social acts are performed in interaction. To this end, CA practitioners collect and transcribe audio or video-recordings of natural conversations to understand "how the social order, including whatever topics and concerns are made relevant, are organised and managed as talk's practical business, or matters in hand" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 57). In order to understand this organization, CA takes up an emic perspective, studying the details of conversation as understood and interpreted by the participants. Doing so, the inter-subjectivity achieved by the interactants within talk is sequentially revealed and documented (Seedhouse, 2005).

The analytic method adopted by CA includes looking into the interactional organization of talk in terms of turns. During an ongoing conversation, we build turns in the forms of words, phrases or sentences to undertake certain actions like inviting, giving information or accusing. There are also certain rules in talk which tell us when it is appropriate to take the turn and speak, and what to say or not. Within this turn-taking system, CA also explores how people build sequences with adjacency pairs, which consists of two utterances. For example, when somebody invites us to a party (first pair part), normatively we are bound to respond (second pair part). We either accept the invitation, thus maintaining affiliation with this preferred act, or we decline it and show disaffiliation instead. Each option has social consequences like strengthening the social ties between people or causing resentment. (Seedhouse, 2005). Another conversational issue that CA researchers investigate is how people repair trouble and misunderstandings in interaction as "repair activities establish side sequences through which a new version of the preceding action is established" (Kasper and Wagner, 2014, p.175). As a result, speakers achieve a mutual understanding, the conversation continues and inter-subjectivity is sustained in order for a social activity to take place.

By looking into such details of natural conversations, CA can empirically reveal what people actually do in interaction in an observable and accountable way. So, as Benwell and Stokoe (2006) advocate, it provides a suitable method to study identity as an "*accomplishment of interaction*" by adopting an indexical and context-bound approach (p. 36). Accordingly, with a CA approach, a researcher can only claim the relevance of identity as long as interactants display orientations to this social phenomenon and make it sequentially relevant in their acts themselves. No pre-assumptions or claims can be allowed to enter the data analysis. Having adopted this neutral attitude of CA, the study of positional identities in this work is data-driven and participant-relevant.

3.5. Transcriptions and Data analysis

Firstly, the video-recordings (17 class hours) were closely watched and any sequences that provide some evidence to 'identity and positioning' practices were noted down. The details of turn-taking, sequential organization of adjacency pairs and repair moves were all looked into closely to see how identity construction was made relevant by participants within unfolding classroom conversations. During this initial analysis stage, attention was paid to any kind of positional identity acts, in general, taking place in various class activities. Later, however, it was noticed that two students differed from others in terms of the positional identities they enacted or were ascribed to. As a result, the decision was made to study these two students, Ezgi and Efe, as focal cases in order to understand how they construct certain identities and how their identity positionings interact with their participation behaviour. So, all the sequences that Ezgi and Efe participated in the recordings were collected and watched closely again. Then, this collection of sequences was transcribed using the commonly adopted transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (See Hepburn and Bolden, 2013). As well as representing various vocal features of talk-in-interaction, whenever relevant to the issue at hand, the

transcriptions were supported by visual representations to make some visible aspects noticeable, like body movements or facial expressions.

During the transcription and analysis phases, the basic CA principles were strictly followed, which are (1) recognizing the orderliness in talk, (2) knowing that interactions are both constituted by and constitutive of local context, (3) embracing every single detail as relevant, and (4) basing any argument on empirical data (Seedhouse, 2005; Sert & Seedhouse, 2011). Regarding this last point, it may be argued that starting with a concept of identity, and having some theoretical notions about it, may be seen as against the CA stance of "unmotivated look"; however, in this study, any discussion of identity has been built around real evidence from the data. Also, there are several fields in the social studies that make use of CA as an analytic tool with a social agenda of their own, like "Feminist CA", "Applied CA", "Social-problem-oriented CA" and "Institutional CA" (Kasper & Wagner, 2014), and "CA for SLA" (Markee & Kasper, 2004; Sert & Seedhouse, 2011). So, CA contributed to this paper as a methodological tool by enabling the researcher to ground interactional/positional identities in the discursive practices of the classroom.

The detailed conversation analytic study of Ezgi and Efe's positional identities generated enough data to focus on each student individually as two focal cases. Moreover, in several conversations, there were certain dialogues in which both Ezgi and Efe positioned each other or came to be positioned in relation to each other by others. The emergence of such data made it possible to conduct a cross-case micro-analytic exploration, as well, in order to compare the identity work of these two learners. Finally, representative sequences were chosen and line-by-line analysis of each was accounted to show the sequential construction of positional identities within the localities of various interactions.

3.6. Research Ethics

Gaining access to the research setting did not pose any challenge as I have been working at the university where this study took place. The classroom teacher and I were colleagues sharing the teaching load of the class which was video-recorded for this work. While he was mainly responsible for Reading and Writing skills, I was teaching Listening and Speaking at that class. We both taught 10 hours a week and supported each other throughout the term in every issue regarding the teaching and learning practices. After the teacher volunteered for such an undertaking, the legal permission was sought and received from the institution. Later, the purpose of the research and the details about the data collection procedures were explained to the students and each of them accepted and gave their consent to be video-recorded. Finally, the study was approved by the Human Subjects Ethic Committee of the Middle East Technical University, and then recordings were initiated by two cameras placed at two corners of the classroom. It should be noted that the researcher was not present in the class during the recordings, and that no alterations or interventions were made with the aim of capturing what is naturally happening in the classroom during lessons.

The anonymity of the participants and the teacher has been protected while displaying the transcriptions in the analysis part. Instead of their actual names, the two focal students have been called *Ezgi* and *Efe*, while other students are referred to in general terms like Student 1 (S1) and Students 2 (S2) in accordance with the number of non-focal participants in the dialogues. Lastly, the teacher is shortly indicated as "Tea".

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

In this section, the positional identities of the two focal students are presented through the detailed conversation analysis of the representative identity-relevant segments. First, individual case studies are detailed, and then, the relative positioning acts of Ezgi and Efe are provided in a cross-case fashion.

4.1. Ezgi's Positional Identities

Since the beginning of the term, Ezgi positioned herself or came to be positioned in powerful ways in different classroom activities. Structurally, she managed this by taking/initiating frequent and long turns. As a result, she interactionally constructed herself as a "competent learner", "knowledgeable" and "challenger" in relation to other students in the classroom. This part will provide evidences to the realizations of these interactional positions as they unfolded in classroom talks through the analysis of relevant segments.

4.1.1. Competent Learner

The below extract comes from a lesson, during *Education* unit, in which students are asked to group some education-related vocabulary items (such as *seminar*, *module*, *tutorial* and so on) according to some given categories. After giving students some time, the teacher starts eliciting the answers. The first line starts with the teacher's use of a designedly incomplete utterance (Koshik, 2002), which functions as a question as it expects an answer from the students as a completion.

Extract 1: "tuition fee"

```
1    Tea:  a::nd ways to pay for education (0.3) are?

2    (0.9)

3    S1:  scholarship.

4    S2:       sc[holar.

5    Ezgi:        [scholarship.
6        (0.4)
7    S3:  scholarship.
8        (0.8)
9    Tea: scholarship a::nd?
10   Ezgi:tuition fees,
11       (1.3)
12   S4:  °tuition fees.°
13       (0.4)
14   Tea: what is it Ezgi? ((writing the word on the board))
15       (0.6)
16   Ezgi:u::h (2.2) it's the money the (.) the: (0.5) for
17       education.
18       (2.4)
19   Tea: yeah so if::: (3.0) if the education (0.5) that
20       you are receiving is not free of charge,
                          +gazes at Ezgi
21   Ezgi:°uh huh°.
22   Tea: you have to some, (0.5) you have to pay some amount
              + diverts his gaze toward other students
23       of money to receive that education,
24       so it is called tuition fee. ((goes on))
              +gazes back at Ezgi
```

After a 0.9 s silence, different learners including Ezgi provide the answer 'scholarship' to complete the teacher's sentence, thus showing participation behaviour (lines 3 to 7). Their contribution is acknowledged by the teacher who, after a 0.8 silence, repeats the answer "scholarship" and asks for another word by using the connector "and" with a rising intonation (line 9). This time, Ezgi is the first to take the turn and provide a response, *tuition fees*, as one way of paying for education (line 10). With this sequential move, Ezgi positions herself as a knowing

participant. Although her response is echoed by another student, the quiet voice (line 12) and the considerably longer silence of 1.3 s seem to suggest lack of confidence on the part of that student, thus potentially adding to Ezgi's knowing position a plus feature of being "confident". Following a silence of 0.4 s, the teacher asks Ezgi ("what is it Ezgi?") the definition of *tuition fees* in line 14. This question is possibly occasioned by a lack of response from other learners (unlike for the previous word *scholarship*), which is heard by the teacher as 'not knowing the meaning'. By nominating Ezgi as the one to provide the definition, the teacher temporarily grants his traditional "discourse identity[3]" (Zimmerman, 1998) as information-provider to her. Ezgi, although a bit hesitant as seen by her gap filler and pauses, provides a candidate definition. Later, after a pause of 2.4 s, the teacher confirms her response as correct ("yeah") and goes on to expand on it (lines 19, 21, 22, 23 and 24), during which he establishes eye-contact with Ezgi for two times. These gazes which are purposefully designed to match certain parts of his expansion ("*not free of charge*" and "*called tuition fee*") can be read as acknowledging Ezgi's explanation. Also, Ezgi is seen as showing listenership (McCarthy, 2003) as evidenced by her use of a minimal response token "uh huh" (Schegloff, 2007) right after the teacher's first eye contact with her in line 20.

This sequence is important in exemplifying how Ezgi interactionally constructs herself as a competent learner by taking turns to show her linguistic knowledge. However, she does not accomplish the construction of this powerful positional identity on her own. In the sequential unfolding of the interaction, the other learners' orientations to the ongoing talk (such as giving a delayed response) and the teacher's management of the turn taking (like nominating someone as the next speaker), together, shape the interactional opportunities for Ezgi to act upon and thus construct her as a certain being: a competent learner. Another striking example that provides further evidence of Ezgi's powerful positioning is seen in Extract 2.

---

[3] One aspect of identity, as proposed by Zimmerman (1998), which refers to the sequential roles the participants of a talk momentarily take up, such as listener, responder, initiator, advice-giver etc.

```
1    Tea: okay (0.3) so (0.3) "what are the popular academic
2         courses at universities"? (0.6) ok do you know any
3         name of the (0.2) courses from your own
4         departments?
5         (0.6)
6         mesela (0.2) işte pdr students (0.2) do you know
7         any name of the courses?
                    + pointing his right hand towards the group
                    of PDR students
8    S1:  °u-uh°
     Tea: + looking at S1 and shakes his head 'no',
          questioning face
9         (1.0)
10        engineering students?
11        (0.5)
12   Ss:  ((laughs))
13   Tea: architects?
            + pointing towards the group of architecture
          students
14        (0.3)
15   Ss:  ((laughs))
16        (0.6)
17   Tea: >başka ne vardı< the other
     Ezgi:                   + raises her hand
18   Tea: two?  ((looking and pointing at Ezgi))
19   S2:  a- eco- economics. ((pronounced wrong))
          + T gazes at S2
20   Ezgi: e↑co:nomics.
          + T gazes back at Ezgi
21   Tea: >economics ok< in university courses usually we
22        have a number for the [course,
23   Ezgi:                       [huh huh.
24   Tea: economics two oh five mesela niye 205 bilmiyorum ()
25        olabiliyor. ((keeping eye-contact with Ezgi))
```


The above interaction took place in a class discussion regarding the kind of courses (such as academic or vocational) that the students will take in their departments. The teacher starts a new storyline by reading aloud a question from the course book, and then he reformulates this question to make it relevant to students' lives:

"do you know any name of the courses from your own departments?" (lines 2-4). After a pause of 0.6 s, he nominates the groups of PDR (Turkish abbreviation for *Guidance and Psychological Counselling*) students" as the possible next speakers. Representing this group, S1 displays insufficient knowledge (Sert, 2013) with a silent response token (°u-uh°) and thus shows an 'unknowing epistemic stance' (Heritage, 2012) (line 8). This unknowing status is acknowledged by the teacher who nonverbally embodies an epistemic status check[4] (Sert, 2013) by shaking his head "no" with his gaze at S1. In order to continue the interaction, the teacher now directs the question to engineering students (line 10). However, nobody takes the turn and after a silence of 0.5 s, students laugh together. This laughs are interpreted by the teacher as indicating an interactional trouble as they make lack of knowledge relevant on the part of students. A recent research conducted by Sert and Jacknick (2015), although focusing on smiles, support this analysis as they successfully show the close connection of smiles and epistemic issues in classroom talk. They show that when students have trouble regarding their epistemic status in interaction, their smiles can function to sustain affiliation and keep the conversation going. Also, the teacher's nomination of architecture students (line 13) after the laughs further prove that the teacher evaluates the laughs as showing a potential breakdown in conversation, and with the aim of maintaining the talk, goes on to choose another group to give an answer. However, the long delayed second pair-part (answer) is not provided, and its non-existence is again made relevant by further laughs from students (line 15). Now, the teacher cannot remember the names of other departments in class, but in an attempt to elicit an answer, he directs the question to others (the other two?) (lines 17-18). At the same time, identifying herself with this group of others (non-PDR, non-architecture and non-engineering), Ezgi bids for a turn by raising her hand and establishes eye-contact with the teacher. Thus, nonverbally, she is given the right to take the turn by the teacher (line 18). However, another student (S2) provides an answer (a- eco- economics) and the

---

[4] As Sert (2013) defines it, "an epistemic status check is a speaker's interpretation of another interactant's state of knowledge (e.g. 'you don't know?', 'no idea?'), which is initiated when a second-pair part is delayed." (p. 17)

teacher averts his gaze from Ezgi and looks at S2. Despite its being a suitable answer to the teacher's question, it is pronounced wrongly. Noticing this, Ezgi immediately takes the turn and utters the same word *economics* with correct pronunciation (line 20), and thus, obtains the teacher's eye-contact back. Although, first, she loses the turn to S2 who provides a legitimate but incorrectly pronounced answer, Ezgi gets hold of the floor by providing the correct pronunciation following S2. Doing so, she interactionally positions herself as a knowing participant, casting S2 as a less knowing one. This strong self-positioning is also fostered by the teacher who acknowledges only Ezgi as the provider of the correct answer. This is evidenced by his gaze direction towards Ezgi and his post expansion which is directed to only Ezgi (lines 21-25), in return for which Ezgi shows listenership (McCarthy, 2003) with her minimal response token (`huh huh`).

Within this interaction (Extract 2), a powerful positional identity is sequentially constructed for Ezgi as a social force of the organizational structure of the talk. It is important to note that Ezgi does not achieve this herself; her linguistic superiority comes into play right after a mispronounced word offered by another student (as a result of which that student is positioned as someone with insufficient knowledge). Also, the teacher's (intentional or unintentional) act of not addressing S2, but only Ezgi as the provider of correct answer adds to the positioning of Ezgi as a competent L2 user, and hence a competent learner.

4.1.2. Challenger

Throughout the term, alongside taking turns and enacting the powerful interactional identity of a competent learner, Ezgi frequently initiated sequences to challenge either the teacher's or her classmates' responses in different classroom activities, thus showing active agency in her participation behaviour.

The following talk (Extract 3) provides an exemplification of a segment in which Ezgi questions the truth value of a sentence offered by the teacher.

Extract 3: "how it's possible"


```
1    Tea: here it says "distance learning has been around
2         "for (0.6) two hundred years"
3         (0.4)
4         do you know this word arkadaşlar (.) date back.

          + going to the board      + starts writing the
                               word on the board
5         (5.0) ((writing its definition on the board))

6    Tea: we can use it like u:h,
7         (6.0)
8         distance learning (2.2) dates back to::,((writes
9         the sentence on the board))
10        so: its history goes back to,
11        its origin goes back to, as early as one- one
12        sixties.
13        (1.1)
14   S1:  hep to'yla mı kullanılıyor?
15   Tea: =yeah it goes back to it dates back to.
16        (5.4) ((checking the course book, turning over the
17        pages))
18        yani if I'm not mistaken
19        (6.0)
20   Ezgi:() how it's possible in seventh century?
21   Tea:  >no no< it's just an example sentence.
22   Ezgi:uh huh huh.
23   Tea: £it's just two hundred years£
24        (1.9) ((gazing at Ezgi, smiling))
25        °ok° she is shocked ((smiling, looks at other Ss))
26        (0.6)
27   Tea: ↑yes Büşra >what about< second one?
          ((goes on with another topic))
```


Just before line 1 starts, the class checks together if the sentence "distance learning
has been around for two hundred years" is true or not according to the reading
passage of the unit *Education*. They all agree that this piece of information is true.
Before moving the activity forward, the teacher seizes the opportunity to teach the

meaning of "date back" and asks students if they know its meaning or not (line 4). However, without waiting for an answer, he heads towards the board and writes a definition (lines 4-5). In lines 6-12, he writes an example sentence on the board and reads it aloud. After a silence of 1.1 s, a student (S1) asks the teacher if the word is always used with the preposition '*to*' or not (line 14). The teacher, enacting his traditional role of a teacher, provides the information in line 15, saying "`yeah`" and repeating some form-focused examples. After a pause of 5.4 s, he downgrades his epistemic positioning (Sidnell, 2012) as the knowing one by saying "`if I'm not mistaken`". Potentially, this downgrading can be interpreted as giving students more space to participate as the teacher positions himself as someone who can also be wrong. A silence of 6 seconds follows this, and Ezgi initiates a sequence in order to challenge the truth value of the teacher's sentence: "*how it's possible in seventh century?*"[5] (line 20). This questioning positions Ezgi as a challenger because, traditionally, the right to question belongs to the teacher. Also, this interactional positioning puts Ezgi in a powerful position as, now, the teacher is the one who is, by conditional relevance, supposed to provide a relevant response. He does this in line 21 by justifying his sentence on the basis of its being "just an example sentence" which does not require a judgment on its truth value. Ezgi does not go any further in challenging and shows affiliation by laughing (Glenn, 2003) (line 22). Having a humorous tone, evidenced by his smiley voice, the teacher makes a closing by commenting on Ezgi's status (line 25) as someone who is "shocked".

This sequence shows that Ezgi's interactional self-positioning as a challenger is made possible within the sequential unfolding of the talk. Ezgi initiated a sequence to offer a challenge to a teacher turn, which was given a voice by the teacher who, instead of exercising his power and silencing it, negotiated his powerful epistemic status as the knowing one two times during the above talk (line 18 and 21). All

---

[5] It should be noted that "the time that the teacher wrote on the board and later uttered", and "the time questioned by Ezgi (seventh century)" seem not to be matching. Because of the low quality of recordings, the sentence on the board was not readable. However, it is possible that Ezgi might have said "seventh" instead of "seventeenth". Still, it is clear that Ezgi is questioning the correctness of this time, and this is acknowledged by the teacher (lines 21, 23).

these shaped the way for Ezgi who, by showing agency with her conversational moves, co-constructed another strong identity positioning for herself: a challenger.

Another sequence in which Ezgi takes up the interactional positioning of being a challenger comes from a lesson during which the teacher starts a discussion about "how much time a person needs to learn English". Just before the first line in Extract 4 below, a student states that English is learned from early ages on. Upon this, the teacher asks the class if it is too late now for some people (line 1) and thus the long sequence starts (Extract 4). For a reader-friendly analysis, the sequence is divided into three parts but as line numbers show, they follow each other.

Extract 4: "Learning English"

```
1    Tea: so is it too too late now? for some people?
2         ((some students say "no", one says "maybe" Ezgi
3         says "yes"))
     Tea: + gazes at Ezgi
4    Ezgi:I think yes.
5    Tea: y↑es?
6    Ezgi:if they don't like (0.3) if they never heard
7         anything about English I think they don't like
8         English and if they don't like it, they can't
9         learn.
10        (1.7) ((Tea diverts his gaze from Ezgi, looking at
11        others))
12   Tea: maybe (0.6) another idea? How long do we
13        need? How long do people should people need,
14   Ezgi: [= I think two years.
15   Tea:  [to master English? Two years?
                   + looks at Ezgi
```

```
16   Ezgi: hu huh.
```

As an answer to the teacher's question regarding whether it is too late for some people to learn English or not, while some students say *No*, one says *Maybe*. However, it is only Ezgi who says *Yes*. As such, she obtains the teacher's gaze (line 3) and thus gains the floor to talk (line 4). By repeating her answer with a question tone (line 5), the teacher prompts Ezgi to explain what she means by saying *Yes*. In lines 6 to 9, Ezgi shares her opinion that if people ("*they*") have never heard English, this means they do not love it and without loving it, 'they' cannot learn it. By initiating this turn, Ezgi shows noncompliance as she overtly presents a different personal opinion from others. Also, her choice of pronoun "they", referring to people who cannot learn English, creates a certain categorization of people with whom she does not share a membership. After a silence of 1.7 s, with a sequence closing third ("*maybe*"), the teacher tries to move on to other students by asking for another idea (lines 12-13). Also, he formulates a new question now: "how long do people need to master English?" However, in overlap, Ezgi immediately initiates the response and says "two years". As a result, she seizes the turn again, and the teacher orients to this by providing a confirmation check (line 15) which gets a positive answer from Ezgi (line 16).

```
17   Tea: like four semesters?
18   S1:   depends on the situation person I think.
19   Ezgi: °yeah it's also depend on the°.
20   Tea: ((to S1 who sits next to Ezgi)) =>ok↑ay<
21        let's say you want to learn French and you
22        want to study at a university in France.
23   Ezgi:°hu huh°
24   Tea: in the future. How long will would you
25        need to learn enough French?
26   S1:  one year is (0.2) enough I think
27        like in their class.
```

```
28        (0.3)
29   Tea:  so at the end of the first year
30         you can (.) survive on your own?
31   Ezgi: I think [two years.
32   S1:          [why not I think nothing is impossible
33         if I really want that, (0.6) I have to study
34         hard and I can do that.
35         (0.8)
```

So far, the discussion about learning English and the needed time for that has unfolded in general terms, not specifically addressing any groups of people (or context) other than a general 'English speakers' and 'non-English speakers'. However, in line 17, the teacher reformulates "two years" in terms of "semesters" and asks Ezgi if she means four semesters. This question fulfils the function of linking the discussion to the local context of the classroom as it talks about semesters, which exemplifies the reflexive relationship between interaction and pedagogic aims (Seedhouse, 2004). With this move, in a way, the teacher provides students with more interactional space to enable them to personalize the topic. In line 18, S1 takes the turn and express her opinion that it (how much time is needed for learning English) depends on the situation and the person. Ezgi, in a quiet voice, shows agreement with S1 with a minimal agreement token "yeah" followed by her repetition of S1's sentence (line 19), slightly downgrading her strong opinion of "two years". However, before Ezgi completes the sentence, the teacher jumps in (line 20) and starts creating an imaginary storyline of 'going to France for university education' in order to ask S1 how long she would need to learn French in that situation. Although this question is not directed to her, it is noticed that Ezgi displays listenership with a minimal response token of "hu huh" in line 23. S1 responds that one year is enough in her opinion (lines 26) and she adds "like in their class". Her use of "their class" refers to students and a classroom environment, which also applies to their own unique local setting. After a silence of

0.3 s, the teacher proposes an upshot of S1's opinion that at the end of one year, she can survive on her own. In line 31, Ezgi challenges this by repeating her opinion of two years, but in overlap, she loses the turn to S1 who further supports her own judgment (lines 32-34). After a silence of 0.8, the teacher minimally acknowledges her contribution (line 36) and gives the turn to a willing student (S2).

```
36   Tea: yea:h and? ((points at S2 whose hand is up))
37   S2: If I want to learn foreign- a foreign
38       language I:: (0.2) can go to a course and
39       I read I can read a- (0.3) books about a
40       foreign language and, I talk I can talk
41       to (0.3) foreign students:: and maybe (0.4) if
42       I have a chance,
43   Tea: hu ↑huh.
44   S2: I can go uh::: foreign (0.3) country (0.8) and
45       ya- u:h it will be difficult for me but (0.2) I
46       can do it.
47       (0.6)
48   Tea: you can do it, any other comment?
49       (2.3)
50   Ezgi: I think it takes (.) at least two years
51       because learning a language is not easy,
52       and u::h if you're gonna learn a language
53       you should change your life style you should .hhh,
54   Tea: huh. ((a short laugh))
55       Ezgi: yes £exactly£ because you should listen
56       their musics for example >if you talk about
57       French< you should listen French musics,
58       French movies, French TV shows and everything
                        + S showing Ezgi with his finger to
                     others like "listen to her"
59       to learn it.
```

```
60    Tea: £Luckily we don't want to learn French£.

61    Ezgi:[heh heh heh he

62    Ss:  [((laughs))

63    Tea: £Too much French is horrible sounds horrible£

64         okay yeah there are different ideas we are

65         respectful of them. ((wraps up))
```

From line 37 to 46, S2 expresses her opinion that she can learn a foreign language by taking a course, reading books, talking to foreign students and, if possible, by going abroad. She adds that this will be difficult for her but she can do this. This personal opinion of S2 is in line with S1's idea. So, they both support each other in believing that one can survive in a foreign language environment at the end of a year if one studies hard. In line 48, the teacher acknowledges S2's contribution and asks for any other comment. After a silence of 2.3 s, Ezgi takes the turn again and insists on her idea that learning English takes (at least) two years. Doing so, she overtly contradicts S1 and S2 and interactionally positions herself as a challenger. In lines from 50 to 53, she builds her argument that learning a foreign language is not easy and one should change his/her lifestyle to do that. In line 54, the teacher produces a small laugh, which is interpreted by Ezgi as signalling disbelief or disagreement as she immediately goes to defend her point of view by using the French example initially created by the teacher (lines 55-59). She makes her claim that one should listen to French music, watch French movies and TV shows to learn that language. In line 58, as Ezgi continues speaking, the teacher shows Ezgi with his finger to others as if to say "listen to her". Then the teacher jokingly responds that "luckily we don't want to learn French". The teacher's use of "we", here, is quite important as it momentarily assigns a membership which the teacher and the other students share but which, at the same time, excludes Ezgi. This interactional formation of "we" serves to promote Ezgi's self-positioning of someone as a challenger and isolates her momentarily from the class. However, this sequentially constructed disaffiliation is mitigated thanks to the joking voice of the teacher in a

light-hearted way. The laughter of Ezgi (line 61), accompanied by the class (line 62) provides further affiliation and alignment, bringing the class together (Glenn, 2003).

The above analysis of this long sequence has shown how Ezgi sequentially provides challenges to the ideas shared by others, how she insistently does this with taking or initiating turns and showing active listenership. This interactional positioning is occasioned in the sequential unfolding of turns and in relation to others who themselves enacted certain other positionings.

4.1.3. Knowledgeable

Over the weeks, in different conversations, Ezgi's interactional positionings accumulated to create her as a certain being. One such positioning behaviour, which gave her power, was observed in the ways she frequently negotiated knowledge about various topics. In the sequential organization of different talks, she positioned herself or was positioned as 'knowledgeable' in relation to others by initiating long turns. One example is provided below in the analysis of Extract 5.

Extract 5: "Distance learning"

```
1    Tea: so:: "why do some people think distance
2         learning is a modern idea"?
3         (0.6)
4         the first reason is technological
5         too:::ls that people are using.
6         Does anybody have a different idea: any
7         other idea other than technological tools?
8    S1:  I think time (0.3) about the time.
9    S2:  =time.
10   Tea: =time:: she said. What's the connection
11        of time with the uh modern (0.3) being modern?
12   S3:  for example we prepare () at home but
13        clothes make up and my () coming here
```

```
14          there is a traffic. (1.2) we spend lots
15          of time in traffic.
16   S1:    its (cuee we-) its () our time.
17          (3.2) ((Tea looks back at the board, then at İrem)
18   S1:    eh: not distance learning (0.8) school
19          or [(etcetra).
20   Ezgi:  [In 21st century we don't wanna spe:nd any
21          time: (0.2) for any↑thing, (1.0) ↑a:nd if you stay
22          at home o::r (0.5) you can do whatever you want
23          and for example for an hour a day you can study
24          but uh: if you start face to face learning, it's
25          impossible you have to go to schoo:l,
                          + Tea starts walking towards the
                          board
26          (1.5)
27   Tea:   okay so this modern is one technology aspect
28          (1.0)
29          the other emphasis on time. (0.8) in modern
30          age in modern era time is more imp- time is
31          also a modern invention using time effectively.
                                        + pointing at Ezgi
32          Another aspect is?
```

In line 1, the teacher reads aloud a question from the course book to the class and thus starts a new storyline. The question asks why some people think distance learning is a modern idea. After a pause of 0.6 s, he provides the first reason ("technological tools") and asks for possible different ideas (lines 4-7). S1 volunteers a response and says "time" (line 8). Another student repeats it (line 9) and the teacher jumps in to ask what the connection is between 'time' and being modern (lines 10, 11). S3 initiates the next turn and tries to explain what is meant by 'time' (lines 12-15). However, because of her difficulty in grammar and pronunciation, she fails in providing a well-organized and meaningful explanation. S1 attempts at

coming to assistance of S3 but, as seen in line 16, she also fails in making herself comprehensible. A long silence of 3.2 s follows this, during which the teacher looks back at the board and then back to S3. This silence and nonverbal act of the teacher signal the start of an interactional problem, which alarms a possible threat to the continuity of the talk. In line 18 and 19, with teacher's gaze on her, S1 tries to offer a repair to establish an agreement. However, before she can complete her turn, Ezgi jump starts in line 20 and constructs a long turn to explain what is meant by time with regard to distance education (lines 20-25). With her lengthy turn, she not only provides the second pair part to the teacher's question (lines 10, 11), but interactionally, she also enacts a knowing position by providing a long, informative turn. As a result, within this sequence, an identity positioning of being knowledgeable is ascribed to Ezgi. After a silence of 1.5 s, the teacher starts wrapping up what has been talked so far in line 27. It is significant to note that while mentioning the time aspect, the teacher nonverbally points at Ezgi, which may suggest that the teacher acknowledges her contribution and attributes the ownership of the idea of 'time' to her. Although Ezgi is not the one who originally suggests it, with her successful explanation, she is given the ownership by the teacher who, as such, fosters her "knowing" position. Notice that no other participants (S1, S2 and S3) compete for a turn or offer a challenge, which would call for a negotiation of the identity position that was ascribed to Ezgi. In line 32, the teacher moves the interaction forward by asking for another aspect.

Another segment exemplifying Ezgi's powerful positioning in relation to knowledge comes from the same lesson (Extract 6). In line 1, the teacher starts a new storyline by asking a comprehension question to the class: "why can online learning be slightly impersonal?" After a pause of 0.7 s, he adds a limitation: "`according to the text, based on the text`" (line 4). Following this, S1 problematizes the teacher's late reminder[6] in a smiley voice but the teacher does not accept this

---

[6] What S1 says is not fully comprehensible in the recording. However, it is obvious that she opposes this "based on the text" reminder as it is evidenced by the teacher's response.

accusation (line 5). In line 6, S1 insists on her judgment, but in overlap, hurrying to end this insert expansion and to find an answer to his question, the

Extract 6: "Impersonal"

```
1    Tea: yes so why can online learning be slightly
2         impersonal?
3         (0.7)
4    Tea: according to the text, based on the text.
5    S1:  £text'e () demediniz£ ((smiling))
6    Tea: no I didn't.
7    S1:  yes you [did.
8    Tea:         [come ↑on::.
9         (6.4) ((Tea searching for volunteers))
10        ((to S2)) what's your answer?
11   S2:  we couldn't find it.
12   Tea: you couldn't find it? No? Nobody could find it?
13        (0.5)
14        except for Ezgi (0.2) and her group.
15        (1.0)
16   S1:  we find it but not according to the text.
17   Tea: but we just emphasized, (0.8) it's based on the
18        information in the article.
                                 + points at the text
          reflected on the board
19        So what does it say Ezgi? Can you share with us?
20   Ezgi: of course. uh::: it says (0.6) in virtual classes,
21        you can only chat with your classmates, you can't
22        see them in person, like we do right now, and u::h
23        also you can't see your teachers actually you can't
24        see anybody .hhh and ıhhh (1.2) it's like being
25        antisocial, in every way cause you talk with them
26        but you don't know anything about them () and in
```

```
27          some classes,
     Tea:            + S stops the eye-contact and walks to
            the board
28   Ezgi: it's also not possible to talk with other
29          classmates,
30   Tea: yeah do you want to add anything to her
31          explanation? ↑nice okay it's a nice explanation
32          let's continue with this one immediately. ((moves
33          forward to another question))
```

teacher says "come on" (line 8) and starts searching for volunteers (line 9) during a long wait-time of 6.4 seconds. Then, in line 10, he assigns the turn to S2 by asking her for the answer. However, she says that they (she and her group) could not find it. In response to this overt 'claim of insufficient knowledge', the teacher initiates an 'epistemic status check' (line 12) (Sert, 2013) by saying "`you couldn't find it? No? Nobody could find it?`", making their lack of knowledge relevant and then generalizes it to the whole class. However, after a silence of 0.5 s, the teacher adds "`except for Ezgi (0.2) and her group`". Doing so, he ascribes a powerful position of being knowledgeable to Ezgi and "her" group as relative to others in class. S1 does not accept this positioning as she claims that they found the answer but "`but not according to the text`" (line 16), which is immediately refuted by the teacher (lines 17, 18). In line 19, in order to keep the interaction going, he nominates Ezgi to share the answer with the class. From line 20 to 26, Ezgi builds a lengthy turn to explain what makes online learning slightly impersonal. Towards the end of her turn, the teacher ceases the eye contact with her and starts walking to the board (line 27). Ezgi continues two lines further (28-29). Although she sounds like more will come (see the continuing intonation marked by ","), the teacher takes the turn and accepts her contribution with a sequence closing third ("`yeah`") (Schegloff, 2007), and asks if the class wants to add anything to Ezgi's explanation (lines 30-31). Without actually giving any time to students, the

teacher comments on Ezgi's turn saying that it is "nice", and fast-forwards to another storyline ("`let's continue with this one immediately`"). This vocab choice "`immediately`", together with teacher's act of cutting Ezgi's turn (line 30) suggest that the teacher makes the length of Ezgi's turn relevant and shows a concern related to time management. However, Ezgi's long contribution ascribes her a powerful interactional position (someone 'knowing') in the sequential unfolding of the talk. The way this long turn is sequentially made possible, the way the teacher shapes the contributions, and the ways other students position themselves or are positioned by others have all come into play for such an identity construction of Ezgi.

4.2. Efe's Positional Identities

Over the course of the weeks, the other focal participant, Efe, has also shown a different participation and positioning behaviour in various classroom activities. There were times when he became participative and attentive, but more often than others, his positioning acts accumulated to be co-constructed around being *non-serious or light-hearted* and being *humorous or funny* within the ongoing interactions. Such positionings were occasioned within the sequentiality of the talks, in a moment by moment fashion, and in relation to others.

4.2.1. Non-serious or light-hearted

The below segment (Extract 7) is taken from a transition stage when the teacher tries to move on to a new activity (or a new *storyline* from the point of Positioning Theory).

Extract 7: "leaving the classroom"

```
1     Tea: okay (0.4) ↑so we are starting
```

```
              + Efe stands up and starts walking
              to the litter bin #2

2             a::, ((checks the computer))

3             (2.1)   ((Tea looks at Efe)) #3
```


Figure 2. Efe standing up and walking

```
4     Tea: £leaving the classroom£. ((hand gesture of leave))
              + Efe puts a piece of rubbish into the bin
```
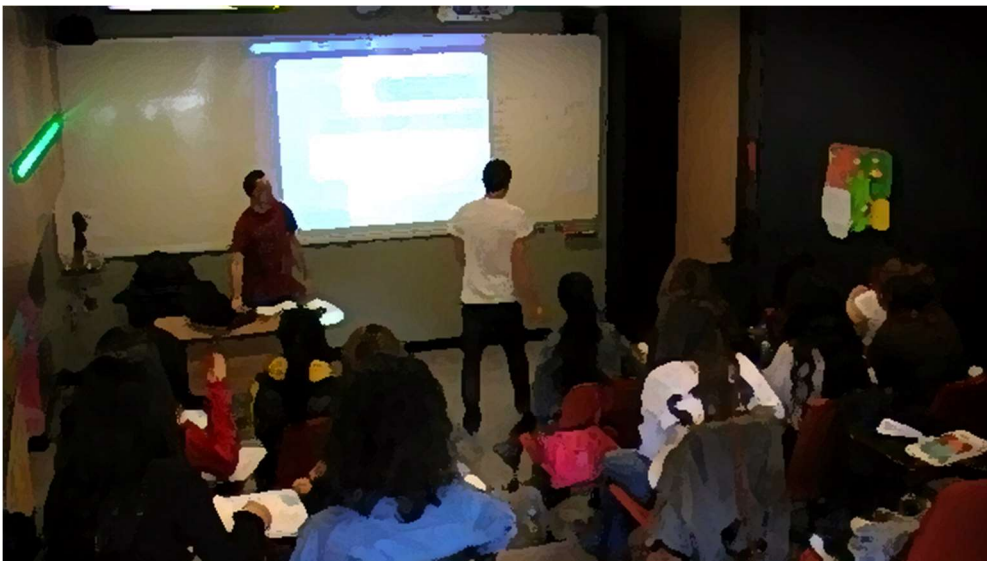

Figure 3. Teacher looking at Efe

```
5    Ss:   ((laughs)) ((Efe walks back to his desk with a
6          smiley face)) #4
```
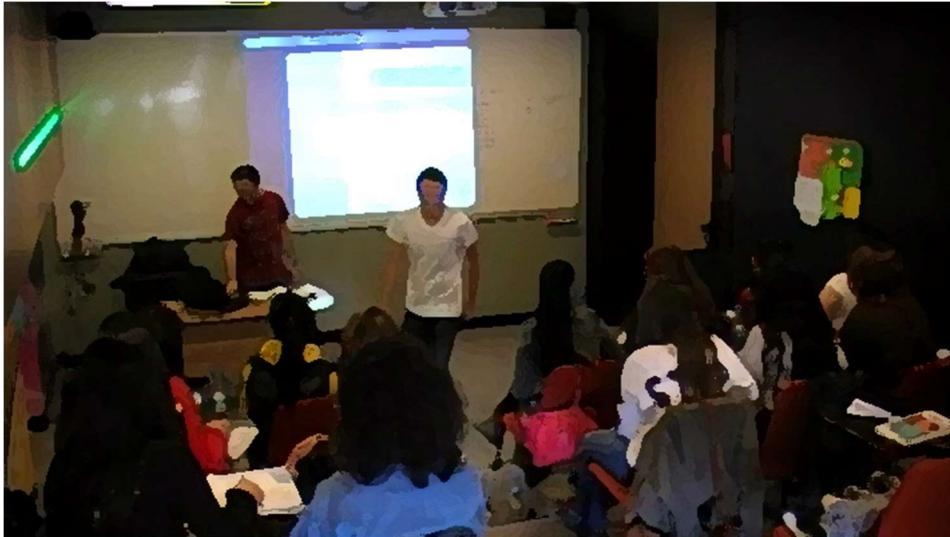

Figure 4. Efe walking back to his desk, smiling

In line 1, the teacher is heard announcing the start of something new, but he does not complete his turn and checks his computer. Meanwhile, Efe stands up from his desk and starts walking towards the litter bin which is near the board. During a silence of 2.1 s, the teacher notices him (line 3), and then he tells the class in a smiley voice, "leaving the classroom" with a hand gesture of leaving. Upon this, students start laughing and Efe walks back to his desk with a smiley face. Although Efe utters no words, the analysis of this brief interaction provides interesting findings regarding how a certain interactional identity position is sequentially ascribed to him. First of all, if Efe's non-vocal act of leaving his desk and walking to the litter bin is treated as a turn-constructional unit, it can be said that it is an uncalled, dispreferred action as it takes place just after the teacher directed the attention to the beginning of a new activity (line1, 2). Also, in the institutional context of a classroom, students are not supposed to leave their desks unless they are asked to do. This problematic act of Efe is made relevant by the teacher's treatment of it in line 4. Using a smiley tone of voice, the teacher expresses his

jokey uptake of what is happening: Efe "`leaving the classroom`". This suggests that the teacher aims to maintain affiliation in dealing with this disruptive behaviour. The teacher's humorous turn momentarily positions Efe as a non-serious or light-hearted person, and the laughs coming from the class and Efe's smiling all promote this positional identity. Notice that a direct warning or a reprimand could have possibly positioned Efe as a misbehaving or an irresponsible student, and this could have easily given way to negative feelings. However, within the line-by-line unfolding of the above talk, Efe is interactionally positioned in comparatively more positive terms like being *non-serious* or *light-hearted*. It is also seen that these identity positions are acceptable to him as he just takes them up by smiling (line 5).

Another representative excerpt exemplifying the construction of similar identity positionings for Efe is shown in Extract 8. In this vocabulary-focused lesson, the teacher aims to elicit the meanings of certain vocabulary items from the students. In line 1, the teacher focuses the attention of the class on the noun phrase "core principle" which is used in paragraph C of a reading passage. After a silence of 1.2 s, he asks the meaning of it (line 3).

Extract 8: "core principles"

```
1     Tea: a::nd in paragraph C we have core principles.
2          (1.3)
3     Tea: core principles what does that?
4          (0.4)
5     S1:  Key values
6          (0.4)
7     Tea: key values yani Efe what do you understand from
8          key values or core principles?
9          (0.3)
10    Efe: core principles (0.6) it's like (0.4) ↑core
11         (0.3)
12    Tea: huh ↑huh
13    Efe: principle. ((playful tone of voice))
14    Tea: e↑ve:t it make- it makes sense. ((laughs
15         from the class))
16         ((to another student)) what's core principles?
```

Following a short silence of 0.4 s, S1 takes the turn to provide a candidate answer, saying (it means) "`key values`". After a silence of 0.4 s, the teacher registers S1's contribution by repeating it (line 7) and he immediately asks Efe what he understands from "`key values or core principles`". Designated as the next speaker, Efe comes under the spotlight, and now he is expected to provide the second pair-part to the teacher's question. After a silence of 0.3 s, Efe repeats the noun phrase *'core principles'* and, with frequent silences, he starts to build the definition sentence ("`core principles (0.6) it's like (0.4) ↑core`") (line 10). In line 11, the teacher utters a go ahead response (Schegloff, 2007), "`huh ↑huh`", to encourage him to go on and complete his sentence. It is also seen that his rising intonation signals Efe's delay of the expected definition. Upon this, in line 13, Efe just repeats the noun "principle" using a playful tone of voice. So, Efe basically ends up repeating the noun phrase, which means he does not provide the relevant second pair-part to the teacher's question. Although Efe does not know the answer, he does not openly show his unknowing epistemic status (Heritage, 2012). Instead, he humorously takes up a knowing stance by holding the floor and repeating the noun phrase in the end (`core principles (0.6) it's like (0.4) ↑core (0.3) principle`). The teacher's treatment of Efe's contribution (`e↑ve:t it make- it makes sense`) shows that he plays along to display affiliation with him (line 14). The concurrent laughs coming from the class, as well, frame the whole thing as funny.

As a result, the analysis shows that Efe is sequentially positioned as being *non-serious* or *light-hearted* within the above segment of the ongoing classroom talk. His playful construction of his turn, the teacher's cooperative negotiation of Efe's contribution and the students' laughs all made such positioning momentarily possible within that talk. Also, discursively, such positioning behaviour comes to enable these sequential happenings. Within this mutually constructive relationship, Efe is being created as a certain being in class.

In the following lesson, when the focus is still on the comprehension of education-related concepts, the teacher asks students to close their books, and he starts doing an oral vocabulary check. He chooses the first student and asks her the meaning of a vocabulary item, and after getting the correct answer from him or her, he lets that student choose the next learner to be tested. So, the turn taking order is pre-set by the teacher: the last student being tested chooses the next one. Before the below segment (Extract 9) starts, S1 nominates Efe as the next one to be tested by the teacher.

Extract 9: "plagiarism"

```
1    Tea:  plagiarism.
2          (0.2)
3    Efe:  pla- () [£I've heard of it£], (0.5) plagiarism.
4    S1:          [hah hah hah ha ha]
5    Tea:  () said.
6    Efe:  yeah yes and it ↑mea:ns (0.8) plagiarism.
7    Tea:  yea:h? (0.4) which means?
8    Efe:  which means::, how can I spell plagiarism,
9          p-la-gia-rism.
10   Tea:  you don't have to spell it, you can just explain
11          it. ((laughs))
12          (1.5)
13   Efe:  plagiarism mea::ns (0.5) I don't remember.
14   S:    okay who remembers what plagiarism was?
15          (0.7)
16   S2:   uh::: (.) we are in the exam (0.5) if someone u:h
17          look at their friends uh: paper,
18   Efe:  [aaah I REMEMBER. I remember.    ((laughs))
19   Tea:  [it is not plagiarism. It is not plagiarism.
20   Efe:  ↑valla,
21   Tea:  it is ↑chea:↓ting. [Cheating is
22   Efe:                     [I remember.
```

```
23   Tea: no it's [too late,
24   Efe:         [I remember.
25   Tea: you've missed your chance. [okay
27   Efe:                 [>yemin ederim ama<.
28   Tea: what- what she has just said is not plagiarism,
29        it is cheating. ((continues))
```

In line 1, the teacher tells the word that Efe has to explain. After a silence of 0.2 s, Efe starts saying the word *plagiarism* but after uttering the first syllable, he cuts off abruptly and restarts, claiming knowledge by saying that "I've heard of it" in a smiley voice (line 3). This sudden cut off and his reporting of his 'hearing the word', which might have been uttered to gain time, together with S1's overlapping laugh at him (line 4), signals a difficulty Efe experiences in providing a definition for *plagiarism*. Following the teacher's incomprehensible response in line 5, Efe says "yeah yes and it ↑mea:ns (0.8) plagiarism", basically repeating that "plagiarism is plagiarism". In line 7, the teacher uses a designedly incomplete utterance, "which means?" (Koshik, 2002) in order to give Efe another chance to provide the answer. In line 8, Efe is heard repeating this utterance to complete it ("plagiarism mea::ns"), however, after a silence of 0.5 s, he initiates an insert expansion (Schegloff, 2007) by starting a new sequence instead of giving the preferred second pair-part to the teacher's question. He asks "how can I spell plagiarism" and immediately tries doing it in the next line (9). Upon this, instead of answering him, the teacher registers the irrelevancy of his insert sequence by telling him that "you don't have to spell it you can just explain it" (lines 10, 11). Doing so, the teacher also redirects the focus back to the pedagogic purpose of the activity. Efe's initiation of an insert expansion to delay the preferred second pair part (answer), the teacher's treatment of it, and the laughs coming from the class (line 11) interactionally position Efe as a playful and light-hearted person. After a silence of 1.5 s, in line 13, doing a last attempt, Efe finally takes up an unknowing stance by overtly saying that "I don't remember".

The teacher accepts this ("`okay`"), and asks the class who remembers what plagiarism is (line 14).

In what comes next, S2 volunteers for an answer after a silence of 0.7 s, and she starts to build her definition (line 16, 17). However, before she can complete her turn, Efe jumps in and shouts out, "`aaah I REMEMBER. I remember`" (line 18), which is laughed at by the class. Concurrently, in overlap, the teacher gives feedback to S2, saying that it is not plagiarism (line 19). In line 20, Efe is heard insisting, saying "valla" (which is like taking an oath in Turkish) in order to make himself more credible. In line 21, still addressing S2, the teacher informs her that what she defined is "cheating". The teacher's turn is cut by Efe who, in overlap with him, says that "`I remember`" again (line 22). This time, the teacher answers him in line 23, saying that 'it is too late'. However, Efe continues insisting in overlap, repeating his "`I remember`" in line 24. As a response to that, the teacher openly tells him that "`you've missed your chance`" and with the discourse marker "okay", he attempts to move on (line 25). Yet, in a faster speech, Efe swears "`[>yemin ederim ama<`" in order to take the turn, but this gets no attention from the teacher. Instead, in lines 28 and 29, the teacher starts making a wrap-up and continues with the next vocab.

Based on this analysis, it can be argued that Efe's insistent attempts to take interactional space and renegotiate his previous unknowing stance (line 13), together with the laughs from the class (line 18) position him as a playful and light-hearted participant in this talk.

4.2.2. Humorous or funny

Through the course of ongoing interactions in class, another positional identity which has frequently been ascribed to Efe is that of being *humorous* or *funny*. Based on their exemplary power in documenting the construction of such positionings in talk, three segments are chosen to be analysed here. The first one (Extract 10)

comes from a while-reading activity in which students are asked to match the given paragraph descriptions to the correct paragraphs of an article.

Extract 10:"E for Efe"

```
1     Tea: a::nd general summary and conclusion
2          is paragraph?
3     Ss:  E::
4          (0.5)
5     Tea: B:?
6     Ss:  E::
7     Tea: E for Edirne ye[ah.
8     Efe:               [E for Efe. ((smiles))
9     Tea: E for Efe yeah ((pointing at Efe with an
10         open palm)) V for Vendetta (1.0) exactly, and::
11         ((Efe smiles and shakes his head repeatedly, some

12         students smiles along))
```

The teacher starts a sequence in order to check the answers, and in line 1 and 2, he directs a question to the class in the form of a designedly incomplete utterance (Koshik, 2002) with the aim of eliciting the correct paragraph number. In line 3, students provide the completion: paragraph number "E". After a silence of 0.5 s, the teacher reports back what he heard: "B:?". In line 6, students repair the misunderstanding by repeating the answer, "E::". Upon this, the teacher makes the clarification relevant by demonstrating understanding (Mondada, 2011) with a small expansion: "E for Edirne yeah." In overlap, Efe utters "E for Efe" with a smiley face and thus playfully directs the attention to himself (line 8). By initiating an utterance after the teacher closes the sequence (see line 7), Efe exerts agency and provides an expansion in order to say something humorous. This sequential move positions Efe as a humorous participant, and in line 9, the teacher positively treats Efe's contribution by registering it ("E for Efe yeah") and then playing along by saying "V for Vendetta (1.0) exactly") by referring to the famous movie with that name. This shows that, in this sequence, the teacher responds to humour with humour while dealing with Efe's turn which was not called for in the first place. It can be argued that the teacher's orientation to Efe's

humorous and playful words in the same playful mode may be to maintain affiliation and positive feelings. The fact that Efe smiles and shakes his hand repeatedly during the teacher's turn in line 9 and 10, and that some students smile along give evidence to this reading of the data. Moreover, it can be said that Efe's self-positioning act is positively evaluated by the teacher and the others, as it does not get challenged or silenced. On the contrary, by expanding on it, the teacher and the class provide a space for the construction of such an interactional identity position, from which Efe participates to the ongoing talk as someone *humorous* or *funny*. So, within the micro-moments of the unfolding interaction, there is evidence to show that Efe is sequentially and interactionally created as a certain being.

In a different lesson, the teacher leads a whole-class discussion about *the ways to deal with stress* and different students share their personal ways of coping with stressful situations. The teacher directs the question to Efe, and thus the below segment takes place (Extract 11), which is divided into two parts for the analysis.

In line 1, the teacher asks Efe if he has ever felt stressed, and after a silence of 0.7, he utters his personal opinion of him: "`you don't seem such a person`" (line 3). By saying this, the teacher overtly positions Efe as a stress-free person in that location of the sequence, and then he repeats his question (line 3, 4). What follows is a long silence of 3.7 s, during which Efe pouts his lips and slightly opens his hands

Extract 11: "what is stress exactly?"


```
1    Tea: have you ever felt stressed Efe?
2         (0.7)
3         you don't seem such a person, have you
4         ever felt stressed in your life?
5         (3.7) ((Efe pouts his lips, shows open palms #5))
6    S1:  €kadınlar stress yapmaz.€
7         (1.9) ((laughs))
```

```
8              (0.7)
```
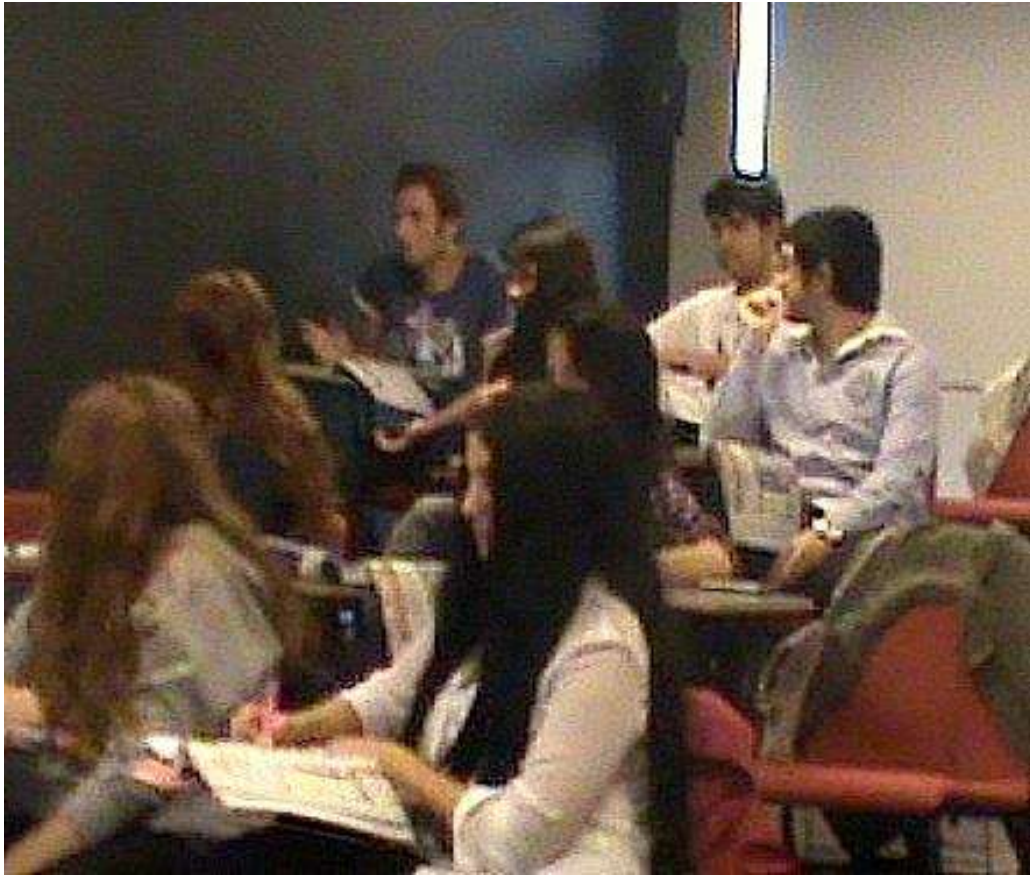

Figure 5. Efe pouting his lips, open palms

```
9    Efe: what is st↑ress ↓<exactly.>
10   Tea: [yeah he is a- he is a young f- he is a youngster
11   Ss:  [hah hah hah hah ha ha ha ((strong laughs))
12   Tea: from u::h Aegean region, (0.3) >he was coming-<
13        he is coming from çanakkale: çanakkale is blue
14        [green,
15   S2:  [I think Efe
16   Tea: there is no problem in [çanakkale,
17   S2:                        [drink lots of alcohol.
18        (1.6) ((laughs))
```

to both sides with open palms (line 5). This nonverbal act, together with the long silence, may indicate an unknowing epistemic status (Heritage, 2012) on Efe's part. In line 6, a woman student, S1, takes the turn and utters that, "€kadınlar stress yapmaz€" ("women don't get stressed"). Upon this, the whole class starts laughing including Efe. This sequence is quite interesting because what S1 jokingly says momentarily attributes Efe the membership category of "women" who do not get stressed. Although this turn might have been intentionally designed to tease Efe (who shares a biological membership with 'men'), his laughing along with the class proves that he accepts this attribution as a joke as he does not offer any challenge. Next, after a silence of 0.7 s, instead of giving an answer (the second pair-part), Efe counters the teacher's question with another question: "what is st↑ress <exactly>" (line 9). Unlike a rising intonation of a real question, however, he finishes up with a slow, falling intonation and thus, his question is indeed hearable as an answer. Also, it is seen that, in line 10, the teacher's "yeah" registers Efe's turn as a legitimate second pair-part. Before any further analysis, here, it should be noted that Efe's turn is significant in terms of his self-positioning act. It should be remembered that the teacher's initial positioning of him was that of someone "stress-free" (line 3). As well as positively taking the joke coming from S1 (line 6), by humorously saying "what is st↑ress <exactly>" (line 9), Efe indeed conforms to his being positioned as someone "humorous or funny", and sequentially takes up this interactional position within the above talk.

Such discursive, jointly constructed identity work goes on in what unfolds next in the sequence. The teacher, in line 10, accepts Efe's humorous contribution with a simple "yeah", but he does not close the sequence. Instead, he jokingly extends it to create an imaginary storyline. At that moment, it is also important to note that strong laughs come from the class in overlap with the beginning of the teacher's turn (line 11), casting the whole sequence and Efe's contribution as funny. After registering Efe's turn ("yeah") as valid and thus accepting his stance (Schegloff, 2007), the teacher expands the sequence by building a personal narration of Efe's

life in a nutshell, depicting him as an "Aegean youngster coming from Çanakkale which is green and blue, and which has no problems" (lines 10, 12, 13, 14, 16). Doing so, the teacher, in a way, intentionally promotes Efe's being created as someone light-hearted and stress-free within the course of this talk. Furthermore, in lines 15 and 17, in overlap with the teacher's ongoing turns, S2 grabs the turn and says that "I think Efe drinks lots of alcohol". This act momentarily ascribes another identity position to Efe: a drinker. Finding this funny, the whole class start laughing (line 18), and the laughs put the whole sequence in a humorous framework. In what

```
19   Tea:  does it help, E↑ge?
20         (0.6) ((some students turn back to look at
21         Efe)) ((Efe smiles, nods Yes))
22   Tea:  £yes (.) he is still drunk£. ((laughs))
23         (2.5) ((laughs))
23         (Tea moves on to another student)
```

follows, the teacher plays along and asks Efe if drinking helps him (line 19). During the following short silence of 0.6 s, some students turn back to see Efe's reaction, and nodding yes, Efe smiles. His nonverbal act of smiling and nodding is treated as a positive answer by the teacher, who brings this exchange into a closure by jokingly saying "£yes (.) he is still drunk£". Upon this, the class laughs again (line 23), sustaining the *fun* mood, and the teacher moves on to another student to continue the talk.

This line by line analysis of the above segment generates enough data to document the positioning-related sequences of Efe as they unfold with each turn. It has been seen that being "humorous or funny" is a joint, interactional identity construction for Efe, which he ascribes to himself and/or is ascribed as such by others. His overt verbal or nonverbal self-positionings, others' positionings of him, the way the teacher shapes the contributions and the laughs coming from the class all come together in an intricate organization to occasion such an identity work.

The below segment (divided into three parts for a reader-friendly analysis) is also selected as relevant to Efe's identity construction. This segment is taken from a lesson in which students discuss different ways of preventing illnesses in groups. After groups discuss the topic, come up with a list and write their list on the board, the teacher signals the beginning of the whole-class discussion in line 1 (↑yeah ↑so:). During the following silence of 1.2 s, the teacher nods at Efe who is standing

Extract 12: "smoking"

```
1     Tea: ↑yeah ↑so:
2           (1.2) ((nods at Efe who is standing))
3           find yourself a seat.
4           (0.7)
      Efe: ((Efe shakes his head no, still standing))
5     Tea:  you love your group? (.) okay,
                   + Efe nods yes.
6           hug yourselves. ((laughs))
7           o↑kay ↑so
            + Tea starts walking to the board.
            +Efe hugs himself. #6
```

and tells him to find a seat (line 1, 2). After a silence of 0.7 s, Efe shakes his head *no* to display noncompliance and keeps standing. This non-verbal act can be interpreted as a demonstration of unwillingness to participate (Sert, 2013; 2015). In response to this dispreferred act, the teacher adopts a humorous approach to mitigate it by providing a positive reading of Efe's second pair-part: "you love your group? (.) Okay" (line 5). Efe confirms this reading by nodding in overlap; the teacher's "okay" accepts Efe's stance, and the teacher closes this sequence, again with humour, by telling them (Efe and his group) to hug each other

Figure 6. Efe hugging himself

(line 6), getting laughs from the class. Delayed by the sequence so far, in line 7, the teacher once again signals the beginning of the class discussion ("o↑kay ↑so") and walks towards the board. In the meantime, Efe is seen hugging himself and thus interactionally positions himself as *humorous* or *funny*. After a silence of 1.2 s, the teacher reads out the list students wrote on the

```
8         (1.2)
9    Tea: The first one is "not smoking" "doing what
10        makes you happy" "sleeping enough" and "washing
11        your hands frequently".
12        (1.4)
13        who says not smoking prevents most of the (0.5)
                   + Efe puts his    + Tea points

              hand up            at Efe
```

Figure 7. Efe displaying his body

```
14          illnesses.
15          what is your reason? ((Gazes at Efe))
16          (2.6) ((Efe tidying up his T-shirt, pulling pants))
17   Efe: u:h our reason is u:h smoking is not healthy thing,
18          (0.5)
19          as you can £see£. ((displays himself by
20          gliding both hands over his body #7))
21   Ss:  ((loud laughs))
```

board (line 9, 10, 11) and, following a silence of 1.4 s, asks the class "who says not smoking prevents most of the (0.5) illnesses?" In overlap with this question, Efe puts his hands up and the teacher gives the turn to him by pointing at him (line 13). Gazing at Efe, the teacher asks him what their (his and his group's) reason is (line 15). A silence of 2.6 s follows this, during which Efe is seen tidying up his T-shirt and pulling his pants as if to prepare himself for the stage. Then he states their reason ("u:h our reason is u:h smoking is not

healthy thing,") (line 17), and following a short pause of 0.5 s, he completes his turn saying that "as you can £see£.", and at the exact same time displaying his physical self by gliding both his hands up and down over his body (line 19, 20). This act, here, momentarily channels the attention towards Efe and thus creates space for any potential self-positioning behaviour of him as he is the current holder of the floor. It is also noticed that Efe finishes up in a smiley voice, which immediately invites and gets loud laughs from the class (line 21). All these sequential choices, made knowingly or unknowingly, build up to a point where Efe's initial self-positioning of himself as someone humorous or funny is being further reproduced.

```
22   Tea: yani Efe you look nice £I don't know£.
23        (0.8)
24   Efe: so it's ↑not (.) uh I- I'm smoking yes I understand
25        it by smoking it.
26        (1.4)
27   S1:  °how?°
28   Tea: =haa learning by experience.
29   Efe: =↑yes::(0.5) it's the best way to learn.
30   Tea: huh huh.
31        ((laughs))
32        (0.8)
33   Efe: so (0.4) yes.
34   Tea: so if you don't smoke you can get rid of most
35        of the: (0.2) health [problems.
36   Efe:                      [yes when you can- when you
37        are smoking you can- uhh you can feel the
38        harm the cigarettes give you.
39   Tea: o↑ka:y >what about< sleeping enough?((continues))
```

After the laughs, in line 22, the teacher comments on Efe's utterance, saying that he actually looks nice, and closes his turn indirectly expressing that he is not convinced ("£I don't know£.") by his argument. However, the teacher maintains affiliation

with his smiley voice. After a silence of 0.8 s, Efe upgrades his explanation to convince the teacher, trying to say that he smokes and he understand it (the bad effects) by smoking (line 24, 25). A silence of 1.4 s follows this and a student is heard asking "how?" in a quiet voice, which goes unnoticed as the teacher immediately provides what he understand as Efe's main point: "`=haa learning by experience.`" (line 28). This reshaping of Efe's turn by the teacher may also function as linking the talk to the teacher's pedagogical purposes. Efe, with a strong voice, accepts the teacher's uptake ("`=↑yes::`") right away and adds that "`it's the best way to learn`". The teacher listens and accepts his point with a minimal response token "`huh huh`" (line 30). The class laughs at this exchange (line 31), maybe because of the staged effort Efe shows to make himself clear and convince the teacher. Whatever the reason is, these laughs come right after Efe's turn and thus frame his contribution in a more humorous tone, potentially putting the seriousness of his claims away. A short silence of 0.8 s follows, and Efe is heard as closing the sequence ("`so (0.4) yes.`"). However, the teacher takes the turn and gives the upshot of the whole sequence (line 34, 35) and Efe confirms this by expanding on it (line 36, 37, 38). Finally, the teacher moves the discussion on to a new storyline about sleeping enough.

All the extracts, analysed so far, have documented the co-construction of certain interactional identity positionings for Efe: someone as *non-serious or light-hearted* and being *humorous or funny* within different classroom talks. It has been shown that such positionings have sometimes been shaped by Efe both by verbally and nonverbally, and at other times they have been ascribed to him with others' and/or the teacher's intentional and unintentional sequential choices. In both ways, such an identity construction has been made possible in joint contributions, in a line-by-line fashion.

4.3. Co-Constructing Identities: EZGI and EFE

Within the data corpus of 17 video recorded class hours, certain sequences (or storylines) are marked as worthy of analysis as these reveal unique instances in which both Ezgi and Efe sequentially position each other, and/or come to be positioned in relation to each other in certain ways. The existence of such segments makes it possible to compare and contrast the positioning behaviour of these focal students and thus helps us to further our understanding of their identity construction within various class interactions.

Broadly, three positional patterns have emerged from the data. Firstly, it has been seen that Ezgi and Efe mostly enact –or are assigned - their usual positional identities relative to each other: Ezgi as *knowledgeable/reasonable* and Efe as *playful / light-hearted*. Secondly, however, in one segment, they reverse these positional identities: Ezgi becomes playful and Efe takes up being knowledgeable. Although this is one rare "deviant" instance, it is really valuable in showing the multiple, fluid and changing nature of identity positioning. Thirdly and lastly, Ezgi and Efe help each other out by completing each other's turns when they happen to have a conversational problem, and doing so, they are positioned as equals, sharing knowledge and power in showing L2 competence.

4.3.1. Enacting the Usual Identity Positions

The below excerpt comes from a lesson in which the students have just started a new unit, *Education*, and following the learning objectives, the teacher's aim is to help students learn/discuss about concepts like "training", "theoretical / practical education" and university related vocabulary items like "seminar", "lecture" and "tutorial" and so on. Just before the below segment, the teacher divided students into groups according to their faculty: education, engineering, architecture and economics and administrative sciences. He asked them, within their groups, to discuss the kind of training they need in order to prepare for their future careers. In

this segment, which is divided into two parts for the ease of analysis, the teacher starts the report-back and asks each group to share their opinions:

Extract 13: "Hilmi the Great"

```
1    Tea: so, first we have only two (.) two minors in
2         here, in our classroom, and they are (.)
3         shh shh they ↑are, what students? What's
4         your department? ((Eye-contact with Efe))
5    Efe: Economics and (.) [adminɪɪɪɪɪɪ]. ((smiles))
6    Ezgi:                   [administery]
7    Tea: Administration (.) ok so: what are you going to
8         be in the future?
9         (1.0)
10   Efe: I:: (.) ladies first.
11        ((laughs))
12   Tea: >this is good strategy< I always use this.
13        ((laughs))
14   Ezgi: ha ha hah I will study international relations,
15         and I want to become ambassador, u::h after (.) I
16         graduate, u:hh I will have KPSS [exam.]
17   Tea:                                 [of ↑course.
18   Ezgi: and KPDS, and u::h if they accept me, I will
19         train for two years (0.7) and the:n, they will
20         send me to some foreign country,
21   Tea: =>ok< what kind of training will you have (.)
22        in the future?
23   Ezgi: u::h politics (0.4) about politics, and u::h
24         economics.
25   Tea: hɪhɪ.
26        (1.0)
27   Ezgi: °and that's all I [know].°
28   Tea:                   [yani] you will go to a seminar
29         room and they will come and
30         teach you some information about
31   Ezgi:     [no]
32   Tea:     [politics] and economics from a power point?
33   Ezgi: No no u:h (0.6) probably I will work (.) in a
34         international u::h (1.0) like (0.5) (  ) like
35         unicef (0.4) and other international [places]
36   Tea:                                       [organizations]
37   Ezgi: organizations to learn (0.6) u::h about my job.
38   Tea: Okay so you will have some ↑practice also.
39   Ezgi: huh huh.
```

Extract 13 starts with the teacher (T) assigning a group (consisting of Ezgi and Efe) as the first to share their opinions. He asks the name of their department and assigns the turn to Efe by gazing at him. In line 5, Efe starts saying it (`Economics and`) but fails to complete his turn as he has difficulty in saying the second word "`adminııııııı`". His smiling, also, makes his pronunciation trouble relevant as this suggests an unknowing epistemic stance on Efe's part (Sert and Jacknick, 2015). In overlap with him, Ezgi offers a candidate word (`administery`), and although it is wrong, she utters it confidently without any hesitation (line 6). Not addressing this, the teacher provides the correct word and asks another question to Efe ("`what are you going to be in the future?`"), thus giving him a further opportunity to talk (lines 7-8). Following a silence of 1.0 s, Efe starts building his answer ("`I::`") but he cuts it there and playfully says that "`ladies first`" to pass the turn to Ezgi under the guise of a socially accepted polite behaviour (line 10). It can be argued that, here, at this location of the ongoing interaction, Efe employs a humorous approach in order to pose a knowing epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012) although it is clear that he does not know what to say at that moment. Instead of making an explicit claim of insufficient knowledge (like "I don't know") (Sert, 2013), Efe uses humour as a strategy to avoid any kind of negative epistemic positioning. The laughs coming from the class right after Efe says "`ladies first`" proves that the students also read this exchange as humorous. Moreover, the teacher maintains affiliation with him by openly interpreting and accepting his conversational move as a "good strategy" that he himself also uses. The teacher's comment raises further laughter from the class in line 13 and then Ezgi takes the turn with a laugh (line 14).

During lines 14-20, Ezgi positions herself as a future ambassador who will work in a foreign country in the future. In lines 21-22, the T asks her about the kind of training she will have, and she says "politics and economics". Instead of fostering the powerful identity position that Elif has just depicted for herself, the teacher changes the direction of the topic by telling her what he understands from her words: that she will be given information from a power point in a seminar room about politics

and economics (lines 28-30, 32). With the pedagogic purpose of making the distinction between "theoretical" and "practical" education clear, the teacher shapes the interaction to that end; however, doing so, he does not actually address the powerful positional identity that Ezgi has created for herself by not making any comment on it. In line 33, Ezgi, being unaware of the teacher's pedagogic agenda, objects to his uptake and goes on to narrate her future self as working at an international 'place' like UNICEF. In line 36, in overlap, the teacher corrects her word choice of "place" with the correct word "organization" and in the next line, Ezgi uses it and finishes her turn. Upon this, the teacher formulates an upshot of what Elif has just said: "`Okay so you will have some ↑practice also`". Again, instead of treating Ezgi's self-positioning in any way, the teacher is concerned with making the distinction between *theory* and *practice* clear as this is one of the objectives of that lesson. Ezgi confirms the teacher with a minimal response token "`huh huh`" (line 39), and the teacher gives the floor to Efe to share his response (line 37). Thereupon, Efe tells him that he has not decided yet, but he adds "`let's`

```
40   T:    A::nd? ((looking at Efe ))
41   Efe:  I haven't decided but (.) let's say CEO,
42         (1.3)
43   T:    he will become a CEO arkadaşlar, this is important
44         because if you need money in the future,
45   Ss:   ((laughs))
46         you will have to see him.
47         (1.6)
48   Efe:  if I (0.4) become (0.5) °a CEO°.
49   T:    how how can is it be (.) how can it be possible?
50   Efe:  I have no idea.
51   T:    you just want to be a CEO.
52   Ss:   ((laughs))
53   Efe:  and I have (.) like I said I haven't decided,
54         and (.) I don't want to earn so: much
55         money in the future,
56   T:    huh huh.
57   Efe:  like u:h (0.5) not that ts (.) too much successful
58         CEO (.) let's say.
59         (1.0)
60   T:    Hilmi the great. [(     )]
61                          [laughs]
```

```
62        do you watch Kardeş Payı?
63   Ss:  ye::s ((laughs))
64   T:   he is planning to become like Hilmi (.) Hilmi the
65        great.
66        ((touching Efe's shoulder, Efe smiling))
67        okay, so this is your (   ) but we are not sure
68        how to become a CEO (0.2) so how ↑can somebody
69        become a CEO arkadaşlar, what (.) can be the steps?
70        (1.6)
71   Efe: she said (.) ((pointing at Ezgi with his finger))
72        I have to start (.) to bottom (.) from bottom.
73        ((raising his right hand))
74        (1.4)
75   T:   Yeah this is (.) what I also believe.
          ((goes on with another group))
```

say CEO". It is seen that, unlike Ezgi who just shared a serious, well-thought plan for her future career, Efe is unsure, but for the sake of providing the second pair-part to the teacher's question (which he had delayed so far), he says "CEO" by appending "let's say". This "let's say" downgrades the seriousness of his claim, and, in a way, marks what will come next as playful. After a silence of 1.3 s, the teacher tells the class that he (Efe) will be a CEO in the future, and asserts that this is important because if they need money in the future, they will have to see him. It is clear that the teacher is also being playful here by humorously and imaginatively positioning Efe as a rich, future CEO (lines 43-44, 46). The laughter that his utterance has raised from the class (line 45) proves this reading. Following a silence of 1.6 s, Efe adds a conditional clause, "if I (0.4) become (0.5) °a CEO°" (line 48), meaning that if he can ever be one. It is noticed that the pauses and his falling intonation signals a mock belief, which further marks the ongoing non-serious, playful tone of the whole exchange. With the purpose of continuing the interaction and giving Efe more interactional space, the teacher directs him another question in line 49: "how how can is it be (.) how can it be possible?". As a response, Efe tells him that he has no idea and thus overtly claims insufficient knowledge (Sert and Walsh, 2013). With this, Efe takes up an unknowing epistemic stance and the teacher makes this stance relevant by

commenting that "`you just want to be a CEO`" (line 51). This last remark of the teacher plays the function of fostering Efe's being positioned as someone non-serious and playful as it points at the fact that he has not paid any serious thought to how to become a CEO. This exchange gets further laughter from the class, which provides evidence to this analysis (line 52). Efe, who has not offered any challenge to the interactional positions ascribed to him so far, now, problematizes the teacher's first positioning of him as someone with a potential of becoming rich in the future by saying, "`like I said I haven't decided and (.) I don't want to earn so: much money in the future`" (lines 53-55). Maybe this is the first time in this interaction Efe is actually being serious, and it is seen that with these words he is negotiating his identity position from being *non-serious* to someone just *undecided.* Moreover, he positions himself as someone who does not value money that much. The teacher shows his understanding with a response token of "`huh huh`", and Efe completes his turn by linking it again to his imagined career by saying "`like ııı (0.5) not that ts (.) too much successful CEO (.) let's say`" (lines 57-58). Instead of insisting on his previous "undecided" tone, Efe ends up showing alignment with the jointly created storyline of his being a future CEO, this time though, with a small adaptation: "not too much successful CEO". Notice that he adds "let's say" in the end, bringing the non-serious / playful framework back into the sequence. This suggests that, although Efe attempts re-negotiating his interactional identity, he conforms to being positioned as humorous or funny. Quite interestingly, in what follows, the teacher likens Efe to an absurd comedy TV series character, *Hilmi the Great*, who is a caricatured, naive, uneducated, modestly rich businessman in his own right (line 60). The class starts laughing at this (line 61), which reproduces the teacher's positioning of Efe as funny. Upon laughter, the teacher asks the class if they watch Kardeş Payı (line 62), the name of the Turkish TV serious which stars the character *Hilmi the Great*. The students say *Yes* and goes on laughing (line 63). The teacher jokingly states that Efe is planning to become like *Hilmi the Great* and touches him

on the shoulder to display affiliation. Efe, in turn, simply takes up this jokey position by smiling (line 66).

Later, in order to keep the conversation going, by taking the opportunity of the unanswered question (looking for the second-pair part), "how can someone become a CEO?", the teacher asks the question again in lines 67-69. A silence of 1.6 s follows this, and then Efe takes the turn and he says that Elif told him that he has to start from the bottom (lines 71-73): "`she said (.) I have to start (.) to bottom (.) from bottom.`" This simple "she said" is really significant for the analysis of this talk. This is because it momentarily positions Ezgi as the "knowledge provider", which makes evident the knowledge asymmetry between them. Ezgi is sequentially positioned as the knowing one whereas Efe is the unknowing one (Heritage, 2012). As a result, in terms of epistemics, Ezgi emerges from this exchange as more powerful. Upon a silence of 1.6 s, the teacher confirms this "starting from the bottom" idea as legitimate by stating that this is also what he believes (75).

The analysis of the above segment generates enough data to show that Ezgi and Efe position themselves and/or are positioned within the same unfolding storyline in different ways. Ezgi creates herself, or come to be created, as someone knowledgeable and thus powerful within the interaction. Relative to her, non-serious and playful identity positions are sequentially ascribed to Efe, who takes up these and enact them in return. So, discursively, these two students are being created as certain beings. However, it is important to note that these interactional identity positions are not just an effect of self-positioning acts. They are momentarily shaped and made possible by the sequentiality of the ongoing talk, and the way the teacher manages the contributions has a big role in their being actualized. As the analysis of the above excerpt clearly shows, the teacher invests in positioning Efe as playful and humorous by taking a playful approach himself. All these suggest that the relative identity positions that are ascribed to Ezgi and Efe, or

that they attribute to themselves, are the product of jointly produced classroom interactions.

For another case in point, the following excerpt will be analysed in order to provide further evidence to the usual relative identity constructions of Ezgi and Efe: Ezgi as *knowledgeable/reasonable* and Efe as *playful / light-hearted.* The below talk in Extract 14 is one part of a class-discussion activity in which students are asked to find and discuss the best treatments for minor health-related problems such as a cold, a headache, toothache and so on. Here, the teacher starts a new discussion about what someone should do in case of "a serious cut on someone's hand". As a

Extract 14: "what about a serious cut on our hand?"

```
1    Ezgi: you should go to E.R.
2    S1:   =°yes°
3    Tea:  hu-huh.
4    Efe:  you should search it on Google.
5    Ss:   ((lauhgs))
6    Tea:  [my finger is-
7    Efe:  [I cut my finger what should I do.
8    Tea:  And there will be caps there will be memes there
9          will be funny photos ((some laughs from the class))
10         (0.8)
11   Efe:  ↑no there are some useful stuff in (0.2) google so,
12         (1.3)
13   Tea:  but [how do you]
14   Efe:    =[do you know] kadınlar sözlüğü? ((smiling))
15   Tea:  of course I don't, of course I don't, how can
16         I ()? ((strong laughs))
17   Efe:  when you search someth- when you search something
18         on google like I cut my finger () or: I'm sick
19         it's,[huh huh huh hu  ((lauhhs))
20   Ss:        [((laughs))
```

```
21    Efe: google shows you the kadınlar sözcüğü or kadınlar
22         bilmem nesi I don't remember exactly but (1.4) it's
23         kadınlar (any).
24    Ss:  ((laughs))
25    Tea: okay did you get the message arkadaş[lar?
26    S2:                                      [°no°
27    S3:  °no°
28    Tea: You can find such information <only in kadınlar
29         sözlüğü> >because< men never d- do it dimi?
30    Efe:  ↑yes
31    Tea:  that's what he meant. (0.6) that's what he meant.
32         >okay so< of course you should see a doctor as soon
33         as possible. In case of a toothache, ((goes on))
```

response, in line 1, Ezgi takes the turn and says that: "you should go to E.R.".
Thus, she takes up the interactional position of being *rational*. Moreover, her use of
the abbreviation "E.R", which means *emergency room*, is also a fancy word choice
as it suggests some kind of knowledge about health issues in the target language. It
should be noted that this activity is a unit opener, which takes place at the very
beginning of a new unit in order to activate students' schemata. So, without being
taught yet, by using 'E.R.', instead of saying simply hospital, Ezgi actually positions
herself as *knowledgeable*, too. In line 2, a student supports Ezgi's opinion, and the
teacher confirms it with a response token ("hu-huh") (line 3). Then Efe takes the
turn and shares his opinion, "you should search it on Google". Unlike the
reasonable suggestion of Ezgi (that one should go to E.R. in case of a serious cut on
someone's hand), what Efe says is immediately treated as funny and playful as
evidenced by the laughs that it raises (line 5). Upon this, the teacher starts saying
something but he gets cut by Efe, who, in overlap, tells what should be written in
Google: "I cut my finger what should I do". The teacher responds to this
with the same playful approach that Efe has taken up, by saying that "And there
will be caps there will be memes there will be funny photos".

This gets further laughs from some students (line 9), which suggests that the whole exchange between Efe and the teacher is read as funny and playful. As a result, till here in the whole sequence, it is seen that Efe has been positioned as non-serious and playful relative to Ezgi. This assigned interactional position is also obvious to Efe as he, after a short silence of 0.8 s, openly objects to it by saying "↑no there are some useful stuff in (0.2) google so" (line 11). His start with "no" in rising intonation is really important to show that Efe is actually aware of the way he is being positioned and he offers a challenge now to be taken seriously. A silence of 1.3 s follows and the teacher takes the turns to question him (line 13), but again, in overlap, Efe takes the control by winning the floor back (line 14). Smiling, he asks the teacher if he knows "Kadınlar Sözlüğü" (Women's Dictionary), which is a famous online platform where women share information about any kinds of issues like health and beauty. Although Efe is negotiating the seriousness of his opinion, the fact that he smiles suggests the continuation of the playful mode. The teacher, as a response, tells him that "of course I don't, of course I don't, how can I ()?" (lines 15-16). This strong disclaim by the teacher signals his rejection of sharing any kind of membership with women using this dictionary, which is found quite funny by the class as evidenced by the strong laughs that immediately follow. In line 17, Efe takes more interactional space and starts explaining his point, but in the middle, he starts laughing, which function as inviting others to laugh along with him (Glenn, 2003) (line 19). Efe's bursting into laughs before he could complete his turn and the accompanying laughs from the class all reproduce his being positioned as playful and light-hearted. In lines 21-23, Efe finally completes his explanation which gives the rationale behind his ideas: when you search something like 'I cut my finger', Google shows you the Kadınlar Sözlüğü". The class again laughs at this, framing the whole exchange as humorous (line 24). In what follows, interestingly, the teacher asks the class if they get the message (line 25). Some students silently say No (line 26-27), and the teacher, without actually waiting to get an answer, tells the students Efe's message: "You can find such information <only in kadınlar sözlüğü> >because< men never d- do it dimi?" (line 28-29).

These words momentarily position Efe as someone who performs a gender-based stereotyping, showing women doing non-serious things. The teacher may have uttered these words without being serious, just to match the playfulness of Efe, or just to tease him a bit. Efe's confirmation "↑yes", without any objection, validates this reading. In line 31, the teacher repeats "that's what he meant" two times as if to signal a closure, and then he finishes up the storyline by reminding students the rational suggestion that Ezgi initially made: ">okay so< of course you should see a doctor as soon as possible." This last line fosters the interactional identity position of Ezgi as *rational* and *knowledgeable* as the teacher, in a way, chooses her idea as the one to be followed in case of a serious cut just before he ends the discussion. Later, the teacher starts a new conversation about the case of a toothache and the interaction flows into a new storyline.

Up to now, with the detailed micro analysis of two extracts (Extract 13 and 14), it has been demonstrated that Ezgi and Efe were ascribed, co-constructed, enacted and at times negotiated certain identity positions in the unfolding discourse of the classroom. It has been documented that this interactional identity work of these focal students has been accomplished in relation to each other. More often than others, Ezgi participated the lessons from the identity position of being *knowledgeable* and *rational,* whereas Efe's orientation to the ongoing interactions was from a non-serious, playful and humorous position. Such identity positioning was made relevant within the line by line, sequential organization of the talks that are shaped jointly by all the interactional acts of students and the teacher.

4.3.2. Reversing the Usual Positional Identities

As systematically reported so far, certain positional identities have been accumulated to create Ezgi and Efe as certain beings in class. However, one extract has been identified in the data corpus which shows the construction of different identity positions for these two students. Extract 15, divided into two parts, shows one special case in which Ezgi momentarily becomes *playful* or *non-serious* in the

course of a conversation while Efe is being the *knowledgeable* and the *serious* one. The below segment begins after the teacher puts students into groups and gives them some time to discuss what individuals and the government do to deal with smoking.

Extract 15: "green prescription"

```
1    Tea: okay let's, let's share our answers arkadaşlar.
2         About about not smoking. What can individual do for
                                              + Efe raises
                                                his hand
3         not to smoke? ((nods at Efe))
4    Efe: individuals I don't know maybe they are
5         (1.6) ((looks at Ezgi for help))
6         they are, I have no idea.
7    Tea: =what can individuals do not to smoke?
8    S1:  ((turns back to Efe)) (not do that.)
9         (0.8)
10   Tea: Don't [smoke. ((commenting on what S1 told Efe))
11   Elif: [They can stop ↑smoking.
12   Tea: hah it's very clever.
13   Elif: [hah hah ha ha ha ha ha]
14   Ss:  [((laughs))]
15   Tea: very smart. ((laughs))
16        >Okay.<
17        (1.1)
18        Any other? What can government do about it?
                                          + Efe puts both his
                                            arms up
```

When the allocated time is over, the teacher initiates the whole-class discussion in line 1, and he asks what individuals can do about 'not smoking' (line 2-3). He designates Efe, who bids for the turn, as the speaker with a head-nod. Efe begins

building his sentence ("individuals"), but then he claims insufficient knowledge ("I don't know") (Sert and Walsh, 2013), and then tries again ("maybe they are") (line 4). Later, during the following 1.6 seconds of silence, he looks at Ezgi, his group member, for help (line 5). However, none is provided, and Efe makes his last attempt to give an answer ("they are") but ends up overtly claiming insufficient knowledge again ("I have no idea.") (line 6). In a hurry to keep the interaction alive, the teacher immediately repeats his questions for others to respond (line 7). At that moment, a student who is sitting in front Efe turns back to him and tells him, although not clear, "(not do that.)". After a silence of 0.8 s, the teacher, still waiting for the second pair-part to his question, makes this side-talk relevant by commenting on it: "Don't [smoke." In a way, the teacher rephrases what S1 has just told to Efe, maybe in an effort to elicit an answer. At that moment, in overlap, Ezgi takes the turns and provides a response: "[They can stop ↑smoking" (line 11). What Ezgi does with this utterance is actually saying the obvious out loud: that individuals can stop smoking in order not to smoke. The teacher reads Ezgi's contribution as non-serious, unlike her usual serious participation behaviour, as evidenced by the fact that he becomes sarcastic in the next line to comment on what she has just said: "hah it's very clever." Thereupon, Ezgi bursts into laughter together with the whole class (line 13-14). Her laughter, as well, ascribes her a playful positional identity within that location of the talk, which is further promoted by the accompanying laughs coming from the classmates. While the laughs are still continuing, the teacher repeats his sarcastic comment "very smart", and then he tries to redirect the talk back into the pedagogic objective. This time, though, he changes the question, "Any other? What can government do about it?" (line 18). The reason why the teacher has replaced the question without actually getting a legitimate answer can be due to his assessment that there is a threat to the continuation of the talk as students are not providing any satisfactory ideas. To answer this new question, Efe bids for a turn by putting both his arms up, which is quite an exaggerated non-verbal act to gain the turn. He gains the floor for the second time in this sequence, and shares his opinion

```
19   Efe: they can sell cigarette with u::h green recipe uh
20        reçete. (0.6) green [yeşil reçete.
21   Ezgi:                    [haaaaaaaa.
22   S2:  oohhh.
23   Efe: ((nods his head repeatedly, smiling))
24   S3:  yeşil reçete de ().
25   Tea: don't worry, we don't know.
26   Ss:  ((strong laughs))
27   Tea: sigaranın içine yeşil reçeti koyup £devam
28        edecekler£.
29   Efe: Hocam hayır yeşil reçeteyi biliyor musunuz?
                                  + tea slightly nods
                                  his head up
30        (1.0)
31   S3:  [o ne ki?
32   Tea: [>okay< so, any other alternative to not to smoke?
33        Okay. To reduce stress?
34   S4:  ben bilmiyorum yeşil reçete.
35        (1.8)
36   Efe: it's (1.4) government all sell cigarettes, weed
37        [huh.
38   Ss:  [((laughs))
39   Tea: [what can government do what can government do uh
40        to reduce the stress of the public?
```

that they (governments) can sell cigarettes with "green recipe" or "yeşil reçete" (green prescription) as he puts it (line 19-20). This "yeşil reçete" (green prescription) refers to the prescription that one needs to get in order to reach certain drugs which include addictive narcotics. So, getting such drugs depends on a doctor's legal consent. What Efe suggests is that cigarettes can be among the drugs which require a green prescription. With this novel idea, Efe positions himself as both rational and knowledgeable. In line 21, Ezgi shows that she is impressed with his idea as

evidenced by her surprise token, and so does another student in the following line. Upon hearing these reactions, Efe responds by nodding his head repeatedly, boosting the effect of his idea and also displaying ownership (line 23). Later, a different student breaks in (S3), and although it is not totally comprehensible, questions this idea somehow (line 24). The teacher, who has been silent till that moment, comes back to the dialogue and tells S3 that "`don't worry, we don't know`." What the teacher has just said is really important from two aspects. First, he openly displays an unknowing epistemic stance regarding 'green prescription', and second, he claims that he shares this unknowing stance with others in class by choosing the subject "we". The teacher's turn immediately gets strong laughs from the class (line 26), and he humorously shares a jokey comment: "`sigaranın içine yeşil reçeti koyup £devam edecekler£`" (*they will put the green prescription into the cigarette and continue*) (line 27-28). This jokey approach, in a way, is hearable as ridiculing Efe's opinion, which is evidenced by Efe's immediate reaction to it: "`Hocam hayır yeşil reçeteyi biliyor musunuz`?" (*Teacher no do you know the green prescription?*) (line 29). With this direct challenge, Efe contests being positioned as non-serious as he supports the validity of his idea, and also, by questioning the teacher's knowledge, he makes the teacher's unknowing epistemic position relevant. Thus, he negotiates the traditional power asymmetry between a student and a teacher, and gains power out of this exchange. The teacher, on the other hand, nonverbally accepts being the unknowing one with a really quick, slight head-nod at the end of Efe's question. A silence of 1.0 s follows, and S3 is heard asking "[`o ne ki`?" (*what's that?*) (line 31). This question, asking the meaning of 'green prescription', registers the fact that a legitimate definition has not yet been provided for the 'green prescription' by the teacher. However, the teacher overlaps this question in order to close the discussion and make a quick shift to new storyline: "[`>okay< so, any other alternative to not to smoke? Okay. To reduce stress?`" (line 32-33). This hurry into a new topic may be because the teacher does not want to lose face any further as it is clear that he does not know what

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'green prescription' is. Another reading can be that he wants to redirect the discussion back to the lesson objective as he does not see any learning value in letting students expand on that concept. Whatever the reason is, it is obvious that he attempts to move on to a new discussion (line 32-33). However, another student (S4) gains the turn and tells that "ben bilmiyorum yeşil reçete" (*I don't know the green prescription*), and thus goes back to the prior issue. A recent study by Jacknick (2011) shows that students can actually show resistance to activity shifts initiated by the teacher in order to return to a prior topic and that they can negotiate the boundaries of activities with agency to get more interactional space in return. So, here, it is seen that students are not ready to make a shift to a new topic. However, the teacher does not address S4's indirect request for a definition, and a long silence of 1.8 follows. Efe, as the owner of the idea, takes the turn and provides a definition: "it's (1.4) government all sell cigarettes, weed [huh". His small laugh at the end overlaps the laughs coming from the class, and the beginning of the teacher's question (line 39). In the end, however, the teacher gains the control back, repeats his question and finally succeeds at shaping the interaction into a new storyline.

The analysis produces enough data to show that, in this segment, Efe and Ezgi interactionally reverse the identity positions that they usually take up / enact in class. Within the unfolding interaction, Ezgi momentarily becomes playful. In contrast, Efe constructs a powerful and knowledgeable identity positions for himself. As documented, this change of positional identities is a product of the sequential development of the whole interaction, but at the same time these new positional identities shape the interactional practices for these two focal students. In this one extract, it is seen that Elif's participation has been cut short while Efe has gained more interactional space in order to negotiate a more powerful positional identity for himself.

4.3.3. Being Equals: Sharing Knowledge and Power

While comparing and contrasting the positional identities of Ezgi and Efe in relation to each other, two segments have been identified as worthy of analysis as these segments reveal the co-construction of a different identity framework. In these segments, it is seen that Ezgi and Efe share knowledge and power by supporting each other to complete their turns in talk, and thus, together, they accomplish being equals in the sequential unfolding of the interactions. Below, two excerpts will be analysed to provide evidence to this identity work.

Extract 16 is taken from a lesson in which students discuss the ways to treat illnesses. The teacher asks one representative from each group to come to the board and write their ideas on the board. Later, the teacher checks the ideas and starts a class discussion about the most frequent one, which is "drinking enough water", and when the teacher focuses on this idea, the below sequence starts.

Extract 16: "Mucus"

```
1    Tea: Drinking enough water. What is it about?
2         (4.6) ((Tea gazes at Ezgi, waits for her to take
3         the turn))
4         ↑Yeah go on.
5    Ezgi:ah hah £okay£.
6    Tea: Yani [we are very curious.
7    Ezgi:     [hah hah hah ha.
8    Ss:       [((laughs))
9    Tea: How can water (0.4) treat our illnesses?
10   Ezgi:u::h for example (0.3) um: I (.) read something
11        about it (0.3) yesterday. (0.6) if you drink
12        enough water and if have cold, u::h it- (1.2)
13        um:: huh (0.5) hu hu huh. If you have cold it helps
14        for example when you have cold you know you have
15        sore throat and if softens u::h (0.8) that
16        ((pointing at her throat))like it feels better,
```

```
17    Tea: hu huh.
18    Ezgi: and ↑also: u:h if you have blocked nose .hhh
19          because of the water (0.6) >uh I don't know< its
20          °English°, I also don't know in ↑£Turkish£ .hhh
21          u::h u huh hah hah.
22    Efe: Fransızcası.
23    Tea: £which means [you don't know£.
24    Ezgi:               [hah hah ha ha u::m (1.1) it softens
25          (0.7)
26          ((turns to S1 sitting near and asks her)) neydi?
27    S1:  neydi?
28    Ezgi: £mukus mu£? [Huh huh hu.
29    Efe:              [mukus. (0.3) mukus mukus.
30    Ezgi: huh huh hu.
31    Tea: mukus tabakasını yumuşatıyor ondan mı
32          [bahsediyorsun?
33    Ezgi: [↑YES.
34    (1.0)
35    Tea: I know in Turkish. ((smiles))
36          [Okay,
37    Ss:  [((Laughs))
38    Tea: okay. ((starts a new storyline))
```

In line 1, the teacher reads it aloud, and asks the class, "What is it about?". During the wait-time which lasts 4.6 s, the teacher gazes at Ezgi, expecting her to take the turn, and he makes the delay relevant by encouraging her ("↑Yeah go on") (line 4). Ezgi laughs shortly, and she accepts the turn saying "okay" in smiley voice. Her late start, her laugh and smiley voice suggest that she is not willing or ready for an explanation. The teacher provides a further explanation at the next line, saying that they (he and the class) are really curious. Hearing this, Ezgi laughs further (line 7) along with others (line 8). Next, the teacher reformulates his

question, "How can water (0.4) treat our illnesses?" (line 9). Upon this, Ezgi starts giving a long explanation but the frequent pauses and the gap fillers that she uses signal that she has difficulty in constructing her turn (line 10-16). In line 17, the teacher shows listenership (McCarthy, 2003) with a short response token ("hu huh"), and Ezgi continues. So far, in short, she has mentioned that water softens your sore throat when you have a cold and you feel better. In line 18, she starts adding the example of a blocked nose, and with this, she aims to explain the effect of water on this problem. However, she cannot find the correct word to explain what she had in mind, and she says that, ">uh I don't know< its English°, I also don't know in ↑£Turkish£" (line 19-20). Then immediately, she starts laughing, making her interactional trouble relevant (Sert & Jacknick, 2015). Understanding this, Efe makes a humorous comment (" Fransızcası ") (*The French one*) in between, mocking the fact that Ezgi does not know the word in her mother language, as well (line 22). As a response to Ezgi's admission of her unknowing position, the teacher gives her the upshot, "£which means [you don't know£." Although, with this upshot, the teacher acknowledges her unknowing stance, his laughing voice maintains affiliation with her, deleting any potential negativity. In overlap with the teacher, Ezgi responds with laughter, and then she attempts to continue her turn, "hah hah ha ha u::m (1.1) it softens" (line 24), pauses for a 0.7, and asks her friend (S1) sitting next to her what the word was ("neydi?") (line 26). S1 echoes her question (line 27), and Ezgi thinks aloud, "£mukus mu£?" (Is it "mucus"?), in a smiley voice and laughs ("Huh huh hu.") (line 28). The reason she laughs may be that the word 'mucus' refers to the sticky liquid in the nose, which some people may find repulsive to talk about, or that she is not totally sure about the correctness of her word choice. However, in overlap with her laughs, Efe takes the turn and repeats, "mukus. (0.3) mukus mukus" in order to support her (line 29). Efe's breaking in, and his approving the word "mukus" (mucus), instantaneously position both of them as equals, sharing and agreeing on knowledge. Notice that Efe's contribution is not called for by Ezgi in the first place; it is a voluntary conversational act on Efe's

part. In what follows, Ezgi laughs more (line 30), the teacher takes the turn and asks Ezgi, in Turkish, if she means the softening effect of water on the mucus layer (line 31-32). Ezgi confirms him right away, with a strong voice (line 33). A silence of a second follows, and the teacher tells her that "I know in Turkish" by smiling. With this utterance, the teacher also admits that he does not know the English equivalent of "mukus", but at the same time, he playfully takes up a more knowing position by "knowing it in Turkish" unlike Ezgi. So, in a way, the teacher jokingly saves face while humanizing the shared trouble of not knowing it in the target language. The whole class laughs together, and with positive feelings, the teacher successfully moves the interaction along into a new storyline.

Within the trajectory of the same lesson, another segment is marked as documenting the construction of a similar identity positioning for Ezgi and Efe. This segment, transcribed in Extract 17, starts with the opening of a new storyline as part of the same activity explained in Extract 16.

Extract 17: "like farms"

```
1    Tea: Okay, getting enough fresh air. What can government
2         do about this?
3    Efe: making fresh air areas.
4    S1:  yes.
5    S2:  yes.
6    Ezgi: like [farms.
7    Efe:       [↑like
8         (0.5)
9    Efe: like farms, ((points at Ezgi)) #8
10        Like [forests,
11   S3:        [parks.
12   Ezgi: parks.
13   ((the talk goes on))
```

Figure 8. Efe pointing at Ezgi

In line 1, the teacher asks the class what the government can do about "getting enough fresh air" and thus starts the discussion. Efe takes the turn and says, "`making fresh air areas`." (line 3). Two students support his opinion by saying "Yes" (line 4 and 5). Then Ezgi jumps in and provides an example:" `like farms`." (line 6). Efe overlaps her to give an example himself with the same frame "like", but then he pauses for half a second, and then repeats what Ezgi has just said: "`like farms`" and acknowledges her as the owner of the idea by pointing at her (line 9). It is interesting that while Efe has the privilege to go on talking as he holds the turn, Ezgi intervened and gave an example in support of Efe's opinion, and later Efe confirmed this example as legitimate by accepting and acknowledging it. These mutual conversational acts momentarily position Ezgi and Efe again as equals, sharing their knowledge in the construction of a turn. Moreover, Efe, by building on Ezgi's example, adds another one: "`Like [forests`" (line 10). Another students overlaps Efe and says "parks" (line 11). Ezgi repeats it in the following line, and the talk goes on into another discussion topic.

To sum up, the analysis of Extract 16 and 17 has demonstrated that Ezgi and Efe initiated turns to complete or help each other in building an explanation for the topic of an ongoing discussion. Thus, they shared knowledge and power, and as a result, came to be positioned as equals within a certain location of the unfolding talk.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

In this final section, first, the main findings are summarized. Second, the results are discussed with regard to students' participation and access to learning opportunities. Finally, the implications for further identity research are briefly presented.

5.1. Summary and the Discussion of the Findings

This study was conducted in an Upper-Intermediate EFL classroom at a private university in Ankara, based on 17 video-recorded hours of various classroom interactions. The research questions that guided this inquiry were as follows:

1. How do EFL learners construct positional identities in classroom interactions?
2. How do different positional identities interact with the participation acts of learners in class?

Although I started with these broad questions to collect and analyse my data, later, what emerged from the data at hand redirected my focus towards two students whom I decided to study more closely as two focal cases. As a result, my discussion will address these questions only in relation to two students, Ezgi and Efe.

The findings of this study have shown that these two students positioned themselves and/or were positioned in differing ways both in relation to their classmates and each other. Ezgi, as the first case, mostly took up or was assigned to powerful positional identities. She displayed her competence in L2 as a successful

learner by taking turns and actively participating in classroom practices, answering questions and providing correct answers. Also, she often initiated sequences in order to challenge both the teacher's and other learners' ideas on different topics. Furthermore, in different conversations throughout the weeks, Ezgi displayed her knowledge by constructing long turns and providing or negotiating information with others. Consequently, within the unfolding discourse of the classroom, Ezgi created herself and was created as a powerful member of the classroom.

On the other hand, Efe's positioning behaviour differed from Ezgi and the others in class. He adopted a non-serious or light-hearted approach to the classroom practices, and he was ascribed and/or enacted the positional identities of being humorous or funny. The analysis revealed that such an identity work was interactionally occasioned for him owing to his own self-positioning acts together with the others' interactive positionings of him. It was seen that he undertook some uncalled non-verbal acts, such as keeping standing up during a group activity while all the others are sitting down, providing playful or jokey responses to the teacher's questions with smiley voice, and initiating utterances which are just meant to be funny (for an example, See Extract 4: "E for Efe). His light-hearted and playful orientations to class interactions were positively treated and welcomed by the teacher, who himself took up a playful mode while treating Efe's contributions. Moreover, the other students embraced Efe's positional acts by always laughing at him or together with him, thus maintaining affiliation and positive feelings.

In addition, the cross-case analysis of certain sequences revealed important findings about the relative positional identities that Ezgi and Efe take up with regard to each other. When compared, it was understood that these learners mostly enacted and were ascribed their usual identity positions. Within the dialogues that they both attended, Ezgi was mostly being knowledgeable and reasonable while Efe was usually engaging in a playful and light-hearted self-presentation. However, in one instance in the data corpus, they momentarily switched these positional identities, which lends support to the conceptualization of identity as multiple and fluid in

nature from the poststructuralist standpoint. Also, the analysis made it clear that there were times when Ezgi and Efe came to each other's assistance to complete their turns, or to support each other. At these moments, they sequentially constructed and shared a mutual identity position of being equals, exchanging their knowledge and power.

Regarding the fundamental purpose of learning a foreign language, these interactional identity positions of Ezgi and Efe have consequences for not only their own learning opportunities but also for their classmates' access to the shared learning practices. Firstly, given the centrality of interaction in socio-cultural theories of learning (Walsh, 2006), it can be argued that both Ezgi and Efe had more chances of active participation in various classroom interactions by taking longer turns and thus creating bigger interactional space relative to others. While having more interactional space led them to engage in and elaborate on more identity work, their co-construction of and investing in certain identity positions, in effect, provided them with more opportunities to talk. For instance, in some conversations analysed in the previous chapter, Elif tended to dominate the discussions by seizing the turn and speaking much longer. Doing so, in regard to positioning, she was able to manage and take up powerful interactional identities, which in return created more interactional opportunities for her.

Secondly, in order to understand the interplay between their identity work and participation, another important point that needs to be discussed is the quality of the turns that Ezgi and Efe constructed in class interactions. It has been seen that these two students did not just passively responded to the teacher or followed his pedagogic agenda. On the contrary, what mostly made their participation behaviour distinct from others was that they initiated utterances that challenged, negotiated, redirected or shifted the focus of the lesson outside of its institutional and traditional boundaries. As a result, they created learner initiatives, which Waring (2011) define as

any learner attempt(s) to make an uninvited contribution to the ongoing classroom talk, where 'uninvited' may refer to (1) not being specifically selected as the next speaker or (2) not providing the expected response when selected (p. 204).

As for the first type, both Ezgi and Efe self-selected or initiated different conversational acts like agreeing, disagreeing, challenging, offering novel concepts and so on. As regards the second one, compared to Ezgi and others, Efe was the one who often playfully delayed or avoided the contributions demanded from him by the teacher. These findings reveal that such conversational acts shaped their positional identities. Meanwhile, their positional identities enabled them to enact these conversational acts.

The discussion so far makes it clear that Ezgi and Efe employed agency in their participation and thus actively managed and controlled their orientations to the learning practices in class. The discursive effect of their agency was the sequential co-construction of unique positional identities that were ascribed to them. However, such agency was also made possible by the subjectivities that they spoke from in unfolding conversations. As Harré and Langenhove (1999) put forward, being positioned as a certain being (such as *incompetent* or *powerful*) may grant you certain rights, or, on the contrary, restrict your freedom to act in the way that you desire.

The findings of this study support this view and confirm the social power of positional identities, as Kayı-Aydar (2014) underscored, in the creation of certain selves. When the relational positions that were ascribed to Ezgi and Efe are taken into consideration, the analysis has shown that Ezgi was cumulatively constructed as a knowing, serious, rational and powerful being whereas Efe came to be created as a funny, light-hearted, non-serious and humorous one. The accomplishment and ascription of such interactional identities came with certain expectations or limitations as to what these students can conversationally undertake or not. To provide an example, the cross-case analysis of the data corpus revealed one classroom interaction in which Ezgi and Efe switched their usual identities. In that

interaction (See Extract 15: "green prescription"), it was seen that when Ezgi momentarily became playful, the teacher employed a sarcastic approach in treating her contribution, cut her talk short and changed his original question that prompted Ezgi's response. In a way, it is safe to say that she was not allowed to be playful in the way that Efe was. Moreover, when Efe tried to build a different concept to contribute to the ongoing discussion in the same talk, and thus positioned himself as knowledgeable and rational, the teacher did not acknowledge the legitimacy of his idea by making fun of it. The teacher even did not provide him with space to let him explain his opinion fully. Instead, he hurried to close up and make a transition to another storyline.

The analysis has revealed the interactional power that the teacher held in enabling or disabling the ascription of certain positional identities to certain students. Although it cannot be claimed that all the sequential decisions made by the teacher within unfolding talks were always intentional, all of them had certain consequences. For instance, the findings show that the teacher clearly invested in positioning Efe as a humorous or light-hearted participant by likening him to a caricaturized Turkish TV series character or by verbally depicting him as a stress-free 'Aegean youngster' (See Extract 11). Even at times when Efe was playfully delaying giving a response or trying to gain the floor, out of turn, at the expense of disturbing the continuity of the ongoing talk, the teacher treated his orientations with a light-hearted approach himself. This shows the important role that the teacher played in shaping or influencing the interplay between positioning and identity in class.

Overall, the findings of this study which employed a Conversation Analysis methodology confirm the arguments put forward by the Norton's Identity Theory in SLA in the broader sense. The detailed micro-analysis of classroom interactions revealed that Ezgi and Efe showed investment in learning the target language as they engaged in classroom interactions with active agency. Discussing the success of their learning is beyond both the limits and the scope of this study, but based on what the empirical analysis revealed, it can be said that Ezgi and Efe, by

constructing or acting upon certain positional identities that were ongoingly ascribed to them over a range of interactions, invested in the language practices happening in the local context of the classroom. As Norton and McKinney (2011) argues:

> The notion (investment) 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 learner's own identity, and identity that is constantly changing across time and space (p. 75).

So, according to what they claim, and what this study lend support to, participating is investing, and investing is creating certain selves in class or outside, which is always a fluid and ongoing process.

5.2. Implications for Further Identity Research

By adopting a poststructuralist approach to identity, this study has contributed to the current identity research in the field of SLA, which has studied identity as a social construct in relation to L2 learning in classroom. However, this study differs from others mainly in two ways. Firstly, acknowledging the fact that "there have been far fewer studies of identity in FL settings than there have been studies situated in naturalistic settings" (Block, 2007, p. 869), the findings of this research provide a unique perspective on the local realities of a Foreign Language classroom context where English is not the immediate language outside of the class. There is still a need for further research that explores the links between identity and learning in foreign language environments, especially from "non-Western sites" (Norton and Toohey, 2011).

Secondly, unlike most studies which used qualitative research designs - interviews, narrations, observations, field notes and so on - this study was conducted applying Conversation Analysis (CA) as the research methodology in order to study the micro-details of classroom interactions in a systematic and empirical way. This way,

the discursive co-construction of identity positions were documented as they unfolded in the ongoing classroom talk. This CA approach has made it possible to develop an emic perspective to the data. In other words, identity construction as a social action has been sequentially documented as understood and interpreted by the learners, without bringing any external explanations. More studies exploring identity by employing a CA approach are needed in order to further prove the relevancy of this social construct for future SLA research.

Moreover, it should be noted that this work, within the boundaries of its scope, only focused on the identity work of learners. However, understanding how teachers construct identities in relation to students is also crucial as teachers hold the power of shaping the interactional structure of the classroom. The identities that teachers take up are the products of the talk-in-interaction in class, and they are hugely relevant to the success of teaching and learning practices. As a result, it is suggested for further research to undertake this line of inquiry, too.

Lastly, although it is against the principles of CA to approach the data analysis critically, the resulting findings can be interpreted from a more critical standpoint in order to reveal any potential unjust power relations that may favour some learners while limiting others in creating identities that they want for themselves. For further research, it can be a suitable endeavour to look into any identity work by linking it to critical discourse analysis. As Norton and Toohey (2011) conclude:

> "Future research on identity and language learning should further the goal of coming to understand and contribute to more equitable and agentive language teaching and learning practices and environments (p. 437)."

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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. A pause of less than 0.2 s is marked by (.)
[ ]	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.
(hm, hh)	(These are onomatopoetic representations of the audible exhalation of air)
.hh	This indicates an audible inhalation of air, for example, as a gasp. The more h's, the longer the in-breath.
?	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.
-	A dash indicates an abrupt cut off, where the speaker stopped speaking suddenly.

↑↓	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 capitalised 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.
(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)
""	Quotation marks are used to set off linguistic items or to indicate that speakers are reading from a book

İkinci dil öğrenimi literatürüne bakıldığında, son yirmi yılda öğrenme olgusunu geniş makro bağlamların mikro alanlarında yer alan karmaşık bir sosyal süreç olarak kavramsallaştıran çalışmaların sayısında oldukça büyük bir artış görülmektedir. Bu sosyal yönelimin, Firth ve Wagner'in (1997) ikinci dil edinimindeki dominant araştırma paradigmasından duyulan genel hoşnutsuzluğu dile getirmesinden sonra başladığı söylenebilir. Dile getirdikleri rahatsızlık, alanda hüküm süren genel anlayışın dil öğrenimini kişilerin zihinlerinde gerçekleşen bireysel bir uğraş olarak görüyor olmasıydı. Bu düşüncenin yerini alması için, "dil kullanımının bağlamsal ve etkileşimsel boyutlarının daha iyi anlaşılması, temel kavramlara kültüre bağımlı bir bakış açısının hassasiyeti ile yaklaşılması ve geleneksel ikinci dil edinimi (Eng. SLA) veritabanının genişletilmesi" çağrısında bulundular (s. 757). Doğrudan "kimlik" olgusu ile ilgili olmasa da, birçok araştırmacı bu çağrı üzerine kimlik ve dil öğrenimi arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmaya başladılar (Block, 2007).

Bu araştırmacılar arasında, ikinci dil edinimi alanında ortaya koyduğu güçlü Kimlik Teorisi ile en etkili olan kişi Bonny Norton olmuştur. Post-yapısalcı dil, kimlik ve güç teorilerinden yararlanarak, Norton (2000) dil öğreniminin çeşitli uygulama topluluklarına katılarak gerçekleştiğini ve bu sosyal katılım sürecinin çok çeşitli kimlik oluşturma, müzakere etme, bazı kimlikleri kabul etme veya onlara karşı çıkma süreçlerini içerdiğini öne sürmüştür. Yani dil öğrenim süreci yalnızca belli bilgi ve becerilerin basit bir birikimi olmanın ötesindedir (Pavlenko ve Norton, 2007). Mevcut durumda, bu görüşü benimsemiş olan ve kimlik oluşumunun dil öğrenimine olan teorik ilişkisini güçlendiren birçok araştırma bulunmaktadır. Modern kimlik araştırmacıları tarafından paylaşılan ortak görüş bir bireyin sosyal dünyada hareket ederken birden fazla kendini oluşturma eylemi gerçekleştirdiği ve bu çoklu kimliklerin zamanla değişime açık olduğudur. Aynı zamanda, diğer insanlara ilişkin olarak kendini yaratma süreci kişinin yüzleşmesi gereken güç çekişmelerini

beraberinde getirir ve bu durum bireyin hedef dil aracılığıyla ait olmak istediği gerçek ya da hayali topluma hemen ve kolayca giriş yapamayacağı anlamına gelir. Kabul edildiği üzere bazı kimlikler öğrencileri güçlendirip onlara daha fazla aktif katılım hakkını tanırken, bazı diğer kimlikler ise bireyleri iletişim kurmak için meşru görmez, onları susturup ötekileştirebilir. Kimlik olgusunun tüm bu sosyal mekanizmaları, güç ilişkisiyle ilgili olarak, dil öğrenim uygulamalarının başarısını etkileme potansiyeline sahiptir (Norton ve Toohey, 2011).

Norton (2000) tarafından savunulan kimlik yaklaşımı aynı zamanda post-yapısalcı 'konumlandırma' kurgusu tarafından beslenmiştir. Basitçe, konumlandırma (Eng. *positioning*) gelişen konuşmalar içerisinde bireyin kendisine veya diğerlerine bazı kimliklerin söylemsel olarak atanması eylemidir (Davies ve Harre, 1999). Kişinin hareketlerinin, söyleyip söyleyemeyeceklerinin sınırı, atanmış olduğu konumlandırmalar ile yönetilir. Örneğin, bir konuşmacı etkileşim içerisinde *küçümseyici* olarak konumlandırılırsa, bu kişiye daha fazla konuşma hakkı tanınmayabilir, ya da bir birey diğerlerine nazaran *bilgili* olarak konumlandırılırsa o bireye bir grup adına hareket etme yetkisi verilebilir. Yani konumlandırma, sosyal eylem açısından sonuçlar doğurur.

Konumlandırma olgusunun SLA alanındaki etkilerini İngilizce'nin ikinci dil olarak öğretildiği bir sınıfta titizlikle inceleyen önemli bir çalışma Kayı-Aydar'a (2014) aittir. Araştırmacı, bu çalışması ile sınıf içinde öğrencilerin sosyal konumlandırmalarının onların katılım davranışlarına ve öğrenim fırsatlarına erişimlerine büyük bir etkide bulunduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Kayı-Aydar, zaman içerisinde, bazı öğrencilerin kimliklerinin "sessiz" veya "sorun çıkartan" gibi etiketlerle oluşturula geldiğini ve bunun sebebinin de onların sıklıkla sahnelediği ya da onlara atanan konumlandırılmış kimliklerin bir sonucu olduğunu açığa çıkarmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı ve bulgularından yola çıkarak, mevcut çalışmanın hedefi, sınıf içi etkileşimlerinde konumlandırılmış kimliklerin nasıl ortaya çıktığını, bu kimliklerin İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak okutulduğu bir ortamın yerel bağlamı içerisinde dil öğrenme sürecini nasıl etkilediğini anlamaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, Ankara'da

bulunan özel bir üniversitenin yabancı dil okulunda bulunan orta-ileri seviyedeki bir sınıfın 17 saatlik video kayıtları, Konuşma Çözümlemesi (KÇ) yaklaşımı kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Kayıtların gerçekleştirildiği okul çok yeni bir üniversite olmasına rağmen, kurucu dernek Türkiye'de oldukça köklü bir eğitim geçmişine sahiptir. Öğrencilerinin bir kısmı oldukça avantajlı artalanlardan gelmektedir, ancak büyük bir kısmı burslu öğrenci statüsündedir ve liseyi devlet okullarında tamamlamışlardır. Üniversitede eğitim dili İngilizce olduğu için, kayıt yapan öğrencilerin bölümlerine başlayabilmeleri için bu dilde belirli bir yeterlilik seviyesini kanıtlamaları gerekmektedir. Bu yeterliliği gösteremeyen öğrenciler hazırlık okulunda mevcut seviyelerine uygun olan bir kura yerleştirilirler. Maksimum iki yıl içinde hazırlık okulundaki programı başarıyla tamamlayamayan öğrencileri okuldan kaydı silinir. Bu sebeple, öğrencilerinin okuldaki varlığını sürdürmeleri ve akademik başarı sağlamaları için İngilizce çok büyük önem teşkil etmektedir. Bu çalışma bu bağlamda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ana datayı oluşturan 17 saatlik video kayıtları orta-ileri bir sınıfta 3 ay süresince iki adet kamera yardımı ile yapılmıştır.

Block (2007) tarafından ifade edildiği gibi, ikinci dil ya da yurt dışı eğitim bağlamlarındaki oldukça fazla olan kimlik çalışmaları ile karşılaştırıldığında, İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği ortamlardaki kimlik araştırmalarının sayısı çok azdır. Bu sebeple, sunulan bu vaka çalışması ile amaçlanan bir diğer şey de altı çizilen bu araştırma boşluğunu doldurmaya katkı sağlamaktır. Diğer yandan, bu çalışmanın sunduğu fark, sınıf içinde ortaya çıkan konumlandırılmış kimlikleri çeşitli aktiviteler boyunca akan konuşmaların dizisel düzeni içerisinde konuşma çözümlemesi perspektifiyle ortaya çıkarmasıdır. Umulan odur ki, bu çalışma, gelecekti kimlik araştırmacılarını ses ve video kayıtlarıyla kayıt altına alınan gerçek ve sınıfa dayalı data kullanarak araştırma yapmaya sevk edecektir. Kayıtlar sırasında araştırmacı sınıfta bulunmamıştır ve iki adet kameranın varlığı dışında sınıf içindeki doğal ortamı bozacak hiçbir değişiklik yapılmamıştır. İkincil data, sınıfta bulunan 19 öğrencinin her biriyle yapılan birebir sözlü görüşmelerden elden edilmiştir. Bununla amaçlanan her öğrencinin sınıf içi katılım ve hedef dile olan tutumlarını daha iyi anlamak, arkadaşlarıyla olan ilişkileri hakkında fikir elde etmektir. Benimsenen

konuşma analizi yaklaşımının prensipleri doğrultusunda bu niteliksel data yalnızca çalışmaya artalan oluşturması amacıyla kullanılmış ve analiz sırasında asla kullanılmamıştır.

Daha önce belirtildiği gibi, bahsedilen yabancı dil sınıfından elde edilen video kayıtlarını incelemek için benimsenen yöntem konuşma çözümlemesi yaklaşımıdır. Bu yaklaşımın güçlü kılan nokta, Mondada'nın (2013) belirttiği gibi, katılımcıların eylemlerini gerçekleştirdiği yerel bağlamdaki hareketlerinin detaylarını geçici ve dizisel olarak oluşturulduğu şekliyle incelenmesine olanak tanımasıdır. Yani konuşma ile ortaya konulan eylemi (örneğin '*şikayet etme'* ya da '*bir istekte bulunma'*) konuşma içerisinde satır satır ve ortaya çıktığı şekliyle ampirik olarak incelemek konuşma çözümlemesinin ortaya koyduğu yöntemle mümkündür. Sonuç olarak, çeşitli etkileşimlerin oluşumu içinde gerçekleşen herhangi bir sosyal konumlandırma belirtisi fark edilebilir hale gelir.

Kısaca, konuşma analizi (KÇ) insan yaşamının farklı alanlarında yer alan konuşmaları çalışma yöntemidir. Bu sosyal bilimsel yaklaşım 1960'lı yıllarda sosyolog Harvey Sacks ve arkadaşları Emanuel Schegloff ve Gail Jefferson tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Günümüzde, KÇ iyi yapılandırılmış kuramsal temellere sahiptir ve öne sürdüğü yöntembilim dil öğrenim ve öğretim alanı da dahil birçok alanda kullanılmaktadır (Seedhouse, 2005). Konuşmaları çalışarak, KÇ birçok sosyal eylemin etkileşim içerisinde nasıl icra edildiğini anlamayı amaçlar. Bu doğrultuda, KÇ uygulayıcıları doğal konuşmaların ses ve görüntü kayıtlarını toplarlar ve çeviri-yazılarını oluştururlar. Konuşmaların dizisel organizasyonunu ortaya çıkarma için, KÇ katılımcı odaklı içeriden bir yaklaşım takınır ve konuşmaları katılımcıların anladığı ve yorumladığı şekilde çözümler. Bu şekilde, konuşmacıların yarattığı özneler-arasılık açığa çıkarılır ve kanıtlanır. Bu analitik yöntem etkileşim organizasyonuna söz sırası (Eng. *turn*) açısından inceler. Devam eden bir konuşma sırasında, sözcükler, sözcük öbekleri veya cümleler şeklinde söz sıraları oluştururuz ve bunları davet etmek, bilgi vermek ya da suçlamak gibi belli eylemleri gerçekleştirmek için yaparız. Konuşma içerisinde belli kurallar vardır ve bu kurallar bize neyi ne zaman söylemenin uygun

olup olmayacağını ya da ne zaman söz alabileceğimizi söyler. Bu söz sırası alma sistemi içerisinde, KÇ aynı zamanda insanların söz dizilerini iki kısımdan olulan sıralı çiftler (Eng. *adjacency pair*) şeklinde nasıl inşa ettiklerini inceler. Örneğin, biri bizi bir partiye davet ettiğinde (sıralı çiftin ilk kısmı), normatif olarak bir cevap (sıralı çiftin ikinci kısmı) vermemiz gerekir. Ya daveti kabul eder (yeğlenen eylem) ve yakınlığımızı koruruz, ya da daveti geri çevirir ve uzaklık gösteririz (ki bu yeğlenmeyen eylemdir). İki seçenek de insanların arasındaki ilişkiyi güçlendirmek ya da dargınlığa yol açmak gibi sosyal sonuçlara yol açma potansiyeline sahiptir (Seedhouse, 2005).

Doğal konuşmaların bu gibi mikro detaylarına bakarak, KÇ insanların etkileşim içerisinde hangi eylemleri gerçekleştirdiğini gözlemlenebilir ve ampirik şekilde ortaya koyar. Bu sebeple, Benwell ve Stokoe'nun (2006) savunduğu gibi, kimlik oluşumunu bir etkileşim ürünü olarak, dizinsel ve bağlam bağımlı bir yaklaşım ile incelemek için KÇ uygun bir yöntemdir. Buradaki önemli nokta, bir KÇ yaklaşımı ile, araştırmacı kimlik olgusunun geçerliliğini ve analize alakasını yalnızca konuşmacıların kendilerini onu eylemlerinde dizisel olarak alakalı hale getirdikleri sürece iddia edebilmesidir. Hiçbir varsayım ve iddianın data analizine girmesine izin verilmez. Konuşma çözümlemesinin bu tarafsız tutumunu benimseyen mevcut çalışma, veri güdümlü ve katılımcı odaklıdır.

Eldeki verileri yukarıda genel hatları ile açıklanan konuşma çözümlemesi yöntemiyle analiz etmek için, öncelikle 17 saatlik sınıf etkileşimleri dikkatli bir şekilde izlendi ve kimlik ve konumlandırma süreçlerine dair bulgular not edildi. Öğrencilerin etkileşim içine oluşturdukları kimlikleri açığa çıkarmak için, söz sırası alma, sıralı çiftlerin dizisel organizasyonu ve onarım eylemlerinin detaylarına bakıldı. Bu ön analiz aşamasında, öğrenciler arasında ayrım yapılmaksızın tüm kimlik eylemleri incelendi. Fakat daha sonra, iki öğrencinin konumlandırılmış kimlik oluşturumlarının ve derse katılım davranışlarının diğer öğrencilerden farklılık gösterdiği tespit edildi. Bunun sonucunda, kimlik ve dil öğrenimi arasındaki ilişkinin detaylarını daha iyi anlayabilmek için bu iki öğrencinin (Ezgi ve Efe) vaka çalışmaları olarak yakından

incelenmesine karar verildi. Bu kararın ardından, Ezgi ve Efe'nin etkileşimsel kimlik oluşturuşunu açığa çıkaran tüm ardışımlar bir araya getirilmiş ve bu data koleksiyonunun çeviriyazıları Gail Jefferson tarafından geliştirilen çeviriyazı biçimine uygun olarak hazırlanmıştır (Bakınız: Hepburn ve Bolden, 2013). Etkileşim içindeki konuşmaların vokal özelliklerini göstermenin yanı sıra, incelenen olguya uygun düşen her noktada, çeviriyazılar bazı vücut hareketleri ve yüz ifadelerini fark edilebilir kılmak için görsel temsillerle desteklenmiştir.

Ezgi ve Efe'nin etkileşimsel kimliklerinin detaylı konuşma çözümlemesi iki öğrenciyi de bağımsız vaka çalışmaları olarak ele almaya olanak sağlayacak kadar veri sağlamıştır. Ek olarak, eldeki veri bütüncesindeki birçok konuşmada Ezgi ve Efe'nin birbirlerinin kimliklerini konumlandırdığı ya da birbirleriyle ilişkili olarak kimliklerinin diğerleri tarafından konumlandırıldığı görülmüştür. Bu tarz datanın varlığı, iki vakayı birbirine kıyaslamaya olanak tanımıştır. Son olarak, temsili ardışımlar seçilmiş ve her birinin satır satır konuşma analizi yapılmıştır.

Çalışmanın sonuçları iki odak öğrencinin kendilerini etkileşim içerisinde birbirlerine ve sınıf arkadaşlarına kıyasla farklı şekillerle konumlandırdıklarını, ya da kimliklerinin öğretmen ya da diğer öğrenciler tarafından değişik şekillerde konumlandırıldığını ortaya koymuştur. Öncelikle, ilk vaka olan Ezgi çoğunlukla güçlü kimlikler oluşturmuş ya da bu güçlü kimlikler kendisine atfedilmiştir. Hedef dildeki yetisini sıklıkla söz alarak, sınıftaki çalışmalara aktif katılımda bulunarak, sorulan sorulara doğru cevaplar sağlayarak sergilemiş ve başarılı bir öğrenci kimliği sunmuştur. Aynı zamanda, sıklıkla farklı konularda hem öğretmenin hem de diğer öğrencilerin düşüncelerini sorgulamak ya da onlara kafa tutmak için ardışımlar başlatmıştır. Ek olarak, haftalar boyunca farklı konuşmalarda, Ezgi oldukça uzun söz sıraları oluşturarak, bilgi sağlayarak ya da müzakere ederek, bilgili bir kimlik sergilemiştir. Tüm bu etkileşimler eylemler, sonuç olarak Ezgi'nin sınıf içi söylem içerisinde güçlü bir üye olarak kendisini yaratmasını ya da yaratılmasını sağlamıştır.

Diğer yandan, Efe'nin kimlik konumlandırma davranışının Ezgi'den ve diğer öğrencilerden farklılık gösterdiği görülmüştür. Efe, sınıftaki çalışmalara ciddi

olmayan ya da kaygısız bir yaklaşım göstermiştir ve farklı etkileşimler içerisinde *espirili* ya da *komik* olarak konumlandırıla gelmiştir. Analiz ortaya çıkarmıştır ki bu tarz bir kimlik oluşumu kendi öz-konumlandırma hareketlerinin ya da diğerlerinin onu etkileşimsel olarak konumlandırmalarının sonucudur. Efe'nin, bir grup aktivitesi boyunca herkes otururken ayakta dikilmek ya da öğretmen yeni bir aktiviteye henüz başlamışken ayağa kalkıp sınıfta özgürce hareket etmek gibi bazı yerinde olmayan sözsüz davranışlar sergilediği görülmüştür. Ayrıca, öğretmenin sorularına şakacı ve esprili cevaplar vermesi, komik bir ses tonu kullanması ve yalnızca komik olmayı amaçlayan ardışımlar başlatması kimlik oluşturma sürecindeki kendi etkileşimsel eylemlerini göstermektedir. Fakat görülmüştür ki Efe'nin sınıftaki etkileşime olan ciddiyetsiz ve şakacı yönelimi öğretmen tarafından pozitif şekilde muamele görmüş ve hoş karşılanmıştır. Benzer şekilde, sınıf arkadaşlarının da Efe'nin konumlandırılmış kimliklerine, ona veya onunla devamlı gülerek kucak açtıkları ve kabul gösterdikleri analiz sonucunda ortaya serilmiştir.

Bunlara ek olarak, belli ardışımların karşılaştırmalı çözümlemesi Ezgi ve Efe'nin birbirleriyle ilgili olarak kimlik konumlandırmaları hakkında önemli bulgular sağlamıştır. İki vaka karşılaştırıldığında, bu iki öğrencinin ortak katıldığı diyaloglarda çoğunlukla olağan kimliklerini sergiledikleri görülmüştür: Ezgi çoğunlukla *bilgili* ve *mantıklı* olurken, Efe'nin çoğunlukla oyuncu ve ciddi olmayan bir öz-sunum sergilediği tespit edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, veri bütüncesindeki bir ardışım, bu iki odak öğrencinin olağan konumlandırılmış kimliklerini anlık olarak nasıl değiştirdiklerini örneklemiştir. Bu özel durumun ortaya çıkması, post-yapısalcı kimlik anlayışının öngördüğü çoklu ve değişken kimlik kavramını destekler niteliktedir. Son olarak, karşılaştırmalı analiz Ezgi ve Efe'nin hedef dilde birbirlerinin söz sıralarını tamamlamak için yardımlaştıklarını ve birbirlerini desteklediklerini göstermiştir. Bu anlarda, ardışıklık içerisinde ortak bir *eşit olma* kimlik konumlandırmasını oluşturmuş ve bu sayede bilgi ve güç paylaşımında bulunmuşlardır.

Sınıf ortamındaki amacın temelde bir yabancı dil öğrenmek olduğu düşünüldüğünde, yukarıda özetlenen tüm bu kimlik konumlandırmalarının yalnızca Ezgi ve Efe için

değil, aynı zamanda diğer öğrencilerin ortak dil öğrenim uygulamalarına erişimleri açısından sonuçlar doğurduğu görülmektedir. Öncelikle, sosyo-kültürel öğrenme teorilerinde etkileşimin merkeziyeti açısından (Walsh, 2006) denilebilir ki, daha uzun söz sıraları oluşturarak ve böylece daha büyük etkileşim alanı yaratarak, hem Ezgi hem de Efe çeşitli sınıf çalışmalarına diğerlerine kıyasla daha çok katılım fırsatı elde etmişlerdir. Daha fazla etkileşimsel alan onlara daha fazla kimlik yaratma fırsatı tanırken, birlikte oluşturdukları konumlandırılmış kimlikler de karşılık olarak onlara daha fazla konuşma fırsatı sunmuştur. Örneğin bazı diyaloglarda sözü kaparak ya da çok daha uzun konuşarak Ezgi konuşmaya egemen olmuştur. Bu sayede, kendisine güçlü kimlikler atamış ve sonuç olarak da bu kimlikler üzerinden daha fazla söz hakkı elde etmiştir.

İkinci olarak, kimlik oluşturma ve katılım arasındaki etkileşimi daha iyi anlamak için Ezgi ve Efe'nin sınıftaki söz sıralarının kalitesine bakmamız gerekir. Çalışmanın sonuçları göstermiştir ki bu iki odak öğrenci pasif şekilde her zaman öğretmenin pedagojik ajandasını takip edip, öğretmenin etkileşimsel kararlarına uyum göstermemiştir. Aksine, onların katılım davranışını farklı kılan nokta meydan okuyan, tartışan, müzakere eden, yeniden yönlendiren ya da dersi kurumsal ve geleneksel sınırları dışına iten ardışımlar başlatıyor olmalarıdır. Sonuç olarak, bu iki öğrenci öğrenci girişimlerinde (Eng. *learner initiatives*) bulunmuşlardır. Waring (2011) bu girişimleri şu şekilde tanımlamıştır:

> devam etmekte olan sınıf içi konuşmaya öğrencinin herhangi bir davetsiz katkıda bulunma teşebbüsüdür ve burada 'davetsiz' şu anlamlara denk gelebilir: (1) bir sonraki konuşmacı olarak özellikle seçilmemiş olmak ya da (2) seçildiği zaman beklenen cevabı vermemek (s. 204).

Birinci seçenekle ilgili olarak, hem Ezgi hem de Efe sonraki konuşmacı olarak kendilerini seçme davranışında bulunmuş ve uzlaşmak, hemfikir olmamak, sorgulamak, yeni fikirler ortaya atmak gibi etkileşimsel eylemlerde bulunmuşlardır. İkinci seçenekle ilgili olarak ise, Ezgi ve diğerlerine kıyasla Efe'nin oyuncu bir tutumla öğretmen tarafından kendisinden beklenen katılımı ya da cevapları sıklıkla geciktirdiği görülmüştür. Tüm bu sonuçlar, bu tarz etkileşimsel eylemlerin ardışıklık

içerisinde bu iki öğrencinin konumlandırılmış kimliklerini şekillendirdiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Konuşma çözümlemesinin sonuçları açık hale getirmiştir ki, Ezgi ve Efe katılım davranışlarında aktif edim (Eng. *agency*) göstermişler ve böylece sınıfta gerçekleşen öğrenme çalışmalarına olan yönelimlerini etkin şekilde şekillendirip yönetme fırsatı elde etmişlerdir. Uyguladıkları edimin söylemsel sonucu da kendilerine atanan özel konumlandırılmış kimliklerin ardışımsal şekilde birlikte oluşturulmasıdır. Diğer yandan, oluşturmayı başardıkları etkileşimsel kimlikler böylesine aktif bir edimi mümkün kılmıştır. Harre ve Langenhove'nin (1999) ortaya koyduğu gibi, belli biri olarak konumlandırılmak (örneğin *yetkin* ya da *güçlü* gibi) bireye bazı özel haklar kazandırabilir, ya da aksine bireyin dilediği şekilde hareket etmesini kısıtlayabilir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları da bu görüşü destekler niteliktedir.

Ezgi ve Efe'ye yüklenen bağıntısal konumlandırmalar göz önüne alındığında, analiz göstermiştir ki, Ezgi kümülatif olarak bilgili, ciddi, mantıklı ve güçlü bir birey olarak konumlandırılırken, Efe komik, kaygısız, ciddi olmayan ve şakacı bir kimse olarak yaratıla gelmiştir. Bu konumlandırılmış kimliklerin oluşturulması bu öğrencilerin etkileşimsel açıdan neleri yapıp yapamayacaklarına dair beklentileri ve kısıtlamaları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bir örnek sunmak gerekirse, data içerisinde ortaya çıkan özel bir ardışım, Ezgi ve Efe'nin her zamanki kimliklerinin dışına çıktığı ve bir an için geçici olarak etkileşimin akışı içinde birbirlerinin olağan kimliklerini sergilediklerini göstermiştir. Ezgi kısa bir an için ardışıklığın bir noktasında şakacı bir kimlik edinmiştir. Karşılık olarak öğretmen alaycı bir tavırla onun sözü uzatmasına izin vermemiş ve Ezgi'nin söz sırasını mümkün kılan soruyu değiştirip sınıfa başka bir soru yöneltmiştir. Bir bakıma, Efe'ye izin verdiği şekilde Ezgi'ye ciddiyetsiz ya da şakacı olmak hakkını tanımamıştır. Ayrıca benzer şekilde, Efe aynı konuşma içinde devam eden tartışmaya özgün bir fikir ile katkıda bulunmak istediğinde, öğretmen onun fikrinin geçerliliğini kabul etmemiş ve sunduğu fikri alaya almıştır, hatta düşüncesini tamamıyla açıklamak için ona gerekli etkileşimsel alanı bile vermemiştir.

Bun yerine, tartışmayı hızla kapatmış ve başka bir tartışma konusuna geçiş yapmıştır.

Sonuç olarak, konuşma çözümlemesi metodunu kullanmış olan bu çalışmanın bulguları Norton'un geliştirmiş olduğu Kimlik Teorisinin ortaya koyduğu savları desteklemektedir. Sınıf içi konuşmaların detaylı mikro analizi Ezgi ve Efe'nin aktif edim göstererek hedef dili öğrenmeye yatırımda bulunduklarını göstermiştir. Öğrenme süreçlerinin başarısını tartışmak bu çalışmanın hem amacı hem de gücünün ötesindedir, fakat ampirik analiz sonuçlarına dayanarak denilebilir ki Ezgi ve Efe, farklı sınıf içi etkileşimleri boyunca ve içerisinde kendilerine atanan ya da kendilerinin oluşturdukları kimlikler ile dil öğrenim süreçlerinde aktif bir rol üstlenmişlerdir.

Mevcut çalışma gelecekteki kimlik çalışmaları için bazı çıkarımlar sunmaktadır. Kimlik olgusunu post-yapısalcı bir yaklaşım ile ele alarak, bu çalışma ikinci dil öğrenim alanıyla ilişkili olarak kimlik inşasını sosyal bir süreç olarak kurgulayan çalışmalara katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu araştırma diğer çalışmalardan iki şekilde ayrılmaktadır. Öncelikle Block'un (2007) İngilizce'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretildiği bağlamlarda daha fazla kimlik çalışmasına ihtiyaç olduğu saptamasına istinaden, eldeki çalışma hedef dilin sınıf dışında konuşulmadığı Türkiye bağlamından bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Norton ve Toohey'in (2011) belirttiği gibi özellikle "batı dışı" dil öğrenme alanlarından kimlik olgusunu tartışan bulgulara ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

İkinci olarak, niteliksel araştırma dizaynı (sözlü görüşmeler, öyküleme, gözlem, alan notları ve benzeri) kullanan birçok çalışmanın aksine, bu çalışma, sınıf içi konuşmaların mikro detaylarını sistematik ve ampirik bir şekilde analiz etmek için konuşma çözümlemesi (KÇ) yöntemini kullanmıştır. Bu yöntemle, kimliklerin söylemsel olarak birlikte inşası ardışımsal olarak geliştiği şekliyle ve konuşmacılar tarafından anlaşıldığı biçimde belgelenmiştir. KÇ sayesinde eldeki veri katılımcı odaklı bir yaklaşımla analiz edilebilmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, datadan çıkmayan hiçbir

olgu, varsayım ya da açıklama analize sokulmamıştır. Kimlik inşasını KÇ ile ele alan ve inceleyn çok daha fazla çalışmaya ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Ayrıca bu çalışma, kendi kapsamının sınırları içerisinde yalnızca öğrencilerin kimlik yaratım sürecine odaklanmıştır. Fakat öğrencilere ilişkin olarak öğretmenlerin etkileşimsel kimliklerini nasıl oluşturduklarını anlamak da büyük bir önem teşkil etmektedir, çünkü sınıf içindeki konuşmaların gidişatını ve inşasını yönlendirme ve şekillendirme gücü öğretmene aittir. Sonuç olarak, etkileşim içindeki konuşmalar içerisinde öğretmenlerin oluşturdukları kimlikler sınıf içi öğrenim faaliyetlerinin başarısını etkileyecek potansiyele sahiptir. Bu sebeple, gelecekteki kimlik araştırmalarının bu konuyu ele alması önerilebilir.

Son olarak, data analizine eleştirel bir tutumla yaklaşmak konuşma analizinin temel prensiplerine ve tarafsız tutumuna aykırı olsa da, ortaya çıkan sonuçlar sınıftaki etkileşimi yönlendiren güç ilişkilerini ortaya çıkarmak ve anlamak adına daha eleştirel bir tutumla ele alınabilir. Bu sayede, potansiyel adaletsiz güç dengelerinin sınıftaki hangi öğrencileri kayırırken hangilerini daha olumlu kimlikler oluşturma konusunda kısıtladığı anlaşılabilir. Gelecekteki çalışmalar için, kimlik olgusunun sınıf içi dinamiklerini ve etkilerini eleştirel söylem analiziyle ilintili olarak irdelemek uygun bir uğraş olabilir. Norton ve Toohey'in (2011) belirttiği gibi, gelecekteki kimlik ve dil öğrenimi araştırmaları, daha eşit ve kılıcı dil öğrenim ve öğretim ortamları ve çalışmaları oluşturma amacına hizmet etmelidir.

APPENDIX C: ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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IAK Başkanı

İlgi : Etik Onayı

Danışmanlığını yapmış olduğunuz İngiliz Dili Öğretimi Bölümü öğrencisi Melike Demir Bektaş'ın "A Discourse Analysis of Interactional Construction of Learner Identities in an EFL Classroom" isimli araştırması "İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi" tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Etik Komite Onayı

Uygundur

06/11/2014

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